

## **French Syntax**

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Richard S. Kayne

# **French Syntax**

## The Transformational Cycle

Richard S. Kayne

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To my parents

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## Foreword

We are pleased to present this book as the sixth volume in the series  
**Current Studies in Linguistics**

As we have defined it, the series will offer book-length studies in linguistics and neighboring fields that further the exploration of man's ability to manipulate symbols. It will pursue the same editorial goals as its companion journal, *Linguistic Inquiry*, and will complement it by providing a format for in-depth studies beyond the scope of the professional article.

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Like *Linguistic Inquiry*, Current Studies in Linguistics will seek to present work of theoretical interest and excellence.

Samuel Jay Keyser

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## Preface

A linguist working in the context of a specific linguistic theory undertakes two tasks simultaneously. On the one hand, he attempts to demonstrate the theory's ability to provide insight into the language studied, and if successful he helps to confirm the significance of that theory. On the other hand, he uses the language studied to obtain evidence bearing on issues that arise within the theory. Particular principles or analyses can be supported or brought into question, and modifications suggested, through precise argument. The illumination of the language by the theory, and of the theory through study of the language, constitutes a dual goal throughout the present work.

This work has been carried out within the framework of the theory of generative grammar originated by Noam Chomsky in the 1950s. This book should be of interest, then, to those either active in or conversant with the field of generative grammar and also to those just beginning the study of generative grammar. The beginning student might concentrate on those parts of the book that introduce and motivate the central transformations (sections 1.2, 2.1–2.2, 3.1–3.2, 3.5–3.6, 5.1–5.3, 5.5). He or she might also concentrate on the way in which transformations are formulated and on the way in which analyses are justified and their consequences investigated and tested.

Those readers interested in French syntax, but outside the domain of generative grammar, should find profitable the detailed discussion of various grammatical phenomena and should find stimulating the claim that the theory of generative grammar can provide revealing solutions to traditionally unsolved or unnoticed problems.

As discussed in Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, grammatical sentences have associated with them a "surface structure" and a more abstract "deep structure." A mapping between deep and surface structures is effected by rules called "transformations." The deep structures themselves are generated by a combination of "phrase structure rules" and "lexical insertion rules," which together comprise the "base component" of the grammar. The phrase structure rules generate "phrase markers" (called "trees"), which can also be represented as "labeled bracketings," as they are in this book. Lexical items are inserted into these trees by lexical insertion rules and have associated with them certain "strict subcategorization features," which specify the frames into which each lexical item can be inserted.

For each of the constructions central to the present work, we argue explicitly that a certain transformation must be part of the grammar of French and that an alternative analysis involving an extension of the base component is to be rejected. The formulation of each of the central transformations thus introduced is considered in some detail. Furthermore, the interaction of these transformations is investigated carefully. Frequently, the interaction of transformations provides the most striking or elegant results and the most significant evidence bearing on theoretical issues.

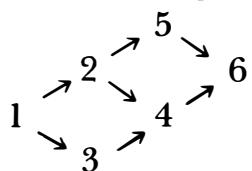
For example, the interaction of the *Faire*-Infinitive transformation with the two clitic placement transformations studied in this work gives rise to the most prominent result we would claim to have achieved: namely, that a set of rich and superficially complex data follows simply from the application of these transformations in accordance with the “principle of the transformational cycle.” This is a rather abstract principle governing the order in which transformations are applied in derivations from deep to surface structure. By providing a revealing account of such data, the transformational cycle receives support as a general principle of grammar, the entire analysis attains explanatory adequacy in Chomsky’s sense, and the theory of generative grammar receives significant confirmation.

A further striking example is found in sentences such as *Elle fera tout disparaître* ‘She will make everything disappear.’ These involve the interaction of the Leftward *Tout*-moving transformation of chapter 1 and the *Faire*-Infinitive transformation of chapter 3. Such sentences are notable in that they have a deep structure essentially resembling the surface structure, yet the latter is derived from the former via the application of two transformations, as follows: *Elle fera tout disparaître* → *Faire*-Infinitive transformation → *Elle fera disparaître tout* → Leftward transformation → *Elle fera tout disparaître*. This abstract analysis turns out to provide an explanation (section 3.4) for the fact that sentences of this form do not exist when the infinitive has a direct object, and this result supports the postulation of the two transformations, as well as the very postulation of the abstract level of deep structure.

The organization of the book is as follows: Chapter 1 contains the study of certain quantifier movement phenomena that, in addition to being significant in their own right, play a role in the two succeeding

chapters. Chapter 2 treats the syntax of preverbal pronouns (called “clitics”). The *faire*-infinitive construction is broached in chapter 3. The interaction of the *Faire*-Infinitive transformation with the Clitic Placement transformation forms the basis of the fourth chapter. In chapter 5, a separate clitic placement transformation is motivated for the reflexive/reciprocal clitics, and its properties are studied. The final chapter draws together the preceding chapters through an analysis based on the principle of the transformational cycle.

The chapter interrelations can thus be depicted by a double-diamond configuration, with chapters 4 and 6 the two most dependent on those preceding them:



The glosses of French examples make the book readily accessible to those linguists knowing little or no French. It should be noted, however, that the glosses serve no other purpose; in particular, no linguistic significance is to be attached to the choice of translation (often more literal than the most felicitous English translation). In accord with this, no grammaticality markings are used for the glosses, and the glosses are never referred to in text or footnotes; thus “(153)a” always refers to the like-numbered French example. Repetition has been avoided; those French examples whose approximate meaning and structure can be easily deduced with the help of other nearby glosses, preceding or following, are not themselves glossed.

This book owes much to many people—to my teachers at M.I.T., with whose help this work was begun as a 1969 Doctoral dissertation, especially Noam Chomsky, Morris Halle, Edward S. Klima, and John R. Ross; to my fellow students, especially Ray C. Dougherty and Lyle Jenkins, for essential conversations then and since; to my informants, notably Evelyne Delorme, Françoise Gresser, Françoise Grisay, Sylvie Marion, Jean-Marie Piemme, Michèle Piemme-Gérard, as well as Jean-Paul Boons, François Dell, Aletta Grisay, Marie-Louise Moreau, Mitsou Ronat, the last five also for their aid as linguists; to the Belgian American Educational Foundation and to Guy Camu, whose kindness as Director in Belgium of that foundation was important during my

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# **French Syntax**

# 1

## The Leftward Movement of *Tout/Tous*

### Part I

#### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the distribution of the quantifier *tous*<sup>1</sup> (feminine: *toutes*), which may occur as the leftmost element of a plural noun phrase (NP) as in *tous les garçons*, *toutes ces femmes*, *tous mes vieux livres*.<sup>2</sup> In addition, when associated with a subject NP, *tous* may appear not only as part of that NP but alternatively in one of a number of other positions in the sentence:

- (1) a. *Les garçons sont tous partis à la guerre.*  
b. *Les garçons sont partis tous à la guerre.*  
a–b. ‘The boys have all gone to war.’

It may not, however, appear in more than one of these positions:

- (2) \**Les garçons sont tous partis tous à la guerre.*

Within the framework of a generative grammar, an important question is how to account for this kind of paradigm. One possibility would be to have *tous* generated by the phrase structure (PS) rules only as part of the determiner structure of plural NPs and to postulate a transformation optionally moving it out of a subject NP and to the right. Let us call this the transformational hypothesis. Under this hypothesis, the *tous* in (1) would not have been generated in their surface position by the PS rules but would have been placed there by transformation. The deep structure of the sentences (1), in this view, would be identical to that of

- (3) *Tous les garçons sont partis à la guerre.*

<sup>1</sup> *Tous* is pronounced /tus/ if it is not followed by another word belonging to the same “phrase”: (i) *Les garçons sont tous partis.* (ii) *Les garçons partiront tous.* (iii) *Il parlera de nous tous à sa petite amie;* (iv) *Tous les garçons sont partis.* (v) *Les garçons partiront tous les trois.* The nondeletion of the final consonant here is apparently exceptional. In this respect *tous* is similar to *six*, *dix*, and certain uses of *plus*. For further discussion of the relevant phonological rules, see Schane (1968) and Dell (1970). [(iii) ‘He’ll speak of us all to his girl friend.’ (v) ‘The boys will all three leave.’]

<sup>2</sup> Unlike English *all*, *tous* may not be followed by *de ‘of’*: \**tous de ces garçons.*

Sentence (2) would be excluded as ungrammatical since, if we started from such a deep structure, there would be no way a movement transformation could produce a sentence with more than one *tous*. The transformational hypothesis would thus appear to be capable of accounting for the facts so far presented.

Let us now consider another possible analysis of these constructions. Rather than enriching the transformational component of the grammar to describe sentences such as (1), as suggested above, we might attempt to extend the phrase structure component to the same effect. For instance, we might treat those *tous* not contained in an NP as a kind of adverbial element to be generated directly in their surface positions by PS rules. Let us call this the PS hypothesis. Under this hypothesis the position of *tous* in (1), as well as in (3), would be the same in surface structure as in deep structure.

Introducing *tous* in (1) independently of the subject NP poses a problem, however, for the semantic representation of the sentence, since despite its adverbial position *tous* is clearly taken to quantify the subject NP. Similarly, there must be a formal link between *tous* and the subject NP to account for the following agreement phenomena:

- (4) a. *Les filles sont toutes (\*tous) parties à la guerre.*
- b. *Les garçons sont partis tous (\*toutes) à la guerre.*
- a. ‘The girls have all gone to war.’

This suggests that under the PS hypothesis it would be necessary to add a rule specifying that a *tous* in adverbial position can be formally interpreted as quantifying a subject NP.<sup>3</sup> Such an “interpretive” rule

<sup>3</sup> This implies that at least one aspect of the semantic representation of sentences like (1) would not be determined solely by information present in deep structure, since the interpretive rule required under the PS hypothesis would have to apply after the passive transformation; that is, it must make reference to the notion “subject NP” subsequent to application of the passive: (i) *Les garçons ont tous été embrassés par la fille*, (ii) \**La fille a tous embrassé les garçons*; (iii) *Les garçons ont tous embrassé la fille*. (iv) \**La fille a tous été embrassée par les garçons*. A deep structure object can be associated with an adverbial *tous* if it has become a surface structure subject by virtue of the Passive transformation. Conversely, a deep structure subject after becoming part of an agent phrase in the passive can no longer be associated with such a *tous*. Therefore, one could not simply state, at the level of deep structure, the generalization concerning which NPs *tous* can ultimately be associated with (under the transformational hypothesis, these facts imply that the movement of *tous* from the subject NP must follow the Passive transformation). [(i) ‘The boys have all been kissed by the girl.’ (iii) ‘The boys have all kissed the girl.’]

would, of course, have to be constrained so as not to associate a *tous* with a singular NP; sentences such as (2) could be ruled out by prohibiting any NP from being associated with more than one *tous*.

The agreement facts in (4) could then be handled either by postulating a special agreement rule that would apply to “adverbial” instances of *tous* after they had been associated with a particular NP or by allowing both *tous* and *toutes* to be generated in the base and specifying that the derivation be blocked if the quantifier and associated NP do not match in gender. Under the transformational hypothesis, the agreement in (4) could be described straightforwardly by ordering the movement of *tous* after the otherwise necessary rule effecting agreement between quantifier and noun within the NP.

There is no sense in which we can choose between the transformational hypothesis and the PS hypothesis on the basis of a priori notions of simplicity.<sup>4</sup> Interpretive rules of the sort necessary under the latter hypothesis have been proposed to account for various other phenomena;<sup>5</sup> the choice must be made on empirical grounds.

For the purposes of this work, we shall, in fact, be most concerned with the behavior of those *tous* associated with object NPs, rather than subject NPs. We shall consider how each of the two hypotheses previously outlined can be extended to the superficially more complicated case of objects, and we shall argue in favor of the transformational hypothesis, specifically in favor of a transformation moving *tous* to the left over verbs. This transformation will be seen to interact in revealing ways with the *faire* construction discussed in chapters 3, 4, and 6. In addition, the interaction of *tous* with object clitics will be shown to bear on several significant questions concerning the rule of Clitic Placement discussed in chapter 2. Later in the present chapter we shall return to the problem of *tous* and subject NPs.

<sup>4</sup> The PS hypothesis sketched in the text is compatible with the theory of grammar discussed in Chomsky (1970b) and Jackendoff (1972), and could be construed as an attempt to extend the use of “interpretive” rules to account for the surface structure distribution of quantifiers.

<sup>5</sup> See the references cited in footnote 4. The validity of interpretive rules in general would, of course, not be disproved by a demonstration of the inadequacy of the PS hypothesis. The question is rather to determine which areas of the syntax are most insightfully described by which kinds of mechanisms. See Chomsky (1970a). Similarly, the inadequacy of the PS hypothesis would not imply that interpretive rules are inappropriate for describing the semantics of the interaction between quantifiers and negation. See Jackendoff (1972).

## 1.2 Justification of the Transformation L-*Tous*

When *tous* quantifies a direct object NP, it not unexpectedly can occur as the leftmost element of that NP:

- (5) Elle lira tous ces livres.

‘She will read all those books.’

If the direct object is a clitic pronoun, *tous* can be “left behind” in postverbal position:

- (6) Elle les lira tous.

‘She’ll read them all.’

If the sentence contains more than one verbal element, then *tous* has a certain freedom of position:

- (7) a. Elle va les lire tous.

b. Elle va tous les lire.<sup>6</sup>

c. Elle les a lus tous.

d. Elle les a tous lus.

e. Elle a voulu les lire tous.

f. Elle a voulu tous les lire.

g. Elle a tous voulu les lire.

a–b. ‘She’s going to read them all.’

c–d. ‘She has read them all.’

e–g. ‘She wanted to read them all.’

As was the case with subject NPs as seen in (1) and (2), *tous* may not occur more than once:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Despite the contiguity, *tous les* is not a constituent. As will be seen in section 2.6, clitic placement applies only to single morphemes. If *tous les* were a constituent, we would expect the final *s* of *tous* not to be pronounced (see fn. 1), but it must be. Consider also (i) *Elle va tous te les montrer* and (ii) *Elle voudrait tous mieux les connaître*. [(i) ‘She’s going to show them all to you.’ (ii) ‘She’d like to know them all better.’]

<sup>7</sup> It is, of course, possible to have more than one *tous* in sentences like *Les garçons ont tous voulu les lire tous*, where the first *tous* is associated with *les garçons* and the second with *les*. See also fn. 53. The forms in (8) with final *tous* are possible only with a very long pause before the second *tous*: *Elle les a tous lus . . . tous*. This will not be considered an example of a single sentence. In the absence of specific punctuation, all examples are to be read without pauses.

- (8) a. \*Elle va tous les lire tous.  
     b. \*Elle les a tous lus tous.  
     c. \*Elle a tous voulu tous les lire.

There is, however, a significant difference between subject and object. In the former case, the positioning of *tous* away from the subject NP is independent of the clitic or nonclitic character of the subject:

- (9) a. Les garçons iront tous au cinéma.  
     b. Ils iront tous au cinéma.  
     a/b. ‘The boys/they will all go to the movies.’

On the other hand, the positioning of *tous* away from object position is not possible if the object is a full NP:

- (10) a. \*Elle va tous lire ces livres.  
     b. \*Elle a tous lu ces livres.  
     c. \*Elle a tous voulu lire ces livres.

We may now ask how the two hypotheses considered earlier could be extended to cover these data. In the context of the transformational hypothesis, we spoke of a transformation that would move *tous* from subjects to the right. The contrast between (7) and (10) suggests a slightly different approach for objects. In effect, we need a transformation that will apply only to those *tous* which have been “left behind” after the pronoun they are associated with is displaced by the rule of Clitic Placement (Cl-Pl)—in other words, to those *tous* no longer part of a full NP. This transformation, which we shall call L-Tous (Leftward *Tous* Movement), will move such a “bare” *tous* to the left over a verb.<sup>8</sup> For example, consider this sentence:

- (11) Elle nous a tous photographiés.

‘She photographed us all.’

The derivation will be approximately as follows: *Elle a photographié tous nous* → Cl-Pl → *Elle nous a photographiés tous* → L-Tous → *Elle nous a tous photographiés*.

<sup>8</sup> We argue in chapter 2 that the sequence clitic(s) + verb is dominated by the node V(erb). The movement of *tous* over the sequence *les lire* in *Elle va tous les lire* will consequently be treated just like that of *tous* over *photographiés* in (11).

Before going on to consider the formalization of the transformation *L-Tous* and the problems involved therein, it would be appropriate to demonstrate the need for such a transformation by showing that the data could not be accounted for equally well under the PS hypothesis. In other words, would it not be possible to have sentences such as (11) generated directly in the base by PS rules? As noted earlier, this would amount to claiming that the *tous* in (11) is a kind of adverbial element generated independently of the NP (or clitic pronoun) it quantifies. Again, for the purposes of semantic representation and agreement, it would be necessary to add a rule specifying that such a *tous* can be interpreted as associated with a direct object clitic pronoun occurring in the same simple sentence. Requiring that the chosen element be a clitic pronoun<sup>9</sup> (rather than just any object NP) would ensure that the examples in (10) would be excluded. Association of *tous* with a singular clitic pronoun would be disallowed as would the association of more than one *tous* with any one pronoun (see (8)).

As yet we have presented no empirical evidence that would choose between the transformational and phrase structure hypotheses. Let us now consider arguments in favor of the transformational and against the phrase structure hypothesis.

There is a second context in which a *tous* associated with an object may occur displaced from object position, and that is in nonrestrictive relatives. The following sentence, in which the object has been displaced by the rule of *Wh* Movement,<sup>10</sup> contains a *tous* still in object position (cf. (6)):

(12) Les livres de J.-P., qu'elle lira tous, sont très bons.

'J.-P.'s books, all of which she will read, are very good.'

<sup>9</sup> The pronoun in question must be a clitic: (i) *Il n'a connu que nous tous*. (ii) \**Il n'a tous connu que nous*. The same is true of the more complicated case of dative pronouns (see section 1.11): (iii) *Il va tous leur tirer dessus*. (iv) \**Il s'est tous présenté à eux*. This indicates that the contrast between (10) and (7)b, d, g is not simply one of pronoun versus nonpronoun; compare Milner (1973, pp. 137–140). [(i) 'He knew only us all.' (iii) 'He's going to shoot at them all.' (iv) 'He introduced himself to them all.']}

<sup>10</sup> This is the transformation that moves the relativized element to the front of the relative clause (and likely generalizes to the movement of interrogative and exclamatory elements). Let us use the same name as in English. For discussion of the English counterpart of this rule (we leave open the question of whether there are significant

In more complex sentences, the *tous* left behind by *Wh* Movement can appear in other than object position:

- (13) a. Les amis de Pierre, que j'ai tous connus à l'âge de 7 ans, sont sympathiques.
- b. Les films de G., que tu peux tous voir, sont formidables.
- c. Les livres de J.-P., que j'aurais tous voulu lire, sont très bons.
- a. 'Pierre's friends, all of whom I knew at the age of seven, are nice.'
- b. 'G.'s films, all of which you can see, are great.'
- c. 'J.-P.'s books, all of which I would have wanted to read, are very good.'

Under the transformational hypothesis the sentences in (13) can be described exactly as were those in (7). The transformation L-Tous will apply to any *tous* no longer part of a full NP (whether that NP happened to have been moved away by Cl-Pl or by *Wh* Movement). We are thus claiming that the positioning of *tous* in (7) and (13) reflects a linguistically significant generalization and that this generalization can be stated naturally by means of a single movement transformation. We thus have the following very schematic derivation: *Les films [tu peux voir tous Wh + Pro]* → *Wh Movement* → *Les films [Wh + Pro tu peux voir tous]* → L-Tous → *Les films [Wh + Pro tu peux tous voir]* → *Les films, que tu peux tous voir*. If L-Tous had not applied in the preceding derivation, we would derive the likewise possible *Les films de G., que tu peux voir tous, sont formidables*.

Under the PS hypothesis there is no natural way to capture the generalization at hand. The problem does not lie in the introduction

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differences between the two), see Chomsky (1964; 1971), Ross (1967a), and numerous other articles.

We shall assume that *que* is the displaced object in the relative clauses given in the text. However, there is some evidence, as in Kayne (forthcoming), that the displaced object in relative clauses is deleted when not preceded by a preposition, and that *que* is merely a kind of clause introducer, exactly as in (i) *Je sais que Jean est là*. Under the PS hypothesis, it would thus be necessary to speak of *tous* being associated with the ultimately deleted displaced object, rather than with *que* itself. It will become clear later, in the discussion of the "distance" between *tous* and *que*, that the *tous* in (12) and (13) cannot be considered to have moved from the preposed relative element to the right. [(i) 'I know that Jean is here.']}

of *tous* by PS rules, since that could be the same in (12)–(13) as in (6)–(7), but rather in the interpretive rule. Recall that the interpretive rule for *tous* and objects had to specify that *tous* could be associated with a clitic pronoun but not with a full NP (because of (10)). Sentences (12)–(13) would now seem to require complicating the interpretive rule to allow association of *tous* with either clitics or relative pronouns, but such a statement would amount to abandoning any semblance of a generalization, and to claim that it is an accident that clitics and relative pronouns are here grouped together.

Alternatively, one might attempt to restate the interpretive rule in the following way. Let *tous*, when in “adverbial” position (for example, *Elle peut tous les voir* or *les films, qu'elle peut tous voir*), be formally associated with any object no longer in object position (thus excluding *\*Elle peut tous voir les films*). In this view, the interpretive rule, just as L-*Tous*, would be ordered after both Cl-Pl and Wh Movement. This reformulation would have the advantage of not having to mention specifically either clitics or relatives (just as L-*Tous* does not).

The major difficulty with such an approach lies in the notion “no longer in object position.” If, for example, we assumed that an object is no longer in object position if it does not follow a verb, we could account for *qu'elle peut tous voir*, and *Elle les a tous lus*, since neither *que* nor *les* is postverbal, but what about *Elle a tous voulu les voir*? To know that *les* in this sentence is “an object no longer in object position,” either reference must be made to the following verb, and perhaps to the actual clitic status of *les* (*\*Elle a tous vu les garçons partir*), or more than one stage of the derivation must be taken into account. The transformational hypothesis is superior in that it describes the same phenomena with the use of less complicated and powerful mechanisms; in particular, the transformation L-*Tous* will not need to mention either “clitic” or “following verb” and will need to take into account only the structural information contained in the tree at its point of application.

We have argued that the grouping of nonrestrictive relatives with clitic pronoun constructions insofar as their behavior with respect to *tous* is concerned is more naturally expressible under the transformational hypothesis. We shall now consider another argument in favor of that hypothesis. In transformational terms, the distance over which

L-Tous can operate is limited; basically, *tous* can move leftward across a verb or sequence of verbs (and clitics; see fn. 8). Thus, the following are ungrammatical:

- (14) a. \*Il est tous important que tu les lises.
- b. \*J'ai tous dit que cette fille les connaissait.

However, we do have

- (15) a. Il est important que tu les lises tous.
- b. J'ai dit que cette fille les connaissait tous.
- a. 'It is important that you read them all.'
- b. 'I said that that girl knew them all.'

Importantly, these facts are mirrored in nonrestrictive relatives:

- (16) a. Ces livres, qu'il est important que tu lises tous, sont bons.
- b. Ces garçons, que j'ai dit que la fille connaissait tous, sont là.
- a. 'Those books, all of which it is important that you read, are good.'
- b. 'Those boys, all of whom I said the girl knew, are here.'
- (17) a. \*Ces livres, qu'il est tous important que tu lises, sont bons.
- b. \*Ces garçons, que j'ai tous dit que la fille connaissait, sont là.

Under the transformational hypothesis the examples in (17) present no problem and will be excluded exactly as (14). The application of Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement to the relevant deep structures will yield intermediate structures resembling (15) and (16). Sentences (14) and (17) would be derivable only if L-Tous could move *tous* across the strings *important/dit que NP V*, but it cannot.

The contrast between (16) and (17), however, poses a serious problem for the PS hypothesis. Under this hypothesis, the PS rules will freely generate *tous* in adverbial positions, and it would then be up to the interpretive rule, applying after *Wh* Movement, to exclude sentences like (17) while at the same time allowing the relative pronoun to be associated with a *tous* that is actually "farther away," as in (16). Conversely, example (17) must be excluded, while the sentences in

(13) are allowed.<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to see how the PS hypothesis could at all account for these facts.

The distribution of *tous* in nonrestrictive relatives, in fact, presents still another problem for the PS hypothesis. The examples given so far have all been of relativized direct objects, for example, *qu'elle a tous lus*. Under the phrase structure hypothesis, the *tous* is generated directly in between auxiliary and past participle by the PS rules; after *Wh* Movement, an interpretive rule specifies that the *tous* is associated, for semantic and agreement purposes, with the preposed relative element. This rule, as stated, would give the wrong result in the case of relativized prepositional complements:

- (18) a. \*Ces garçons, avec lesquels Marie est tous sortie, . . .
- b. \*Ces filles-là, contre lesquelles le policier s'est toutes fâché, . . .
- c. \*Ces auteurs-là, de qui le professeur va tous parler demain soir, . . .
- a. 'Those boys, with all of whom Marie has gone out,' . . .
- b. 'Those girls, at all of whom the policeman got angry,' . . .
- c. 'Those authors, about all of whom the professor is going to speak tomorrow evening,' . . .

It seems that one would have to explicitly restrict the interpretive rule so as to apply only to nonprepositional complements; in other words, the contrast between (18) and (13) would remain unexplained.

Under the transformational hypothesis, the ungrammaticality of (18) has, strictly speaking, nothing to do with the transformation *L-Tous* itself but is rather a fact about the conditions under which *tous* may be "left behind" by the rule of *Wh* Movement. This is so since the corresponding sentences with *tous* still in object position—that is, where *L-Tous* has not applied at all—are equally ungrammatical:

- (19) a. \*Ces garçons, avec lesquels Marie sortira tous bientôt . . .
- b. \*Ces filles-là, contre lesquelles le policier se fâchait toutes, . . .
- c. \*Ces auteurs-là, de qui le professeur parlera tous demain soir, . . .

<sup>11</sup> Near-minimal pairs can be found, for example, in (i) and (ii) (versus (iii)): (i) *Ces livres-là, qu'il me faut tous, sont introuvables.* (ii) \**Ces livres-là, qu'il faut tous que votre ami lise, sont introuvables;* (iii) *Ces livres-là, qu'il faut que votre ami lise tous, sont introuvables.* [(i) 'Those books, all of which I need, are unfindable.' (iii) 'Those books, all of which it is necessary that your friend read, are unfindable.]

These, then, contrast with sentence (12): *Ces livres . . . , qu'elle lira tous*, . . . We shall propose an account of these facts in section 1.8.

We have argued that only a grammar including a movement transformation, L-Tous, is capable of expressing certain generalizations about the distribution of *tous*. We now claim that this transformation itself reflects a still deeper generalization about the structure of French sentences. Consider the word *tout* ‘everything’, which is morphologically related to *tous*. When it is the direct object of a verb, *tout* exhibits a freedom of positioning strikingly similar to that of *tous* and quite unlike that of the usual direct object.<sup>12</sup> Compare the following with (7):

- (20) a. Elle va lire tout.
  - b. Elle va tout lire.
  - c. Elle a lu tout.
  - d. Elle a tout lu.
  - e. Elle a voulu lire tout.
  - f. Elle a voulu tout lire.
  - g. Elle a tout voulu lire.
- a–b. ‘She’s going to read everything.’  
 c–d. ‘She has read everything.’  
 e–g. ‘She wanted to read everything.’

The transformational hypothesis allows us to express the obvious parallelism by generalizing L-Tous to apply to any TOUT not contained in a larger NP, whether marked for the plural (*tous*) or not (*tout*). We shall now have a single rule (which will still be referred to as L-Tous) that moves *tout/tous* from object position to the left.

Under the PS hypothesis, on the other hand, there would be no way of expressing the similarity in distribution between *tout* and *tous*. Phrase structure generation of *tout* would run afoul of subcategorization restrictions; that is, sentences like *Il a tout cassé* and *Il a tout voulu prendre* could not be generated as such in the base without contradict-

<sup>12</sup> Normally direct objects may not appear in between auxiliary and past participle or verb and infinitive: (i) \**Elle va un roman lire*. (ii) \**Elle a ce livre lu*. (iii) \**Elle a ça voulu lire*. [(i) ‘She’s going to read a novel.’ (iii) ‘She wanted to read that.’]

ing the subcategorization features of *casser* and *prendre*, which normally take a following object. Or consider a sentence like *On lui a tout fait tomber dessus*, where the *tout* that appears before *fait* is actually the deep structure subject of *tomber*. PS generation of *tout* in its surface position would mean generating *tomber* without any subject in deep structure.<sup>13</sup>

Notice, however, that to do so would still be missing the point, since under the PS hypothesis, this would amount to treating *tout* entirely apart from *tous*, for which the problem of subcategorization did not arise, as *tous* is not a complete direct object. On the other hand, *tous*, under this hypothesis, required setting up an interpretive rule associating it with a displaced clitic or relative pronoun object, but such a rule would have no relevance to *tout*. Under the PS hypothesis it would still be possible to postulate a transformation moving *tout* to the left for the sentences in (20). Again, under the PS hypothesis the result would be to miss the parallelism between *tout* and *tous*, since that hypothesis does not treat the latter phenomenon as transformational. We conclude that the transformational hypothesis is the correct one.

Given a transformation L-*Tous*, the interaction between it and the rules of Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement is immediately apparent, as already noted. L-*Tous* must be able to follow both those rules if the parallelism between *tout* and *tous* is to be captured and if at the same time the asymmetry with respect to *tous* between clitics and relatives, on the one hand, and full NPs, on the other, is to be accounted for. Let us tentatively state the transformation L-*Tous* as follows:  $X V \text{TOUT } Y \rightarrow X \text{ TOUT } V \text{ } Y$ , where  $X$  and  $Y$  are variables,  $V$  is a verb, and TOUT stands for *tout*, *tous*, or *toutes*. In addition, let us impose the condition that TOUT not be part of a larger NP, so as to exclude the incorrect derivation *Il a lu tous ces livres* → \**Il a tous lu ces livres*. This condition will not be applicable to the derivation of sentences with *tous* and clitics (or relatives) if L-*Tous* follows Cl-Pl (as well as *Wh* Movement). For example, the derivation of *Il vous a tous trompés* will proceed as follows: *Il a trompé tous + vous* → Cl-Pl → *Il vous a trompés tous* → L-*Tous*

<sup>13</sup> Allowing such PS generation of *tout* would also prevent any explanation of (i) \**On a tout fait jouer un rôle* along the lines proposed in section 3.4 and would fail to account for the obligatory appearance of *à* in (ii) *On a tout fait visiter à Jean*; this *à* is otherwise triggered by an NP following the infinitive. See chapter 3 for details. [(ii) 'They had Jean visit everything.']}

(condition inapplicable since *tous* is no longer part of a larger NP) → *Il vous a tous trompés*. The derivation of *Il va tout détruire* will proceed: *Il va détruire tout* → L-Tous (condition inapplicable) → *Il va tout détruire*.

### 1.3 Formulation: V and Q

So far a number of arguments in favor of the existence of a transformation L-Tous have been presented. Let us now turn to the consideration of certain facts that bear on the precise formulation of this transformation. First, note that L-Tous, in addition to applying to *tous* and *tout*, is applicable to the intuitively related word *rien* ‘nothing’. In the following paradigm, which we claim should be taken as significantly parallel to (7) and (20), *rien*, the deep structure direct object of *lire*, has been moved to the left by L-Tous:

- (21) a. Elle ne va rien lire.
  - b. Elle n'a rien lu.
  - c. Elle n'a rien voulu lire.
- a/b/c. ‘She’s not going to/didn’t/didn’t want to read anything.’

L-Tous has also applied in sentences such as

- (22) a. Elle ne va rien lire de passionnant.
  - b. Elle n'a rien lu qui puisse vous intéresser.
- a. ‘She’s not going to read anything exciting.’  
 b. ‘She hasn’t read anything that might interest you.’

In these sentences, L-Tous appears to have moved a *rien* contained in a larger NP: *rien de passionnant*, *rien qui puisse vous intéresser*. If that were true, then the parallelism between *rien* and *tout/tous* would be weakened, since the latter are not subject to L-Tous if part of a more inclusive NP. However, there is evidence that NPs of the form *rien + de + Adj* and *rien + relative clause*<sup>14</sup> can be broken up by an extrapositionlike rule (or rules):

- (23) a. Rien n'est arrivé d'intéressant.
- b. Rien ne s'est passé qui puisse vous intéresser.

<sup>14</sup> Corresponding to (22), (23), we have the following: (i) *Je n'ai rien trouvé à m'acheter*. (ii) *Je ne trouverai rien ici à m'acheter*. However, the extraposition of à + infinitive here is quite possibly assimilable to that of relative clauses (cf. also (iii) *Elle n'a rien trouvé sur quoi*

- c. Il ne donnerait rien à ses enfants de très dangereux.
- d. Elle ne dira rien ce soir qui puisse vous intéresser.
- a. ‘Nothing interesting happened.’
- b. ‘Nothing that could interest you happened.’
- c. ‘He won’t give anything very dangerous to his children.’
- d. ‘She won’t say anything this evening that could interest you.’

We shall therefore claim that in the derivation of (22), this extraposition has taken place prior to L-*Tous*: *Elle ne va lire* <sub>NP</sub>[*rien de passionnant*] → Extrap → *Elle ne va lire* <sub>NP</sub>[*rien*] *de passionnant* → L-*Tous* → *Elle ne va rien lire de passionnant*. L-*Tous* is able to apply here since *rien*, though itself an NP, is no longer contained in another more inclusive NP.<sup>15</sup>

The applicability of L-*Tous* to *rien* raises an important question concerning the formulation of L-*Tous*, since the term TOUT given earlier as part of the structural description, while perhaps appropriate for characterizing *tous* and *tout*, is now seen not to be sufficiently general. In fact, consideration of additional data suggests that L-*Tous* is applicable in a number of other cases too. For example, L-*Tous* can move a numeral along with the quantifier *tous* in sentences like the following:

- (24) a. *Elle voudrait tous les trois les mettre à la porte.*  
 b. *Il nous a tous les deux invités chez lui.*  
 c. *Il aurait tous les trois fallu les tuer.*

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s’asseoir, (iv) *Elle ne trouvera rien ici sur quoi s’asseoir*), particularly if à + inf here is a kind of infinitival relative. See Kayne (forthcoming). Similarly, the separation of *rien* from the *de* phrase in (v) *Il n'a rien vu de tout cela* also need not be attributed to the effect of L-*Tous*, since parallel sentences can be found with subject *rien*: (vi) *Rien ne m'intéresse de tout cela*. [(i) ‘I haven’t found anything to buy myself.’ (iv) ‘She won’t find anything here on which to sit.’ (v) ‘He hasn’t seen anything of all that.’]

<sup>15</sup> If the extraposition process at hand is represented, for example, as  $s[X_{NP}[rien[de Adj]]Y] \rightarrow s[X_{NP}[rien] Y[de Adj]]$  (with sentences such as *Il n'aurait rien donné de très dangereux à ses enfants* ascribed to some stylistic reordering; cf. the expected and also possible *Il n'aurait rien donné à ses enfants de très dangereux*), then in (22), extraposition has no effect on the linear order of constituents but affects only the dominance relations (the variable *Y* is there taken as null); in other words, (22) is a case of “vacuous extraposition,” in the sense of Rosenbaum (1967, pp. 41–42).

- a. ‘She’d like to throw all three of them out.’
- b. ‘He invited us both to his place.’
- c. ‘It would have been necessary to kill all three of them.’

These are derived, much like the comparable sentences of (7), from structures resembling the also possible sentences

- (25) a. Elle voudrait les mettre tous les trois à la porte.  
 b. Il nous a invités tous les deux chez lui.  
 c. Il aurait fallu les tuer tous les trois.

In (25), the quantifier-numeral phrase, originally a part of the object NP, is left behind in postverbal position subsequent to the placing of the object pronoun preverbally. In (24), L-*Tous* has applied to such “bare” quantifier-numeral phrases, moving them to the left.

L-*Tous* also appears to be applicable (albeit somewhat less naturally) to the quantifier *chacun* ‘each’. The following are like (24) and (25):

- (26) a. Il va chacune les envoyer dans un pays différent.  
 b. Elle les a chacun rencontrés lors d’un congrès différent.  
 c. Il va chacune pouvoir les photographier d’une façon différente.  
 a. ‘He’s going to send them each to a different country.’  
 b. ‘She met them each at a different congress.’  
 c. ‘He’s going to be able to photograph them each in a different way.’
- (27) a. Il va les envoyer chacune dans un pays différent.  
 b. Elle les a rencontrés chacun lors d’un congrès différent.  
 c. Il va pouvoir les photographier chacune d’une façon différente.

In (27), we see *chacun* left behind after clitic placement. Sentences (26)a–c are examples of L-*Tous* having moved such “bare” *chacun* to the left.

The structural description of L-*Tous* could, of course, be complicated to include a list of all those elements to which the transforma-

tion can apply, but it seems clear that the members of such a putative list—that is, *tout*, *tous*, *tous* + Numeral, *rien*, *chacun*—are significantly related and that their similarity of behavior with respect to L-*Tous* is not fortuitous. Consequently, it would be preferable if all belonged to some category Q such that L-*Tous* could be restated as  $X V Q Y \rightarrow X Q V Y$ . For example, *tous* and *chacun* occur overtly within NPs:

- (28) a. Elle mettra tous ces garçons à la porte.

- b. Il va renvoyer chacune de ces filles.

In this context they are dominated by some node Q:  $NP[ Q[tous] \dots ]$ . The assumption that *tous* and *chacun* belong to the same category is made plausible by their both being subject to the rule of Quantifier Postposition discussed in section 1.8 (where the problem of *tous* + Numeral will likewise be considered in more detail). A natural proposal, then, would be to restate L-*Tous* in terms of the syntactic category Q:  $X V Q Y \rightarrow X Q V Y$ . A typical derivation might then run approximately as follows: *Elle a mis NP[Q[tous]] nous à la porte*  $\rightarrow$  Cl-Pl  $\rightarrow$  *Elle nous a mis Q[tous] à la porte*  $\rightarrow$  L-*Tous*  $\rightarrow$  *Elle nous a Q[tous] mis à la porte*. If Q is part of a larger NP, as in *Elle a mis NP[ Q[tous] ces garçons] à la porte*, then L-*Tous* is inapplicable.

The validity of the characterization of L-*Tous* as a transformation referring to a single category Q is, however, not obvious as far as *tout* and *rien* are concerned. The question is whether, in their use as complete NPs (*Il comprend tout*, *Il ne comprend rien*), they are dominated by the same node as, for example, *tous* in *tous les problèmes*. In the case of *tout*, assigning the structure  $NP[ Q[tout] ]$  has some plausibility, in light of the actual occurrence of singular *tout* in NPs like *tout le gâteau*, *tout homme*. Alternatively, one might suppose *tout* to be a noun:  $NP[ N[tout] ]$ . One problem for the latter hypothesis would be the inability of *tout* to be coreferential with *il*:

- (29) \*Tout<sub>i</sub> est tombé parce qu'il<sub>i</sub> était mal attaché.

‘Everything fell because it was poorly attached.’

If, on the other hand, *tout* is not dominated by the node N, then (29) can be related to other instances of coreference with *il* being blocked

by the absence of a head noun.<sup>16</sup> A second aspect of the particular status of *tout* is its apparent inability to take restrictive relative clauses:

- (30) \*Il prendra tout qui est sur la table.

‘He’ll take everything that is on the table.’

One possible way of accounting for this gap would be to claim that restrictive relatives in definite NPs are always accompanied by *ce*, and that *ce* is subsequently deleted only in the presence of a nonpronominal head noun, this being motivated by pairs such as *le garçon que j’ai vu, celui que j’ai vu*.<sup>17</sup> The quantifier status of *tout* and, more precisely, the corresponding lack of a head noun would prevent the deletion of *ce*; the surface realization of *tout* plus restrictive relative would therefore be the (grammatical) phrase *tout ce qui était sur la table*.

In the case of *rien*, which would seem not to be a definite NP (see fn. 17), and for which one would therefore not expect restrictives to be accompanied by *ce*, the above line of reasoning is not pertinent, and, in fact, *rien* can take restrictive relatives:<sup>18</sup> *Il ne dira rien qui puisse l’intéresser*. However, like *tout*, *rien* cannot be coreferential with *il*:

- (31) \*Rien<sub>i</sub> n’est tombé parce qu’il<sub>i</sub> était mal attaché.

‘Nothing fell because it was poorly attached.’

Thus it too might advantageously be considered a Q rather than an N,<sup>19</sup> although, unlike *tout*, it may not precede an actually occurring noun: \**rien pain*.

The non-N status of *tout* and *rien* is supported by the distribution of

<sup>16</sup> Other NPs for which coreference with *il* (as well as *lui*) is impossible owing to the absence of a head noun are *cela, ce qu’il a dit* ‘what he said’, *que Jean est bête* ‘that Jean is foolish’, and *on*. Sentences like (i) *Tout est-il en ordre?* do not involve coreference in this sense. See Kayne (1972) for further discussion. [(i) ‘Is everything in order?’]

<sup>17</sup> This suggestion is based on the analysis of definite NPs sketched in Gross (1972), and treats  $NP[Q[tout]]$  as a definite NP (*tout* itself is inherently neither definite nor indefinite: *tout le gâteau, tout un gâteau* ‘the/a whole cake’), a decision supported by the patterning of *tout* with definites in the construction with impersonal *il* and “extraposed” subject: (i) *Il tombera une* (??*cette, \*la*) *pierre*, (ii) *Il tombera quelque chose/\*tout*, (iii) *Il ne tombera rien*. [(i)/(ii)/(iii) ‘There will fall a (this, the) rock/something/everything/nothing.’]

<sup>18</sup> This contrast with *tout* is paralleled by one concerning *de + Adj*: *rien de très bon* ‘nothing very good’, \**tout de très bon*.

<sup>19</sup> The claim that *rien* is not an N in its use as a complete NP would not exclude the possibility of its being an N in *ce rien*.

the relative element *lequel*, which appears in relative clauses such as *le garçon avec lequel elle parlait*, *la table sur laquelle il était assis*, *les problèmes auxquels il s'intéresse*. With certain antecedents, *lequel* is impossible:

- (32) a. \**ce auquel il pense*
- b. *ce à quoi il pense*
- c. \**Marie est entrée, après lequel Jean est sorti.*
- d. *Marie est entrée, après quoi Jean est sorti.*
- a–b. ‘that about which he thinks’
- c–d. ‘Marie entered, after which Jean went out.’

In particular, this is so if, as in (32), the antecedent is *ce* or a sentence. We propose accounting for these facts in terms of the noun-modifier status of *lequel*. More precisely, the occurrence of *lequel* in a relative clause will necessarily be the reflex of a more abstract structure in which *lequel* is followed by a noun (for example, *le garçon avec lequel garçon . . .*); to this structure a rule applies, deleting the second of the two identical nouns. This treatment of (*le)quel* as a prenominal element is made plausible by the existence of sentences like *Quel garçon vous a dit cela?* ‘Which boy told you that?’, *N'importe quel garçon aurait fait cela*, ‘No matter what (=any) boy would have done that.’<sup>20</sup>

The ungrammaticality of (32) is due to the fact that in neither of the examples is there a suitable head noun to serve as the identical antecedent for an N following *lequel*. The derivation of \**ce auquel* would have had to include a stage of the form *ce auquel Ni*, where *Ni* is identical to the noun of the antecedent. But if *ce* is, in fact, a bare determiner, and not a noun, as suggested by its inability to be coreferential with *il* (see fn. 16) in (33) as well as its overt determiner status in NPs like *ce garçon*, then there can be no such *Ni*.

<sup>20</sup> The deep structure origin of *quel* in sentences with *être* like (i) *Quel est ce livre?*, (ii) *Quel est le meilleur joueur de l'équipe?* is unclear; in common with the text construction is its incompatibility with *ce*: (iii) *Quel est-il?* (*ton argument*), (iv) \**Quel est-ce?* Nonrestrictives in judicial or administrative prose do not require absolute identity between two Ns (in which case the N following *quel* is not deleted): (v) *Ce garçon, auquel marin. . .* A more common, but isolated, example of this kind is (vi) *Il partira peut-être, auquel cas. . .* [(i) ‘What is that book?’ (ii) ‘Who is the best player on the team?’ (v) ‘This boy, to which sailor . . .’ (vi) ‘He will perhaps leave, in which case . . .’]

(33) \*Ce<sub>i</sub> n'est pas intéressant parce qu'il<sub>i</sub> n'est pas important.

'That's not interesting because it's not important.'

The same line of reasoning holds for the sentential antecedent of *après quoi*: for *après lequel* to have been possible there, the sentential antecedent would have had to contain a head noun N<sub>i</sub> capable of triggering deletion of N<sub>i</sub> in *après lequel* N<sub>i</sub>.

Neither *tout* nor *rien* can serve as the antecedent to *lequel*:<sup>21</sup>

- (34) a. tout ce à quoi il pensait
- b. \*tout ce auquel il pensait
- c. Elle n'a rien avec quoi réparer sa voiture.
- d. \*Elle n'a rien avec lequel réparer sa voiture.
- a-b. 'everything about which he was thinking'
- c-d. 'She has nothing with which to repair her car.'

This is a consequence, given the above analysis of *lequel*, of the non-N character of *tout* and *rien*.

In light of the facts discussed so far in this section, we shall tentatively propose that L-Tous be stated in terms of a category Q, rather than in terms of the specific elements to which it is applicable; confirmation of this decision must, however, await a detailed study of the internal structure of the NP. Let us now turn to a question concerning the nature of the verb form over which material dominated by the node Q can be moved by L-Tous. We have seen various examples of L-Tous applying across infinitives and past participles, but none involving present participles or finite verbs. Movement across the latter due to L-Tous is, in fact, impossible. Alongside sentences like *Jean lira tout* and *Jean ne lira rien*, we do not have

- (35) a. \*Jean tout lira.
- b. \*Ce garçon tous les deux vous mettra à la porte.

<sup>21</sup> The same appears to be true of *quelque chose* 'something': (i) \*Elle a trouvé quelque chose avec lequel réparer sa voiture. Sandfeld (1965, III, p. 186) calls such sentences "rare." Coreference between *quelque chose* and *il* is equally bad: (ii) \*Quelque chose est tombé parce qu'il était mal attaché. These facts could be related to those concerning *tout* and *rien* if *quelque chose* were analyzed, not as *quelque* + N, but as P[*quelque chose*], where P is what-

- c. \*Leur patron chacune les enverra dans un pays différent.
- d. \*La fille rien ne lira.
- e. \*Pierre toutes les connaît.

For most speakers, the same is true of present participles; for these speakers, we have the following data:

- (36) a. En buvant tout . . .  
 b. \*En tout buvant . . .  
 c. En les prenant tous . . .  
 d. \*En tous les prenant . . .  
 e. En ne disant rien . . .  
 f. \*En ne rien disant . . .  
 g. En les envoyant chacune . . .  
 h. \*En chacune les envoyant . . .  
 a–b. ‘By drinking everything’  
 c–d. ‘By taking them all’  
 e–f. ‘By saying nothing’  
 g–h. ‘By sending them each’

While in principle it would be possible to describe these data by requiring that the V in the structural description of L-*Tous* be an infinitive or past participle, there is some evidence that to do so would be to miss a significant generalization, namely that the positions into which L-*Tous* cannot move material are positions incompatible with adverbial elements of all kinds. For example, in the absence of distinct pauses,<sup>22</sup> no adverbials are permitted between subject and finite verb; compare (35) with the following:

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ever category symbol dominates *quelque* in *quelques livres* ( $P \neq Q$ : (iii) \**Il va quelque chose faire*—cf. fn. 67). On the other hand, *il* can refer back to *quelqu'un*: (iv) *Quand quelqu'un croit qu'il est malin . . .*, so that *un* must be an N. [(iv) ‘When someone thinks he's smart . . .’]

<sup>22</sup> The subject NP and finite verb can be separated by an adverbial element if the latter is flanked by pauses: (i) *Le comité, malheureusement, a voté contre*, (ii) *Son ami, souvent, va au cinéma*. This possibility is not always available: (iii) \**Jean, beaucoup, aime le tennis*, (iv) \**Ce garçon, très mal, joue au football*. See fn. 54. [(iii) ‘Jean, a lot, likes tennis.’]

- (37) a. \*Jean bientôt partira.  
 b. \*Cette fille sans doute arrivera demain.  
 c. \*Son ami souvent va au cinéma.  
 d. \*Marie très mal chante.  
 e. \*Le comité malheureusement a voté contre.
- a. ‘Jean will soon leave.’  
 b. ‘That girl will probably arrive tomorrow.’  
 c. ‘His friend often goes to the movies.’  
 d. ‘Marie sings very poorly.’  
 e. ‘The committee unfortunately voted against it.’

Similarly, for those whose judgments are indicated in (36), we have

- (38) a. \*En souvent lisant le journal . . .  
 b. \*En beaucoup applaudissant . . .  
 c. \*En ne pas allant au cinéma . . .
- a. ‘By often reading the newspaper’  
 b. ‘By applauding a lot’  
 c. ‘By not going to the movies’

On the other hand, those positions receptive to *L-Tous*, that is, to the left of infinitives and past participles, are compatible with a number of different kinds of adverbials:

- (39) a. Cette fille est sans doute arrivée hier.  
 b. Son ami a souvent dit cela.  
 c. Elle a malheureusement voulu faire autrement.  
 d. Elle a promis de ne pas aller au cinéma.  
 e. On lui a dit de ne plus jamais faire cela.  
 f. Il commence à très mal jouer.

It would be desirable to be able to relate the fact that *L-Tous* does not apply across present participles or finite verbs to the fact that those verb forms do not admit a preceding adverbial element of any kind (the term “adverbial” may be inappropriate for some, for example,

*pas*), at least in surface structure. Thus we shall continue to employ the unmodified symbol V in the structural description of L-*Tous*, on the assumption that some independent mechanism must simultaneously account for the ungrammaticality of (35)–(36) and (37)–(38).<sup>23</sup>

#### 1.4 Contiguity of V and Q

The statement of L-*Tous* as  $X \ V \ Q \ Y \rightarrow X \ Q \ V \ Y$  has certain additional consequences with respect to “adverbials.” In using the subsequence of category symbols V Q without an intervening variable, we are claiming that L-*Tous* will be inapplicable if verb and quantifier are separated by any element, including adverbials, at the point of application of L-*Tous*. Construction of sentences that bear precisely on this hypothesis is rendered difficult, however, by the plurality of positions available to most adverbials. For example, a sentence such as *Elle a tout lu lentement*, although not, under this hypothesis, derivable via L-*Tous* from an intermediate structure *Elle a lu lentement tout*, is perfectly well derivable from a structure corresponding to the also possible *Elle a lu tout lentement*. Some suggestive facts can nonetheless be found. Consider the following:

- (40) a. Il a obstinément voulu tout voir en même temps.
  - b. Il a obstinément tout voulu voir en même temps.
- a–b. ‘He obstinately wanted to see everything at the same time.’
- (41) a. Il a voulu obstinément tout voir en même temps.
  - b. \*?Il a tout voulu obstinément voir en même temps.

In (40), the adverb *obstinément* is to the left of the past participle and has no effect on L-*Tous*. In (41), it occurs in between the past participle and *tout* and prevents L-*Tous* from applying.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> If it could be shown that at least one type of adverbial occurred to the left of the finite verb at some point of the derivation (section 1.8 below suggests a rule of “Quantifier Postposition” placing material there), that would lead one to consider the possibility of some kind of surface filter. L-*Tous* could then apply freely across finite verbs, with the resulting phrase marker subsequently marked as deviant by the filter. This approach would, of course, require developing an appropriate formalism for and then severely limiting the power of such filters.

<sup>24</sup> Possible is (i) *Il a tout voulu, sans doute, voir en même temps*, a sentence compatible with the text formulation if *sans doute* is not in its surface position at the point of application of L-*Tous*. [(i) ‘He wanted, probably, to see everything at the same time.’]

The absence of a variable intervening between V and Q in L-*Tous* is supported too by data not compromised by uncertainty as to the details of the syntax of adverbs. The following paradigm is similar to but more precise than (40)–(41):

- (42) a. Il aurait voulu tout dire à son avocat.
  - b. Il aurait tout voulu dire à son avocat.
  - c. Elle n'a pu rien boire.
  - d. Elle n'a rien pu boire.
  - a–b. ‘He would have liked to tell everything to his lawyer.’
  - c–d. ‘She wasn’t able to drink anything.’
- (43) a. Il aurait voulu ne tout dire qu’à son avocat.
  - b. \*Il aurait tout voulu ne dire qu’à son avocat.
  - c. Elle a pu ne rien boire.
  - d. \*Elle a rien pu ne boire.
  - a–b. ‘He would have liked to tell everything only to his lawyer.’
  - c–d. ‘She was able not to drink anything.’

In (42), L-*Tous* can move *tout* and *rien* across the verb forms *voulu* and *pu*. In (43), after the first application of L-*Tous*, *tout* and *rien* are not contiguous with *voulu* and *pu* owing to the presence of the intervening *ne*. There is, moreover, no additional rule capable of changing the relative order of *ne* - *tout/rien*:

- (44) a. \*Il aurait voulu tout ne dire qu’à son avocat.
- b. \*Elle a pu rien ne boire.

The noncontiguity of V (*voulu*, *pu*) and Q (*tout*, *rien*) will preclude a second application of L-*Tous*; the starred sentences of (43) are therefore not derivable.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Alongside the uniformly accepted (i) *Elle aurait pu ne pas tous les prendre*, derived through one application of L-*Tous*, some speakers accept (ii) ?*Elle aurait tous pu ne pas les prendre*, where it appears that L-*Tous* has applied across *pu-ne-pas*. Such speakers also accept (iii) ?*Elle aurait pu tous ne pas les prendre*, so that the problem is really to account for the occurrence of *tous* to the left of *ne*. Much less acceptable are (iv) \**Elle aurait tout pu ne pas prendre* and (v) \**Elle aurait pu tout ne pas prendre*. [(i) ‘She would have been able to not take them all.’]

The contiguity of the terms V and Q in the structural description of L-*Tous* would be incorrect, because it would not allow the generation of sentences like *Il aurait tout voulu dire à son avocat*, *Elle n'a rien pu boire*, *Il aurait tous les trois fallu les tuer*, or of (45), if the understood subject of the embedded verb was present in the phrase marker at the point of application of L-*Tous*.

- (45) a. Elle va certainement tous pouvoir les suivre.  
 b. Vous n'auriez rien osé dire de plus.  
 c. Tu vas tout devoir apprendre par coeur.  
 d. Il a tout failli rater.  
 a. 'She's certainly going to be able to follow them all.'  
 b. 'You wouldn't have dared to say anything more.'  
 c. 'You're going to have to learn everything by heart.'  
 d. 'He almost missed out on everything.'

For example, if the deep structure of sentences with *oser* contained an embedded sentence with a subject NP that schematically could be represented *Vous n'auriez osé - s[Vous dire rien]*, then it would be possible for L-*Tous* to move *rien* to the left of *osé* only if the embedded subject *vous* were deleted prior to the second application of L-*Tous*. (We are assuming here that in sentences like (45) L-*Tous* has applied twice, moving the quantifier over one verb at a time.) In other words, if the derivation of (45) involves application of a transformation such as Equi-NP Deletion,<sup>26</sup> then L-*Tous* must be able to apply after that transformation. If (45) were not an instance of Equi—that is, if the deep structures of such sentences contained no NP that did not appear in surface structure—then the double application of L-*Tous* would be straightforward.

Not all verbs that can be followed by an infinitive display the same behavior as those of (45). Verbs such as *avouer*, *admettre*, *affirmer*, *certifier*, *déclarer*, *jurer*, *proclamer* cannot be preceded by a quantifier originating as an object in an embedded infinitival clause, for example:

<sup>26</sup> The need in English for a transformation deleting an embedded NP "equal" to some other NP is argued in Postal (1970). A detailed study of this type of phenomenon in French can be found in Gross (1968).

- (46) a. Elle va avouer tout mépriser.  
 b. \*Elle va tout avouer mépriser.  
 ↗ a–b. ‘She’s going to confess to scorning everything.’
- (47) a. Elle a certifié les connaître tous.  
 b. \*Elle a tous certifié les connaître.  
 ↗ a–b. ‘She certified knowing them all.’

This is the case also for *monter*, *courir*, *descendre*:

- (48) a. Elle est montée tout mettre à la poubelle.  
 b. \*Elle est tout montée mettre à la poubelle.  
 c. Elle va courir tout mettre dehors.  
 d. \*Elle va tout courir mettre dehors.  
 ↗ a–b. ‘She went up to put everything in the garbage.’  
 ↗ c–d. ‘She’s going to run to put everything outside.’

The contrast between (46) and the following is revealing:

- (49) a. Elle va avouer tout.  
 b. Elle va tout avouer.

*L-Tous* cannot apply to the sequence *avouer tout* precisely in that case, (46), which lends itself to analysis in terms of a deleted subject: *Elle va avouer s[Elle mépriser tout]*. The superficially anomalous contrast between (46) and (49) can thus be attributed to a difference in structure at a more abstract level of representation. *L-Tous* can apply once in (46) to yield *Elle va avouer s[Elle tout mépriser]*. Further application is blocked by the presence of the ultimately deleted *elle*.

The preceding analysis implies, of course, that the deletion of the embedded subject in (46) may not precede the application of *L-Tous*—in other words, that the deletion is ordered after *L-Tous*. Comparing (46), (47), (48) now to (45), we see that if the latter too is described in terms of embedded subject deletion, there must be more than one such process in French,<sup>27</sup> since in (45) the deletion must have preceded *L-Tous*.

<sup>27</sup> An argument in favor of subject deletion in sentences like (45) could be made, in the case of *falloir*, on the basis of sentences like (i) *Il va tout falloir manger tous les deux*, (ii) *Il va tout falloir nous taper*, where *tous les deux* would seem to have originated as part of the subject of *manger*, and the *nous* of *nous taper* to be due to a deleted first person plural subject. The less than homogeneous character of subject deletion in French is also

Having considered constructions in which the presence of material intervening between V and Q is incompatible with application of L-*Tous*,<sup>28</sup> as in (41), (43), and (46), (47), (48), we now turn to sentences that in surface structure exhibit material intervening between the Q-V sequence which is the output of L-*Tous*, for example:

- (50) a. Il les a tous toujours appréciés.
- b. Je les ai tous déjà mis à la poubelle.
- a. 'He has always appreciated them all.'
- b. 'I have already put them all in the garbage.'

Rather than taking such sentences as evidence that L-*Tous* can move *tous* over the sequences *toujours/déjà* + verb, we shall claim that *toujours* and *déjà* are placed in between *tous* and participle subsequent to the application of L-*Tous*; in other words, whatever mechanism it is that accounts for the positioning of such adverbs in (50) will be considered a more superficial (that is, closer to surface structure) process than the transformation L-*Tous*.

Both *toujours* and *déjà* display a certain freedom of positioning with respect to those elements moved by L-*Tous*:

- (51) a. Il les a toujours tous appréciés.
- b. Je les ai déjà tous mis à la poubelle.

The same is not true of the adverbs *mieux*, *beaucoup*, *mal*:

- (52) a. Il les a tous beaucoup appréciés.
- b. Elle a tout très mal compris.
- c. Il faudrait tous les deux mieux les connaître.

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evident in its interaction with *faire*. If verbs like *avouer* are embedded under *faire* (see chapter 3) as in (iii) *J'ai fait admettre à Jean qu'il s'est trompé*, deletion under identity with the underlying subject of the embedded verb is no longer possible (iv) \**J'ai fait admettre à Jean s'être trompé*; see Gross (1968, p. 137). (Some speakers accept (v) ?*J'ai fait admettre à Jean m'être trompé*). Other verbs contrast sharply with these, for example: (vi) *Ce qui est arrivé a fait regretter à Jean de s'être trompé*. (Compare (vii) \**J'ai fait regretter à Jean de m'être trompé*.) [(i) 'It's going to be necessary to both eat everything.' (ii) 'It's going to be necessary to eat everything.' (iii) 'I made Jean admit that he erred.' (v) 'I<sub>i</sub> made Jean admit having erred.' (vi) 'What happened made Jean regret having erred.]

<sup>28</sup> The following sentences, acceptable to many, could not be derived with our formulation of L-*Tous* unless *envie*, *le droit* were Vs: (i) *Elle a tous envie de les lire*. (ii) *Elle n'a plus rien envie de faire*, (iii) ?*Tu n'as rien le droit de dire* (or perhaps, if categories are reanalyzed as feature combinations, as suggested by Chomsky (1970a), if *envie*, *le droit* were marked

- a. ‘He appreciated them all a lot.’
  - b. ‘She understood everything very poorly.’
  - c. ‘One would have to know them both better.’
- (53) a. \*Il les a beaucoup tous appréciés.
- b. \*Elle a très mal tout compris.
  - c. \*Il faudrait mieux tous les deux les connaître.

The sentences of (52) suggest that the placement of *mieux*, *beaucoup*, and *mal* is determined after the application of L-Tous, perhaps via a rule ordered after L-Tous moving them to the left across the verb, in which case we would have the following derivation: *Il les a appréciés tous beaucoup* → L-Tous → *Il les a tous appréciés beaucoup* → *Il les a tous beaucoup appréciés*. The sentences of (53) imply that with those adverbs no further reordering is possible.<sup>29</sup>

The two paradigms of the preceding paragraphs, (50)–(51) and (52)–(53), will thus be treated in similar fashion. What is common to them, namely the appearance in surface structure of material in between the element displaced by L-Tous and the following verb, will be attributed to the effect of rules applying after L-Tous. In this way, the characterization of L-Tous as a transformation that places certain elements directly to the left of a verb will hold even for the constructions in question.

## 1.5 Barenness of Q

The formulation of L-Tous that has been adopted ( $X V Q Y \rightarrow X Q V Y$ ) had one undesirable consequence that we remedied, toward the end of section 1.2, by imposing a condition to the effect that Q

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+ V). In addition, these, as well as the equally acceptable (iv) *Elle va tous commencer à les lire*, exhibit a preposition to the right of the last element over which *tous*, *rien* have been moved, and so would require that L-Tous be revised to read  $X V (P) Q Y \rightarrow X Q V (P) Y$  (this, in turn, would mean that the ungrammaticality of (v) \**Elle n'a rien parlé de* should be related to that of (vi) \**Qui a - t - elle parlé de*, see fn. 59). [(i) ‘She feels like reading them all.’ (ii) ‘She no longer feels like doing anything.’ (iii) ‘You don’t have the right to say anything.’ (iv) ‘She’s going to begin to read them all.’ (v) ‘She hasn’t spoken of anything.’ (vi) ‘Who has she spoken of?’]

<sup>29</sup> Compare the fact that preposed *mal*, *mieux*, *beaucoup* cannot be separated from the following verb by *toujours*, *déjà* (see Ruwet, 1968, p. 196). The movement of *mal*, for many speakers, is possible across a higher verb, recalling L-Tous: (i) ?*Vous avez mal dû raccrocher*, and supporting the initial postulation of a transformation moving such adverbs leftward (although an ordering solution for (53) might not be necessary if (53)

could not be part of a larger NP. This condition was designed to prevent the generation of sentences such as *\*Elle a tous lu ses bouquins*. The question was why a transformation that applies, for example, to *Elle va te les montrer tous* ‘She’s going to show them all to you’, yielding *Elle va tous te les montrer*, does not also apply to *Elle va te montrer tous ses bouquins* ‘She’s going to show you (singular) all her books’, yielding *\*Elle va tous te montrer ses bouquins*; in both cases, we have the sequence *montrer tous*, that is, V Q, as specified by the structural description of L-Tous.

Imposing such a condition on L-Tous is feasible,<sup>30</sup> but it would be preferable if the ungrammaticality of *\*Elle va tous te montrer ses bouquins* could be related to other facts of French syntax. For example, the rule of Wh Movement cannot apply to interrogative or exclamatory *quel* if that word is part of a larger NP. That is, we have

- (54) a. Quel bouquin préfères-tu?
- b. Quel beau discours il a fait!
- a. ‘Which book do you prefer?’
- b. ‘What a beautiful speech he made!’

But we do not have

- (55) a. \*Quel préfères-tu bouquin?
- b. \*Quel il a fait beau discours!

Thus one might postulate a more general condition on transformations in French to the effect that no transformation can move a prenominal element out of its NP to the left.<sup>31</sup>

A number of possible counterexamples to this condition come to mind. Consider the following examples:

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could be related to *\*Ils comprennent mal tous le problème* and distinguished from *Ils le comprennent mal tous*; a similar qualification can be constructed for fn. 53 using *\*Ils me rendront tout tous agréable*). [(i) ‘You must have hung up wrong.’]

<sup>30</sup> It might appear that such a condition could be incorporated into L-Tous as follows: X V<sub>NP[Q]</sub> Y → X<sub>NP[Q]</sub> V Y. However, we argue later in this chapter that the “bare” quantifier left behind by Cl-Pl (and Wh Movement) must previously have been moved out of its NP, in which case it would no longer fit the description <sub>NP[Q]</sub>.

<sup>31</sup> If *tous* is dominated by the node Q in *tous les trois*, that is, <sub>Q[tous]</sub> *les trois*, then the fact that alongside *Elle va te les montrer tous les trois*, L-Tous does not produce *\*Elle va tous te les montrer les trois*, but only *Elle va tous les trois te les montrer* would be a consequence of the A-over-A principle (see section 2.8). Alternatively, or in addition, these facts might be subsumed under some generalization of the text condition (see fn. 42).

- (56) a. Elle a trop mangé de carottes cette année.

- b. Il a très peu gagné d'argent.  
 a. ‘She ate too many carrots this year.’  
 b. ‘He earned very little money.’

These sentences might seem to be derivable from *Elle a mangé NP[trop de carottes]* and *Il a gagné NP[très peu d'argent]* via some rule moving *trop* and *très peu* out of the object NP and across the past participle. However, all the elements that would be subject to such a rule (*trop*, *peu*, *très peu*, *beaucoup*, *assez*, *pas mal*, *autant*, *tellement*, etc.) occur independently as adverbs (unlike *tous* and *chacun*),<sup>32</sup> as in

- (57) a. Elle a trop applaudi.

- b. Il t'a très peu apprécié.  
 a. ‘She applauded too much.’  
 b. ‘He appreciated you very little.’

Consequently, an alternative analysis suggests itself, namely that the preverbal modifiers in (56) are generated by the same PS rules as those in (57)—in other words, not as part of the object NP. This would require that there be some nonbase mechanism to determine the cooccurrence restrictions between object NP and adverb, particularly since objects such as those in (56) do not occur freely:

- (58) a. \*Elle a mangé de carottes cette année.

- b. \*Il a gagné d'argent.

The mechanism in question would have to specify that such NPs could appear in object position only in the presence of certain adverbs, as in (56) (or of negation; see below). It would be operative at a point subsequent to the passive transformation, since there are no passives corresponding directly to (56):

- (59) a. \*De carottes ont été trop mangées cette année.

- b. \*D'argent a été très peu gagné par les employés.

<sup>32</sup> The same line of reasoning can be followed for (i) *Plus on mange de carottes, plus on voit clair*, (ii) *Ce qu'il peut manger de carottes!* since we have, without any object, (iii) *Plus on rit, moins on pleure*, (iv) *Ce qu'il dort!* [(i) ‘The more carrots one eats, the more clearly one sees.’ (ii) ‘What he can eat in the way of carrots!’ (iii) ‘The more one laughs, the less one cries.’ (iv) ‘How he sleeps!’]

The ungrammaticality of (59) is related to the fact that such NPs are incompatible with superficial subject position:

- (60) \*De garçons ont très peu chanté cette année.

The *de* phrases appearing as object NPs in (56) should probably be related to those occurring in the detachment construction:

- (61) Il en a trois, de frères.

'He has three (of them), brothers.'

This construction can be taken as evidence for an underlying [*trois de frères*],<sup>33</sup> in which case the object NPs in (56) might be generated as [ $\emptyset - de - carottes$ ], [ $\emptyset - de - argent$ ] with a zero element. We note that the element following the *de* need not be plural, nor is it necessarily a bare noun:

- (62) a. Il n'en a trouvé qu'un, de cheval blanc.  
 b. Elle en a trouvé plusieurs, de grosses voitures.  
 c. Ils ont trop détruit de petites maisons.  
 d. Il a très peu trouvé de livres intéressants.  
 a. 'He only found one, white horse.'  
 b. 'She found several, big cars.'  
 c. 'They destroyed too many small houses.'  
 d. 'He found very few interesting books.'

Thus the *de* phrases in question must be analyzed as *de* + articleless NP.

The decision to generate NPs of the form *de carottes* is supported by the appearance of such NPs in negative environments:

- (63) a. Elle n'a pas mangé de carottes.  
 b. Il n'a pas pu gagner d'argent.  
 c. Elle n'a pas réussi à trouver de cheval.  
 d. Il n'aurait osé offrir d'alcool très fort qu'à un ami.  
 a. 'She didn't eat any carrots.'

<sup>33</sup> This kind of argument is given in Gross (1968) and Langacker (1966b); see also chapter 2, part II.

- b. ‘He wasn’t able to earn any money.’
- c. ‘She didn’t succeed in finding a horse.’
- d. ‘He’d have dared to offer very strong liquor only to a friend.’

As in the case of (56), the determination of the appropriateness of the NP in *de* must be made after the application of the passive transformation:

- (64) \*De carottes n’ont pas été mangées par cette fille.

Furthermore, as was true of (59), the ungrammaticality of (64) can be attributed to a general restriction against such NPs in surface subject position:<sup>34</sup>

- (65) a. Je ne voudrais pas que tu boives de bière.  
 b. \*Je ne voudrais pas que de bière me coule dessus.  
 a. ‘I wouldn’t like for you to drink any beer.’  
 b. ‘I wouldn’t like for any beer to spill on me.’

In both cases, the articleless NPs introduced by *de* are incompatible with prepositional complements:<sup>35</sup>

- (66) a. \*Il ne veut pas tirer sur de lapins.  
 b. \*Elle ne sort plus avec de garçons.  
 c. \*Il a trop tiré sur de lapins.  
 d. \*Elle est très peu sortie avec de garçons.  
 a. ‘He doesn’t want to shoot at any rabbits.’  
 b. ‘She no longer goes out with any boys.’

The two constructions differ in that the negative element can be further away from the articleless *de* phrase than *trop*, *très peu*.

<sup>34</sup> The negation in (65) does not originate in the embedded S; see Cornulier (1973). What counts as subject here is determined after the extraposition in (i) *Il n'a pas été mangé de carottes*. The text analysis follows that of Gaatone (1971b) in not deriving the *de* phrases of (63) from an underlying partitive such as *de l'argent*, *des carottes* or indefinite article such as *un cheval*. This correlates with the claim made in Gaatone (1971a) as to the distinct semantic interpretation associated with articleless *de* phrases in negative environments. [(i) ‘There wasn’t eaten any carrots.’]

<sup>35</sup> This superficially anomalous fact recalls Foulet’s (1968, p. 82) observation that during the early stages of the partitive construction (that is, with *de + le(s)*, *la*), the partitive was almost entirely excluded from prepositional complements. This is no longer the case: (i) *Il va tirer sur des lapins*. In the plural, the article may fail to appear in the presence of certain pronominal adjectives: (ii) *Il va tirer sur de très gros lapins*. [(ii) ‘He’s going to shoot at very big rabbits.’]

The contrast between (66) and (56), (63) is mirrored with sentence-initial *combien*:

- (67) Combien a-t-il donné de bouquins à son ami?

'How many books did he give to his friend?'

- (68) \*Combien a-t-il tiré sur de lapins?

This suggests that (67) could be analyzed as an instance of adverbial *combien*, parallel to adverbial *trop*, *très peu*.<sup>36</sup> The alternative would be to consider that in (67), *Wh* Movement has applied directly to the configuration *il a donné NP[combien de bouquins] . . .*, in violation of the constraint on movement transformations proposed on the basis of L-*Tous*. A third possibility, which would also eliminate (67) as an exception to the constraint, would consist of attributing the surface position of *de bouquins* in (67) to an optional extraposition rule that would apply after *Wh* Movement had preposed the entire NP *combien de bouquins*; that is, (67) would be derived from an intermediate structure resembling the also possible *Combien de bouquins a-t-il donnés. . .*. The generality of such a rule is diminished, however, by the following paradigm:

- (69) a. Combien de bouquins veux-tu que je donne à ton ami?  
 b. Combien de journalistes as-tu prévenus qu'elle partira demain?  
 c. Combien veux-tu que je donne de bouquins à ton ami?  
 d. \*Combien as-tu prévenu qu'elle partira de journalistes demain?  
 a. 'How many books do you want me to give to your friend?'  
 b. 'How many journalists did you warn that she would leave tomorrow?'

If (69)c were derived through extraposition from a structure resembling (69)a, it would be difficult to see why (69)d could not be derived from (69)b.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The facts of (59), (60), (64), (65) are mirrored unsharply by (i) ?*Combien veux-tu que de bière soit buée par les enfants.* [(i) 'How much beer do you want to be drunk by the children?']

<sup>37</sup> Possible is *Combien as-tu prévenu de journalistes qu'elle partira demain?* Analyzing (69)c as

An adverbial analysis of *combien* is rendered questionable by the ungrammaticality of interrogative adverbial *combien* in

- (70) a. \*?Combien l'aime-t-il?
- b. \*?Combien a-t-elle applaudi?
- c. \*Combien grand est-il?
- a. ‘How much does he like her?’
- b. ‘How much did she applaud?’
- c. ‘How big is he?’

Thus the first of the three analyses suggested may be untenable. Adverbial *combien* is, however, possible in certain exclamations:

- (71) Tu ne t'imagines pas combien elle t'aime!

So it is not inconceivable that a grammar capable of accounting for (70) as opposed to (71) could group the latter with (67). Note that (67) is paralleled by (72)b, but not by (72)a:

- (72) a. \*Il a combien donné de bouquins à son ami?
- b. Il a donné combien de bouquins à son ami?

Here the comparison with other adverbial *combien* holds up:

- (73) a. \*Il l'a combien aimé?
- b. \*Elle a combien applaudi?

Should the ungrammaticality of (70) turn out to necessitate an analysis of (67) in terms of the application of *Wh* Movement to NP-internal *combien*, the condition on movement rules proposed above would need to be revised.

Another construction that might seem to pose a problem for this condition is one particularly common in (but not limited to) the French spoken in Canada; it involves sentences like

- (74) a. Elle a tout mangé le gâteau.
- b. Il a toute mangé la tarte.

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extraposition would also run counter to certain constraints on moving material into lower Ss. See section 3.9. For more detailed discussion of *combien*, see Obenauer (1974; forthcoming).

a/b. ‘She/he completely ate up the cake/pie.’

If such sentences were derived via movement of singular *tout* to the left from within the object NP, the ungrammaticality of (75) would be difficult to understand.

(75) \*Elle a tous mangé les gâteaux.

‘She ate all the cakes.’

There is some evidence, however, that (74) is not derived transformationally from structures resembling

(76) a. Elle a mangé tout le gâteau.

b. Il a mangé toute la tarte.

a/b. ‘She/he ate the whole cake/pie.’

Instead, there is evidence that it involves an instance of adverbial *tout*; that is, in the deep structure of (74), *tout* will not be contained in the object NP.

On the one hand, the construction is limited with respect to the verb:

(77) a. \*Il a toute apprécié la pièce.

b. \*Il aurait toute détesté la chanson.

c. \*Elle a tout vu le groupe.

(However, we have *Elle a vu tout le groupe*, etc.; the restrictions are reminiscent of, although not identical to, those with adverbs like *complètement*, *entièrement*.) On the other hand, those speakers who accept (74) accept comparable sentences with plural objects:

(78) Elle a tout mangé les gâteaux.

This fact is difficult to reconcile with the derivation of (singular) *tout* here from the object NP, since the meaning of singular *tout* is lost in the definite plural;<sup>38</sup> thus *tous les gâteaux* corresponds to ‘all the cakes’ and does not imply ‘for each cake, the whole cake’. Furthermore, the lack of number agreement in (78) is not what we would expect if *tout* originated in the NP, especially given the gender agreement in (74).

<sup>38</sup> Similarly for *entier* ‘entire’: *le gâteau entier*, \**les gâteaux entiers*, where no other meaning is available to make the definite plural grammatical.

The paradigm of gender but not number agreement is, however, precisely what obtains with certain other instances of non-NP *tout*:

- (79) a. Il est tout petit.
- b. Elle est toute petite.
- c. Il est tout amical.
- d. Ils sont tout amicaux.
- a/b. ‘He/she is very small.’
- c/d. ‘He/they is/are very friendly.’

The sentence *Ils sont tous amicaux* is thus interpretable only with *tous* quantifying the subject. (Consequently, we have *Ils ont tous été tout amicaux*, but not \**Ils ont tous été tous amicaux*.) Similarly, we have

- (80) a. Tout petit qu’il soit, . . .
- b. Toute petite qu’elle soit, . . .
- c. Tout aimable qu’il soit, . . .
- d. Tout aimables que nous soyons, . . .
- a/b. ‘However small he/she is’
- c/d. ‘However pleasant he/we is/are’

But we do not have

- (81) \*Tous aimables que nous soyons, . . .

We conclude that the construction exemplified in (74) is best treated as an instance of adverbial *tout*<sup>39</sup> and is therefore not a likely counterexample to the claim that transformations in French do not move prenominal constituents out of their NP to the left.

Of the constructions just considered, the one most difficult to reconcile with the above claim is that with *combien*. If it is the case that *Wh* Movement can apply to a *combien* contained in an NP and move it to sentence initial position as in *Il lit NP[combien de bouquins] → Combien il lit NP[de bouquins]*, then the general condition can be maintained only with modifications, for example, one assigning separability to

<sup>39</sup> A detailed study of adverbial *tout* has been made by Andersson (1961). See also Clédat (1899). The agreement in gender in (74) is less widely made than that in (79), (80).

constituents followed by *de*, especially if *de* introduces an indefinite NP. Something like the latter distinction would be required to distinguish the case of *combien* from the impossibility for L-*Tous* to apply to a *chacun* contained in a larger NP:

- (82) a. Il a lu chacun des bouquins.
- b. \*Il a chacun lu des/les bouquins.
- a–b. 'He read each of the books.'

Our attempt to rework the condition originally imposed on L-*Tous* (that it not apply to any Q contained in a larger NP) in terms of a more general condition valid for other transformations in French may or may not prove fruitful. If it does, there is another question that can be asked, namely, whether the condition on L-*Tous*, or the more general condition of which it would be a special case, itself follows from some universal principle, that is, from some constraint on the workings of transformations specified by linguistic theory.<sup>40</sup> Earlier we suggested a parallel between (82), (75) and the behavior of *quel* in (54), (55). The latter (or rather its English equivalent '\*Which do you want book?') has, in fact, been studied from the point of view of universal constraints on transformations, but it is not clear if any of the principles proposed carry over to the case of L-*Tous*.<sup>41</sup> For this reason, and because of the question of *combien*, we shall tentatively continue to speak of a condition specific to L-*Tous*, namely that it not apply to any Q contained in a larger NP or AP (adjective phrase).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Sentences like (82), with *tous*, exist in the patois studied by Olszyna-Marzys (1964, p. 102): *il fallait "twi totchye e fromadzo"* ['touch all the cheeses'] for *toucher tous les fromages* (*twi* = *tous*). If a transformation like L-*Tous* could be justified for the patois in question, and if it could be shown that the position of *twi* in the above example was due to the application of that transformation to *twi* in the NP *twi e fromadzo*, the ungrammaticality of the corresponding sentence in French (\**Il fallait tous toucher les fromages*) would not be explicable in terms of any universally valid characterization of transformations.

<sup>41</sup> Chomsky (1971) suggests a principle prohibiting the extraction of the specifier of an NP or AP (see Chomsky (1970a)); it is not clear, however, whether "specifier" should be taken to include Q. Ross (1967a) speaks of a constraint (Left-Branched) based on data similar to *quel*, but his formulation applies only to NP (not Q). Whatever the correct solution is, it must involve left-right asymmetry since Q can be moved out of a NP to the right (see below).

<sup>42</sup> Inclusion of AP is motivated by the ungrammaticality, alongside (i) *Elle a tout lu*, of (ii) \**Elle est toute devenue petite* (cf. (iii) *Elle est devenue toute petite*). [(iii) 'She became very small.']}

The preceding discussion is, in effect, a study of the notion “bare” quantifier, which we have seen playing a role in the operation of L-*Tous*. Since our formulation of L-*Tous* does not automatically capture that notion, we are led to propose a special condition on the transformation to ensure that only “bare” Q will be subject to L-*Tous*. Not all superficially bare Qs are subject to such movement, however:

- (83) a. Il les a envoyées chacune dans un pays différent.
- b. Il les a chacune envoyées dans un pays différent.
- a–b. ‘He sent them each to a different country.’
- (84) a. Il a envoyé chacune dans un pays différent.
- b. \*Il a chacune envoyée dans un pays différent.
- a–b. ‘He sent each to a different country.’

In (83), a *chacune* left behind by Cl-Pl can optionally be moved across the past participle by L-*Tous*. In (84), a superficially bare *chacune* is not subject to L-*Tous*. There exists a straightforward way of describing this paradigm; we propose that the bare quantifier in (84) is left so by a rule that deletes pronouns in sentences like

- (85) a. Chacune habite dans un pays différent.
- b. Il parlait de chacune d'une façon différente.
- a. ‘Each lives in a different country.’
- b. ‘He spoke about each in a different way.’

That is, examples (84) and (85) involve deletion of a pronoun:  $NP[chacune\ de\ Pro] \rightarrow NP[chacune]$ . If the deletion of the pronoun in (84) is ordered after L-*Tous*,<sup>43</sup> then the latter will be unable to apply because of the condition concerning bare Q—at the point of application of L-*Tous*, Q will still be contained in a larger NP. The contrast between (84) and (83) will then be attributable to the fact that Cl-Pl can precede L-*Tous*.

<sup>43</sup> For further discussion of that deletion, see chapter 2, examples (200) ff. Sentences comparable to (84) with *tous* do not exist (see chapter 2, examples (343) ff). A deeper explanation for (84) would consist of finding a principled reason for the required ordering, for example, if deletion rules necessarily followed movement rules (cf. Postal (1970, p. 489)); the *vouloir-avouer* contrast, as in (45)–(48), indicates the complexity of the task.

### 1.6 Optionality and Generality of L-Tous

The transformation L-Tous, some of whose properties have been described, is in many cases clearly optional (see (83)), and we should like to claim this to be true of it in general. In some cases, such as (86), the sentence in which L-Tous has not applied is, with neutral intonation, slightly less natural than the other, although perfectly fine if *tout*, *tous* are stressed.

- (86) a. Il a repris tout.
- b. Il a tout repris.
- c. Il les a repris tous.
- d. Il les a tous repris.

Furthermore, both types are natural without stress if the quantifier is made “heavier”:<sup>44</sup>

- (87) a. Il a repris presque tout.
- b. Il a presque tout repris.
- c. Il les a repris tous les deux.
- d. Il les a tous les deux repris.
- a–b. ‘He took back almost everything.’
- c–d. ‘He took them both back.’

This is also the case if *tout*, *tous* are followed by certain complements:

- (88) a. Il a lu tout à haute voix.
- b. Il a tout lu à haute voix.
- c. Elle les a mis tous à la porte.
- d. Elle les a tous mis à la porte.
- a–b. ‘He read everything out loud.’
- c–d. ‘She threw them all out.’

With *rien*, on the other hand, the optionality of L-Tous is difficult to demonstrate:

<sup>44</sup> This kind of phenomenon is more general: (i) *Il a compris mal*, (ii) ?*Il a compris très mal*. For additional discussion see Blinkenberg (1969, Part II). [(ii) ‘He understood very poorly.’]

- (89) a. \*Elle n'a lu rien.  
 b. Elle n'a rien lu.  
 c. \*Elle ne va lire rien.  
 d. Elle ne va rien lire.

It may be that the ungrammaticality of the starred sentences above is but a more pronounced example of the same phenomenon as that responsible for the greater naturalness of the b and d sentences of (86). Making *rien* heavier by adding *presque* results in an improvement:

- (90) a. ?Elle ne va lire presque rien.  
 b. Elle ne va presque rien lire.  
 c. ??Elle n'a lu presque rien.  
 d. Elle n'a presque rien lu.  
 a–b. ‘She’s going to read almost nothing.’  
 c–d. ‘She read almost nothing.’

Adding *absolument* gives a case of optionality:

- (91) a. Elle ne va lire absolument rien.  
 b. Elle ne va absolument rien lire.  
 c. Elle n'a lu absolument rien.  
 d. Elle n'a absolument rien lu.  
 a–b. ‘She’s going to read absolutely nothing.’

The question is whether these facts are optimally described by specifying that L-Tous, though usually optional, is obligatory with unmodified *rien* or by treating L-Tous as uniformly optional and excluding the starred sentences of (89) by some other, still-to-be-determined mechanism.

That L-Tous, in fact, should be considered optional even with unmodified *rien* is suggested by pairs such as the following:

- (92) a. Elle prétend n'avoir rien compris.  
 b. Elle prétend ne rien avoir compris.  
 c. Elle déclare ne vouloir rien manger.

- d. Elle déclare ne rien vouloir manger.
- a–b. ‘She claims not to have understood anything.’
- c–d. ‘She declares not to want to eat anything.’

Once L-*Tous* has applied, moving *rien* to the left of *compris, manger*, a second application of L-*Tous* is, in fact, optional.<sup>45</sup> Optionality of this type is found also with *tout, tous*:

- (93) a. Elle semble avoir tout compris.
- b. Elle semble tout avoir compris.
- c. Elle va pouvoir tous les reprendre.
- d. Elle va tous pouvoir les reprendre.
- a–b. ‘She seems to have understood everything.’
- c–d. ‘She’s going to be able to take them all back.’

Notice, however, that in order for (92) to be evidence in favor of the uniform optionality of L-*Tous*, we must make the assumption that in (92)–(93) L-*Tous* has been able to apply twice, the second time to the output of its first application. An alternative analysis would involve restating L-*Tous* so that its structural description contains the subpart V\* - Q (rather than V - Q), where V\* stands for an arbitrarily long string of verbs; if this were the case, the derivation of . . . *tout avoir compris* from . . . *avoir compris tout* could involve a single application of L-*Tous*, with V\* taken to be *avoir compris*. Taking V\* as *compris* would yield . . . *avoir tout compris*. Although we know of little empirical evidence that distinguishes these two alternatives, we shall tentatively continue to consider that L-*Tous* may reapply to its own output,<sup>46</sup> and that it is uniformly optional.

An additional property of L-*Tous* worth mentioning here is that it

<sup>45</sup> A second application of L-*Tous* to *rien* does not always have the optional appearance of (92); alongside (i) *Il a été détruit quelque chose*, we have (ii) *Il n'a rien été détruit* but not (iii) \**Il n'a été rien détruit*. [(i) ‘There was destroyed something.’ (ii) ‘There was destroyed nothing.’]

<sup>46</sup> See chapter 2, fn. 103. The question of the reapplication of rules to their own output is briefly discussed by Ross (1970, p. 271), who suggests that that property is limited to postcyclic rules (of which L-*Tous* is one, since it follows Cl-Pl; see chapter 6, fn. 6). A symbol such as V\* might be relevant to an analysis of English sentences like *That book is easy to read* (see Bresnan, 1971b, p. 266); a comparable notation for phonological rules is defined in Chomsky and Halle (1968, p. 344).

does not seem to have any lexical exceptions, that is, there seems to be no V such that *Il a V* (past participle) *tout* is a possible sentence, but not *Il a tout V*. Similarly if *rien* can be the object of some verb V, then it appears always to be the case that, in the tenses with past participle, *rien* can precede the participle and that, with *tous*, if *Il les a V<sub>pp</sub>* *tous* is possible, then so is *Il les a tous V<sub>pp</sub>*.

A “lexical exception to L-*Tous*” is, in this sense, a verb V<sub>j</sub> such that, even if the structural description of L-*Tous* is met by some string V<sub>j</sub>Q, the rule must fail to apply, for all occurrences of V<sub>j</sub>. Thus cases like \**Il va tout avouer avoir volé* (cf. *Il va avouer tout avoir volé*) are not examples of a lexical exception (especially since we do have *Il va tout avouer*); such instances of the nonapplicability of L-*Tous* can be treated otherwise, namely by denying that the structural description is met; see the discussion of (46)–(49) above. Whether the absence of exceptionality to L-*Tous* follows from more general principles will be left an open question.<sup>47</sup>

## Part II

### 1.7 Separability of *Tous*

The preceding sections contain evidence in favor of a transformation L-*Tous* and investigate several aspects of its formalization. Chapter 3 treats the revealing interaction of this transformation with the *faire* construction studied there. Let us now turn to certain problems involving *tous* which bear on the formalization of the transformation Cl-Pl, the subject of the second chapter. In particular, let us reconsider the structures that permit application of L-*Tous* to *tous*:

- (94) a. *Il nous a mis tous à la porte.*
- b. *Il nous a tous mis à la porte.*

In such pairs, Cl-Pl leaves behind *tous*, which can then be moved to the

<sup>47</sup> Note that L-*Tous* applies too with V = *être*: (i) *Elle a tout été pour lui*, (ii) *Il n'a rien été détruit*; see fn. 45. The presence of exceptions to some transformation can, of course, always be interpreted as a defect of the analysis at hand, since an alternative analysis might show the original “exceptions” to be explicable in other terms. An independent question is that of finding the optimal formalism for expressing the remaining irreducible exceptions. One approach is that of Lakoff (1970), whose theory would allow for exceptions to L-*Tous* and is in that sense too powerful (on the assumption that the lack of exceptions to L-*Tous* is not accidental). [(i) ‘She has been everything for him.’]

left by L-*Tous*. It is the way in which *tous* is “left behind” that merits closer examination.

If we make the natural assumption that *tous* is always generated within NPs in the same position, regardless of the pronominal or nonpronominal character of the NP, then the deep structure of (94) will contain an NP of the form  $_{NP}[tous\ nous]$ , with *tous* at the left, just as in *tous nos amis*. The question is whether, in the derivation of (94), Cl-Pl applies directly to the indicated NP: *Il a mis*  $_{NP}[tous\ nous]$  → *Il nous a mis*  $_{NP}[tous]$ . The alternative is to say that the object NP is “broken up” prior to Cl-Pl by some other rule, for example, *Il a mis*  $_{NP}[tous\ nous]$  → *Il a mis*  $_{NP}[nous]$  *tous*, thereby leaving *nous* alone within the NP, at which point Cl-Pl would become applicable. The latter position is the one we shall now attempt to justify.

We are thus claiming that *tous* can be left behind by Cl-Pl only in the sense that it can first be detached from and postposed to the object NP; Cl-Pl can subsequently remove the pronoun preceding it. The alternative hypothesis, namely that Cl-Pl applies directly to the pronoun in the configuration  $_{NP}[tous - Pro]$ , leads to a number of difficulties. First, Cl-Pl cannot apply to a pronoun modified by certain other elements:

- (95) a. *Elle ne connaît que nous autres.*

- b. *Il ne voit que vous deux.*

a. ‘She knows only us others.’

b. ‘He only sees you two.’

- (96) a. \**Elle nous connaît autres.*

- b. \**Il vous voit deux.*

In (95), we have as object NPs *nous autres* and *vous deux*. A priori, one might expect (96) to be derivable from deep structures containing these same object NPs (but without *ne . . . que*), for example, *Elle connaît*  $_{NP}[nous\ autres]$ . However, that is not possible.<sup>48</sup> Similar paradigms are available with dative objects:

- (97) a. *Elle ne parlera qu'à nous autres.*

- b. *Il ne montrera ses photos qu'à vous deux.*

<sup>48</sup> The nonapplication of Cl-Pl in such structures leads to an ungrammatical result as well: \**Elle connaît nous autres*; see section 2.17.

- (98) a. \*Elle nous parlera à autres.  
 b. \*Il vous montrera ses photos à deux.

The sentences in (98) show that Cl-Pl cannot apply to dative pronouns modified<sup>49</sup> by *autres* or *deux*. Dative pronouns modified by *tous* are subject to Cl-Pl:

- (99) a. Elle nous parlera à tous.  
 b. Il vous montrera ses photos à toutes.  
 a. ‘She will speak to us all.’  
 b. ‘He will show his pictures to you all.’

In other words, with respect to both accusatives and datives, Cl-Pl can apparently apply to a modified pronoun if the modifier is *tous*, but not if it is *autres* or a numeral.

The same is true of *Wh* Movement. In the derivation of *nous*, *qu’elle connaît tous*, the underlying object in the relative is presumably  $\text{NP}[\text{tous } \text{nous}]$ : *nous*  $s[(\text{que}) \text{elle connaît NP}[\text{tous } \text{nous}]]$ . The object pronoun is then moved to the left. *Wh* Movement cannot, however, move a pronoun modified by *autres* or a numeral:

- (100) a. \*nous, qu’elle connaît autres  
 b. \*nous, qu’elle connaît trois

Both *Wh* Movement and Cl-Pl thus seem to distinguish *tous* as a modifier from *autres* and numerals, since these transformations can move a pronoun modified by *tous* but not one modified by *autres* or by numerals. It is striking that *Wh* Movement and Cl-Pl can, however, move a pronoun modified by a numeral if the numeral is combined with *tous*; examples (96), (98), and (100) contrast with

- (101) a. Il vous voit tous les deux.  
 b. Il vous montrera ses photos à toutes les deux.  
 c. nous, qu’elle connaît tous les trois  
 a. ‘He sees you both.’  
 b. ‘He’ll show his pictures to you both.’  
 c. ‘us, all three of whom she knows’

<sup>49</sup> We use the term “modified by” here as a convenient informal abbreviation for “occurring next to in the same NP as”; no claim about semantic modification is implied.

In summary, we can say that, with respect to the two transformations in question, *tous* and *tous* + Numeral,<sup>50</sup> but not Numeral alone or *autres*, are compatible with movement of the pronoun object.

The crucial observation here is that this division is precisely that found in the following paradigm:

- (102) a. Ils sont tous intelligents.
- b. Elles sont toutes les trois intelligentes.
- a/b. ‘They are all/all three intelligent.’
- (103) a. \*Elles sont trois intelligentes.
- b. \*Nous sommes autres intelligents.

In (102), *tous* and *tous* + Numeral occur separated from the subject that they “modify.” The same is not possible for Numeral alone or for *autres*, as shown in (103). The generalization is clear: those elements that can be left behind by Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement are precisely those that can occur displaced from an associated subject. In addition to *tous* and *tous* + Numeral, this is true of *chacun*:

- (104) a. Tu les enverras chacune dans un pays différent.
- b. ces femmes, qu'il enverra chacune dans un pays différent
- c. Elles iront chacune dans un pays différent.

This correlation between the ability of an element to be left behind by Cl-Pl or *Wh* Movement and its separability vis-à-vis the subject can be formally stated by making the application of these two transformations to a pronoun modified by such an element dependent on the prior separation of pronoun and modifier. Let us assume that the surface position of the quantifier (+ Numeral) in (102) is due to a transformation moving it rightward off the subject. If that transformation is generalized to objects, and if it has applied in the derivation of sentences like (101), moving the quantifier (+ Numeral) off the object before the application of Cl-Pl or *Wh* Movement, then we have

<sup>50</sup> The definite article is not necessary with the lower numbers: *Il vous voit tous trois*. For more detailed discussion see Andersson (1954, pp. 180–190) and Bambeck (1958). The definite article plus Numeral without *tous* is not compatible with extraction of a pronoun: \**Il vous mettra les deux à la porte*, \**Elle va nous parler aux trois*, \**nous, qu'elle connaît les deux* (cf. Martinon, 1927, p. 195); nor is it compatible with the construction in (102): \**Elles sont les trois intelligentes*.

a natural way of accounting for the contrast between the ungrammaticality of (96), (98), (100) and the grammaticality of (99), (101), (104). We propose that neither Cl-Pl nor *Wh* Movement can ever extract a modified pronoun,<sup>51</sup> thus the ungrammaticality of (96), (98), (100) will follow immediately; the superficial exception to this statement, namely (99), (101), (104), will be resolved by attributing the possibility of moving the pronoun in these cases to the separable nature of the modifiers in question.

The transformation (Q-Post), which moves *tous*, *tous les trois* off the subject in (102) and off the object in (101),<sup>52</sup> will thus apply in the derivation of the latter before Cl-Pl (or *Wh* Movement): *Il voit NP[tous les deux - vous] → Q-Post → Il voit NP[vous] tous les deux → Cl-Pl → Il vous voit tous les deux.*

### 1.8 Quantifier Postposition (Q-Post)

The transformation Q-Post (Quantifier Postposition), which plays an important role in the derivation of certain relative clauses and sentences with object clitics, particularly by enabling *Wh* Movement and Cl-Pl to apply to elements modified by *tous*, *tous les trois*, *chacun*, can be stated as follows:  $X_{NP}[Q \ (de) \ NP] \ Y \rightarrow X_{NP}[\emptyset \ \emptyset \ NP] \ Q \ Y$ . In this way, Q-Post will apply indifferently to subjects and objects (prepositional or not).

In the case of subject NPs, the application of this formulation of Q-Post will place the quantifier to the right of the subject itself:

(105) \*Les garçons tous sont là.

The resulting sentence is, in the absence of distinct pauses, ungrammatical. This means that some other movement process will have to be invoked to account for the surface position of *tous*, for example, in

(106) Les garçons sont tous là.

One might then ask whether Q-Post could be stated in such a way as to

<sup>51</sup> This, in turn, will follow from the A/A principle (see section 2.8) if the modified pronouns in question are dominated by the node NP:  $NP[tous \ NP[nous]]$ ,  $NP[NP[nous]autres]$ ,  $NP[NP[nous]trois]$ .

<sup>52</sup> Notice that, strictly speaking, we have not yet shown that Q-Post (the name is borrowed from Dougherty (1970)) exists—that is, that *Il voit NP[vous] tous les deux* could not be generated by the PS rules. We return to this question in fn. 65.

place the quantifier directly into an acceptable surface position. A relevant consideration is that in many cases the postposed quantifier can occupy one of several positions in the sentence (with *tous*, the first three are grammatical):

- (107) a. Les soldats ont tous les deux été présentés à Anne par ce garçon.
- b. Les soldats ont été tous les deux présentés à Anne par ce garçon.
- c. Les soldats ont été présentés tous les deux à Anne par ce garçon.
- d. Les soldats ont été présentés à Anne tous les deux par ce garçon.
- e. Les soldats ont été présentés à Anne par ce garçon tous les deux.

a–e. ‘The soldiers were both introduced to Anne by that boy.’

Thus further movement would in any case be necessary.

On the other hand, the surface positions compatible with quantifiers moved from the subject are precisely those compatible with adverbs of various kinds. In (105), the quantifier is in a position not normally available to adverbs. Similarly, preinfinitival position, but not that between *en* and a present participle, is a natural adverbial position; this correlates with the following contrast:

- (108) a. Il faudra tous se rendre.
  - b. Il faudra se rendre tous.
  - c. \*en tous partant demain
  - d. en partant tous demain
- a–b. ‘It will be necessary to all give up.’  
 c–d. ‘by all leaving tomorrow’

*Tous* originating as part of the ultimately deleted subject of *se rendre* or *partant* can appear to the left of the infinitive but not to the left of the participle. These facts are much like those discussed earlier concern-

ing L-*Tous*, in (35)–(39), and make plausible the claim that the ungrammaticality of (105) need not be coded into the formulation of Q-Post.

This suggests an analysis that, using the rule Q-Post as stated above, has *tous* moved from the right of the subject to its other possible positions by some rule, still to be made precise, akin to those relevant to the positioning of adverbs.<sup>53</sup> In other words, the sentences of (107) would each pass through an intermediate stage resembling

- (109) \*Les soldats tous les deux ont été présentés à Anne par ce garçon.

This would itself be derived via Q-Post from the structure  $NP[ Q[tous\ les\ deux]\ les\ soldats] \dots$ . . . . The ungrammaticality of (109) would then be attributed to the fact that *tous les deux* occupies a position incompatible with adverbials in general.<sup>54</sup>

The transformation Q-Post applies to object NPs in the same way as to subject NPs, placing the quantifier to the right of the NP in question. In the case of nonprepositional objects, the resulting structure will be . . .  $V_{NP}[X] Q \dots$ ; if the object is a cliticizable pronoun, for example, . . .  $V_{NP}[nous] tous \dots$ , then the rule of Cl-Pl will apply after Q-Post to derive sentences such as *Elle nous connaît tous*. When the

<sup>53</sup> For relevant discussion, see Rouveret (1970). We note that the quantifier originating on the subject precedes the element preposed by L-*Tous* in (i) *Ils ont tous tout compris*, (ii) ?*Ils les ont tous toutes embrassées* (cf. fn. 7) vs. (iii) \**Ils ont tout tous compris*, (iv) \**Ils les ont toutes tous embrassées*. This, as well as the following contrast, would follow if positioning of subject *tous* to the right of *avoir* preceded L-*Tous*: (v) *Ils prétendent avoir tous tout compris*, (vi) \**Ils prétendent tout avoir tous compris*—cf. (41)–(43). [(i) ‘They have all understood everything.’ (ii) ‘They have all kissed them all.’ (v) ‘They claim to have all understood everything.’]

<sup>54</sup> If elements occurring in between subject and finite verb must obligatorily be moved elsewhere, while rules moving elements leftward—for example, L-*Tous* and the transformation affecting *mal*, *beaucoup* (see fn. 29)—may not move anything into that position, the correct generalization would seem to be the one about surface structure; see fn. 23. It is not clear whether a sentence like (i) *Les garçons, tous, vont au cinéma* should be considered a direct reflection of the structure produced by Q-Post, with subsequent assignment of pauses, or, more likely, as having had *tous* inserted by whatever mechanism is appropriate for the inserted *eux* of (ii) *Les garçons, eux, ont préféré partir*. Such insertion is difficult with object *tous*, as in (iii) \**Jean, tous, connaît ces garçons*, even if the object is a clitic: (iv) ??*Jean, tous, les connaît*; cf. (v) \**Jean, tout, comprend bien* and fn. 22. [(ii) ‘The boys, them, preferred to leave.’]

object NP is not a cliticizable pronoun, grammatical sentences such as the following result:<sup>55</sup>

- (110) a. Il vaudrait mieux mettre ces crayons tous dans un seul tiroir.
- b. Il ne fallait pas mettre les pommes toutes dans le même panier.
- c. Tu ne devrais pas précipiter ces garçons tous dans le même trou.
- d. Mettez ces livres chacun à leur place.
- a. ‘It would be better to put those pencils all into one drawer.’
- b. ‘It wasn’t necessary to put the apples all into the same basket.’
- c. ‘You shouldn’t throw those boys all into the same hole.’
- d. ‘Put those books each in their place.’

In other cases, the output is not perfect:<sup>56</sup>

- (111) a. ?Elle lira ces bouquins tous les trois.
- b. ?Il va engueuler ses enfants ce soir tous les quatre.
- a. ‘She will read all three of those books.’
- b. ‘He’s going to scold all four of his children this evening.’

Or it may be impossible:<sup>57</sup>

- (112) a. \*Elle lira ces bouquins tous.
- b. \*Il va engueuler ses enfants ce soir tous.

<sup>55</sup> If sentences like (i) *Jean est facile à contenter* are derived by a movement transformation from (ii) *Il est facile de contenter Jean* (see section 4.10), then (iii) *Ces livres seraient faciles à mettre tous dans un seul tiroir* would be, as noted by Fauconnier (1971), another example of Q-Post having applied to a nonpronominal object NP *tous ces livres* (prior to the object’s being moved), unless *tous* were derived after the NP movement via application of Q-Post to the derived subject. It is unclear which hypothesis will account for the rejection, by many informants, of (iv) \**Ces livres seraient faciles à tous mettre dans un seul tiroir*. Q-Post also applies to an object NP in nonrestrictive relatives: (v) *que je connais tous*. [(i) ‘Jean is easy to please.’]

<sup>56</sup> Note that (110) is not pronounced like the sentences we characterized as not equivalent to single sentences (see fn. 7)—there is no stop-pause before the quantifier. If read with a heavy pause before *tous les quatre*, the sentences of (111) are possible.

<sup>57</sup> The difference between (111) and (112) should be related to the discussion of examples (86)–(91) (for example, (86) versus (87) and (89) versus (91); note also the fact that the last two (especially the last) sentences of (107) are worse with *tous*) and to the positioning of heavy adverbs, for example, (i) *Il aime bien Marie*, (ii) \**Il aime Marie bien*,

The difference between (110) and (111), (112) seems to be attributable to the presence of a phrase following the quantifier where the quantifier plus that phrase can be felt as a unit, at least with respect to intonation.

Application of Q-Post to object NPs preceded by a preposition raises a question concerning a certain ambiguity inherent in our formulation of Q-Post, one that pertains to the notion of derived constituent structure. The statement of that transformation does not specify precisely to which node Q is to be attached. This imprecision is seen clearly with NPs preceded by a preposition. Given the structure  $_{PP}[P - _{NP}[Q - NP]]$ , one might suppose Q to be attached under the node PP:  $_{PP}[P - _{NP}[\emptyset - NP] - Q]$ . Alternatively, Q might be attached to a node dominating the PP itself:  $_{PP}[P - _{NP}[\emptyset - NP]] - Q$ ; that is, it might be moved out of the PP entirely.

The choice between these two alternatives might be made on theoretical grounds, on the basis of some general principle for assigning derived constituent structure, for example, one that required interpreting transformations in such a way as to effect the least possible change in the phrase marker.<sup>58</sup> For Q-Post, such a principle would give a well-defined result, namely that Q be attached to the “next-highest node up,” that is, to the node immediately dominating the NP from which Q was removed. Consequently a Q originating in a prepositional complement would be attached to the node PP:  $_{PP}[P - _{NP}[\emptyset - NP] - Q]$ .

The assumption that Q-Post attaches Q to the next-highest node up has in any case certain desirable empirical consequences with respect to the interaction of *Wh* Movement and prepositional phrases. *Wh* Movement, in applying to a prepositional complement, must move the entire prepositional phrase:

- (113) a. la fille de qui il parlait
- b. \*la fille qu'il parlait de

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(iii) *Il aime Marie vraiment bien* (see fn. 44), and heavy objects as in (iv) ??*Il montrait à Marie cela*, (v) *Il montrait à Marie ce qu'il avait trouvé là-dedans*. For further discussion of this type of phenomenon, see Ross (1967a). [(iii) ‘He likes Marie really well.’ (v) ‘He was showing to Marie what he had found in there.’]

<sup>58</sup> Clearly, such a principle will not be sufficient to resolve all ambiguities of derived constituent structure. The principle at hand was suggested in Chomsky (1961): “. . . the minimal change is made in the P-marker of the underlying string, consistent with the requirement that the resulting P-marker again be representable in tree form.”

This property of *Wh* Movement,<sup>59</sup> as stated, combined with the interpretation of Q-Post as attaching Q to the next-highest node up from the NP containing it, leads to the prediction that *Wh* Movement will be able to leave Q behind only in the case of nonprepositional complements. For example, given the relative clause structure  $NP_i \ s[NP \ V_{NP}[Q \ NP_j]]$ , where  $NP_j$  is the NP to be relativized, Q-Post may apply, yielding  $NP_i \ s[NP \ V [NP_j]Q]$  and thereby permitting subsequent application of *Wh* Movement to  $NP_j$  alone. In this way, relatives such as the following are derived:

- (114) a. ces filles, qu'il connaît toutes
- b. ces garçons, que tu verras tous les deux demain
- c. ses collègues, qu'il enverra chacun dans un pays différent

However, if the NP to be relativized is part of a prepositional complement  $NP_i \ s[NP \ V_{PP}[P_{NP}[Q - NP_j]]]$ , then Q-Post will attach Q as follows:  $NP_i \ s[NP \ V_{PP}[P - [NP_j] - Q]]$ . At this point *Wh* Movement may apply, but, by virtue of the property reflected in (113), it will move the entire PP, of which Q is still a part. Consequently, Q will not be left behind, as shown by the ungrammaticality of

- (115) a. \*ces filles, auxquelles Jean tient toutes, . . .
- b. \*ces garçons, sur lesquels elle peut compter tous les deux, . . .
- c. \*ses collègues, avec lesquels il s'entend chacun depuis longtemps, . . .
- a. 'those girls, of all of whom Jean is fond'
- b. 'those boys, on both of whom she can count'
- c. 'his colleagues, with each of whom he has been getting along for a long time'

What will happen is that Q, after being moved to the right of the NP by Q-Post,<sup>60</sup> will be moved to the left (as part of the PP) by *Wh* Movement; the result is again ungrammatical:

- (116) a. \*ces filles, auxquelles toutes Jean tient, . . .

<sup>59</sup> This kind of phenomenon is studied in Ross (1967a) under the term "pied piping."

<sup>60</sup> If Q-Post does not apply in  $PP[P - [Q - NP_j]]$ , then *Wh* Movement will be unable to move  $NP_j$  alone, as has been argued in section 1.7, but will be able to move the PP, yielding *ses collègues, avec chacun desquels . . .* (but not \* . . . *tous lesquels*, perhaps like \**tous eux*; cf. Eng. \**all them, all whom*).

- b. \*ces garçons, sur lesquels tous les deux elle peut compter, . . .
- c. \*ses collègues, avec lesquels chacun il s'entend depuis longtemps, . . .

The impossibility of (116) can, however, be related to the more general observation that the application of Q-Post within prepositional complements results in a grammatical sentence under rather limited conditions. For instance, we do not have

- (117) a. \*Il tient à ces filles toutes.  
 b. \*Elle peut compter sur ces garçons tous les deux.  
 c. \*Il s'entend avec ses collègues chacun.

It appears that, in the surface position  $_{PP}[P\ NP\ ____]$ , Q is generally impossible; this is perhaps related to the fact that such a position is not a natural adverbial position.

The application of Q-Post within a prepositional complement results in a grammatical sentence when the overt NP is one of the pronouns *nous*, *vous*, *eux*, *elles*, for example:<sup>61</sup>

- (118) a. Il veut parler avec vous toutes.  
 b. Je pense à eux tous.

But this is so only if Q is unmodified *tous*:

- (119) a. \*Il veut parler avec vous toutes les deux.  
 b. \*Je pense à eux presque tous.  
 c. \*Il tient à elles chacune.  
 a. ‘He wants to speak with you both.’  
 b. ‘I’m thinking of them almost all.’  
 c. ‘He’s fond of them each.’

On the other hand, independently of the choice of Q, application of Q-Post leads to a grammatical sentence if the pronoun is subsequently cliticized, for example:

<sup>61</sup> Whether this is sufficient reason to posit a late syntactic rule adjoining *tous* to the pronoun, as in  $_{NP}[eux] - tous \rightarrow _{NP}[eux - tous]$ , is unclear. The special behavior of pronoun + *tous* here (likely related to the existence of groups like *eux deux*, *nous autres*) is not limited to PP environments; thus *tous* need not be preceded by a pause in *Eux tous sont d'accord*, whereas the comparable pronunciation in the following is not possible: \**Les garçons tous sont d'accord*, \**Eux presque tous sont d'accord* (cf. fn. 54). For relevant discussion, see Postal (1974, sec. 4.5).

- (120) a. Cela leur est arrivé à presque toutes.  
 b. Elle vous en veut à tous les deux.  
 c. Elle nous a souri à tous.  
 a. ‘That happened to almost all of them.’  
 b. ‘She’s holding a grudge against both of you.’  
 c. ‘She smiled at us all.’

The derivation of the last example is *Elle a souri*  $\text{PP}[\grave{a} - \text{NP}[tous - nous]] \rightarrow Q\text{-Post} \rightarrow Elle a souri$   $\text{PP}[\grave{a} - \text{NP}[nous] - tous] \rightarrow Cl\text{-Pl} \rightarrow Elle nous a souri$   $\text{PP}[\grave{a} - tous]$ .<sup>62</sup>

The application of Q-Post within a PP also plays a role in the derivation of possessives. The rule that derives *mon ami* from  $\text{NP}[le - ami - \grave{a} - moi]$  (to be discussed in more detail in chapter 2) will derive NPs like

- (121) a. notre ami à tous les deux  
 b. votre faute à toutes  
 a. ‘the friend of both of us’  
 b. ‘the fault of all of you’

These will be derived from the intermediate structures [*le - ami - PP[à - nous - tous les deux]*], [*la - faute - PP[à - vous - toutes]*], these in turn having been derived via Q-Post from *le - ami - PP[à - NP[Q[tous les deux] - nous]]*, *la - faute - PP[à - NP[Q[toutes] - vous]]*. As argued earlier for Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement, this movement rule in possessives cannot apply directly to a modified pronoun (and consequently can apply to one “modified” by *tous* only if the latter has been previously removed from the NP by Q-Post), as shown by the impossibility of deriving, from *le - ami - à - nous trois*, *la - faute - à - vous autres*, the following NPs (cf. (98)):

- (122) a. \*notre ami à trois<sup>63</sup>  
 b. \*votre faute à autres

<sup>62</sup> For further discussion of this construction, see section 1.11. Comparable sentences with relatives: (i) \**Ces filles, qu'il souriait à toutes, . . .* and (ii) \**Ces livres, que je vais parler de tous . . .* are impossible in standard French, where *Wh* Movement is obligatory, since in applying *Wh* Movement must move the entire PP (see text) of *il souriait PP[à - X<sub>Wh</sub> - toutes]*. [(i) ‘Those girls, at all of whom he was smiling, . . .’]

<sup>63</sup> A noun accepting complements of the form *à + Num*, as in *un travail à trois* ‘a job for three’, can, of course, appear with that complement when preceded by a possessive, as in *notre travail à trois*; the latter is derived from *le - travail à trois - à nous*, and so is irrelevant to the text claim.

The discussion in this section has been motivated primarily by the observation that those “modifiers” capable of being left behind by Cl-Pl, in the derivation of accusative and dative clitics,<sup>64</sup> and by *Wh* Movement, in the derivation of relative clauses with *que*, also possess the property of occurring “displaced” from subject NPs. To account for this fact, we have introduced the transformation Q-Post,<sup>65</sup> which applies to subject NPs and to object NPs, whether prepositional or not, and even to NPs functioning as adnominal complements, as in (121). It has, in addition, been argued that Q-Post does not move Q out of PPs.<sup>66</sup>

## Part III

### 1.9 Q in L-Tous and Q-Post

Let us now consider certain questions related to the symbol Q used in the transformation Q-Post. For example, the fact that Q-Post applies to an element (*chacun*) followed by *de* raises the question of the category status of those prearticle elements followed by *de* that are not subject to Q-Post. Thus *quelques-uns*, *plusieurs* occur in NPs that are superficially similar to those containing *chacun*, such as *quelques-uns de ces garçons* and *plusieurs de ces garçons*, yet may not be displaced by Q-Post. Consequently, unlike *tous* and *chacun*, *quelques-uns* and *plusieurs* cannot be moved out from a subject NP:

<sup>64</sup> We are using “accusative” and “dative” merely as convenient terms for referring to the sets of pronouns *le*, *la*, *les* versus *lui*, *leur* (*me*, *te*, *nous*, *vous* are common to both). We consider the notion “dative” more carefully in chapter 2, part III.

<sup>65</sup> A priori, one might conceive of substituting for Q-Post an extension of the PS component plus an interpretive rule, much as in the analysis entertained earlier (and rejected) as an alternative to L-Tous. In effect, this would mean generating Qs by PS rules in all those positions into which Q is placed by Q-Post and having a rule of interpretation “associate” such a Q with an NP to its left. The necessary interpretive rule (in effect, an inverse of Q-Post) would have to be ordered before *Wh* Movement in order to exclude (17). The deep structure of *Il vous voit tous* under this hypothesis would presumably be *Il voit NP[vous] tous* (so that the claim that Cl-Pl applies only to unmodified pronouns would still be preserved). We know of no advantage to such an analysis; on the other hand, it would require an unnatural complication of the PS rules not compensated for elsewhere in the grammar—in particular, to derive (118), (120), (121), Q would have to be generated as the rightmost element immediately dominated by the node PP. We consequently reject a “phrase structure alternative” to Q-Post.

<sup>66</sup> So that in (i) *Je dirai à ces garçons de partir tous en Italie*, *tous* must originate on the Equi-deleted subject of the infinitive. Quantification of Equi subjects is also required because of (ii) *Jean parlait avec Marie de la possibilité de partir tous les deux en Allemagne*. [(i)

- (123) a. \**Ces garçons ont quelques-uns été mis à la porte.*  
 b. \**Ces garçons ont plusieurs été mis à la porte.*  
 a/b. 'Those boys were some/several thrown out.'

Correspondingly, neither *quelques-uns* nor *plusieurs* can be moved out from an object NP in such a way as to permit subsequent leftward movement of an "accusative" clitic:

- (124) a. *Elle les mettra tous à la porte.*  
 b. *Elle les enverra chacun dans un pays différent.*  
 c. \**Elle les mettra quelques-uns à la porte.*  
 d. \**Elle les enverra plusieurs en Afrique.*

The difference in behavior between *chacun* and *quelques-uns*, for example, means that, given the use of unanalyzable category symbols in the structural description of Q-Post, *chacun* and *quelques-uns* must not belong to the same category, that is, their appearance within NPs cannot be due to a single phrase structure rule. Alternatively, one might consider Q to be a more general category, that which dominates various kinds of determiner elements, including *plusieurs*, *quelques-uns*, and the structural description of Q-Post to contain certain feature specifications that will delimit those Qs actually subject to being moved by Q-Post.<sup>67</sup>

In either event, the symbol Q that appears in L-*Tous* can be considered the same as that of Q-Post. Those elements subject to Q-Post are all subject to L-*Tous* (*tous*, *tous* + Numeral, *chacun*) and those elements not subject to Q-Post are not subject to L-*Tous*. The latter fact can be seen through the construction of sentences containing a "bare" object *plusieurs*, *quelques-uns*, as in

- (125) a. *Elle en a rencontré plusieurs (de ces garçons).*  
 b. *Elle va en revoir quelques-uns.*

'I'll tell those boys to all go to Italy.' (ii) 'Jean was talking with Marie of the possibility of going both to Germany.]

<sup>67</sup> Such an approach would be plausible in the context of the reanalysis of phrase categories as features, suggested in Chomsky (1970a). As for the particular features that might be involved, we note that those elements subject to Q-Post refer in some sense to the whole of a set, so that one might explore the relevance to French of the kind of features discussed in Dougherty (1970; 1971).

- a. 'She met several of them.'
- b. 'She's going to see some of them again.'

On the assumption that the preverbal positioning of the clitic *en* (see chapter 2) can take place prior to the point of application of L-Tous (plausible because the movement of the accusative clitic precedes L-Tous in *Elle va tous les revoir*), the question of whether L-Tous can then apply to *plusieurs, quelques-uns* is pertinent. The answer is negative:<sup>68</sup>

- (126) a. \**Elle en a plusieurs rencontré.*  
 b. \**Elle va quelques-uns en revoir.*

The characterization of those elements subject to Q-Post and L-Tous in terms of a single category symbol (or feature complex) Q is not incompatible with the behavior of *tout* and *rien*, which, in their use as full NPs, are subject to L-Tous, as in *Elle a tout lu, Elle ne va rien lire*, but not to Q-Post. Thus alongside sentences like *Tout lui va, Rien ne l'ennuie*, we do not have

- (127) a. \**Lui va tout.*  
 b. \**Ne l'ennuie rien.*  
 a. 'Everything is fine with him.'  
 b. 'Nothing bothers him.'

Adding a filler *il* does not help:<sup>69</sup>

- (128) a. \**Il lui va tout.*  
 b. \**Il ne l'ennuie rien.*

It would have been possible to derive (127), or perhaps (128), if Q-Post (followed by supplementary postverbal positioning) had been able to apply to subject *tout* or *rien*. The inapplicability of Q-Post here is not, however, sufficient reason to abandon the claim that the same

<sup>68</sup> In sentences like (i) *Elle en a très peu mangé*, the position of *très peu* is not attributable to L-Tous; unlike in the case of L-Tous, this construction exists with a full postverbal NP: (ii) *Elle a très peu mangé de carottes* (versus (iii) \**Elle a tous mangé les gâteaux*). See the discussion of (56)–(62). [(i) 'She has eaten very few of them.']}

<sup>69</sup> There exist sentences like (128) with *rien*: (i) *Il ne se passe rien*; but in these *rien* has been placed in postverbal position by the rule operative in (ii) *Il se passe des choses* (cf. (iii) \**Il l'ennuie des choses*); see fn. 17. In (iv) *Il ne s'est rien passé*, L-Tous has applied to the output of the above rule. [(i) 'Nothing's happening.' (ii) 'Things are happening.']}

symbol should be used in both Q-Post and L-*Tous*. This is the case since the ungrammaticality of (127) and (128) will follow, even if *tout* and *rien* are Qs and Q is the symbol used in Q-Post, from the inclusion in the structural description of Q-Post to the right of Q of the term NP: <sub>NP</sub>[Q (*de*) NP]. Given a phrase marker of the form <sub>NP</sub>[ Q[tout]] V . . . , Q-Post will fail to apply because of the absence of any NP to the right of *tout*.<sup>70</sup>

A question related to the preceding discussion which bears on the formulation of Q-Post is that of whether *tout* in NPs like *toute la tarte* or *tout le sucre* can be moved by Q-Post. We recall that one odd property of these NPs is their lack of a plural (or perhaps their change in meaning in the plural), as indicated in the discussion of sentence (78). Another is the inability of singular *tout(e)* to stand alone and be construed as anaphoric with respect to another NP; this is shown by the following paradigm:

- (129) a. Toutes les tartes sont bonnes.
- b. Toutes sont bonnes.
- c. Toute la tarte est bonne.
- d. \*Toute est bonne.
- a-b. 'All (the pies) are good.'
- c-d. 'The whole (pie) is good.'

Sentences in which Q-Post appears to have applied to a *tout* contained in a subject NP exist but are sensitive to the choice of verb:<sup>71</sup>

- (130) a. La tarte a toute été mangée par les enfants.
- b. \*La pièce a toute été vue par les enfants.
- a. 'The pie was completely eaten up by the children.'
- b. 'The play was completely seen by the children.'

<sup>70</sup> Similarly, if the internal structure of *tout homme*, *chaque homme* is [*tout/chaque - N*], Q-Post will, as desired, be unable to derive, alongside (i) *Tout/chaque homme aime se promener*, the ungrammatical (ii) \**Homme aime tout/chaque se promener*. [(i) 'Every/each man likes to take walks.']}

<sup>71</sup> We know of no lexical sensitivity to Q-Post in the case of *tous*.

The same is true of *tout* associated with an object NP:

- (131) a. Il la mangera toute (la tarte).
- b. \*?Il la verra toute (la pièce).

Note that sentences with final *toute* as in (131) are much more widely accepted than their masculine counterparts:<sup>72</sup>

- (132) ??Il le mangera tout (le gâteau).

On the basis of the preceding observations, *tout* in (130)–(132) should probably be treated as a kind of adverbial, much as was suggested earlier for sentences (74)–(78), in which case we would expect *tout* to be compatible with plural NPs; in fact, those who accept (133) find (134) equally possible:

- (133) Le gâteau a tout été mangé par les enfants.
- (134) Les gâteaux ont tout été mangés par les enfants.

This suggests that Q-Post can be considered never to apply to the *tout* of *toute la tarte*, *tout le sucre*; one could thus either restrict Q-Post to that effect or, better, find some principled reason for its not so applying; for example, the internal structure of <sub>NP</sub>[*toute la tarte*] might not be [*toute* <sub>NP</sub>[*la tarte*]].

The Q of L-Tous and Q-Post must be taken to dominate more than just monomorphemic quantifiers like *tous*. We have already seen, for instance, that both rules apply to *tous* - *les* - Num. Interestingly, the presence in French of constituents of the form <sub>Q</sub>[*tous* - (*les*) - Num] seems to correlate with certain aspects of the interaction of *tous* and *deux*. Although these are incompatible in sentences like (135),<sup>73</sup> they go perfectly well together in (136) where both are dominated by the same node Q:

- (135) \*Ces deux garçons partiront tous en Afrique.

‘Those two boys will all leave for Africa.’

<sup>72</sup> This fact was noted by Andersson (1954, p. 148), who also points out that the constructions (130)–(132) were more common in earlier stages of French.

<sup>73</sup> *Tous* and *deux* are, however, compatible in the construction *Il y va tous les deux jours* ('every two days'). For relevant discussion, see Andersson (1954, pp. 41–48) and Bambeck (1958).

- (136) a. Ces garçons partiront tous (les) deux en Afrique.  
     b. Elle les connaît tous (les) deux.

The category Q that figures in the structural description of Q-Post as well as in that of L-Tous will thus include *tous* - ((*les*) Num), *chacun*, *tout*, and *rien*; the latter two, in effect, are never subject to Q-Post in their use as full NPs for the reasons given earlier. In certain cases, the word *presque* appears to form a unit with *tous* as far as Q-Post is concerned:

- (137) a. Les garçons sont presque tous partis.  
     b. Elle les connaît presque tous.

And it appears to combine with *tous*, *tout*, and *rien* as far as L-Tous is concerned:<sup>74</sup>

- (138) a. Elle va presque tous les rater.  
     b. Elle a presque tout compris.  
     c. Il n'a presque rien dit.  
         a. 'She's going to miss almost all of them.'  
         b. 'She understood almost everything.'  
         c. 'He said almost nothing.'

That Q can dominate more than just a single lexical item is further indicated by pairs containing the complex expressions *ni l'un ni l'autre*, *l'un et l'autre*:

- (139) a. Il ne veut ni l'une ni l'autre les mettre à la porte.  
     b. \*Il ne veut ni l'une ni l'autre mettre ces filles à la porte.  
     c. Elle n'aurait ni l'un ni l'autre voulu les revoir.  
     d. \*Elle n'aurait ni l'un ni l'autre voulu revoir ces garçons.

<sup>74</sup> Such is not the case with *rien plus de* - Adj (i) \**Elle ne va rien de beau acheter*; *de* - Adj and similar relative clauses (ii) \**Elle ne va rien qui coûte cher acheter* are not dominated by Q. In (iii) *Il n'a rien du tout donné à sa femme*, it is unclear whether the surface position of *du tout* should be ascribed to L-Tous. [(i) 'She's not going to buy anything beautiful.' (ii) 'She's not going to buy anything that costs a lot.' (iii) 'He didn't give anything at all to his wife.']}

- a/b. ‘He doesn’t want to throw either one or the other of them/those girls out.’
- c/d. ‘She would not have wanted to see either one of them/those boys again.’

The similarity between (139) and the comparable paradigms with *tous*, as in *Il veut toutes les mettre à la porte* versus \**Il veut toutes mettre ces filles à la porte*, suggests that these complex expressions are subject to L-Tous. In this case the derivation of the sentences of (139) would involve the following steps: *Il ne veut les mettre Q[ni l’une ni l’autre] à la porte* → L-Tous → *Il ne veut Q[ni l’une ni l’autre] les mettre à la porte*. As in the case of *tous*, *chacun*, such movement also occurs in relatives:

- (140) *ces garçons, qu’elle ne veut ni l’un ni l’autre mettre à la porte*  
 ‘those boys, neither one of whom she wants to throw out’

But it does not occur in sentences where the pronominal complement of *ni l’un ni l’autre*, rather than being moved by Cl-Pl as in (139), has been deleted by a rule ordered after L-Tous (cf. (84)):

- (141) a. *Il ne veut revoir ni l’une ni l’autre.*  
 b. \**Il ne veut ni l’une ni l’autre revoir.*  
 a–b. ‘He doesn’t want to see either one again.’

The derivation of (139), (140) involves the application of L-Tous to structures resembling actually occurring sentences or relative clauses:

- (142) a. *Il ne veut les revoir ni l’une ni l’autre.*  
 b. *ces garçons, qu’elle ne veut revoir ni l’un ni l’autre*

In (142), Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement have apparently applied to elements “modified” by *ni l’un ni l’autre*. However, as argued earlier with respect to *tous*, *tous les trois*, and *chacun*, it is possible to preserve the generalization that Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement never apply to modified elements if the “modifier” is moved out of the object NP prior to their application. The movement of the modifier is effected by the same rule (Q-Post) that applies with subject NPs. The plausibility of such an approach for (142) is shown by the existence of sentences like

- (143) a. *Ces filles n’iront ni l’une ni l’autre en Australie.*

b. Ses frères habitent l'un et l'autre en France.

In other words, Q-Post can be considered to apply to  $Q = ni\ l'un\ ni\ l'autre, l'un\ et\ l'autre$ , in which case the deep structures of (143) would resemble the grammatical<sup>75</sup>

(144) a. Ni l'une ni l'autre de ces filles n'ira en Australie.

b. L'un et l'autre de ses frères habitent en France.

a. 'Neither one of those girls will go to Australia.'

b. 'Both of his brothers live in France.'

As an alternative to an analysis of (142), (143) in terms of Q-Post, one might attempt to generate such sentences through some form of conjunction reduction. There exists in French the following construction:

(145) a. Ses frères habitent, l'un en France, l'autre au Canada.

b. Ils iront, lui en Asie, elle en Afrique.

c. Ses frères sont allés, Jean à Lyon, Jacques à Toulouse.

a. 'His brothers live, the one in France, the other in Canada.'

b. 'They'll go, he to Asia, she to Africa.'

c. 'His brothers went, John to Lyon, Jack to Toulouse.'

(146) Tu enverras tes frères, l'un en Asie, l'autre en Afrique.

'You'll send your brothers, the one to Asia, the other to Africa.'

A subsequent transformation might then be postulated<sup>76</sup> with the effect of  $X\ l'un\ Y\ l'autre\ W \rightarrow X\ l'un\ et\ l'autre\ W$ , on the condition that  $Y = W$ ; an example derivation would be *Ses frères habitent, l'un en France l'autre en France*  $\rightarrow$  (143)b, where  $X = ses\ frères\ habitent$ ,  $Y = W = en\ France$ . Such a transformation would have to be restricted to cases where *l'un* and *l'autre* agreed in number:

(147) a. Ses frères habitent, l'un en France, les autres en Allemagne.

<sup>75</sup> As complements to *à*, NPs with such Qs sometimes require a second *à*: (i) *Elle souriait à l'un et l'autre de ses frères* versus (ii) \**Elle ne souriait à ni l'un ni l'autre de ses frères* (rather *ni à l'un ni à l'autre de ses frères*); (iii) \**Elle leur souriait aux uns et les autres* versus (iv) *Elle leur souriait aux uns et aux autres*. [(i)/(ii) 'She was smiling at both/neither of his brothers.' (iii)-(iv) 'She was smiling at both of them.']}

<sup>76</sup> As suggested by Borillo (1971).

b. \*Ses frères habitent l'un et les autres en France.

c. \*Il ne veut les revoir ni l'une ni les autres.

And it would not necessarily extend to (144), particularly if a transformational derivation of *l'un et l'autre* in (144) could not be made compatible with the impossibility of *\*L'autre de ses frères habite en France*.<sup>77</sup>

If it could be shown that *l'un et l'autre, ni l'un ni l'autre* in (142), (143) always had to be derived by reduction from structures of the form (145), (146), two observations would be pertinent. First, it would still be true that in the derivation of (142), Cl-Pl does not apply to a modified pronoun, since in (146) *tes frères* is not in the same NP as *l'un*, and since there is no reason to think that that is changed by further reduction (a similar argument holds for *Wh* Movement). Second, the surface position of *ni l'un ni l'autre* in (139) could not be directly attributed to the output of the reduction rule, because the conjoined structures to which the rule would apply, such as (145), (146), cannot have *l'un* preceding the pronoun with which it is associated:

(148) Il veut l'un et l'autre les envoyer en Allemagne (cf. (139)).

(149) a. \*Il veut l'un les envoyer en Allemagne, l'autre les envoyer en France.

b. \*Il veut l'un les envoyer en Allemagne, l'autre en France.

In other words, the derivation of (148) would still need to involve the leftward movement of *l'un et l'autre* across *les envoyer*, presumably via L-Tous. That, in turn, would imply that the output of such a reduction rule would be . . . *envoyer Q[l'un et l'autre]*. . . .

## 1.10 Interaction of L-Tous and Q-Post

The two transformations studied in this chapter interact in sentences where *tous* has been moved to the left by L-Tous. Earlier, L-Tous was informally described as applying to instances of “bare” *tous*; the case of *tous - (les) - Num* shows that it would be more exact to speak of “bare” Q. The notion “bare” was partially examined in section 1.5,

<sup>77</sup> The base generation of *l'un — l'autre* as Q within an NP might in any case be appropriate for *l'un ou l'autre*, which can have a complement (*l'un ou l'autre de ses amis* ‘the one or the other of his friends’) referring to more than two; see Grevisse (1964, p. 519).

devoted to the ungrammaticality of sentences like *\*Il a tous lu les livres*, which we had to ensure were not derived from *Il a lu tous les livres* through application of L-*Tous*. In this sense it is clear that L-*Tous* can apply only to bare Q; that is, it may not apply to a Q contained in a larger NP. Although it is therefore necessary for Q to be bare to be subject to L-*Tous*, that is not sufficient.

Consider the fact noted at the beginning of this chapter that the application of L-*Tous* in sentences like *Il va tous les voir* is made possible by the prior application of Cl-Pl. Combining this with the argument leading to the postulation of Q-Post, namely that Cl-Pl is able to apply in sentences such as *Il les voit tous* only because Q can be separated from the object NP (by Q-Post), we arrive at the conclusion that the application of L-*Tous* in *Il va tous les voir* is indirectly made possible by the prior application of Q-Post. In other words, sentences whose derivations involve application of L-*Tous* to *tous*, *tous - les - Num*, or *chacun* must necessarily have undergone the application of Q-Post. Moreover, the relative order of application must have been first Q-Post, then L-*Tous* (with Cl-Pl or Wh Movement applying in between). A typical derivation will consequently proceed as follows: *Il a compris NP[Q[tous] - vous] → Q-Post → Il a compris NP[vous] Q[tous] → Cl-Pl → Il vous a compris Q[tous] → L-Tous → Il vous a Q[tous] compris*.

In the preceding derivation Q is actually made bare by Q-Post, not by Cl-Pl. The crucial effect of Cl-Pl is rather to establish the contiguity of V and Q. This can be seen by taking a derivation in which Q-Post applies to an object NP to which no subsequent movement rule applies, for example: *Il a mis NP[Q[tous] les crayons] dans le même tiroir → Q-Post → Il a mis NP[les crayons] Q[tous] dans le même tiroir*. At this point Q is bare in the sense that it is no longer part of a larger NP, yet L-*Tous* cannot apply:

(150) \**Il a tous mis les crayons dans le même tiroir*.

That is, the bareness of Q is not sufficient to permit application of L-*Tous*. Sentence (150) contrasts with (151), where L-*Tous* is possible, precisely because Cl-Pl has rendered V and Q contiguous.

(151) a. *Il va les mettre tous dans le même tiroir*.

b. *Il va tous les mettre dans le même tiroir*.

a-b. ‘He’s going to put them all in the same drawer.’

The ungrammaticality of (150) is due to the fact that the structural description of L-*Tous* does not allow *tous* to be moved across V NP.<sup>78</sup>

### 1.11 Peripheral *Tous*-Movement Phenomena

There are certain constructions involving the movement of *tous* to the left in which the transformation L-*Tous* either does not play a central role or is not at issue, and for which judgments of grammaticality are not uniform among informants. For example, many, but not all, speakers accept sentences exhibiting the movement of *tous* associated with a subject clitic pronoun across a preceding *que*:

- (152) a. Il faut toutes qu'elles s'en aillent.
- b. Il faut tous qu'on se tire.<sup>79</sup>
  - a. 'It is necessary that they all go away.'
  - b. 'It's necessary that we all beat it.'

Such sentences could not be derived by application of L-*Tous* because *que* is not a V. In addition, comparable sentences with subject *tout* are not possible:

- (153) a. Il faut que tout disparaisse.
- b. \*Il faut tout que disparaisse.
- a–b. 'It's necessary that everything disappear.'

The insertion of a "dummy" *il* (as in *Il arrive trois filles*) does not help:

- (154) \*Il faut tout qu'il disparaisse.

<sup>78</sup> This, plus the fact that Q-Post always moves Q to the right, makes sentences such as (150) irrelevant to Fauconnier's (1971, III) hypothesis concerning constraints on "feature-copying" (to which hypothesis (74) is an apparent counterexample). The text analysis (which has in common with Fauconnier's the applicability of Q-Post to object NPs) renders unnecessary the use of bidirectional movement transformations (1971, V). We recall that L-*Tous* can apply across certain nominal elements treated as V; see fn. 28.

<sup>79</sup> The cooccurrence of *tous* and *on* in (152) and in (i) *On est tous parti* (with a first person plural meaning) is odd in that *on* is grammatically singular there with respect to verb agreement, yet associated with the plural *tous*. A likely solution involves postulating a deep structure containing *nous*, that is, *Nous - on* V . . . (see Kayne (1972)), from which *tous* could originate, such as [tous nous] - on V . . . , where *on* is not an NP (cf. fn. 16). The occurrence of *tous* in (ii) *C'est tous des salauds* suggests some deep structure containing a plural subject, such as *eux*. [(i) 'We all left.' (ii) 'They're all bastards.']}

The facts of (153)–(154) would imply that the rule operative in (152) is, unlike L-*Tous*, inapplicable to *tout*, unless it could be shown that the rule inserting *il* was ordered before the rule of (152) and that (153) was excludable by means of some constraint against nonimperative, noncoordinate tensed sentences lacking overt subjects.<sup>80</sup>

An understanding of the rule operative in (152) is clouded by the fact that many verbs are not compatible with the movement of *tous* across the *que* of their sentential complement, for example:

- (155) a. \*J'avoue toutes qu'elles sont là.
- b. \*Elle te dira tous qu'on est arrivé à l'heure.
- c. \*Il paraît tous qu'ils ont été assassinés.
- a. ‘I confess that they're all here.’
- b. ‘She'll tell you that we all arrived on time.’
- c. ‘It appears that they have all been murdered.’

It is also obscured by the fact that sentences like (152) with an object clitic are ungrammatical for many, but not all, of those who accept (152):

- (156) ??Il faut tous que Jean les lise.  
‘It's necessary that Jean read them all.’

A second construction subject to varied responses from informants is one relevant to the syntax of “dative” objects. As noted earlier, if a complement in *à* modified by *tous* is subject to Cl-Pl, the resulting sentence normally displays the phrase *à tous*. Thus, alongside *Cela est arrivé à tous les passants*, *Il en offrira à tous ses amis*, we have

- (157) a. Cela leur est arrivé à tous les trois.
- b. Il vous en offrira à tous.
- a. ‘That happened to all three of them.’
- b. ‘He'll give some to all of you.’

<sup>80</sup> For relevant discussion, see Perlmutter (1971, chap. 4) and Bresnan (1972).

The *à* here is necessary:

- (158) a. \*Cela leur est arrivé tous les trois.

- b. \*Cela leur est tous les trois arrivé.

- (159) \*Il vous en offrira tous.

But there are certain sentences in which *à*-less *tous* is associated with a dative clitic that are acceptable to many speakers, for example:

- (160) a. Je leur tirerai tous les deux dessus.

- b. Jean leur courait toutes après.

- c. Elle leur crachera tous à la figure.

- d. Elle leur cassera tous la gueule.

- a. ‘I’ll shoot at them both.’

- b. ‘Jean was running after them all.’

- c. ‘She’ll spit in all of their faces.’

- d. ‘She’ll break all of their necks.’

The transformation L-*Tous* is relevant to this construction in that it can move the *tous* of (160) across a past participle or infinitive in sentences like<sup>81</sup>

- (161) a. Je leur ai tous les deux tiré dessus.

- b. Elle leur a tous craché à la figure.

- c. Jean va toutes leur courir après.

- d. Elle veut tous leur casser la gueule.

We return to this construction in chapter 2, section 2.14.

<sup>81</sup> For some, the nonapplication of L-*Tous* leads to a questionable sentence: (i) ?Je leur ai tiré tous les deux dessus, (ii) ?Jean va leur courir toutes après. This may be related to the occasional acceptance of (iii) ?Il vous en a tous offert which is better than (159), though worse than (161). The movement of *à tous* in (iv) ?Cela nous est à tous arrivé, (v) ?Cela pourrait à tous nous arriver (usually felt as literary variants of sentences like (157)) should be attributed not to L-*Tous* but to a late rule repositioning PPs; cf. (vi) ?Je ne veux ni à lui ni à elle dire la vérité versus (vii) \*Je ne veux ni lui ni elle revoir demain; (viii) ?J’aurais, à ces garçons-là, permis de fumer une cigarette. [(v) ‘That could happen to all of us.’ (vi) ‘I want to tell the truth neither to him nor to her.’ (vii) ‘I want to see neither him nor her again tomorrow.’ (viii) ‘I would have allowed those boys to smoke a cigarette.’]

# 2

## Critic Placement

### Part I

#### 2.1 Introduction

Direct object NPs in French normally follow the verb:

- (1) Marie connaît mon frère.

‘Marie knows my brother.’

If the object is a personal pronoun, however, the corresponding sentence is ungrammatical:

- (2) \*Marie connaît nous.

Rather, the pronoun appears to the left of the verb:

- (3) Marie nous connaît.

‘Marie knows us.’

In section 2.2 we shall consider the best way to account for such facts within a transformational grammar. We shall argue in favor of a movement transformation, to be called “Critic Placement,” which would prepose object pronouns to the verb under certain conditions. One environment in which such a rule would be inapplicable is the *ne . . . que* construction. If the direct object pronoun is the “focus” of *ne . . . que*, it remains in the usual object position and may not precede the verb:

- (4) Marie ne connaît que nous.

‘Marie knows only us.’

- (5) \*Marie ne nous connaît que.

What interests us here is the fact that many personal pronouns have a different shape in a sentence like (3) than in one like (4):

- (6) Marie les connaît.

‘Marie knows them.’

- (7) Marie ne connaît qu’eux.

The form of the pronoun in the *ne . . . que* construction is exactly the same as that occurring in a host of other environments, for example:

- (8) a. Marie parle d'eux.
- b. Eux n'auraient pas fait ça.
- c. Ils sont intelligents, eux.
- d. J'ai fait ça pour eux.
- e. J'ai un portrait d'eux à la maison.
- a. 'Marie speaks of them.'
- b. 'They wouldn't have done that.'
- c. 'They're intelligent, them.'
- d. 'I did that for them.'
- e. 'I have a portrait of them at home.'

These can all be characterized as environments in which full NPs are allowed:

- (9) a. Marie ne connaît que mes amis.
- b. Marie parle de mes amis.
- c. Mes amis n'auraient pas fait ça.
- d. Ils sont intelligents, mes amis.
- e. J'ai fait ça pour mes amis.
- f. J'ai un portrait de mes amis à la maison.
- a. 'Marie knows only my friends.'

Let us call the form of the pronoun that occurs in these environments its "strong" form. In this class will fall *eux*, *nous*, *moi*, *toi*, *lui*, *elle*, *vous*, *elles*. Conversely, let us call the form of the pronoun that occurs in sentences like (6), that is, preposed to the verb, its "weak" or "clitic" form, or simply "clitic." The direct object clitics corresponding to the above strong forms are *les*, *nous*, *me*, *te*, *le*, *la*, *vous*, *les*.<sup>1</sup> These do not pattern at all like NPs, for example:

- (10) \*Marie ne connaît que les.

<sup>1</sup> In positive imperatives, *me* and *te* appear as *moi*, *toi*, whether accusative or dative: (i) *Il me regarde*. (ii) *Regarde-moi*; (iii) *Il me parle*. (iv) *Parle-moi*. See Schane (1967) and Foulet (1924) for further discussion. It is not clear how one should treat the contrast between (v) *Donne-m'en* and (vi) *Donne-moi-z-en* (popular).

In particular, they occur only preverbally, except in positive imperatives; neither of these positions can be occupied by an NP:

- (11) a. Marie les connaît.
- b. Présentez-les-moi.
- c. \*Marie mes amis connaît.
- d. \*Présentez-tes amis-moi.
- b. ‘Introduce them to me.’

The French pronominal paradigm thus consists of at least two parts (with some morphological overlapping): the NP-like strong forms, and the non-NP-like direct object clitics. We can further distinguish, parallel to the direct object clitics, a class of indirect object, or dative, clitics, which also occur either preverbally or in positive imperatives, and nowhere else. They are, corresponding to the strong forms listed above, *leur*, *nous*, *me*, *te*, *lui*, *vous*, *leur* (again with some morphological overlapping), as in

- (12) a. Marie leur parle.
- b. Donnez-leur-en.
- a. ‘Marie is speaking to them.’
- b. ‘Give them some.’

As before, full NPs could not occur in these positions:

- (13) a. \*Marie mes amis parle.
- b. \*Marie à mes amis parle.
- c. \*Donnez-mes amis-en.
- d. \*Donnez-à mes amis-en.

Conversely, these clitics do not occur in NP position:

- (14) a. Marie ne parle qu'à mes amis.
- b. \*Marie ne parle qu'à leur.
- a. ‘Marie speaks only to my friends.’

We see that both direct and indirect object clitics are in complemen-

tary distribution with full NPs and therefore also in complementary distribution with the NP-like strong forms:

- (15) a. Marie ne connaît qu'eux.
- b. \*Marie ne connaît que les.
- c. Marie les connaît.
- d. \*Marie eux connaît.
- e. Marie ne parle qu'à eux.
- f. \*Marie ne parle qu'à leur.
- g. Marie leur parle.
- h. \*Marie eux parle.
- i. \*Marie à eux parle.

Consequently, we would like to say, for example, that *eux*, *les*, and *leur* derive from a single lexical item that is spelled out differently depending on its position in the sentence (and on case marking). In some cases, such as *nous*, *vous*, the pronoun will have a unique spelling:

- (16) a. Marie ne connaît que nous.
- b. Marie nous connaît.
- c. Marie nous parle.

If we make the minimal assumption that pronouns are introduced as an expansion of NP,<sup>2</sup> we can generate in a straightforward manner those sentences containing the pronominal “strong” forms, as in (8). The clitics, on the other hand, appear uniquely in positions that cannot be filled by an NP; sentences containing them can therefore not be generated without additional mechanisms.

## 2.2 Justification of the Transformation Cl-Pl

Broadly speaking, we have the choice of complicating either the phrase structure rules or the transformational component, or both.

<sup>2</sup> The precise node within the NP under which they are generated is not relevant here. Postal (1966) has argued that pronouns in English are a kind of article. His analysis is criticized in Delorme and Dougherty (1972). Gross (1972) treats pronouns as pronouns.

One possibility would be to say that sentences containing clitics are generated as such in the base, that is, that the PS rules should be extended so as to allow the clitic pronouns to be generated in their surface positions. We could then claim that sentence (16)b, for example, had a deep structure essentially identical to its surface structure; that is, that an NP object appeared at neither level. An obvious difficulty with this analysis is the problem of stating subcategorization restrictions, since, restricting ourselves to the simplest cases, direct object clitics cooccur only with verbs that also take direct object NPs. Thus, *connaître*, but not *partir*, must be assigned the subcategorization “NP”:

- (17) Marie connaît Paul.

- (18) \*Marie part Paul.

‘Marie is going away Paul.’

Consequently, *connaître*, but not *partir*, may be preceded by a direct object clitic:

- (19) Marie le connaît.

‘Marie knows him.’

- (20) \*Marie le part.

Now in the analysis at issue, clitics are being introduced as distinct from NPs; therefore, a feature “NP” will say nothing about what, if any, clitics may cooccur with the verb. One could, however, postulate a kind of lexical redundancy rule that assigned the subcategorization feature “direct object clitic  ” to all verbs already having the feature “NP,” and similarly for indirect objects. In this way, *connaître*, but not *partir*, would be assigned the feature “direct object clitic  ”, thereby allowing (19) while excluding (20).

A solution involving a lexical redundancy rule of the form described above fails, however, in the case of clitics that do not correspond to any object of the verb they precede in surface structure, that is, in the case of clitics “moving up” from some “lower” deep structure constituent. Consider, for example:

- (21) a. Jean est fidèle à ses parents.  
 b. Jean restera fidèle à ses parents.

- a. ‘Jean is faithful to his parents.’
- b. ‘Jean will remain faithful to his parents.’

- (22) a. Jean leur est fidèle.  
 b. Jean leur restera fidèle.

In surface structure, the clitic *leur* precedes the verbs *être* and *rester*, although it corresponds to a deep structure complement of the adjective *fidèle*. If we replace *fidèle* in (22) by an adjective that does not take a dative complement, the result is ungrammatical:

- (23) a. \*Jean leur est originaire.  
 b. \*Jean leur restera originaire.  
 a. ‘Jean is a native of them.’

Furthermore, neither *être* nor *rester* can be preceded by a dative clitic if followed by a place adverbial rather than an adjective:

- (24) a. \*Jean leur est à Paris.  
 b. \*Jean leur restera à Paris.  
 a. ‘Jean is in Paris to them.’

It is therefore the adjective, and not the verb, in (21)–(22), which will be subcategorized in the lexicon with respect to the dative complement. A lexical redundancy rule would then be unable to assign the feature “dative clitic \_\_\_\_” to the verb. The clitic of (22) could consequently not be generated in its surface position by the PS rules.

A comparable point is made by the following constructions:

- (25) a. Elle m'en semble capable.  
 b. Tout le monde en croyait Jean capable.  
 c. Elle m'y semble sensible.  
 d. Tout le monde l'y croyait sensible.  
 a. ‘She seems to me to be capable of it.’  
 b. ‘Everyone thought Jean capable of it.’  
 c. ‘She seems to me to be sensitive to it.’  
 d. ‘Everyone thought him sensitive to it.’

The clitics *en* and *y* here precede the verbs *sembler* and *croire* in surface structure. They correspond, however, to complements of *capable* and *sensible*, so that a lexical redundancy rule would have no way of assigning a feature “*y*—,” “*en*—” to the verbs themselves (since *sembler* and *croire* will not be subcategorized for the prepositional complements from which *en* and *y* derive). Similarly, in the *faire faire quelque chose par quelqu'un* construction,<sup>3</sup> the verb *faire* may be preceded by a clitic corresponding to a complement of the embedded infinitive:

- (26) *On lui fera porter ces valises par le domestique.*

‘We'll have these valises taken to him by the servant.’

The clitic *lui* in (26) is a deep structure object of *porter*:

- (27) *Le domestique lui portera ces valises.*

‘The servant will take him these valises.’

Again, such examples show that there is in general no way to determine in the lexicon the surface cooccurrence restrictions between verbs and clitics. These restrictions depend not only on the choice of complement, here a sentential complement to *faire*, but also on the particular lexical item chosen inside the complement. Compare, for example, (26)–(27) with

- (28) \**On lui fera tuer par le domestique.*

- (29) \**Le domestique lui tuera.*

‘The servant will kill to him.’

The verb *faire* can be preceded by a dative clitic in (26), but not in (28), precisely because the verb in the complement sentence in (26) happens to take dative complements. At the very least, verb-clitic restrictions cannot be determined until after lexical insertion.

An even more serious problem derives from cases in which a clitic corresponds to a complement formed by transformation.<sup>4</sup> For exam-

<sup>3</sup> The distribution of clitics in both this construction and the one with *croire* are discussed in greater detail in later chapters; see especially chapter 4.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence (i) *Jean n'est pas aimé de ses enfants mais il n'en est pas détesté non plus* would be such a case, if there were a rule taking *de* + *eux* into *en*. The derivation of (i) would then include *Eux ne détestent pas lui* → *Lui n'est pas détesté de + eux* → *Lui n'est pas détesté en*.

ple, we shall argue in chapters 3 and 4 that the dative complement in (30) is derived transformationally from the underlying subject of the sentence embedded under *faire*:

- (30) Je ferai lire ce livre à Jean.

‘I’ll have Jean read this book.’

This complement, if a pronoun, appears as a clitic preceding *faire*:

- (31) Je lui ferai lire ce livre.

Moreover, the relevant transformation is sensitive to the presence of a direct object in the embedded sentence:

- (32) a. Je lui ferai boire du vin.

b. \*Je lui ferai boire.

a. ‘I’ll have him drink some wine.’

This kind of information is not available to a lexical redundancy rule based on strict subcategorization features.

We conclude that verb-clitic restrictions cannot in general be determined in the lexicon. This conclusion is inconsistent with an analysis in which sentences like (33) are derived from structures not containing an object NP:

- (33) Marie nous connaît.

In more complicated sentences, lexical redundancy rules cannot provide the necessary information to predict which clitics, if any, can occur with a particular verb.

A second kind of argument involves the word *tous*, which was discussed in the preceding chapter; there we argued that the distribution of *tous* in surface structure should in part be described by postulating a movement transformation, L-*Tous*. Specifically, having a transfor-

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It is, however, not clear that such a rule exists (see section 2.11).

Another kind of example in which a lexical redundancy rule would be implausible would be one in which the verb in question was inserted by transformation. One candidate is the passive auxiliary *être*, as in (ii) *Ce bouquin lui sera offert par son mari*. (For a formulation of the Passive transformation, see section 3.6.) [(i) Jean is not loved by his children, but he’s not hated by them either.’ (ii) ‘This book will be given to her by her husband.’]

mation L-*Tous* allowed us to capture the generalization about the distribution of *tous* and *tout*, as well as the generalization concerning clitics and relative pronouns, and made unnecessary an interpretive principle formally associating *tous* with an NP or clitic. An analysis based on the transformation L-*Tous*, however, depends crucially on quantifiers being generated as part of object NPs, in particular as part of object NPs that are subsequently subject to Clitic Placement (or *Wh* Movement), and is therefore inconsistent with an analysis in which sentences such as (33) are generated directly as deep structures. We consequently reject such an analysis of clitics.

We note in addition that an analysis that generated both (33) and (34) as deep structures would have difficulty excluding (35):

(34) Marie connaît mes amis.

(35) \*Marie la connaît mes amis.

This is true since *connaitre* would be subcategorized both with respect to following direct object NPs and preceding direct object clitics. In particular, the sequence clitic + verb + object NP is permissible if the clitic is dative:

(36) Marie leur donnera mes livres.

'Marie will give them my books.

Some ad hoc convention would be needed to avoid this difficulty.

None of the preceding problems arises in a theory that has clitics derived transformationally from pronouns introduced in NP position. Assume that pronouns can occur freely under the node NP. This assumption is independently necessary to generate sentences containing the strong forms of the pronouns, as in (8). Let us further assume that there is a transformation called Clitic Placement (Cl-Pl) that moves direct and indirect object pronouns to preverbal position under certain conditions. Thus sentence (33) would be derived from a structure resembling

(37) \*Marie connaît nous.

Cl-Pl would apply, moving the object pronoun to the left of the verb. Sentence (35) is no longer a problem; it could have arisen only if *connaitre* could be followed by two direct object NPs, which is impossi-

ble. In addition, such a theory is completely consistent with the transformation *L-Tous*, as outlined in chapter 1.

Finally, the various difficulties involving the statement of subcategorization features disappear, given that the pronouns are now being introduced parallel to NPs; in fact, there will no longer be any reason to speak of verb-clitic cooccurrence restrictions in any of the cases discussed above.

For example, consider the following sentence:

- (38) Jean nous est fidèle.

‘Jean is faithful to us.’

In this case nothing need be said in the lexicon about clitics appearing before *être*; (38) will be derived from a structure resembling

- (39) \*Jean est fidèle à nous.

Cl-Pl will apply, moving the pronoun to the left of *être*; the occurrence of the sequence clitic + *être* will be a derivational fact. Sentences such as (20) or (40) will be ruled out automatically:

- (40) \*Jean nous part.

‘Jean is going away us.’

The latter could have come only from \**Jean part nous*, which will never be generated, since *partir* will not have the subcategorization feature “\_\_\_\_NP.” We conclude that a theory containing a movement transformation, Cl-Pl, is superior to one in which sentences of the form subject + object-clitic + verb are generated in the base.

There is, however, an intermediate possibility. The difficulties with the analysis just rejected were really due to the idea of generating deep structures containing preverbal clitics “instead of” postverbal NPs. The lack of the object NP prevented the optimal statement of subcategorization restrictions and did not allow full advantage to be taken of the rule *L-Tous*. Might it not be possible to generate clitics in the base in addition to, rather than instead of, object NPs?

In the first analysis that we discussed and rejected, sentences such as (41) corresponded directly to deep structures:

- (41) Marie nous connaît.

In the Cl-Pl analysis, the deep structure of (41) is essentially

(42) \*Marie connaît nous.<sup>5</sup>

The third possibility is to generate deep structures of the form *\*Marie nous connaît nous*. Then, rather than having a movement rule, one could postulate a Pronoun Deletion rule (Pro-Del) that deleted the NP-dominated pronoun just in case there was an identical one in clitic position. The derivation of (41) would be *Marie nous connaît nous* → Pro-Del → *Marie nous connaît*. Within this framework, the problem of subcategorization does not arise. The deep structure of (26) would be approximately *On lui fera [le domestique portera ces valises à lui par Δ]*. The presence of *à lui* in the deep structure eliminates the subcategorization problems. Pro-Del would apply at the appropriate time to delete the second *lui*. In fact, this example suggests that Pro-Del could be formulated as a kind of inverse of Cl-Pl that would apply at the same point in the sequence of transformations. Assume that Cl-Pl is stated as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Cl-Pl:  $X \ V \ Y \ \text{Pro} \ Z \rightarrow 1 \ 4 \ +2 \ 3 \ 5$   
 $1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5$

Then Pro-Del could be written:

$X \ \text{Pro}_i + V \ Y \ \text{Pro}_i \ Z \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ \emptyset \ 6$   
 $1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6$

There are, however, certain considerations which favor the Cl-Pl analysis on formal grounds. First, the Pro-Del hypothesis involves a considerable extension of the PS rules, which would be generating both accusative and dative clitics, as well as *en* and *y*, without a corresponding simplification of the transformational component. A second

<sup>5</sup> In addition to serving as a source for clitics, such deep structures play a role in the derivation of other constructions: (i) *Nous sommes connus de Marie*. (ii) *Nous sommes faciles à connaître*. The passive transformation applies to (42) to derive the former, while in the deep structure of the latter, *connaître*, is followed by an object, *nous*. Additional arguments along these lines can be found in Gross (1968). [(i) 'We are known by Marie.' (ii) 'We are easy to know.']}

<sup>6</sup> The formal statement of Cl-Pl is considered in more detail in Part IV of this chapter. We note that under the Pro-Del hypothesis the ill-formedness of (42) could not be attributed simply to obligatoriness (of Cl-Pl; see 2.16, 2.17), but would require a separate output constraint of a sort unclear (in light of (200), (339), and chapter 5, example (44)).

consideration is that although the Pro-Del hypothesis allows the correct statement of subcategorization facts, it requires a complicated filtering mechanism to make things come out right. Since one is generating both clitic and NP objects, one will generate, alongside *Marie nous connaît nous*, the following deep structures:

- (43) a. \**Marie nous connaît toi.*
- b. \**Marie les connaît ton ami.*

In addition, unless a lexical redundancy rule (of the type already shown to be inadequate in the general case) is introduced, one will also generate

- (44) a. \**Marie nous part.*
- b. \**Marie leur aime.*
- b. ‘Marie loves to them.’

In order to exclude (43) and (44), one would need to say, in effect, that if the structural description of Pro-Del is not met for every clitic in the sentence, the sentence is blocked. No such mechanism is needed in the Cl-Pl analysis. We consequently consider that pronouns must be introduced into clitic position via a movement transformation.

### **2.3 Comparison of Cl-Pl and L-Tous**

We have argued in favor of a transformation Cl-Pl, which moves certain pronouns to the left. The transformation L-Tous, discussed in chapter 1, also moves certain elements to the left. The two rules are otherwise significantly different, in a number of ways.

First, Cl-Pl, but not L-Tous, can place an element before a finite verb:

- (45) a. *Paul le lira.*
- b. \**Paul tout lira.*
- a/b. ‘Paul will read it/everything.’

For most speakers, a similar contrast is available with the present participle:

- (46) a. *En les mettant dans ton sac, . . .*

- b. \*En tout mettant dans ton sac, . . .
- a/b. ‘By putting them/everything in your bag, . . .’

On the other hand, L-*Tous*, but not Cl-Pl, can place an element to the left of a past participle:

- (47) a. Elle a tout lu.
- b. \*Elle a les lu.
  - a/b. ‘She has read everything/them.’

Another difference is that L-*Tous* is an optional transformation, whereas Cl-Pl, especially with accusatives, is generally obligatory:

- (48) a. Il a compris presque tout.
- b. Il a presque tout compris.
  - c. Elle a lu tout à haute voix.
  - d. Elle a tout lu à haute voix.
- a–b. ‘He understood almost everything.’
- c–d. ‘She read everything out loud.’

- (49) a. Elle nous connaît.
- b. \*Elle connaît nous.

Correlated with this is the fact that *tout* often can be moved into one of several positions, but clitics cannot:

- (50) a. On va faire tout lire à votre fils.
- b. On va tout faire lire à votre fils.
  - c. \*On va faire le lire à votre fils.
  - d. On va le faire lire à votre fils.
- a–b/c–d. ‘We’re going to have your son read everything/it.’

- (51) a. Le petit va vouloir tout faire.
- b. Le petit va tout vouloir faire.
  - c. Celui-là va vouloir le faire.
  - d. \*Celui-là va le vouloir faire.

a–b. ‘The little guy is going to want to do everything.’

c–d. ‘That guy is going to want to do it.’

Paradigm (51) also shows how *tout* can be “moved up further” than clitics.

Furthermore, the derived structure assigned by Cl-Pl is not the same as that assigned by L-Tous. Nothing (except other clitics) can intervene between clitic and verb:<sup>7</sup>

- (52) a. \*Paul lui, paraît-il, parlera.
- b. \*Elle va les beaucoup apprécier.
- a. ‘Paul will, it appears, speak to her.’
- b. ‘She’s going to appreciate them a lot.’

<sup>7</sup> There are marginal exceptions. Many speakers accept sentences like these: (i) *Il vaudrait mieux n'en pas parler*. (ii) *Craignant d'en trop dire . . .* (iii) *Il prétend n'y rien comprendre*. This construction, which is usually judged to be archaic (see Dauzat (1941) and Galet (1971)) is limited to the clitics *y* and *en* before infinitives, and then only if there is no other clitic present: (iv) \**Il vaudrait mieux n'en pas lui parler*. (v) \**Il vaudrait mieux ne lui en pas parler*. (vi) \**Craignant de lui trop dire . . .* (vii) \**Il a envie de ne nous plus voir*. (viii) \**Il a envie de ne se pas taire*. The corresponding grammatical constructions are rather the following, where the clitic(s) are not separated from the verb: (ix) *Il vaudrait mieux ne pas lui en parler*. (x) *Craignant de trop lui dire . . .* (xi) *Il a envie de ne plus nous voir*. (xii) *Il a envie de ne pas se taire*.

Interestingly, *en* and *y* also survived longer than the other clitics in another construction. In earlier stages of French, sentences such as the following were possible: (xiii) \**On en voudrait acheter trois*. (xiv) \**Tu la pourras voir demain*. (xv) \**Vous lui devriez parler à ce sujet*. Apparently, this structure remained viable with *en* and *y* distinctly longer than with the accusative and dative clitics (see Fraser, Squair, and Parker (1948), Sandfeld (1965, I), Goosse (1952), and Dabbs (1948)).

Another kind of marginal exception to the inseparability of clitic and verb, for some speakers, is shown in (xvi) *On tient à nous mal juger*, where *mal juger* seems to be treated as a compound. With a finite verb, however, that is not possible: (xvii) \**Pierre nous mal jugera*.

We note that both here and in *n'en pas . . .*, infinitives are distinguished from finite verbs. This may be related to the fact that in Old French, with the one exception of infinitives in negative imperatives, object clitics did not appear before infinitives (see Foulet (1968), Holmes (1923), and Wagner (1974, pp. 192–197)). [(i) ‘It would be better not to speak of it.’ (ii) ‘Fearing to say too much about it . . .’ (iii) ‘He claims not to understand anything therein.’ (xi) ‘He feels like not seeing us anymore.’ (xii) ‘He feels like not keeping quiet.’ (xiii) ‘We’d like to buy three of them.’ (xiv) ‘You can see her tomorrow.’ (xv) ‘You should speak to her about that.’ (xvi) ‘They’re anxious to judge us badly.’]

However, note the following:

- (53) a. Il les a tous, paraît-il, donnés aux pauvres.
- b. Il les a, paraît-il, tous donnés aux pauvres.
- c. Elle voudrait tous mieux les connaître.
- d. Tu as tout très bien compris.
- a–b. ‘He has, it appears, given them all to the poor.’
- c. ‘She would like to know them all better.’
- d. ‘You understood everything very well.’

This difference in derived structure is reflected in the behavior of clitics and *tout* (along with *rien*) with respect to the phonological rule of truncation. Subsequent to the application of L-*Tous*, the final consonant of *tout*, *rien* need not be pronounced if followed by a verb beginning with a vowel:<sup>8</sup>

- (54) a. Il va tou~~y~~ acheter.
- b. Il ne va rien~~y~~ acheter.
- a/b. ‘He’s going to buy everything/nothing.’

With clitics, the comparable truncation is impossible:

- (55) a. \*Il va les acheter.
- b. \*Il va en~~y~~ acheter.

The transformation L-*Tous* can, in addition, move certain other elements along with the quantifier; Cl-Pl can never move a “modified” pronoun:

- (56) a. Elle les a tous les trois mis à la porte.
- b. Elle aimait tous les deux les mettre à la porte.
- c. \*Cette fille nous deux connaît très bien.
- d. \*Elle aimait vous trois revoir demain.
- e. \*Elle va nous autres offrir un cadeau.

<sup>8</sup> The same is true if an intervening object clitic begins with a vowel: (i) *On va tou~~y~~ y mettre*. (ii) *On ne va rien~~y~~ y mettre*. (iii) \**On va les y mettre*. Within the “verb group,” that is, clitic(s) + verb (see fn. 18), truncation is impossible before vowels. We recall that *tous* itself is idiosyncratic with respect to truncation (see fn. 1, chapter 1). [(i)/(ii)/(iii) ‘We’re going to put everything/nothing/them there.’]

- a. ‘She threw all three of them out.’
- b. ‘She’d like to throw both of them out.’
- c. ‘That girl knows the two of us very well.’
- d. ‘She’d like to see the three of you again tomorrow.’
- e. ‘She’s going to give us others a present.’

Finally, the placement of *tout*, but not that of clitics, can be sensitive to the presence of adverbs:

- (57) a. Il a voulu obstinément tout manger.  
 b. Il a obstinément tout voulu manger.  
 c. \*?Il a tout voulu obstinément manger.  
 a–c. ‘He obstinately wanted to eat everything.’

Cl-Pl can move clitics across adverbs freely:

- (58) a. Il les a obstinément mangé trop vite.  
 b. Tu l’aurais sans aucun doute trouvé formidable.  
 a. ‘He obstinately ate them too quickly.’  
 b. ‘You would without any doubt have thought it fantastic.’

The various properties of L-*Tous* just referred to have already been discussed in detail in chapter 1. L-*Tous* is an optional transformation that moves material dominated by a quantifier node over a directly preceding infinitive or past participle. The derived structure assigned by L-*Tous* does not involve attachment to the verb form in question. The quite different properties of Cl-Pl will be investigated in the present chapter.

The observations of this section correlate with the conclusion reached in chapter 1 concerning ordering. Cl-Pl and L-*Tous* are distinct rules, with Cl-Pl applying prior to L-*Tous* in sentences like (56)a–b.

## 2.4 Properties and Derived Structure of Clitics

In this section we shall be concerned with the derived structure assigned by the Cl-Pl transformation. We shall argue that the pronoun is not attached as a sister to the verb, both then dominated by VP; rather, the pronoun and verb are more closely bound together. In

particular, we shall argue that the sequence critic + verb is itself dominated by the node V.

We have already noticed, in the previous section, certain properties of the sequence critic + verb, for example, that nothing (except other clitics) could intervene between the two elements, and that the critic could not be modified. In this context we can mention a further fact about clitics, namely that they cannot be contrastively stressed. Thus one cannot say, with contrastive stress on the critic:

- (59) \*Jean la préfère.

'Jean prefers her.'

One would instead say something like

- (60) C'est elle que Jean préfère.

'It's her that Jean prefers.'

This is true even if the critic is phonologically identical to the corresponding strong form:

- (61) \*Je lui parlerai.

'I'll speak to him.'

- (62) a. Lui n'aurait pas fait ça.

b. Je l'ai acheté pour lui, pas pour toi.<sup>9</sup>

a. 'He wouldn't have done that.'

b. 'I bought it for him, not for you.'

These observations suggest that the sequence critic + verb does not have the same status as, for example, subject NP + verb or verb + object NP. In the latter constructions, the nominal element can be contrastively stressed, as in (62), and the sequence can be broken up:

- (63) a. Jean, paraît-il, est amateur de boxe.

b. Jean voit souvent Marie.

<sup>9</sup> Although it cannot be contrastively stressed, the critic may occur in contrastive environments (for further discussion, see Franzen (1939)): (i) *Je lui parlerai volontiers, mais pas à sa femme*. The above is acceptable, in addition to (ii) *Je parlerai volontiers à lui, mais pas à sa femme*. [(i)–(ii) 'I'll gladly speak to him but not to his wife.']}

- a. 'Jean, it appears, is a boxing fan.'
- b. 'Jean sees Marie often.'

If clitic and verb were sisters under a VP node, we would not expect them to act differently.

Another characteristic of clitics is that they cannot be conjoined:

- (64) \*Jean la et le voit.

Furthermore, they occur in a fixed order,<sup>10</sup> which is in certain cases the opposite of the natural order of complements:

- (65) a. Jean me le donnera.

- b. \*Jean le me donnera.

- a–b. 'Jean will give it to me.'

- (66) a. Jean donnera cela à Marie.

- b. ?Jean donnera à Marie cela.

The above, while not conclusive, does suggest that the sequence clitic + verb has some special syntactic status. This close link between clitic and verb is further reflected in the fact that the clitics may not occur at all in the absence of any verb:

- (67) a. Qui as-tu vu?

- b. Lui/elle/eux. \*Le/la/les.

- a–b. 'Who did you see? Him. Her. Them.'

We shall proceed by noting the relevance to this question of the subject clitics, which likewise provide a striking contrast with full NPs. Then we shall argue that certain transformations treat the sequence object clitic + verb as a constituent, in fact, as a verb.

Up to this point, we have been concentrating our attention on what we have been calling object clitics. We have argued that their unique position in surface structure is to be accounted for by a transformation Cl-Pl, and we have noted several interesting properties that they possess. We recall that French pronouns have strong forms that pattern like true NPs, and that the object clitics for the most part are morphologically distinguishable from them.

<sup>10</sup> Certain clitic sequences are excluded entirely, such as \*me lui, \*se me. This kind of problem is discussed in Perlmutter (1971).

There is another class of pronouns in French that are morphologically distinct from both the strong forms and the object clitics; these occur in what is apparently subject position and are as follows: *je, tu, il, elle, nous, vous, ils, elles* (again we notice a certain morphological overlapping with the strong forms).<sup>11</sup> These subject pronouns seem to occupy the same position in surface structure as full NP subjects:

- (68) a. Jean partira bientôt.  
 b. Il partira bientôt.  
 a/b. 'Jean/He will leave soon.'

However, these subject clitics, as we shall call them for reasons that will become clear, share all the significant characteristic behavior of the object clitics.<sup>12</sup>

Nothing can intervene between subject clitic and verb:

- (69) a. \*Il, paraît-il, est fou.  
 b. \*Il, souvent, mange du fromage.  
 a. 'He, it appears, is crazy.'  
 b. 'He often eats cheese.'
- (70) a. Jean, paraît-il, est fou.  
 b. Jean, souvent, mange du fromage.

Nor may the subject clitics be modified:

- (71) a. \*Ils tous partiront bientôt.  
 b. \*Ils deux partiront bientôt.
- (72) a. Tous les garçons partiront bientôt.  
 b. Eux tous partiront bientôt.

<sup>11</sup> The class of subject clitics also includes *on* and *ce*. For detailed discussion of their peculiarities, as well as the question of the deep structure origin of subject clitics, see Kayne (1972).

<sup>12</sup> A number of these characteristics of clitics are pointed out in Gross (1968) and Schane (1967), as well as in many traditional works. We shall not attempt to give references to all the grammarians who noticed a particular fact, unless some claim was made as to its linguistic relevance. See the bibliography for a list of more traditional works on French grammar that have touched on the topics being considered in this book. Especially insightful in this regard are Sandfeld (1965, I) and Martinon (1927), which we have consulted extensively. In addition, Bissel's (1947) chapter on *faire* was particularly useful.

c. *Eux deux partiront bientôt.*

a/b/c. ‘All the boys/all of them/the two of them will leave soon.’

Nor may they be conjoined, as shown in (73) versus (74):

(73) a. \**Jean et il partiront bientôt.*

b. \**Il et Jean partiront bientôt.*

c. \**Il et elle partiront bientôt.*

(74) a. *Jean et lui partiront bientôt.*

b. *Lui et Jean partiront bientôt.*

Furthermore, they may not be contrastively stressed:<sup>13</sup>

(75) a. *Lui partira le premier.*

b. \**Il partira le premier.*

a–b. ‘He will leave first.’

Finally, they act differently from subject NPs with respect to the phonological rule of truncation. In conversational style, the plural morpheme *s* of a subject NP is always truncated, even before verbs beginning with a vowel. The relevant part of sentence (76) is pronounced / . . . amiir . . . / and not \*/ . . . amizir . . . /:

(76) *Mes amis iront à Paris.*

The *s* of a plural subject clitic, on the other hand, cannot be truncated. Sentence (77) is pronounced /i(l)zir . . . / and not \*/ilir . . . /:<sup>14</sup>

(77) *Ils iront à Paris.*

‘They will go to Paris.’

<sup>13</sup> Subject clitics may, however, receive heavy stress in “extralinguistic” environments: (i) *Ils prétendent que . . . Qui ça, ils?* For additional examples, see Sandfeld (1965, I, p. 2).

Apart from this construction, the subject clitics, like the object clitics, may not occur in the absence of a verb: (ii) *Qui viendra avec nous? Moi. Lui.* \**Je/il;* (iii) *Jean préfère les carottes et Marie les olives,* (iv) *Jean préfère les carottes et moi (\*je) les olives;* (v) *Il est plus grand que toi (\*tu).* Normal phrase-final stress may happen to fall on a clitic: (vi) *Partiront-ils?* (vii) *Fais-le.* [(i) ‘They claim that . . . Who’s “they”?’ (iv) ‘Jean prefers carrots and I olives.’ (v) ‘He’s bigger than you.’]

<sup>14</sup> Similarly for the sequence subject + object clitic (cf. fn. 8): (i) *Mes amis en parleront,* (ii) \**Ils en parleront;* (iii) *Mes amis y vont demain,* (iv) \**Ils y vont demain.*

We note that, as expected, truncation is likewise impossible between an object clitic and the verb to which it is attached: *Il nous irrite* is pronounced /i(l)nuzirit/ and not \*/i(l)nuirit/.

In various ways, then, the subject clitics behave much more like object clitics than like subject NPs. This suggests that, at least in surface structure, they are not in the configuration  $S[NP[subject\ clitic]\dots]$  but are syntactically more closely bound to the verb.<sup>15</sup> Again, assigning a derived structure to the sequence subject clitic + verb such that they are sisters dominated by VP is unlikely to lead to a satisfying explanation for these phenomena, since other pairs of VP-dominated nodes share none of the cliticlike properties.

In effect, we are claiming that the French pronominal system contains a linguistically significant distinction between clitics (subject and object) and nonclitics (strong forms). Interesting confirmation of the relationship between subject and object clitics comes from consideration of pronouns referring to inanimate things. There is a restriction, for many speakers, such that the strong form of the pronoun cannot readily refer to such inanimates, for example:<sup>16</sup>

- (78) a. ?Ses livres, il ne pense plus à eux.
- b. ?Ce livre-là, elle ne lit plus que lui.
- a. ‘His books, he doesn’t think about them anymore.’
- b. ‘That book, she no longer reads anything but it.’

Significantly, neither subject nor object clitics are subject to this restriction:

- (79) a. Il n’est pas mal, ton bouquin.
- b. On le lit partout, ton bouquin.
- a. ‘It’s not bad, your book.’

<sup>15</sup> The idea that subject pronouns in French are bound to the verb is not new (see various traditional works); the precise questions of domination by V or NP as well as of the interaction of node configurations and syntactic rules (here, transformations) are, of course, meaningful (and necessary) only within the framework of a formal theory.

<sup>16</sup> For further discussion, see Gross (1968, p. 52), Ruwet (1969), Sandfeld (1965, I, pp. 75 ff.) and Foulet (1968, p. 133). The possibility of interpreting the strong forms as inanimates may well depend on the choice of verb. The mechanism at issue might be looked at as a principle favoring a human interpretation of overt occurrences of the pronominal strong forms, and operative at a relatively late stage in the derivation (for example, after Cl-Pl).

b. ‘People are reading it everywhere, your book.’

- (80) Je leur ferai prendre l’air, à mes vêtements.<sup>17</sup>

‘I’ll air them out, my clothes.’

In light of the other similarities between the two kinds of clitics, we claim this to be a significant generalization.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, we note that in French clitics are the only kinds of pronouns that are morphologically distinguished for case:

- (81) a. Ils sont partis.

b. Cet enfant les voit.

c. Sa mère leur parlera.

a. ‘They left.’

<sup>17</sup> Dative clitics can refer to inanimates only with certain verbs and adjectives (see also fn. 98). Still, with these verbs and adjectives, clitics contrast with nonclitics; compare (80) to (i) ?*C'est à eux que j'ai fait prendre l'air*.

<sup>18</sup> Subject clitics are, of course, distinct from object clitics with respect to positioning within the verb group, where by the informal term “verb group” we mean that material dominated by the node V. The term “verb group” will therefore not cover the sequence auxiliary + past participle, which is not dominated by the node V: (i) *Ils ont sans doute presque tous presque tout très bien compris*. Within the verb group, subject clitics precede object clitics. The derivation of subject clitics, that is, their origin in deep structure and the means by which they are placed under the node V, is discussed in Kayne (1972). The analysis proposed therein suggests that subject clitics might be attached to the verb at a later stage than are object clitics, from which their relative position could follow. A late incorporation into the verb group of the subject clitics might also account for the fact that they do not enter into any of the constraints on clitic sequences (for example, such constraints might be operative while the subject clitics are not yet dominated by the node V): (ii) \**Paul vous lui présentera*. (iii) \**Vous me rappelez-vous?* versus (iv) *Vous lui présenterez Paul*. (v) *Vous me rappelez Paul*.

The negative particle *ne* occurs between subject clitic and object clitic(s), as in (vi) *Il ne m'en parle jamais*, and must therefore be dominated by the node V (with finite verbs). This correlates with the following contrast: (vii) *Jean, paraît-il, ne partira pas*. (viii) \**Jean ne, paraît-il, partira pas*. Though a clitic with finite verbs, *ne* is usually not a verbal clitic with infinitives: (ix) *Il a envie de ne plus jamais rien acheter*. (x) *Il a promis de ne tout dire qu'à sa femme*. (xi) *Il a promis de ne plus très bien jouer*. Perhaps *ne* should originate within a constituent *ne pas/plus* in all cases and be attached to the finite verb by transformation (after Cl-Pl and before subject clitic attachment). If the attachment of *ne* to the verb depended on the prior displacement of *pas* (or *plus*), the nonattachment to the infinitives above would correlate with the following: (xii) *Il a envie de ne pas acheter cela*. (xiii) \**Il a envie de n'acheter pas cela*. Such an analysis would imply that *pas* is deleted in sentences, for example, with *ne . . . rien*. [(i) ‘They have no doubt almost all understood almost everything very well.’ (ii) ‘Paul will introduce you to her.’ (iii) ‘Do you remember me?’ (iv) ‘You will introduce Paul to her.’ (v) ‘You remind me of Paul.’]

- b. 'That child sees them.'
  - c. 'His mother will speak to them.'
- (82) a. *Eux ne seraient pas partis.*  
 b. *L'enfant ne voit qu'eux.*  
 c. *Sa mère ne parlera qu'à eux.*

Returning to subject clitics, we find evidence supporting their distinct character in the consideration of certain syntactic transformations. For example, one construction that distinguishes subject clitics from subject NPs involves a transformation, which we shall call Stylistic Inversion (Styl-Inv), that effects the inversion of subject and verb in sentences such as the following:

- (83) *Elle sait très bien à quelle heure partira ton frère.*  
 'She knows very well at what time your brother will leave.'

- (84) *Voilà ce que dira ton amie.*  
 'That's what your friend will say.'

Subject clitics, on the other hand, cannot be inverted here:

- (85) \**Elle sait très bien à quelle heure partira-t-il.*  
 (86) \**Voilà ce que dira-t-elle.*

Rather than place an ad hoc restriction on Styl-Inv, it would be preferable to say that the ungrammaticality of (85), (86) follows from the special status of subject clitics. For example, suppose Styl-Inv were stated as follows, where  $A_{+wh}$  stands for an interrogative or relative element, and  $X$  is a variable:

$$s[A_{+wh} \text{ NP } V \text{ } X] \rightarrow s[A_{+wh} \text{ } V \text{ } X \text{ NP}]$$

Furthermore, suppose subject clitics, at the point of application of Styl-Inv, were not dominated by the node NP; then (85), (86) would be accounted for.<sup>19</sup>

There is another inversion rule in French which we shall call Sub-

<sup>19</sup> In fact, the explanation for (85), (86) is probably more complicated. See Kayne (1972) for an alternative proposal (still, however, dependent on subject clitics' not being NPs and being attached under the node V in surface structure), necessitated by the claim that Styl-Inv applies prior to the attachment of the subject clitics to the verb.

ject Clitic Inversion (Subj-Cl-Inv). This rule applies to subject clitics, to the exclusion of subject NPs:<sup>20</sup>

- (87) a. Partira-t-il?
- b. \*Partira Jean?
- a/b. ‘Will he/Jean leave?’

And it thereby reinforces the significance of the distinction in French between subject clitics and subject NPs.

The rule of Subj-Cl-Inv also plays a role in the derivation of the “complex inversion” construction. In this construction, a subject NP appears to the left of the verb, and a subject clitic is attached to the right of the verb:

- (88) a. Pourquoi Jean est-il parti?
- b. Cela est-il vrai?
- a. ‘Why did Jean leave?’
- b. ‘Is that true?’

The distinction between subject clitics and subject NPs allows an explanation for the following contrasts:

- (89) a. Cela est-il vrai?
- b. \*C'est-il vrai?<sup>21</sup>
- c. Quelqu'un nous attend-il?
- d. \*On nous attend-il?
- c-d. ‘Is someone waiting for us?’

If (88)b, for example, is derived from *Cela il est vrai*, where the first element is a subject NP and the second a subject clitic, then the construction should be impossible for subjects that are not NPs. The elements *ce* and *on* are not NPs but clitics (being subject to Subj-Cl-Inv):

- (90) a. Est-ce vrai?

<sup>20</sup> The inversion in *Quand partira Jean?* is to be attributed to Styl-Inv; see Kayne (1972), where in addition the transformation Subj-Cl-Inv is formalized.

<sup>21</sup> In popular French, such a sentence (without the *l*) represents, not inversion, but rather the use of an interrogative marker: (i) *T'es-ti malade?* [(i) ‘Are you sick?’]

- b. Nous attend-on?
- a. ‘Is that true?’
- b. ‘Is someone waiting for us?’

Thus they cannot appear in a string such as *\*On il nous attend*. The starred sentences of (89) are therefore not derivable.<sup>22</sup>

The particular character of subject clitics is further borne out by the fact that they exhibit all the properties of clitics discussed earlier even when attached to the right of the verb (as a result of Subj-Cl-Inv). Their attachment to the verb is reflected phonologically in the appearance of *t* in the following type of sentence:

- (91) a. Quand partira-t-il?  
 b. \*Quand partira il?  
 a–b. ‘When will he leave?’

Compare these examples:

- (92) a. Quand partira Yves?  
 b. \*Quand partira-t-Yves?

Syntactically, their special status is again illustrated by their not occurring with modifiers:<sup>23</sup>

- (93) a. \*Partiront-ils deux?  
 b. \*Viendrez-vous autres?

It is also shown by their not being separable from the verb:

- (94) a. \*Quand partira donc il?  
 b. Quand partira donc Jean?  
 a/b. ‘When will he/Jean leave then?’

And it is indicated by their not being able to be conjoined:

- (95) a. \*Partiront il et elle?  
 b. \*Viendrez tu et Jean?

<sup>22</sup> A formal derivation of the complex inversion construction is given in Kayne (1972).

<sup>23</sup> They can be “modified” if “modifier” and clitic do not form a constituent. Thus (i) *Viendront-ils tous?* is parallel to (ii) *Ils viendront tous* (cf. (iii) \**Ils partiront deux*, (iv) \**Vous viendrez autres*). [(i) ‘Will they all come?’]

Very similar to these observations about postposed subject clitics are the following facts about postposed object clitics (which occur in positive imperatives): Truncation between verb and attached clitic is impossible:<sup>24</sup>

- (96) a. Vas-y. Va à Paris.  
 b. \*Va-y. \*Vas à Paris.  
 a–b. ‘Go there. Go to Paris.’

Modification is also impossible, as shown in (97) versus (98):<sup>25</sup>

- (97) a. \*Tue-les deux.  
 b. \*Parle-nous autres.
- (98) a. Ne tue qu’ eux deux.  
 b. Ne parle qu’à nous autres.  
 a. ‘Kill only the two of them.’  
 b. ‘Speak only to us others.’

Nor is separation from the verb possible:

- (99) a. Lave bien la voiture.  
 b. Parlez souvent à votre professeur.  
 c. \*Lave-bien-la. Lave-la bien.  
 d. \*Parlez-souvent-lui. Parlez-lui souvent.  
 c. ‘Wash it well.’  
 d. ‘Speak to him often.’

And conjunction is not permissible:

- (100) a. \*Tue-le et la.  
 b. Tue Jean et Marie.

These facts indicate that the sequence verb + object clitic is different

<sup>24</sup> Similarly, consider the following (cf. fn. 8): (i) *Mettez-les-y*. (ii) *Mettez-les au coin*. (iii) *Donne-nous-en*. (iv) *Donne-nous un livre*. As noted in fn. 1, *me* and *te* appear as *moi*,  when postposed. The fact that their morphological form then overlaps with that of the strong forms (cf. *nous*, *vous*) does not affect their clitic properties: (v) \**Parlez-donc-moi*.

<sup>25</sup> The sentence (i) *Prends-les tous* is not \**Prends [les tous]* but [*Prends-les*] *tous* like (ii) *Je les prendrai tous*. Compare fn. 23. [(i) ‘Take them all.’]

in kind from the sequence verb + object NP, with which it contrasts in the preceding examples. Moreover, the adverb insertion restrictions of (99) and (94) would appear to correlate with the general impossibility of inserting adverbs under lexical nodes (like V), and the truncation data of (96) with the absence of truncation before vowels within strings dominated by V; thus the hypothesis that postposed clitics are dominated by V in surface structure is quite plausible, as is the corresponding hypothesis for preverbal clitics, which behave in the same way with respect to adverb insertion<sup>26</sup> and truncation, as in (69), (77).

## 2.5 Rules Supporting Domination of Critic by V

Another, more precise type of argument that would bear on the question of the derived constituent structure of object critic(s) + verb sequences would consist of showing that the sequence object critic(s) + verb acted as a verb with respect to some transformation. Consider, for example, the transformation Subj-Cl-Inv, which has the effect of inverting subject critic and verb; its structural description will mention the node V and must also be able to refer to subject critic (as distinct from subject NP). Let us assume that the appropriate symbol is SCL. Then Subj-Cl-Inv will contain some subpart . . . SCL V . . . and will produce the string . . . V SCL. . . .<sup>27</sup>

The operation of Subj-Cl-Inv is unaffected by intervening object critics:

- (101) a. Le feras-tu?
- b. Leur parleras-tu?
- c. Me le donneras-tu?
- a. ‘Will you do it?’
- b. ‘Will you speak to them?’
- c. ‘Will you give it to me?’

<sup>26</sup> The ungrammaticality of (i) \**Tu, paraît-il, aimes la musique* could not be parried by claiming that the strong form appears under separation, because of (ii) \**Toi, paraît-il, aimes la musique* (cf. (iii) \**Jean te/toi, paraît-il, aime bien*). The sentence (iv) *Lui, paraît-il, aime la musique* is possible without the adverbial (cf. (75)); see Kayne (1972).

<sup>27</sup> The formulation of Subj-Cl-Inv given in Kayne (1972) is

$$X_{+Q\_NP}[Y \text{ SCL}] \rightarrow X_{+Q\_NP}[Y] \text{ V} + \text{SCL}$$

If these object clitics are in preverbal position when Subj-Cl-Inv applies, then its application will apparently be blocked, given the above formulation, since its structural description does not allow for anything to intervene between SCL and V. This undesirable result would be avoided if object clitic(s) + verb was in fact dominated by the node V,<sup>28</sup> in which case the structural description would be met.

If object clitics were not dominated by the node V, then Subj-Cl-Inv would have to be complicated in order to allow for the generation of (101). Adding a variable  $SCL - X - V \rightarrow X - V - SCL$  would have the undesirable consequence of leading to *\*Va partir-il?* alongside *Va-t-il partir?* unless a further condition were added specifying that the V in question be a finite verb. No such specification is necessary if object clitics are dominated by V; the SCL is placed to the right of the verb form adjacent to the subject. Thus the question of *\*Va partir-il?* never comes up. An alternative complication would consist of adding “optional object clitic” to the structural description of Subj-Cl-Inv:  $SCL (\text{Obj-Cl}) V$ . That would be equivalent to making the dubious claim that the grammar of French would be simpler if Subject Clitic Inversion were restricted to sentences not containing object clitics.

We recall that this discussion was predicated on the assumption that Subj-Cl-Inv applied at a point in the derivation where object clitics were already in preverbal position, that is, after Cl-Pl. Actually, it would be sufficient to show that some subset of the object clitics was placed prior to Subj-Cl-Inv. For example, quite independently of the ordering of Cl-Pl before Subj-Cl-Inv, there is reason to believe that the “reflexive” clitic *se* is placed preverbally prior to Subj-Cl-Inv. We argue in chapters 5 and 6 that *se* is not subject to the rule Cl-Pl but is rather moved to preverbal position by a distinct rule, *Se Placement*, or *Se-Pl*. Furthermore, we argue in chapter 5 that *Se-Pl* precedes the Passive transformation, which would imply that *Se-Pl* precedes Subj-Cl-Inv. This is the case since the latter must follow the Passive transformation in <sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> In analogous fashion, *ne* is to be dominated by the node V, since we have (i) *Ne le feras-tu pas?* See fn. 18.

<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the introduction of “middle” *se*, as in (i) *Ça se dit partout*, must precede the extraposition of the subject NP in (ii) *Il se vend beaucoup de livres dans cette ville*, which in turn must precede Subj-Cl-Inv to derive (iii) *Se vend-il beaucoup de livres dans cette ville?* [(i) ‘That’s said everywhere.’ (ii) ‘There are sold many books in this city.’]

- (102) a. Sera-t-il convoqué par son patron?  
 b. Vous a-t-elle déjà été présentée?  
 a. ‘Will he be called in by his boss?’  
 b. ‘Has she already been introduced to you?’

Therefore, Subj-Cl-Inv will apply correctly in sentences like *S'admire-t-elle vraiment?*, given the simplest formulation above, only if *s'admire* is dominated by the node V.

Clitics inherent to idioms, if generated in preverbal position by the PS rules, provide another (minor) example of object clitics independent of the rule Cl-Pl. For instance, we claim that the *y* of *il y a* is an inherent clitic in this sense.<sup>30</sup> Sentences like *il y a eu une révolution voilà dix ans* show that *y* is a clitic rather than a prefix since it precedes the auxiliary in compound tenses.<sup>31</sup> Again, if *y* were a prefix, it could not be separated from *avoir* by *en* in *Il y en a sur la table*. On the other hand, there is no natural source for it here, and it cannot be omitted; it is the only case in French of an *y* that for all speakers can cooccur with *en* (many speakers consistently reject sentences like *J'y en ai trouvé deux*) and can be pronounced /j/ (at least with the finite forms of *avoir*), unlike other *y*'s. Another example of an inherent clitic is the *en* of *s'en aller*,<sup>32</sup> for those speakers who accept *il s'en est allé*. Subj-Cl-Inv applies freely with such clitics:

- (103) a. Y-a-t-il des livres sur la table?  
 b. S'en ira-t-il demain?  
 a. ‘Are there books on the table?’  
 b. ‘Will he go away tomorrow?’

<sup>30</sup> We thus take the same position as Gross (1968, p. 40). For further discussion, see chapter 6, (52) ff.

<sup>31</sup> The fact that it is not derived from object position does not mean that it could not be generated to the left of the auxiliary or put there by a rule particular to idioms. On (i) *Elle est née il y a 2 ans*, see Henry (1968). *Il y a* occurs more readily with definites than does English *there is/are*: (ii) *Il y a Jean-Pierre qui veut te poser une question*. The *il* can fail to appear: (iii) *Il pourrait y avoir du pain sans y avoir de l'eau*. The impossibility of (iv) \**il les y a* (see Togeby (1969)) may be related to (v) *C'est elle/\*Ce l'est*. [(i) ‘She was born two years ago.’ (iii) ‘There could be bread without there being water.’ (v) ‘It's her.’]

<sup>32</sup> Although the *y* of *il y a* can be combined with *en*, the inherent *en* of *s'en aller* cannot be combined with *y*: (i) \**Elle s'y en va demain*.

We conclude that Subj-Cl-Inv is a transformation with respect to which object clitic(s) + verb acts as a verb.

A second example of such a transformation was discussed in chapter 1. We argued there that the transformation L-*Tous* was to be stated as a rule moving material dominated by a node “Quantifier” over a directly preceding verb: . . . V Q . . . → . . . Q V . . . Furthermore, we showed that L-*Tous* must be able to apply after Cl-Pl, that is, at a point at which the object clitics are already to the left of the verb. Consider now the structure *Elle va les lire tous*, to which L-*Tous* can apply, yielding *Elle va tous les lire*. L-*Tous* has here moved the quantifier *tous* over verb and object clitic, not simply over the verb: \**Elle va les tous lire*. This result would follow without any complication of L-*Tous* if object clitic + verb is dominated by the node V.<sup>33</sup>

A third example of a rule treating object clitic(s) + verb as a V is one we shall call Aux Deletion; it will account for sentences such as

(104) Paul m'a bousculé et poussé contre Marie.

‘Paul bumped into me and pushed me against Marie.’

(105) Paul l'a insulté et mis à la porte.

‘Paul insulted him and threw him out.’

The derivation of these sentences must involve a deletion transformation. That is, they could not be deep structures for three reasons: First, the appearance of the past participle in verbal uses is always triggered by an auxiliary.<sup>34</sup> Second, a verb such as *mettre* normally requires a direct object, that is, has the subcategorization “\_\_\_\_NP”;

<sup>33</sup> Presumably, the verb within the verb group is still dominated by a node V, that is, we have v[[les]v[lire]]. Taking the V of the structural description of L-*Tous* to be the larger V = *les lire* gives the correct result. Disallowing the possibility of taking the V of L-*Tous* to be the inner V = *lire* might be accomplished via a principle prohibiting the transformational insertion of material internal to a string dominated by a lexical node (cf. fn. 26). Sentences like (i) \**Il a envie de te tout dire* were, in fact, common in seventeenth-century French (see Galet (1971, pp. 459 ff)). At that time clitic + infinitive may well not necessarily have been dominated by V. This in turn was a likely inheritance from Old French, where the clitic form was usually not used before infinitives: OF \**envie de la voir*. Rather, Old French had OF *envie d'elle voir*, with *elle voir* surely not a V; cf. fns. 7, 18. [(i) ‘He has a mind to tell you everything.’]

<sup>34</sup> However, certain idioms like *hem* and *haw* in English suggest there might be a need for some kind of “leaking down of features” mechanism: *John hemmed and hawed*. (See Dougherty (1971, p. 307).)

thus the sequence *mis à la porte* would not be possible as an output of the lexical insertion rules. Sentence (105) must therefore have been generated with a direct object, which was subsequently cliticized and then deleted. Third, there are comparable sentences with passives:

- (106) a. La fille me sera présentée par son frère et confiée par sa mère.
- b. Ce livre m'a été recommandé par Jean et offert par sa famille.
- a. 'The girl was introduced to me by her brother and entrusted to me by her mother.'
- b. 'That book was recommended to me by Jean and given to me by his family.'

PS generation of these would require generating phrases such as *confiée par sa mère* in the base, which would not be plausible if agent phrases were otherwise to be derived from deep structure subjects.<sup>35</sup> A similar but more severe problem is caused by sentences like

- (107) La bonne femme les a cuits au four et fait manger à son fils.  
'The woman cooked them in the oven and had her son eat them.'

We argue in chapter 3 that the *à* phrase in *Elle les a fait manger à son fils* should be derived from the underlying subject of *faire*. This, plus the fact that *manger* cannot usually be followed by a dative complement, would render the PS generation of (107) extremely difficult.

We are claiming, then, that sentence (104) is derived from a structure resembling (108) via deletion of the clitic and auxiliary *avoir*.<sup>36</sup>

- (108) Paul m'a bousculé et m'a poussé contre Marie.

An important question is whether the deletion is effected in one or

<sup>35</sup> PS generation of agent phrases would be necessary for sentences such as (i) *Jean l'a été par Paul* if *le* there were to be generated as a pro-Adj in the base (see fn. 26, chap. 4). PS generation of (106) would also require adding an interpretive rule (see Chomsky (1970b) and Jackendoff (1972)) to account for the verb-object relation of *confier la fille* and *offrir ce livre*. Our argument concerning derived structure would still hold, though, with respect to such an interpretive rule.

<sup>36</sup> We shall not consider the independent problem of the deep structure subject of *pousser*.

two steps—in other words, whether the clitic is deleted independently of the auxiliary. The answer seems to be negative. In sentences containing simple tenses, that is, without an auxiliary, the second of two identical object clitics across a conjunction cannot be deleted:

- (109) a. Paul la déteste et la considère comme fort bête.

- b. \*Paul la déteste et considère comme fort bête.

a–b. ‘Paul hates her and considers her very stupid.’

- (110) a. Paul te bousculera et te poussera contre Marie.

- b. \*Paul te bousculera et poussera contre Marie.

- (111) a. Jean vous parlera et vous pardonnera.

- b. \*Jean vous parlera et pardonnera.

a–b. ‘Jean will speak to you and forgive you.’

That is, there is no general rule of clitic deletion across conjunctions.<sup>37</sup> Nor can the clitic alone be deleted in sentences with auxiliaries:

- (112) \*Paul l'a frappé et a mis à la porte.

‘Paul struck him and threw him out.’

We conclude that the clitic is deleted along with the auxiliary in sentences like (104)–(105).

<sup>37</sup> There are sentences like (i) *Paul les lit et relit sans cesse* where *lire et relire* seems to be taken as a kind of compound verb (cf. (ii) \**Paul les lit très vite et relit soigneusement par la suite*). It is unclear whether the absence of an object clitic deletion rule across conjunctions is a consequence of the derived structure (such deletion rules may be prohibited from deleting proper subparts of strings dominated by lexical categories, here V) or an accidental fact about French. Sentences such as (iii) *Il mangera de la viande et boira du vin rouge* do not invalidate the first possibility since the (presumed) deletion of *il* could take place prior to the attachment of the subject clitic (cf. (iv) *Cette fille mangera de la viande et boira du vin rouge*). Alternatively, the fact that sentence (iii) becomes ungrammatical with *il* replaced by *on* might suggest that deletion of a subject clitic is not involved at all. The impossibility of (v) \**Mangera-t-il de la viande et boira du vin rouge* is in part independent of subject clitics (cf. (vi) \**Does he eat meat and drink red wine?*) and in part evidence that postverbal subject clitics cannot be deleted across conjunctions. [(i) ‘Paul reads and rereads them without a stop.’ (ii) ‘Paul reads them very quickly and rereads them carefully afterward.’]

Furthermore, the auxiliary in such sentences cannot be deleted independently of the clitic:

- (113) \*Paul l'a frappé et le mis à la porte.

It might appear that the ungrammaticality of this sentence could be related to the general impossibility of the sequence clitic + past participle. This looks less plausible, however, upon consideration of sentences like

- (114) a. Marie le fera lire à Jean et le fera déchirer par Paul.  
 b. Marie le fera lire à Jean et déchirer par Paul.  
 a–b. ‘Marie will have Jean read it and will have it torn up by Paul.’

In such sentences, by the same reasoning as above, we conclude that *le fera* has been deleted by some rule, probably the same one as in (104)–(107). Again, the clitic may not be left behind:

- (115) \*Marie le fera lire à Jean et le déchirer par Paul.

Here, though, the sequence *le* + *déchirer* is otherwise quite normal:

- (116) Je vais le déchirer.

Apparently, then, clitic and auxiliary are deleted together, and neither can be deleted independently of the other. Moreover, when not occurring with an attached clitic, the auxiliary is deletable:

- (117) Jean a mangé de la viande et bu du vin rouge.

‘Jean ate meat and drank red wine.’

But a clitic without auxiliary is not; cf. (109)–(111). We conclude that the clitic in (104)–(107) is deleted by virtue of its being carried along with the auxiliary.<sup>38</sup> This strongly suggests that object clitic + verb is dominated by the node V. If it were not, it would remain unexplained why the auxiliary cannot be deleted independently of the clitic in (113) and (115). Incidentally, it can, as expected, be deleted independently of the past participle, as in (117). Moreover, if the clitic were not dominated by the same node V as the auxiliary, there would

<sup>38</sup> This conclusion was arrived at by Martinon (1927, p. 277).

be no explanation for its deletability in (104)–(107). Notice, in particular, that a clitic not attached to the “auxiliary” in question may not be deleted along with it:

- (118) a. Paul va la détester et va la considérer comme fort bête.
  - b. Paul va la détester et la considérer comme fort bête.
  - c. \*Paul va la détester et considérer comme fort bête.
- a–b–c. ‘Paul is going to hate her and is going to consider her very stupid.’

What we are claiming then is that there is a rule approximately of the form  $NP\ V_i\ X\ et\ V_i\ Y \rightarrow NP\ V_i\ X\ et\ \emptyset\ Y$ , where  $V_i$  can be *avoir*, *faire*, *aller*,<sup>39</sup> or in the case where there are clitics,  $V_i = (\text{object clitics}) + \text{avoir}/\text{faire}/\text{aller}$ . In the latter case, the identity conditions must be fulfilled taking the clitics into account.<sup>40</sup> In (104), for example,  $V_i = me + a$ . In (114),  $V_i = le + fera$ ; the formulation of the rule above allows the deletion of *le + fera*, but not the deletion of *fera* (which does not correspond to any term of the structural description).

In addition, the preceding formulation of Aux Deletion will account for the ungrammaticality of

- (119) a. \*Paul l'a frappé et mis sa soeur à la porte.
- b. \*Je lui ai parlé et écrit à sa femme.

<sup>39</sup> The simplest decision would be to allow  $V_i$  to be any verb, which would broaden the extension of the rule considerably. Although we refer to this rule informally as Aux Deletion, we do not mean to imply that there exists a formal category Aux in French. On the one hand, *avoir*, *aller* and those verbs corresponding to the English modals, such as *pouvoir*, *devoir*, must be members of the category V, since they act as V with respect to various transformations, such as Cl-Pl, L-Tous, Subj-Cl-Inv in the following examples and are inflected as verbs: (i) *Paul les a vus*, (ii) *Je n'y peux rien*; (iii) *Il prétend tout avoir compris*, (iv) *Elle veut tout pouvoir manger*; (v) *A-t-il mangé quelque chose?*, (vi) *Va-t-il faire cela?*, (vii) *Doit-il rentrer?* An independent question is whether an additional category or category feature (see Chomsky (1970a; 1972)) is needed to describe their peculiarities or whether subcategorization features would suffice. For example, the fact that clitics “move up” to *avoir* might be made to follow from a deep structure configuration:  $v[\text{avoir}] - V - X$  specific to it (see section 2.21).

<sup>40</sup> It is clear that Aux Deletion follows Cl-Pl. The ungrammaticality (see Cressot (1948), Muller (1970)) of (i) \**On mangera de la bonne viande et boira du bon vin* alongside (ii) *On a mangé de la bonne viande et bu du bon vin* suggests that the *on* of the latter is being deleted along with the verb, and therefore that Aux Deletion has applied subsequent to the attachment of the subject clitics, which must consequently be dominated then by the node V. Cf fn. 37.

- c. \*Je lui suis dévoué et respectueux avec sa femme.
- d. \*Elle s'est habillée et partie au travail.
- a. 'Paul struck him and threw his sister out.'
- b. 'I spoke to him and wrote to his wife.'
- c. 'I am devoted to him and respectful toward his wife.'
- d. 'She got dressed and went to work.'

In these examples a bare auxiliary has been deleted under identity with an auxiliary itself preceded by a clitic. Compare the following:

- (120) a. Je suis dévoué à mon ami et respectueux avec sa femme.  
 b. Paul a frappé son ami et mis sa soeur à la porte.

Sentence (119)a, for example, would have to be derived from an intermediate *Paul l'a frappé et a mis sa soeur à la porte*. The second *a* is not, however, identical to the first  $V_i = le + a$  and so cannot be deleted.<sup>41</sup> The first  $V_i$  could not be taken to equal *a* alone, since the structural description of the rule, as formulated, requires that  $V_i$  directly follow NP.

In addition to providing evidence in favor of a particular derived structure for clitic-verb sequences in French, the deletion rule we have been considering has certain implications for linguistic theory. The examples we have given of the clitic being deleted along with the verb were all cases in which the two clitics in question were identical in all respects, as in (104), (105). Consider now the problem of what happens if the two clitics differ in case, for example:

- (121) Paul l'a frappé et lui a donné des coups de pied.

'Paul struck him and gave him some kicks.'

<sup>41</sup> The rule of "gapping" (see Jackendoff (1971) and references therein) is like Aux Deletion in being able to delete a clitic only along with a verb, as in (i) \**Paul nous engueulera et Jean, insultera*, (ii) \**Paul nous aurait engueulés et Jean, aurait insultés*, versus (iii) *Paul nous aurait engueulés et Jean, insultés*, and in not being able to delete a verb "out from under" a clitic, as in (iv) \**Paul nous aurait engueulés et Jean nous insultés*, (v) \**Paul nous fera chanter et Jean nous danser*, thereby supporting the derived structure  $v[clitic - verb]$ .

However, "gapping" is, at least with datives, able to delete a verb under identity with another verb to which a clitic is attached (unlike (119)): (vi) *Paul lui a parlé, à elle, et Jean, à sa soeur*. The clitic is similarly ignored by identity conditions in (vii) *Tu lui plais, à elle, mais pas à sa soeur*. [(iii) 'Paul would have scolded us and Jean, insulted us.' (vi) 'Paul spoke to her and Jean to her sister.']}

To the left of the conjunction is the accusative clitic *le*, to the right the dative *lui*; but they have all other syntactic features in common. In this case, deletion may not take place.

- (122) \*Paul l'a frappé et donné des coups de pied.

If we change the clitics to first or second person or reflexive, however, the resulting sentence is, for most speakers, grammatical:<sup>42</sup>

- (123) a. Paul nous a frappés et donné des coups de pied.  
 b. On sait que la police t'a frappé et donné des coups de pied.

Similarly:

- (124) \*Paul la fera gifler par Georges et donner des coups de pied par Jean.

'Paul will have her slapped by George and given some kicks by Jean.'

- (125) a. Paul te fera gifler par Georges et donner des coups de pied par Jean.  
 b. Paul s'est fait gifler par Marie et donner des coups de pied par Pierrette.  
 a/b. 'Paul will have you/himself slapped by George/Marie and given kicks by Jean/Pierrette.'

The difference between first and second person and reflexive clitics, on the one hand, and third person clitics, on the other, is exactly that the former happen to have the same phonological shape in both accusative and dative, that is, that *me*, *te*, *nous*, *vous*, *se* serve both functions. Third person clitics, however, have distinct phonological shapes, such as *le* (accusative), *lui* (dative); that is sufficient to prevent deletion.

This implies, first, that this deletion rule, for the purposes of determining identity, disregards case<sup>43</sup>—because of (123), (125)—and more significantly, that it takes into consideration phonological identity.<sup>44</sup> That is, in order to distinguish (122), (124) from (123), (125),

<sup>42</sup> See Sandfeld (1965, I, p. 30) for additional examples.

<sup>43</sup> See Chomsky (1965, chapter 4, part 2.2) for discussion of other instances of particular features being disregarded for the purposes of deletion.

<sup>44</sup> An interesting question is whether such a rule could refer to phonetic identity. If

this syntactic rule must be sensitive to whether there is any difference in phonological representation between the two case forms of the pronoun in question. This means that linguistic theory must countenance syntactic rules having the power to refer to phonological information.<sup>45</sup>

## Part II

### 2.6 Bare Pronouns as Source for Accusative and Dative Clitics

Having considered the rule of Cl-PI from the point of view of derived structure, we turn to the question of what exactly it moves. We shall argue that Cl-PI applies only to bare pronouns, that is, only to single morphemes. For example, we saw earlier that modified pronouns could not occur in clitic position:

- (126) a. \*Ce garçon vous deux ressemble.
  - b. \*Cette fille nous autres connaît très bien.
  - c. \*Il m'a demandé de lui-même parler.
  - d. \*Leur copain les tous a mis à la porte.
  - a. ‘That boy resembles the two of you.’
  - b. ‘That girl knows us others very well.’
  - c. ‘He asked me to speak to himself.’
  - d. ‘Their buddy threw them all out.’
- (127) a. \*Montre-nous deux tes photos.
  - b. \*Envoyez-nous autres de vos nouvelles.
  - a. ‘Show the two of us your pictures.’

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there were two clitics that had distinct phonological representations but were identical phonetically (there is no such case in French), could the deletion take place? On the other hand, we note that the question of phonetic versus phonological identity never arises for those speakers who reject (122)–(125), since for them the deletion rule may not disregard differences in case marking. On the other hand, two phonologically/phonetically identical clitics that differ only in gender (for example, *lui* = masculine or feminine dative singular) could not possibly count as identical with respect to this deletion rule, since they would necessarily fail to meet the condition of coreferentiality (presupposed in the entire discussion).

<sup>45</sup> No doubt, there will be substantial restrictions on the kinds of rules having this power. This question is discussed in Zwicky (1969) and Perlmutter (1971).

- b. ‘Send us others news of you.’

However, pronouns in clitic position can be “modified” by elements not forming a constituent with them (see fns. 23, 25):

- (128) a. Elle va tous les lire.
- b. Il veut tous te les montrer.
- c. Mets-les tous là-dessus.
- d. Envoie-les donc tous chez tes parents.
- a. ‘She’s going to read them all.’
- b. ‘He wants to show them all to you.’
- c. ‘Put them all on there.’
- d. ‘Send them all then to your parents.’

In other words, Cl-Pl does not move pronominal modifiers along with pronouns.

Moreover, the preposition *à* associated with dative complements may not be moved along with the dative pronoun by Cl-Pl:

- (129) a. Le patron vous parlera tout à l’heure.
- b. Il veut nous l’offrir.
- a. ‘The boss will speak to you shortly.’
- b. ‘He wants to give it to us.’
- (130) a. \*Le patron à vous parlera tout à l’heure.
- b. \*Il veut à nous l’offrir.

The *à* cannot be left behind either:

- (131) a. \*Le patron vous parlera à (tout à l’heure).
- b. \*Il veut nous l’offrir à.

The question therefore arises as to the optimal way of describing its nonappearance. Although one might take the approach that it is moved along with the pronoun and then deleted, we shall claim that it is left behind and then deleted. One consideration in favor of the latter hypothesis is that there are, in fact, no instances in French of bare *à*; for example, there are no sentences with *à* comparable to *On lui court après*, with *après* lacking an overt complement, so that a rule

deleting bare  $\dot{a}$ ,  $_{PP}[\dot{a}]$ , has a certain naturalness. On the other hand, clitics can quite productively be preceded by  $\dot{a}$ :

- (132) a. Il tient à nous l'offrir.
- b. Elle prétend préférer mourir à vous revoir.
- c. On m'a forcé à lui sourire.
- a. 'He's anxious to give it to us.'
- b. 'She claims to prefer dying to seeing you again.'
- c. 'They forced me to smile to her.'

The  $\dot{a}$  in (132) is, however, associated with the higher verb rather than with the clitic (cf. *Il tient à partir*, *Elle préfère mourir à vivre*, *On m'a forcé à sourire*). Consequently, a rule deleting  $\dot{a}$  in (130) might be considered less natural than one deleting  $\dot{a}$  in (131).

A stronger argument against having  $\dot{a}$  moved by Cl-Pl derives from a construction mentioned in chapter 1:<sup>46</sup>

- (133) a. Cela nous est arrivé à tous.
- b. Leur as-tu souri à toutes?
- c. Elle leur en a donné à tous.
- a. 'That happened to all of us.'
- b. 'Did you smile to all of them?'
- c. 'She gave some to all of them.'

What we see here is that if the dative pronoun is quantified by *tous*, the  $\dot{a}$  is not deleted, and appears postverbally. In chapter 1, we argued that just prior to Cl-Pl, the relevant structure is, for example,  $_{PP}[\dot{a} - nous - tous]$ . Cl-Pl applies, moving the pronoun and leaving  $_{PP}[\dot{a} - tous]$ . The  $\dot{a}$  is not deleted because of the presence of other material within the prepositional phrase. The generation of (133) thus depends on the  $\dot{a}$  not having been moved by Cl-Pl.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The sentences of (133) must be distinguished from the detachment construction, which has a different intonation contour, as in (i) *Elle leur en a donné, à ses amis*. Syntactically, the construction exemplified in (133) differs from (rightward) detachment in being compatible with *presque*, as in (ii) *Je leur ai parlé à presque tous* (like (iii) *Elle les déteste presque tous*) versus (iv) \**Elle les déteste, presque tous tes amis* and (v) \**Elle leur a joué un sale tour, à presque tous tes amis*. [(i) 'She gave some to them, to her friends.' (ii) 'I spoke to almost all of them.' (v) 'She played a dirty trick on them, on almost all your friends.']}

<sup>47</sup> This is not to say that other transformations could not happen to move  $\dot{a}$  + pronoun;

The rule of Cl-Pl is thus significantly different from the rule of *Wh* Movement; the latter cannot move the object of a preposition without moving the preposition too:

- (134) a. Ces enfants, à qui Marie a souri, sont mignons.
- b. \*Ces enfants, que/qui Marie a souri à, sont mignons.
- a-b. 'Those children, at whom Marie smiled, are cute.'

Nor could the *à* be left behind and then deleted:

- (135) \*Ces enfants, que/qui Marie a souri, sont mignons.

Since *Wh* Movement must carry along the *à*, we would not expect to find sentences comparable to (133) with relative clauses. This prediction seems to be borne out:<sup>48</sup>

- (136) a. \*Ces enfants, à qui Marie souriait à tous, sont très mignons.
- b. \*Ces enfants, auxquels elle a montré ses photos à tous, sont très mignons.

The contrast between (136) and (133) would be difficult to explain if Cl-Pl too moved the *à*.

Combining this result with the facts about modified pronouns, we can now say that, as far as application to accusatives and datives is concerned, Cl-Pl moves only bare pronouns, or, putting it another way, that Cl-Pl moves only single morphemes which are pro-forms. Whether this characterization of Cl-Pl also extends to *y* and *en*, which we shall consider to be pro-PPs (PP = prepositional phrase), will be taken up in section 2.11.

## 2.7 *En* and *Y* as Pro-PPs

The hypothesis that *y* and *en* are PPs is supported by a certain amount of evidence. We begin by considering *y*. *Y* corresponds either to verbal or adjectival complements of the form *à* + NP or to locative adverbials:

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compare (i) *A toi elle n'aurait rien osé dire* and (ii) *Elle a trouvé une lettre à moi adressée* (literary) with (130). [(i) 'To you she would not have dared to say anything.' (ii) 'She found a letter addressed to me.']}

<sup>48</sup> Some (few) speakers do accept relatives like (i) ??*Ces enfants, à qui Marie avait (à) tous montré ses photos*; see section 2.14.

- (137) a. J'y répondrai volontiers, à tes questions.  
     b. Il y pense souvent, à cette fille.  
     c. Elle y a rencontré Jean, à Paris.  
     a. 'I'll gladly answer them, your questions.'  
     b. 'He thinks of her often, that girl.'  
     c. 'She met Jean there, in Paris.'

In many cases, *y* cannot refer to an animate complement:<sup>49</sup>

- (138) a. Je leur répondrai demain, à tes amis.  
     b. \*J'y répondrai demain, à tes amis.  
     a–b. 'I'll answer them tomorrow, your friends.'

However, *y* can, for most speakers, refer to animates under certain conditions, as in (137)b, and the dative clitics can refer to inanimates in sentences like

- (139) a. Je leur ferai prendre l'air, à mes vêtements.  
     b. Marie lui a donné un coup de fer, à mon pantalon.  
     a. 'I'll air them out, my clothes.'  
     b. 'Marie ironed it, my pair of pants.'

We shall not now be concerned with specifying the distribution of *y* versus dative clitics<sup>50</sup> but shall concentrate on its PP character.

The fact that *y* can replace locatives, as shown in (140), would fit in well with the PP character of *y*:

- (140) On a trouvé ton livre sur la table; on y a trouvé le mien aussi.

'They found your book on the table; they found mine there too.'

On the other hand, in cases like *J'y répondrai*, one might think of deriving *y* just like the dative clitics, for example, *Je - répondrai - à - y →*

<sup>49</sup> Everything said about *y* in this work is based on standard French. In certain kinds of nonstandard French, *y* replaces dative clitics extensively and in some cases even replaces *le*. The conclusions we reach concerning *y* may very well not be valid for nonstandard French (for example, *y* might also occur in the configuration <sub>NP[y]</sub> there).

<sup>50</sup> For pertinent examples, see Sandfeld (1965, I, p. 52), Grevisse (1964, p. 435), and Martinon (1927, pp. 295–298); see also section 2.13.

*Je - y - répondrai - à → Je - y - répondrai - Ø*, where *y* would be considered a pro-form dominated by NP such as  $_{\text{PP}}[\_ \text{à} - \text{NP}[y]]$ , and would presumably be distinguished from the dative clitics by some feature(s). This approach would fail to account for the following paradigm:<sup>51</sup>

- (141) a. Paul leur fait confiance à toutes.
- b. Il leur en veut à tous.
  - a. ‘Paul has confidence in them all.’
  - b. ‘He holds a grudge against them all.’
- (142) a. \*Il s’y fie à toutes.
- b. \*Elle y pense à tous.
  - a. ‘He trusts them all.’
  - b. ‘She’s thinking of them all.’
- (143) a. \*Il s’y fie toutes.
- b. \*Elle y pense tous.

If *y* were derived exactly as the dative clitics, then we would expect (142), parallel to (141). What is the case, however, is that only those pro-forms introduced within the NP are quantifiable by *tous*; in this respect (141) is like *Paul les admire toutes*. Such pro-forms occur in the deep structure configuration  $_{\text{NP}}[toutes - elles]$ , where *toutes* is possible, just as in  $_{\text{NP}}[toutes celles-là]$  or  $_{\text{NP}}[toutes les filles]$ . If *y* is a pro-form introduced under the node PP, and not NP, the ungrammaticality of (142), (143) will follow from the nonoccurrence of  $*_{\text{PP}}[toutes - y]$  (cf.  $*_{\text{PP}}[toutes aux filles]$ ).<sup>52</sup>

In addition, by considering *y* a pro-PP, we can account for the fact

<sup>51</sup> Sentences such as (142) are acceptable, for some speakers, with verbs that take dative clitics with animates (see the discussion of (263)). Such an example with *répondre* is (i) ??*Elle y répondra à tous*.

Sentences like (142) are also possible with a long pause before *à tou(te)s*: (ii) *Il s’y fie . . . à tous*; cf. English (iii) *He trusts them . . . all of them*, where it is probably best to speak of a reduced second sentence. Compare fn. 7, chapter 1.

There is no equivalent with *y* to the construction (see section 1.11) (iv) *Elle leur a tous tiré dessus*: (v) \**Elle y a tous répondu*.

<sup>52</sup> If there were a transformation that derived *y* from *à* + pronoun (in the text, we are assuming *y* introduced as such in the base), then (143) could be excluded if that transformation applied only to  $_{\text{PP}}[\_ \text{à} - \text{pronoun}]$  or, alternatively, only to *à* - pronoun as a constituent. (In  $_{\text{PP}}[\_ \text{à} - \text{pronoun} - tous]$ , the string *à* - pronoun is not a constituent.)

that it does not vary according to singular/plural (as do *le/les, lui/leur*), nor masculine/feminine (as does *le/la*), by saying that PPs in French may not be morphologically marked with features of “number” and “gender”:

- (144) Elle aime beaucoup son livre/sa pipe/ses meubles; elle y pense souvent.

(This, in turn, might follow from the introduction of such features in the base only on nouns.) Pro-forms within the NP, of course, do not have to exhibit such distinctions; for example, dative *lui* and *leur* are indifferent as to gender.

Another property distinguishing *y* from the NP-like pro-forms is its ability, under certain limited conditions, to refer to first or second person pronouns:<sup>53</sup>

- (145) a. Je pense à toi<sub>i</sub> et j'y<sub>i</sub> penserai toujours.  
 b. \*Je pense à toi<sub>i</sub>, et je penserai toujours à lui<sub>i</sub>.  
 c. \*Elle pense à toi, mais elle ne lui<sub>i</sub> parle jamais.  
 d. \*On te<sub>i</sub> prendra demain pour le<sub>i</sub> dépanner.

By considering *y* a pro-PP, we can maintain the generalization that third person pronouns (presumably grammatical “person” is an inherent property only of NPs, or perhaps Ns) can never refer to pronouns of another person.

The clitic *en*, which we are likewise claiming to be a pro-PP, shares most of the distinguishing (as opposed to the pro-NP accusatives and datives) characteristics of *y*. For example, it too can sometimes refer to first or second person pronouns:

- (146) Il a parlé de toi<sub>i</sub>, et il en<sub>i</sub> a dit du bien.

‘He spoke of you, and he said good things about you.’

And, like *y*, it is invariant with respect to gender and number:

<sup>53</sup> This construction was more widespread in earlier stages of French; see Haase (1969, pp. 21–25). *Y* also differs from the accusative and dative (that is, the pro - N(P)) clitics in being able to refer to indefinite generics in the detachment construction (cf. Sandfeld (1965, I, p. 52)): (i) *Elle y ressemble pas mal, à un chat.* (ii) *Ça y ressemble quand même, à du vin.* (iii) *Elle lui ressemble pas mal, à ce (\*un) chat.* (iv) \**Je le prendrai volontiers, du vin.* [(i) ‘She resembles one quite a bit, a cat.’ (ii) ‘That still looks like it, wine.’]

(147) a. Il en a déjà parlé, de sa maison/de son travail.

b. Il en parle tout le temps, de ses problèmes.

a. ‘He’s already spoken of it, his house/his work.’

b. ‘He speaks of them all the time, his problems.’

*En* can correspond to adjectival and adnominal complements of the form *de* + NP:<sup>54</sup>

(148) Il en est drôlement fier, de son idée.

‘He’s extremely proud of it, his idea.’

(149) a. Elle aime bien ce bouquin, bien qu’elle n’en ait lu que la première partie.

b. Il va en repeindre les portes. (de cette maison)

a. ‘She likes that book, although she’s read only the first part of it.’

b. ‘He’s going to repaint the doors of it (of this house).’

Significantly, *en* may not be quantified by *tous*:

(150) a. \*Il en parlera de tous. (de ses problèmes)

b. \*Il en est fier de toutes. (de ses idées)

c. \*Il va en repeindre les portes de tous. (de ces bâtiments)

d. \*Il en parlera tous.

e. \*Il en est tous fier.

f. \*Il va tous en repeindre les portes.

We take this as evidence that *en* is not a pro-NP, that is, that the derivation of (148) is not *Il est fier de en* → *Il en est fier de* → *Il en est fier Ø* (with deletion of *de* as the deletion of à with datives). If it were, we would expect *Il est fier de NP[tous - en]* → Q-Post → *Il est fier de NP[en] tous* → \**Il en est fier de tous* (or, if the *de* were deleted, \**Il en est fier tous*) parallel to the derivation of the dative clitics. If *en* is a pro-PP, that is, PP[*en*], then \*PP[tous *en*] is not a possible prepositional phrase (cf. PP[\*tous de ces livres]), and (150) is automatically excluded.

Another use of *en* is in sentences of the following sort:

<sup>54</sup> There are *de* + NP complements to which *en* cannot correspond (see Gross (1968, pp. 32, 58), Spang-Hanssen (1963, pp. 87–101), Seelbach (1970, pp. 75 ff.)).

- (151) a. Paul a deux soeurs; moi, j'en ai trois.  
 b. Elle a une grande maison; toi, tu en as une petite.  
 c. Vous n'avez qu'un seul chat; lui, il en a plusieurs.
- a. 'Paul has two sisters; I have three of them.'  
 b. 'She has a big house; you have a small one.'  
 c. 'You only have one cat; he has several of them.'

Even though *en* here seems at first glance not to correspond to a complement with *de* because of \**Il a plusieurs de chats*, \**Tu as une petite de maison*, \**J'ai trois de soeurs*, there is some evidence that there is such a *de* at a more abstract level of representation.<sup>55</sup> In particular, this *de* shows up in the detachment construction:

- (152) a. Il en a deux, de soeurs.  
 b. Elle en a plusieurs, de chats.  
 c. Vous en avez vraiment une petite, de maison.

This suggests that the NP *deux soeurs*, for example, has at some more abstract level of representation the form *deux de soeurs*; this *de* complement can be replaced by *en*, that is, *deux - en*, ultimately yielding

<sup>55</sup> See fn. 33, chapter 1. The detached complements of (152) also occur with definites: (i) *Passe-moi le rouge, de crayon*. (ii) *Tu peux prendre la mienne, de voiture*. (iii) *Elle a envie d'acheter celui-là, de bouquin*. But here *en* is impossible: (iv) \**Passe-m'en le rouge*. (v) \**Tu peux en prendre la mienne*. (vi) \**Elle a envie d'en acheter celui-là*. This is likely related to (vii) *Elle connaît (l') un de tes amis*, (viii) *Elle en connaît (\*l') un*, and (ix) \**Elle en connaît chacun*, (x) \**Elle en connaît lesquels*?

Popular French provides an interesting contrast to standard French with respect to *de*: Bauche (1951, pp. 79–80) attests to the occurrence of sentences like (xi) *J'ai une de casserole qu'elle est trouée*, (xii) *Ca fait deux de bonnets que je perds*. Another “popular” construction, (xiii) *Il y en a des qui ne sont pas bons*, is studied by Spitzer (1928).

The difference between *en* and accusative clitics is reflected in the former's failure to trigger past participle agreement: (xiv) *On l'a mise sur la table (la fourchette)*; (xv) \**On en a mises sur la table (des fourchettes)*; (xvi) *On en a mis sur la table*. If past participle agreement in French were to be triggered by features of a preceding direct object, the absence of agreement with *en* might follow from its failure (as a PP) to be marked syntactically for gender and number (see the discussion of (144) in the text). Unfortunately, past participle agreement with *avoir* in French is permeated with a great deal of artificiality (see Clédat (1928)) and so is difficult to draw conclusions from. [(i) 'Pass me the red one, pencil.' (ii) 'You can take mine, car.' (iii) 'She feels like buying that one, book.' (vii) 'She knows one of your friends.' (ix)/(x) 'She knows each/which? of them.' (xii) 'That makes two caps that I've lost.' (xiii) 'There are some that aren't good.' (xiv) 'They put it on the table (the fork).']

sentences such as (151). If not detached, the *de* is deleted. The hypothesis that the *en* of (151) corresponds to a *de* complement is supported by its being subject to the same movement constraints, which we shall now consider, as the *en* of (149).

The occurrence of *en* corresponding to nominal complements permits us to construct an argument of a type unavailable with *y*. Specifically, taking *en* to be a pro-PP allows us to account for certain otherwise ad hoc constraints on Cl-Pl in terms of a much more general restriction on the movement of prepositional phrases. Consider the following paradigm:

- (153) Jean voit des filles et Paul en voit aussi.

‘Jean sees some girls and Paul sees some too.’

- (154) Jean voit les filles et Paul les voit aussi.

‘Jean sees the girls and Paul sees them too.’

- (155) Jean sourit aux filles et Paul leur sourit aussi.

‘Jean is smiling at the girls and Paul is smiling at them too.’

- (156) \*Jean sourit à des filles<sub>i</sub> et Paul en<sub>i</sub> sourit aussi.

‘Jean is smiling at some girls and Paul is smiling at some too.’

In fact, there is no way to construct a grammatical sentence parallel to (153) in the way that (155) is parallel to (154). Clearly, stating that *en* has no dative form is inadequate. The question is Why? Extending the range of data, we see that the impossibility of (156) is part of a more general constraint on Cl-Pl: it cannot move *en* out of a larger structure dominated by the node PP.<sup>56</sup> Thus we have:

<sup>56</sup> There are several exceptions to this claim for which we have at present no explanation, for example, (i) ?*Elle en a besoin d'un* (though (ii) \**Elle en a besoin du premier chapitre*). A more productive set of exceptions, pointed out to us by J.-P. Boons, involves sentences like (iii) *Il en a recouvert la table d'une partie (du tissu)*, though not (iv) \**Il en a recouvert la table d'un plan (de Paris)* (example due to P. Hirschbuhler), where *du tissu*, but not *de Paris* seems reanalyzable as a complement of *recouvrir*.

The extraction of adnominal *en* can take place from indefinitely far down: (v) *Il en a lu la première moitié de la première partie du premier chapitre (du livre)*; (vi) *On en peindra le bout du pied gauche (de la table)*; these would be further exceptions if analyzed, for example, as <sub>NP</sub>[*le bout* <sub>PP</sub>[*du pied gauche* <sub>PP</sub>[*en*]]. However, such extraction is not entirely general: (vii) \**Elle en a pris les pattes du chien de l'auteur (du livre)* and may be possible only if the object NP can be reanalyzed, for example, as <sub>NP</sub>[*[le bout du pied gauche]* <sub>PP</sub>[*en*]].

(157) a. Il en voit trois. (de filles)

- b. \*Il en sourit à trois.
- c. \*Il en compte sur trois.
- d. \*Il en sort avec trois en même temps.

a/b/c/d. ‘He sees/smiles at/is counting on/goes out with three (girls).’

The same is true of the *en* corresponding to an adnominal complement:

(158) a. Il en connaît l'auteur. (du livre)

- b. \*Il en téléphonera à l'auteur.
- c. \*Il en compte sur l'auteur.
- d. \*Il s'en est brouillé avec l'auteur.

a/b/c/d. ‘He knows/telephones to/counts on/had a falling out with the author of it (the book).’

This constraint on the movement of *en* could, of course, be stated as an ad hoc restriction on the rule of Cl-Pl, but even internal to French it is evident that that would be to miss an important generalization, namely that other movement rules, such as *Wh* Movement, are subject to very similar restrictions. Compare (158) with the following sentences:<sup>57</sup>

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where *le bout du pied gauche* bears a determinerlike relationship, such as part-whole, to the referent of *en* (here *la table*). In this view, then, *les pattes du chien de l'auteur* bears no appropriate relationship to *le livre*. Further study is clearly required.

Interestingly, the above examples all involve the extraction of *en* from a PP itself introduced by the very preposition (*de*) to complements with which *en* corresponds. The problems of the latter paragraph also appear to carry over to the other rules discussed in the text; see (159)–(163). [(i) ‘She needs one of them.’ (iii) ‘He covered the table with a part of it (of the tissue).’ (iv) ‘He covered the table with a map of it (of Paris).’ (v) ‘He read the first half of the first part of the first chapter of it (of the book).’ (vi) ‘We’ll paint the tip of the left leg of it.’ (vii) ‘She took the paws of the dog of the author of it.’]

<sup>57</sup> Possible here is (i) *Au père de qui penses-tu?* (ii) *C'est à l'auteur de ce livre-là qu'il a téléphoné*, (iii) *Voilà la fille au père de qui il parlera*, etc. As noticed by Togeby (1966), *dont* acts differently: (iv) \**Voilà la fille au père dont il parlera*. To this, in turn may be related the existence, in earlier stages of French, of relatives like (v) *la fille dont au frère tu plais* (see Grevisse (1964, p. 479) and Haase (1969, p. 74)) where *dont* is displaced within the object PP, as well as to the many other restrictions on *dont* in contemporary French, such as its nonoccurrence in questions (see Kayne (forthcoming)). Relatives like (vi) *la*

- (159) a. De qui connaissez-vous le père?  
 b. \*De qui pensez-tu au père?  
 c. \*De qui as-tu juré contre le père?  
 a/b/c. ‘Of whom do you know/are you thinking about/did you swear at the father?’
- (160) a. De quoi avez-vous cassé le pied?  
 b. \*De quoi est-il appuyé contre le pied?  
 c. \*De quoi s'est-il assis sur le pied?  
 a/b/c. ‘Of what did you break/is he leaning against/did he sit down on the leg?’
- (161) a. Voilà la fille dont je connais le père.  
 b. \*Voilà la fille dont je parlerai au père.  
 c. \*Voilà la fille dont j'ai juré contre le père.  
 a/b/c. ‘There's the girl whose father I know/will speak to/swore at.’
- (162) a. C'est de ce livre-là qu'il connaît l'auteur.  
 b. \*C'est de ce livre-là qu'il a téléphoné à l'auteur.  
 c. \*C'est de ce livre-là qu'il a juré contre l'auteur.  
 a/b/c. ‘It's of that book that he knows/telephoned to/swore at the author.’
- (163) a. De Jean elle ne connaît que le père.  
 b. \*De Jean elle ne peut compter que sur le père.  
 c. \*De Jean elle ne s'entend qu'avec le père.

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*fille dont le père n'e parle plus avec la mère* might be analyzed as having *dont* originating on the subject, plus deletion of the complement of *la mère*. A number of relevant observations on relatives can be found in Foulet (1928).

The case of (163) is complicated by Barbaud's (1974) argument that certain such *de* phrases, for example, those occurring with superlatives (not those of (174)), must be base generated in S-initial position. If (163)a can/must be such a case, then an additional/alternative explanation for (163)b, c is necessary; see the semantic restrictions noted by Barbaud. His hypothesis accounts for the grammaticality of (vii) *De toutes ces filles, Jean n'est sorti qu'avec la plus jolie.* [(vii) ‘Of all those girls, Jean has gone out only with the prettiest.’]

a/b/c. ‘Of Jean she only knows/can count on/gets along with the father.’

Evidently, there is a general restriction in French against moving *de* + NP complements out of prepositional phrases, although they can be moved from nonprepositional phrases, for example, direct objects. As expected then, movement is also often permitted from subject position and from other nonprepositional predicate positions:

- (164) a. Le pied en est cassé. (de la table)
  - b. On en a nommé Jean président. (de l’organisation)
  - c. J’en croyais Jean l’auteur. (du livre)
  - d. J’en croyais Jean capable. (de faire cela)
    - a. ‘The foot of it is broken.’
    - b. ‘They named Jean president of it.’
    - c. ‘I thought Jean the author of it.’
    - d. ‘I thought Jean capable of it.’
  
- (165) a. Voilà la table dont le pied cassera.
  - b. ?C’est de ce livre-là que l’auteur est connu.
  - c. De quel pays l’a-t-on nommé président?
    - a. ‘There’s the table of which the leg will break.’
    - b. ‘It’s of that book that the author is known.’
    - c. ‘Of which country did they name him president?’

The generalization that the same kind of movement restrictions exist for prepositional phrases with *de* (with respect to *Wh* Movement, cleft sentence formation and contrastive proposing) and for *en* (with respect to Clitic Placement) constitutes a very strong argument that we have been correct in claiming that *en* is a pro-PP. At the least, we can now say that these constraints need be stated only once in the grammar of French, that is, as a general restriction on the movement of prepositional phrases.

## 2.8 The A-over-A Principle

It may be, though, that an even deeper level of explanation can be achieved. Specifically, this movement restriction in French would

seem to be subsumed under the language-independent “A over A” principle proposed by Chomsky, here applied to the category PP. In this way, we might be able to explain why these prepositional phrases are subject to movement transformations when they are complements of bare NPs, but not when complements of an NP itself embedded in a higher PP. Hence, we could account for the otherwise inexplicable fact that the learner of French is capable of extracting such a constraint from the data, a feat all the more improbable since the only relevant evidence is of the negative kind. In other words, this movement constraint need not be stated at all in the grammar of French but would be given by linguistic theory as a particular case of the more general A/A principle.<sup>58</sup>

An analysis involving the A/A principle, however, must take into account the fact that there can be two distinct formulations of it. On the one hand, it can be formulated so as to absolutely prohibit the extraction by a transformation of a phrase of category A from within a larger phrase also of category A. In the case of PPs, this would imply that no PP could be moved out of a more inclusive PP, although a PP could be moved out of a more inclusive NP. This describes precisely the paradigms (157)–(165). Let us call this the absolute formulation.

Alternatively, the principle might be formulated such that any transformation that could be interpreted as applicable to more than one phrase of type A must, in fact, apply to the most inclusive phrase of that type.<sup>59</sup> In certain cases, the two formulations (let us call the latter the “disambiguating” formulation) lead to the same result. For example, if the Passive transformation applies to a string of the form  $X - NP_1 - V - NP_2 - Y$ , yielding  $X - NP_2 - V - par\ NP_1 - Y$  (ignoring the auxiliary), and if we are given the string *La fille de Paul lira ce livre*, both formulations will prevent us from incorrectly taking  $NP_1$  to be *Paul*. Doing so would have yielded *\*La fille de ce livre sera lu par Paul*. The absolute formulation would have the desired effect, since it

<sup>58</sup> The validity of the A/A principle has, for example, been questioned by Ross (1967a), who proposes replacing it by several principles, none of which would account for the movement constraint concerning PPs just discussed. An attempt to treat the important problems raised by Ross is made in Chomsky (1968; 1971).

<sup>59</sup> More precisely: “... if a transformation applies to a structure of the form  $s[\dots]_A[\dots]_A\dots]_S$  for any category A, then it must be so interpreted as to apply to the maximal phrase of the type A” (Chomsky (1968)). Some discussion of the difference between this formulation and that of the previous paragraph can be found in Chomsky (1971).

would prohibit extracting an NP (*Paul*) from a more inclusive NP (*la fille de Paul*); the disambiguating formulation would achieve exactly the same effect, since it would require one to take NP<sub>1</sub> to be the more inclusive of the two NPs (*Paul* and *la fille de Paul*), which could satisfy the structural description of the transformation.

The disambiguating formulation of the A/A principle, however, would not account for the failure of *en* to be extracted from within a larger PP. Given a structure of the form  $_{\text{PP}}[X - _{\text{PP}}[en]]$ , as in (157)–(158)b–d, the extraction of the inner PP would, correctly, be prohibited by the absolute formulation. The disambiguating formulation, on the other hand, merely asserts that if some transformation could be interpreted to apply to either PP, then it would have to take the more inclusive one. The rule of Cl-Pl could not readily be interpreted to apply to the outer PP in  $_{\text{PP}}[\text{avec l'auteur } _{\text{PP}}[en]]$  at all; consequently, the extraction of the inner one would not be excluded.

This means that if the movement constraint on *en* (and therefore the more general constraint on PPs of which *en* is a particular case) is to be explained by recourse to the A/A principle, it must be via the absolute formulation of that principle.<sup>60</sup>

There is, in fact, another superficially asymmetric paradigm in French which would appear to be explicable in terms of the absolute formulation of the A/A principle, and that is the interaction of Cl-Pl with relative clauses. If a pronoun otherwise subject to Cl-Pl is modified by a relative clause, Cl-Pl may not apply,<sup>61</sup> as shown in (166), unless the pronoun in question is *en*:

- (166) a. ?Elle le dira volontiers à vous, qui n'êtes pas Américain.
- b. \*Elle vous le dira volontiers, (à) qui n'êtes pas Américain.
- a–b. ‘She'll gladly say it to you, who are not American.’

<sup>60</sup> A similar argument for the absolute formulation is made for Dutch by van Riemsdijk (1974). Notice that if *Wh* Movement is stated so as to move a phrase marked with a feature + *wh*, then the disambiguating formulation will not account for (159)–(161) either.

<sup>61</sup> Parallel to the impossibility of applying Cl-Pl in (166) is the failure of the possessive-pronoun-forming rule (see below) to apply in the presence of a relative: (i) \**C'est notre ami, qui sommes des linguistes*, (ii) \**Ensuite, elle a pris les vôtres, qui n'étiez pas là*. [(i) ‘He's our friend, who are linguists.’ (ii) ‘Then she took yours, who weren't there.’]

We thus have the following contrast:

- (167) a. Oui, elle a des soeurs, qui sont d'ailleurs très intelligentes.
  - b. Oui, elle connaît ces garçons, qui sont d'ailleurs très intelligents.
  - a/b. ‘Yes, she has sisters/knows those boys, who are, by the way, very intelligent.’
- (168) a. Oui, elle en a, qui sont d'ailleurs très intelligentes.
  - b. \*Oui, elle les connaît, qui sont d'ailleurs très intelligents.

The A/A principle (absolute formulation) would prohibit the extraction (as in (168)b, (166)b) of an accusative or dative pronoun from the relative clause configuration, that is,  $\text{NP}[\text{NP}[les]\text{ s}[qui\ sont\ .\ .\ .]]$  or  $\text{PP}[\text{à}\ \text{NP}[\text{NP}[vous]\text{ s}[.\ .\ .]]]$ , by virtue of the pronoun's being an NP itself embedded within the larger NP. The extraction of *en* in (168)a, on the other hand, is not prohibited by the principle since *en* is a PP:  $\text{NP}[\text{NP}[\text{PP}[en]]\text{ s}[qui\ .\ .\ .]]$ .

Notice that the constituent structure given here for the *en* in (168) raises an interesting question. There are several reasons for believing that “partitives,” such as *des soeurs*, are dominated by the node NP, that is,  $\text{NP}[des\ soeurs]$ , despite their initial preposition. These reasons are, first, their appearing with verbs subcategorized for “\_\_\_\_NP”; second, their filling other typical NP positions such as that of subject and of object of a preposition;<sup>62</sup> third, their being passivizable; and, fourth, their occurring in the detachment construction to the left, as in *Des soeurs, il en a* (pure PPs do not readily so occur). If the assumption that partitives are dominated by NP is correct, then one might wonder why the presence of such an NP node exhaustively dominating *en* in (168) does not block the extraction. One possibility would be to define the A/A principle as relevant to a phrase X of category A only when such a phrase is subject to a rule applying to the category A. That would, in turn, require that in moving *les* and *en*, as in (168), Cl-PI apply to the categories NP and PP, respectively. In other words,

<sup>62</sup> Partitives may not follow the preposition *de*. This gap is probably related to the resulting sequence of two *de*; see Gross (1967).

the structural description of Cl-Pl would have to include the symbols NP and PP,<sup>63</sup> for example:

$$V X \left\{ \begin{array}{l} PP[en/y] \\ NP[pronoun] \end{array} \right\}$$

Here “pronoun” stands for those elements subject to Cl-Pl other than *en* and *y*. In this way, the movement of *en* in (168) would be permitted, since the NP node dominating  $PP[en]$  in (168) could now be picked out by the A/A only in the case of a transformation applying to the category NP, and since Cl-Pl in moving *en* would apply to PP, rather than NP. Conversely, the similar NP node dominating *les (eux)* in (168) would trigger the A/A, thereby blocking the application of Cl-Pl, because Cl-Pl would be applying to the category NP in its application to accusatives and datives.

## 2.9 *En* and Partitives

Alternatively, one could preserve the account of (168) in terms of the A/A principle, without adding to the principle the specification “a rule applying to the category A,” by denying that Cl-Pl applies in (168) to a structure in which *en* is an NP. In particular, one might consider incorrect the structure given above, that is,  $NP[NP[PP[en]]S]$ , where *en* is exhaustively dominated by NP, and argue instead in favor of a structure  $NP[NP[Y PP[en]] S]$  with *Y* nonnull. In that case *en* would no longer be an NP at all (so the A/A principle would straightforwardly distinguish *en* from *les*). The justification of such a *Y* could take one of two paths. One might consider that in (168), as well as in simpler sentences such as *Elle en a (des soeurs)*, *en* has replaced the full partitive, that is, *des soeurs*. If so, postulating a nonnull *Y* amounts to postulating structures for partitives of the form  $NP[Y' des soeurs]$ ,  $NP[Y'' du vin]$ , where *Y'* and *Y''* (perhaps they would be the same element) are deleted by a rule applying subsequent to Cl-Pl. Along these lines, one might take *Y'*, *Y''* to be elements somewhat like *une partie* and might attribute a generic interpretation to the definite article of the partitive. In the absence of arguments supporting a specific choice of *Y'*, *Y''*, however, we shall prefer the second path.

Consider the gap in the following paradigm:

<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the rules of (159)–(163) would have to include the symbol PP.

- (169) a. A-t-elle une fleur rouge?  
 b. A-t-elle des fleurs rouges?  
 c. A-t-elle une fleur qui soit rouge?  
 d. A-t-elle des fleurs qui soient rouges?  
 e. En a-t-elle une rouge?  
 f. En a-t-elle des rouges?  
 g. En a-t-elle une qui soit rouge?  
 h. \*En a-t-elle des qui soient rouges?  
 a/b/c/d. ‘Does she have a red flower/red flowers/a flower that’s red/flowers that are red?’

If a noun preceded by *un(e)* or *des* and followed by an adjective or relative clause is replaced by *en*, the resulting sentence is grammatical except with *des* plus relative.<sup>64</sup> (This exception is especially noticeable in that the relatives in (169) are restrictive, as indicated by the impossibility of a nonrestrictivelike pause and by the subjunctive.) This gap is filled by

- (170) En a-t-elle qui soient rouges?

The nonappearance of the article is not possible in the other cases; corresponding to the first three sentences of (169), we do not have

- (171) a. \*En a-t-elle rouge?  
 b. \*En a-t-elle rouges?  
 c. \*En a-t-elle qui soit rouge?<sup>65</sup>

This suggests the postulation of a rule to delete *des* in front of relatives after *en* has been moved: *des S → Ø S*.

<sup>64</sup> This is valid for standard French, but not for popular French; see fn. 55. Some adjective-complement phrases pattern like relatives: (i) \**En a-t-elle des capables de me plaire?* (that is, \* in standard French). Perhaps it is just those, as suggested by Ronat (1974, chap. 1), which cannot be generated as adnominal adjectives by the PS rules. [(i) ‘Does she have any capable of pleasing me?’]

<sup>65</sup> This sentence would be possible as a partitive: *A-t-elle du rhum qui soit rouge?* Compare (ii) (*Du vin*), *j’en ai qui vient d’Amérique*. Also: (iii) *En a-t-elle du (\*qui soit) rouge?* Thus the *des* rule should extend to the partitive singular. We omit discussion of (iv) *Elle en a une de rouge* (not interchangeable with (v) *Elle en a une rouge*); compare *un jour de libre, rien de bon*. [(ii) ‘(Wine), I have some that comes from America.’ (iii) ‘Does she have any (that’s) red?’]

Returning to (169), we note that the *en* corresponds to a *de* phrase rather than to the noun alone, as indicated by detachment (cf. (152)):

- (172) En a-t-elle des rouges, de fleurs?

Thus, alongside  $_{NP}[une [de fleur]]$ , postulated in part as a consequence of *Elle en a une, de fleur*, one is led to  $_{NP}[une rouge [de fleur]]$ ,  $_{NP}[des rouges [de fleurs]]$ , or perhaps  $[une [de fleur] rouge]$ ,  $[des [de fleurs] rouges]$ . The three NPs shown demand a fourth, namely  $_{NP}[des [de fleurs]]$ , which, via the *de* deletion rule that takes  $[une de fleur]$  to  $[une fleur]$ , will provide the source for  $_{NP}[des fleurs]$ .

At this point there is no longer any reason to speak of *en* replacing a full partitive, since the *en* of *Elle en a* can be considered to replace the inner constituent *de fleurs*. Thus just as *Elle en a une* is derived from *Elle a [une en]* (cf. *Elle a [une de fleur]*), so will *Elle en a* be derived from *Elle a [des en]* (cf. *Elle a [des de fleurs]*). The application of Cl-PI will yield the intermediate structure *\*Elle en a des*, which can now be converted to the desired surface structure through the application of an extension of the *Des* Deletion rule motivated two paragraphs before this one.<sup>66</sup>

The preceding analysis implies that the *en* of (168) is derived from a structure that at the point of application of Cl-PI has the form *Elle a NP[NP[des PP[en]] S]*. Since *en* is not an NP there, the A/A principle will be irrelevant, as desired. After the movement of *en*, the *des* will be deleted, parallel to its deletion before the restrictive in (170).

This analysis makes it unnecessary to derive *en* from full partitives and thereby removes any need to call partitives PPs. (One might have argued that if *en* could replace partitives, then the latter would have to be PPs, since *en* is one.) In other words, the PP node in  $_{NP}[PP[des soeurs]]$  can be dispensed with, thereby leaving prior to the deletion of *de* the structure  $_{NP}[des PP[de soeurs]]$ ; and *des*, or more exactly *de* plus defi-

<sup>66</sup> For example:

$$\begin{array}{c} _{NP}[de + LE(S)] \rightarrow \emptyset \emptyset 3, \\ 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \end{array}$$

where LE stands for *le*, *la*, or *les*. The doubtful character of (i) *\*?Elle en a capables de te plaire* (see fn. 64) might be stated as a restriction on relative clause reduction subsequent to the deletion of *des*. The existence of the latter rule should likely be related to facts about other determiners: *le rouge* versus *\*le qui est rouge*; *\*le capable de te plaire*; *ces rouges*, *\*ces qui sont rouges*, *\*ces*; see Ronat (1974; 1975).

nite article, can be analyzed as a kind of complex determiner.<sup>67</sup> The advantages of not calling partitives PPs are several. First, the extraction of *en* in *Elle en a des rouges* is no longer an exception to the A/A principle or, at a more descriptive level, to the general constraint against extracting *en* from within larger PPs. Similarly, note the following contrast (where *en* refers to *de Paris*):

- (173) a. *Elle en a acheté des photos.*  
     b. \**Elle en a parlé des photos.*  
         a. ‘She bought some pictures of it.’  
         b. ‘She spoke about the pictures of it.’

This contrast can be explained in terms of the difference in structure between *acheter NP[des photos de Paris]* and *parler PP[des photos de Paris]*, that is, *parler PP[de NP[les photos de Paris]]*. Second, the fact that partitives are not subject to the rule preposing PPs (cf. (163)) is no longer disturbing:<sup>68</sup>

- (174) a. *Au policier elle n’aurait rien osé dire.*  
     b. *De Jean elle se souviendra toujours.*  
     c. *Des photos de ses enfants elle n’arrête pas de parler.*  
     d. \**Jean elle ne veut plus voir.*  
     e. \**Des photos de ses enfants elle a perdu hier soir.*  
         a. ‘To the policeman she would not have dared to say anything.’  
         b. ‘Jean she will always remember.’  
         c. ‘Of the pictures of her children she doesn’t stop talking.’  
         d. ‘Jean she doesn’t want to see anymore.’  
         e. ‘Pictures of her children she lost last night.’

Third, the fact that the rule for forming possessive articles (*le - N - à - moi* → *mon - N*; see section 2.20) is inapplicable to partitive NPs, as shown by (175), can be more naturally stated:

<sup>67</sup> A position taken by Gross (1967).

<sup>68</sup> This argument is not affected by a certain restriction on this preposing: (i) \**De ce vin-ci il a chauffé très peu* if this is related to (ii) \**C'est de tes livres que j'admire trois* (vs. (iii) *C'est des photos de ses enfants qu'elle a failli perdre*) and perhaps to (371) below.

- (175) a. Elle a parlé avec des amis à moi.  
       b. \*Elle a parlé avec de mes amis.  
       a–b. ‘She spoke with friends of mine.’

This restriction is not valid for *de-NP* phrases; thus we have these contrasts:<sup>69</sup>

- (176) a. Elle peut compter sur beaucoup de ses amis.  
       b. \*Elle peut compter sur de ses amis.  
       a. ‘She can count on many of her friends.’

The restriction could be stated as a requirement that the possessive rule replace *le(s)*, *la* with a pronoun only if the determiner node exhaustively dominates *le(s)*, *la*.

The preceding analysis leaves open the origin of the partitivelike phrase found in detached position<sup>70</sup> in *Elle en a trois, des frères*. Such sentences are less uniformly accepted than the usual *Elle en a trois, de frères*, except when no determiner or numeral is present, in which case *de* is impossible:

- (177) a. Elle en a, des frères.  
       b. \*Elle en a, de frères.  
       a–b. ‘She has some, brothers.’

(Only *de* is possible with *un*: \**Elle en a un, des frères*.) The ungrammaticality of *de* in (177) is complicated by

- (178) a. En a-t-elle qui soient bonnes, de photos?  
       b. \*En a-t-elle, de photos, qui soient bonnes?  
       a–b. ‘Does she have any that are good, photographs?’

(Compare *En a-t-elle, des photos, qui soient bonnes?*)

If compatible with the questions raised by the preceding paragraph, our analysis of *en*, and in particular the claim that *en* does not

<sup>69</sup> These recall (i) \**On a parlé des bouquins entiers* versus (ii) *On a dénoncé des bouquins entiers*, with *entier* and *les* compatible only in the partitive, for reasons unclear; cf. fn. 38, chap. 1. The archaic (iii) ?*Elle a tué de mes amis* may have had a true PP, see fn. 35, chap. 1, and Fay (1912). [(ii) ‘They denounced entire books.’]

<sup>70</sup> Perhaps relevant is the replacement in some dialects, for example, in Liège, of *beaucoup de frères* by *beaucoup des frères*.

replace full partitives but only the inner *de* phrase in the postulated structure [*des de frères*], will ensure that the extraction of *en* in (168) does not necessitate any modification in the A/A principle.

## 2.10 Further Observations on A/A

One property that distinguishes the A/A principle from other constraints on transformations, such as those in Ross (1967a), is that the A/A principle prohibits transformations from applying to phrases in certain environments only when there is a particular labeling of the embedded constituent. If we look in this way at (156)–(158), where the environment at issue is  $_{\text{PP}}[\dots X \dots]$ , the A/A principle prohibits the extraction from within the higher PP of any phrase *X* belonging to the same category, that is, PP; but in principle it says nothing about the extraction of otherwise labeled constituents. The movement of the dative pronoun by Cl-PI is, in fact, such a case; an element of the category NP is moved out of a PP. Examples exist, too, of the extraction of phrases of the category S from within a PP.

One such construction involves extraposition of relative clauses with indefinite pronouns such as *rien* as in *Rien ne s'est passé qui puisse vous intéresser* and *Il ne dira rien demain soir qui puisse vous intéresser*. Since the constituent being moved here is an S, and not a PP, there should be no prohibition against moving it out of a more inclusive PP, and there is not. The following thus contrasts with (156)–(163):

- (179) Il ne parlera de rien demain soir qui puisse vous intéresser.

'He won't speak of anything tomorrow evening that could interest you.'

Similarly, we have *De quoi a-t-il pu parler qui puisse m'intéresser?* Extraposition of a (reduced) sentential complement is also operative with comparatives and, as expected, is not affected by the presence of a higher PP:

- (180) a. Autant de filles sont venues que de garçons.  
 b. Il est sorti avec autant de blondes cette année que de rousse.  
 a. 'As many girls came as boys.'  
 b. 'He's gone out with as many blondes this year as redheads.'

The extraposition of *de* + Adj is very much like that of relative

clauses, as in *Rien ne s'est passé de très intéressant* and *Il ne dira rien demain soir de très intéressant*. Here too, extraposition out of a PP seems to be possible:

- (181) a. Il ne parlera de rien demain soir de très intéressant.
- b. De quoi a-t-il pu parler de si intéressant?
- a. ‘He won’t speak of anything very interesting tomorrow evening.’
- b. ‘Of what so interesting could he have spoken?’

This would present no difficulty if *de* + Adj were dominated by the node S. (In any case, there is no reason to think *de* + Adj is dominated by PP, which would imply having a PS rule: PP → P - Adj). In the absence of a detailed study of *de* before adjectives, however, this question must remain open.

On the other hand, a problem for the A/A principle (absolute formulation) lies in the existence of sentences like<sup>71</sup>

- (182) a. ?Elle connaît la fille avec laquelle on tient à ce que tu te maries.
- b. Elle connaît la fille avec laquelle tu tiens à te marier.
- a/b. ‘She knows the girl (with) whom they’re anxious for you to marry/you’re anxious to marry.’

Here a PP *avec laquelle* has been extracted from a more inclusive PP *à ce que tu te maries* \_\_\_, *à te marier* \_\_\_. A way of getting around this kind of difficulty has been noted by Chomsky (1968), who suggests the possibility of assigning “transparency with respect to the A/A principle” to certain constituents based on their internal structure. Applied to the case at hand, this would mean assigning “transparency” to the prepositional object of *tenir* on the basis of its internal structure not being that of a typical NP (especially so in the case of the infinitival object).

<sup>71</sup> For further examples, see Moreau (1970, pp. 272–273). J.-P. Boons has brought to our attention the fact that extraction out of Prep + *ce que* S is possible only when *ce que* S is not paraphrasable by *le fait que* S (although there may be cases in which neither extraction nor such a paraphrase is possible). Correlations of a similar nature in English are discussed in Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970).

Finally, we note that the A/A principle is not relevant to the “detachment” construction in the sense that the detached PPs *de voiture*, *de stylo* appear to have originated within the more inclusive PPs, *sur la mienne*, *du tien*.

- (183) a. Il est tombé sur la mienne, de voiture.  
 b. Elle se servira du tien alors, de stylo.  
 a. ‘He fell on mine, car.’  
 b. ‘She’ll use yours then, pen.’

This construction is, moreover, not subject to certain other movement restrictions. Adnominal complements introduced by a preposition other than *de*, for example, possessive complements in *à (un ami à moi)* are not extractable, as shown in (184)a–c, although (184)d is acceptable:

- (184) a. \*A moi il a rencontré un ami hier soir.  
 b. \*C'est à toi qu'il a rencontré un ami hier soir.  
 c. \*A qui as-tu rencontré des amis l'autre jour?  
 d. Son mari est mort, à cette femme.  
 d. ‘Her husband died, that woman.’

This asymmetry between the detachment construction and movement transformations would seem to be related to the fact that the former is not a simple extraction transformation but usually, as in (184)d, involves the appearance of a pronoun corresponding to the detached element:

- (185) a. Il *en* a pris une, de pomme.  
 b. Elle *lui* parle souvent, à son frère.  
 c. *Il* est marrant, celui-là.

One consequence of this observation is that the absolute formulation of the A/A principle (as well as whatever is responsible for the ungrammaticality of (184)a–c) cannot be generalized to every kind of grammatical rule; in particular, it is not applicable to the rule(s) involved in detachment. We note that one can, in principle, ask of any condition on transformations whether it is applicable to a more or less

extended class of rules. One condition on transformations which is, in fact relevant to a wider class of rules, and in particular to the “detachment” construction, is that operative in the following paradigm:<sup>72</sup>

- (186) a. Les films qui le passionnent tant, celui-là, ont tous été interdits.  
           b. \*Les films qui le passionnent tant ont tous été interdits, celui-là.  
           a–b. ‘The films that turn him on so much, that guy, have all been banned.’

Before returning to our study of *en*, we shall consider a construction that might at first glance seem to invalidate our earlier claim (see (166)–(168)) that Cl-Pl could not apply to accusative (or dative) pronouns modified by a relative clause:

- (187) a. Je l'ai vu qui courait à toute vitesse.<sup>73</sup>  
           b. Elle l'a rencontré qui sortait du cinéma.  
           a. ‘I saw him running at full speed.’  
           b. ‘She met him<sub>i</sub> coming<sub>i</sub> out of the movies.’

We shall claim, however, that these are not relative clauses, in the sense that they are derived not from structures of the form  $V_{NP}[NP[lui] s[qui \dots]]$  but rather from structures of the form  $V_{NP}[lui] s[qui \dots]$  where the sentence complement is not dominated by the object NP. Sentences (187) should be grouped instead with sentences like (188), which is not an example of a relative clause either.

- (188) Elle est là qui pleure comme une Madeleine.  
           ‘She's there weeping copiously.’

<sup>72</sup> The condition in question is Ross's (1967a) “upward bounding.” We note that it is not clear that detachment is to be considered movement plus the leaving behind of a pronominal copy. The desirability of “pronominal copy” rules is questioned in Kayne (1972). The nonappearance of a “pronominal copy” in (183) is related to (i) *Il est tombé sur la mienne* versus (ii) \**Il en est tombé sur la mienne* (cf. fn. 55).

<sup>73</sup> An insightful discussion of the semantics of *voir* in this and other constructions can be found in Hatcher (1944b). A number of the properties of *voir* in this construction are pointed out by Gross (1968).

The construction in question differs from relative clauses in a number of significant ways. It is restricted with respect to the higher verb:

- (189) a. \*Je le connais qui court à toute vitesse.
- b. Je le vois qui court à toute vitesse.
- a/b. 'I know/see him running at full speed.'

It is also restricted with respect to tense:

- (190) a. \*Je le vois qui courait à toute vitesse.
- b. \*Elle est là qui pleurera demain.

And it is restricted with respect to the embedded verb:

- (191) a. \*Je l'ai vu qui était petit.
- b. \*Elle l'a rencontré qui ne l'aimait pas.
- c. \*Elle est là qui est grosse.
- a. 'I saw him being small.'
- b. 'She met him not liking her.'
- c. 'She's there being fat.'

Moreover, unlike in relatives, it is only the subject of the embedded sentence which can be deleted:

- (192) a. \*Je l'ai vu que Jean frappait.
- b. \*Elle est là que ton ami insulte.
- a. 'I saw him Jean hitting.'
- b. 'She's there your friend insulting.'

Also, the object NP can be passivized without the sentence complement being moved:

- (193) Ton frère a été vu qui volait son voisin.  
'Your brother was seen robbing his neighbor.'

In fact, the sentence complement cannot be moved. The sentence (194) can only be the nonrestrictive relative:

- (194) Ton frère, qui volait son voisin, a été vu.

(In other words, a sentence like *On a vu ton frère, qui volait son voisin* with a nonclitic object is structurally ambiguous.)

Rather than with relative clauses, the construction exemplified in (187)–(188) has much in common with the present participle construction:

- (195) a. Je l'ai vu courant à toute vitesse.
- b. Elle l'a rencontré sortant du cinéma.
- c. Elle est là pleurant comme une Madeleine.

For example, parallel to (189) we have

- (196) a. \*Je le connais courant à toute vitesse.
- b. Je le vois courant à toute vitesse.

In addition, the understood tense in (195) is that expressed overtly in (187)–(188). Parallel to (191), we have

- (197) a. \*Je l'ai vu étant petit.
- b. \*Elle l'a rencontré ne l'aimant pas.
- c. \*Elle est là étant grosse.

In (197) the participle is to be interpreted (in the first two examples) as referring to the object. In the third there may be a possible interpretation as in *?Etant grosse, elle est là*, but none parallel to (188). Like (192) is

- (198) a. \*Je l'ai vu Jean frappant.
- b. \*Elle est là ton ami insultant.

And like (193) is:

- (199) Ton frère a été vu volant son voisin.

We suggest, then, that (187)–(188) are derived from structures resembling *Je - ai - vu - lui - s[que - lui courait à toute vitesse]*, *Elle - a - rencontré - lui - s[que - lui sortait du cinéma]*, *Elle - est - là - s[que - elle pleure]*, where the S complements are directly dominated either by VP or by the top S node (not by the object NP), via deletion of the subject and change from *que* to *qui*. (Along these lines, (195) might be derived from a similar structure; rather than “tense” we would have the pre-

sent participle morpheme.<sup>74</sup> The obligatory deletion of the identical subject would be common to both constructions).<sup>75</sup> In light of such an analysis, the claim that Cl-Pl does not apply to pro-NPs modified by a relative clause can be maintained. Cl-Pl will not be blocked in (187) because the NP-dominated object pronoun is not contained in any more inclusive NP.

In conclusion, then, we have shown how two otherwise mysterious facts about French syntax, the restriction on the movement of PPs and the interaction of Cl-Pl and relative clauses, are explicable in terms of the absolute formulation of the language-independent A/A principle (assuming resolution of the problem of (182) and those of footnote 56). In both instances, the PP character of *en* plays an important role.

## 2.11 Source for *En*

We return to the question of what exactly Cl-Pl moves. We argued earlier that, in the case of accusatives and datives, Cl-Pl moves only bare pro-forms, and shall now ask whether the same is true in the case of *en* and *y*. The PP character of these two pro-forms, in favor of which we have just presented a certain amount of evidence, is, however, not in itself sufficient to prove the point. For example, with respect to *en*, one could envision an analysis in which *en* would be derived from *de + lui/elle/etc. . . .*, a not unnatural possibility in light of *ens* always corresponding to PPs introduced by *de*. A sentence such as *Il n'en connaît aucune* could then be derived from a structure *Il ne*

<sup>74</sup> Not all sentences with final present participle phrases are paralleled by sentences like (187)–(188). For example, Gross (1968, p. 122) correlates (i) *Pierre décrit Jeanne buvant du matin au soir* with (ii) *Pierre décrit Jeanne comme si elle buvait/comme buvant du matin au soir*. Conversely, we have (iii) *La voilà qui est riche* (if she's just become so), but not (iv) \**La voilà étant riche*. [(ii) 'Pierre is describing Jeanne as drinking from morning till night.']}

<sup>75</sup> The two constructions also have in common the property that *Wh* Movement cannot apply to the object of the embedded sentence: (i) \**La fille que je l'ai vu embrassant*; (ii) \**La fille que je l'ai vu qui embrassait*.

The nonappearance of *que* in (195) correlates with the nonfinite character of the verb. The restrictions with respect to tense and the higher and lower verb mentioned in the text still need to be explained, and the nature of the sentence complement needs to be made more precise (especially the *wh*-construction-like appearance of *qui*; cf. Moreau (1971)). As concerns that S, it appears that it is always optional; for example, those verbs which occur in sentences like (187) can invariably occur without it: (iii) *Je l'ai vu hier soir* (iv) *Elle l'a rencontré à Paris* (similarly (v) *Elle est là depuis longtemps*). [(i) 'The girl who I saw him kissing.']}

*connaît aucune de + elles* via replacement of *de + elles* by *en* and Cl-Pl. The crucial question is how these two operations would be ordered with respect to one another. If the replacement of *de + elles* by *en* preceded Cl-Pl, then such an analysis would be compatible with the characterization of Cl-Pl as moving only bare pro-forms. If, on the other hand, the replacement operation was considered to follow Cl-Pl, that is, if we had *Il ne connaît aucune de + elles* → *Il ne de + elles connaît aucune* → *Il ne en connaît aucune*, then Cl-Pl would be moving a preposition along with a pro-form, contrary to the hypothesis. We shall now argue that if that replacement operation exists, it must precede Cl-Pl.

Consider the following paradigm:

- (200) a. Aucune n'est intelligente.
  - b. \*Tu ne connais aucune.
  - c. Il n'est ami avec aucune.
  - a. 'None is intelligent.'
  - b. 'You know none.'
  - c. 'He's friends with none.'
- (201) a. \*Aucune n'en est intelligente.
  - b. Tu n'en connais aucune.
  - c. \*Il n'en est ami avec aucune.

In an appropriate context, such as *Jean a beaucoup de soeurs*, *aucune* may appear without an overt complement—except when in direct object position. Conversely, the direct object position is precisely that which is compatible with an *en* corresponding to the complement of *aucune*. We propose the following account of these complementary asymmetries: There is a rule that deletes the *en* complement of *aucune*:  $NP[aucune - en] \rightarrow NP[aucune - \emptyset]$ . This rule is the source for the grammatical sentences of (200). Furthermore, this rule follows Cl-Pl; such an ordering accounts for the ungrammaticality of *\*Tu ne connais aucune*. Given a structure containing [*aucune - en*] in direct object position, Cl-Pl applies first, preposing *en* to the verb and thereby ensuring that the deletion rule will not have a chance to apply. Since Cl-Pl cannot apply to [*aucune - en*] in subject or prepositional comple-

ment position, as seen in (201), the deletion rule may apply in those cases. We note that the preceding analysis depends on Cl-Pl applying obligatorily to direct object [*aucune - en*], a consideration we shall return to in sections 2.17 and 2.19.

The paradigm for [*aucune - de - elles*] does not complement (200) in the way that (201) does; we have instead

- (202) a. Aucune d'elles n'est intelligente.
- b. Tu ne connais aucune d'elles.
- c. Il n'est ami avec aucune d'elles.

If Cl-Pl applied to *de + elles* rather than to *en*, with *en* then derived only from preposed *de + elles*, then the deletion rule for (200) would have to delete *de + elles*, and not *en* (since *en* would not exist within NPs at all). This presumed deletion rule would then apply to *Tu ne connais aucune d'elles*, incorrectly yielding \**Tu ne connais aucune*. Ordering it after Cl-Pl would be of no help, since if Cl-Pl could apply to *de + elles*, Cl-Pl would clearly have to be optional. In other words, taking Cl-Pl to apply to *de + elles* prevents us from accounting for the gap in (200). We conclude that Cl-Pl does not apply to *de + elles*.<sup>76</sup>

We based the preceding argument on the assumption that there exists a rule replacing *de + eux/etc.* by *en*; that argument supported the conclusion that such a rule would have to precede Cl-Pl. That assumption is not, however, a necessary one. It is a priori equally possible that *en* is introduced as such under the node PP in the base.<sup>77</sup> If such were the case, it would follow immediately that Cl-Pl, with respect to *en*, moves only a bare pro-form.

Base-generation of *y* and *en* as PPs would account for the absence, alongside *Il se souvient de son voyage, qui était réussi, Il pense à son voyage, qui sera réussi*, of (203) if relatives introduced within PPs, that is,

<sup>76</sup> Notice that it must still be the case that the deletion rule in question applies only to *en*, and not at all to *de + elles*, if the contrast between (202) and (200) is to be accounted for. That the deletion of *en* in the last sentence of (200) does not violate the A/A principle suggests that the principle is not relevant to deletion rules (see the discussion of (183)–(186)), and emphasizes the movement rule character of Cl-Pl; compare the deletion mentioned in fn. 57.

<sup>77</sup> This question is related to that of how to treat pronominalization in general; base generation of *en* is plausible only alongside base generation of NP-like pronouns. For some discussion of this issue, see Bresnan (1971a), Kayne (1971), Gross (1972), Wasow (1972), and the references cited therein.

$_{\text{PP}}[\text{PP-S}]$ , are required to refer to the entire inner PP (as in *She sat down in front of John, where there was a lot of room*).

- (203) a. \*Il s'en souvient, qui était réussi.
- b. \*Il y pense, qui sera réussi.
- a. ‘He remembers it, which was successful.’
- b. ‘He’s thinking about it, which will be successful.’

Alternatively, if *en* and *y* are derived from P + Pro by transformation, (203) could be excluded by requiring that the replacement rule in question apply only to constituents (in  $_{\text{PP}}[de \text{ NP}[son \text{ voyage } S]]$ , *de son voyage* is not a constituent). The contrast between (203) and *En a-t-elle une qui soit rouge?* implies in addition that *une fleur qui soit rouge* have the structure [*une [de fleur] S*] (perhaps derived from [*une S [de fleur]*]) rather than [*une [de fleur S]*]. It should be noted that the base generation of *en* would imply that the *de* of any *de* complement replaceable by *en* must not have been inserted by transformation. The appearance of *en* in sentences like (204) would then be relevant:

- (204) a. Elle en est aimée.
- b. Tout le monde en connaît la soeur.
- c. Il en a approuvé la destruction.
- a. ‘She’s loved by them.’
- b. ‘Everyone knows the sister of her.’
- c. ‘He approved the destruction of it.’

In such cases the PS rules would have to generate PPs with *de* in sentences like *Elle est aimée de ses enfants*, *Tout le monde connaît la soeur de Marie*, *Il a approuvé la destruction de la ville*, despite the absence of *de* in the superficially related *Ses enfants aime Marie; sa soeur, à Marie; On a détruit la ville*.

We recall that such base generation of *en* would be sufficient but not necessary for the conclusion that Cl-Pl moves the single morpheme *en*, a conclusion that we have seen supported by a certain amount of evidence too under the alternative hypothesis that *en* is derived from *de + lui, eux, etc.* That conclusion, however, would not be supported if one derived *en* from *de + Pro<sub>u</sub>*, where *Pro<sub>u</sub>* is some abstract pronoun distinct from *lui, eux, etc.*, since the argument based on (202) would

then no longer hold (provided the deletion rule in (200) is likewise stated as applying to *de* +  $\text{Pro}_u$ ).<sup>78</sup> Consequently, although Cl-Pl, in its application to accusatives and datives, moves only single morphemes that are pro-forms, it might, in the case of *en*, be applying to a string preposition + (abstract) pro-form. We leave this question open.<sup>79</sup>

Before turning to a further question about the derivation of the dative clitics, we shall briefly discuss one theoretical point that concerns the use of the category symbol PP. The existence of a category PP distinct from NP has occasionally been brought into question;<sup>80</sup> that is, one might propose that prepositional phrases be assigned the structure  $_{\text{NP}}[\text{P} - \text{NP}]$  rather than  $_{\text{PP}}[\text{P} - \text{NP}]$ . Taking this step would not necessarily prevent one, at least in certain cases, from stating a transformation that applied to prepositional complements but not to direct objects. For example, consider the following such case (cf. (174)):

- (205) a. Avec celle-là il ne sortirait pas.
- b. Sur celui-là il ne faut absolument pas compter.
- c. \*Celle-là il ne ferait pas danser.
- d. \*Les bouquins de sa femme il n'aurait pas mis à la poubelle.
- a. ‘With that one he wouldn’t go out.’
- b. ‘On that guy you should absolutely not count.’
- c. ‘That one he wouldn’t dance with.’
- d. ‘His wife’s books he wouldn’t have put in the garbage.’

One could in principle describe these facts by means of a transformation that applied to P - NP (rather than PP). The same kind of solution may not, however, be available with *en*.

<sup>78</sup> As brought to our attention by N. Chomsky. Such an analysis could have Cl-Pl (*en*):

$\text{V } X \text{ } de + \text{Pro}_u \rightarrow en + 1 \ 2 \ \emptyset,$   
 1    2    3

whereas the alternative analysis supposes:

$\text{V } X \text{ } en \rightarrow 3 + 1 \ 2 \ \emptyset.$   
 1    2    3

<sup>79</sup> The analysis of this paragraph would require clarification of the status of  $\text{Pro}_u$ . If correct, it would mean taking representations like  $_{\text{NP}}[\text{aucun} - en]$  as informal abbreviations for  $_{\text{NP}}[\text{aucun de Pro}_u]$ . *Y* will probably be best analyzed parallel to *en*.

<sup>80</sup> A discussion of this matter can be found in Postal (1971).

We recall that there is a systematic constraint in French against moving PPs out from within more inclusive PPs (see (159)–(163)) and that the movement of *en* by Cl-Pl is one of the rules affected (see (157)–(158)). In the case of rules such as *Wh* Movement and cleft formation, one could restate this constraint by saying, for example, that the movement of a constituent of the form *de* + NP is prohibited under certain conditions. But we have seen that at the point of application of Cl-Pl, *en*, though dominated by the node PP, may not be a constituent of the form *de* + NP, but simply a bare pro-form, in which case the generalization that the movement of *en* is subject to a constraint operative on rules moving *de* + NP would be statable only if reference is made to a node PP. In fact, if the absolute formulation of the A/A principle is the correct explanation for the constraint in question, then there must be a category PP distinct from NP quite independently of what exactly Cl-Pl moves (if we had <sub>NP</sub>[P - NP], then the grammatical sentences of (157)–(165) would all incorrectly be excluded).<sup>81</sup>

## Part III

### 2.12 Dative Clitics from PPs with $\dot{A}$

Up until now, we have been using examples of dative clitics clearly associated with complements of the form *à* + NP, as in *On lui parlera*, *Elle lui offrira un bouquin*—*On parlera à ce garçon*, *Elle offrira un bouquin à ce garçon*. We have argued that these clitics are placed in preverbal position by a movement transformation called Cl-Pl, and that the associated *à* is left behind and later deleted, except in the presence of another morpheme under the same PP node, for example, *Elle leur parlera à tous*. A typical derivation would be, roughly, *On parle à lui* → *On lui parle à* → *On lui parle Ø*.

We should like to raise the following question: Are there any cases of the dative clitic arising through movement of a pronoun directly preceded by a preposition other than *à*? There are numerous examples in which the answer is clearly negative, in the sense that with

<sup>81</sup> The fact that the nodes NP and PP presumably share more syntactic properties than do pairs such as V, PP might suggest that category symbols be reanalyzed as complexes of features (see Chomsky (1970a) and Postal (1971)), in which case NP and PP would not need to be totally distinct.

another preposition no corresponding sentence with a dative clitic is possible at all (whether the preposition is deleted or not):

- (206) a. *Elle a voté pour Paul.*
- b. *Il compte sur ses amis.*
- c. *On a remplacé Jean-Jacques par cette fille.*
- d. *Nous discuterons de lui.*
- e. \**Elle lui a voté (pour).*
- f. \**Il leur compte (dessus).*
- g. \**On lui a remplacé Jean-Jacques (par).*
- h. \**Nous lui discuterons (de).*
- a. ‘She voted for Paul.’
- b. ‘He’s counting on his friends.’
- c. ‘They replaced Jean-Jacques with this girl.’
- d. ‘We’ll discuss him.’

There are, however, certain contexts in which the dative clitic might at first glance appear to be derived from a complement with a preposition other than *à*. We shall argue that in each case there are compelling reasons for rejecting such a derivation in favor of one in which Cl-Pl applies to a pronoun directly preceded by *à*.

For many speakers, it is the case that of the following two nearly synonymous sentences, the second is felt as somewhat “popular” compared to the first:<sup>82</sup>

- (207) *On a construit une maison pour Jean.*

‘They built a house for Jean.’

- (208) *On a construit une maison à Jean.*

The corresponding sentence with clitic, though, is not felt as popular:

- (209) *On lui a construit une maison.*

In this sense it seems to correspond more closely to (207) than to (208). One might therefore be tempted to extend Cl-Pl so as to derive

<sup>82</sup> Compare Gross (1968, p. 35).

(209) from a structure resembling (210) via movement of the pronoun and subsequent deletion of *pour*:

- (210) *On construit une maison pour lui.*

(Such a deletion would be parallel to the deletion of *à* in *On lui parle*.)<sup>83</sup> However, Cl-Pl would still be applicable to structures like \**On a construit une maison à lui*, so that (209) would have to be considered structurally ambiguous. In other words, an analysis in which Cl-Pl applied to (210) would not generate a sentence not already generable but would merely account for the stylistic differences among (207)–(209).

There is, moreover, a strong syntactic argument to the effect that increasing the power of Cl-Pl in this way would be ill conceived. Consider sentences such as

- (211) a. *Elle leur a souri à tous.*  
 b. *Il leur en a construit à tous les deux.*  
 a. ‘She smiled at all of them.’  
 b. ‘He built some for both of them.’

These are derived via Cl-Pl from structures containing PPs of the form *à + eux + tous (les deux)*. Cl-Pl removes the pronoun, leaving behind *à + tous (les deux)*, in which case the *à* is not deleted. If Cl-Pl were extended to apply to pronouns preceded by prepositions other than *à*, then we would expect to find sentences like (211) with these prepositions. In particular, we would expect the following to be grammatical:

- (212) \**Il leur en a construit pour tous (les deux).*

If Cl-Pl were applicable to pronouns directly preceded by *pour*, then (212) should be derivable from the structure underlying

- (213) *Il en a construit pour eux tous.*

Cl-Pl should apply to the string *pour + eux + tous (les deux)*, extracting

<sup>83</sup> Deletion of *pour* would, however, be less natural than deletion of *à* in that there exist sentences with bare *pour*: *Moi, je suis pour*. In light of the results of the previous section, we would certainly not want to have Cl-Pl move *pour* itself.

the pronoun and leaving behind *pour + tous (les deux)*; the *pour* would then fail to be deleted, parallel to the *à* in (211), yielding (212), which is, however, ungrammatical. The contrast between (211) and (212) would be difficult to explain if dative clitics could be derived from pronouns immediately preceded either by *à* or by *pour*. On the other hand, if Cl-Pl is restricted to deriving dative clitics from prepositional complements in *à*, the ungrammaticality of (212) is accounted for, since (212) could be derived only from the impossible *\*Il en a construit à eux pour tous (les deux)*. Further evidence against deriving dative clitics from the environment *pour* \_\_\_\_ comes from semantic considerations. There seems to be a slight difference in meaning between (207) and (208). In some sense, the construction with *à* implies a kind of direct connection between the subject of the sentence and the object of the preposition which is not implied by the *pour* construction. Consequently, of the following two sentences, with *acheter à* meaning ‘buy for’, not ‘buy from’, only the second is appropriate if the subject is not the head of a huge family, but merely thinking of his future descendants:

(214) Il achète des jouets aux petits-fils de ses petits-fils.

(215) Il achète des jouets pour les petits-fils de ses petits-fils.

‘He’s buying toys for his grandchildren’s grandchildren.’

In the same vein, sentence (216), again with *acheter à* corresponding to ‘buy for’, suggests extrasensory capabilities in a way that (217) does not:

(216) Il achète cette pierre tombale à son grand-père, qui est mort il y a dix ans.

(217) Il achète cette pierre tombale pour son grand-père, qui est mort il y a dix ans.

‘He’s buying that tombstone for his grandfather, who died ten years ago.’

Significantly, the corresponding sentences with dative clitics seem to have the same implications as the sentences with *à*. Thus the sentences of (218) have the same requirements for appropriateness as (214),

(216),<sup>84</sup> thereby underlining the desirability of deriving dative clitics only from *à* complements.

- (218) a. Il leur achète des jouets.
- b. Il lui achète cette pierre tombale.

A third argument supporting that claim can be made on the basis of the following contrast (given neutral intonation):

- (219) On en a construit pour lui.

‘They built some for him.’

- (220) \*On en a construit à lui.

The ungrammaticality of (220) is a consequence of the relatively obligatory character of Cl-Pl (see Part IV), which must apply to the pronoun, yielding *On lui en a construit*. The grammaticality of (219), on the other hand, correlates with the inapplicability of Cl-Pl to the pronoun in *pour lui*.

Finally, restricting the applicability of Cl-Pl to pronouns immediately preceded by *à* allows a revealing account of certain facts concerning the “detachment” construction, as in

- (221) a. Il est parti, ton ami.
- b. Elle l'a déjà vu, ce film-là.
- a. ‘He left, your friend.’
- b. ‘She's already seen it, that film.’

Without providing a complete derivation of this construction, we point out the different behavior of *à* and *pour* in

- (222) On leur en construira, à tes amis.

‘We'll build them some, your friends.’

- (223) \*On leur en construira, pour tes amis.

If the dative clitic could be derived from either *à* or *pour* comple-

<sup>84</sup> A similar phenomenon exists in English with a superficially different pair of constructions: (i) *He's buying those toys for his future grandchildren.* (ii) ?*He's buying his future grandchildren those (some) toys.* For further discussion of the semantics of *à* versus *pour*, see Spang-Hanssen (1963, pp. 133–152).

ments, it would be difficult to see how these two sentences could be distinguished. Given a theory in which such clitics came only from *à* complements, however, there is a rather natural way of accounting for these facts. Let us suppose that at some point in the derivation of these sentences we have the structure  $s[s[\dots C^1\dots]C]$  where C is the constituent that appears to the right of the comma, and  $C^1$  is identical to C except that the lexical element in C is replaced by an appropriate pro-form. The inner sentence is then subject to the usual transformations, in particular to Cl-Pl.<sup>85</sup> In this way, (222) is derived from a structure containing  $\dots à eux, à tes amis$ , to which Cl-Pl applies, yielding  $\dots leur \dots, à tes amis$ . Sentence (223) is excluded, since it would have had to come from  $*\dots à eux, pour tes amis$ , which violates the identity conditions on detachment we have proposed.

This way of considering the “detachment” construction works well, too, with those adjectives which accept complements in either *à* or *pour*.<sup>86</sup> For example, we have

- (224) a. Il est pénible pour ces enfants de devoir partir.
- b. Il est pénible à ces enfants de devoir partir.
- a–b. ‘It’s painful for those children to have to leave.’

But note the following:

- (225) a. \*Cela leur est pénible, pour ces enfants.
- b. Cela leur est pénible, à ces enfants.

*Pénible* in (226) is also like *construire* in (219)–(220):

- (226) a. Cela est pénible pour eux.
- b. \*Cela est pénible à eux.

And compare the following with (211)–(212):

<sup>85</sup> In sentences like (i) *Il en parle tout le temps, de son film*, (ii) *Il y pense constamment, à ce problème*, it is not just the lexical element in C, but all of C, which turns up as a pro-form (PP) in  $C^1$ . Not all detachment structures yield a grammatical result: (iii) \**On ne peut pas compter sur lui, sur ce garçon*. (iv) \**Elle ne veut plus jouer avec lui, avec ce garçon*. (Cf. (v) *Ce garçon, on ne peut pas compter sur lui*.) C need not contain a lexical noun: (vi) *Il est parti, lui*, (vii) *Elle n'a pas envie de lui parler, à celui-là*. The notion appropriate pronoun requires further study, along with the difference between (viii) *C'est beau, la mer* and (ix) *Elle est belle, la mer*.

<sup>86</sup> A list of such adjectives can be found in Picabia (1970).

- (227) a. \*Cela leur est pénible pour tous.  
       b. Cela leur est pénible à tous.

Another construction displaying similar paradigms is the *faire* construction:

- (228) On fera manger ce gâteau à Jean.

'We'll have Jean eat this cake.'

- (229) On fera manger ce gâteau par Jean.

'We'll have this cake eaten by Jean.'

If we are correct in claiming that dative clitics are not derived from prepositional complements other than those in *à*, the following should correspond to (228) rather than to (229):

- (230) On lui fera manger ce gâteau.

In fact, it does generally align with (228) as far as semantic and distributional (see section 3.5) differences between (228) and (229) are concerned. Moreover, the impossibility of deriving dative clitics from complements in *par* accounts for

- (231) a. On lui fera manger ce gâteau, à Jean.  
       b. \*On lui fera manger ce gâteau, par Jean.

- (232) a. On leur fera manger ce gâteau à tous les deux.  
       b. \*On leur fera manger ce gâteau par tous les deux.  
       a. 'We'll have both of them eat this cake.'

- (233) a. \*On fera manger ce gâteau à lui.  
       b. ?On fera manger ce gâteau par lui.<sup>87</sup>

The superficially most appealing case for deriving dative clitics from prepositional complements other than those in *à* is no doubt that of

- (234) a. Jean court après Marie.

<sup>87</sup> The awkwardness of *par lui* here or, even worse, *par toi* should be related to the difficulty in accepting passives with personal pronoun agents: (i) ??*Ce gâteau sera mangé par toi*. The relationship between (229) and passives is explored in sections 3.5, 3.6.

- b. Jean lui court après.
  - c. \*Jean court après à Marie.
  - d. Cette pierre tombera sur le garçon.
  - e. Cette pierre lui tombera dessus.<sup>88</sup>
  - f. \*Cette pierre tombera dessus au garçon.
- a/b. ‘Jean is running after Marie/her.’
- d/e. ‘That stone will fall on the boy/him.’

Here we have verbs cooccurring with an *après* or *sur* complement, but not at all with an *à* complement, yet able to be preceded by a dative clitic. These verbs thus differ significantly from the constructions with *pour* and *par* discussed above, where *à* was possible as an “alternative” to *pour* or *par*.

One might, then, be tempted to extend Cl-Pl to operate in the environment *après*\_\_\_\_, *sur*\_\_\_\_, extracting the pronoun, which would be spelled out as a dative clitic, and leaving behind the preposition, which in this case would not be deleted. We claim, however, that such an analysis would be incorrect, on the basis of the ungrammaticality of (235) versus (236):

- (235) a. \*Jean leur court après toutes les deux.  
 b. \*Ces pierres leur tomberont sur tous.
- (236)    Jean leur téléphonera à toutes les deux.  
 ‘Jean will telephone to both of them.’

If Cl-Pl applied equally well to all three types of complement, there would be no obvious explanation for the difference between (235) and (236); in particular, we would incorrectly expect to have a derivation *Ces pierres tomberont sur eux tous* → Cl-Pl → \**Ces pierres leur tomberont sur - Ø - tous*. On the other hand, what is possible for many speakers are sentences like

- (237) a. Jean leur court après à toutes les deux.  
 b. Ces pierres leur tomberont dessus à tous.  
 c. On leur tirera dessus à tous.

<sup>88</sup> The alternation *sur/dessus* is discussed in Ruwet (1969).

- a. ‘Jean is running after both of them.’
- b. ‘Those stones will fall on all of them.’
- c. ‘We’ll shoot at all of them.’

This correlates with the reappearance of *à* in the following detachment construction:

- (238) a. Jean leur court constamment après, à ces filles.
- b. On va lui tirer dessus, à celui-là.
  - a. ‘Jean is constantly running after them, those girls.’
  - b. ‘We’re going to shoot at him, that guy.’

It also suggests that the structure of sentences containing both the dative clitic and *après*, *dessus* resembles, at the point of application of Cl-Pl, \**Jean court après à elles*, \**On va tirer dessus à lui*,<sup>89</sup> so that Cl-Pl is, in fact, applying to a pronoun preceded by *à*. The nonapplicability of Cl-Pl to pronouns immediately preceded by *sur*, *après* is reflected in the grammaticality of the following, which can be compared with (226):

- (239) a. Il court depuis longtemps après elle.
- b. Les pierres sont tombées sur eux.

A construction that seems to have a lot in common with that just discussed and that likewise has some superficial characteristics that might suggest deriving dative clitics from a complement with a preposition other than *à* is that of inalienable possession; in

- (240) a. On lui a tiré dans le ventre.
- b. Les livres lui sont tombés des mains.
  - a. ‘They shot him in the stomach.’
  - b. ‘The books fell from his hands.’

For most speakers, the dative clitic here cannot be replaced by an *à* phrase, but only by one in *de*:

<sup>89</sup> Note the difference between this construction and that with *pour*: (i) \**Il leur en a construit pour à tous*. (ii) \**Il leur en a construit pour, à ses amis*. That is, we do not want to postulate an intermediate stage containing *pour + à +* pronoun. Sentences like (iii) \**Il leur court après, après ces filles* are not possible with detachment intonation, although they may be possible with a long pause (additional precision): (iv) *Il leur court après . . . après ces filles*; see fn. 51.

- (241) a. \*On a tiré dans le ventre à ce garçon.<sup>90</sup>  
           b. \*Les livres sont tombés des mains à ta soeur.
- (242) a. On a tiré dans le ventre de ce garçon.  
           b. Les livres sont tombés des mains de ta soeur.

Again, one could take this as supporting the derivation of certain dative clitics from *de* complements, a position that we shall argue is not justified by closer examination of the data.

Consider sentences comparable to (240)–(242), but with the “inalienable” as the direct object:

- (243) On lui a cassé le bras.  
           ‘They broke his arm.’
- (244) On a cassé le bras à ce garçon.
- (245) On a cassé le bras de ce garçon.

Here there is no sharp difference as there was with (241) versus (242), although (244) is perhaps slightly less natural than the others. There is, however, more than just a superficial difference in preposition between (244) and (245). The former has the structure V - NP - PP, the latter the structure V - <sub>NP</sub>[Art - N - *de* - NP]. This can be seen from their behavior in clefts:

- (246) a. C'est le bras qu'on a cassé à ce garçon.  
           b. \*C'est le bras qu'on a cassé de ce garçon.  
           c. \*C'est le bras à ce garçon qu'on a cassé.  
           d. C'est le bras de ce garçon qu'on a cassé.  
           a/b. ‘It was the arm that they broke to/of that boy.’  
           c-d. ‘It was that boy's arm that they broke.’

It is also evident from their behavior in pronominalization:

- (247) a. On le cassera à ce garçon.

<sup>90</sup> All the examples in the text are to be understood as in standard French, where overt adnominal possessive complements in *à* are extremely restricted. In dialects in which *le ventre à ce garçon* is a possible NP, the presentation of this section would be more complicated. The adnominal reading could presumably be suppressed by using sentences like (i) \*A qui as-tu tiré dans le ventre?

- b. \*On le cassera de ce garçon.

In addition, note the situation with *ne . . . que*:

- (248) a. On ne cassera le bras qu'à ce garçon.
- b. \*?On ne cassera le bras que de ce garçon.

Sentence (244) is thus of the type to which Cl-Pl (in moving datives) typically applies; compare *On a montré la photo à ce garçon*, with the structure V - NP - PP. Sentence (245), though, is not of this type; adnominal complements do not otherwise give rise to dative clitics:

- (249) a. Il paraît que tu as rencontré un ami à moi hier soir.
- b. \*Il paraît que tu m'as rencontré un ami hier soir.
- a-b. 'It seems you met a friend of mine last night.'

This suggests, then, that the clitic in (243) should be derived from a structure like that of (244), and not (245), a conclusion supported by an array of additional data.

The choice of *à* versus *de* is inoperative with certain verbs:

- (250) a. \*On a admiré le bras à l'enfant.
- b. On a admiré le bras de l'enfant.
- a-b. 'They admired the child's arm.'

As we would predict if the clitic is derived from the *à* complement, we do not have

- (251) \*On lui a admiré le bras.

Similarly, if the object is not "inalienable," we have the following:

- (252) a. On a cassé la vaisselle de ce garçon.
- b. \*On a cassé la vaisselle à ce garçon.
- c. \*On lui a cassé la vaisselle.
- d. On a marché sur la vaisselle de ce garçon.
- e. \*On lui a marché sur la vaisselle.
- a. 'They broke that boy's dishes.'
- d. 'They stepped on that boy's dishes.'

Finally, the syntactic tests used for *pour*, *par*, *après*, correlate precisely with the preceding observations:<sup>91</sup>

- (253) a. On leur cassera le nez à tous.
- b. \*On leur cassera le nez de tous.
- c. On lui cassera le bras, à celui-là.
- d. \*On lui cassera le bras, de celui-là.
- a–b. ‘We’ll break all of their noses.’
- c–d. ‘We’ll break his arm, that guy.’

We conclude that the dative clitic in these constructions is derived from an *à* complement and, more generally, that there are no instances of pronouns moved by Cl-Pl from the environment Prep — unless Prep equals *à*.

### **2.13 Nondative *À* and Nonhomogeneity of Datives**

Not all pronouns preceded by *à* are subject to Cl-Pl, however. With verb-complement combinations such as *penser à* NP, *courir à* NP, *être à* NP, Cl-Pl is inapplicable:

- (254) a. Elle pense à toi.
- b. \*Elle te pense.
- c. Elle a couru à lui.
- d. \*Elle lui a couru.
- e. Ce livre est à eux.
- f. \*Ce livre leur est.
- a–b. ‘She thinks of you.’
- c–d. ‘She ran to him.’
- e–f. ‘This book belongs to them.’

The difference between these cases and those in which Cl-Pl is appli-

<sup>91</sup> As expected, we do not have (i) \**On cassera le bras à lui*. The ungrammaticality of (ii) \**On cassera le bras de lui* has nothing to do with Cl-Pl but is related to a systematic gap in the distribution of possessive complements in *de*, compare (iii) *Un ami de Jean (\*de lui) est mort l’autre jour*. [(iii) ‘A friend of Jean (of him) died the other day.’]

cable to a pronoun preceded by *à*, such as *Elle te sourit*, *Elle lui a offert une cigarette*, *Ce livre leur plaît* could in principle be represented in two ways. Either the verbs in (254) could be marked as exceptions to Cl-Pl, or the complements in (254) could be marked so as to render Cl-Pl inapplicable to them. The former hypothesis involves the use of “rule features”;<sup>92</sup> verbs like *penser* would be marked – Cl-Pl. Assume for the moment Cl-Pl to be stated  $VX \text{ Pro} \rightarrow \text{Pro} + VX$ , with  $X$  a variable subject to the condition that if  $X = X' \text{ Prep}$ , then  $\text{Prep} = \text{à}$ . The interpretation of the feature – Cl-Pl is as follows: Cl-Pl will apply to a string analyzed as  $VX \text{ Pro}$  except when the lexical item analyzed as  $V$  carries that feature. Thus, given the string . . . *penser à toi*, which would normally satisfy the structural description of Cl-Pl, Cl-Pl will fail to apply by virtue of *penser* being marked – Cl-Pl.

The latter hypothesis can be looked at somewhat differently. For instance, keeping the same formulation of Cl-Pl, we can call the preposition occurring in (254) *à\**. It will be spelled out as homonymous with the *à* mentioned in the structural description of Cl-Pl but will not be identical to it. Consequently, pronouns preceded by *à\** will not be subject to Cl-Pl because of the condition that if  $X = X' P$ , then  $P = \text{à}$ , just as pronouns preceded by *contre* or by *avec* are not subject to Cl-Pl. Let us call this the double-A hypothesis; *penser* and *sourire* will differ in that the former is subcategorized for *à\*-NP* complements, the latter for *à-NP* complements.

Although neither of the preceding hypotheses provides an explanation for the contrast between *penser* and *sourire*, they are equally plausible candidates for representing such contrasts. It is instructive to observe that, despite some superficial similarity, the two hypotheses are empirically distinguishable and that the double-A hypothesis is superior to the rule feature hypothesis. For example, differences in behavior with respect to Cl-Pl among complements in *à* can also be found with adjectives:

- (255) a. Jean est semblable à Marie-Claire.
- b. Jean est pareil à Marie-Claire.
- c. Jean lui est semblable.
- d. \*Jean lui est pareil.

<sup>92</sup> Rule features in phonology are developed in Chomsky and Halle (1968); the use of such features in syntax is advocated by Lakoff (1970).

a–b. ‘Jean is similar to Marie-Claire.’

Under the double-A hypothesis, such differences can be handled in the same way as those obtaining with verbs. Adjectives like *pareil* will be subcategorized for  $\grave{a}^*$ -NP, those like *semblable* for  $\grave{a}$ -NP.<sup>93</sup> As expected, then, the cliticization contrast will obtain if the adjectives are preceded by another verb like *être*:

- (256) a. Jean lui restera semblable.  
 b. \*Jean lui restera pareil.
- a–b. ‘Jean will remain similar to her.’

Under the rule feature hypothesis these facts are not easily accounted for. Assigning the rule feature – Cl-Pl to *pareil* would not be sufficient since the clitic is to be attached to the verb *être*, or *rester*. In particular, since the structural description of Cl-Pl, . . . V X Pro . . . need not mention the node Adj at all, it is difficult to see why a feature attached to an adjective intervening between V and Pro should have any effect on the operation of the rule. One would have to postulate, in order to correctly describe (255), (256), some otherwise unnecessary additional mechanism, such as a rule copying the feature – Cl-Pl from an adjective onto a directly preceding verb.

Consider next the fact that while the  $\grave{a}$  complement of *courir* in (254) is not cliticizable, *courir* is compatible with a dative clitic in sentences where the locative complement of *courir* contains an NP indicating inalienable possession:

- (257) Les insectes lui couraient sur les jambes.

‘The insects were running all over her legs.’

Under the double-A hypothesis, these facts are straightforwardly described: the locativelike complement of *courir* in (254) can be represented as  $\grave{a}^*$ -NP and will thus be immune to Cl-Pl. On the other hand, the complement to which the clitic in (257) corresponds is the same as that associated with the inalienable possession construction in sentences like *Elle lui a cassé les jambes* (in both cases, the appearance of

<sup>93</sup> The tables in Picabia (1970) contain about 80 adjectives like *semblable* whose complements can yield *lui* through Cl-Pl (half of these take (extraposable) sentential subjects: (i) *Il lui est pénible de partir*). The text contrast between *pareil* and *semblable* may be related to (ii) *Jean est pareil (\*semblable) que Marie*.

*lui* indicating the possessor is tied to the character of the object: \**Les insectes lui couraient sur le bol*, \**Elle lui a cassé le bol*), is not restricted to verbs with locative complements, and can naturally be represented as à-NP, that is, as subject to Cl-Pl. Similarly, the cliticized complement of sentences like (258) discussed earlier can be derived from a phrase containing à (rather than à\*):

- (258) Jean lui courait après.

'Jean was running after her.'

The fact that a verb like *courir* can cooccur with either a cliticizable or a noncliticizable complement in à is not statable under the rule feature hypothesis. If *courir* were assigned the feature – Cl-Pl, neither (257) nor (258) could be derived; if it were not assigned that feature, then the ungrammatical \**Elle lui a couru* would be generated.

In light of the preceding, we reject the rule feature hypothesis as a candidate for representing the fact that Cl-Pl is applicable to many, but not all, complements in à. It should be noted at this point that the very postulation of the rule feature hypothesis presupposed the existence of distinct rules for different clitics, particularly since the verb *penser*, among others, though incompatible with the clitic *lui*, is compatible with the clitic *y*: \**Je lui pense* versus *J'y pense*. Similarly, the verb *unir* takes a noncliticizable complement in à, but its NP complement is perfectly well subject to Cl-Pl:

- (259) Le prêtre va unir cette fille à son fiancé.

'The priest is going to unite that girl with her fiancé.'

- (260) \*Le prêtre va lui unir cette fille.

- (261) Le prêtre va l'unir à son fiancé.

If *unir* and *penser* were simply marked – Cl-Pl, there would be no way to draw the above contrasts. Although the postulation of a separate movement rule for *y* would not be entirely implausible (in light of the PP character of *y*), the postulation of distinct rules for accusatives and datives is more problematic. Under the double-A hypothesis, on the other hand, the question does not arise, since the assignment of à\* to one complement of *unir* will have no effect on the application of Cl-Pl to the other. In the case of *y*, the condition that Cl-Pl be inapplicable

to any element preceded by a preposition other than *à* is irrelevant, since *y* is itself a PP, and so is never preceded by *à\** (in effect, *y* can replace *à\** + NP).

In addition to those already mentioned, a fair number of other verbs or verbal expressions can take animate complements in *à* which are not cliticizable to the series *lui*, *leur*, *me*, etc.<sup>94</sup> Interestingly, the number of verbs taking prepositionless animate NP complements which are not cliticizable is virtually zero. Apart from certain predicate nominal constructions, there are no cases of V such that NP V *lui* is grammatical and NP *le* V ungrammatical. This asymmetry between prepositional (*à*) and nonprepositional complements is inexplicable under the rule feature hypothesis, even allowing several Cl-Pl rules.

The inadequacy of the rule feature hypothesis for Cl-Pl<sup>95</sup> does not, of course, guarantee the optimality of the above formulation of the double-A hypothesis. For instance, one might reformulate the *à*-*à\** distinction in terms of a syntactic feature; let us call it  $\pm$ dative. The symbol *à\** would be dispensed with, and the mention of *à* in the condition on Cl-Pl replaced by reference to  $+dative$ . Complements in *à* cliticizable to *lui*, *leur*, etc., would be assigned the feature  $+dative$ ; complements in *à* not so cliticizable would be  $-dative$ . Two questions arise immediately. First, is such a reformulation more than a notational variant of the double-A hypothesis? Second, assuming that it is, is there any significance other than mnemonic to the use of the word “dative” (as opposed to  $\pm F_i$ ); or, put another way, would a feature  $\pm$ dative bear any linguistically significant relationship to the term “dative” employed in discussions of other languages, for example, of the *He gave John a book* construction in English, or of case marking in German or Russian?

A positive answer to the second question would require making precise some notion of “dative” which could be attributed to linguistic

<sup>94</sup> For example, *aller*, *en appeler*, *accourir*, *avoir affaire*, *avoir recours*, *faire attention*, *faire appel*, *faire allusion*, *habituer*, *prendre garde*, *prendre intérêt*, *recourir*, *renoncer*, *en référer*, *revenir*, *rêver*, *songer*, *tenir*, *toucher*, *venir*.

<sup>95</sup> There will thus be no verbs marked “–Cl-Pl.” Nor are there any verbs marked “– Subj-Cl-Inv” (there are no Vs incompatible with the inversion rule operative in *Part-il?*—see fn. 27), or any that are exceptional with respect to the rule (see (96) ff.) postponing clitics in positive imperatives (this rule, since it places pronouns in the same position as Subj-Cl-Inv, is formally like Subj-Cl-Inv in being a root T; see Kayne (1972, p. 111)). Compare the absence of verbs marked “–L-Tous”; see chap. 1, fn. 47.

theory rather than to the grammar of French (or English, etc.) and demonstrating that particular facts about these languages follow from that theoretical framework. For example, one might attempt to show that the assignment of the feature –dative to the *à* complements of verbs in French is always, or almost always, predictable from their semantics—in other words, that there is some semantic content to the notion “dative.” In the absence of a hypothesis of the necessary precision, we shall concentrate on the first question.<sup>96</sup>

It was argued earlier, partly on the basis of sentences like *Cela leur est arrivé à tous* that Cl-Pl never moves the *à* associated with the complement. However, the morphological choice between *leur* and *eux* depends on whether or not the pronoun is in clitic position: *\*Cela eux est arrivé à tous*, *Cela est arrivé à eux (\*leur) tous*. In other words, the choice of *leur* is made at a point where the pronoun is no longer preceded by *à*, which means that it is made at a point where clitics derived from *à* complements are in general no longer distinguishable from clitics (such as *les*) derived from nonprepositional complements. A natural way of solving this problem would be to have pronouns marked prior to Cl-Pl with a feature indicating their *à* complement origin, that is, to have a kind of case marking. The feature in question could then be identified with that used to distinguish cliticizable from noncliticizable *à* complements. In other words, +dative will indicate both that a pronoun preceded by *à* is cliticizable and that once cliticized (dominated by V) it is spelled *leur*, *lui*, etc. Under the original formulation of the double-A hypothesis, on the other hand, a feature distinguishing *leur* from *les* would formally have nothing in common with the *à*-*à\** distinction. We shall therefore prefer to use the feature ±dative rather than the symbol *à\**.

The division of adjectival and verbal *à* complements into datives and nondatives does not imply homogeneity within either of the two

<sup>96</sup> While continuing to use the term “dative.” That there be some “extra-French” content to that term (see also section 2.14, especially note 104) is suggested by note 84, as well as by the fact that in German, as noted by Seelbach (1970), an overwhelming number of verbal complements corresponding to the French “+ dative” are marked with prepositionless dative case (one exception is (i) *Elle lui a survécu* versus (ii) *Sie hat ihn (acc.) überlebt*) whereas to the French “–dative” *à* complements correspond overt prepositions, or occasionally accusatives. [(i) ‘She survived him.’]

sets. For example, *y* cannot replace a “human” dative complement in standard French:<sup>97</sup>

- (262) a. \*Cela *y* est arrivé, à mes amis.  
 b. \*Il faudrait *y* expliquer tout cela, à cette fille.  
 c. \*Elle ne tient pas à *y* écrire, à ses parents.  
 d. \*Elle n’*y* est pas fidèle, à son mari.  
 e. \*Tu *y* répondras tout de suite, à ces hommes.  
 f. \*Tu n’*y* ressembles pas, à ton frère.  
 a. ‘That happened to them, my friends.’  
 b. ‘It will be necessary to explain all that to her, that girl.’  
 c. ‘She’s not anxious to write to them, her parents.’  
 d. ‘She’s not faithful to him, her husband.’  
 e. ‘You’ll answer them immediately, those men.’  
 f. ‘You don’t resemble him, your brother.’

(In all of the above, either *lui* or *leur* is possible.) It can, however, replace a “nonhuman” complement in some constructions of this type:

- (263) a. Elle n’*y* est pas fidèle, à ses principes.  
 b. Tu *y* répondras tout de suite, à ces questions.  
 c. Cet immeuble *y* ressemble beaucoup, à ta maison.

But it cannot in others:

- (264) a. \*Le bouquin de Jean-Jacques *y* est supérieur, à celui de Paul.  
 b. \*Elle *y* a donné un nom fabuleux, à son roman.  
 c. \*On *y* a enlevé tout son charme, à cette maison.  
 a. ‘Jean-Jacques’s book is superior to it, Paul’s.’  
 b. ‘She gave it a fantastic name, her novel.’  
 c. ‘They took all its charm away from it, that house.’

<sup>97</sup> With certain nondatives, *y* is possible, for example: (i) *Il y pense tout le temps, à cette fille*, (ii) *Elle y tient, à son homme* versus (iii) \**Ce livre y est, à Jean-Jacques*.

(*Lui* is possible in (264)). It is unclear whether these facts are best described by considering *y* to be limited to nondatives and the verbs and adjectives of (263) to take both dative and nondative complements. Alternatively, one might decide to uniformly call *à* complements of *fidèle*, *ressembler*, *répondre* datives and allow *y* to replace datives in just such cases as (263). We leave this question open.<sup>98</sup>

## 2.14 Prepositionless Datives

A more significant lack of homogeneity among dative complements, insofar as it bears on the status of the notion “dative” in French, concerns the interaction of datives and *tous* touched on at the end of chapter 1. It was observed there that the occurrence of *tous* not preceded by *à* but associated with a dative clitic was possible in certain cases, but not in others. For example, although some speakers accept ?*Je leur en ai tous offert*, almost none accept \**Cela leur est tous arrivé*. The same type of distinction is found, moreover, in nonrestrictive relatives:

- (265) ??ces garçons, à qui j'en ai tous offert  
           'those boys, to all of whom I gave some'

- (266) \*ces garçons, à qui cela est tous arrivé  
           'those boys, to all of whom that happened'

The ungrammaticality of (266) recalls the assertion made in section 1.2 that *tous* can be found separated from the relative element in nonrestrictives only in the case of nonprepositional objects:

- (267)    ces garçons, qu'elle a tous connus il y a longtemps

- (268) a. \*ces garçons, avec qui elle est tous sorti  
       b. \*ces garçons, à qui elle tient tous beaucoup  
       c. \*ces garçons, de qui elle devrait tous se méfier

The existence of such a contrast was attributed to the requirement that *Wh* Movement move the entire PP, when the relativized NP is

<sup>98</sup> Along with that raised by the possibility of replacing *y* by *leur*, *lui* in the first and third sentences of (263), but not in the second. Compare the fact that (i) *Jean lui survivra* is possible with *lui* referring to *sa nouvelle théorie*, but not with *lui = la mort de Pierre* (*y* possible with both). This in turn, recalls (ii) *Je pense à elle* (?*la théorie*, \**la mort de Pierre*); see fns. 16–17. [(ii) 'I think of it (the theory, Pierre's death).']

dominated by PP, combined with the fact that the transformation Q-Post moves a *tous* contained in the object of a preposition only within the dominating PP. Thus, Q-Post applies to the following configuration . . . <sub>PP</sub>[P - <sub>NP</sub>[*tous* - NP]] . . . to yield . . . <sub>PP</sub>[P - NP - *tous*] . . . At this point, *Wh* Movement can move only the PP, and consequently cannot leave *tous* behind. In the case of (267), there is no P and no PP, and therefore nothing to prevent *Wh* Movement, subsequent to Q-Post, from moving NP, leaving *tous* behind in the process. For those who accept (265), then, certain instances of dative *à* are behaving more like the nonprepositional object in (267) than like the prepositional objects in (268).

This behavior suggests that for such speakers these datives must be assigned a deep structure representation lacking a preposition; the appearance of *à* in (265) could then be attributed to a rule inserting *à*.<sup>99</sup> In this way, (265) can be distinguished from (268) (on the assumption that this *à* is inserted after Q-Post). The derivation of (265) (simplified) will include the following step: . . . *offert* <sub>NPdat</sub>[*tous* NP] → Q-Post → . . . *offert* <sub>NPdat</sub>[NP] *tous*. At this point *tous* and the preceding NP no longer form a single constituent. The insertion of *à* will presumably yield a structure of the form . . . *offert* [*à* NP] *tous* . . . (unless it follows *Wh* Movement). The important point is that in this structure too the sequence *à* - NP - *tous* is not a single constituent, so that there is nothing to prevent *Wh* Movement from moving *à* - NP while leaving *tous* behind.

The contrast between (265) and (266), as well as the similarity between (266) and (268), can be accounted for straightforwardly if the *à* of *Cela est arrivé à* NP is generated in the base, like the prepositions of (268), rather than inserted by transformation. The difference between \**Cela leur est tous arrivé* and ?*Je leur en ai tous offert* can be described in the same way. With *arriver*, Cl-Pl applies to the pronoun of . . . *à eux tous*, yielding *Cela leur est arrivé à tous*. With *offrir*, the structure . . . *offrir* <sub>NPdat</sub>[*tous eux*] will be subject to Q-Post: . . . *offrir* <sub>NPdat</sub>[*eux*] *tous* . . . ; this is followed by Cl-Pl: . . . *leur offrir tous* . . .

Here, however, the insertion of *à* before *leur* is impossible, even for those who accept (265):

<sup>99</sup> This is suggested on the basis of contrasts like (265) versus (268) by Fauconnier (1971). The impossibility of \**ces garçons, à qui j'en offrirai tous*, compared to (265), recalls similar facts with *leur . . . tous*; see fn. 81, chap. 1.

- (269) \*Marie à leur en a tous offert.

Sentence (269) can be distinguished from (265) if the insertion of *à* is stated so as to apply with dative NPs, and if *leur* is not dominated by the node NP.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, the noninsertion of *à* before *tous* in (265), as opposed to the obligatory insertion of *à* before the relative element there, as shown by (270), correlates with the fact that, subsequent to Q-Post, *tous* is not dominated by the node NP (although the material moved by *Wh* Movement is).<sup>101</sup>

- (270) \*ces garçons, qui (or ‘que’) j’en ai tous offert.

The distinction between NP and Q, combined with the fact that the application of Cl-Pl to a pronoun modified by *tous* is dependent on the prior application of Q-Post (as argued in section 1.7), allows a revealing account of the following paradigm:

- (271) Elle leur offrira des bonbons à tous.

‘She’ll give some candies to all of them.’

- (272) ?Elle leur offrira tous des bonbons.

- (273) Elle offrira des bonbons à tous.

‘She’ll give some candies to all.’

- (274) \*Elle offrira tous des bonbons.

In (271) and (272), the dative pronoun complement appears overtly as a clitic, and *tous* may, or may not (for some speakers), be preceded by *à*. In (273) and (274), the pronoun modified by *tous* does not appear overtly, and *tous* must be preceded by *à* (for all speakers). The grammaticality of the two sentences with *à* presents no special difficulty; both will contain a complement of the form *à tous eux*, the pronoun of which is subject to Cl-Pl in (271) (subsequent to Q-Post),

<sup>100</sup> This correlates with, but is not identical to, our earlier claim that “clitic-verb” sequences are dominated by the node V; see also below.

<sup>101</sup> Relatives like (i) ??ces garçons, à qui j’en ai à tous offert (accepted by even fewer speakers than (265)) indicate that, for some, the insertion of *à* can optionally be extended to Q, which must therefore have had the feature “dative” copied onto it, as noted by Fauconnier (1971). With the prepositions of (268), (266), the construction seems not to exist: (ii) \*ces garçons, avec qui elle est avec tous sorti, etc. The insertion of *à* in (265) must precede the deletion rule alluded to in fn. 10, chap. 1 (unless that rule is sensitive to the feature “dative”).

yielding *leur . . . à tous*, but merely deleted in (273), much as in the derivation of *Tous sont intelligents*. The two sentences without *à* must, on the other hand, have derived from a structure containing a prepositionless dative:  $_{NPdat}[Q[tous] eux]$ . In the derivation of (272), Q-Post has applied, yielding  $_{NPdat}[eux] - Q[tous]$ ; subsequent application of Cl-Pl yields *leur . . . Q[tous]*, as desired. In (274), the pronoun has been deleted, implying that Q-Post did not apply (if it had, the then unmodified pronoun would not have been subject to that deletion rule). In other words, *tous*, even after the deletion of the pronoun, is dominated by NP:  $_{NPdat}[Q[tous] - \emptyset]$ , so that (274) will be ungrammatical in the same way as (282) below.<sup>102</sup> The contrast between (272) and (274) is thus due to the domination of  $Q[tous]$  by the node NP in the latter, but not in the former.

The derivation of sentences like (272) from prepositionless datives does not involve the insertion of *à*, and it is notable that the *Wh* sentences such as (265), which do (cf. also fn. 101), are more marginal than the Cl-Pl sentences such as (272), which do not. This, in turn, suggests that the existence of prepositionless datives is independent of the existence of a rule inserting *à* and might provide a profitable way of analyzing datives such as that of *Elle lui a tiré dessus* (versus \**Elle a tiré dessus à son ami*), along with the similar dative occurring with inalienables, to which we return shortly. In addition, the marginality of an *à*-insertion process makes it undesirable to analyze sentences such as (271), which are grammatical for all, in terms of a prepositionless dative. Rather, we shall consider prepositionless datives to be a marginal phenomenon in French (except for the *tirer dessus* type). Verbs like *arriver* and *offrir* will be considered to occur for all speakers with complements introduced by *à* (as reflected in (271), (273)); those who accept (265) or (272) will be considered to have in addition extended the prepositionless dative construction to verbs like *offrir*.

The relative order of prepositionless dative and accusative with verbs like *offrir* is of some interest, as shown by certain sentences involving the application of L-Tous:

<sup>102</sup> We note that (272) is better than the comparable sentence with *en* replacing *des bonbons*; see fn. 99. Parallel to (273) versus (274) is (i) *Elle donnera un nom à tout*, (ii) \**Elle donnera tout un nom*, where  $Q[tout]$  is dominated by NP. To exclude (iii) \**Elle va tout donner un nom*, L-Tous must be ordered after the rule that accounts for (282), unless the displaced Q is still dominated by NP. [(i) 'She'll give a name to everything.']}

- (275) a. ?Je leur ai tous tout montré.  
 b. \*Je leur ai tout tous montré.  
 a–b. ‘I showed them all everything.’

The fact that the quantifier originating in the dative must precede *tout* will follow from our formulation of L-*Tous*

$$\begin{pmatrix} X & V & Q & Y \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{pmatrix} \rightarrow 1 \ 3 \ 2 \ 4$$

given the complement order V - dative - accusative. The relevant derivation is as follows: *Je ai montré NP<sub>dat</sub>[tous eux] tout* → Q-Post → *Je ai montré NP<sub>dat</sub>[eux] tous tout* → Cl-Pl → *Je leur ai montré tous tout* → L-*Tous* → *Je leur ai tous montré tout* → L-*Tous* → *Je leur ai tous tout montré*.<sup>103</sup> The order prepositionless dative - accusative is supported in the same way by sentences in which both complements are pronouns modified by *tous*. Corresponding to *Je leur ai tous montré toutes mes photos*, we have

- (276) ?Je les leur ai tous toutes montrées.

‘I showed them all all of them.’

The sentence *?Je les leur ai toutes tous montrés* is possible, but the interpretation is that *leur* is associated with *toutes* and *les* with *tous*; in other words, the prepositionless dative quantifier must precede the accusative. The derivation of (276) is *Je ai montré NP<sub>dat</sub>[tous eux] NP[toutes elles]* → Q-Post → *Je ai montré NP<sub>dat</sub>[eux] tous NP[elles] toutes* → Cl-Pl → *Je les leur ai montrées tous toutes* → L-*Tous* → *Je les leur ai tous montrées toutes* → L-*Tous* → *Je les leur ai tous toutes montrées*.

Among the most widely accepted sentences displaying *tous* not preceded by *à* yet associated with a dative clitic are those involving the inalienable possession construction and those with dative and bare preposition. However, the quantifier in such sentences cannot be positioned freely:

- (277) a. Elle leur cassera tous les deux la gueule.  
 b. Elle leur tirera tous les deux dessus.

<sup>103</sup> With repeated application of L-*Tous*, as suggested earlier; see fn. 46, chap. 1. The omission of the second application in the text derivation is possible, the omission of both, dubious; cf. fn. 81, chap. 1. Impossible is \**Je leur ai tout montré tous*.

- a. ‘She’ll break both of their necks.’
- b. ‘She’ll shoot at them both.’

(278) \*Elle leur cassera la gueule tous les deux.

(279) \*Elle leur tirera dessus tous les deux.

This is especially striking in view of the fact that a heavy quantifier associated with the subject can be sentence-final, as well as postverbal:

(280) a. Ils lui casseront tous les deux la gueule.

b. Ils lui tireront tous les deux dessus.

a. ‘They’ll both break his neck.’

b. ‘They’ll both shoot at him.’

(281) a. Ils lui casseront la gueule tous les deux.

b. Ils lui tireront dessus tous les deux.

We interpret (277) versus (278), (279) as a further indication that, when they occur, the prepositionless datives are the first complement to the right of the verb. The derivation of (277)b, for example, contains the following steps: *Elle tirera* <sub>NP<sub>dat</sub></sub>[*tous les deux - eux*] *dessus* → Q-Post → *Elle tirera* <sub>NP<sub>dat</sub></sub>[*eux*] *tous les deux dessus* → Cl-Pl → *Elle leur tirera tous les deux dessus*. The ungrammaticality of (278), (279) implies that no subsequent rule can move *tous les deux* to the right.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>104</sup> This recalls the inapplicability of “length inversion” to prepositionless datives in English: \*John gave a book the girl he met yesterday (cf. Green (1971), Jackendoff and Culicover (1971)) as (iv) of fn. 107 recalls \*The gift (of) John (of) a book.

A more detailed analysis of (278), (279) would suggest the following: Prepositionless dative Qs can, subsequent to Q-Post, be moved rightward, but only if an à is inserted, as in (237), (253)a. Similarly, prepositionless dative NPs can be moved rightward, if à is inserted, with the result ranging from slightly unnatural to very marginal, as in (244), (287), (283)b, (286)b (except for the more natural detachment sentences (253)c, (238)).

This unnaturalness, combined with the nominalization facts of fn. 107, and the fact that the à-NP cannot appear to the left of the locative in (i) \*J’ai foutu ces pierres à Jean dessus (vs. (ii) ??J’ai foutu ces pierres dessus à Jean (cf. fn. 106) and (iii) Je lui ai foutu ces pierres dessus), reinforces our claim that prepositionless datives do not provide an appropriate source for the (lexical) à-NP dative occurring with *offrir*, *arriver*. These verbs should rather be subcategorized for datives in à (to the extent that they occur with prepositionless datives, a marginal leftward movement rule could be invoked). We thus favor the third possibility mentioned in the text below (both types of datives in deep

The preceding arguments concerning the existence and position of prepositionless datives do not, strictly speaking, show that there are two types of datives in deep structure. What they do show, if correct, is that there must be two types of datives, that is, with or without *à*, at the point of application of Q-Post. It would be compatible with the facts in question to assert, for example, that all datives are preceded by *à* in deep structure, and that some are subject to a transformation that deletes *à* and places them next to the verb, prior to Q-Post. Alternatively, one might claim that no datives are preceded by *à* in deep structure, and that some are subject to a transformation that inserts *à* and moves them to the right, prior to Q-Post. Under the latter hypothesis there would be two rules introducing *à* since the one operative in the *à qui . . . tous* construction must follow Q-Post. Under the former hypothesis, there would be a rule deleting *à* in addition to that inserting it in *à qui . . . tous*. A third possibility would be to consider that both types exist in deep structure.<sup>105</sup>

None of these hypotheses provides an immediate answer to the following problem: The prepositionless dative never appears as such in surface structure in the case of full NPs (one might expect (282) to be possible for those who accept (277), (272)):

- (282) a. \*Elle offrira Jean des bouquins.
- b. \*Elle tirera Jean dessus.
- c. \*Elle cassera Jean la gueule.

Rightward movement with the obligatory insertion of *à* might appear to provide a satisfactory solution in the case of *offrir*: *Elle offrira des bouquins à Jean*, but it fails for *tirer dessus*:

- (283) a. \*Elle tirera à Jean dessus.
- b. \*Elle tirera dessus à Jean.

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structure). The ungrammaticality of (274), (282), (285), as well as (ii), (iii) of fn. 105, might be statable as a surface (but see fn. 102) constraint against prepositionless dative NPs. [(iii) 'I threw those stones on him.']}

<sup>105</sup> In which case, some mechanism must exclude their cooccurrence (see fn. 122): (i) \**Je vous en ai tous offert à Jean-Jacques*. If prepositionless datives are directly postverbal at the point of application of the passive transformation, the latter must be prevented from applying to them: (ii) \**Vous avez été offert des bouquins*, (iii) \**Elle a été tiré dessus par Jean*. The three text hypotheses recall the problem of *give Mary a book*, *give a book to Mary* in English; see fn. 104.

Similarly, in the inalienable possession construction where the “possession” is part of a prepositional complement, the possibility of *tous* without *à* indicates a prepositionless dative:

- (284) Elle leur a tous tiré dans le ventre.

‘She shot them all in the stomach.’

But if *leur* is replaced by a full NP, there is no corresponding grammatical sentence:

- (285) \*Elle a tiré ces garçons dans le ventre.

- (286) a. \*Elle a tiré à ces garçons dans le ventre.

b. \*Elle a tiré dans le ventre à ces garçons.<sup>106</sup>

A difference in status between the sentence with *à*-NP and that with dative clitic, as in (286) versus (284), is also found in many cases of a nonprepositional possession, although the contrast is less sharp:

- (287) a. Paul lui a embrassé le front.

b. ?Paul a embrassé le front à Marie-Claire.

c. La poussière lui a noirci les jambes.

d. ?La poussière a noirci les jambes à ce garçon.

a/b. ‘Paul kissed her/Marie-Claire’s forehead.’

c/d. ‘The dust blackened his/that boy’s legs.’

In the absence of an explanation for the fact that the datives of (283)–(286) are possible only if cliticized,<sup>107</sup> we leave open the ques-

<sup>106</sup> See fn. 90. Actually, some (few) speakers accept nonadnominal *à*-NP sentence-final here, as well as the second half of (283). None accept the first half of (283), (286). *À* is often possible in sentences like (237), (238) above. Sentences like (i) \**C'est à Jean que j'ai tiré dessus*, (ii) \**A qui a-t-il tiré dans le ventre?* are accepted only by the just mentioned few.

<sup>107</sup> It is notable that these provide the best examples of dative *tous* not preceded by *à* (see also (158)–(161), chap. 1), although homogeneity even within this type of dative is lacking. For example, as brought to our attention by G. Delaurent and T. Jourdonneau, sentences like (277) are less good if the subject is nonagentive: (i) *Pierre leur a tous tapé dessus* versus (ii) *La crème leur a (?tous) coulé dessus*. Despite the contrast (287) versus (286), the dative of (287) should be considered the same as that of (284), (277) (that is, a good candidate for prepositionless), rather than akin to that of *offrir*, from which it differs in nominalizations: (iii) *L'offre d'une maison à Jean* versus (iv) \**L'examen du bras à Jean* (possible is . . . *du bras de Jean*). [(i) ‘Pierre hit them all.’ (ii) ‘The cream ran down on them all.’ (iv) ‘The examination of Jean’s arm.’]

tion of whether it is the datives with or without *à*, or both, that are basic (see, however, footnote 104).

This question is independent of the conclusion reached earlier that Cl-Pl never applies to a pronoun directly preceded by a preposition other than *à*, although it may modify certain of the analyses suggested. For example, while it is still true that in the derivation of *Elle lui tire dessus*, Cl-Pl has not applied to a pronoun immediately preceded by *sur/dessus*, that pronoun may not have been preceded by *à* either, if it was a prepositionless dative (in between the verb and *dessus*) at the point of application of Cl-Pl. Furthermore, the question of dative with or without *à* is itself independent of the question of the deep structure of the *lui . . . dessus* construction, namely whether the input to Cl-Pl, which is *tirer* <sub>dat</sub>[*lui*] *dessus* (or perhaps *tirer dessus à lui*) is derived by transformation from *tirer sur lui*; we now suggest that the dative does not originate within the *sur* phrase.

## 2.15 Deep Structure Independence of Datives and Inalienables

The generation of the dative as a constituent exterior to the *sur* phrase implies either that the latter is generated without an object or that its underlying object is deleted in a sentence like *Elle lui tire dessus*. That such a claim is plausible is shown by the occurrence of objectless *dessus* in sentences without datives:

- (288) Les amis de ce garçon peuvent compter dessus.

'That boy's friends can count on him.'

(Impossible is \**Les amis de ce garçon peuvent lui compter dessus*.) In (288), the understood object of *dessus* can be *ce garçon* (although it need not be). Presumably, the mechanism accounting for the nonappearance of the object of *dessus* in (288) can be extended to the dative + *dessus* construction.<sup>108</sup> This approach is consistent with the observation that the dative + preposition construction is possible only with prepositions otherwise capable of standing alone, for example:

- (289) a. La fille lui courait après.  
       b. La voiture lui est rentrée dedans.

<sup>108</sup> Still to be accounted for is the ungrammaticality of (i) \**Elle lui a tiré sur lui*. Sentences with both an overt clitic and an overt object of *sur* do exist, however; see chap. 5, (146) ff.

- c. Marie est montée après.
- d. Elle est déjà dedans.
- a. ‘The girl was running after him.’
- b. ‘The car ran into him.’
- c. ‘Marie went up after.’
- d. ‘She’s already inside.’

*De*, *à*, and *en* can stand alone in neither construction:

- (290) a. \*On lui a ri de.
- b. \*La fille lui courait à.
  - c. \*Il faut lui croire en.
  - d. \*On parlera de.
  - e. \*Je pensais à.
  - f. \*Elle a confiance en.

The generation of the dative of (289) independently of the PP should be related to the status of the dative in the inalienable possession construction. We have argued (see (240)–(253)) that the dative clitic in sentences like *Elle lui a tordu le bras* is not to be derived from a *de* complement, and furthermore that the *à* complement to which it more closely corresponds, as in *Elle a tordu le bras à ce garçon* should not be analyzed as adnominal, but rather as in a structure of the form V NP PP, at least at the point of application of various transformations, including Cl-Pl. However, one can still ask the same type of question as for *lui . . . dessus*, in this case whether or not the dative originates within the other NP in deep structure. It would, in fact, be compatible with our earlier arguments to posit a deep structure *Elle a tordu* <sub>NP</sub>[*le bras à ce garçon*] plus a (rather early) transformation extracting the possessive *à*-NP complement from within the NP. We shall claim, however, that such a transformation is undesirable, and that the dative should be generated in the base independently of the NP containing the inalienable possession. This result will play a role in sections 4.7 and 4.8.

This analysis of the dative will thus be common to the inalienable possession construction and the *lui . . . dessus/après/dedans* construction, and it takes into account the similar behavior of the dative in (283)

and (286) (see also fn. 106). That this similarity is linguistically significant is supported by the observation that the two constructions share certain semantic properties. The “dative plus inalienable possession” construction requires that, speaking imprecisely, the dative object be envisioned as affected by the action or state referred to:<sup>109</sup>

- (291) a. *Elle lui a mis une écharpe autour du cou.*

- b. *La crème lui a coulé sur la tête.*
- c. *On lui a coupé les cheveux.*
- a. ‘She put a scarf around his neck.’
- b. ‘The cream ran down on his head.’
- c. ‘They cut his hair.’

- (292) a. \**Elle lui pensait aux oreilles.*

- b. \**Jean lui rêvait des yeux.*
- c. \**Cette pierre lui ressemble à la main.*
- d. \**Tu lui aimes bien les jambes.*
- a. ‘She was thinking of his ears.’
- b. ‘Jean was dreaming of her eyes.’
- c. ‘This stone resembles his hand.’
- d. ‘You like his legs.’

A similar notion appears to play a role in the “dative plus objectless preposition” construction. Although both *Elle tape sur lui* and *Elle compte sur lui* are possible, we have (293) where the difference between *taper* and *compter* recalls that between (291) and (292).

- (293) a. *Elle lui tape dessus.*

- b. \**Elle lui compte dessus.*
- a. ‘She’s hitting him.’
- b. ‘She’s counting on him.’

Insofar as there is a linguistically significant generalization between

<sup>109</sup> The task of giving empirical content to the term “affected” is undertaken, with many subtle observations, by Hatcher (1944a). Without the dative and with an overt possessive, (292) is fine: (i) *Elle pensait à ses oreilles.* (ii) *Jean rêvait de ses yeux.* (iii) *Cette pierre ressemble à sa main.* (iv) *Tu aimes bien ses jambes.*

(291)–(292) and (293),<sup>110</sup> the decision to generate the dative in (293) independently of *dessus* will be supported by arguments in favor of the generation of the dative in (291) independently of the constituent containing the inalienable possession, to which arguments we now turn.

The contrary claim, namely that the deep structure of sentences like *Un oiseau lui est tombé sur la tête* is of the form *Un oiseau est tombé sur NP[la tête à lui]*, would, as noted above, require the postulation of a transformation separating (prior to Cl-Pl) the adnominal *à* phrase from the NP of which it is a part. Such a transformation would have certain disadvantages. First, it would no longer be possible to maintain the generalization that adnominal *à* phrases are not subject to movement transformations. Thus alongside *Elle a rencontré un ami à moi*, *Un ami à moi est parti*, we do not have

- (294) a. \*A moi elle a rencontré un ami.
- b. \*Un ami est parti à moi.
- c. \*Elle a rencontré un ami hier soir à moi.
- a. ‘She met a friend of mine.’
- b. ‘A friend of mine left.’

Second, when the inalienable possession is itself the object of a preposition, the movement of *à*-NP would violate the constraint against movement of PPs from within more inclusive PPs discussed earlier,<sup>111</sup> an example of which is the ungrammaticality of \**Un oiseau en est tombé sur l'auteur* (corresponding to . . . *sur l'auteur du livre*). Third, such a transformation would not provide a natural source for datives cooccurring with phrases interpretable as referring to an inalienable possession but lacking the internal structure of NPs. Thus, although the following two sentences can be interpreted in the same way, only the first would lend itself to a deep structure with an adnominal *à* complement:

<sup>110</sup> The dative of (i) *Elle lui aménagera une chambre* is not unrelated to these constructions. Compare the semantic difference between *à* and *pour* (see (214)–(218)) to that implicit in (291)–(293) (see also fn. 109), as well as (ii) ?*Elle aménagera une chambre à Jean* to (287), and (iii) \**L'aménagement d'une chambre à Jean* (*pour* possible) to fn. 107. [(i) ‘She’ll fix him up a room.’]

<sup>111</sup> And consequently would violate the A/A principle; see (153) ff.

- (295) a. Elle lui a mis la main sur l'épaule.  
       b. Elle lui a mis la main là où il ne fallait pas.  
           a. 'She put her hand on his shoulder.'  
           b. 'She put her hand where she wasn't supposed to.'

The coreference relation between *lui* and *l'épaule* appears to be the same as that between *lui* and *là où il ne fallait pas*, yet there is no convenient source for the dative within the phrase *là où il ne fallait pas*.

The initial plausibility of an analysis deriving (295)a from *Elle a mis la main sur NP[l'épaule à lui]* was due in part to the need for adnominal *à* phrases to be generated anyhow as the source for certain possessive constructions. That is, there is good reason, as we shall argue below, to derive NPs like *son épaule* from an underlying *l'épaule à lui*. In effect, then, we are claiming that these adnominal complements are appropriate sources for possessive *son*, *mon*, etc., but not appropriate sources for dative clitics. The contrary hypothesis, it should be noted, assigns identical deep structures to pairs of sentences such as<sup>112</sup>

- (296) a. Tu as photographié sa bouche.  
       b. Tu lui as photographié la bouche.

It would therefore be difficult under that hypothesis to account for the following contrasts:

- (297) a. Tu as photographié sa belle bouche.  
       b. \*Tu lui as photographié la belle bouche.  
       a–b. 'You photographed her beautiful mouth.'
- (298) a. Tu as photographié leurs bouches.  
       b. \*Tu leur a photographié les bouches.<sup>113</sup>  
       a–b. 'You photographed their mouths.'

<sup>112</sup> Both constructions are not always available, as seen in (291)–(292). In addition, the possessive alone is much less natural than the other when describing bodily injury. This, as well as the general nonsynonymy of the two constructions, is discussed by Hatcher (1944a). The nonsynonymy would be a strong argument in our favor if the particular semantic difference could be shown to follow from a difference in deep structure, for example, from the presence versus the absence of the dative (cf. fn. 110).

<sup>113</sup> Strictly speaking, this sentence is grammatical, but only with the implication that each person has more than one mouth.

In (297), the presence of the adjective renders impossible the “dative plus definite article” construction, but not the other. In the first half of (298), the object can be interpreted as a plural consisting of one *bouche* for each person. To achieve this meaning with the dative, the object NP must be kept singular:

- (299) Tu leur a photographié la bouche.

With the possessive it need not be (the phonetic effect of the plural is realized in *Le médecin a photographié leurs estomacs*).

To translate the facts of (297), (298) into restrictions on a transformation deriving datives from adnominals would be to miss the generalization that those paradigms are common to all the varied constructions where the definite article indicates a possessive relation, whether or not the “possessor” is a dative. Examples with the “possessor” not a dative are

- (300) a. Elle est tombée sur le dos.  
 b. Elle a hoché la tête.  
 c. On a frappé Jean à la tête.  
 d. Il a pris son enfant par le cou.

The ungrammaticality of (297)b is repeated in<sup>114</sup>

- (301) a. \*Elle est tombée sur le dos blessé.  
 b. \*Elle a hoché la sale tête.  
 c. \*On a frappé Jean à la tête gonflée.  
 d. \*Il a pris son enfant par le beau cou.  
 a. ‘She fell on her injured back.’  
 b. ‘She nodded her dirty head.’  
 c. ‘They struck Jean in the swollen head.’  
 d. ‘He took his child by the beautiful neck.’

<sup>114</sup> Adjectives are possible in (i) *Tu lui as photographié la jambe droite* (right leg), (ii) *Elle a bougé la lèvre inférieure* (lower lip), etc. A possessive in sentences like (301) is often possible: (iii) *Elle a hoché sa sale tête*, (iv) *Il a pris l’enfant par sa petite main*. In (v) *Elle a les cheveux longs* the adjective is not part of the NP: (vi) *Elle les a longs*, (vii) \**Elle a les longs cheveux*. [(v) ‘She has long hair.’]

Furthermore, the particularities of the plural in (298) are also found in

- (302) a. \*Elles sont tombées sur les dos.
- b. \*Elles ont hoché les têtes.
- c. \*On a frappé ces garçons aux têtes
- d. \*Il a pris ses enfants par les cou

That is, (302) implies that each person has more than one of the relevant parts of the body; what is appropriate is rather *Elles sont tombées sur le dos*, *Il a pris ses enfants par le cou*, etc. We conclude that (297) and (298) do not display behavior that can be attributed to the presence of the dative. In the same way, the appearance of the phrase with *là* in (295) is more a fact about the properties of locatives and inalienable possession than about datives, since the same kind of interpretation is available in

- (303) a. On a frappé ces garçons à la tête.
- b. On a frappé ces garçons là où il ne fallait pas.

A superficial advantage of an analysis including a transformation deriving the dative of *Elle lui a lavé les mains* from an adnominal complement <sub>NP</sub>[*les mains à lui*] is that it thereby represents explicitly in deep structure the “possessive” relation between *lui* and *les mains*. The significantly similar relation found in sentences like (300) between the “possession” and the subject or object, however, can clearly not be described by a transformation creating a dative complement to the verb, so that such an analysis would be insufficiently general. On this basis, and on the basis of the discussion centered on (294), (295), (297), and (298), we conclude that there is no such transformation.

The nature of the mechanism appropriate for determining the “possessive” relation in (295), (299), (303), etc., is of some interest, in that it does not seem desirable to follow in the spirit of the analysis just rejected and postulate a deep structure of the form . . . <sub>NP</sub>[. . . à NP] . . . plus a new transformation deleting the adnominal à phrase under identity with some other constituent in the sentence.<sup>115</sup> Such an

<sup>115</sup> An analysis of this type, as well as a transformation of the kind rejected in the preceding paragraph, is discussed in Langacker (1968); see also Fillmore (1968, pp. 67 ff.). See also fn. 154.

analysis would derive pairs of sentences such as the following from a single deep structure:

- (304) *Elle a mis sa main sous l'oreiller.*

'She put her hand under the pillow.'

- (305) *Elle a mis la main sous l'oreiller.*

'She put her hand under the pillow.'

In both there would occur an NP: <sub>NP</sub>[*la main à elle*]. In the first, *elle* would be moved to article position (this much will turn out to be valid). In the second, it would be deleted under identity with the subject. It can be noted immediately that the deletion rule does not extend naturally to (295)b and (303)b, so that the understood possession relation involving the *là* phrase would have to be described otherwise.

Furthermore, the sentences (304), (305) are often not perceived as synonymous. For instance, if in order to get her hand under the pillow, the subject had to struggle to put it through and around numerous physical obstacles, then only the first sentence would always be judged appropriate. The contrast is sharper in these sentences:

- (306) a. *Le médecin a mis le pied dans du plâtre.*

- b. *Le médecin a mis son pied dans du plâtre.*

a–b. 'The doctor put his foot in plaster.'

Here only the second would be used to describe a doctor treating himself for a broken foot (where the foot doesn't move), although both are possible if the doctor sticks his foot into a pot of plaster. An analysis of the type under discussion would not lead one to expect this.

Although the postulation of distinct deep structures for (304) and (305) is quite compatible with a difference in meaning, a serious argument in favor of two deep structures would have to show how the particular deep structure difference was related to the particular difference in meaning observed. Speculating in this direction, we note that, in the absence of a deletion rule, the two constructions will differ in deep structure in that (305) will contain an object NP lacking a

possessive complement, as in  $NP[la\ main]$ , whereas the NP in (304) will have one:  $NP[la\ main\ à\ elle]$ . In (304), there is thus explicit representation of the fact that a specific hand is involved, namely the hand belonging to the referent of *elle*. In the other, there is not, so that the semantic interpretation of such a deep structure would have to be based on a nonspecific interpretation of *la main*. This, in turn, might, in the context of an adequate semantic theory, lead to an understanding of why the construction with the definite article is less appropriate when the movement is not a natural gesture.<sup>116</sup>

Along the same lines, one might speculate about the difference in interpretation between (307) and (308)—namely, that in (307) each boy may have bought only one pencil or sold only one horse, whereas in (308) each boy must have raised both hands (not just one).

- (307) a. Les garçons ont vendu leurs chevaux.
- b. Les garçons ont acheté des crayons.
- a. ‘The boys sold their horses.’
- b. ‘The boys bought pencils.’

- (308) Les garçons ont levé les mains.

This difference may be due to the fact that *leurs chevaux* and *des crayons* can refer to a specific set of horses or pencils, the elements of which set can then be put into one-to-one correspondence with the boys, yielding a “distributive interpretation.”<sup>117</sup> If *les mains* in (308) is not derived from a deleted possessive, and if therefore there is no reference to a specific set of hands, then a one-to-one correspondence cannot be established, and the distributive interpretation is impossible (independently of the number of boys). This impossibility is responsible for the anomalous character of *Les garçons ont ouvert les bouches*.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> A more detailed discussion of the systematic semantic difference between constructions like (304) and (305) can be found in Hatcher (1944c), who uses the term “natural gesture” to describe one aspect of the interpretation imposed by the latter, and characterizes the possessive construction as “emphasizing the part in itself” (in the sense of the part versus the movement as a whole). Related to this is the contrast (i) *Elle a enfoncé le pied dans l'eau* versus (ii) ??*Elle a enfoncé le ventre dans l'eau* (*son* possible in both). See also (133) ff., chap. 4. [(i)/(ii) ‘She stuck her foot/belly in the water.’]

<sup>117</sup> For some discussion of this phenomenon in the case of possessives, see Fauconnier (1971).

<sup>118</sup> In the inalienable possession sense. If (308) is interpreted with *les mains* referring to a specific set of plastic hands lying on a table, then the distributive interpretation is

In light of these considerations, we take the hypothesis that (304) and (305) differ in deep structure to be more promising than a hypothesis that posits a rule deleting adnominal à-NP.<sup>119</sup> Let us then combine the former hypothesis with the earlier conclusions about datives, in the analysis of sentences like *Elle lui lave les mains*. We arrive at a deep structure in which the dative is generated independently of *les mains*, and *les mains* is generated without an adnominal possessive complement. Furthermore, the restrictions on adjectives, as in \**Elle lui lave les jolies mains*, and plurals, as in \**Elle vous cassera les têtes*, will be attributed to properties of the inalienable possession phrase with definite article and not to the presence of the dative. We thus can predict, correctly, that in sentences with the dative and an overt possessive instead of the definite article, these restrictions will not be relevant:

- (309) a. *Elle lui lave ses jolies mains.*
- b. *Elle vous cassera vos sales têtes.*
- a. ‘She’s washing his pretty hands.’
- b. ‘She’ll break your dirty heads.’

The construction seen in (309) is not limited to inalienable possession:

- (310) a. *Elle lui a démolî sa maison.*
- b. *Elle lui a tué sa femme.*
- c. *Elle lui a fait une bosse dans sa voiture.*
- a. ‘She demolished his house.’
- b. ‘She killed his wife.’
- c. ‘She made a dent in his car.’

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possible. In English, that interpretation is possible in (i) *The boys opened their mouths*, where there is an overt possessive. In (ii) *They stop there on their way (\*ways) to school*, the possessive may not be present in deep structure; see Helke (1973).

<sup>119</sup> As with the semantic facts and restrictions on plurals, the deletion hypothesis does not appear to lead to any understanding of the adjective paradigms (301). If *les yeux* in (i) *Elle ferme les yeux* does not derive from a possessive, however, the restrictions on modification might be attributable to the nonspecificity of *les yeux*, with which the adjective in (ii) \**Elle ferme les beaux yeux* would clash, since it is the specific eyes of the subject which are *beaux* ‘beautiful’; see also fn. 114. A more precise analysis (in preparation) will interpret “nonspecific” here as the definite generic of (ii) *The eyes/\*The blue eyes/\*The mouths are an important part of the human body*.

- (311) Elle lui a tué Marie-Claire.

(In (311) it must be known that *Marie-Claire* bears some close relation to *lui*).<sup>120</sup> The construction is also subject to semantic constraints that recall those of (291), (292):<sup>121</sup>

- (312) a. \*Tu lui rêve de sa femme.
- b. \*Tu lui aimes bien ses enfants.
- c. \*Tu lui aimes bien Marie-Claire.

Thus, not only are the properties of the NP with definite article in *Elle lui lave les mains* related to a range of constructions not containing a dative (for example, *Elle lève les mains*), but the dative itself seems to be significantly related to that of constructions, such as (310), (311),<sup>122</sup> not containing any inalienable possession. The behavior of these datives in more complex sentences will be taken up in sections 4.7 and 4.8.

## Part IV

### 2.16 Obligatoriness of Cl-Pl: Accusatives versus Datives

In applying to accusative objects, Cl-Pl moves one of a set of pronouns that cannot normally occur in immediate postverbal position:

<sup>120</sup> So that *lui* is “affected” by her death; see fn. 109. Compare too the fact, noted by Gross (1968, p. 71), that (i) *Jean a dit de Pierre que Paul est un idiot* is acceptable if Paul is Pierre’s brother (but not if there is no relation between them). [(i) ‘Jean said of Pierre that Paul is an idiot.’]

<sup>121</sup> Like (284) is (i) *Elle leur a tous fait des bosses dans leurs voitures*; (309), (310) differ from the inalienable possession construction with the definite article in being odd with reflexive *se* as in (ii) *Elle se lave les mains* versus (iii) ?*Elle se lave ses jolies mains*, and impossible if the NP “linked” to the dative is the subject of an intransitive: (iv) \**Sa femme lui est partie*, (v) \**Sa femme lui est morte*, versus (vi) *La tête lui tourne*, (vii) ?*La tête tourne à Jean-Jacques* (although this last type is less productive than when the “possession” is an object). The substitution of à-NP for the clitic in (309)–(311) is at least as difficult as in (283), (286), (287). [(vi) ‘His head is spinning.’]

<sup>122</sup> As well as *lui tirer dessus*; see above. The differences noted in fn. 121 still await explication, as does the relationship of these constructions to the ethical dative of (i) *Je te lui casserais la figure*, which can cooccur with another (nonethical) dative; that of (ii) *Elle lui lave les mains* cannot (as pointed out to us by J.-P. Boons), for example: (iii) *Ce produit enlèvera tout son charme au nez de Marie*. (iv) \**Ce produit lui enlèvera tout son charme au nez* versus (v) *Le médecin lui a enlevé une saleté de l’œil*. Compare fn. 105. [(i) ‘I’ll break his neck for you.’ (iii) ‘That product will remove all the charm from Marie’s nose.’ (v) ‘The doctor removed a speck from her eye.’]

(313) \*Marie connaît moi/toi/lui/elle/nous/vous/eux/elles.

‘Marie knows me/you/him/her/us/you/them/them.’

Subsequent to Cl-Pl, the morphological form of these pronouns may differ from the form in NP position, as noted at the beginning of this chapter. The pronouns of (313) in preverbal position have the form *me/te/le/la/nous/vous/les/les*. In applying to dative objects, Cl-Pl moves one of precisely the same set of pronouns:

(314) \*Marie montrera cette photo à moi/toi/lui/elle/nous/vous/eux/elles.

In preverbal position, the pronouns of (314) are realized as *me/te/lui/lui/nous/vous/leur/leur*. Other NPs with some kind of pronominal function are not subject to Cl-Pl:

(315) a. Marie comprend ça.

b. \*Marie ça comprend.

c. Marie ne montrera cette photo à personne.

d. \*Marie personne ne montrera cette photo.

a–b. ‘Marie understands that.’

c–d. ‘Marie won’t show that picture to anyone.’

There is some evidence, however, that *soi* should be included in the set given in (313), (314). Consider sentences such as (316) where *soi* is understood as coreferential with *on*.

(316) a. Quand *on<sub>i</sub>* dit aux gens de parler de *soi<sub>i</sub>* . . .

b. Quand *on<sub>i</sub>* dit aux gens d’acheter quelque chose pour *soi<sub>i</sub>* . . .

a/b. ‘When one tells people to talk about one/to buy something for one . . .’

Comparable sentences with accusatives and datives are ungrammatical:

(317) a. \*Quand *on<sub>i</sub>* dit aux gens de photographier *soi<sub>i</sub>* . . .

b. \*Quand *on<sub>i</sub>* dit aux gens de montrer une photo à *soi<sub>i</sub>* . . .

The ungrammaticality of (317) would seem to be due, as is that of (313), (314), to the nonapplication of Cl-Pl, which implies that Cl-Pl is

applicable to *soi*.<sup>123</sup> The structural description of Cl-Pl will consequently include a term that distinguishes the pronouns of (313), (314), plus *soi* from everything else.

The fact that the same set of pronouns is subject to Cl-Pl in the case of accusatives as in the case of datives, combined with the fact that Cl-Pl attaches both to a verb—in fact, to the same verb—suggests that a single transformation is at work. There is, nonetheless, an important difference between the application of Cl-Pl to accusatives and its application to datives, which has to do with the question of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl. Consider first the case of datives of the form à-NP, for example: *Elle a offert ces livres à son ami*, *Elle téléphonera à Jean*, *Elle plaît à Jean*, *Elle est infidèle à Jean*. If a pronoun subject to Cl-Pl is substituted for the dative NP, we have *Elle lui a offert ces livres*, *Elle me téléphonera*, *Elle lui plaît*, *Elle t'est infidèle*. In the absence of special stress on the pronoun, the nonapplication of Cl-Pl leads to what are generally considered ungrammatical sentences:

- (318) a. \**Elle a offert ces livres à vous.*
- b. \**Elle téléphonera à moi.*
- c. \**Elle plaît à lui.*
- d. \**Elle est infidèle à toi.*
- a. ‘She gave those books to you.’
- b. ‘She’ll telephone to me.’
- c. ‘She pleases him.’
- d. ‘She’s unfaithful to you.’

In many contrastive environments, however, the application of Cl-Pl is optional:

- (319) a. *Je téléphonerais volontiers à toi, mais pas à ton frère.*
- b. *Je te téléphonerais volontiers, mais pas à ton frère.*
- a–b. ‘I’ll gladly telephone you, but not your brother.’

<sup>123</sup> The actual application of Cl-Pl in (317) might be considered to yield *vous*, as in (i) *Quand on<sub>i</sub> dit aux gens de vous<sub>i</sub> photographier*, or if such *vous* are derived rather from postverbal *vous*, to yield no grammatical output. On the nature of the relationship between *soi* and *se*, see section 5.1 (impossible is (ii) \**Quand on<sub>i</sub> dit aux gens de se<sub>i</sub> photographier*).

- (320) a. Elle plaît autant à lui qu'à son frère.  
 b. Elle lui plaît autant qu'à son frère.  
 a–b. 'She pleases him as much as his brother.'

What is of interest to us here is the fact that such cases of optionality are decidedly rarer with accusatives. Thus, although the ungrammatical sentences of (318) are paralleled by *\*Elle visitera toi*, *\*Elle a vu moi hier soir*, etc. (in fact, the ungrammatical status of these is sharper than that of (318)), the grammatical sentences of (319), (320) are only partially replaceable by examples with accusatives. In particular, the resulting sentences are very doubtful if Cl-Pl has not applied:

- (321) a. *\*Elle visitera volontiers toi, mais pas ton frère.*  
 b. *Elle te visitera volontiers, mais pas ton frère.*  
 a–b. 'She'll gladly visit you, but not your brother.'
- (322) a. *\*Elle voit plus souvent moi que Jean-Jacques.*  
 b. *Elle me voit plus souvent que Jean-Jacques.*  
 a–b. 'She sees me more often than Jean-Jacques.'

(Compare the grammatical *Elle visitera volontiers Jean, mais pas son frère*, *Elle voit plus souvent Jean-Paul que Jean-Jacques*.)

A second instance of optionality in Cl-Pl which points to a difference between datives and accusatives involves certain cases in which the application of Cl-Pl would lead to an unacceptable combination of clitics. Consider sentences containing two potentially cliticizable animate objects, for example, *Paul présentera Marie à Jacques*, *Paul recommandera ces filles à Jacques*. If both objects are replaced by cliticizable pronouns and if the accusative is third person, a grammatical sentence results: *Paul la lui présentera*; *Paul te les recommandera*. If the accusative is first or second person, or reflexive, however, the corresponding clitic combination is rejected:

- (323) a. *\*Paul me lui présentera.*  
 b. *\*Paul vous leur recommandera.*  
 a. 'Paul will introduce me to him.'  
 b. 'Paul will recommend you to them.'

What is accepted instead, when the accusative is *me*, *te*, *se*, *nous*, or *vous*, is (even in the absence of heavy stress):

- (324) a. Paul me présentera à lui.
- b. Paul vous recommandera à eux.

The obligatory character of Cl-Pl can thus be loosened, apart from the environments of (319), (320), in certain cases where its application would lead to unacceptable clitic combinations.<sup>124</sup> The difference between datives and accusatives with respect to optionality is reflected in the fact that the undesirable clitic combinations cannot be avoided by cliticizing the dative and leaving the accusative behind; example (324) is to be contrasted with

- (325) a. \*Paul lui présentera moi.
- b. \*Paul leur recommandera vous.

These paradigms would constitute evidence for the separation of Cl-Pl into two distinct transformations—one for accusatives, one for datives—if such a separation led to an understanding of why Cl-Pl is more readily optional with the latter. Since the postulation of two transformations does not appear to provide an answer, we shall, on the basis of the similarities discussed earlier, consider that a single transformation Cl-Pl is responsible for the movement of both datives and accusatives. The transformation Cl-Pl will be considered to be obligatory in the general case, subject to conditions specifying that it is sometimes optional, and then more readily with datives than with accusatives.<sup>125</sup>

Although the nonapplication of Cl-Pl to the dative in (324) is almost certainly related to the ungrammaticality of (323), it is not the case that Cl-Pl can automatically fail to apply to datives if its application would lead to unacceptable clitic combinations. Consider a sentence like *On va lui mettre le bébé dans les bras*, where the dative is that of the

<sup>124</sup> The ungrammaticality of (323) still needs to be explained, especially in light of (i) *Je vais vous leur casser la figure* where *vous* is the ethical dative of fn. 122; see also Perlmutter (1971, pp. 53–64).

<sup>125</sup> We say “more readily” because examples with nonapplication to accusatives, better than those in (321), (322), can be constructed (as in finger-pointing contexts): (i) ?*Je préfère lui à elle*. We leave open the question of a precise characterization of the environments acting as those of (319), (320). See also fn. 23, chap. 5.

inalienable possession construction discussed earlier. If *le bébé* is replaced by *toi*, there is no corresponding grammatical sentence:

- (326) \*On va te lui mettre dans les bras.

‘We’re going to put you in his arms.’

- (327) \*On va lui mettre toi dans les bras.

Sentence (326) is excluded for the same reason as (323), and (327) for the same reason as (325). In this case, however, the counterpart to (324) is also ungrammatical:

- (328) \*On va te mettre à lui dans les bras.

- (329) \*On va te mettre dans les bras à lui.<sup>126</sup>

In other words, the dative of the inalienable possession construction is obligatorily subject to Cl-Pl,<sup>127</sup> even if the application of Cl-Pl leads to an ungrammatical sentence.

A second case in which the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl is not nullified even in the face of an impossible clitic combination involves verbs such as *sembler*. In a grammatical sentence like *Elle me semble infidèle à Jean-Jacques*, where *me* is an underlying object of *sembler* and à *Jean-Jacques* of the adjective *infidèle*, replacement of the dative NP by a cliticizable pronoun results in a decided change in status, which we attribute to the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl:

- (330) \*?Elle me semble infidèle à toi.

‘She seems to me unfaithful to you.’

The actual application of Cl-Pl yields an excluded clitic sequence:<sup>128</sup>

- (331) \*Elle me te semble infidèle.

These facts support, as do those of (326)–(329), the claim that the

<sup>126</sup> This sentence is impossible even for those who accept (i) ??*On va te mettre dans les bras à Marie*; see fns. 90, 106.

<sup>127</sup> This should be related to its prepositionless character; see notes 107 and 135.

<sup>128</sup> A nondative adjectival complement can be cliticized: (i) *Elle m'y semble sensible*. (ii) *Elle m'en semble fière*. In the absence of the complement of *sembler*, the cliticization of the adjectival dative is possible, though often judged as exclusively literary: (iii) ?*Elle te semble semblable*. (iv) ?*Ce livre-ci lui semble supérieur* (à *celui-là*). A few speakers accept, and many find somewhat improved, the sentence formed by replacing *te* in (331) by *lui*; this recalls Perlmutter (1971, p. 64). [(i)/(ii) ‘She seems to me sensitive to it/proud of it.’ (iii) ‘She seems similar to you.’ (iv) ‘This book seems superior to it.’]

grammaticality of (324) is not a consequence of any general convention. If a convention did exist to the effect that Cl-Pl became optional whenever an unacceptable clitic sequence would be produced, then (330) should be perfectly grammatical, but it is not.

## 2.17 Violations of Obligatoriness

The decision to consider Cl-Pl a basically obligatory rule permits an account of certain phenomena concerning the interaction of Cl-Pl and various general conditions on movement transformations. For example, it was observed earlier (see (166)) that Cl-Pl could not apply to an accusative or dative pronoun modified by a nonrestrictive relative clause:

- (332) *Elle connaît tes amis, qui sont intelligents.*

‘She knows your friends, who are intelligent.’

- (333) \**Elle les connaît, qui sont intelligents.*

Interestingly, if Cl-Pl does not apply, the result is also ungrammatical:

- (334) \**Elle connaît eux, qui sont intelligents.*

This is true despite the occurrence of pronoun + relative in

- (335) a. *Elle parle souvent avec eux, qui sont toujours impatients de la voir.*

- b. *Elle pense à eux, qui sont partis dans un pays lointain.*

a. ‘She often speaks with them, who are always impatient to see her.’

b. ‘She’s thinking of them, who have gone to a faraway country.’

The ungrammaticality of (334) is, we shall claim, to be interpreted as a violation of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl. Evidently, the fact that the application of Cl-Pl in (333) itself violates a condition on movement transformations (the A/A principle, as argued earlier) does not nullify that obligatoriness. In other words, the intersection of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl and a general constraint on transformations yields no grammatical sentence. It should be noted that such a result is not self-evident, since one could easily imagine a principle like the following: if the application of an obligatory transformation would violate some general condition on transformations, then allow that

transformation not to apply. That principle, which recalls the convention rejected above in the discussion of (330), is shown to be incorrect by the ungrammaticality of (334).<sup>129</sup>

The contrast between (334) and (335) is mirrored by *nous autres*, *vous autres* and by NPs of the form pronoun + numeral:

- (336) a. Elle parle de nous autres.
- b. Elle pense à vous deux.
- c. Elle parlait avec eux trois.
  
- (337) a. \*Elle photographiait nous autres.
- b. \*Elle prétend avoir frappé vous autres.
- c. \*Elle a vu vous deux hier soir.
- d. \*Elle a rencontré eux trois au cinéma.
- a. ‘She was photographing us others.’
- b. ‘She claims to have struck you others.’
- c. ‘She saw you two last night.’
- d. ‘She met the three of them at the movies.’

This suggests that the ungrammaticality of (337) should also be analyzed as a violation of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl. Again the fact that the application of Cl-Pl violates a condition on movement transformations:<sup>130</sup> \**Elle nous photographiait autres*, \**Elle les a rencontrés trois* is irrelevant.

A somewhat different example of the type of paradigm represented in (335), (336) versus (334), (337) can be constructed with NPs consisting simply of *tous*, or *tous* + *les* + Num:

- (338) a. Il est ami avec tous.
- b. Il va penser à toutes les deux.
- c. Tu peux compter sur presque toutes.
- d. Elle a acheté des cadeaux pour tous les quatre.
  
- (339) a. \*Elle photographiera tous.

<sup>129</sup> Compare the interaction of the relative clause transformation and the recoverability of deletion condition described in Chomsky (1965, pp. 137 ff.), as well as many examples from Ross (1967a); for further discussion, see Perlmutter (1971, pp. 123 ff.).

<sup>130</sup> The relevant condition may be the A/A; see fns. 41, 51, chap. 1.

- b. \*Après avoir frappé toutes les deux, elle est partie.
  - c. \*Il mettra presque toutes à la porte.
  - d. \*Elle présentera tous les quatre à son père.
- a. ‘She’ll photograph all.’
  - b. ‘After having struck both, she left.’
  - c. ‘He’ll throw them almost all out.’
  - d. ‘She’ll introduce all four to her father.’

(The addition of *les* would make the sentences of (339) grammatical.) The ungrammaticality of (339) is less obviously related to the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl than is that of (337), insofar as (339) does not display an object pronoun in surface structure. However, if the appearance of the bare Q in NP position in (338), (339) is analyzed in terms of a rule deleting a pronoun, *Il est ami avec NP[Q[tous] eux] → Il est ami avec NP[Q[tous]] - Ø*, then the ungrammaticality of (339) will follow, on the assumption that the deletion rule is ordered after Cl-Pl,<sup>131</sup> as a violation of the obligatoriness of the latter. Thus we would begin with a structure such as *Elle photographiera NP[Q[tous] eux]*. If Q-Post applies, giving *Elle photographiera NP[eux] Q[tous]*, then so will Cl-Pl, with the grammatical result *Elle les photographiera tous*. (The nonapplication of Cl-Pl here would violate its obligatoriness: \**Elle photographiera eux tous*.) The derivation of (339), however, does not involve the application of Q-Post. The input to Cl-Pl is rather the unaltered structure *Elle photographiera NP[Q[tous] eux]*. If Cl-Pl applies, the output is again *Elle les photographiera tous*.<sup>132</sup> For (339) itself to be derived, Cl-Pl must not have applied. The structure *Elle photographiera NP[Q[tous] eux]* will then be subject to the rule involved in the derivation of (338), yielding *Elle photographiera NP[Q[tous]] - Ø*. However, such a derivation of (339), characterized by the nonapplication of Q-Post, the nonapplication of Cl-Pl, and the deletion of the pronoun, will be marked as a violation,

<sup>131</sup> The required extrinsic ordering might itself be predictable; see fn. 43, chap. 1.

<sup>132</sup> In chap. 1, we argued that such application of Cl-Pl, that is, to a modified pronoun, should be disallowed (see fn. 130); in other words, the derivation of (i) *Elle les photographiera tous* in which Q-Post has not applied will be marked as a violation (with no undesirable effect, since that grammatical sentence will still have a valid derivation, namely one in which Q-Post has applied). This point is, in any case, irrelevant to the problem of (339).

since it involves the nonapplication of an obligatory rule, Cl-Pl. In effect, the sentences of (339) are ungrammatical because the NPs there of the form  $_{NP}[Q]$  are instances of the deletion of a pronoun that should have been moved by Cl-Pl but wasn't. The contrast between (339) and (338) is due to the fact that in (338) the deleted pronouns were objects of nondative prepositions and so were never candidates for movement by Cl-Pl at all.

The obligatoriness of Cl-Pl is thus seen to be the cause of the ungrammaticality of (334), (337), and (339), all of which are instances of accusative NPs. As noted earlier, the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl is less strict with datives, and in fact the dative counterparts of (334), (337), (339) are better:

(340) a. ?Elle en a offert à eux, qui sont très sympathiques.

b. ?On voudrait parler à vous autres.

c. ?Elle les a montrées à nous trois.

a. 'She gave some to them, who are very nice.'

b. 'Someone would like to speak to you others.'

c. 'She showed them to the three of us.'

(341) a. Tu devrais en envoyer à tous les trois.

b. Il a déjà téléphoné à presque toutes.

a. 'You should send some to all three.'

b. 'He's already telephoned to almost all.'

These sentences indicate further that, at least in the case of datives, the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl is reduced somewhat by the presence of modifiers. The choice of modifier is relevant, too; for many speakers, given neutral intonation, a gradation approximately representable as follows holds:

(342)a. \*Elle en offrira à vous.

b. ??Elle en offrira à vous autres.

c. ?Elle en offrira à vous deux.

d. Elle en offrira à vous tous.

The last sentence, with *tous*, is often considered fully grammatical.

The contrast between (341) and (340) is presumably related to this fact about *tous*.<sup>133</sup>

The difference in degree of obligatoriness between datives and accusatives under Cl-Pl is to be compared to certain data concerning *en*. In our earlier discussion of examples (200)–(201), we attributed the ungrammaticality of sentences like *\*Tu ne connais aucune* to the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl in the environment . . . V<sub>NP</sub>[*aucune - en*]; the application of Cl-Pl yields the correct *Tu n'en connais aucune*. If *aucune* is preceded by a preposition, the movement of *en* violates the A/A principle: *\*Il n'en est ami avec aucune*. However, the nonapplication of Cl-Pl (followed by the deletion of *en*) is compatible with grammaticality: *Il n'est ami avec aucune*. But this implies that the application of Cl-Pl in the environment . . . V . . . P<sub>NP</sub>[*aucune - en*] is not obligatory. If it were, we would expect no grammatical result, just as there was none in (333), (334). We conclude that Cl-Pl with <sub>NP</sub>[*aucune - en*] is obligatory with direct objects but not with prepositional objects.<sup>134</sup> (This, in turn, suggests that the reduced obligatoriness of Cl-Pl with datives, as compared to accusatives, is due to the PP character of the former.)<sup>135</sup>

The obligatoriness of Cl-Pl does not manifest itself, even with direct objects, in the case of *chacun*, which differs from *tous* in the following way: *chacun*, unlike *tous*, can occur as a full NP direct object:

- (343) Elle a mis chacun dans un tiroir différent.

‘She put each in a different drawer.’

- (344) \*Elle a mis tous dans le même tiroir.

‘She put all in the same drawer.’

Furthermore, *chacun*, but not *tous*, can cooccur with a noncliticized pronoun in sentences similar to the above:

<sup>133</sup> Which may, in turn, be related to the possibility of heavily stressing *tous*, but not *deux*, or *autres*, in (342).

<sup>134</sup> Cl-Pl is likewise obligatory with other direct object quantifiers or numerals, as in (i) *Tu en connais combien, beaucoup, plusieurs, trois*, where *en* might stand for *de pilotes* (and its omission yields \*). With prepositional objects, these yield varying results such as (ii) *Il parlait avec certaines*, (iii) ??*Il a tiré sur trois*, (iv) \*?*Il est ami avec beaucoup*, so that Cl-Pl is not uniformly optional with P<sub>NP</sub>[X *en*]. These data recall those of (340)–(342), with *aucun(e)* and *tous* patterning alike. [(i) ‘You know how many, many, several, three of them.’]

<sup>135</sup> Precisely why is unclear. Notice that we would then expect Cl-Pl to be as obligatory with prepositionless datives as with accusatives; see (326)–(329) and fn. 127.

(345) Elle a mis chacun d'eux à la porte.

(346) a. \*Elle a mis tous eux à la porte.

b. \*Elle a mis eux tous à la porte.

This is so despite the compatibility of both with a clitic pronoun:

(347) a. Elle les a mis chacun dans un tiroir différent.

b. Elle les a mis tous dans le même tiroir.

Within the framework of our analysis of Cl-Pl, these facts can be accounted for as follows: The derivation of (347) involves the application of Q-Post (which is applicable to both *chacun* and *tous*), followed by that of Cl-Pl. The ungrammaticality of *tous* in (344), (346) is a function of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl, as described in the discussion of (339). The sentences (343), (345) do not involve the application of Q-Post, and in neither has Cl-Pl applied. In both (345) and (343), the nonapplication of Cl-Pl has evidently not been construed as a violation of the obligatory character of Cl-Pl with accusatives; that is, a pronoun modified by *chacun* does not need to be cliticized, although one modified by *tous* does, in the case of accusatives, as shown by (344), (346).

We propose that the determining difference here between *chacun* and *tous* is the presence of the preposition *de* following *chacun*. To make this claim precise, let us first consider the notion “applicability of a transformation to a string.” A transformation will be applicable to some string if that string meets the structural description of the transformation. If the transformation is an optional one, it need not actually be applied. If it is obligatory, then it must be applied; otherwise, a violation is produced. The notion “violation of the obligatoriness of a transformation T” presupposes that the string in question meets the structural description of T, that is, that T be “applicable.” It would make little sense to speak of (334), (337), (339), (344), (346) as involving a violation of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl if Cl-Pl were not, in fact, applicable to them (or to some intermediate structure from which they were derived), that is, if they did not meet the structural description of Cl-Pl. From this it follows that the SD of Cl-Pl must be met by the verb and pronoun in V *vous autres*, V *nous trois*, V *eux* + relative clause, V *tous eux*, and V *eux tous*. (That the actual application of Cl-Pl, that is, movement of *vous*, *nous*, or *eux*, might violate some constraint

on movement rules is unimportant here.) Conversely, the grammaticality of V *chacun d'eux*, as in (345), will follow if *eux* there does not meet the SD of Cl-Pl.<sup>136</sup>

This can be accomplished by incorporating into the SD of Cl-Pl some notion of “direct object pronoun.” For example, the sentence *\*Elle connaît vous* is ungrammatical because *vous*, as a direct object pronoun, should have been cliticized. Here, *vous* is the entire object NP. However, a pronoun need not constitute the entire object NP in order for it to count as a “direct object pronoun,” as shown by the ungrammaticality of *\*Elle connaît vous, qui êtes intelligent* and *\*Elle connaît bien nous autres*, among others, where *vous*, *nous* are but part of the object NP. On the other hand, the sentence *Elle connaît la fille que vous aimez* is perfectly grammatical, despite *vous* being contained in the object NP. Clearly, inclusion in an S dominated by a direct object NP does not make a pronoun a “direct object pronoun.” Let us now say that inclusion in a PP dominated by a direct object NP does not suffice either. Then the *eux* of *chacun d'eux* could never be considered a “direct object pronoun,” since it is part of the PP *de + eux*, and so will not meet the SD of Cl-Pl, whence the grammaticality of (345). The grammaticality of (343) will follow from that of (345).<sup>137</sup> The ungrammaticality of the comparable sentences with *tous* is now correlated with the lack of embedded S or PP in <sub>NP[tous - eux]</sub>.

The analysis implicit in the preceding paragraph can be made more precise in terms of syntactic features. Assume that certain NPs are marked with the feature “+accusative” and that the feature is subsequently copied onto elements dominated by that NP, but not onto any element contained within an embedded S or PP. The object NPs in V <sub>NP[vous autres]</sub>, V <sub>NP[nous deux]</sub>, V <sub>NP[tous eux]</sub>, V <sub>NP[chacun d'eux]</sub> will be “+accusative,” and that feature will be copied onto the pronoun in all but the last. If Cl-Pl is stated so as to be applicable to

<sup>136</sup> Similarly for the *vous* of (i) *Elle a rencontré trois d'entre vous hier soir.* [(i) ‘She met three of you last night.’]

<sup>137</sup> In (347), the application of Q-Post eliminates the PP node, thereby making the pronoun subject to Cl-Pl (which implies that case marking is able to follow Q-Post). The deletion rule that yields <sub>NP[chacun - Ø]</sub> in (343) is presumably the same as that operative with *aucun* (see (200) ff.), even though *chacun*, *aucun* differ on the Cl-Pl of *en* (see fn. 55). Deletion with *chacun* is not always accepted: some speakers reject *Chacune vit différemment* (while accepting *Toutes sont belles*); those speakers will reject (343) too, with no effect on the Cl-Pl/case-marking argument.

pronouns marked as either accusative or dative, but to no others (except the pro-PPs *y* and *en*), the facts of (337), (343)–(346) will be described. A treatment of these facts in terms of features is made plausible by the need, as argued earlier, for a comparable feature to distinguish the *à* complement of verbs like *téléphoner*, from that of verbs like *penser* (see (254) ff.), as well as by the existence, argued on the basis of (265)–(279), of prepositionless datives occurring directly to the right of the verb (with case features being a natural way of distinguishing them from the equally prepositionless accusatives).<sup>138</sup>

A contrast similar to that between *tous* and *chacun* can be constructed with sentences containing a French equivalent to the word *only*. The following two sentences seem to be synonymous and are both grammatical: *On dit que cette fille-là aime seulement Jean*, *On dit que cette fille-là n'aime que Jean*. If *Jean* is replaced by *toi*, a difference in grammaticality ensues:

(348) \**On dit que cette fille-là aime seulement toi.*

(349) *On dit que cette fille-là n'aime que toi.*

‘They say that girl loves only you.’

Sentence (348) is invariably judged to be less than perfectly grammatical and is often rejected completely. We interpret the deviance of (348) as a violation of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl, whose SD is met by *toi*.<sup>139</sup> The application of Cl-Pl to the structure underlying (348) yields *On dit que cette fille-là t'aime seulement*, which is possible, although the surface configuration does not allow *seulement* to be associated with *te*. The application of Cl-Pl in (349) is impossible:

<sup>138</sup> In addition, this would allow relating the contrast between (345) and (337) to the fact that in an overt case-marking language like German, a pronoun within an accusative NP is not marked as accusative if preceded by the preposition *von* ‘of’. For relevant discussion, see Ross (1967a, chap. 3). Whether there is a significant semantic intersection between accusatives in French and those in German, that is, whether the feature name “accusative” is more than mnemonic (see fn. 96), is unclear. The NP to the direct right of V is neither accusative nor dative in (i) *C'est vous*; (ii) \**Ce vous est*, (iii) \**Ca vous est*, and (iv) *Il y a toi*; (v) \**Il t'y a* (see fn. 31). (Some perhaps related properties of predicate nominals are noted in chap. 3, (text to) fn. 7.) More problematic is the impossibility of both (vi) \**Mon meilleur ami est toi* and (vii) \**Mon meilleur ami t'est* (cf. (viii) *Mon meilleur ami est Jean*, a construction discussed in Moreau (1970)). [(vi) ‘My best friend is you.’]

<sup>139</sup> The degree of deviance is reduced somewhat, compared to that of (i) \**On dit que cette fille-là aime toi* by the presence of *seulement*; cf. fn. 125.

(350) \*On dit que cette fille-là ne t'aime que.

The ungrammaticality of (350), together with the total lack of deviance in (349), suggests that the pronoun following *que* does not meet the SD of Cl-Pl.<sup>140</sup> This will, in fact, be the case if the *que* of *ne . . . que* is identified with the sentence introducing *que* of

- (351) a. Elle croit que vous êtes d'accord.
- b. Marie achètera autant de voitures que Jean en vendra.
- c. Il écrit autrement qu'il ne parle.
- a. ‘She thinks that you agree.’
- b. ‘Marie will buy as many cars as Jean will sell.’
- c. ‘He writes otherwise than he speaks.’

One must also attribute to a sentence like *Cette fille n'aime que toi* a representation just prior to Cl-Pl of the form *Cette fille n'aime NP[s[que toi]]*, in which case *toi* will fail to be marked as accusative because it is contained in an S embedded within the object NP, and so will fail to meet the SD of Cl-Pl.<sup>141</sup>

The *lui* of *celui-là* must not meet the SD of Cl-Pl either; if it did, we would expect a sentence such as (352) to be deviant (but it is not), and in particular to be a violation of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl with accusatives.

(352) On a pris celui-là.

‘They took that one.’

<sup>140</sup> Alternatively, one might try to relate the grammaticality of (349) to that of (i) *Elle connaît et toi et Jean*, (ii) *Elle ne connaît ni toi ni Jean*, where the emphatic character of *et . . . et* and *ni . . . ni* appears to have nullified the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl (we assume *toi* here to be marked “+ accusative,” and in fact the less emphatic single *et* leads to some degree of deviance in (iii) ?*Elle connaît toi et Jean*). The actual application of Cl-Pl in (iv) \**Elle te connaît et et Jean*, (v) \**Elle ne te connaît ni ni Jean* violates a general constraint against movement from out of coordinate structures; see Ross (1967a). ((vi) \**Elle te connaît et Jean* used to be possible, but so did (vii) \**Elle viendra et Jean* (see Haase (1969, pp. 28–29, 424)), suggesting that certain coordinate structures could once be broken up prior to Cl-Pl.) [(i)/(ii) ‘She knows both/neither you and/nor Jean.’]

<sup>141</sup> This will work out best if the embedded S has no V at the time of case marking. Compare Hankamer (1973). We note that Cl-Pl is compatible with *ne . . . que* in (i) *Elle n'en a que trois*, so that the status of (350) could perhaps be attributed to its bare *que*. [(i) ‘She has only three of them.’]

The grammaticality of (352) could be related to the fact that *celui* is a fused form, as suggested by

- (353) a. celle-là; \*cette elle-là
- b. ceux-là; \*ces eux-là

(Compare \**œufs-là*, *ces œufs-là* ‘those eggs’ with the normal plural demonstrative *ces*; it is also suggested by the inability of *celui* to stand alone: \**On a pris celui* (versus *On a pris ce livre*).) For example, if “accusative” marking does not extend below the word level, and if *celui* is one word at the point at which the marking is effected, then *lui* will not meet the SD of Cl-Pl. If *celui* is derived syntactically from *ce* and *lui*, and if the coalescence into one word takes place subsequent to accusative marking, then another approach will be necessary, perhaps one that requires that pro-forms subject to Cl-Pl be exhaustively dominated by some node NP (or PP, for *y* and *en*), that is, NP[pronoun].<sup>142</sup>

The contrast between *On a répondu à Jean-Jacques* and \**On a répondu à moi*, which we have attributed to the quasi-obligatoriness of Cl-Pl, has a counterpart with nominalizations:

- (354) a. Ta réponse à Jean-Jacques a été parfaite.
- b. \*Ta réponse à nous a été parfaite.
- a/b. ‘Your answer to Jean-Jacques/us was perfect.’
- (355) a. L'offre d'une maison à Pierrette a été approuvé.
- b. \*L'offre d'une maison à vous a été approuvé.
- a/b. ‘The offer of a house to Pierrette/you was approved.’
- (356) a. Sa fidélité à ses parents est bien connue.
- b. \*Sa fidélité à eux est bien connue.
- a/b. ‘His devotion to his parents/them is well known.’

If nominalizations were derived from full sentences by transformation, and if Cl-Pl were ordered before the nominalization transforma-

<sup>142</sup> This possibility was raised earlier in the discussion of (168), although not found to be necessary there. Actual application of Cl-Pl to the *lui* of *celui* is, of course, impossible: (i) \**On l'a pris ce-là*. Like (352) is (ii) *On a pris votre livre* (also (iii) \**On votre a pris livre*), so the possessive pronoun must not be “accusative.” [(ii) ‘They took your book.’]

tion, then the facts of (354)–(356) could be described as violations of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl. If nominalizations are not derived from sentences by transformation, and if Cl-Pl is essentially stated with the SD, . . . V . . . pronoun . . . , then the SD of Cl-Pl will not be met in nominalizations (since there is no V),<sup>143</sup> in which case the deviance of the pronoun examples above must be accounted for independently of Cl-Pl. The implausibility of such a conclusion is reduced by the observation that certain nominals with nondative à complements display similar behavior:

- (357) a. Ma renonciation à Marie-Claire a été sans douleur.
- b. \*Ma renonciation à toi a été sans douleur.
- a/b. 'My giving up of Marie-Claire/you was painless.'

The sentence with *renonciation à toi* seems to be as deviant as those with *réponse à nous*, etc.,<sup>144</sup> despite the fact that the à complement of *renoncer* is not subject to Cl-Pl in full Ss: *Elle a renoncé à toi*, \**Elle t'a renoncé*.

## 2.18 Formulation with Variable

The transformation Cl-Pl, which we have seen to be nearly always obligatory with accusatives and somewhat less so with datives in à, will be formulated with a variable in between the verb and the pro-form to be moved: . . . V X pro-form. . . . Alternatively, one might attempt to include in the SD of Cl-Pl a list of those elements capable of intervening between V and the pro-form to be moved. If the number of such elements was very small, or just one, so that Cl-Pl could be formulated as V ( $E_1$ ) pro-form or V ( $E_1$ )( $E_2$ ) pro-form, the less restrictive variable statement might not be preferred. However, the variety of  $E_i$  is great enough to remove such an objection to the variable; in fact, there seems to be no case in which Cl-Pl is blocked simply because of the diversity of material intervening between V and the pro-form (although there are many cases of Cl-Pl being blocked by general con-

<sup>143</sup> If the hypothesis made in Chomsky (1970a) is valid for French, it would be possible to consider lexically derived nominals as having some feature in common with verbs. If the SD of Cl-Pl were then met by such nominals, a means of excluding (i) \**Ta nous réponse*, (ii) \**Le vous offre d'une maison*, (iii) \**Sa leur fidélité* would need to be found.

<sup>144</sup> With prepositions other than à, there exist grammatical examples: (i) *sa confiance en moi*, (ii) *son respect de toi*.

straints on movement transformations), so that a variable seems appropriate.

Accusative pronouns can be moved by Cl-Pl across a Q. We recall that sentences such as *?Je les leur ai tous toutes montrées* are derived from a structure that just prior to Cl-Pl has the form *Je ai montré NP<sub>dat</sub>[eux] Q[tous] NP[elles] Q[toutes]*, so that in moving *elles*, Cl-Pl moves it across *Q[tous]* (see the discussion of (276)). In addition, accusative pronouns can be moved across adverbs:

- (358) Marie t'aime bien.

'Marie likes you (well).'

Sentence (358) is derived from a structure resembling the ungrammatical *\*Marie aime bien toi*. That the adverb *bien* is in immediate postverbal position at the point of application of Cl-Pl is suggested by the fact that that is its only natural position, as well as by the absence of any reason to suspect that it originates elsewhere than in its surface position here:

- (359) a. Marie aime bien ce garçon.  
 b. \*Bien Marie aime ce garçon.  
 c. \*Marie bien aime ce garçon.  
 d. \*Marie aime ce garçon bien.

Datives in *à* provide additional examples of elements across which Cl-Pl can operate. Consider those (many) speakers who reject prepositionless datives with verbs like *montrer*, that is, those who reject sentences like *?Je leur ai tous montré cela* and relatives like *?à qui Marie a tous montré cela*. For them the dative clitic has clearly been derived from a dative in *à* in *Je leur ai montré cela*, as well as in

- (360) Je leur ai montré cela à tous.

'I showed that to them all.'

Now (360) has, just prior to Cl-Pl, a structure resembling *Je ai montré cela à eux tous*, so that in sentences like (360) Cl-Pl must be able to move the pronoun across both NP (here *cela*) and P (*à*).<sup>145</sup> Furthermore, a

<sup>145</sup> See fn. 104. Similar to (360) is (i) *Jean leur est infidèle à toutes les deux*, where the pronoun has moved across A and P. [(i) 'Jean is unfaithful to them both.']}

dative pronoun can be moved across an A(djective) in sentences like (361) (from . . . *est restée semblable à lui*).

- (361) Marie lui est restée semblable.

‘Marie remained similar to him.’

Both accusative and dative pronouns can be moved across Vs to which they are not going to be attached in

- (362) a. On les a mis à la porte.  
 b. Ce livre lui a été offert par Marie.  
 c. On les a fait lire à Jean.  
 a. ‘They threw them out.’  
 b. ‘This book was given to him by Marie.’  
 c. ‘We had Jean read them.’

In each of the above, the clitic is attached to *a*; it has moved across *mis* in (362)a, *été* and *offert* in (362)b, and *fait* and *lire* in (362)c. (We note that the verb sequences *a mis*, *a été offert*, *a fait lire* are not very closely bound—adverbs can be inserted between any two of the Vs—see fn. 18). If accusatives and datives are taken together, then, Cl-Pl can move the pronoun across terminal strings dominated by the categories Q, Adv(erb), NP, P, A, and V.

Additional examples of Cl-Pl moving a pro-form across varied constituents are provided by *en* and *y*. In the following sentences, *en* and *y* correspond to adjectival complements and have moved across A:

- (363) a. Elle en est capable.  
 b. Elle y est fidèle.

(Compare *Elle est capable de faire cela*, *Elle est fidèle à ses principes*.) Furthermore, *en* and *y* can be moved across both NP and A in the *croire* construction discussed in more detail in section 4.6:

- (364) a. Tout le monde en croyait Marie capable.  
 b. Tout le monde y croyait Marie fidèle.  
 a/b. ‘Everyone thought Marie capable of it/faithful to them.’

(Compare *Tout le monde croyait Marie capable de faire cela*, *Tout le monde*

*croyait Marie fidèle à ses principes.)* A rather similar case with NP-N instead of NP-A would be

- (365) On en a nommé Jean président.

‘They named Jean president of it.’

(Compare *On a nommé Jean président de la commission.*) The adnominal uses of *en* also involve movement across material intervening between the pro-form and the verb to which it is attached:

- (366) On en a critiqué les trois derniers chapitres.

‘They criticized the first three chapters of it.’

(Compare *On a critiqué les trois derniers chapitres du rapport.*) If NPs such as *les trois derniers chapitres du rapport* are to be analyzed as <sub>NP</sub>[NP - *de* - NP], that is, if *les trois derniers chapitres* is a constituent of type NP, then (366) is simply another instance of *en* moving across an NP. If *les trois derniers chapitres* is not a constituent at all, however, then (366) is an instance of *en* having moved across at least two, and possibly four, separate constituents.<sup>146</sup>

The incorporation of a variable into the SD of Cl-Pl, in preference to an attempt to list the various elements across which Cl-Pl can displace pro-forms, would be of questionable value if it resulted in the generation of ungrammatical sentences that would otherwise have been excluded, that is, if the presence of the variable in V X pro-form had the effect of making Cl-Pl undesirably powerful. For example, given a structure of the form *Jean croit que Marie connaît toi*, one might wonder whether the ungrammatical *\*Jean te croit que Marie connaît* would not incorrectly be derived, since the variable X could in principle be matched with the string *que Marie connaît*. In fact, such ungrammatical sentences will not be derived, given conditions on transformations which severely limit the movement of material both into and out of embedded sentences. The particular conditions relevant to the preceding example are discussed in chapter 4 and shown to be applicable to more than just the transformation Cl-Pl. In other words, the power of the variable in the SD of Cl-Pl will be substantially reduced by the existence of general constraints on variables.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Adnominal *en* can actually move indefinitely far, subject to certain unclear restrictions; see fn. 56.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Ross (1967a).

The exclusion through the A/A principle of certain derivations involving Cl-Pl, as discussed earlier in section 2.8, can also be looked at as an example of a variable being reduced in power by some general principle. Thus, the SD of Cl-Pl would not itself prohibit  $X$  from being taken equal to *sur l'auteur* in *Elle compte PP[sur l'auteur PP[en]]*, where the application of Cl-Pl would then yield the ungrammatical *\*Elle en compte sur l'auteur* (compare (158)). Such a derivation is, however, excluded by the A/A principle. Similarly, taking  $X$  equal to *un portrait de* in *Elle a NP[un portrait de NP[toi]]* would yield *\*Elle t'a un portrait de*; the fact that the A/A principle characterizes such a derivation as a violation ensures that the presence of the variable will have no undesirable consequence in this case.

The *portrait* example above would actually be described correctly, even in the absence of an A/A principle, if our earlier claim that the only pronouns subject to Cl-Pl (apart from *en*, *y*) are those marked as “accusative” or “dative” is valid. This is so since the pronoun in *un portrait de toi* is not marked as either, just as that in (345) is not. The requirement that the pronoun following the variable  $X$  in the SD of Cl-Pl be either “accusative” or “dative” will at the same time prevent  $X$  from being taken to be *Jean chez*, or *sortie avec* in *Elle enverra Jean chez moi, Tu es sortie avec lui*:

- (367) a. *\*Elle m'enverra Jean chez.*
- b. *\*Tu lui es sortie avec.*
- a. ‘She'll send Jean over to me.’
- b. ‘You went out with him.’

In this case, the power of the variable is correctly limited by a restriction on one of the other terms of the SD.

## 2.19 *En* from Subject NP

The assignment of a variable to Cl-Pl therefore does not make that transformation excessively powerful. Sentences such as the following, though, might seem to indicate that a SD of the form  $V X$  pro-form is not powerful enough:

- (368) a. *La forme de ce poème n'est pas admirable.*
- b. *La forme n'en est pas admirable.*

a/b. ‘The form of this poem/of it is not admirable.’

In (368), *en* corresponds to an adnominal complement of the subject NP and consequently must have originated to the left of the V to which it is ultimately attached, yet the SD given above specifies that the pro-form to be moved must be to the right of V. The question is, then, how to account for the position of *en* in sentences like (368). One possibility would be to introduce an additional rule (call it *En-Fo(rward)*)<sup>148</sup> that would move *en* to the right in just these cases. Such an approach, which would permit maintaining the above formulation of Cl-Pl, would imply that *en* is attached to the verb by one of two distinct transformations, depending on its point of origin. The postulation of two rules for *en* is, in fact, plausible, since the conditions under which *en* can be moved rightward differ sharply from those under which it can be moved leftward. For example, the rightward movement of *en* is highly restricted with respect to the choice of verb:

- (369) a. La première partie de ce livre rappelle les romans policiers.
  - b. \*La première partie en rappelle les romans policiers.
  - c. La première partie de ce livre provoquera un scandale.
  - d. \*La première partie en provoquera un scandale.
- a/b. ‘The first part of this book/of it recalls detective novels.’

On the whole, sentences like (368) can be readily constructed only with *être* and related predicative verbs (for example, *La première partie en semble parfaite*, *La forme en paraît admirable*). The leftward movement of *en* via Cl-Pl is not subject to the same type of restriction:

- (370) a. Ce roman m’en rappelle la première partie.
- b. On en censurera la première partie.
- a. ‘This novel reminds me of the first part of it.’
- b. ‘They’ll censure the first part of it.’

Moreover, even with *être* and related verbs, the rightward movement of *en* is impossible in sentences like the following:

<sup>148</sup> As in Ruwet (1972, chap. 2).

- (371) a. Trois de ces poèmes sont admirables.
- b. \*Trois en sont admirables.
- c. Plusieurs fourchettes étaient sur la table.
- d. \*Plusieurs en étaient sur la table.
- e. Une voiture rouge serait trop chère.
- f. \*Une rouge en serait trop chère.
- a/b. ‘Three of these poems/of them are admirable.’
- c/d. ‘Several forks/of them were on the table.’
- e/f. ‘A red car/one would be too expensive.’

Compare the following:

- (372) a. Elle en admire trois.
- b. On en mettra plusieurs sur la table.
- c. Il voudrait en acheter une rouge.
- a. ‘She admires three of them.’
- b. ‘We’ll put several on the table.’
- c. ‘He would like to buy a red one.’

In other words, the rightward movement of *en* is limited even further depending on the type of PP it corresponds to; the *en* moved by Cl-Pl, as in (372), is not subject to the same limitations. In fact, for many speakers, all sentences involving rightward *en* movement are limited to a literary style. The preceding considerations thus support the decision to distinguish rightward *en* movement from the nonmarginal leftward movement of *en* via Cl-Pl.<sup>149</sup>

The postulation of a rule *En-Fo* that removes *en* from within the subject NP and attaches it to the verb is, however, not the only means of describing sentences such as (368). One might equally well dispense with *En-Fo* in favor of a partially similar rule that removes *en* from within the subject NP and places it at the end of the VP (or perhaps at the end of the S in question). Let us call such a rule *En-Extraposition*. An *en* so placed by *En-Extrap* will subsequently be subject to Cl-Pl and attached to the verb, as desired (as long as Cl-Pl is

<sup>149</sup> And make it difficult to accept *en* as an example of left-right transformational symmetry; cf. Langacker (1969).

not ordered before *En*-Extrap). What little available evidence there is to choose between the two transformations suggests that *En*-Extrap may be preferable. In particular, the derivation of sentences like (368) via *En*-Extrap and Cl-Pl might lead to an understanding of the contrast between (368) and (371) by allowing that contrast to be related to certain properties of other PP-extrapolation rules. For instance, in English there exist such extrapolations as *A review appeared recently of your latest novel, The last two chapters just appeared of your friend's latest novel*, where the PP is question originates as an adjunct to a noun *review, chapters*. However, the following do not seem possible: \**Two just appeared of his novels, Many will appear soon of his novels*, where the head of the subject NP is a quantifier or numeral. Since an explanation for these properties of PP-extrapolation in English might carry over to (368) versus (371), and in the absence of any evidence in favor of *En*-Fo, we shall tentatively continue to analyze (368) in terms of an extrapolation rule followed by Cl-Pl.<sup>150</sup>

The fact that Cl-Pl is applicable only to pro-forms that are to the right of the verb correlates not merely with the contrast between (371) and (372) but also with that exemplified in pairs such as

- (373) a. Trois sont admirables.
- b. \*Elle admire trois.
- c. Plusieurs étaient sur la table.
- d. \*On mettra plusieurs sur la table.

The starred sentences are ungrammatical because Cl-Pl is obligatory, and applicable in the configuration V *trois - en*, V *plusieurs - en*. The unstarred sentences are grammatical because Cl-Pl, though obligatory, does not have its SD met by an *en* in the configuration <sub>NP</sub>[*Trois/plusieurs - en*] V. Consequently, there is no violation of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl (*en* is subsequently deleted).<sup>151</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Notice that we are claiming neither that *En*-Extrap, which applies only to *en* (as would have *En*-Fo), can be collapsed with any other extrapolation rule in French (such as that of (i) ?*Une représentation aura lieu de cette pièce*), nor that PP extrapolation in English shares more than the text property with *En*-Extrap. Some recent discussion of the English construction can be found in Postal (1971, pp. 218 ff.) and Bresnan (1971b, pp. 278 ff.). [(i) 'A performance will take place of that play.']}

<sup>151</sup> The lesser degree of contrast in (i) *Une rouge serait trop chère* versus (ii) ??*Elle voudrait acheter une rouge* may be related to the reduction in the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl sometimes occasioned by modifiers; cf. (342).

## 2.20 Formulation: Pro and the Transformation Poss (Possessive)

The statement of the SD of Cl-Pl as V X pro-form requires further comment with respect to both V and pro-form. The latter question, which will lead to a digression on possessives, will be considered first. One might wonder, for example, whether the informal term “pro-form” could be replaced by a single motivated category symbol. At least two distinct subproblems can be distinguished: that of determining whether a single symbol is independently motivated for the class of pronouns *moi, toi, soi, lui, elle, nous, vous, eux, elles*, which are subject to Cl-Pl when accusative or dative (see (313) ff.), and that of deciding whether any independently motivated symbol could refer at the same time to that class and to the pro-PPs *en* and *y*.

That the class of pronouns underlying the accusative and dative clitics is a natural one is suggested by the observation that it is precisely those pronouns that are subject to the transformation involved in the derivation of possessive *mon, ton, son, notre, votre, leur* (and in the feminine *ma, ta, sa, notre, votre, leur*, and plural *mes, tes, ses, nos, vos, leurs*), as in the NPs:

(374) *mon livre; ta maison; ses enfants*

‘my book; your house; his children’

That these possessive pronouns, as we shall call them, are derived through transformation and not generated directly in article position by phrase structure rules is suggested by certain data from the detachment construction:

(375) *Mon livre à moi; ta maison à toi; ses enfants à lui.*

(376) a. *Nous avons vu son livre, à ce garçon.*

b. *Son mari est mort, à cette femme.*

a. ‘We saw his book, this boy.’

b. ‘Her husband died, that woman.’

The examples of (375) and (376) recall others with dative clitics: *Il m'a parlé, à moi; Elle t'a souri, à toi; On lui en montrera, à lui; On lui en parlera, à ce garçon.* It was noted earlier (see (222) ff.) that such sentences can profitably be derived from structures of the form . . . à moi, à moi or . . . à lui, à ce garçon, where the detached phrase is of the same type as the

phrase from which the clitic is derived. This argues, consequently, in favor of the abstract representations *le livre à moi, à moi* for (375) and *Nous avons vu le livre à lui, à ce garçon, Le mari à elle est mort, à cette femme* for (376). In other words, we are proposing derivations of the form *le livre à moi → mon livre, le mari à elle → son mari, etc.*<sup>152</sup>

Additional support for such an analysis comes from sentences such as

- (377) a. C'est votre faute à toutes.
- b. Elle a tué notre chef à tous.
- a. 'It's the fault of all of you.'
- b. 'She killed the leader of all of us.'

These are parallel to *Elle vous parlera à toutes, Il nous en offrira à tous*, and they can be derived from the structure (produced by Q-Post): *C'est NP[la faute à vous toutes], Elle a tué NP[le chef à nous tous]*, through the movement of the pronoun into article position.<sup>153</sup>

The adnominal à phrases taken here as a source for possessive pronouns occur overtly in standard French to a limited extent, for example:

<sup>152</sup> In deriving such *mon, ton, etc.*, from adnominal à complements, we agree with Langacker (1968). Langacker in addition proposes that those à complements be themselves derived from reduced relative clauses with *être à*. However, *être à* (cf. English 'belong to') has a narrower distribution than the à phrases in question, as in (i) *Elle a vu un ami à moi* versus (ii) \**Elle a vu un ami qui est à moi*, and similarly for examples from Sandfeld (1965, 1, pp. 190–192); (see also Spang-Hanssen (1963, p. 34)): *sa santé à elle, sa mort à elle, sa grand'mère à elle; leur ainée à toutes les deux, vos propositions à toutes les deux; nos relations, à mon mari et à moi, notre séjour ici, à moi et à Roger*. Thus the base generation of adnominal à complements is plausible (cf. the arguments for the base generation of complements within NPs given by Chomsky (1970a, pp. 195ff.)).

Nor does it seem desirable to derive, as envisaged by Langacker, the dative of the inalienable possession construction, as in (iii) *On lui a cassé la figure*, from an adnominal reduced *être à* phrase (plus Cl-Pl). This is in part for reasons given above (see (294) ff.), also because of (iv) \**On a cassé la figure qui est à lui*. Furthermore, the à complement of *être* is not cliticizable (that is, not "+dative"), as in (v) \**Ce livre m'est*, (vi) *Ce livre est à moi*, although the "inalienable" dative is. We note that true cases of an embedded à complement of *être* maintain their noncliticizability: (vii) *Je les croyais à lui* (cf. (viii) *Je croyais qu'ils étaient à lui*), (ix) \**Je les lui croyais* (see section 4.6). [(i) 'She saw a friend of mine.' (vii) 'I thought them his.']}

<sup>153</sup> Sentences (377), (375), (376) contrast, respectively, with (i) \**C'est votre faute de toutes*, (ii) \**Elle a tué notre chef de tous*; (iii) \**mon livre de moi, etc.*; and (iv) \**Nous avons vu son livre, de ce garçon*, (v) \**Son mari est mort, de cette femme*, thereby arguing against a derivation of *mon, etc.* from *de* phrases (cf. fn. 154). The same is true of *le mien, etc.* (see fn. 155): (vi) \**C'est le nôtre de tous*, (vii) \**La sienne d'elle*, (viii) \**Nous avons vu le sien, de ce garçon*.

- (378) a. Elle a rencontré un ami à moi hier soir.

- b. Elle a rencontré un ami à Jean hier soir.

However, the transformation, which will be called Poss(essive), that moves the object of *à* into the position of the article in definite NPs (*L'ami à nous* → *notre ami*) is applicable only to the pronouns *moi, toi, soi, lui, elle, nous, vous, eux, elles*; thus the following NPs, for example, are impossible:<sup>154</sup>

- (379) \*Jean ami; \*Marie-Claire livre; \*ce garçon maison; \*cette femme enfants

'Jean's friend; Marie Claire's book; that boy's house; that woman's children'

In other words, Poss moves the same set of pronouns as does Cl-Pl in the case of accusatives and datives.

Moreover, Poss, like Cl-Pl, is incapable of moving anything else along with the pronoun. Thus alongside *un ami à nous tous*, *un ami à vous autres*, *un ami à eux trois*, we do not have the definite

- (380) a. \*notre tous ami

- b. \*votre autres ami  
c. \*leur trois ami

a/b/c. 'the friend of all of us/of you others/of the three of them'

Nor does Poss move the preposition *à*: *L'ami à nous est mort* becomes *Notre ami est mort* and not

<sup>154</sup> What can occur is *l'ami de Jean*, *un ami de Jean*, *la maison de ce garçon*, etc. (but not (cf. (377)) (i) \**Elle a tué le chef de ces garçons à tous*). Whether these *de* phrases should be derived from *à* phrases is an open question. The ungrammaticality of \**un ami de moi*, \**cet ami de moi* (versus *un portrait de moi*) is not yet accounted for.

*Soi* has been moved by Poss in (ii) *Quand on<sub>i</sub> aime sa<sub>i</sub> femme, on est heureux*; cf. (iii) *Quand on<sub>i</sub> aime sa<sub>i</sub> femme à soi<sub>i</sub> . . .* (iv) \**Quand on<sub>i</sub> aime sa<sub>i</sub> femme à lui<sub>i</sub> . . .* (see fn. 16, chap. 1)). The *on* of (v) *Je suis allé au commissariat—on m'a dit de revenir plus tard* can be coreferential with neither *lui* nor *soi*, and consequently not with *son* either: (vi) \**Là-bas, on<sub>i</sub> m'a parlé de ses<sub>i</sub> enfants*, (vii) \**On<sub>i</sub> m'a mis sa<sub>i</sub> main dessus*. Note, however, (viii) *On m'a mis la main dessus*, where *la main* can be understood as that of *on*, thereby reinforcing our decision not to derive *la main* from *sa main* in such sentences; see (304) ff. [(ii) 'When one loves one's wife, one is happy.' (v) 'I went to the police station—they told me to come back later.' (vi) 'There they spoke to me of their children.' (vii)-(viii) 'They laid their hand on me.']}

(381) \*A notre ami est mort.

The latter observation correlates with the *à* being overtly left behind in *notre ami à tous* and constitutes an additional point in common between Poss and Cl-Pl.<sup>155</sup>

The ungrammaticality of (379)–(381) suggests that Poss, like Cl-Pl, must contain a term satisfied by the bare pronouns *moi, toi, soi, lui, elle, nous, vous, eux, elles*, and by nothing else. The fact that two transformational processes involve just those pronouns lends credence in turn to the hypothesis that the latter form a natural class, and it supports the postulation of a special symbol to refer to them. We shall use the symbol “Pro.”<sup>156</sup>

The similarity between Poss and Cl-Pl does not extend to *en, y*, which are subject only to the latter. If *en*, for example, were subject to Poss, then there would exist a possessive element, let us call it \**sen*, which would occur in NPs of the following form:

<sup>155</sup> These properties of Poss (and Cl-Pl) are shared by the construction where the possessive pronoun is not in article position, for example, *le mien* ‘mine,’ *la tienne* ‘yours’, *les siens* ‘his,’ *le vôtre* ‘yours,’ *la leur* ‘theirs’, etc. Thus we have *C'est le nôtre à tous; les nôtres* versus \**les à nôtres* (cf. (381)); also (cf. (380)) \**le nôtre tous, le vôtre autre, le leur trois*; as well as (cf. (379)) \**les Jean* versus *les siens, la ce garçon, les cette femme*; and (cf. (375)–(376)) *la sienne à elle, Nous avons vu le sien, à ce garçon*.

The alternation *mon livre, le mien* (cf. \**mon, le mien livre*) involves more than just the appearance of *le* in the absence of a noun; compare the differing position of the possessive with respect to the numeral in *mes deux livres* ‘my two books’, *les deux miens* (\**deux mes livres, les miens deux*). If Poss moves the pronoun to article (prenumeral) position, then a subsidiary rule must move it into a “head” position (with the appearance of *le* perhaps the spelling out of <sub>Art</sub>[+definite]; cf. Chomsky (1970a, p. 207)) just in case there is no noun head or adjective head to the NP: \**Les grandes miennes, Le mien rouge*. This seems preferable to the alternative (Poss moving the pronoun to post-numeral position, with subsidiary movement into article position in the presence of a head), which would leave unexplained the restriction \**Ce mien*. If, however, Poss first moves the pronoun into article position, \**Ce mien* can be excluded in terms of the pronoun’s being unable to replace *ce*, this perhaps being a function of the recoverability of deletion condition (see Chomsky (1965)), although it can replace the simple definite article *le* (that is, *mon ami* can be derived from *l'ami à moi* but not from *cet ami à moi*). The absence of \**un tien, deux siennes*, etc., and of partitive \**des miens* (cf. (175)), could be attributed either to “recoverability” or, if *un* is a numeral (see Perlmutter (1970b)), and if partitive *des* were too, to the lack of an article node.

The disappearance of \**ce mien (ami), un mien (ami)*, forms that were possible in Old French (and are in Italian, for example, *questo mio libro*), should be related to the disappearance of \**Ce livre est mien* (cf. Italian *Questo libro è mio*), and may be interpretable as the loss of an adjectival basis for Poss (compare Langacker (1968)).

<sup>156</sup> The role played by this symbol in the PS component or in the lexicon remains to be investigated.

(382) \*sen ami à l'auteur

'the friend of the author of it'

These would derive from a structure *le ami à NP[l'auteur-en]*, via the movement of *en* into article position, just as *le ami à NP[lui]* yields *son ami*.

The absence of any possessive element corresponding to *en* or *y* follows immediately from the general constraint against the movement of PPs from within larger PPs (with the constraint itself a consequence of the A/A principle). Thus (382) is impossible for the same reason as

(383) \*Cela en nuira à l'auteur.

'That will harm the author of it.'

(Compare *Cela nuira à l'auteur du livre*.) In both, *en*, a PP, has violated the constraint by moving out of a larger PP, namely the one introduced by *à*.

This account of (382) would permit the claim that *en* is a Pro, since even if *en* satisfied the structural description of Poss, its movement would be ruled out as just described. Consequently, the possessive facts are neutral with respect to the question of whether the symbol Pro should be taken to encompass *en*, *y*, in addition to *moi*, . . . , *elles*. If *en*, *y*, were Pros, then Cl-Pl could be given the SD: . . . VX Pro. . . . If they are not (as we shall tentatively assume), and if no symbol B can be motivated such that B encompasses Pro, *en*, and *y*, then Cl-Pl must have at least two subparts, one applying to Pro, and the other to *en* and *y*.<sup>157</sup>

Whether or not *en*, *y* are placed by it, the formulation . . . VX Pro . . . must be able to account for the placement of more than one clitic in a given sentence, as in *Marie les lui montrera*, despite the fact that Pro is mentioned only once. One possibility would be to complicate the structural description to allow for two Pros: . . . VX Pro X' (Pro). . . . A more attractive alternative is to maintain the simpler SD and to have

<sup>157</sup> A distinction between *en*, *y* placement and that of the accusatives and datives is made plausible by the various differences in behavior noted in chapter 6, (text to) fn. 29 and cross-references thereof, and would be supported by the first formulation of fn. 78.

Cl-PI apply iteratively. Whether there exist empirical differences between these alternatives is unclear.<sup>158</sup>

## 2.21 Formulation: V

The V of . . . V X Pro . . . can be either a finite verb, a present participle, or an infinitive:

- (384) a. Jean le fera.
- b. En les voyant, . . .
- c. Elle va te revoir.

But it cannot be a past participle:

- (385) a. Elle les a mangés.
- b. \*Elle a les mangés.
- a–b. ‘She has eaten them.’

In order to prevent clitics from being attached to past participles, one could modify the SD in such a way as to encode the difference between (384) and (385), as by adding to the term V some (perhaps justifiable) feature capable of distinguishing past participles from the others. A more highly valued solution would try to relate this particular behavior of past participles to other syntactic phenomena. The incompatibility of clitics and past participles might, for instance, be related to the behavior of *ne pas* with past participles:

- (386) Je n'allais pas ne pas venir chez toi.  
‘I wasn’t going not to come to your house.’
- (387) \*Je n'ai pas ne pas dit cela.  
‘I didn’t not say that.’

Although *ne pas* can occur directly before the infinitive preceded by *aller*, it is not possible directly before the past participle preceded by *avoir*.

Let us, then, suggest the following analysis. The contrast between

<sup>158</sup> Iteration seems desirable with L-Tous; see fn. 103. One might also explore conventions on simultaneous double application; see Chomsky and Halle (1968, p. 344). On empirical consequences, see chapter 4, fn. 20 and the discussion of (61).

*aller* and *avoir* with respect to *ne pas* is traceable to a structural difference, namely, that *aller* takes a complement that is an S, whereas *avoir* does not: NP *aller* S versus NP *avoir* + é VP.<sup>159</sup> This structural difference will have an overt reflex with *ne pas* if at most one *ne* can be introduced per S.

Along these lines, one can relate the inability of the clitic to move up with *aller*, as in (388), to the fact that clitic placement is generally limited to within a single S, as seen in (389).

- (388) \*Elle te va revoir.

‘She’s going to see you again.’

- (389) a. Elle veut que tu nous aides.

- b. \*Elle nous veut que tu aides.

a–b. ‘She wants that you help us.’

That the clitic can move up with *avoir* will now correlate with the lack of embedded S node with *avoir*. That the clitic must move up with *avoir* can be stated by modifying the SD of Cl-Pl to . . . NP V X Pro. . . .<sup>160</sup>

In choosing to account for *Elle les a mangés* versus \**Elle a les mangés* by the above modification of Cl-Pl, rather than by specifying V as not being a past participle, we have in mind the fact that similar contrasts obtain in a construction not having a past participle:

- (390) a. Elle les fera manger à son fils.

- b. \*Elle fera les manger à son fils.

a–b. ‘She’ll have her son eat them.’

The clitic here is moved by Cl-Pl from the right of the infinitive to *faire*, and it cannot be moved to the infinitive itself. The proposed

<sup>159</sup> The latter could be specified by the PS rule: S → NP Tense (*avoir* + é) VP. This position for *avoir* is similar to that taken by Gross (1968, p. 15), who, however, treats *aller* as a kind of tense, that is, without an S complement.

<sup>160</sup> This formulation will also cover (i) *Cela nous a été donné par Jean* and assumes an NP subject (when Cl-Pl applies) for imperatives, for (108), and for the embedded S in *Elle va s[NP<sub>i</sub> revoir toi]*. The likely “subject raising” (see section 3.7) status of *aller*, that is, deep structure: Δ *va s[Elle revoir toi]* would mean that Subj-R must leave behind a controlled trace (see chap. 4, fn. 20), unless it were (improbably) ordered after Cl-Pl. [(i) ‘That has been given to us by Jean.’]

modification of Cl-Pl will account for these data too, although reference to the past participle nature of V could not.<sup>161</sup>

Let us therefore give the following formulation for (dative and accusative) Cl-Pl:

$$W \text{ NP } V \text{ X } \text{Pro } Y \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 5 + 3 \ 4 \ 6,$$

$$\begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix}$$

where  $W$ ,  $X$ ,  $Y$  are variables, and Pro is either “+dative” or “+accusative.” The scope of the variable  $X$  will be limited by diverse constraints on transformations, as noted earlier, and in particular by one informally stated as a single-S constraint.<sup>162</sup> The latter will be discussed in more detail in section 3.9 and, with respect to Cl-Pl and the construction of (390), in chapter 4, Part II.

<sup>161</sup> The past participle (perhaps its part-adjectival character) might still act to reinforce (385), since the (nonexplanatory) NP  $V \dots$  requirement can marginally be broken in (i) ??*Elle fera en manger trois à Jean* (see fn. 157), but not in (ii) \**Elle a en mangé trois*. If there when Cl-Pl applies, adverbials as in (iii) *Jean, à mon avis, vous connaît* necessitate either a modification NP (Adv)  $V \dots$  or a convention governing when adverbials count as blocks (see fn. 39, chap. 4, and (40) ff., chap. 1). See fn. 2, chap. 4.

<sup>162</sup> The “longer” movement of the clitic in Italian as in (i) *Li dovere mangiare* (versus French (ii) *Je dois les manger*; see fn. 39, chap. 6) reflects the (still to be made precise) ability of certain verbs to act as if they had non-S complements. In French, a somewhat similar group of verbs (see (45), chap. 1, and fn. 26, chap. 3) behaves thus with L-Tous (cf. also (43), chap. 1, to (iii) *Dovrei non mangiarli* versus (iv) \**Li dovere non mangiare*). In Spanish, comparable data are found concerning (nonmovement) constraints on two *se*; see Contreras and Rojas (1972). [(i) ‘I should eat them.’ (iii) ‘I ought to not eat them.’]

# 3

## The *Faire*-Infinitive Construction

### Part I

#### 3.1 Introduction of the Transformation FI/A-Ins (À Insertion)

The subject of this chapter is the syntax of the French constructions which correspond, approximately, to the following English sentences:

- (1) a. I'll have John leave immediately.
- b. The explosion made the building collapse.
- c. Mary lets her daughter play alone.

We shall be particularly interested in a property peculiar to French, namely the possibility for the subject of the embedded sentence to appear to the right of the embedded infinitive:

- (2) a. On a fait sortir Jean de sa chambre.
- b. Cela fera rire tout le monde.
- c. Elle a laissé entrer le petit garçon.
- a. 'They made Jean come out of his room.'
- b. 'That will make everybody laugh.'
- c. 'She let the little boy enter.'

We shall discuss in some detail the transformations necessary for the generation of sentences like (2). We shall examine certain properties of these constructions which permit a revealing description in transformational terms, including their interaction with the transformation *L-Tous*, considered in chapter 1. The interaction of these constructions with Cl-Pl will be taken up in chapter 4. A study of the construction with *par*, as in *Il a fait manger le bifteck par son chien*, will be undertaken in the second part of the present chapter.

Of the verbs that can occur before an infinitive followed by its own underlying subject, the two that will be our primary concern are *faire* and *laisser*. The former corresponds inexactly to English 'have', 'make', or 'get', the latter to English 'let'. *Laisser* differs from *faire* in that the subject of the infinitive embedded under it does not need to follow that infinitive; thus both of these sentences are grammatical:

- (3) a. Il a laissé partir son amie.  
 b. Il a laissé son amie partir.  
 a–b. ‘He let his friend leave.’

With *faire*, the embedded NP subject cannot precede the infinitive:

- (4) a. Il a fait partir son amie.  
 b. \*Il a fait son amie partir.

Although we shall be interested primarily in the construction with postinfinitival subject, especially in chapters 4 and 6, we shall frequently use the other as a convenient and sometimes crucial contrast with respect to various phenomena. As far as we can tell, the construction with postinfinitival subject has the same syntactic properties in all relevant respects with *laisser* as with *faire*, and the two will be used interchangeably as examples.<sup>1</sup>

If the embedded verb is intransitive or has only prepositional complements, the postinfinitival subject appears unchanged directly to the right of the verb:

- (5) a. Il a fait partir son amie.  
 b. On fera parler Jean de son dernier voyage.  
 c. Il faisait tirer les soldats sur les criminels.  
 d. Elle fera rentrer son enfant dans sa chambre.  
 a. ‘He had his friend leave.’  
 b. ‘We’ll have Jean talk about his last trip.’  
 c. ‘He had the soldiers shoot at the criminals.’  
 d. ‘She will have her child go back into his room.’

If the embedded verb phrase contains a nonprepositional object NP, however, the postverbal subject is preceded by the preposition *à*:

- (6) a. Il fera boire un peu de vin à son enfant.

<sup>1</sup> In particular cases, semantic or stylistic factors may, of course, make one more natural than the other; also, the fact that with *laisser* there is available the construction with preinfinitival subject may sometimes make the paradigms with *faire* sharper. When considering the properties of the construction with postverbal subject to the exclusion of the other, we shall tend to give examples with *faire*.

- b. Son dernier bouquin a fait gagner beaucoup d'argent à Jean-Jacques.
  - c. Elle a fait visiter la ferme à ses parents.
  - d. Tu vas faire perdre son poste à ton copain.
  - e. Elle a fait signer la déclaration à son mari.
- a. 'He'll have his child drink a little wine.'
  - b. 'His last book made Jean-Jacques earn a lot of money.'
  - c. 'She had her parents visit the farm.'
  - d. 'You'll make your friend lose his position.'
  - e. 'She had her husband sign the declaration.'

This *à* is necessary:

- (7) a. \*Il fera boire un peu de vin son enfant.
  - b. \*Son bouquin a fait gagner beaucoup d'argent Jean-Jacques.
  - c. \*Elle a fait visiter la ferme ses parents.
- (8) a. \*Tu vas faire perdre ton copain son poste.
  - b. \*Elle a fait signer son mari la déclaration.

On the other hand, the *à* may not appear if the infinitive has no complement:

- (9) a. \*Il a fait partir à son amie.
- b. \*Cela fera rire à tout le monde.

The same is true if the infinitive is followed by certain prepositional complements:

- (10) a. \*Elle fera rentrer à son enfant dans sa chambre.
- b. \*On a fait sortir de chez lui à Jean-Jacques.

We shall describe these facts by postulating an underlying structure in which *faire* is followed by a sentential complement, as in *faire - s[son amie partir]*, *faire - s[son enfant - rentrer - dans sa chambre]*, *faire - s[son enfant - boire - un peu de vin]*, plus a transformation changing the relative order of embedded subject and verb. A typical derivation will proceed as follows: *Jean - fera - son amie - partir* → *Jean - fera - partir -*

*son amie.* For the case in which  $\grave{a}$  appears, we shall have *Jean fera - son enfant - boire - un peu de vin*  $\rightarrow$  *Jean fera - boire - un peu de vin - à son enfant.*

This transformation, which will be called *Faire-Infinitive* (FI), can be stated as follows:

$$\text{FI: } \begin{matrix} X & -faire & -NP & -V & -(NP) & -Y \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 2 4 5 3 6$$

The NP in between *faire* and the infinitive ends up to the right of the nonprepositional object of the infinitive, if such an object is present, or otherwise to the right of the V itself. The existence of two possibilities is expressed by the parentheses around term 5; FI will be interpreted as an abbreviation for two ordered transformations. The first is

$$\begin{matrix} X & -faire & -NP & -V & -NP & -Y \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 2 4 5 3 6$$

The second is

$$\begin{matrix} X & -faire & -NP & -V & -Y \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 6 \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 2 4 3 6^2$$

As formulated, FI will incorrectly generate the ungrammatical sentences of (7) rather than their grammatical counterparts in (6); it will apply to *Jean fera - NP[son enfant] - v[boire] - NP[un peu de vin]* to yield *Jean fera - v[boire] - NP[un peu de vin] - NP[son enfant]*. This can be remedied by the postulation of a second transformation, to be called  $\grave{a}$  Insertion (A-Ins), which will apply after FI, and which will obligatorily insert the preposition  $\grave{a}$  before the displaced subject of the infinitive, when that infinitive is followed by a NP object:

$$\text{A-Ins: } \begin{matrix} X & -faire & -V & -NP & -NP & -Y \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 2 3 4 \grave{a} 5 6$$

A-Ins will apply in the derivation of (6) to the output of FI, for example, in *Jean - fera - boire - un peu de vin - son enfant* to yield *Jean -*

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of abbreviatory conventions, see Chomsky and Halle (1968). Term 5 in the second part of the expansion of FI can be considered the identity element for concatenation.

*fera - boire - un peu de vin - à - son enfant*, but will not apply in the derivation of (9) and (10), since the V there is not followed by two NPs.

The second term of both FI and A-Ins must be modified in some way if sentences comparable to (5) and (6) with *laisser* are to be generated:

- (11) a. *Elle a laissé pleurer son enfant.*  
       b. *Il fallait laisser mourir le cheval malade.*  
       c. *Elle laisse toujours boire un peu de vin à son fils.*  
       d. *Il a laissé faire des bêtises à ses amis.*  
       a. ‘She let her child cry.’  
       b. ‘It was necessary to let the sick horse die.’  
       c. ‘She always lets her son drink a little wine.’  
       d. ‘He let his friends do foolish things.’

One straightforward approach would be to replace the second term of the structural description of the two transformations by a list of the verbs capable of triggering the reordering in question. In addition to *faire* and *laisser*, such a list would include *voir*, *entendre*, *regarder*, and *écouter*.<sup>3</sup>

- (12) a. *Elle a vu partir Jean.*  
       b. *J'ai entendu dire cela à un de tes amis.*  
       c. *Il regardait travailler Jean-Jacques.*  
       d. *Elle écoutait chanter son frère.*  
       a. ‘She saw Jean leave.’  
       b. ‘I heard one of your friends say that.’

<sup>3</sup> *Sentir* and *envoyer* also occasionally enter into such constructions. Like *laisser*, these verbs, as well as those of (12), appear to undergo FI optionally: (i) *Elle a vu Jean partir*, (ii) *J'ai entendu un de tes amis dire cela*, etc. The verbs other than *faire* and *laisser* are subject to FI (cf. fn. 57) with more restrictions than are *faire*, *laisser*, particularly when the embedded S contains an object. We leave open the question of how the differences between these verbs and *faire*, *laisser* are to be expressed. A relevant discussion of *voir* can be found in Hatcher (1944b).

- c. 'He watched Jean-Jacques work.'
- d. 'She listened to her brother sing.'

Another possibility would be to attempt to replace such a list by the term V supplemented by some syntactic feature(s) capable of distinguishing the verbs subject to FI from those which are not. We shall, in the absence of a strong hypothesis to the contrary, follow the first approach but shall for convenience write *faire* rather than enumerate the list itself.

The structural description of FI is rather similar to that of A-Ins;<sup>4</sup> the second term is the same in both, and both refer to V - NP sequences. One might consequently look for a means of eliminating this formal redundancy. Furthermore, there is a sense in which FI and A-Ins are really one operation; A-Ins is obligatory once FI has applied, and there is no transformation (to our knowledge) that can intervene between them. The formal collapsing of the two into one structural description is, in fact, possible, given the notational convention of angled brackets, in the following way:

$$\text{FI/A-Ins: } X \text{ - } faire \text{ - } \underset{1}{\text{NP}} \text{ - } \underset{2}{\text{V}} \text{ - } \langle \underset{3}{\text{NP}} \rangle \text{ - } Y \rightarrow \underset{4}{1} \underset{5}{2} \underset{6}{4} \underset{7}{5} \langle \underset{8}{\grave{a}} \rangle \underset{9}{3} \underset{10}{6}$$

The angled brackets are interpreted as linked parentheses; that is, the preceding represents two ordered rules, the first containing both the bracketed terms, the second containing neither of them.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> A rule of à insertion was proposed by Langacker (1966a), who in addition postulated a rule much like FI. His formulation contained in effect the term VP in place of our V(NP); over the range of data he was considering, which did not include embedded prepositional complements, such as the last three examples in (5), the two formulations are equivalent.

<sup>5</sup> The first is then

$$X \text{ - } faire \text{ - } \underset{1}{\text{NP}} \text{ - } \underset{2}{\text{V}} \text{ - } \underset{3}{\text{NP}} \text{ - } Y \rightarrow \underset{4}{1} \underset{5}{2} \underset{6}{4} \underset{7}{5} \grave{a} \underset{8}{3} \underset{9}{6}$$

The second is

$$X \text{ - } faire \text{ - } \underset{1}{\text{NP}} \text{ - } \underset{2}{\text{V}} \text{ - } Y \rightarrow \underset{3}{1} \underset{4}{2} \underset{5}{4} \underset{6}{3} \underset{7}{6}$$

Term 5 can again be considered the identity element in the second; see fn. 2.

The formulation of FI/A-Ins as a single rule thus embodies the nontrivial claim, to which we return below in section 4.9, that the reordering of the embedded subject NP with respect to the embedded infinitive cannot be separated from the insertion of à that takes place when there exists an embedded direct object. The transformational effect of FI/A-Ins is, however, indistinguishable from that of FI followed immediately by A-Ins, and we shall tend, for the purposes of exposition, to discuss the derivations of particular sentences as if FI were a transformation stated separately from A-Ins.

The term NP that follows V in the structural description of FI/A-Ins must not be satisfied by predicate nominals. If it were, that transformation would apply to an underlying *Cela - fera - son fils - devenir - un bon professeur* to yield (13) rather than the grammatical (14):

(13) \**Cela fera devenir un bon professeur à son fils.*

(14) *Cela fera devenir son fils un bon professeur.*

‘That will make his son become a good teacher.’

What is required is that FI/A-Ins not treat *un bon professeur* as an NP at all.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that predicate NPs act more like predicate adjectives with respect to FI/A-Ins than like other NPs is not an isolated fact. (The derivation of (14) is parallel to that of *Cela fera devenir son fils intelligent* from *Cela - fera - son fils - devenir - intelligent.*) Predicate NPs are not subject to the Passive transformation either.

- (15) a. *Son fils deviendra ton meilleur ami.*
- b. \**Ton meilleur ami sera devenu par/de son fils.*
- a. ‘His son will become your best friend.’

Nor can they be removed from postverbal position in the construction exemplified by

(16) *Ton meilleur ami est facile à contenter.*

‘Your best friend is easy to please.’

<sup>6</sup> Nor do we have (i) \**Cela fera devenir son fils à un bon professeur*, which would be derivable if FI and A-Ins were separate rules, and if the latter, but not the former, analyzed *un bon professeur* as an NP.

The preceding, which may be derived transformationally from a structure resembling *Il est facile de contenter ton meilleur ami* (in which *ton meilleur ami* is not a predicate NP), is not paralleled by

- (17) \*Ton meilleur ami est facile à devenir.

However, a priori (17) might have had a meaning similar to that of *Il est facile de devenir ton meilleur ami* (where *ton meilleur ami* is a predicate NP). This suggests that the ungrammaticality of (13) should be attributed to some general principle concerning the behavior of predicate NPs under transformations,<sup>7</sup> and that it should not be considered a sufficient reason to alter the formulation of FI/A-Ins.

Unlike predicate NPs, the nominal components of idioms do satisfy the immediately postverbal NP mentioned in FI/A-Ins. Consider, for example, the idioms *entendre raison* ‘to listen to reason’, *lâcher prise* ‘to let go’. If these are embedded under *faire*, FI/A-Ins applies as with a normal NP object:

- (18) a. Elle fera entendre raison à Jean.  
 b. Il a fait lâcher prise à son chien.

Had *raison* and *prise* not been analyzed as NPs by FI/A-Ins, we would have had

- (19) a. \*Elle fera entendre Jean raison.  
 b. \*Il a fait lâcher son chien prise.

Or conceivably (if *lâcher prise* had been analyzed as a complex V) we might have had

- (20) \*Il a fait lâcher prise son chien.

These data imply that such idioms must be analyzed as V - NP, even though the nominal component lacks an article.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Emonds (1970), noting several distinguishing characteristics of predicate NPs in English, suggests that they be assigned a feature + Pred to which rules could be sensitive. Gleitman and Gleitman (1970) have noted the absence in English of predicate NPs in nominalizations such as \**actor becomer*, \**the becomer of an actor* (the same is true of French). Predicate NPs also have peculiar properties with respect to coreference: (i) \**Son meilleur ami<sub>i</sub> est Jean mais il<sub>i</sub> devrait être Paul*. For further relevant discussion, see Berman (1973), whose hypothesis that predicate nominals are APs, and not NPs at all, would, if correct, provide an immediate account of (13)–(17).

<sup>8</sup> Extensive lists of French idioms are given in Clédat (1916), Martinon (1927, pp. 45

Also acting as NPs with respect to FI and A-Ins are the sentential complements of the infinitives in the following cases:

- (21) a. Elle a fait admettre à Jean qu'il avait tort.
- b. Elle a fait dire à Jean: "J'ai tort."
- c. Elle a fait comprendre à Jean en quoi il avait tort.
- a. 'She made Jean admit that he was wrong.'
- b. 'She had Jean say: "I'm wrong."'
- c. 'She made Jean understand how he was wrong.'

(The *à* is necessary in all three.) We note that the sentence-final position of the underlying complement is not that predicted by the application of FI and A-Ins, which will yield the less natural *?Elle a fait admettre qu'il avait tort à Jean*, and so forth: *Elle a fait - Jean admettre NP[qu'il avait tort] → FI → Elle a fait admettre NP[qu'il avait tort] Jean → A-Ins → Elle a fait admettre NP[qu'il avait tort] à Jean*. The surface order in (21) could be related to that of *Elle expliquera à Jean qu'il a tort* (cf. *Elle expliquera cela à Jean* and *?Elle expliquera qu'il a tort à Jean*) via a rule placing sentential NPs in sentence-final position.<sup>9</sup>

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ff.), and Rohrer (1967). A V-NP analysis would not be incompatible with the recalcitrance of various idioms to various transformations; see Fraser (1970).

<sup>9</sup> A similar rule will derive (i) *Elle fera boire* (or *offrira*) *à Jean le vin qui se trouvait sur le table* from the less natural (ii) *Elle fera boire* (or *offrira*) *le vin qui se trouvait sur la table i Jean*. The NP-like behavior of sentential complements seen in (21) implies either that they are NPs or that FI/A-Ins must be altered to allow term 5 to be an S.

Perhaps relevant to the choice between these two approaches (cf. Emonds (1970)) is the fact that for many informants there exist sentences in which *à* has been inserted in the presence of a complement other than an NP. For example, in addition to the expected (iii) *Cela fera changer Jean d'avis*, we have (iv) *Cela fera changer d'avis à Jean*. Similarly, alongside the expected (v) *Cela le fait penser à sa mère*, stands (vi) *Cela lui fait penser à sa mère* (where the underlying subject *lui* has, subsequent to FI and the insertion of *à*, been subject to Cl-Pl). With many prepositional complements *à* is impossible: (vii) \**On lui a fait rentrer dans sa chambre*; see (10). When possible, it is usually in addition to the sentence without *à* (although a few speakers accept (viii) *Elle lui fera téléphoner à ses parents* (*lui* as underlying subject) rather than (ix) *Elle le fera téléphoner à ses parents*). For some, *à* is possible with certain adjectival complements: (x) *Cela fera voir juste à ton ami* ((xi) \**Cela fera voir ton ami juste*). It is unclear whether the problem of the data in this paragraph is related to that of the historical change in status of the *à* phrase with *faire* discussed in Norberg (1945). [(iii)–(iv) 'That will make Jean change his mind.' (v)–(vi) 'That makes him think of his mother.' (viii)–(ix) 'She will make him telephone to his parents.' (x) 'That will make your friend see right.']}

The analysis we propose, then, for sentences like those of (5), (6), (11), (12), (14), (18), and (21) is transformational; the derivation of all of these will involve the application of a transformation (FI) that has the effect of changing the relative order of embedded subject and verb. The derivation of (6), of the last two examples of (11), and of (18) and (21), will involve the insertion of *à*. A typical derivation will proceed as follows: *Elle laissera son fils - boire - un peu de vin* → FI → *Elle laissera - boire - un peu de vin - son fils* → A-Ins → *Elle laissera - boire - un peu de vin - à - son fils*.

### 3.2 Justification of the Transformation

It is necessary to ask, however, following the logic of our earlier discussions of L-Tous and Cl-Pl, why such sentences as the preceding could not be generated in the base component of the grammar, that is, by means of PS rules. In our analysis, the PS rules will generate structures containing subparts of the form *faire/laisser - S*, where S is, in turn, expanded in normal fashion.<sup>10</sup> The base generation of sentences like *Elle laissera boire un peu de vin à son fils* would imply an underlying phrase marker of the form *laisser - V - NP - à NP*, and consequently that there is no S to the right of *laisser* (since *boire un peu de vin à son fils* is not a possible sentence in French, even apart from questions of tense).

One immediate problem with this nontransformational analysis is that of subcategorization features. For example, the verb *partir* does not normally take an NP object (*\*Jean partira Marie*), so that it will not be subcategorized as \_\_\_\_ NP. It can be followed by an NP if preceded by *laisser* or *faire*: *Jean laissera partir Marie*. In order to describe these facts properly, one would have to assign to *partir* the subcategorization  $V_{FI} \_\_ NP$ , where  $V_{FI}$  stands informally for a verb capable of triggering FI (in the transformational framework) and the interpretation is that *partir* can be inserted into a phrase marker under a node V if that node is both followed by NP and preceded by  $V_{FI}$ . Similarly, the verb *entendre* can be followed by NP à NP only if preceded by  $V_{FI}$ :

- (22) a. *Elle fera entendre cette symphonie à Jean.*

<sup>10</sup> This S may not contain an auxiliary verb, but this is not particular to constructions with FI; see fn. 22. The presence of an embedded S node will play a crucial role in accounting for various phenomena; see, for example, section 3.9.

- b. \*Elle entendra cette symphonie à Jean.
- a. ‘She’ll have Jean hear this symphony.’
- b. ‘She’ll hear this symphony to Jean.’

Thus *entendre* would not be subcategorized as \_\_\_\_ NP à NP<sup>11</sup> but rather as  $V_{FI}$  \_\_\_\_ NP à NP. Aside from the fact that strict subcategorization features of the form  $X$  \_\_\_\_  $Y$  with a dependency between  $X$  and  $Y$  are not otherwise well established (although selectional features of that type may be necessary; see Chomsky (1965)), their use would require rather intricate lexical redundancy rules to capture certain generalizations concerning their distribution, since the feature  $V_{FI}$  \_\_\_\_ NP à NP would be predictable for verbs having the subcategorization \_\_\_\_ NP (as in *Jean entendra cette symphonie*). The required lexical redundancy rule might have the form [+V], [+ \_\_\_\_ NP] → [+  $V_{FI}$  \_\_\_\_ NP à NP].<sup>12</sup> For the case of *partir*, one would need a rule [+V], [+ \_\_\_\_ X] → [+  $V_{FI}$  \_\_\_\_ NPX]. This would also cover pairs such as *Jean parlera de cela* and *On fera parler Jean de cela*, with V = *parler*, X = *de - NP*.

The similarity between these lexical redundancy rules and the transformations needed in the analysis sketched earlier is obvious. The significance of this similarity is that the nontransformational analysis is thereby seen to be no simpler in any sense than the transformational analysis it is presumed to replace. Taken together with the fact that lexical redundancy rules lack a formal basis comparable to that of transformations,<sup>13</sup> this constitutes a serious argument in favor of the transformational analysis.

<sup>11</sup> More exactly, this is true with dative à + NP.

<sup>12</sup> We are indebted to J.-R. Vergnaud for several basic observations relevant to this discussion of the nontransformational analysis. The selectional restrictions between the NP following à and V are the same as those between V and its subject NP in simple sentences: (i) \**La musique entendra cette symphonie*, (ii) \**Elle fera entendre cette symphonie à la musique*, so that further redundancy rules of a nontrivial sort would be necessary. In addition, the text redundancy rules cannot apply to their own output, and so could not account for sentences involving *faire faire* V; see section 3.8.

<sup>13</sup> This is not to say that a theory of lexical redundancy rules will never receive a formal basis. Ruwet (1972, chaps. 3, 4) has argued that lexical redundancy rules somewhat like those given in the text would be appropriate for alternations like (i) *La glace s'est brisée*, (ii) *Il a brisé la glace*. The formal properties of transformations are studied in Chomsky (1955; 1961). [(i) ‘The mirror broke.’ (ii) ‘He broke the mirror.’]

A second type of argument in favor of a transformational analysis would consist of showing that some other transformation(s) had to apply before FI/A-Ins. If this is the case, then FI (and A-Ins) could not be replaced by lexical redundancy rules, since these can apply only to lexical structures, not to structures produced by transformation. Consider the case of verbs that take an optional NP object, such as *boire*:

- (23) Il a bu. Il a bu du vin.

‘He drank (wine).’

If these are embedded under *faire*, FI will apply, and so will A-Ins, the latter, however, only if the NP object actually occurs:

- (24) On fera boire du vin à Jean.

- (25) On fera boire Jean. (\*à Jean)

‘We’ll have Jean drink.’

Assume that the NP in (23) is deletable by transformation, and that such verbs are subcategorized for an obligatory object. Under the transformational hypothesis, this would imply that the deletion of the object in (25) occurred prior to A-Ins. Under the lexical redundancy hypothesis, however, the transformational deletion of the object would by its very nature have to follow the application of the lexical redundancy rule that assigned to *boire*, for example, the subcategorization feature  $V_{FI} \_\_ NP \rightarrow NP$ ; the PS rules would generate (24), to which the deletion rule would apply, incorrectly yielding the ungrammatical case of (25).

If the optionality of the object in (23) is best not treated by transformation (the correct solution is unclear), and if such verbs are subcategorized in the lexicon for an optional object then the preceding argument cannot be made.<sup>14</sup> A stronger argument of the same type can, however, be constructed on the basis of the transformation that

<sup>14</sup> In principle, the lexical redundancy hypothesis would be tenable (for these facts) if these verbs carry the subcategorization feature  $\_\_ \#$  in addition to  $\_\_ NP$ ; the text redundancy rule would apply to the former, yielding  $V_{FI} \_\_ NP$  (sufficient for (25)). Interestingly, Ruwet (1972) has noted that a (more plausible) lexical redundancy rule creating lexical causatives from intransitives, such as *cuire*, *brisier* (cf. fn. 13), would have to be prevented from applying to the “intransitive” subcategorization of verbs like (25), since these do not have corresponding lexical causatives, (i) \**On a bu Jean*. If this reflects

places the clitic *se* in preverbal position in *Jean se tuera*. This transformation must be able to precede FI in the derivation of sentences like the following, as argued in chapter 6, a situation incompatible with a lexical redundancy rule analysis of (26):

- (26) Cela a fait se tuer Jean-Jacques.

‘That made Jean-Jacques kill himself.’

A third type of argument in favor of a transformational derivation for the *faire*-infinitive construction depends on the fact that such an analysis assigns to a surface structure postinfinitival NP the deep structure status of subject of that infinitive. The central observation is that certain kinds of adverbials can refer only to subjects. For example, *d'une seule main* can refer to the subject NP in<sup>15</sup>

- (27) Paul s'est hissé d'une seule main sur le cheval.

‘Paul lifted himself with one hand onto the horse.’

But it can never refer to an object NP:

- (28) Elle a poussé Paul d'une seule main dans l'eau.

‘She pushed Paul with one hand into the water.’

In sentences like (28) it is not possible to interpret *d'une seule main* as referring to the object NP (here *Paul*). Consider now the following sentence, in which *d'une seule main* refers to *Paul*:

- (29) La peur a fait se hisser Paul d'une seule main sur le cheval.

‘Fear made Paul lift himself with one hand onto the horse.’

Given a transformational derivation of (29) from *La peur a fait - s[Paul - se hisser ...]*, the association of *d'une seule main* with *Paul* can be attributed to the deep structure subject status of *Paul*. If (29) were generated directly by PS rules, *Paul* would be a subject NP at no stage

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some general property of redundancy rules, then the redundancy hypothesis can not account for (25) no matter how the optionality of the object is treated.

<sup>15</sup> The NP can be a (deleted) deep structure subject: (i) *Ça se fait d'une seule main*; we are assuming the preceding to be derived transformationally from a structure resembling (ii) *On fait ça d'une seule main* (see sec. 5.9). Similar remarks hold for passives: (iii) *Ça a été fait d'une seule main*. [(ii) ‘One does that with one hand.’]

of the derivation; sentences with  $V_{FI}$  would then be the only cases of an object NP associable with *d'une seule main*.<sup>16</sup> The contrast between (28) and (29) therefore constitutes an argument in favor of the transformation FI.

Similarly, the transformational deletion of the subject of a clause introduced by *en* or *sans* is generally excluded under identity with NP objects but possible under identity with subject NPs:

- (30) a. Ils ont tué les étudiants en hurlant.
- b. Elle a quitté sans rien dire son meilleur ami.
- a. 'They killed the students (while) screaming.'
- b. 'She left her best friend without saying anything.'

In (30), the underlying subjects of *hurlant* and *dire* have been deleted under identity with the subject of the higher verb. The understood subject of *hurlant* and *dire* cannot be the NP object of the higher verb.<sup>17</sup> If the subject NP is one incompatible with the verb following *en* or *sans* the sentence will be ungrammatical:

- (31) \*Le choc a tué les étudiants en hurlant.  
    'The shock killed the students while screaming.'
- (32) \*Ton arrivée a surpris sans rien dire Jean.  
    'Your arrival surprised Jean without saying anything.'

Sentences (31) and (32) contrast with<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> This argument and example (as well as those with *hurlant* below) are taken from Ruwet (1972, chap. 4), who further contrasts (29) with the corresponding lexical causative: (i) *Pierre a hissé Paul d'une seule main sur le cheval*, where *d'une seule main* cannot be interpreted as referring to *Paul*.

<sup>17</sup> An object NP that has become a superficial subject by transformation can sometimes trigger deletion: (i) *Jean a été condamné sans savoir pourquoi*. The facts are more complicated for datives: (ii) *L'idée lui est venue en se promenant* versus (iii) \**Les pierres lui sont tombées dessus en se promenant*, (iv) \**L'idée lui a fait peur en se promenant*. Sentences like (32) can be found in earlier stages of French; see Grevisse (1964, p. 696). [(i) 'Jean was condemned without knowing why.' (ii) 'The idea came to him while walking.' (iii) 'The stones fell on him while walking.' (iv) 'The idea frightened him while walking.']}

<sup>18</sup> The contrast between (33) and (i) *La police a dispersé en hurlant les étudiants*, where the subject of *hurlant* cannot be *les étudiants*, is even more striking (see fn. 16). This is one of a number of significant differences pointed out by Ruwet (1972, chap. 4) between sentences with *faire* + intransitive V and those with the corresponding lexical transitive

(33) La police a fait se disperser en hurlant les étudiants.

'The police made the students disperse screaming.'

(34) Ce qui est arrivé a fait partir sans rien dire la tante de Jean.

'What happened made Jean's aunt leave without saying anything.'

In (33), the preferred reading is that the subject of *hurlant* is *les étudiants*. In (34), the underlying subject of *dire* has been deleted under identity with *la tante de Jean*. The contrast between (31), (32) and (33), (34) is, we claim, to be attributed to the deep structure subject status of *les étudiants*, *la tante de Jean* in (33), (34): *La police a fait s[les étudiants se disperser en hurlant]*, and so forth. Further examples like (33), (34) are

- (35) a. Sa nervosité a fait se blesser Georges en se rasant.
- b. Une perversité ingénue faisait se chatouiller en riant les deux jeunes gens.
- a. 'His nervousness made Georges injure himself (while) shaving.'
- b. 'An ingenuous perversity made the two young people tickle each other while laughing.'

In light of the above considerations, we conclude that the deep

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(causative). Taken together, these differences suggest that a theory which, for example, derives (ii) *Jean a fondu le verre* from (iii) *Jean a fait fondre le verre* is incorrect. We shall briefly cite some of the contrasts discussed by Ruwet. The two types are not in general synonymous: (iv) *Alice a fait remonter Humpty Dumpty sur son mur* ≠ (v) *Alice a remonté Humpty Dumpty sur son mur*. There are numerous differences in selectional restrictions (not unrelated to the semantic distinctions), for example, (vi) *Le médecin/ce médicament a fait accoucher Madeleine*, (vii) *Le médecin/\*ce médicament a accouché Madeleine*. Others are more subtle: (viii) \**Le Colonel a fondu trois sucre dans son café* versus (ix) *Le chimiste a fondu le métal*. Ruwet argues that all these facts can profitably be looked at in terms of a distinction between direct and indirect action, the former correlating with the lexical causative, the latter with *faire* + V, this distinction to be related, moreover, to the deep structure embedded S present in the latter (versus the absence of such an S in the former). Additional differences along these lines are discussed by Borel (1972). [(ii) 'Jean melted the glass.' (iii) 'Jean made the glass melt.' (iv) 'Alice made Humpty Dumpty get up on his wall.' (v) 'Alice got Humpty Dumpty up on his wall.' (vi)/(vii) 'The doctor/this drug made Madeleine give birth/delivered Madeleine.' (viii) 'The Colonel melted three sugars in his coffee.' (ix) 'The chemist melted the metal.')

structure of sentences with *faire*-infinitive contains an embedded sentence complement of *faire* and that the surface structure position of the embedded subject NP relative to the infinitive is to be attributed to the application of the transformation FI.

### 3.3 Derived Structure

In this section, we briefly consider one aspect of the derived structure of this *faire*-infinitive construction, namely the status of the *faire* - V sequence itself. Consider the fact that pronouns subject to Cl-Pl move up in this construction “further” than in other infinitival constructions. More precisely, the pronouns are attached to *faire* (or *laisser*, and so on) rather than to the infinitive, if FI has applied. Thus, corresponding to *On fera boire du vin à Jean*, *On laissera lire ce livre à Jean*, we have

- (36) a. *On lui fera boire du vin.*
- b. *On le laissera lire à Jean.*
- a. ‘They’ll make him drink wine.’
- b. ‘They’ll let Jean read it.’

But we do not have

- (37) a. \**On fera lui boire du vin.*
- b. \**On laissera le lire à Jean.*

At first glance, this might suggest that *faire/laisser* plus infinitive be considered a “complex verb” or, more exactly, that they have the derived structure  $v[faire/laisser - \text{infinitive}]$ ; other means of accounting for (36), (37) are available, however (see section 4.1). Moreover, there is a certain amount of syntactic evidence that *faire*-infinitive must not be dominated by the node V.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> This evidence is independent of whether that (incorrect) derived structure is thought to be assigned by FI or by some subsequent restructuring rule. We recall that there is little semantic motivation for considering *faire* - V (much less *laisser/voir* - V) as a single verb, even in the simplest cases; see fn. 18; in more complicated structures like (i) *Je lui ai fait donner des bouquins à ses enfants*, it is difficult to imagine a single lexical verb that could paraphrase *faire donner*. See also fn. 50. Note, too, that certain Cl-Pl facts might actually go against the single V hypothesis; see (43), chapter 6. [(i) ‘I had him give books to his children.’]

First, the rule that in questions attaches subject clitics to the right of V attaches them to *faire*, not to *faire* - V taken as a unit:<sup>20</sup>

- (38) a. Fera-t-il partir Marie?  
 b. \*Fera partir-il Marie?  
 a.–b. ‘Will he have Marie leave?’

This is also the case for the placement of object clitics in imperatives:

- (39) a. Fais-lui lire ce livre.  
 b. \*Fais lire-lui ce livre.  
 a–b. ‘Have him read this book.’

The positioning of the negative element *pas* is not to the right of the infinitive either:

- (40) a. On ne fera pas partir Jean.  
 b. \*On ne fera partir pas Jean.  
 a–b. ‘They won’t make Jean leave.’

A second type of argument can be made by contrasting *faire*-infinitive with the sequence clitic + V, which we have claimed is, in fact, dominated by the node V. In chapter 2, we noted that in conjoined structures neither clitic nor V could be deleted independently of the other. (See (104) ff.) If *faire* - V were dominated by the node V, we would not expect the deletions in the following to be permitted:

- (41) a. Marie le fera lire à Jean et le fera déchirer par Paul.  
 b. Marie le fera lire à Jean et déchirer par Paul.  
 c. Marie fera danser Jean et fera chanter Paul.  
 d. Marie fera danser Jean et chanter Paul.  
 a–b. ‘Marie will have Jean read it and (will have) Paul tear (it) up.’  
 c–d. ‘Marie will have Jean dance and (will have) Paul sing.’

<sup>20</sup> This rule is stated in fn. 27, chap. 2. The rule of Styl-Inv, illustrated in (83)–(86) of chap. 2, places the subject NP to the right of the infinitive: (i) *Que fera tomber Jean?* But that rule is not stated so as to place NP to the immediate right of V (see Kayne (1972)), and in any case treats all V - Inf sequences alike, for example, (ii) *Que veut faire Jean?* even when they differ from *faire* - Inf with respect to Cl-Pl: (iii) *Jean veut le lire.*

The same point is made by other operations on coordinate structures:

- (42) a. Elle fera lire des livres et boire du vin à la soeur de son meilleur ami.  
           b. Il a fait boire et danser la soeur de Jean-Jacques.  
               a. 'She will have her best friend's sister read books and drink wine.'  
               b. 'He had Jean-Jacques's sister drink and dance.'

Sequences dominated by lexical nodes (N, V, A) do not normally allow this kind of splitting up of their subparts.<sup>21</sup>

The sequence *faire* - V further contrasts with the V-dominated clitic + V in that the latter cannot be forced open by the rule L-*Tous*, as noted earlier: the application of L-*Tous* to *Il va lui montrer tout* yields *Il va tout lui montrer*, and not

- (43) \*Il va lui tout montrer.  
               'He's going to show her everything.'

L-*Tous* can, on the other hand, insert *tout* in between *faire* and following infinitive:

- (44) a. Il fera sauter tout.  
           b. Il fera tout sauter.  
           c. On lui fera boire tout.  
           d. On lui fera tout boire.  
               a–b. 'He'll make everything blow up.'  
               c–d. 'They'll make him drink everything.'

In fact, *faire* and following infinitive can be separated rather productively by various kinds of adverbials and other like-behaving elements:

- (45) a. Ils la feront sans aucun doute pleurer.  
           b. Ils ne font sûrement pas tous boire du vin à leurs enfants.

<sup>21</sup> Phrases like (i) *both pre- and postoperative care* are sometimes possible, but (42) is more precisely compared with (ii) \**both prerevolutionary and industrial France* (in the sense of (iii) *prerevolutionary and preindustrial*) and (41) with (iv) \**prerevolutionary France and industrial Germany* (in the sense of *and preindustrial*).

- c. Elles feront toutes les trois soigneusement contrôler leurs voitures.
- d. Il faisait, paraît-il, rire tous les téléspectateurs.
  - a. ‘They will no doubt make her cry.’
  - b. ‘They surely don’t all have their children drink wine.’
  - c. ‘They will all three have their cars checked carefully.’
  - d. ‘He made, it appears, all the viewers laugh.’

Thus the derived structure  $v[faire - V]$  again seems inappropriate.<sup>22</sup> We conclude that *faire* (the same arguments hold for *laisser*, *voir*, etc.) and following infinitive are not united under a single V node and therefore that FI does not assign such a derived structure.

### **3.4 L-Tous, Double Subcategorization, and the Obligatoriness of FI**

The transformation FI does not always apply in the derivation of sentences with *laisser* and infinitival complement, as we saw earlier. Thus both of the following are grammatical:

- (46) a. Il laissera son amie réfléchir.  
       b. Il laissera réfléchir son amie.  
       a–b. ‘He will let his friend think.’

If the embedded infinitive has an NP object, this dual possibility appears as (47), where the application of FI leads to the subsequent insertion of *à*.

<sup>22</sup> Gross (1968, p. 42) notes that the embedded verb often cannot be accompanied by either underlying tense (and associated time adverbial) or auxiliary; this property is shared by English *have* in (i) \**I had him leave tomorrow*, (ii) \**I had him have finished by six*, and by many other verbs (see Karttunen (1971)), and so is unlikely to bear on questions of derived structure. Moreover, examples of a time adverbial associated with the infinitive do exist; see Ruwet (1972, p. 137): (iii) *Le médecin a fait accoucher Madeleine dimanche en lui donnant un médicament samedi* (impossible if *fait accoucher* is replaced by *accouché*; see fn. 18 and Borel (1972)) (iv) *Que fais-tu? Je fais sonner le réveil à 7h*. Similarly, sentences like (v) *Pierre ne fait boire personne*, also noted by Gross, which contrast with (vi) \**Pierre ne fait que personne boire*, are not limited to  $V_{FI}$  plus infinitive: (vii) *Il ne veut voir personne* (versus (viii) \**Il ne veut que tu vois personne*), (ix) *Il ne laisse sa femme parler à personne*. [(iii) ‘The doctor made Madeleine give birth on Sunday by giving her a drug on Saturday.’ (iv) ‘What are you doing? I’m making the alarm go off at 7.’ (v) ‘Pierre doesn’t make anyone drink.’ (vii) ‘He doesn’t want to see anyone.’ (ix) ‘He doesn’t let his wife speak to anyone.’]

- (47) a. Il laissera son amie manger les gâteaux.  
 b. Il laissera manger les gâteaux à son amie.  
 a–b. ‘He will let his friend eat the cakes.’

When FI does not apply, the *à* cannot be inserted:

- (48) \*Il laissera à son amie manger les gâteaux.

(This fact is consistent with our formulation of FI/A-Ins.) Conversely, if FI applies, the insertion of *à* is essential:

- (49) a. \*Il laissera manger les gâteaux son amie.  
 b. \*Il laissera manger son amie les gâteaux.

Consider now the equivalents of (47) with *son amie* replaced by the pronoun *elle*. *Elle* does not occupy the surface position of *son amie*:

- (50) \*Il laissera elle manger les gâteaux.  
 (51) \*Il laissera manger les gâteaux à elle.

Rather, Cl-Pl applies in both cases, yielding

- (52) Il laissera manger les gâteaux.

‘He will let her eat the cakes.’

- (53) Il lui laissera manger les gâteaux.

The clitic pronoun is accusative in (52), since *elle* in (50) is not preceded by *à*, and dative in (53), since *elle* in (51) is preceded by *à*.

The sentences (52) and (53) have superficially identical structures except for the morphological form of the clitic, despite their having distinct derivational histories. Put another way, a significant difference between the two is obscured in surface structure (the same difference in derivational history is transparent in (47), where Cl-Pl has not applied). The theory of transformational grammar could consequently be supported by the discovery of phenomena with respect to which (52) and (53) exhibit distinct syntactic behavior, which could be accounted for only by a difference in structure more abstract than that characterizable at the level of surface structure.

The positioning of *tout* and *rien* serves, in fact, to point up the more

than superficial difference between (52) and (53). If we replace *les gâteaux* in (52), (53) by *tout*, we get

- (54) a. Il la laissera manger tout.

b. Il la laissera tout manger.

- (55) a. Il lui laissera manger tout.

b. Il lui laissera tout manger.

In both cases, *tout* can occur either to the right of the infinitive, in the position of *les gâteaux*, or to the left of the infinitive, as a result of the application of the transformation L-Tous. If *laisser* itself appears as an infinitive, however, the syntactic behavior of the two diverges:

- (56) a. Je voudrais la laisser tout manger.

b. \*Je voudrais tout la laisser manger.

a–b. ‘I’d like to let her eat everything.’

- (57) a. Je voudrais lui laisser tout manger.

b. Je voudrais tout lui laisser manger.

a–b. ‘I’d like to let her eat everything.’

In (57), L-Tous can apply a second time, moving *tout* over *lui* + *laisser*.

In (56), a similar second application of L-Tous, which would move *tout* over *la* + *laisser* is not possible. A comparable paradigm holds for

- (58) a. On a voulu la laisser tout manger.

b. \*On a tout voulu la laisser manger.

a–b. ‘They wanted to let her eat everything.’

- (59) a. On a voulu lui laisser tout manger.

b. On a tout voulu lui laisser manger.

In (59)b, L-Tous has applied three times. In (58)b, triple application of L-Tous is not possible, since the second such application would be blocked, as in (56). The same type of contrast is found even when the second application of L-Tous would not place *tout* to the left of the clitic:

- (60) a. On les a laissé tout manger.

- b. \*On les a tout laissé manger.
  - a–b. ‘They let them eat everything.’
- (61) a. On leur a laissé tout manger.
- b. On leur a tout laissé manger.
  - a–b. ‘They let them eat everything.’
- (However, the contrast between (60)b and (61)b may be slightly less clear than that between (56)b, (58)b and (57)b, (59)b.) Again, a second application of L-Tous is blocked in (60) but is possible in (61). Similar contrasts can be constructed for *rien*:<sup>23</sup>
- (62) a. \*Je ne veux rien laisser manger.
- b. Je ne veux rien lui laisser manger.
  - a–b. ‘I don’t want to let her eat anything.’
- (63) a. \*Je n’ai rien voulu laisser manger.
- b. Je n’ai rien voulu lui laisser manger.
  - a–b. ‘I didn’t want to let her eat anything.’
- (64) a. \*On ne les a rien laissé manger.
- b. On ne leur a rien laissé manger.
  - a–b. ‘They didn’t let them eat anything.’

The preceding data can be said to constitute evidence in favor of a more abstract representation of sentence structure than is possible with surface structure, in that a revealing account of the data would appear unattainable through surface considerations alone. A still stronger argument would be to provide a principled account of these facts in terms of such abstract representations. Why, for instance, should the multiple application of L-Tous be permitted in the sen-

<sup>23</sup> The same is true of *tous*, although the sentences become more complicated because of the presence of an extra clitic: (i) \**Je vais tous la laisser les manger*, (ii) *Je vais tous les lui laisser manger*; (iii) \**J’ai tous voulu la laisser les manger*, (iv) *J’ai tous voulu les lui laisser manger*; (v) \**Je l’ai tous laissé les manger*, (vi) *Je les lui ai tous laissé manger*. In the second sentence of each pair, L-Tous has moved *tous* at least twice to the left, starting from the right of *manger*, but the comparable multiple application of L-Tous in the first member of each pair is not possible. [(i)–(ii) ‘I’m going to let her eat them all.’]

tences containing the dative clitic much more readily than in those with the accusative? Why is the situation not exactly the opposite?

The double (or triple) movement of *tout* in (57), (59), (61) is, in fact, described straightforwardly in our analysis. The deep structure of (57), for example, is (less the subject of *laisser*) approximately *Je voudrais laisser - elle manger tout*. The appearance of the dative clitic in surface structure indicates that FI and A-Ins have applied, followed by Cl-Pl. Application of these three rules proceeds as follows: *Je voudrais - laisser - elle - manger - tout* → FI → *Je voudrais - laisser - manger - tout - elle* → A-Ins → *Je voudrais - laisser - manger - tout - à - elle* → Cl-Pl → *Je voudrais lui - laisser - manger - tout*. At this point L-Tous may apply to *tout* (we know from chapter 1 that L-Tous can follow Cl-Pl), yielding *Je voudrais lui - laisser - tout - manger*. A second application of L-Tous with V = *lui + laisser* yields the grammatical *Je voudrais tout - lui - laisser - manger*.

In effect, the multiple application of L-Tous is permitted because the NP originally separating *laisser* and *manger* was moved to the right of *tout* by FI. The subsequent application of Cl-Pl is not crucial; the same multiple application is possible with an NP corresponding to the embedded subject:

- (65) a. *Je voudrais tout laisser manger à Marie.*
- b. *Il n'a rien laissé manger à Marie.*
- a. 'I'd like to let Marie eat everything.'
- b. 'He didn't let Marie eat anything.'

If there were an NP separating *laisser* and *manger*, L-Tous could not apply more than once:

- (66) a. *Je voudrais laisser Marie tout manger.*
- b. \**Je voudrais tout laisser Marie manger.*

The question that now arises is how to account for the failure of L-Tous to apply more than once in (56), (58), (60), since at least superficially those sentences resemble (65) more than (66) in that the NP intervening between *laisser* and *manger* appears to have been moved away by transformation. Consider (56), in which the appearance of the accusative clitic means that FI, and consequently A-Ins, have not applied, although Cl-Pl has. If we suppose a deep structure identical

to that of (57), *Je voudrais - laisser - elle - manger - tout*, then the derivation of (56) will be as follows: FI and A-Ins do not apply; Cl-Pl does apply, yielding *Je voudrais - la - laisser - manger - tout*. At this point, L-Tous can apply, as in the derivation of (57); the result is *Je voudrais - la - laisser - tout - manger*. The problem is that a second application of L-Tous should be possible. In particular, L-Tous should apparently be able to move *tout* over *la - laisser* just as it did over *lui - laisser* in (57). In the same way, *tout* should be able to move over the participle *laissé* in (60)<sup>24</sup> just as easily as in (61), but that is not the case.

We suggest then that the deep structures of (56) and (57), as well as those of (60) and (61), and so forth, are not identical: Whereas the deep structure that we have given for (57), (61) is correct, that is, *laisser - S*, the deep structure of (56), (60), and also (66) (that is, those cases where FI does not apply) is rather *laisser - NP - S*. That of (65) will be . . . *laisser s[Marie manger tout]* and that of (66) will be . . . *laisser Marie s[Elle manger tout]*.<sup>25</sup> The derivation of (66) will now include the deletion of the embedded subject through a rule of Equi-NP Deletion.

Consider again the derivation of (56), this time with a slightly more complex deep structure: *Je voudrais laisser - elle - elle - manger tout* → FI, A-Ins inapplicable → Cl-Pl → *Je voudrais la - laisser - elle - manger - tout* → L-Tous → *Je voudrais - la - laisser - elle - tout - manger*. At this point, L-Tous cannot reapply because of the intervening *elle*. *Elle* can subsequently be deleted, yielding the grammatical half of (56). The other half of (56) is not derivable, provided that L-Tous is ordered before the Equi Deletion. This recalls the account given in section 1.4 of the limits on the application of L-Tous with verbs like *certifier*:

- (67) a. *Elle a certifié tout avoir mis à la poubelle.*
- b. \**Elle a tout certifié avoir mis à la poubelle.*

<sup>24</sup> We recall that L-Tous must be able to follow Cl-Pl in the general case. The fact that *tout* is in a lower sentence than *laissé* in (60) is irrelevant, independently of the derived constituent structure of (61). First, there is no theoretical reason for L-Tous to be sensitive to sentence boundaries in this case (and our formulation makes no mention of anything but the linear configuration of V and Q). Second, *tout* can move up out of a lower sentence in other cases, such as (i) *Il aurait tout fallu détruire*, as well as (59), (63). [(i) 'It would have been necessary to destroy everything.']}

<sup>25</sup> If the subject of the embedded sentence of (66) were represented as *Marie*, rather than *elle* (see Postal (1970), Chomsky (1971), Wasow (1972), for relevant discussion), the text argument would be unaffected.

a–b. ‘She certified having put everything in the garbage.’

In such cases the movement of *tout* over *certifié* was said to be blocked by the presence (at the point of application of L-*Tous*) of the subject of *avoir mis* to the right of *certifié*.<sup>26</sup>

The attribution of an underlying V - NP - S structure to sentences of the superficial form NP  $V_{FI}$  NP V X has the effect of preventing L-*Tous* from moving *tout* to the left of  $V_{FI}$  in another case rather like those discussed above, namely that where the NP object of  $V_{FI}$  is displaced by *Wh* Movement. Consider sentences with *voir* where the embedded object of the infinitive is *tout*. If the NP object of *voir* is not moved at all, L-*Tous* cannot apply twice, just as in (66) above:

- (68) a. J’ai vu Marie tout enterrer.
  - b. \*J’ai tout vu Marie enterrer.
- a–b. ‘I saw Marie bury everything.’

The application of *Wh* Movement to this NP does not make a second application of L-*Tous* possible, despite the surface structure contiguity of *vu* and *tout* and despite the fact that L-*Tous* can otherwise follow *Wh* Movement, as noted in section 1.2.

- (69) a. ?La fille que j’ai vue tout enterrer<sup>27</sup>
- b. \*La fille que j’ai tout vue enterrer

<sup>26</sup> Recall that the comparable deletion with *vouloir* must be able to precede L-*Tous*. It is not clear that *certifier* and *laisser* have much in common; the significant distinction seems to be *vouloir* and verbs like it versus “everything else,” where the ordering of the deletion with “everything else” might follow from some convention; see fn. 43, chap. 1. If infinitives with Equi Deletion are derived from tensed complements, for example, in (i) *Elle certifie qu’elle a compris*, (ii) *Elle certifie avoir compris*, as in Gross (1968), then Equi is optional with *certifier* though obligatory with *laisser*: (iii) \**Elle laissera Jean qu’il parte*. This kind of distinction cuts across the one relevant to ordering after L-*Tous*. Equi would be obligatory with *vouloir* (cf. (iv) \**Elle veut, qu’elle, parte*) but also with *monter*, despite the contrast of (v) *Elle a tout voulu détruire* with (vi) \**Elle est tout montée détruire*. Conversely, Equi is not obligatory with *falloir*, which is like *vouloir* with respect to L-*Tous*. The crucial distinguishing characteristics of the verbs like *vouloir* are unclear; see fns. 27, 28, chap. 1, as well as the discussion of “quasi-clauses” in Postal (1974).

<sup>27</sup> The application of *Wh* Movement to an NP in between *voir* and infinitive leads to a somewhat less than perfect sentence (the status of (70), on the other hand, is independent of *Wh* Movement: (i) ?*On a vu tout perdre à ce garçon*). With *laisser*, this (unexplained) phenomenon is sharper: (ii) *On laissera ce garçon lire tes livres*, (iii) \**le garçon qu’on laissera lire tes livres* (versus (iv) *le garçon à qui on laissera lire tes livres* like (v) *On laissera lire tes livres à ce garçon*). Nor can such an NP be passivized: (vi) \**Ce garçon sera*

a–b. ‘The girl that I saw bury everything’

Again, these facts can be accounted for given an underlying *J'ai vu Marie - s[elle - enterrer - tout]* if the deletion of the subject of *enterrer* is ordered after L-Tous. Put another way, in (68) there are actually two NPs blocking a second application of L-Tous; the removal of one by Wh Movement still leaves the other as a block.

The asymmetry in (69) contrasts with

- (70) a. ?La fille à qui j'ai vu tout perdre  
 b. ?La fille à qui j'ai tout vu perdre

a–b. ‘The girl who I saw lose everything’

To the extent that sentences with *voir* subject to FI can be constructed with *tout* as the underlying object of the infinitive, the double application of L-Tous is possible. We have the following (simplified) derivation: . . . *j'ai vu - qui - perdre - tout* → FI, A-Ins → *j'ai vu - perdre - tout - à - qui* → Wh → . . . *à qui j'ai vu perdre tout* → L-Tous → *à qui j'ai vu tout perdre* → L-Tous → *à qui j'ai tout vu perdre*. In this case, there is no deep structure object of *voir*; the deep structure subject of the infinitive has been displaced by FI and so does not block L-Tous.

*Faire* itself always triggers FI and therefore must have a deep structure V - S. Consequently, multiple application of L-Tous is possible, parallel to (70), (65), (61), (59), and (57):<sup>28</sup>

- (71) a. la fille à laquelle il a tout fait découvrir  
 b. Le tremblement de terre a tout fait perdre à Jean-Jacques.  
 c. On ne lui a rien fait manger.  
 d. Je n'ai rien voulu lui faire manger.  
 e. Elle va tous les faire partir.  
 a. ‘the girl who he made discover everything’

*laissé lire tes livres* (cf. (vii) ?*Ce garçon a été vu/entendu traverser le fleuve*, (viii) \**Jean a été regardé/écouté jouer du violon*), although it is subject to Cl-Pl: (ix) *On le laissera lire tes livres*. [(vi) ‘That boy will be let read your books.’ (vii) ‘That boy was seen/heard cross the river.’ (viii) ‘Jean was watched/listened to play the violin.’]

<sup>28</sup> Multiple application of L-Tous is likewise possible in (i) *Il n'a rien fait détruire par ses amis*, (ii) *Il va tout laisser démolir par les maçons*. This is consistent with the analysis of *faire ... par* proposed below. [(i) ‘He didn't have anything destroyed by his friends.’ (ii) ‘He's going to let everything be destroyed by the masons.’]

- b. 'The earthquake made Jean-Jacques lose everything.'
- c. 'They didn't make him eat anything.'
- d. 'I didn't want to make him eat anything.'
- e. 'She's going to make them all leave.'

An example derivation is *le tremblement a fait - J.J. - perdre - tout* → FI, A-Ins → *le tremblement a fait - perdre - tout - à J.J.* → L-Tous (twice) → *le tremblement a tout fait perdre à J.J.*

The formulation of FI given earlier is such as to apply to a structure of the form  $V_{FI} - S$ , that is,  $V_{FI} \ NP \ V \ (NP) \dots$ . For convenience we recall this transformation:

$$X - faire - NP - V - (NP) - Y \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 4 \ 5 \ 3 \ 6 \\ 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6$$

This rule will automatically fail to apply to a structure of the form  $V_{FI} - NP - S$ , that is  $V_{FI} - NP - NP - V - (NP) \dots$ , since its structural description does not allow for two NPs preceding the infinitive. In other words, no special statement is required to prevent FI from applying for example, to *Je laisserai Marie - elle - partir*. In fact, there may be a certain advantage to the analysis just proposed apart from its allowing an account of the L-Tous facts. If one assumed that the *laisser*, *voir* plus infinitive construction always derived from the same type of deep structure, and therefore that FI was optional for them, one would have to state as a condition associated with the transformation FI itself that it is generally optional, except with *faire*, when it becomes obligatory. Given the analysis just proposed, however, FI can be considered uniformly obligatory. Its apparent optionality with *laisser*, *voir*, and so on, will follow from the fact that these verbs (unlike *faire*) are optionally subcategorized as \_\_\_\_ NP S, in addition to \_\_\_\_ S. In this way, the difference between *faire* and the others can be stated in the lexicon, rather than in the transformational component.<sup>29</sup>

The ungrammaticality of sentences like (72) is thus due to a combination of two factors, first the obligatoriness of FI, and second the fact that *faire* is not subcategorized as \_\_\_\_ NP S.

<sup>29</sup> Compare the argument in section 2.13 that the ungrammaticality of (i) \**Elle lui pense* is best treated by subcategorization. This consideration would be especially compelling if conditions attached to individual transformations were in general to be avoided; see Perlmutter (1971).

(72) \*Elle fera Jean lire ce livre.

‘She’ll have Jean read this book.’

This analysis will account too for certain contrasts concerning sentences in which *faire* and infinitive are separated by *tout*. If a sentence with an intransitive verb and subject *tout* is embedded under *faire*, FI will apply, placing *tout* to the right of the infinitive: *Elle fera s[tout disparaître] → FI → Elle fera - disparaître - tout* (a grammatical sentence). Application of L-Tous is then optional:

(73) Elle fera tout disparaître.

‘She’ll make everything disappear.’

If the embedded S with subject *tout* contains an object NP, then FI will be followed by A-Ins: *On ne peut pas faire s[tout jouer un rôle important] → On ne peut pas faire - jouer - un rôle important - à tout* (so that here L-Tous is inapplicable). Another grammatical sentence so derived is *On fera subir des modifications à tout*. Since FI must apply, the following are ungrammatical:

(74) a. \**On ne peut pas faire tout jouer un rôle important.*

b. \**On fera tout subir des modifications.*

a. ‘One can’t have everything play an important role.’

b. ‘We’ll have everything undergo modification.’

The contrast between (73) and (74) carries over to the corresponding sentences with *faire* in nonfinite form, with *tout* to the left of *faire*:

(75)    Elle va tout faire disparaître.

(76) a. \**Elle va tout faire jouer un rôle important.*

b. \**Elle va tout faire subir des modifications.*

These contrasts are inexplicable in terms of surface structure alone, since in all cases *tout* appears to the left of an infinitive of which it is the underlying subject. It is the obligatory application of the transformations FI and A-Ins which prevents the generation of (74), (76); the fact that (73), (75) resemble their deep structures, and thus superficially appear not to have undergone FI, is deceptive. Their grammaticality is quite compatible with the application of FI, in com-

bination with the operation of the transformation L-*Tous*. The contrasts between (73), (75) and (74), (76) are thus explicable within the framework of a transformational grammar.<sup>30</sup>

The transformation FI has the effect of removing the underlying embedded subject from between *faire* and infinitive. The ungrammaticality of (76) shows that in the absence of the application of FI, the removal of that subject by means of another transformation (there L-*Tous*) does not remedy the violation of the obligatory character of FI. Similarly, the following sentences, in which FI has not applied, but in which Cl-Pl has moved the underlying subject of the infinitive, are usually rejected:

- (77) a. \*Elle le fera lire ce livre.
- b. \*Ce repas salé la fera boire un peu de vin.
- c. \*Son bouquin l'a fait gagner beaucoup d'argent.
- d. \*Tu vas la faire perdre son poste.

The sentences in (77) are not derivable from deep structures resembling, for example, *Tu vas faire - s[elle - perdre - son poste]*, because the obligatory application of FI and A-Ins will yield *Tu vas faire - perdre - son poste - à elle* (like (6)), to which Cl-Pl will apply, yielding *Tu vas lui faire perdre son poste*, and similarly for the other examples.<sup>31</sup>

Pairs of sentences like (78), (79) will thus be analyzed in terms of distinct deep structures:

<sup>30</sup> Similarly, the hitherto unexplained fact noted by Gougenheim (1971, p. 357), namely that in Old French the subject of the infinitive could occur in between *faire* and that infinitive except when the infinitive was followed by a direct object, can profitably be looked at in terms of an obligatory FI/A-Ins, plus a subsequent rule with the effect *faire - V - NP - X → faire - NP - V - X*, with this latter Old French rule also serving in the derivation of the equivalent of (i) \**faire une lettre écrire* (possible in OF).

<sup>31</sup> We have, however, found one speaker (from Brittany) who systematically accepts (72) and (77); occasional literary examples can also be found; see Nilsson-Ehle (1948). Since (77), (72) could be generated by allowing *faire* the V - NP - S subcategorization found with *laisser*, this raises the question of whether the difference between *faire* and *laisser* is subject to explanation. Nilsson-Ehle suggests (pp. 108 ff.) that it be related to the very general meaning of *faire*; along these lines, one might speculate that a deep structure V - NP - S would demand a richer semantic link between *faire* and NP. In this regard, it is notable that some speakers accept certain sentences like (77), though not (76), (74), (72), and draw the following distinction: in (i) ??*Je les ai fait prendre l'air*, the *les* can be children but not articles of clothing (in the normal (ii) *Je leur ai fait prendre l'air*, *leur* can be either); perhaps the (marginal) *faire - NP - S* structure imposes an interpretation more akin to that of *forcer - NP - à - S*. [(i) 'I had them get some air.'](ii) 'I made them get some air.'

- (78) Jean laissera boire du vin à cet enfant.

‘Jean will let that child drink some wine.’

- (79) Jean laissera cet enfant boire du vin.

The analysis of (78) as NP - *laisser* - S (with FI obligatory) and that of (79) as NP - *laisser* - NP - S (with FI inapplicable), (rather than a single deep structure NP - *laisser* - S (with FI optional)) would be supported by the existence of other cases of multiple, but similar, subcategorizations. We return to this question in the discussion of the rule of Subject Raising in section 3.7.

The two constructions differ with respect to the presence of an embedded negation. What we are calling the V - S structure does not permit a negation in the embedded sentence, either with *laisser* or with *faire*.

- (80) a. \*Jean laissera ne pas aller ses enfants à l'école.

- b. \*Il a laissé ne rien manger à ses enfants.
- c. \*Elle laisse ne pas habiter son ami chez elle.
- a. ‘Jean will let his children not go to school.’
- b. ‘He let his children not eat anything.’
- c. ‘She lets her friend not live at her place.’

- (81) a. \*On a fait ne pas boire Jean.<sup>32</sup>

- b. \*Elle a fait ne rien manger à Jean.
- a. ‘They made Jean not drink.’
- b. ‘She made Jean not eat anything.’

A negation embedded in the V - NP - S structure often yields a fairly acceptable result:

- (82) a. ?Tu as laissé tes enfants ne rien manger.

- b. ?Il a laissé ses enfants ne pas aller à l'école.
- a. ‘You let your children not eat anything.’
- b. ‘He let his children not go to school.’

<sup>32</sup> This fact is noted for *faire* by Gross (1968, p. 43), who points out elsewhere (p. 76) the perhaps related (i) \**Jean monte ne pas voir Pierre*, and by Nilsson-Ehle (1948, p. 113). [(i) ‘Jean is going up not to see Pierre.’]

These facts would constitute a strong argument in favor of our hypothesis if they could be shown to follow from the postulation of distinct subcategorizations. Unfortunately, we do not have a satisfying explanation for the ungrammaticality of (80), (81).

The assignment of distinct deep structures to pairs such as *Elle a laissé Jean partir* (*laisser* NP S), *Elle a laissé partir Jean* (*laisser* - S) is not unnatural on semantic grounds, since the two constructions are, in fact, not necessarily synonymous. Thus the following are usually judged to differ in meaning:<sup>33</sup>

- (83) a. *Le gardien a laissé le prisonnier s'échapper.*
- b. *Le gardien a laissé s'échapper le prisonnier.*
- a-b. 'The guard let the prisoner escape.'

The first seems to imply a degree of collusion or of intentionality on the part of the guard, which is absent in the second. Examples of nonsynonymy can also be found with *voir*:

- (84) a. *J'ai vu Jean faire des bêtises.*
- b. *J'ai vu faire des bêtises à Jean.*
- a-b. 'I have seen Jean do foolish things.'

The first, to which we have attributed a *voir* NP S deep structure, appears to involve a stronger sense of actual visual perception of *Jean* than does the second (deep structure *voir* S, subsequent application of FI/A-Ins).<sup>34</sup>

In recapitulation of the present section, we have examined the interaction of FI and L-*Tous* and have seen how the application of the former permits subsequent extended application of the latter, as in (71). In order to account for certain instances in which L-*Tous* fails to apply in structures containing verbs otherwise subject to FI (*laisser*, *voir*), but in which FI has not applied, such as (56), (58), (60), (69), we have proposed that this nonapplication of FI is due to an inappropriate input structure (V NP S), rather than to an optionality condition attached to the transformation itself. The transformation FI will apply only to structures of the form V<sub>s</sub>[NP V (NP) Y].

<sup>33</sup> Additional examples of this type are discussed in Borel (1972).

<sup>34</sup> Hatcher (1944b, p. 292) describes the construction with *à* as "emphasis upon activity."

In the case of *voir*, *regarder*, and *entendre* the postulation of a deep structure V - NP - S, combined with the actual occurrence of an NP object in sentences like *Tu verras Jean dans le jardin*, *Il regardait ses enfants*, *Elle entend son enfant dans le salon* might lead one to ask if the V - S deep structure can be supported syntactically by more than the L-Tous considerations in (70). Additional evidence in favor of such a structure is provided by sentences like (85) where there would be no natural candidate for an underlying NP object in addition to the embedded sentence:

- (85) a. J'entends pleuvoir.
- b. Elle a regardé neiger.
- c. J'ai vu pleuvoir pendant 48 heures.
- a. 'I hear it raining.'
- b. 'She watched it snow.'
- c. 'I saw it rain for 48 hours.'

The absence of *le* in (86) suggests an empty deep structure subject and a rule inserting *il* in tensed sentences like *Il pleut*, *Il neige*.<sup>35</sup>

- (86) a. \*Je l'entends pleuvoir.
- b. \*Elle l'a regardé neiger.
- c. \*Je l'ai vu pleuvoir pendant 48 heures.

Sentences similar to (85) can also be constructed with *faire*:

- (87) Les savants sont maintenant capables de faire pleuvoir.

'Scientists are now capable of making it rain.'

Clear examples of V - que - S structures exist with *voir* and *faire*:

- (88) a. J'ai vu qu'il était là.

<sup>35</sup> Such a rule could presumably be used to account for the *il* of (i) *Il est arrivé trois filles*, (ii) *Il a été mangé beaucoup de pommes*, which never appears as *le*, that is, (iii) \**Je l'ai vu arriver trois filles*, as well as that of (iv) *Il est étonnant que S* (cf. (v) *Je (\*le) trouve étonnant que S*) and *il y a*: (vi) ?*Ça a fait y avoir trop de monde*, (vii) \**Ça l'a fait y avoir . . .* (cf. fn. 31, chap. 2). Contrasting with (85) is (viii) \**J'entends pluviant*, (ix) \**J'entends qui (actuellement) pleut*, as predicted by the V NP S analysis of these two constructions given in section 2.10. [(i) 'There arrived three girls.' (ii) 'There were eaten many apples.' (v) 'I find it astonishing that S.' (vi)–(vii) 'That made there be too many people.']

- b. Faites qu'il s'en aille.
- c. Elle a fait en sorte qu'il parte.
- a. 'I saw that he was there.'
- b. 'Make that he leave.' (= 'See to it that . . .')
- c. 'She saw to it that he leave.'

But there seems little reason to take these as sources for the infinitival constructions with which we are concerned.<sup>36</sup>

## Part II

### 3.5 The *Faire* . . . *Par* Construction

The analysis we have proposed for sentences such as *Elle fera partir Jean*, *Elle fera sortir Jean de sa chambre* includes a transformation FI. The application of this transformation is sometimes followed by the insertion of *à*, as in *Elle fera manger cette pomme à Jean*. This last type of sentence has a close counterpart, one in which the preposition *par* appears:

- (89) a. *Elle fera manger cette pomme par Jean.*  
 b. *Il a fait photographier ses enfants par un de ses amis.*  
 c. *Vous avez fait détruire sa maison par vos soldats.*
- a. 'She'll have that apple eaten by Jean.'
  - b. 'He had his children photographed by one of his friends.'
  - c. 'You had his house destroyed by your soldiers.'

<sup>36</sup> There is no *\*laisser que S*. Significant differences between *faire que S* and *faire - infinitive* are given by Nilsson-Ehle (1948, pp. 106–107); see also Borel (1972). *Voir que S* is much like English 'see that S' and *voir NP partir* more like 'see NP leave'.

The lack of past participle agreement in (i) *Cette fille, il l'a fait(\*e) partir* (with *voir*, *laisser*, etc., there are no relevant phonetic differences; Clédat (1889) notes, however, the impossibility of "liaison" in (ii) *Je les ai vus arriver*) might bear on these questions if agreement with *avoir* - past participle were a less artificial phenomenon (cf. fn. 55, chap. 2) and if the supposed rule allowed agreement only with a deep structure object of the participle itself. (In Italian, where such agreement is more prevalent in the spoken language, agreement can take place with respect to the deep object of another verb: (iii) *Questi libri, li ho fatti leggere a Giovanni*, (iv) *Questa ragazza, l'ho potuta aiutare*, with *li*, *l(a)* underlying objects of *leggere* 'lire', *aiutare* 'aider' rather than of *fatti* 'fait', *potuta* 'pu'). [(iii) 'These books, I had Giovanni read them.' (iv) 'This girl, I was able to help her.']}

A natural question is whether—and, if so, in what precise way—the transformation FI plays a role in the derivation of the construction shown in (89).

The appearance of the preposition *par* suggests that this construction is related to the passive:

- (90) a. *Cette pomme sera mangée par Jean.*
- b. *Ses enfants ont été photographiés par un de ses amis.*
- c. *Sa maison a été détruite par vos hommes.*
- a. ‘That apple will be eaten by Jean.’
- b. ‘His children were photographed by one of his friends.’
- c. ‘His house was destroyed by your soldiers.’

This is exactly what we shall argue, particularly by pointing out a number of significant ways in which the two are similar. The nature of the evidence will at the same time be such as to imply that there is no comparable linguistically significant relationship between passives and the construction with A-Ins.<sup>37</sup>

First, there are nonpassivizable idioms,<sup>38</sup> such as

- (91) a. \**La croûte a été cassée par sa famille.*
- b. *Sa famille a cassé la croûte.*
- b. ‘His family had a snack.’
- (92) a. \**Le malade sera fait par son fils.*
- b. *Son fils fera le malade.*
- b. ‘His son will play sick.’

(That is, the passive is impossible with the idiomatic meaning of the active.) These idioms occur in the construction with A-Ins:

<sup>37</sup> According to Grevisse (1964, p. 146): “Plusieurs grammairiens estiment que, dans des phrases comme: *Je fais réciter sa leçon à mon frère* ou: *elle laisse tout faire à sa soeur*, . . . (l’)infinitif a un sens passif et que le terme introduit par ‘à’ est un complément d’agent.” See, for example, Chevalier et al. (1964, p. 116) and Wartburg and Zumthor (1958, pp. 196–197). The opposite position, with which we agree, is taken by Sandfeld (1965, III, p. 181).

<sup>38</sup> By nonpassivizable, we imply that the impersonal passive, as in (i) *Il a été fait usage d’un grand nombre de mots*, is likewise impossible: (ii) \**Il sera fait le malade par son fils*, (iii) \**Il a été cassé la croûte par sa famille*. The term “idiom” is used loosely for (92), which is productive: (iv) *Elle a fait la folle*, etc.; see Giry (1972). [(i) ‘There was made use of a great many words.’]

- (93) a. Il fera faire le malade à son fils.  
 b. Il a fait casser la croûte à sa famille.  
 a. ‘He’ll have his son play sick.’  
 b. ‘He had his family have a snack.’

Such nonpassivizable idioms do not occur with *faire . . . par* (again, in the idiomatic sense):

- (94) a. \*Il fera faire le malade par son fils.  
 b. \*Il a fait casser la croûte par sa famille.

Conversely, those idioms which can be embedded in this construction can also occur in a passive construction:

- (95) a. Son fils te prêtera assistance.  
 b. Son client portera plainte.  
 a. ‘His son will lend you assistance.’  
 b. ‘His client will bring suit.’
- (96) a. Assistance te sera prêtée par son fils.  
 b. Plainte sera portée par son client.

- (97) a. Il te fera prêter assistance par son fils.  
 b. L’avocat fera porter plainte par son client.  
 a. ‘He will have you lent assistance by his son.’  
 b. ‘The lawyer will have suit brought by his client.’

Second, there is a restriction on passivization if the object is a part of the body understood as belonging (inalienably) to the subject:

- (98) a. Jean lèvera la main.  
 b. \*La main sera levée par Jean.  
 a. ‘Jean will raise his hand.’

This restriction is mirrored in the *faire . . . par* construction:

- (99) \*Elle fera lever la main par Jean.

But it is not reflected in that with A-Ins:

- (100) Elle fera lever la main à Jean.

‘She’ll have Jean raise his hand.’

A similar distribution holds for overt possessives:<sup>39</sup>

- (101) a. Jean<sub>i</sub> apprendra son<sub>i</sub> rôle.  
       b. \*Son<sub>i</sub> rôle sera appris par Jean<sub>i</sub>.  
       a. ‘Jean will learn his role.’

- (102) a. \*Tu feras apprendre son<sub>i</sub> rôle par Jean<sub>i</sub>.  
       b. Tu feras apprendre son<sub>i</sub> rôle à Jean<sub>i</sub>.  
       b. ‘You’ll have Jean learn his role.’

Again, the passive and *faire . . . par* constructions pattern together, and contrast with the A-Ins construction.

Third, certain superficial objects which are in some sense locative NPs may not undergo passivization or be embedded with *faire . . . par*:

- (103) Jean quittera ma maison demain.

‘Jean will leave my house tomorrow.’

- (104) a. \*Ma maison sera quittée par Jean demain.  
       b. \*Je ferai quitter ma maison par Jean demain.

The comparable sentence with A-Ins is possible:

- (105) Je ferai quitter ma maison à Jean demain.

‘I’ll have Jean leave my house tomorrow.’

Fourth, the clitic *se* is excluded from passives in sentences of the following sort:

- (106) a. Jean t’achètera ce jouet.  
       b. Jean s’achètera ce jouet.  
       c. Ce jouet te sera acheté par Jean.  
       d. \*Ce jouet se sera acheté par Jean.  
       a–b. ‘Jean will buy you/himself that toy.’

<sup>39</sup> We are indebted to J.-C. Milner for bringing this paradigm to our attention.

The same restriction is operative with *faire . . . par*:

- (107) a. Nous te ferons acheter ce jouet par Jean.
- b. \*Nous se ferons acheter ce jouet par Jean.
- c. \*Nous ferons s'acheter ce jouet par Jean.
- a–c. ‘We’ll have you/himself bought that toy by Jean.’

*Se* may, however, cooccur with A-Ins (see chapter 6):

- (108) Je ferai s'acheter des chaussures à (\*par) mon fils.
- ‘I’ll have my son buy himself some shoes.’

There are thus several ways in which the construction with A-Ins differs crucially from passives;<sup>40</sup> the significant generalization is rather to be found between passives and *faire . . . par*. This is supported by the observation that verbs compatible with passives in *de* can occur in a *faire . . . de* construction:<sup>41</sup>

- (109) a. Marie est haïe de tout le monde.
- b. Marie est arrivée à se faire haïr de tout le monde.
- a. ‘Marie is hated by everybody.’
- b. ‘Marie managed to get herself hated by everybody.’

Verbs not taking passives in *de* cannot:

- (110) a. \*Jean sera tué de ce garçon.
- b. \*Jean se fera tuer de ce garçon.
- a–b. ‘Jean will be/will have himself killed by that boy.’

We conclude that the *faire . . . par/de* construction is the result of

<sup>40</sup> The fact that passives with a full NP subject are limited to verbs with direct object NPs ((i) *Jean a été fusillé* versus (ii) \**Jean a été tiré sur/dessus*, (iii) \**Elle sera parlé de*, etc.) is related to a more general condition on the movement of NPs dominated by PP (compare fn. 28, chapter 1), and independent of the dependence of A-Ins on an object NP. [(i) ‘Jean was shot.’ (ii) ‘Jean was shot at.’ (iii) ‘She was spoken of.’]

<sup>41</sup> Moreover, in languages closely related to French which have only *de* in the passive, such as Italian, Walloon (see Remacle (1956, p. 320)), there is a *faire . . . de* construction rather than *faire . . . par*. For discussion of the *de/par* alternation in French, see Spang-Hanssen (1963, pp. 60–87), and of the difference between passive *de* phrases and those of psych verbs, for example, (i) *Jean est dégoûté de Marie*, see Ruwet (1972, chap. 5). [(i) ‘Jean is disgusted with Marie.’]

embedding under *faire* sentences containing the *par/de* - NP phrases that occur in passives.<sup>42</sup>

Before proposing a precise derivation for *faire . . . par*, we shall briefly point out some further differences between that construction and the one with A-Ins. A problem that comes to mind immediately is the nature of the semantic difference between the two:

- (111) *Marie fera boire cette eau par son chien.*

‘Marie will have that water drunk by her dog.’

- (112) *Marie fera boire cette eau à son chien.*

‘Marie will have her dog drink that water.’

For the preceding pair, one can make the following observation: If the link between Marie and the dog’s drinking the water is considered to be very indirect, for instance, if she gives orders to servants to test potentially poisoned water out on the dog, then only *par* is appropriate. The *à* here would imply a more direct relation between Marie and the drinking; we are, however, not in a position to give a systematic semantic characterization for the general case,<sup>43</sup> not to speak of the more interesting question of providing an explanation for whatever this basic semantic difference turns out to be.

There is, on the other hand, one particular contrast of a semantic

<sup>42</sup> As in passives, the *par* phrase can be absent: (i) *Jean a été tué*, (ii) *Elle a fait tuer Jean*. There are cases of a deleted embedded (underlying) subject not assimilable to the preceding (since *par* NP would be impossible): (iii) *Cela fait rire*, (iv) *Les films d’horreur, ça peut faire s’évanouir*, (v) *J’entends aboyer*.

Some *par* - NP phrases have nothing to do with passives: (vi) *Il a diffusé la nouvelle par les journaux*, (vii) *Tu auras ce livre par Georges*; these can also occur with *faire* - infinitive: (viii) *Il a fait éclater la nouvelle par les journaux* (where *par* NP is associated with the higher S; cf. (ix) \**La nouvelle a éclaté par les journaux*), (x) *Je te ferai avoir ce livre par Georges* (versus (xi) \**Je te donnerai ce livre par Georges*; cf. fn. 18). As pointed out to us by N. Ruwet, such *par* phrases are appropriate answers to *comment ‘how’*: (xii) *Comment a-t-il fait éclater la nouvelle?* (xiii) *Comment me feras-tu avoir ce livre?* etc. The *par* phrases associated with passives, on the other hand, such as (xiv) *Ma maison sera peinte par Georges*, (xv) *Je ferai peindre ma maison par Georges* are not appropriate answers to (xvi) *Comment feras-tu peindre ta maison?* etc. [(iii) ‘That makes (one) laugh.’ (iv) ‘Horror films can make (one) faint.’ (v) ‘I hear barking.’ (vi) ‘He diffused the news via the newspapers.’ (vii) ‘You’ll get that book through Georges.’ (viii) ‘He made the news break via the papers.’ (x) ‘I’ll have you have that book through Georges.’ (xvi) ‘How will you have your house painted?’]

<sup>43</sup> A number of perceptive observations bearing on this question can be found in Bissel (1947, pp. 31–49), Spang-Hanssen (1963, pp. 129–33), and Borel (1972).

nature which lends direct support to the postulation of a significant relationship between *faire* . . . *par* and passives (but not between *faire* . . . *à* and passives). Thus, of the following two sentences, the first, but not the second, leads one to understand that only Jean-Jacques will run the 100 meters:

- (113) Il fera courir le 100 mètres par Jean-Jacques.

'He'll have the 100 meters run by Jean-Jacques.'

- (114) Il fera courir le 100 mètres à Jean-Jacques.

'He'll have Jean-Jacques run the 100 meters.'

The correlates with the semantic oddity of<sup>44</sup>

- (115) \*Il fera courir le 4 x 100 mètres par Jean-Jacques.

'He'll have the 400 meter relay run by Jean-Jacques.'

(*Il fera courir le 4 x 100 mètres par Jean-Jacques, Pierre, Maurice et Jean-Pierre* would not be semantically odd). The relationship between *faire* . . . *par* and passives is pointed up by the semantic difference between *Le 100 mètres sera couru par Jean* and *Jean courra le 100 mètres*, which is like that in (113) versus (114), as well as by the oddity of

- (116) \*Le 4 x 100 mètres sera couru par Jean.

The sentences with the dative clitic, such as (117), (118), follow the pattern of (112), (114) rather than (111), (113) with respect to conditions of appropriateness:

- (117) Marie lui fera boire cette eau.

- (118) Il lui fera courir le 100 mètres.

This correlates with our argument in section 2.12 to the effect that the dative clitics are not derived from pronouns preceded by prepositions other than *à*.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Sentences (113), (114) are taken from Borel (1972), who discusses these and similar examples in greater detail.

<sup>45</sup> The derivation of these clitics from *à* phrases is consistent with the grammaticality of (i) *Il lui fera faire le malade*, (ii) *Elle lui fera lever la main*, (iii) *Tu lui feras apprendre son rôle*, (iv) *Je lui ferai quitter ma maison demain*, (v) *Je lui ferai s'acheter des chaussures*; cf. (93)–(94), (99)–(100), (102), (104)–(105), (108).

One might speculate that the incompatibility of (112), (117) with “indirect orders” is not unrelated to the semantic distinction noted in that section between *à* and *pour* (see (214–(218)), where *à* seemed to imply some kind of more direct link between subject and indirect object than did *pour*. Semantic considerations of an unclear sort probably play a role too in the following phenomenon: Certain verbs taking animate objects are incompatible with *faire . . . à*, but not with *faire . . . par*:

- (119) a. \*Pierre a fait matraquer ce garçon à Jean-Jacques.
- b. Pierre a fait matraquer ce garçon par Jean-Jacques.
- c. \*Elle fera tuer son mari à son amant.
- d. Elle fera tuer son mari par son amant.
- b. ‘Pierre had that boy bludgeoned by Jean-Jacques.’
- d. ‘She’ll have her husband killed by her lover.’

The corresponding sentences with dative clitic are intermediate:<sup>46</sup>

- (120) a. ?Pierre lui a fait matraquer ce garçon.
- b. ?Elle lui fera tuer son mari.

The contrasts of (119) become minimal in

- (121) a. Pierre a fait embrasser cette petite fille à Jean-Jacques.
- b. Pierre a fait embrasser cette petite fille par Jean-Jacques.
- a. ‘Pierre had Jean-Jacques kiss that little girl.’

But they become sharp if the object of *embrasser* is reflexive or is first or second person:<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The status of (120) is unaccounted for whether the clitics are derived from an *à* phrase or a *par* phrase. Considerations of the type discussed in chapter 2 require that they derive from the former. This correctly predicts that the conditions of appropriateness of (120) are those of *à*.

<sup>47</sup> Compare the pair: (i) *Cette fille, il la faut à mon ami*, (ii) \**Il te faut à mon ami*. The contrasts in the text do not depend on the animacy of the *à* phrase as shown by (iii) *En se concentrant, elle arrivera à faire effleurer le filet à la balle*, (iv) \* . . . à te faire effleurer à la balle, but are sensitive to some notion of definiteness, as pointed out to us by J.-R. Vergnaud: (v) \**Il a fait interroger ce prisonnier à son assistant*, (vi) *Il a fait interroger trois prisonniers à son assistant*. Borel (1972) has (vii) \**Jean fait soigner sa femme à un spécialiste* versus (viii) *J’ai eu bien du mal à faire opérer ma femme à ce spécialiste* ‘I had a lot of trouble convincing that

- (122) a. \*Pierre s'est fait embrasser à Marie.  
 b. \*Pierre te fera embrasser à Marie.  
 a–b. 'Pierre<sub>i</sub> had Marie kiss him<sub>i</sub>/you.'

(*Par* is possible.)

If the subject of *faire* is inanimate, *par* is often impossible. The following contrast with (111), (112):

- (123) a. La famine a fait manger des rats aux habitants de la ville.  
 b. \*La famine a fait manger des rats par les habitants de la ville.  
 a. 'The famine made the city's inhabitants eat rats.'

This restriction is not general:

- (124) a. Cet article te fera connaître des physiciens américains.  
 b. Sa dernière conférence a fait critiquer Jean-Jacques par tout le monde.  
 a. 'That article will get you known by American physicists.'  
 b. 'His last lecture got Jean criticized by everybody.'

### 3.6 Derivation via the Transformation FP

The significant relationship between passives and the *faire* . . . *par* construction can be made precise only in the context of an analysis specifying the derivation of the latter. The most straightforward proposal would be to derive the *faire* . . . *par* construction through the embedding under *faire* of a sentence that has undergone the passive transformation. In this way, (111) would be derived from *Marie fera s[cette eau être bu par son chien]*, just as (112) is derived from *Marie fera s[son chien boire cette eau]*. In fact, (111) could be derived from such an intermediate structure directly through the application of FI, if the auxiliary *être* were deleted. Let us represent the auxiliary introduced by the passive transformation as *être* + *é* where *é* is an affix whose subsequent attachment to the following verb is to account for the appearance of the past participle form.<sup>48</sup> Then we might have the

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specialist to operate on my wife.' [(i) 'That girl, my friend needs her.' (ii) 'My friend needs you.' (iii) 'By concentrating, she'll succeed in getting the ball to tick the net.' (v)/(vi) 'He had his assistant interrogate that prisoner/three prisoners.]

<sup>48</sup> As in Chomsky (1957), for English; see also Ruwet (1968).

following derivation: *Marie fera - son chien - boire - cette eau* → Passive → *Marie fera - cette eau - être + é - boire - par son chien* → *être + é* deletion → *Marie fera - cette eau - boire - par son chien* → FI → *Marie fera - boire - cette eau - par son chien*. Despite its initial plausibility, such an analysis would have serious defects.

A rule deleting *être + é*, which would in effect be undoing the insertion of *être + é* by the passive transformation, is not well motivated and is subject to reservations on general grounds. Although deletions of *être* are attested, as in *On croyait Jean à Paris* (as argued in section 4.6), these deletions invariably leave a past participle, not an infinitive:

- (125) a. *On croyait Jean haï de tout le monde.*
- b. \**On croyait Jean haïr de tout le monde.*
- a–b. ‘We thought Jean hated by everybody.’

Similarly:

- (126) a. *Tout prisonnier remis en liberté . . .*
- b. \**Tout prisonnier remettre en liberté . . .*
- a–b. ‘Any prisoner set free . . .’

In other words, the deletion in (125), (126) is of *être* alone; the affix *é* must have already been attached to the following verb. Now suppose there were a rule deleting both *être* and *-é* in (111) and in (127):

- (127) *Elle laissera lire ce livre par son fils.*

‘She’ll let her son read that book.’

If this were the case, one might wonder why such a rule could not also apply in structures with *laisser* where FI has not applied, that is, to a structure *Elle laissera ce livre être + é lire par son fils*, which would yield the ungrammatical

- (128) \**Elle laissera ce livre lire par son fils.*

The point is not that an *être + é* deletion rule could not be formulated so as to distinguish (111), (127) from the other cases, but rather that a theory allowing such a rule could just as easily describe a (so far nonexistent) dialect of French in which the starred sentences of (125), (126), and (128) were grammatical. If these are unthinkable, and not

simply accidentally nonoccurring, that constitutes an argument against a rule deleting *être* + é.<sup>49</sup>

A second argument against deriving (111), (127) through the application of FI to a structure resulting from the passive transformation is based on the observation that there are certain nonpassivizable sentences that can, in fact, be embedded in the *faire . . . par* construction. Consider sentences like the following, which are themselves derived through the application of FI:

- (129) a. Son fils a fait entrer Monsieur Dupont.
- b. Jean a fait tomber la chaise.
- c. La police secrète a fait régner l'ordre.
- a. 'His son had Monsieur Dupont enter.'
- b. 'Jean made the chair fall.'
- c. 'The secret police made order reign.'

A general fact about such sentences is that they have no corresponding passive:

- (130) a. \*Monsieur Dupont a été fait entrer par son fils.
- b. \*La chaise a été faite tomber par Jean.
- c. \*L'ordre a été fait régner par la police secrète.

Nonetheless, they often can, for many speakers, be embedded in the *faire . . . par* construction:<sup>50</sup>

- (131) a. ?Il a fait faire entrer Monsieur Dupont par son fils.
- b. ?Elle a fait faire tomber la chaise par Jean.
- c. ?Le président a fait faire régner l'ordre par la police secrète.
- a. 'He had his son have Monsieur Dupont enter.'
- b. 'She had Jean make the chair fall.'
- c. 'The president had the secret police make order reign.'

<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the theory of grammar would have to be constrained so as to exclude the possibility of such a rule. In a language with freer word order than Modern French, (128) might be possible as the result of a reordering within a (127) - like structure; see fn. 30.

<sup>50</sup> The ungrammaticality of (130) is further evidence that *faire* - infinitive is not dominated by a single V node.

In light of the ungrammaticality of (130) the analysis we are arguing against can simply not generate (131). Before turning to an alternative analysis of this construction, we shall make a short digression.

There are three verbs in French which are exceptional in having passives in which the derived subject corresponds to a prepositional complement:

- (132) a. *Ses enfants (dés)obéissent à Paul.*
- b. *Le juge pardonnera aux criminels.*
- c. \**Ses enfants (dés)obéissent Paul.*
- d. \**Le juge pardonnera les criminels.*
- a. ‘*His children (dis)obey Paul.’*
- b. ‘*The judge will pardon the criminals.’*

(Sentence (132d) is unacceptable for most speakers.)

- (133) a. *Paul est (dés)obéi de/par ses enfants.*
- b. *Les criminels seront pardonnés par le juge.*

The normal case in French is that of *sourire*:

- (134) a. *Marie sourit à Paul.*
- b. \**Paul est souri par Marie.*
- c. \**Paul est souri à par Marie.*
- a. ‘*Marie smiles at Paul.’*

Although it would, in principle, be possible to describe (133) by having those verbs exceptionally undergo the Passive transformation (accompanied by the deletion of *à*), that would leave unexplained the fact that, unlike normal passives, those of (133) are not subject to the rule placing subject NPs to the right of the verb in sentences like<sup>51</sup>

- (135) a. *Il a été mangé beaucoup de pommes hier soir.*
- b. *Il sera détruit une centaine d’habitations.*

<sup>51</sup> This rule is inapplicable to certain definite NPs: (i) \**Il a été mangé vos pommes hier soir*, (ii) \**Il les sera détruit*. Impersonal passives with a PP differ: (iii) *Il a été parlé de vos frères hier soir*, (iv) *Il lui a été tiré dessus*; the latter thus could not easily be derived via the same extraposition rule from a (nonoccurring) (v) \**Vos frères ont été parlé de*. [(iii) ‘It was spoken of your brothers last night.’ (iv) ‘It was shot at him.’]

- a. ‘There were eaten many apples last night.’
- b. ‘There will be destroyed about a hundred dwellings.’

Compare the following:

- (136) a. \*Il est (dés)obéi beaucoup de parents.
- b. \*Il sera pardonné beaucoup de criminels cette année.
  - a. ‘There will be (dis)obeyed many parents.’
  - b. ‘There will be pardoned many criminals this year.’

However, if the exceptionality of (133) were represented instead by entering *obéi*, *désobéi*, *pardonné* in the lexicon as adjectives taking complements in *de/par*, then the ungrammaticality of (136) could be related to the general fact that the rule operative in (135) does not apply with adjectives:<sup>52</sup>

- (137) a. \*Il est heureux beaucoup d’enfants.
- b. \*Il est petit très peu d’arbres.
  - a. ‘There are happy many children.’
  - b. ‘There are small very few trees.’

The sentences of (133) cannot be embedded in the *faire . . . par* construction:<sup>53</sup>

- (138) a. \*Elle fera (dés)obéir Paul de ses enfants.
- b. \*Elle fera (dés)obéir Paul par ses enfants.
  - c. \*Le procureur fera pardonner ce criminel par le juge.
  - a–b. ‘She’ll have Paul (dis)obeyed by his children.’

<sup>52</sup> As noted by Gaatone (1970) and Picabia (1970). This would follow from the theory of transformations proposed by Emonds (1970) in that the sequence Adj-NP is not produced by the PS rules of French (for example (i) \**Jean est content son travail*). Picabia cites this contrast: (ii) *Il a été compris (\*incompris) un très grand nombre de problèmes*, so that *incompris* is an adjective; compare the impossibility of \**incomprendre*, since *in-* is not a verb-forming prefix; see Dell (1970), Gaatone (1971b). It and *inconnu* are adjectives that are like *obéi*, etc., in kind of complement taken: (iii) *Jean est incompris/inconnu de Paul*. The lexical solution proposed here for *obéi* should be compared to fn. 29 and to Siegel (1973). [(i) ‘Jean is happy about his work.’ (ii) ‘There were understood (ununderstood) a great many problems.’ (iii) ‘Jean is ununderstood/unknown by Paul.’]

<sup>53</sup> The sentence (i) *Paul arrive à se faire obéir de tout le monde* could be analyzed as a dative *se*. [(i) ‘Paul manages to get himself obeyed by everyone.’]

- c. ‘The attorney will have that criminal pardoned by the judge.’

(Example (138)c would be acceptable, as would (136)b, to one who accepted (132) with *pardonner NP*.) Sentences (138) would, undesirably, be generable given a lexical representation for (133) if there were a rule deleting *être + é*, and if (133) were represented as *être + é + obéir*, and so on.

The undesirability of a rule deleting *être + é*, combined with the contrast between (130) and (131), suggests that what is common to passives and the *faire . . . par* construction is only the presence of the *par* phrase, and that the rule placing the object in subject position in passives, as well as that introducing *être + é*, plays no role in the derivation of *faire . . . par*. If we represent the passive marker as *par Δ*<sup>54</sup> so that the derivation of simple passive sentences is approximately *Paul lire ce livre par Δ → Ce livre être + é lire par Paul*, then the derivation of (111) will be simply: *Marie fera - son chien - boire - cette eau - par Δ → Marie fera boire - cette eau - par son chien* (we return shortly to the question of what rule effects this change).

Such a derivation for the *faire . . . par* construction implies that the similarities noted earlier between it and passives must be expressible without reference either to the passive auxiliary *être + é* or to the rule placing the object in subject position in simple passive sentences. For example, the common restrictions concerning possessives, inalienables, and reflexives as in (101)–(102), (98)–(99), and (106)–(107), respectively, can be considered a function of an incompatibility between the *par* phrase and certain types of coreference.<sup>55</sup> The common restrictions on idioms, as in (91), (92), (94), could be represented in terms of cooccurrence between particular idioms and the *par Δ* marker.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The *par Δ* notation is motivated in Katz and Postal (1964) and Chomsky (1965).

<sup>55</sup> Compare the pair: (i) *Jean nous a menacés de s'opposer à nous*, (ii) \**Nous avons été menacés par Jean de s'opposer à nous*; see Ruwet (1972, p. 78). See also Jenkins (1972). [(i) ‘Jean threatened us with opposing us.’]

<sup>56</sup> Presumably, such cooccurrence restrictions would themselves be subject to explanation. A possibly related problem (see fn. 51) is that of distinguishing (i) *Il sera parlé de vous par tout le monde* from (ii) \**Il sera venu chez vous par tout le monde*, (iii) \**Il sera dansé par Marie*, and (iv) *Je ferai parler de vous par tout le monde* from (v) \**Je ferai venir chez vous par tout le monde*, (vi) \**Je ferai danser par Marie*. In spoken German, where “impersonal passives” are more productive than in French, similar facts hold: (vii) *Es wird von allen*

The contrast between (130) and (131), on the other hand, will be accounted for by the fact that only movement of the subject into the *par* phrase has taken place in (131). Consider the ungrammaticality of (130), as well as that, alongside *Marie fera manger ce gâteau à Paul*, of the following:

- (139) \*Ce gâteau sera fait manger à Paul par Marie.

These facts can be described by the condition that the Passive transformation may apply only if one main verb separates subject and object, that is, if, disregarding tense, it were stated as

$$\text{NP} (\text{avoir} + \acute{e}) \text{ V } \text{NP} \text{ X } \text{par } \Delta \quad \begin{matrix} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 \end{matrix} \rightarrow 4 \ 2 \ \acute{\text{e}}\text{tre} + \acute{e} \ 3 \ \emptyset \ 5 \ 6 \ 1$$

If the derivation of (131) does not involve the introduction of *être + é* or movement of the underlying NP object, then it, of course, must not involve application of the just stated Passive transformation.

The derivation of (131) and of the *faire . . . par* construction in general can be accomplished through the application of the following transformation:

$$\text{FP: } \begin{matrix} X \text{ faire } \text{NP} \text{ V } Y \text{ par } \Delta \text{ Z} \\ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \end{matrix} \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 3 \ 8$$

For example, FP will apply to *Marie fera - son chien - boire - cette eau - par Δ*, yielding *Marie fera - boire - cette eau - par son chien*, where *Y = cette eau*. In the case of (131), FP will apply to a structure produced by FI: *Son fils - faire - s[M. Dupont - entrer] - par - Δ → FI → Son fils - faire - entrer - M. Dupont - par Δ*. FP itself will apply to *Il a fait s[son fils - faire - entrer - M. Dupont - par Δ]*, yielding *Il a fait - faire - entrer - M. Dupont - par - son fils*, that is, (131), where *Y = entrer - M. Dupont*. The absence of the term NP following V in FP versus its presence in the Passive transformation will distinguish (130) and (131); the Passive, unlike FP, is prevented from applying to *son fils - faire - entrer - M. Dupont - par Δ* because *son fils* and *M. Dupont* are separated by two Vs.

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über *Sie gesprochen werden* versus (viii) \**Es wird von allen bei Ihnen angekommen werden*, (ix) \**Es wird von Marie getanzt werden*. The last two are ungrammatical for different reasons, since we have (x) *Es wird getanzt werden*, but not (xi) \**Es wird bei Ihnen angekommen werden*; see Bierwisch (1967, pp. 48, 92). A common account of these German and French facts is to be hoped for. [(ii) 'It will be come to your place by everybody.' (iii) 'It (impersonal) will be danced by Marie.']}

The formulation of FP is such as to render impossible the extrinsic ordering of it after FI/A-Ins. If FP were ordered after FI/A-Ins, then FP would never be able to apply, since FI/A-Ins is obligatory. Thus, if we start from a deep structure *Jean fera - Paul manger cette pomme par Δ*, FI/A-Ins, if ordered first, would apply obligatorily, yielding *Jean fera manger cette pomme à Paul par Δ*. At this point FP would no longer be applicable, so that the sentence *Jean fera manger cette pomme par Paul* would not be derivable. Consequently, either FP and FI/A-Ins must be unordered with respect to each other, or FP must be ordered before FI/A-Ins.

The second term *faire* of FP must be taken as an informal abbreviation for the same set of verbs as triggered FI/A-Ins. The following will be derived through the application of FP to structures with a main verb other than *faire*:<sup>57</sup>

- (140) a. *Jean laissera arrêter son fils par les agents.*
- b. *Elle vous a entendu diffamer par un de vos amis.*
- c. *J'ai vu peindre votre maison par ces ouvriers.*
- a. 'Jean will let his son be arrested by the police.'
- b. 'She heard you defamed by one of your friends.'
- c. 'I saw your house painted by those workers.'

This means that the first four terms, *X faire NP V*, of FP are equal to the first four terms of FI/A-Ins. The two transformations can be partially collapsed through the use of braces:<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Most productively with *laisser*; see fn. 3. For additional examples, see Grevisse (1964, pp. 1036–1038).

<sup>58</sup> Where

$$A \left\{ \begin{matrix} J \\ K \end{matrix} \right\} B \left\{ \begin{matrix} L \\ M \end{matrix} \right\} C$$

is to be expanded as

$$\begin{matrix} AJBLC \\ AKBMC \end{matrix} ;$$

see Chomsky and Halle (1968, pp. 61, 398). The term *par* should itself be replaced by  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} par \\ de \end{matrix} \right\}$ ,

in light of (109). In the text, *J* would be

*Y par Δ*  

$$\begin{matrix} 5 & 6 & 7 \end{matrix}, L \text{ would be } \begin{matrix} 5 & 6 & 3 \end{matrix}, \text{etc.}$$

$$X \text{ faire } NP V \left\{ \begin{matrix} Y & par & \Delta \\ 5 & 6 & 7 \\ \langle NP \rangle & & \\ 8 & & \\ \end{matrix} \right\}_9 Z \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 4 \left\{ \begin{matrix} 5 & 6 & 3 \\ 8 & \langle \grave{a} \rangle & 3 \\ \end{matrix} \right\}_9$$

This abbreviation suggests that FP is ordered before FI/A-Ins, rather than unordered with respect to it; no empirical evidence is known to us, however, either for or against the ordering alternative. The abbreviation through braces of FP and FI/A-Ins differs from the abbreviation using angled brackets of FI and A-Ins in that only the latter actually eliminates an entire transformation. If the braces above are expanded, FP and FI/A-Ins reappear. The angled brackets of FI/A-Ins occur as follows:

$$X \text{ faire } NP V \langle NP \rangle Z \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 4 \ 5 \langle \grave{a} \rangle 3 \ 6$$

If they are expanded as in footnote 5, A-Ins does not reappear at all as a distinct transformation. Though less strikingly advantageous than the use of FI/A-Ins, the abbreviation of FP and FI/A-Ins does embody a claim lacking in the formulation of FP and FI/A-Ins as separate transformations, namely that no transformation can be ordered with respect to one differently from the way in which it is ordered with respect to the other. Since that seems, in fact, to be the case, and because of their formal similarity, we shall consider FP and FI/A-Ins to be subparts of a single transformational schema.

The transformation FP might not be necessary at all if the Passive transformation were decomposed into at least two less complex transformations (one of which, Agent Postposing, would move the underlying subject NP into the *par* phrase),<sup>59</sup> and if Agent Postposing, but not the other(s), applied in the embedded S in the derivation of *faire...par*. However, one would then need to explain why the application of Agent Postposing could fail to be followed by the other part(s) of the Passive only in sentences embedded under those verbs subject to FI. That is, in simple sentences, an Agent Postposing rule would have to

<sup>59</sup> This position is taken for English by Chomsky (1970a), on the basis of the agent phrase in nominalizations (cf. (i) *la destruction de la ville par l'ennemi*); the lesser similarity between nominalizations and full sentences in French (cf. (ii) \**l'ennemi destruction de la ville*) would complicate any transposition of his arguments.

be followed by the introduction of the passive auxiliary and the preposing of the direct object NP.<sup>60</sup> Corresponding to *Marie tuera Paul*, we have *Paul sera tué par Marie*. Sentence (141), which would be derived if only Agent Postposing took place, is ungrammatical, whether or not *il* is inserted.

- (141) \*(Il) tuera Paul par Marie.

We see no satisfactory way of distinguishing (141) from *faire . . . par* within an analysis of the latter construction that relies on Agent Postposing, and therefore reject such an analysis of *faire . . . par*.

If the Passive transformation as stated above is obligatory in the presence of *par*  $\Delta$ , then it must not be cyclic. If it were obligatory and cyclic, FP would never be able to apply, since at the point of application of FP, the  $\Delta$  of *par*  $\Delta$  would already have been filled by the Passive transformation. Interestingly, there is some evidence that, in fact, the Passive transformation cannot apply prior to FI. If it could, FI would presumably be able to apply to the output of the Passive, but we have

- (142) a. \*Elle fera être cette eau bue par son chien.  
 b. \*Elle fera être bue cette eau par son chien.  
 c. \*Il a laissé être son ami descendu par la police.  
 d. \*Il a laissé être descendu son ami par la police.  
 a–b. ‘She will have that water be drunk by her dog.’  
 c–d. ‘He let his friend be shot down by the police.’

The ungrammaticality of (142) would follow if the Passive were ordered after FI and not cyclic. The noncyclicity of the Passive, which would be compatible with the obligatoriness of the Passive, is supported by (142) only to the extent that there is no alternative account

<sup>60</sup> Even in cases where preposing does not take place in simple sentences (see fn. 56) such as (i) *Il sera parlé de vous par tout le monde*, the introduction of the auxiliary is obligatory: (ii) \**Il parlera de vous par tout le monde*. Comparable sentences with *faire . . . par* do not contain the auxiliary: (iii) \**Je ferai être parlé de vous par tout le monde*.

Like (141) and contrasting with *faire . . . par* is English (iv) \**I had kill Paul by Mary*. We note that, as A. Prince has remarked, FP would appear to be a problem for the “proper binding” constraint on traces discussed in Fiengo (1974). The same holds for the rightward dative movement rule of fn. 104, chapter 2, in nondetachment cases, as well as for Styl-Inv (see fn. 20). Compare also (v) of fn. 35 with \**Est étonnant que S*.

of (142). One might, however, attempt to relate (142) to the impossibility of FI applying to embedded sentences containing *être*:<sup>61</sup>

- (143) a. \*Cela a fait être son fils malade.
- b. \*Il a laissé être son fils malheureux.
- a. ‘That made his son be sick.’
- b. ‘He let his son be unhappy.’

A third possibility would involve relating the ungrammaticality of (142) to the ungrammaticality of sentences like

- (144) a. \*Son bruit déplaisant fait dégoûter Jean à la télévision.
- b. \*Elle laisse toujours embêter ses voisins à la télévision.
- a. ‘Its unpleasant noise makes television disgust Jean.’
- b. ‘She always lets the television bother her neighbors.’

These could be derived through the application of FI/A-Ins to structures *Son bruit déplaisant fait [la télévision dégoûter Jean]*, *Elle laisse [la télévision embêter ses voisins]*, but are ungrammatical, despite the grammaticality in isolation of *La télévision dégoûte Jean*, *La télévision embête ses voisins*.<sup>62</sup> The ungrammaticality of (144) cannot be attributed to the inanimacy of the surface *à* phrase, in light of

- (145) a. Elle a fait prendre l’air à ses vêtements.
- b. Cet article-là fait jouer un rôle important au formalisme.
- c. En lui donnant un coup de pied, elle a fait faire un tour à la boîte de chocolat.
- d. Le coup de vent a fait traverser l’étang au petit voilier.
- a. ‘She had her clothing take air (air out).’

<sup>61</sup> Comparable sentences without application of FI (that is, involving Equi) are rejected by some, accepted by others, for example, (i) ?*Il a laissé sa fille être embrassée par Jean*, (ii) ?*Il a laissé sa fille être heureuse*, and appear to have much the same status as (iii) ?*Il a permis à sa fille d’être embrassée par Jean/d’être heureuse* (also with Equi). The Equi analysis of non-FI *laisser* is supported by the absence of passivized idioms (see (151) and chapter 4, (94)): (iv) \**Il a laissé tort leur être donné par Jean*.

<sup>62</sup> As well as that of (i) *Son bruit déplaisant fait que la télévision dégoûte Jean* (see fn. 36), and despite the only slightly odd status of (ii) *Elle laisse toujours la télévision embêter ses voisins*.

- b. ‘That article makes the formalism play an important role.’
- c. ‘By giving it a kick, she made the box of chocolate spin over.’
- d. ‘The blast of wind made the sailboat go across the pond.’

Moreover, (144) remains totally ungrammatical if an animate NP is substituted for *la télévision*, as long as the infinitive is understood in a nonagentive sense, as it is in (144). For example, in a sentence like *Jean embête ses voisins*, one can distinguish an agentive and a nonagentive reading. In ??*Ses femmes font embêter ses voisins à Jean*, the nonagentive reading of *embêter* is impossible. In the agentive reading of *embêter*, the sentence is questionable but improved if the *à* phrase is cliticized (cf. (119) ff.):

(146) ?*Ses femmes lui font embêter ses voisins.*

‘His women make him annoy his neighbors.’

The nonagentive reading of *embêter*, however, remains impossible in (146); correspondingly the replacement of *à la télévision* in (144) by clitic *lui* (referring to *la télévision*) does not alter its ungrammaticality, although *lui*, *leur* can replace the inanimate *à* phrases of (145).

The impossibility for both passives and sentences like *La télévision dégoûte/embête Jean* to be embedded in a structure to which FI/A-Ins applies could be regarded as a single phenomenon if a common account of (142) and (144) could be found. Perhaps this account could be based on one property shared by the two constructions, namely that both have (near) paraphrases in which the superficial position of subject and object are reversed: the corresponding actives in the case of passives, and sentences like *Jean méprise la télévision* in the other case.<sup>63</sup>

If the ungrammaticality of (142) turns out to be related either to that of (144) or to that of (143), or if any other account of (142) is found that does not involve ordering, then (142) would be compatible

<sup>63</sup> Since “alternations” like *mépriser/dégoûter* are not optimally described in terms of syntactic reorderings (see Ruwet (1972, chap. 5)), a common account of (142), (144) would need to be of semantic nature, as might well be a common account of (142), (143). It would also have to cover A-Ins-less counterparts to (144): (i) \**Leur longueur fait taper ses discours sur les nerfs de tout le monde.* [(i) ‘Their length makes his speeches get on everybody’s nerves.’]

with the cyclicity of the Passive transformation. If the Passive is, in fact, cyclic in French and if it is formulated as above, then, in order to permit FP to apply in the derivation of *faire . . . par*, it must be optional.<sup>64</sup>

### 3.7 FI, Subject Raising, and Double Subcategorization

The choice between a solution based on ordering and one not based on ordering arises with respect to the impossibility of embedding a certain type of sentence under *faire* not only in the case of passives but also in the following sentences:<sup>65</sup>

- (147) a. \*Son expression peinée fait sembler Jean souffrir.
- b. \*Son expression peinée fait sembler souffrir Jean.
- c. \*Son expression peinée le fait sembler souffrir.
- a-c. ‘His pained expression makes Jean/him seem to be suffering.’

Here what cannot be embedded under *faire* are sentences such as *Jean semble souffrir*, which are generally considered to be transformationally related to the grammatical *Il semble que Jean souffre*<sup>66</sup> through a transformation (Subj-Raising) that moves the subject NP of the embedded S into the position of the empty subject of *sembler*. If that transformation is of the form  $X \Delta sembler_s[NP Y] Z \rightarrow X NP sembler_s[Y] Z$ , and if FI, in applying to *faire* [ $\Delta sembler_s[NP Y]$ ], yields *faire sembler*  $\Delta_s[NP Y]$ , then the application of FI destroys the environment for Subj-R. Consequently, one could exclude (147) by ensuring that FI apply before Subj-R has a chance to, that is, by ordering FI before Subj-R (which would, in turn, imply that Subj-R is not cyclic).

The need for an ordering solution to (147) is weakened, however, by the observation that *sembler* and similar Subj-R verbs cannot be

<sup>64</sup> Emonds's (1970; 1972) conventions concerning never-filled empty nodes could filter out instances of  $\Delta$  (in *par*  $\Delta$ ) not filled by either passive or FP.

<sup>65</sup> Similarly, (i) \**J'ai laissé sembler Jean souffrir*, (ii) \**J'ai laissé sembler souffrir Jean*. When FI does not apply with *laisser* (that is, in V - NP - S, with Equi), we have (iii) \**J'ai laissé Jean sembler souffrir*; compare the fact that the embedding of *sembler* in Equi constructions is generally bad: (iv) \**Elle tient à sembler souffrir*, (v) \**Elle m'a promis de sembler souffrir*.

<sup>66</sup> Evidence that the S occurring with *sembler* is postverbal in deep structure and therefore also at the point of application of Subj-R, is given by Gross (1968, pp. 91, 112–113); see also Ruwet (1972, p. 197; forthcoming) and, for English, Bresnan (1972), Rosenbaum (1967).

embedded under *faire* even when followed in surface structure by *que S*:<sup>67</sup>

- (148) a. \*Ce rapport fait sembler que la situation est très mauvaise.
- b. \*Le journal fait paraître qu'on va augmenter le métro.
- c. \*L'aveu de Jean a fait s'avérer que Paul était innocent.
- d. \*Cette nouvelle fait se trouver que tu as tort.
- a. ‘The report makes it seem that the situation is very bad.’
- b. ‘The newspaper makes it appear that they’re going to raise the price of the métro.’
- c. ‘Jean’s confession made it turn out that Paul was innocent.’
- d. ‘That bit of news makes it so happen that you are wrong.’

This suggests the possibility of a common account of (147), (148) independent of Subj-R.

As expected, then, the verbs of (148) other than *sembler* follow the pattern of *sembler* in (147), for example:

- (149) a. \*Son expression peinée fait paraître Jean être en colère.
- b. \*L'aveu de Jean a fait s'avérer s'y connaître Paul.
- c. \*Sa formation musicale la fait se trouver aimer l'opéra.
- a. ‘His pained expression makes Jean appear to be angry.’
- b. ‘Jean’s confession made Paul turn out to know all about it.’
- c. ‘Her musical training makes her happen to like opera.’

In addition, various verbs that have been characterized as compatible with Subj-R despite their not occurring overtly as *Il V que S* (all the verbs of (148) do so occur) cannot be embedded under *faire* either:<sup>68</sup>

- (150) a. \*Ce qui me fait devoir avoir perdu . . .

<sup>67</sup> We would not expect (i) \*. . . *le faire sembler que . . .*; see fn. 35.

<sup>68</sup> Although the ungrammaticality of (147)–(150) might ultimately be explicable in semantic terms, it could not simply be attributed to the “nonactive” character of the verbs in question, since we do have (i) *Son nouveau régime lui fera peser dix kilos de moins d'ici un mois*, (ii) *En poussant un peu, on peut lui faire contenir jusqu'à dix personnes (à la cabine téléphonique)*, (iii) *Cet éclairage te fait ressembler à ton frère*. [(i) ‘His new diet will make him weigh 10 kilos less within a month.’ (ii) ‘By pushing a little, one can get it (the telephone booth) to contain up to 10 people.’ (iii) ‘This lighting makes you look like your brother.’]

- b. \**Ce qui me fera pouvoir être en retard . . .*
- c. \**La sonnerie l'a fait venir de partir.*
- a. ‘What makes me must have lost . . .’
- b. ‘What will make me might be late . . .’
- c. ‘The bell made him just leave.’

The verbs *devoir*, *pouvoir*, *venir de* have been analyzed as subject to Subj-R, that is  $\Delta \text{doit } s[\text{Jean avoir perdu}] \rightarrow \text{Jean doit avoir perdu}$ , because, like *sembler* (and unlike Equi verbs), they can have as superficial subject the nominal components of passivized idioms:

- (151) a. Assistance semble avoir été portée aux victimes.  
       b. Tort doit lui avoir été donné par tous.  
       c. Justice pourrait être rendue dans ce pays.  
       a. ‘Assistance seems to have been lent to the victims.  
       b. ‘Wrong must have been given him by all.’ (‘All must have disagreed with him.’)  
       c. ‘Justice could be done in that country.’

If *assistance*, *tort*, *justice* are not freely generated as full NPs in the base, then (151) can be generated if Subj-R applies to the output of the passive in the lower sentence. The verbs of (150) also follow the pattern of *sembler* and are unlike Equi verbs with respect to the placement of adnominal subject *en*:

- (152) \**L'auteur veut en être célèbre.*  
       ‘The author of it wants to be famous.’
- (153) a. *L'auteur semble en être célèbre.*  
       b. *L'auteur doit en être célèbre.*  
       a–b. ‘The author of it seems to/must be famous.’

In (153), but not in (152) (Equi), *en* can be understood as originating within the superficial subject of the higher verb. If *en* is moved off the subject prior to Subj-R in (153), those sentences are easily generable; in effect, the postulation of Subj-R allows one to say that in (153), but

not in (152), *en* originates in the embedded S:  $\Delta \text{semble } s[[l'\text{auteur } en] \text{ être célèbre}]$ .<sup>69</sup>

The logic of (151), (153) will classify *commencer* as compatible with Subj-R:

- (154) a. L'auteur commence à en être célèbre.
- b. Justice commence à être rendue dans ce pays.
- a. ‘The author of it is beginning to be famous.’

However, contrasting with (150) we have

- (155)a. ??Jean a fait commencer ses élèves à chanter.
- b. ?Jean les a fait commencer à chanter.
- a. ‘Jean had his pupils begin to sing.’

Thus, in this case, FI appears to be able to apply to the output of Subj-R. Interestingly, the specific sentences (154) that provide the motivation for treating *commencer* like *sembler* cannot be embedded under *faire*:

- (156) a. \*La publicité a fait commencer l'auteur à en être célèbre.
- b. \*Le gouvernement a fait commencer justice à être rendue.
- a. ‘Publicity made the author of it begin to be famous.’

We take this to indicate that the sentences embedded under *faire* in

<sup>69</sup> For a more detailed presentation of the two arguments in this paragraph, see Ruwet (1972, chap. 2), whose conclusion that Subj-R is ordered after *En*-Fo (see our (368) ff., chap. 2) would need to become “Subj-R ordered after *En*-Extrap” if *En*-Fo is dispensed with. The absence of *En*-Extrap with Equi verbs might be related to (i) ??*Qui veut partir de si important?* versus (ii) *Qui est parti de si important?* although it is not entirely certain that *En*-Extrap never applies with Equi: (iii) \**Je soupçonne tort de lui avoir été donné* suggests Equi, yet we have (iv) *Je soupçonne la première partie d'en être bonne.* [(i) ‘Who so important wants to leave?’ (ii) ‘Who so important left?’ (iii) ‘I suspect wrong of having been given him.’ (iv) ‘I suspect the first part of it of being good.’]

The ordering of Subj-R after *En*-Extrap might not be necessary at all if the position of *en* in (153) is related to that in (v) ??*le jour où semblent en avoir eu lieu trente* (cf. (vi) \*?*le jour où en semblent avoir eu lieu trente*), where Cl-Pl has been able to apply after Styl-Inv (cf. (vii) \**le jour où trente semblent en avoir eu lieu*), which itself must have followed Subj-R; thus the sequence Subj-R, then *En*-Extrap, then Cl-Pl could plausibly yield (153). [(v) ‘the day when thirty of them seem to have taken place’]

(155) are not instances of Subj-R (but rather of Equi-NP Deletion),<sup>70</sup> although those of (154) are instances of Subj-R, and that *commencer* is therefore structurally ambiguous, in the sense that it may or may not have a deep structure with a full NP subject. If we represent the deep structure of the S embedded under *faire* in (155) as NP V S, that is, *Les élèves commencent S* (the question of à aside), then that of (154) could be Δ V S. In this way *commencer* would occur in the configuration (NP) V S.<sup>71</sup>

The postulation of this kind of double deep structure possibility is supported by certain pronominalization facts. The subjectless S left behind by Subj-R cannot be pronominalized, in a number of clear cases. For example, *Jean semble aimer Marie* cannot be in an anaphoric relationship with *?Jean le semble* (which can correspond only to *Jean semble Adj*, where the *le* is that of *Grand, Jean l'est*). The same is true of *Jean paraît avoir compris*,<sup>72</sup> *?Jean le paraît*. In addition, the following are ungrammatical with sentential (as well as adjectival) *le*:

- (157) a. \*Paul se l'est avéré.
- b. \*Elle se le trouve.
- a. ‘Paul turned out it.’
- b. ‘She happens it.’

We note that the absence of *le* corresponding to the subjectless S left behind by Subj-R would follow from the hypothesis that pronouns are introduced in the base as such, rather than derived from lexically

<sup>70</sup> Equi sentences can be embedded under *faire* in certain cases; see fn. 27 chap. 1. Somewhat like *commencer* is *paraître*: (i) *Cela fait paraître Jean idiot* versus (ii) \**Cela fait paraître Jean être idiot*, (also (iii) \**Cela fait paraître justice rendue dans ce pays*). Thus (iv) *Jean paraît idiot* should be derivable without Subj-R. The base generation of *paraître - Adj* is plausible: cf. (v) *Elle ne paraît pas (\*être) son âge*.

<sup>71</sup> A somewhat similar conclusion is reached for English *begin* by Perlmutter (1970a), Ross (1972), and by Ruwet (1972, chap. 2) for French *menacer*, the latter partly on the basis of pronominalization facts like those in the text. The two deep structure configurations postulated earlier for *laisser, voir* could be represented as NP V (NP) S, where, if the second NP is absent, FI must apply.

<sup>72</sup> *Il paraît que S* and *paraître - Inf* are not semantically identical, and most of the Subj-R verbs do not have *que S* counterparts in any case. This suggests considering the infinitive basic even with *sembler, paraître*, which would permit stating Subj-R as uniformly obligatory.

specified NPs or Ss with the aid of a deletion transformation.<sup>73</sup> This is so, since in a structure  $\Delta \text{sembler } S$ , if S is expanded as *le*, there is no way to introduce *Jean* as the subject of that S; conversely, if the S is expanded with *Jean* as subject NP, the PS rules will be unable to introduce *le* (on the assumption that there is no pro-VP *le*—cf. \**Marie dansera et Jean le, aussi*).

The claim that *le* is incompatible with Subj-R might appear to be invalidated by the occurrence of *le* with two of the verbs of (150):

- (158) a. ?Elle le doit.
- b. Elle le pourrait.
- a–b. ‘She must/could it.’

However, sentences with *devoir* or *pouvoir* containing as subjects those NPs which clearly indicate Subj-R as opposed to Equi, namely those of (151), do not admit *le*:<sup>74</sup>

- (159) a. \*Tort le doit.
- b. \*Justice le pourrait.

This suggests that *devoir*, *pouvoir*, while entering into a Subj-R configuration, as in (151), are also compatible with Equi, and that it is the Equi structure which is responsible for (158). This structural ambiguity has a semantic correlate: the Subj-R configuration is susceptible to an interpretation of logical possibility with *pouvoir* and logical probability with *devoir*, but the Equi configuration is not; example (158) is interpretable only as ‘capability’ with *pouvoir* and ‘obligation’ with *devoir*.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> See the references in fn. 77, chap. 2. Some Equi verbs do not allow *le*: (i) \**Ses élèves l'ont commencé, à chanter* (nor *y*); see Gross (1968).

<sup>74</sup> Weather *il*, unlike *tort*, *justice*, normally occurs in subject position and might therefore be thought a candidate for the subject of Equi verbs, but (i) *Il le doit*, (ii) *Il le pourrait* cannot be understood as (iii) *Il doit neiger*, (iv) *Il pourrait faire froid* and (v) \**Il a réussi à neiger*, (vi) \**Il a essayé de faire froid* are generally rejected. On the other hand, (vii) *Il peut très bien faire froid sans neiger* is grammatical and many accept (viii) ?*Les savants sont capables de faire arrêter de neiger*. [(iii) ‘It’s supposed to snow.’ (iv) ‘It might be cold.’ (v) ‘It succeeded in snowing.’ (vi) ‘It tried to be cold.’ (vii) ‘It can very well be cold without snowing.’ (viii) ‘Scientists are capable of making it stop snowing.’]

<sup>75</sup> This fact is given as evidence for structural ambiguity by Dubois (1969, p. 119).

The two structural configurations can also be brought to light with the transformation *L-Tous*. In the past tense, the two senses of *devoir*, especially, are readily distinguishable. Thus *Elle a dû manger le gâteau* can correspond either to ‘She had to eat the cake’ or to ‘She must have eaten the cake’, the latter interpretation being, as argued above, associative only with the Subj-R configuration. Now the clear cases of Subj-R verbs behave as follows under *L-Tous*: Alongside *Elle s'est trouvée tout connaître*, *Elle s'est avérée tout connaître*, *Elle a paru tout connaître*, *Elle a semblé tout connaître* stand

- (160) a. \**Elle s'est tout trouvée connaître.*
  - b. \**Elle s'est tout avérée connaître.*
  - a–b. ‘She happened/turned out to know everything.’
- (161) a. ?*Elle a tout paru connaître.*
  - b. ?*Elle a tout semblé connaître.*
  - a–b. ‘She appeared/seemed to know everything.’

The sentences of (161) are accepted by some, rejected by others. Those who reject (161), in other words, those who never allow double application of *L-Tous* with Subj-R, find that (162) cannot have the ‘must have eaten’ interpretation:

- (162) *Elle a tout dû manger.*

However, *Elle a dû tout manger* is perceived by them as ambiguous. In other words, the Equi configuration for *devoir*, which is incompatible with the ‘must have’ interpretation, allows *L-Tous*, but the Subj-R configuration does not (for those who reject (161)). The fact that (162) is unambiguous for the speakers in question is thus due to their rejection of double *L-Tous* with Subj-R verbs; they allow it with *devoir*/Equi but not with *devoir*/Subj-R.<sup>76</sup>

It is worth noting at this point that the syntax and semantics of *devoir* correlate only partially. Specifically, the Subj-R structure is itself ambiguous; it admits, in addition to the logical probability sense, one of obligation. For example, in *Assistance doit être portée à cette personne*, the latter is clearly possible. Nonetheless *le* is still impossible: \**Assis-*

<sup>76</sup> The existence of two distinct deep structures for *devoir*, *pouvoir* + Inf strengthens the similar claim made earlier for *laisser*, *voir*.

tance *le doit*. That is, *le* is a reflection of a particular syntactic structure (Equi), and not of a particular interpretation of *devoir*.

### 3.8 Double Application of FI

Although FI cannot apply to the output of Subj-R, it can, for most speakers, apply to its own output. Consider the following sentences, in which FI has applied once:

- (163) a. Son fils a fait sauter le pont.
- b. Jean-Jacques a laissé tomber ses bouquins.
- a. ‘His son made the bridge blow up.’
- b. ‘Jean-Jacques let his books fall.’

Embedding these as S complements to *faire* and reapplying FI yields

- (164) a. Elle a fait faire sauter le pont à son fils.
- b. ?On a fait laisser tomber ses bouquins à Jean-Jacques.
- a. ‘She had her son make the bridge blow up.’
- b. ‘They made Jean-Jacques let his books fall.’

For some, the result is better with the superficial *à* object replaced by a cliticizable pronoun:

- (165) a. Elle lui a fait faire sauter le pont.
- b. ?On lui a fait laisser tomber ses bouquins.

The formulation of FI we have been using is not adequate to derive (164)–(165), since it has FI applying to . . . *faire* NP V (NP) . . . . The derivation of (164) is *Elle a fait - s[son fils faire s[le pont sauter]]* → FI → *Elle a fait - s[son fils faire sauter le pont]* → FI → *Elle a fait - faire sauter le pont son fils* → A-Ins → (164). On the first application of FI,<sup>77</sup> V equals *sauter*. On the second application of FI, the NP *son fils* ends up to the right of *faire sauter le pont*. Since *faire sauter* is not dominated by the node V, as we have argued earlier, FI cannot apply correctly unless its structural description is modified to allow for two verbs following the

<sup>77</sup> Notice that we have followed a cyclic mode of application: the initial application is to the most deeply embedded string that satisfies FI (an ungrammatical sentence would result from applying FI first to the highest S, namely (i) \**Elle a fait faire le pont à son fils sauter*). The cyclic principle is justified in detail in chapter 6.

subject NP (here *son fils*). On the basis of these examples, the following modification would suffice: . . . *faire* NP V (V) (NP). . . . However, we shall prefer to rewrite FI as

$$X \text{ faire } \text{NP} \text{ V* (NP)} Z \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 4 \ 5 \ 3 \ 6 \\ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6$$

V\* stands for an arbitrarily long string of verbs. The latter formulation would be necessary if FI could reapply an arbitrary number of times.<sup>78</sup>

Parallel to (163) we have the following, where FI has not applied:

- (166) Jean-Jacques a laissé ses bouquins tomber.

Such a structure cannot be embedded under *faire*; parallel to (164), we do not have

- (167) a. \*Elle a fait laisser ses bouquins tomber à Jean-Jacques.  
 b. \*Elle a fait laisser ses bouquins tomber Jean-Jacques.

The ungrammaticality of (167) is consistent with the fact that *laisser ses bouquins tomber* (unlike *laisser tomber ses bouquins*) does not meet the description V\* NP.<sup>79</sup> The modification of FI with the term V\* would suggest, finally, that FP should be modified in the same way, to permit the maximal collapsing:

$$X \text{ faire } \text{NP} \text{ V* } \left\{ \begin{matrix} Y & \text{par } \Delta \\ (\text{NP}) & \end{matrix} \right\} Z^{80}$$

### 3.9 Embedded S and Reciprocals

The postulation for the *faire*-infinitive construction of a deep structure containing an embedded S is supported by observations concern-

<sup>78</sup> With respect to V\*, see fn. 46, chap. 1. Further examples of multiple application are discussed in section 6.4. Some speakers find (164)a odd unless *le pont* is made indefinite, as in *Elle fait faire sauter des ponts à ses enfants*; compare fn. 47.

<sup>79</sup> If V is taken to equal *laisser*, FI should derive (i) \*Elle a fait laisser ses bouquins à Jean-Jacques tomber, the ungrammaticality of which might be related to that of (ii) \*Elle a fait empêcher trois pierres à Jean-Jacques de tomber; see fn. 70. [(ii) 'She got Jean-Jacques to prevent three rocks from falling.]

<sup>80</sup> If (i) \*Elle a fait laisser son ami partir par la police (cf. (167)) is worse than (ii) \*?Elle a fait laisser partir son ami par la police (cf. (164)), then the variable Y might be replaced by NP W, with W a variable, or restricted to combinations of NP and PP. [(i)–(ii) 'She had her friend let leave by the police.]

ing the syntax of reciprocals. It has often been noted that certain grammatical phenomena found within a simple sentence do not occur across sentence boundaries. A case in French is that of the reciprocal construction with *l'un . . . l'autre*:

- (168) a. Elles parlaient l'une de l'autre.  
 b. Ils comptent l'un sur l'autre.  
 c. Ils discutent les uns avec les autres.  
 d. Elles voteront les unes pour les autres.  
 a. 'They were talking the one about the other (about each other).'  
 b. 'They count on one another.'  
 c. 'They're debating with each other.'  
 d. 'They'll vote for one another.'

In (168), the antecedent of the reciprocal expression is in the same simple sentence as the reciprocal expression itself. If one tries to construct comparable examples in which the reciprocal expression is embedded in a lower sentence within which the antecedent is not found, the result is ungrammatical:

- (169) a. \*Elles voudraient que tu parles l'une de l'autre.  
 b. \*Ils m'ont assuré que je pouvais compter l'un sur l'autre.  
 c. \*Ils croyaient que Marie discutait les uns avec les autres.  
 d. \*Elles ont peur que tu ne votes les unes pour les autres.  
 a. 'They would like you (singular) to speak about each other.'  
 b. 'They assured me that I could count on one another.'  
 c. 'They thought that Marie was debating with each other.'  
 d. 'They are afraid that you'll vote for one another.'

There is no a priori reason why (169) should not be grammatical in the sense of *L'une voudrait que tu parles de l'autre et vice versa*, and so forth, just as (168) is approximately paraphrasable by *L'une parlait de l'autre, et vice versa*, and so forth. Let us temporarily state this restriction as follows: The complex reciprocal expression *l'un . . . l'autre*

cannot appear within an embedded S if its antecedent is outside that S.<sup>81</sup>

Of special interest to us is the fact that this restriction plays a role in the distribution of reciprocals within the *faire* construction. Consider sentences with *faire* in which the embedded verb has a prepositional complement:

- (170) a. Ils feront parler cette jeune fille de sa famille.
- b. Elles auraient fait tirer le pauvre soldat sur le chien.
- c. Ils ont fait discuter le directeur-général avec le syndicat.
- a. ‘They’ll have that girl speak of her family.’
- b. ‘They would have had the poor soldier shoot at the dog.’
- c. ‘They made the director-general debate with the union.’

FI has applied here, reversing the order of embedded subject and infinitive. The prepositional complement itself is not affected by FI (it is subsumed under the second variable in *X - faire - NP - V - (NP) - Y*). The crucial observation is that the subject of *faire* may not be the antecedent to the prepositional complement if the latter is the reciprocal expression *l’un . . . l’autre*:

- (171) a. \*Ils feront parler cette jeune fille l’un de l’autre.
- b. \*Elles auraient fait tirer le pauvre soldat l’une sur l’autre.
- c. \*Ils ont fait discuter le directeur-général les uns avec les autres.
- a. ‘They’ll have that girl speak of each other.’
- b. ‘They would have made the poor soldier shoot one another.’
- c. ‘They made the director-general debate with each other.’

<sup>81</sup> The embedded S can have its subject deleted without changing the paradigm in (i) \**Elles ont dit à Jean s[de parler l'une de l'autre]*, (ii) \**Marie a promis à ces garçons s[de discuter les uns avec les autres]*, where the subjects of *parler*, *discuter* were coreferential with *Jean*, *Marie*, respectively, so that the potential antecedents of the reciprocal, *elles* and *ces garçons*, are outside the embedded S. In (iii) *Jean a dit à ces filles s[de parler l'une de l'autre]*, (iv) *Ces garçons ont promis à Marie s[de discuter les uns avec les autres]*, the ultimately deleted subject of *parler*, *discuter*, which is in the embedded S and coreferential with *ces filles*, *ces garçons*, could be considered the antecedent of the reciprocal. For discussion of partially similar English examples, see Chomsky (1971). [(i) ‘They told Jean to talk about one another.’ (ii) ‘Marie promised those boys to debate with one another.’]

The point is that the ungrammaticality of (171) can be related to that of (169) if the deep structure of (170), (171) contains an embedded S. In a deep structure such as *Elles auraient fait s[le pauvre soldat tirer sur le chien]*, the subject of *faire* is outside the embedded S in which is found the prepositional complement. Moreover, the application of FI, since it affects neither the subject of *faire* nor the prepositional complement, will not alter their configurational relationship. Consequently, the restriction stated for (169) will automatically exclude (171).

This restriction on the occurrence of reciprocals will also account for some similar data concerning the more complicated case of a verb with two objects being embedded under *faire*. Suppose that, in addition to a prepositional complement like those in (170), a verb also takes an NP object, for example:

(172) *Les étudiants jettent des poubelles sur les passants.*

'The students will throw garbage cans on the passersby.'

If such sentences are embedded under *faire*, FI will apply, placing the embedded subject to the right of the NP object: *Il a fait - les étudiants - jeter - des poubelles - sur les passants.* → FI → *Il a fait - jeter - des poubelles - les étudiants - sur les passants.* A-Ins will then apply; the resulting sentence will have three complements following the infinitive:<sup>82</sup>

(173) ?*Il a fait jeter des poubelles aux étudiants sur les passants.*

'He had the students throw garbage cans on the passersby.'

Again, the subject of *faire* cannot be the antecedent of a reciprocal in the position of the underlying embedded prepositional complement:

<sup>82</sup> The stylistic difficulties of this three-complement construction are discussed in Nilsson-Ehle (1948). If the postverbal NP is the nominal part of an idiom (cf. (18) ff.), we have (i) *Cela fera prendre position aux spectateurs contre les agents*. A late complement-reordering rule can apply (cf. fn. 9): (ii) *Cela fera prendre aux spectateurs position contre les agents* (the result is sensitive to the presence of a third complement: (iii) \**Cela fera prendre aux spectateurs position*), (iv) *Il a fait jeter aux étudiants des poubelles sur les agents*. If the underlying prepositional complement is in à, the result of FI/A-Ins is rejected, as in (v) \**Il a fait porter ces livres à son domestique à sa femme*, unless the first (underlying subject) à phrase is moved away from the other: (vi) ?*Il a fait porter à son domestique ces livres à sa femme*, (vii) ?*C'est à son domestique qu'il a fait porter ces livres à sa femme*. Apparent restrictions on the comparable movement of the other à phrase are discussed by Ruwet (1972, chap. 6). Cf. fn. 15, chap. 4. [(i) 'That will make the spectators take a stand against the police.' (v) 'He had his servant take those books to his wife.']}

(174) \*Ils ont fait jeter des poubelles à Jean-Jacques l'un sur l'autre.

'They<sub>i</sub> had Jean-Jacques throw garbage cans on each other<sub>i</sub>.'

The ungrammaticality of (174) will be accounted for in the same way as that of (171) (and (169)). In deep structure, the subject of *faire* is outside the embedded S containing the underlying prepositional complement: *Ils ont fait s[Jean-Jacques jeter des poubelles sur NP]*. Moreover, the application of FI takes place independently of that complement. The restriction on reciprocals stated earlier will consequently prevent the subject of *faire* in (174) from being the antecedent of *l'un . . . l'autre*.

That restriction itself could be related to a more general condition on the application of transformations suggested in Chomsky (1965), namely that transformations be prohibited from introducing morphological material into sentences already passed in the transformational cycle. This question will be considered more carefully in chapter 4. In anticipation of that discussion, let us informally restate the restriction on reciprocals in terms of a condition on the application of the transformation that is responsible for the appearance of reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre* (that transformation is taken up in section 5.3): reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre* can be introduced under certain conditions of coreference between two NPs, but not if the second NP is contained in an embedded S that does not contain the antecedent NP.

Consider now sentences constructed on the model of (170), with *l'un . . . l'autre* the prepositional complement, just as in (171), but differing from (171) in that the antecedent of *l'un . . . l'autre* is now the NP following the infinitive, rather than the subject of *faire*. In contrast to (171), such sentences are grammatical:<sup>83</sup>

- (175) a. Il fera parler ces jeunes filles l'une de l'autre.
- b. Elle aurait fait tirer les pauvres soldats l'un sur l'autre.
- c. Il a fait discuter les directeurs les uns avec les autres.
- a. 'He'll have those girls speak of one another.'

<sup>83</sup> As (175) contrasts with (171), so does the following with (174): (i) ?*Il a fait jeter des poubelles aux étudiants les uns sur les autres*. [(i) 'He had the students<sub>i</sub> throw garbage cans on each other<sub>i</sub>']

- b. 'She would have made the poor soldiers shoot one another.'
- c. 'He had the directors debate with one another.'

In (175) the antecedent of the reciprocal is, in fact, the underlying subject of the infinitive. If we represent the deep structures of (175), (171) schematically as  $NP_1 faire [NP_2 V P NP_3]$ , where  $P - NP_3$  is to be replaced by  $l'un - P - l'autre$ , then in (175), the antecedent is  $NP_2$ , whereas in (171), it is  $NP_1$ . The condition on the introduction of  $l'un \dots l'autre$  will account for the ungrammaticality of the latter, since  $NP_3$  is contained in an embedded S not containing  $NP_1$  (as noted earlier, this configurational fact is unaffected by the application of FI).

On the other hand, that condition will not be relevant to the derivation of (175), which is consequently grammatical. If the transformation introducing  $l'un \dots l'autre$  applies prior to FI, then at its point of application  $NP_2$  and  $NP_3$  are straightforwardly in the same simple sentence (cf. (168)). In fact, even if it were the case that the introduction of  $l'un \dots l'autre$  could take place only after FI, that is, if it were ordered after FI and not cyclic (an ordering for which we know of no evidence),  $NP_2$  and  $NP_3$  would be cosential. This is so since, whether FI is taken to move  $NP_2$  or V,  $NP_2$  will remain in the embedded S.

The postulation of a deep structure containing an embedded S for the *faire*-infinitive construction (as opposed to one with no S, as in the nontransformational analysis rejected earlier), combined with a general restriction on the formation of  $l'un \dots l'autre$ , thus allows an account of certain gaps in the distribution of  $l'un \dots l'autre$  in that construction.<sup>84</sup> We have, however, not yet examined all the relevant combinations. Consider again the schematic deep structure  $NP_1 faire s[NP_2 V P NP_3]$ . Examples (171) and (175) show that a reciprocal relation between  $NP_2$  and  $NP_3$  leads to a grammatical sentence, although one between  $NP_1$  and  $NP_3$  does not. The question now arises as to the pair  $NP_1 - NP_2$ .  $NP_2$  in deep structure is embedded in an S not containing  $NP_1$ , and the application of FI does not alter that fact (it

<sup>84</sup> An exception to the generalization implicit in (171) is taken up in chapter 4, (118). English *each other* is subject to a restriction like the one on  $l'un \dots l'autre$ ; see Dougherty (1970; 1971), Lees and Klima (1963). The latter also point out a similar restriction on English reflexive *self*, as in (i) *John bought himself candy*, (ii) \**John said you should buy himself candy*.

will yield either  $\text{NP}_1 \text{faire } V_s[\text{NP}_2 \text{ P } \text{NP}_3]$  or  $\text{NP}_1 \text{faire } s[V \text{ NP}_2 \text{ P } \text{NP}_3]$  depending on what is moved). We thus might not expect *l'un . . . l'autre* to be possible corresponding to the underlying subject of the infinitive ( $\text{NP}_2$ ), with the subject of *faire* ( $\text{NP}_1$ ) as antecedent.

The answer to this question is complicated by the appearance of *se*:

- (176) a. *Ils se faisaient manger des bonbons l'un à l'autre.*
- b. *Ils se font rire l'un l'autre.*
- a. 'They were having each other eat candies.'
- b. 'They make each other laugh.'

In (176), *l'un (à) l'autre* does correspond to  $\text{NP}_2$  and does have  $\text{NP}_1$  (*ils*) for antecedent. (The deep structures for (176) are actually of the form  $\text{NP}_1 \text{faire } s[\text{NP}_2 \text{ V } (\text{NP}_3)]$ , rather than . . . P -  $\text{NP}_3$ ; we assume that, if FI moves  $\text{NP}_2$ , it always does so within the embedded S (yielding  $\text{NP}_1 \text{faire } s[V (\text{NP}_3) \text{ NP}_2]$ ), as is clearly true of the P -  $\text{NP}_3$  case.)

Although it is not entirely obvious that the origin of *l'un . . . l'autre* is the same with or without *se* (see section 5.4), we shall consider (176) as a counterexample to the analysis described above, since  $\text{NP}_1$  and  $\text{NP}_2$  are separated in (176) by an S boundary. In principle, (176) could be made compatible with that analysis by postulating a number of ad hoc restructuring operations, but instead we shall take (176) as evidence in favor of a modification of the form of the restriction on the introduction of reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre*. Since this modification is of wide import and is relevant to the transformation Cl-Pl, and since the presence of *se* in (176) renders the reciprocal facts more difficult to present than the corresponding Cl-Pl facts, we shall prefer to broach the discussion of this modification in terms of its effect on Cl-Pl, that is, in the course of chapter 4.

# 4

## Critic Placement in the *Faire*-Infinitive Construction

### Part I

#### 4.1 Cl-Pl May Not Precede FI

In chapter 3, we discussed certain properties of the *faire/laisser*-infinitive construction and postulated the transformations FI, FP, and A-Ins to account for them. In this chapter we shall consider the ordering relationship between these rules, most importantly FI, and the transformation Cl-Pl discussed in chapter 2. Specifically, we shall attempt to show that Cl-Pl may not precede FI.

The central observation is that in the *faire*-infinitive construction, if FI has applied, all clitics<sup>1</sup> appear to the left of *faire*. The following are examples of sentences the derivation of which includes application of FI:

- (1) a. Elle fera partir ses amis.
  - b. Elle fera manger ce gâteau à Jean.
    - a. ‘She’ll have her friends leave.’
    - b. ‘She’ll have Jean eat that cake.’

(The second sentence involves in addition the application of A-Ins.) In such cases, substitution of a cliticizable pronoun for any of the postinfinitival NPs yields a sentence in which the clitic precedes *faire*:

- (2) a. Elle les fera partir.
  - b. Elle le fera manger à Jean.
  - c. Elle lui fera manger ce gâteau.
  - d. Elle le lui fera manger.
    - a. ‘She’ll have them leave.’
    - b. ‘She’ll have Jean eat it.’
    - c. ‘She’ll have him eat that cake.’
    - d. ‘She’ll have him eat it.’

<sup>1</sup> With the “exceptions” discussed in chapter 6.

In none of these cases may the clitics be placed directly before the infinitive:

- (3) a. \*Elle fera les partir.
- b. \*Elle fera le manger à Jean.
- c. \*Elle fera lui manger ce gâteau.
- d. \*Elle fera le lui manger.
- e. \*Elle le fera lui manger.
- f. \*Elle lui fera le manger.

In this construction, *faire* can itself be preceded in surface structure by a critic corresponding to the deep structure object of the embedded verb. Thus in (2), *faire* is preceded by *le*, which corresponds to the deep structure object of *manger*.

The same is true of *laisser*, which is preceded by the deep structure object of the infinitive in (5):

- (4)     Elle laissera manger ce gâteau à Jean.  
‘She’ll let Jean eat that cake.’
- (5) a.   Elle le laissera manger à Jean.  
      b. \*Elle laissera le manger à Jean.  
      a–b. ‘She’ll let Jean eat it.’

Notice, however, that this is the case only if FI has applied, as it has in (4), (5). If FI has not applied, as in sentences like (6), then the critic corresponding to the object of the embedded verb precedes it, and may not precede *laisser*, as illustrated in (7):

- (6)     Elle laissera Jean manger ce gâteau.  
‘She’ll let Jean eat that cake.’
- (7) a.   Elle laissera Jean le manger.  
      b. \*Elle le laissera Jean manger.  
      a–b. ‘She’ll let Jean eat it.’

This is, moreover, the normal case. Apart from the constructions involving the application of FI, critics invariably appear, in surface

structure, attached to the verb of which they are a deep structure complement, if that verb occurs overtly in infinitival form. In other words, clitics may not normally “move up” to a higher verb from an infinitival complement:

- (8) a. *Elle voudrait le manger.*
- b. *Je croyais la connaître.*
- c. *Je tiens à vous revoir.*
- d. *Ils essaient d'en avoir.*
- e. *Elle empêchera Jean de se laver.*
- f. *Paul te forcera à en prendre.*
- a. ‘She'd like to eat it.’
- b. ‘I thought I knew her.’
- c. ‘I'm anxious to see you again.’
- d. ‘They are trying to get some.’
- e. ‘She will prevent Jean from washing himself.’
- f. ‘Paul will force you to take some.’
  
- (9) a. \**Elle le voudrait manger.*
- b. \**Je la croyais connaître.*
- c. \**Je vous tiens à revoir.*
- d. \**Ils en essaient d'avoir.*
- e. \**Elle s'empêchera Jean de laver.*
- f. \**Paul t'en forcera à prendre.*

Comparing (7), (8), (9) to (2), (5), we see that the instances of clitics “moving up” from infinitival complements correlate with the application of FI. In order to understand why this is so, let us note that the ungrammaticality of (9) seems to be part of a more general fact about Cl-Pl in French, namely that clitics do not “move up” from sentential complements at all. Taking a noninfinitival sentential complement such as that in *Elle voudrait que tu téléphones à son mari*, we see that if the object of the embedded verb is replaced by a cliticizable pronoun, the surface position of the corresponding clitic is within the embedded S:

- (10) a. *Elle voudrait que tu lui téléphones.*

b. \*Elle lui voudrait que tu téléphones.

a–b. ‘She would like that you telephone him.’

Let us informally state this fact as follows (a more precise formulation will be given below): Cl-Pl cannot move a pronoun out of an embedded S. Notice now that this statement will also cover the data in (8) and (9) if the infinitival complements there are derived from S complements. For example, if the deep structure of *Elle voudrait manger ce gâteau* contains an NP subject of *manger* which is coreferential with the subject of *vouloir* and ultimately deleted, then we can represent the deep structure in question schematically as  $\text{NP}_i \text{vouloir } s[\text{NP}_i \text{manger } ce \text{ gâteau}]$ . The second  $\text{NP}_i$  will be deleted by the transformation Equi-NP. The presence of the embedded S node will prevent a clitic corresponding to the object of *manger* from being placed to the left of *vouloir*, as in the first sentence of (9). The same line of reasoning will hold for the other sentences in (9).

The question now is how to account for the facts of (2), (5). Comparing, for example, the sentences *Elle voudrait manger ce gâteau* and *Elle fera manger ce gâteau à Jean*, we see that both have deep structures of the form  $\text{NP } V \ s[\text{NP } V \ \text{NP}]$ . In the former, the embedded subject NP is ultimately deleted; in the latter, the embedded subject NP *Jean* ends up to the right of the embedded object as a result of FI. Moreover, in both, the NP *ce gâteau* is preceded by two verbs in surface structure. We shall therefore attribute their difference in behavior under Cl-Pl to a difference in transformational history, and in particular to the fact that FI can apply prior to Cl-Pl. Let us furthermore temporarily add the following proviso to the restriction on Cl-Pl noted earlier: Cl-Pl can move a pronoun out of an embedded S whose verb is in infinitival form if in so doing it does not cross the subject of that S. This proviso, the motivation for which will become clearer below, will have no effect on (8), (9), provided that Equi-NP does not apply before Cl-Pl.<sup>2</sup> If FI can precede Cl-Pl, however, the derivation

<sup>2</sup> The ordering of Equi Deletion after Cl-Pl implies that the actual deletion is separated from the determination of the controlling NP (as in Postal (1970)), which is simpler if prior to Cl-Pl (a uniform description of (i) *Elle forcera Jean à partir* and (ii) *Elle le forcera à partir* is then possible). We note that the text proposal requires a deep structure subject for the complement of *vouloir*; if there is more than one rule of Equi Deletion (see chap. 1, (45)–(48)), they all must follow Cl-Pl.

The “preceded by an NP” requirement below would, if FI/FP moves V (see sec. 4.9)

of (2) and (5) will become possible. After FI, we have the structure NP *faire* V NP à NP, where the last NP is the underlying embedded subject, so that Cl-Pl, in moving to the left of *faire* a pronoun corresponding to either of the postinfinitival NPs will not be moving anything across a subject NP.

We are thus claiming that there is a linguistically significant generalization in the correlation between FI and the “moving up” of clitics, which is to be captured by having Cl-Pl apply subsequent to FI. In addition, we have suggested a means of constraining Cl-Pl so that it can adequately distinguish the structure produced by FI from the examples in (9). We have, however, not yet accounted for the contrast between (2) and (3) or equivalently that represented in (5). Ensuring that Cl-Pl can move clitics to the left of *faire* (via the proviso of the preceding paragraph) is not equivalent to ensuring that it must do so, in other words, that in addition it cannot attach them to the embedded infinitive. A possible solution, one discussed in section 2.21, would be to have the structural description of Cl-Pl contain the sub-part NP V X. The requirement that the verb to which clitics are attached be preceded by an NP would prevent the embedded infinitive from satisfying the term V.

The first sentence of (5) will thus be derived roughly as follows: *Elle laissera - Jean - manger - le* → FI, A-Ins → *Elle laissera - manger - le - à Jean* → Cl-Pl (with X = *manger*) → *Elle le laissera manger à Jean*. This is to be contrasted with the derivation of (7), which will have a (different) deep structure: *Elle laissera Jean - lui - manger - le*; that is, example (7) is an instance of Equi, as argued in section 3.4. The transformation FI, and consequently A-Ins, is inapplicable. Cl-Pl will apply, yielding *Elle laissera Jean - lui - le - manger*, with V = *manger*, X = Ø (V could not have been *laisser*; otherwise, *le* would have to be moved out of an embedded S across the subject NP *lui*). Finally *lui* will be deleted by Equi, yielding *Elle laissera Jean le manger*.

The ungrammaticality of \**Elle le laissera Jean manger* is, in this framework, due to the presence of the ultimately deleted subject of *manger*, which blocks the movement of *le*, rather than to the NP object of *laisser* (here *Jean*). We thus predict that even if the deep structure

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and if there is no VP boundary after *avoir* (see sec. 2.21), be replaceable by the specification that V in Cl-Pl be VP-initial. Both formulations require a special statement for the phenomenon of fns. 3 and 23.

object of *laisser* is moved away prior to Cl-Pl, the clitic will still be unable to appear to the left of *laisser*. For example, in section 5.6, we argue that the Passive transformation applies prior to Cl-Pl. Unfortunately, sentences like *\*Jean sera laissé manger ce gâteau* are already ungrammatical, so that the ungrammaticality of *\*Jean le sera laissé manger* is not telling. The same point can be made, however, with *voir*, *entendre*, the passives of which are often accepted: *?Jean a été vu enterrer ses livres*, *?Elle a été entendue chanter cette chanson*. The removal of the NP object via passivization from between *voir*, *entendre* and the infinitive does not allow the clitic to appear to the left of *voir*, *entendre* (the output of Cl-Pl is *?Jean a été vu les enterrer*, *?Elle a été entendue la chanter*):

- (11) a. *\*Jean les a été vu enterrer.*
- b. *\*Elle l'a été entendue chanter.*
- a. ‘Jean was seen to bury them.’
- b. ‘She was heard to sing it.’

However, the application of FI does:

- (12) a. *Je l'ai vu faire à beaucoup de gens.*
- b. *Je l'ai entendu dire à Marie-Claire.*
- a. ‘I have seen many people do it.’
- b. ‘I have heard Marie-Claire say it.’

The contrast between the passive cases and the “moving up” of the clitic with FI shows that that “moving up” is dependent not only on the fact that FI removes the embedded subject NP before Cl-Pl but also on the fact that FI applies to a structure containing a single NP between *faire/laisser/voir/entendre* and the embedded verb.

The two deep structure possibilities for *laisser*—the first without a deep structure object, NP *laisser S*, and with the obligatory application of FI, and the second, NP *laisser NP S*, and no application of FI—lead to pairs of sentences superficially identical except for the form of the clitic preceding *laisser* (as noted in section 3.4):

- (13) On lui laissera manger ce gâteau.  
‘We will let her eat that cake.’

- (14) *On la laissera manger ce gâteau.*

‘We will let her eat that cake.’

In our analysis, these have different deep structures and different derivations; for example, FI applies in (13) but not in (14). This correlates with their difference in behavior under Cl-Pl:

- (15) a. \**On lui laissera le manger.*

b. *On la laissera le manger.*

a–b. ‘We will let her eat it.’

- (16) a. *On le lui laissera manger.*

b. \**On le la laissera manger.*

Sentences (13) and (14) differ exactly as do (4) and (6); this difference is reflected in (15), (16), which mirror the facts of (5) and (7). Similarly, we have

- (17) *On leur laissera manger trois gâteaux.*

‘We will let them eat three cakes.’

- (18) *On les laissera manger trois gâteaux.*

Since (17), but not (18), is an instance of FI (and A-Ins), we would expect the two to act unalike if the object of *manger* contains *en*, as is the case:

- (19) a. ?*On leur laissera en manger trois.*

b. *On les laissera en manger trois.*

a–b. ‘We will let them eat three of them.’

- (20) a. *On leur en laissera manger trois.*

b. \**On les en laissera manger trois.*

The sentences modeled on (18) with *les* show *en* unable to “move up” to *laisser*, since FI has not applied. *En* does “move up” to *laisser* in the analogue of (17), by virtue of the prior application of FI.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For some speakers, there is sometimes an element of optionality in the placement of *en* and *y* (but generally not the other clitics; see fn. 23) after the application of FI (for which we have no explanation), although less frequently if the underlying subject is a

We have argued that the particular behavior of Cl-Pl in the construction with FI can be accounted for if Cl-Pl applies after FI. We would, in fact, like to argue that the facts in question must be accounted for in that way, that is, that Cl-Pl cannot precede FI. We must consequently demonstrate that if Cl-Pl applies before FI, the same range of data is not accounted for, or that certain generalizations are lost.

We note immediately that sentences such as (21) show that Cl-Pl must be able to apply after FI, since the dative clitic *lui*, which corresponds to the underlying subject of the infinitive, must have arisen through the application of A-Ins.

- (21) a. *Elle lui fera manger ce gâteau.*  
 b. *Elle lui laissera boire du vin.*  
 a. 'She will have him eat that cake.'  
 b. 'She will let him drink some wine.'

The distribution of the dative clitic in this position is that which one would expect if it came from A-Ins; specifically, it may not appear in the absence of an embedded object NP:<sup>4</sup>

- (22) a. \**Elle lui fera partir.*  
 b. \**Elle lui laissera partir.*  
 c. \**Elle lui fera sortir de sa chambre.*  
 d. \**Elle lui laissera sortir de sa chambre.*

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full NP: (i) ??*On laissera en manger trois à Jean* (cf. the normal (ii) *On en laissera manger trois à Jean*). Similarly, (iii) *Il en a laissé se tuer trois*, (iv) ?*Il a laissé s'en tuer trois*, where *en* originates in what was the underlying subject of the infinitive (on the placement of *se*, see chap. 6). That the *en* in the latter is moved after FI is shown by the absence in isolation of (v) \**Trois s'en sont tués* (vs. (vi) *Trois se sont tués*) as well as the impossibility of (vii) \**Il a laissé s'en laver les mains à trois* (which is excluded by a general restriction on *en* from PPs, provided Cl-Pl follows FI and A-Ins; compare (26)–(28) below. [(i) 'We will let Jean eat three of them.' (iii)–(iv) 'He let three of them kill themselves.' (v)–(vi) 'Three (of them) killed themselves.' (vii) 'He let three of them wash their hands.']}

<sup>4</sup> With certain exceptions, such as (i) *Cela lui fera changer d'avis* (in addition to . . . *le fera* . . .), as is true of A-Ins in general; see fn. 9, chap. 3. The contrast (with *Marie* object of *téléphoner*) between (ii) ?*Elle lui fera téléphoner à Marie* and (iii) \**Elle fera téléphoner à Jean à Marie* (\*? . . . à M. à J.) is presumably due to a superficial restriction on contiguous phrases of the same type; see Ruwet (1972, pp. 255 ff., 262). [(i) 'That will make him change his mind.' (ii) 'She will have him telephone to Marie.']}

a/b. ‘She will have/let him leave.’

c/d. ‘She will have/let him come out of his room.’

The sentences in (21) are thus derived parallel to those in (23) with *Jean* replaced by *lui*.

- (23) a. Elle fera manger ce gâteau à Jean.

- b. Elle laissera boire du vin à Jean.

The string resulting from the application of A-Ins is, for example *Elle laissera boire du vin à lui*, to which Cl-Pl applies, yielding (21). A crucial point is that A-Ins applies only in a structure resulting from the application of FI:

- (24) a. Elle laissera Jean boire du vin.

- b. \*Elle laissera à Jean boire du vin.

The above, in which FI has not applied, is to be contrasted with (23). Since A-Ins follows FI, and since in the derivation of (21) Cl-Pl follows A-Ins, we conclude that in the derivation of (21) Cl-Pl follows FI. In fact, Cl-Pl must move the pronoun *lui* over both verbs, attaching it to *faire* or *laisser*, precisely as in the derivation proposed earlier with respect to the placement of *le* in *Elle le laissera manger à Jean* (cf. (2), (5)). In other words, Cl-Pl must have the properties suggested earlier; in particular, it must be able to follow FI and “move up” the clitics from the infinitival complement.

A second case in which Cl-Pl must be able to apply after FI is that involving the movement of an *en* originating as part of the embedded subject. For example, alongside (25), in which the postinfinitival NP is the underlying subject of the infinitive, we have (26):

- (25) a. Le capitaine a fait ramper trois des soldats dans la boue.

- b. Jean fera sauter trois ponts.

a. ‘The captain made three of the soldiers crawl in the mud.’

b. ‘Jean will make three bridges blow up.’

- (26) a. Le capitaine en a fait ramper trois dans la boue.

- b. Jean en fera sauter trois.

In isolation, sentences like those embedded in (25), that is, *Trois des*

*soldats ont rampé dans la boue, Trois ponts sauteront*, do not have parallel forms with *en* (abstracting away from the reading *en = de ce fait* ‘because of that’):

- (27) a. \*Trois en ont rampé dans la boue.
- b. \*Trois en sauteront.
- a. ‘Three of them crawled in the mud.’
- b. ‘Three of them blew up.’

Thus the *en* in (26) could not have been subject to any movement to the right prior to FI. Another possibility would be that Cl-Pl applied to *en* in the structure *Le capitaine a fait s[trois-en ramper dans la boue]*, prior to FI, yielding *Le capitaine en a fait trois ramper dans la boue*, to which FI could apply giving (26). Allowing *en* to be moved to the left before FI would lead one to expect structures like *Le capitaine a fait s[trois-en boire ce vin]* to yield (via the intermediate stage, *Le capitaine en a fait trois boire ce vin*, followed by FI, A-Ins) sentences like (28), which are, however, ungrammatical.

- (28) \*Le capitaine en a fait boire ce vin à trois.

‘The captain made three of them drink that wine.’

The ungrammaticality of (28) will follow rather from the hypothesis that *en* can be moved only after FI and A-Ins. The latter will yield structures like *Le capitaine a fait boire ce vin à trois-en*, at which point the application of Cl-Pl to *en* is prohibited by a general constraint on the movement of *en* from within larger PPs, as discussed in section 2.7. The derivation of (26) is thus *Jean fera [trois-en sauter] → FI → Jean fera sauter trois-en → A-Ins inapplicable → Cl-Pl → Jean en fera sauter trois*.

It still remains to be demonstrated, for the case of clitics corresponding to embedded objects, that Cl-Pl cannot apply entirely within the embedded sentence prior to FI. This possibility arises given the notion of the transformational cycle (see chapter 6). The principle of the cycle is, briefly, that some set of transformations (namely the cyclic transformations) are to be applied first within the most deeply embedded S in a phrase marker, without regard to higher structure,

then to the next most deeply embedded S, and so on. The ungrammaticality of (28) indicates that on the *faire* cycle, Cl-Pl may not precede FI. A priori, it is still possible that Cl-Pl might apply on the cycle previous to that involving *faire*, that is, on the cycle of the embedded S (in addition to applying after FI on the succeeding cycle, as in (21) and (26)). We shall now attempt to show that Cl-Pl may not apply within the sentence embedded under *faire* and therefore that Cl-Pl is not a cyclic transformation.

In (21) and (26), then, Cl-Pl applies after FI and attaches the clitic originating in the underlying subject to the left of *faire/laisser*. This means that even if Cl-Pl always follows FI, all the clitics, including those corresponding to underlying objects of the infinitive, can be correctly positioned without any complication of Cl-Pl. In other words, both the *le* and *lui* of (29) can be correctly positioned at the same time (just as in the simple sentence *Elle le lui offrira*) despite the fact that *lui* in (29) is an underlying subject and *le* an underlying object.

(29) *Elle le lui fera manger.*

‘She will have him eat it.’

The derivation of (29) is thus *Elle fera - lui - manger - le* → FI → *Elle fera - manger - le - lui* → A-Ins → *Elle fera manger le à lui* → Cl-Pl → *Elle le lui fera manger*. We conclude that there is no need for Cl-Pl to precede FI.

This is nonetheless not sufficient to show that Cl-Pl cannot precede FI. There is a priori no reason why the two pronouns in (29) must be subject to Cl-Pl at the same time. One could imagine that *le*, which, as an object, is in cliticizable position independently of FI, is subject to Cl-Pl before the application of FI, in particular on the cycle within the embedded S. In that case, we might have, starting from the deep structure *Elle fera s[Jean manger le]*, a derivation beginning with a first-cycle application of Cl-Pl, which would yield *Elle fera s[Jean le manger]*. On the second cycle, FI would apply: *Elle fera - Jean - le manger* → FI → *Elle fera - le manger Jean* (where the V of the structural description of FI has been satisfied by *le manger*; see the argument in sections 2.4, 2.5 that the clitic is dominated by the node V in derived

structure). The problem is that the resulting sentence is ungrammatical, and the same is true if a dative clitic is moved on the first cycle:<sup>5</sup>

- (30) a. \*Elle fera le manger Jean.
- b. \*Elle fera te parler Jean.
- c. \*Elle fera le lui porter son domestique.
- a. ‘She will have Jean eat it.’
- b. ‘She will have Jean speak to you.’
- c. ‘She will have her servant take it to him.’

Allowing Cl-Pl to apply prior to FI thus leads to the generation of ungrammatical sentences.

An attempt to save, in the face of (30), the hypothesis that Cl-Pl can apply within the embedded S, that is, on the inner cycle, might be made by postulating that the clitic, although initially attached on the first cycle to the infinitive, is later moved up to *faire*, in particular after the application of FI. Thus one might envision the derivation of the first example of (30) proceeding *Elle fera - le manger - Jean* → *Elle le fera manger Jean*, at which point *le* would be in a correct surface position. The result is still not grammatical:

- (31) a. \*Elle le fera manger Jean.
- b. Elle le fera manger à Jean.

Thus the rule of A-Ins would have to be complicated to apply not only in the environment *X - faire - V - NP - \_\_\_\_ NP*, but also in the environment *X - accusative clitic - faire - V - \_\_\_\_ NP*.<sup>6</sup> No such complication is necessary if Cl-Pl cannot precede FI. The derivation of the grammatical half of (31) will in that case be *Elle fera - s[Jean manger le]* → first cycle, nothing happens → *Elle fera Jean manger le* → FI → *Elle fera manger le Jean* → A-Ins → *Elle fera manger le à Jean* (since *le* is here

<sup>5</sup> With the “exception” of *se*; see chapter 6. The marginal sentences such as (i) ??*Elle fera en manger trois à Jean* should be viewed as instances of an unusual placement of *en*, but one subsequent to FI; see fn. 3. Parallel to (30) with *laisser* are (ii) \**Elle laissera le manger Jean*, (iii) \**Elle laissera lui parler Jean*, etc. [(i) ‘She will have Jean eat three of them.’]

<sup>6</sup> Notice that it would then be no more complicated to have A-Ins apply when *y* rather than *le* precedes *faire*, so that the ungrammaticality of (i) \**J'y ferai aller à Jean* (vs. (ii) *J'y ferai aller Jean*) would be fortuitous. In our analysis, where A-Ins need not be complicated in the text fashion, the preceding follows from (iii) \**Je ferai aller à Paris à Jean*. [(ii) ‘I'll have Jean go there.’]

dominated by an NP node)<sup>7</sup> → Cl-Pl → *Elle le fera manger à Jean*. The otherwise unnecessary complication of A-Ins entailed by the first-cycle application of Cl-Pl (in the attempt to obviate the problem of (30)) suggests then that such application be prohibited.

A rule applying to the first-cycle output of Cl-Pl and moving clitics up to *faire* would have another disadvantage, in that it would apply to the output of first-cycle Cl-Pl, followed by FI, to give an ungrammatical sentence in the case of datives: *Elle fera s[Jean parler à toi]* → Cl-Pl → *Elle fera [Jean te parler]* → FI → *Elle fera te parler Jean* (see (30)) → supposed supplementary clitic movement, yielding

- (32) \**Elle te fera parler Jean*.

We conclude that an analysis involving a supplementary rule of clitic movement for the construction with FI is to be rejected. This taken together with the ungrammaticality of (30) leads to the further conclusion that Cl-Pl must be unable to apply prior to FI, in other words, that it is not a cyclic transformation.<sup>8</sup>

## Part II

### 4.2 Restrictions on Datives and Reciprocals

The ungrammaticality of (32) remains to be accounted for within the framework of our analysis; the account we propose will be seen to depend partly on the fact that Cl-Pl follows FI. If sentences of the form NP V à NP with dative à are embedded under *faire* or *laisser*, FI will apply, interchanging the verb and embedded subject; the following are examples of that construction:

- (33) a. *Je ferai écrire mon ami à sa soeur malade*.

<sup>7</sup> Although we write *le* for convenience, it would be more precise to say the pronoun that is spelled *le* when accusative and in clitic position.

<sup>8</sup> The ungrammaticality of (28) implies further that on the *faire* cycle, Cl-Pl may not apply before FI (or before A-Ins), that is, that Cl-Pl is ordered after FI (and A-Ins). This ordering would itself follow directly from the cyclicity of the latter (see chap. 6), versus the noncyclicity of Cl-Pl, if the theory specified that noncyclic transformations necessarily applied only after the entire set of cyclic transformations had applied to the highest S, that is, if noncyclic means postcyclic, and not last cyclic (one could imagine allowing noncyclic rules to be interspersed with cyclic rules on the highest cycle, whence the term “last-cyclic”; convincing examples of last-cyclic rules have yet to be found; compare Postal (1970, p. 451)).

- b. La peur de la police fera téléphoner Jean à ses parents.
  - c. Les menaces ont fait répondre le criminel aux policiers.
  - d. Cet éclairage fait ressembler cette statue à mon ami.
  - e. Tu ne devrais pas laisser sourire ton enfant aux passants.
  - f. La police a enfin laissé téléphoner mon ami à son avocat.
- a. 'I will have my friend write to his sick sister.'
  - b. 'Fear of the police will make Jean telephone to his parents.'
  - c. 'The threats made the criminal answer the police.'
  - d. 'This lighting makes that statue look like my friend.'
  - e. 'You shouldn't let your child smile at the passersby.'
  - f. 'The police finally let my friend telephone to his lawyer.'

In surface structure, these sentences display the same *faire* V NP à NP sequence of constituents as do sentences resulting from the application of both FI and A-Ins, for example:

- (34) a. On a fait boire du vin à ces enfants.  
 b. Je ferai connaître cette fille à mon ami.  
 c. Il a laissé manger un gâteau à son fils.  
 a. 'They had those children drink some wine.'  
 b. 'I'll get my friend to know that girl.'  
 c. 'He let his son eat a cake.'

In (34), the NP preceded by à corresponds to the underlying subject of the infinitive. If it is replaced by a cliticizable pronoun, we have sentences such as

- (35) a. On leur a fait boire du vin.  
 b. Je te ferai connaître cette fille.  
 c. Il lui a laissé manger un gâteau.

In (33), the NP preceded by à corresponds to the underlying dative complement of the infinitive; in a simple sentence, that complement is subject to Cl-Pl: *Mon ami lui écrira*, *Jean te téléphonera*, *Le criminel leur a répondu*, *Cette statue vous ressemble*, *Ton enfant leur sourit*. Given this fact, plus the superficial similarity of (33) and (34), we might expect that

Cl-PI would be able to apply to a cliticizable pronoun in the position of the dative in (33). That is not the case (cf. (32)):⁹

- (36) a. \*Je lui ferai écrire mon ami.
- b. \*La peur de la police te fera téléphoner Jean.
- c. \*Les menaces leur ont fait répondre le criminel.
- d. \*Cet éclairage vous fait ressembler cette statue.
- e. \*Tu ne devrais pas leur laisser sourire ton enfant.
- f. \*La police m'a enfin laissé téléphoner mon ami.

The contrast between (35) and (36) cannot be reduced to a general restriction on movement from the *à*-NP position in (33), since that complement can be moved in, for example, relatives and questions:

- (37) a. A qui feras-tu écrire ton ami?
- b. Ses parents, auxquels elle va faire téléphoner Jean, . . .
- c. Auquel de vos amis cet éclairage fait-il ressembler cette statue?
- d. A quel avocat la police a-t-elle laissé téléphoner ton ami?
- a. ‘To whom will you have your friend write?’
- b. ‘Her parents, to whom she is going to have Jean telephone, . . .’
- c. ‘Like which of your friends does this lighting make that statue look?’
- d. ‘To which lawyer did the police let your friend telephone?’

The difference in behavior between Cl-PI and *Wh* Movement in the construction (33) would seem not to be arbitrary but rather to correlate with the fact that Cl-PI is in general subject to more severe limitations as to the kind of strings across which it can apply. In particular, we noted earlier in this chapter that Cl-PI cannot extract pronouns from within embedded sentences; *Wh* Movement is not limited in the same way. Thus if, in sentences like *Jean veut que tu offres ce livre à Marie, Jean va forcer ton frère à téléphoner à Marie*, the complement *à*

<sup>9</sup> Nor can Cl-PI attach the clitic to the infinitive (cf. (30)): (i) \**Je ferai lui écrire mon ami*, (ii) \**Elle va faire te téléphoner Jean*, etc. This is as we have seen a general fact about Cl-PI's application in the structure resulting from FI: (iii) \**On a fait leur boire du vin* (iv) \**Il a laissé lui manger un gâteau*; cf. (3). The *laisser* construction without FI shows no special behavior comparable to that of (36): (v) *La police a laissé mon ami me téléphoner*.

*Marie* is replaced successively by elements subject to Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement, the difference between the two rules is brought to light:

- (38) a. \*Jean lui veut que tu offres ce livre.
- b. \*Jean lui va forcer ton frère à téléphoner.
- (39) a. A qui Jean veut-il que tu offres ce livre?
- b. La fille à laquelle Jean va forcer ton frère à téléphoner
- a. ‘To whom does Jean want that you give this book?’
- b. ‘The girl to whom Jean is going to force your brother to telephone’

In (38), Cl-Pl is seen to be unable to extract the pronoun from within the embedded S complements; such extraction is possible via *Wh* Movement, as in (39). We propose, then, that the ungrammaticality of (36) be related to that of (38).

The plausibility of a significant relationship between (36) and (38) is heightened by the similarity between those two paradigms and certain facts concerning reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre*. In section 3.9 we noted that the introduction of *l'un . . . l'autre* into an embedded S is impossible if the antecedent is outside that S. Put another way, *l'un . . . l'autre*, like Cl-Pl, is subject to a “single S” constraint. The following ungrammatical sentences are thus to be compared to those of (38):

- (40) a. \*Jean-Jacques et Pierre veulent que tu offres ce livre l'un à l'autre.
- b. \*Ils vont forcer ton frère à téléphoner l'un à l'autre.
- c. \*Ils veulent que tu parles l'un de l'autre.
- a. ‘Jean-Jacques and Pierre want you to give this book to each other.’
- b. ‘They're going to force your brother to telephone each other.’
- c. ‘They want you (singular) to speak about one another.’

Furthermore, we saw in section 3.9 that *l'un . . . l'autre* could not be introduced into the position P-NP in NP *faire* V NP P-NP if its antecedent is the subject of *faire*, where P-NP corresponds to an underlying

complement of the embedded verb, as shown in (41). These ungrammatical sentences resemble those of (36):

- (41) a. \*Nous ferons écrire notre ami l'un à l'autre.
- b. \*Elles vont faire téléphoner Jean l'une à l'autre.
- c. \*Les sculpteurs feront ressembler leurs sculptures les uns aux autres.
- d. \*Elles auraient fait tirer le pauvre soldat l'une sur l'autre.
- e. \*Elles n'auraient pas laissé téléphoner Jean l'une à l'autre.
- f. \*Elles laisseront tirer le pauvre soldat les unes sur les autres.
- a. 'We'll have our friend write to each other.'
- b. 'They're going to have Jean telephone each other.'
- c. 'The sculptors<sub>i</sub> will make their sculptures resemble each other<sub>i</sub>.'
- d. 'They would have made the poor soldier shoot one another.'
- e. 'They would not have let Jean telephone each other.'
- f. 'They'll let the poor soldier shoot at one another.'

Insofar as the ungrammaticality of (41) can be accounted for in terms of that of (40), given that the subject of *faire* and the P-NP complement in question are not within the same simple sentence either in deep structure or after the application of FI, as argued in section 3.9, it is natural to propose a similar account of the ungrammaticality of (36). For example, in the first sentence of (36), with essentially the deep structure *Je ferai s[mon ami écrire à lui]*, the cliticizable pronoun *lui* is not, in deep structure, in the same simple sentence as the verb *faire* to which Cl-Pl might be expected to attach it. Moreover, FI, in reversing the order of *mon ami* and *écrire* will not change that fact. Consequently, the general prohibition against Cl-Pl extracting pronouns from embedded Ss is a plausible reason for the impossibility of (36).

However, the NP subject of *écrire* is also within the lower S, and FI, if it moves that NP, does not move it out of the S (rather it puts it in between the infinitive and prepositional complement); the subject of *écrire*, though, can be attached to *faire* by Cl-Pl: *Je le ferai écrire à sa*

*soeur malade*, and similarly, *Cet éclairage la fait ressembler à mon ami*, and so forth. The single sentence restriction on Cl-Pl must therefore be refined if it is to successfully distinguish the case of the underlying subject of the infinitive from that of the underlying dative complement of the infinitive.<sup>10</sup>

Let us begin by reconsidering the fact that there is a single sentence restriction both on reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre* and on Cl-Pl. In section 3.9 we suggested that the restriction on reciprocals could be viewed as related to a condition on transformations proposed in Chomsky (1965), namely one prohibiting the introduction of morphological material into sentences already passed in the cycle. It is clear that such a condition is not adequate to describe the similar restriction on Cl-Pl, since Cl-Pl moves material to the left. Chomsky (1971) has, however, proposed a number of significant modifications in the form of such a condition, and in particular that the 1965 condition be generalized so as to be applicable to all types of rules (for example, insertion, extraction, semantic interpretation, and others). The 1965 condition can in this new framework be restated as "No rule can involve *X, Y* in the structure . . . *X* . . . *s[. . . Y . . .]*."<sup>11</sup> In this way, the similar restrictions on reciprocals and Cl-Pl can be expressed in terms of a single more

<sup>10</sup> Compare the considerations (examples (2), (5) versus (9), (10)) that led us to add a proviso to our earlier statement of this restriction. The text discussion below will clarify the status of such a proviso.

The difference between (9) and (5)a, along with (8) versus (5)b, would make an Equi analysis (compare Bordelois (1974) of the FI/A-Ins construction implausible. Such an analysis would furthermore have to allow the dative controller within the embedded S in (45), (48) below (cf. (21), (173), fn. 82 of chap. 3); it would eliminate the account of (49) below and (174), chap. 3; it would be unique in not allowing the controller to precede the S, as in (24)b; it would lead one to expect (9), (10) of chap. 3 to be grammatical, along with (27)b, (29)b of chap. 6 (it would also require a dative "the fact that S" controller in (iii) *Ce qui est arrivé a fait perdre de l'importance au fait que Jean aime Marie*).

<sup>11</sup> The fact that *Wh*Movement is permitted in (37), (39) necessitates an elaboration (involving reference to the notion "complementizer position") of the condition of a sort that does not concern us here; see Chomsky (1971). Nonreflexive coreference assignment is not subject to the text condition: (i) *Jean<sub>i</sub> croit que Marie l<sub>i</sub>'aime* (nor is it subject to the constraints discussed in Ross (1967a)). Somewhat like the coreference case are (18)–(19) of chap. 5; compare Postal (1974, 3.2). The problem is, of course, to find a natural characterization of those rules subject to a single-S restriction (further examples of rules that are can be found in Chomsky (1971)). We note that the applicability of the text condition to Cl-Pl means that it is not applicable only to cyclic rules. [(i) 'Jean thinks that Marie loves him.']}

general condition. In the case of reciprocals,  $X$  would be the antecedent and  $Y$  the position into which *l'un . . . l'autre* is inserted. In the case of Cl-Pl,  $X$  would be the verb to which the pro-form is attached and  $Y$  the cliticizable pro-form itself.

### 4.3 Specified Subject Condition

A second innovation proposed by Chomsky (1971) is one that distinguishes the case of tensed sentences from others (where in this framework tensed Ss have verbs in the indicative or subjunctive), in the following way:

The condition of the preceding paragraph will continue to hold for tensed sentences (with the reservations of fn. 11), but for the general case the form of the condition will be altered; the essential change is to have the condition mention the notion "subject."<sup>12</sup> This "specified subject condition" is stated as follows: No rule can involve  $X, Y$  in the structure . . .  $X$  . . .  $s[\dots Z \dots - WYV \dots] \dots$  where  $Z$  is the subject of  $WYV$ .<sup>13</sup>

This reformulation of the single-S restriction implies, in the case of Cl-Pl, that a pro-form may not be moved out of an embedded S if in so doing it moves across the subject (and if the S is tensed, it may not be moved out at all). That the form of this condition on transformations should be altered to involve the notion "subject" is supported by the observation that this reformulation allows drawing the correct

<sup>12</sup> This change is supported in English by pairs such as (i) *What we want most of all is for each other's papers to be accepted by the editor.* versus (ii) \* . . . *for the editor to accept each other's papers;* (iii) *What he heard on the radio was himself criticizing an unknown actress* versus (iv) \* . . . *an unknown actress criticizing himself;* (v) ?*We always like to know what each other are/is doing* versus (vi) \* . . . *what John is doing about each other,* and in French by Cl-Pl (as in the text), reciprocals (see fns. 14, 19), inalienables (see (115)–(123)), and Se-Pl (see fn. 19).

<sup>13</sup> A further distinction is made between a "specified" subject  $Z$ , which is a subject NP containing lexical items or a noncontrolled pronoun, and a controlled subject  $Z$  (which is ultimately deleted by Equi; see also Postal (1970)). In the latter case, the condition is declared inapplicable if  $Z$  is controlled by a category containing  $X$ . This refinement is irrelevant to the construction with FI (since the embedded S never has its subject deleted by Equi), although in some cases relevant to *l'un . . . l'autre*; for example, it would allow the antecedent in (i) *Ils veulent parler l'un de l'autre* to be considered the subject of *vouloir* (rather than the subject of *parler*; cf. fn. 81, chap. 3). See Chomsky (1971) for additional discussion. For English the text condition may be generalized to . . .  $\alpha[\dots], \alpha = S \text{ or } NP$ ; the notion "subject of an NP" is more difficult in French (cf. fn. 59, chap. 3). The remarks of fn. 11 hold also for the specified subject condition. [(i) 'They want to talk about one another.']}

distinction between underlying subject and underlying dative object in the construction with FI. We recall that in sentences like (33), *Cela fera téléphoner NP<sub>1</sub> à NP<sub>2</sub>*, the underlying subject of the infinitive, that is, NP<sub>1</sub>, is in a cliticizable position, whereas the underlying dative object of the infinitive, that is, NP<sub>2</sub>, is not, as shown in (36). For example, we have

- (42) *Cela le fera téléphoner à ses parents.*

'That will make him telephone to his parents.'

- (43) \**Cela leur fera téléphoner leur fils.*

'That will make their son telephone to them.'

In order to clarify the exposition of the manner in which the specified subject condition is relevant to these facts, let us tentatively assume that FI moves the embedded V; thus, in the case at hand, it will have the following effect: . . . *faire* s[NP V PP] → . . . *faire* V s[NP PP]. This assumption will be discussed further in section 4.9. In the case where the embedded S contains a nonprepositional object, it will be moved along with the verb: . . . *faire* s[NP<sub>a</sub> V NP<sub>b</sub> (PP)] → . . . *faire* V NP<sub>b</sub> s[NP<sub>a</sub> (PP)] (and à will subsequently be inserted before NP<sub>a</sub>).

Consider now a sentence of the type illustrated in (33), such as *Cela fera téléphoner ce garçon à ses parents*, which is derived from *Cela fera s[ce garçon téléphoner à ses parents]*. FI yields the derived structure *Cela fera téléphoner s[ce garçon à ses parents]*. The specified subject condition will correctly predict that *ce garçon*, but not *ses parents* is in a cliticizable position, since *ce garçon* is a subject. In other words, *ce garçon* will be taken as Z in . . . X . . . s[. . . Z . . . WYV . . .]. The condition will then block the movement of Y (a pronoun in the position of *ses parents*) to the position X (that is, attached to *faire*), as seen in (43). At the same time, the condition permits the movement of Z (a pronoun in the position of *ce garçon*) to the position X, as in (42). The ungrammaticality of (43), (36), as well as the contrast between those cases and that of (42), thus becomes comprehensible in terms of a rather abstract condition on the application of transformations.

Given the derived structure . . . *faire* V (NP<sub>b</sub>) [NP<sub>a</sub> (PP)], the specified subject condition correctly predicts the contrast between (43), (36), where the underlying dative complement is not cliticizable, and

(35), where the dative produced by A-Ins is. For example, in *Elle fera boire du vin à son enfant*, we have . . . *faire V NP<sub>b</sub> [à NP<sub>a</sub>]*. The dative this time is NP<sub>a</sub> itself, which the condition analyzes as Z, and which is consequently not prevented from being moved by Cl-Pl: *Elle lui fera boire du vin*.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, we correctly predict the contrast between the uncliticizable underlying dative (43) and the cliticizable underlying accusative. An example of the latter is

- (44) a. *Elle fera manger ce gâteau à son enfant.*
- b. *Elle le fera manger à son enfant.*
- a/b. ‘She’ll have her child eat that cake/it.’

In (44), the derived structure is of the form . . . *faire V NP<sub>b</sub> [à NP<sub>a</sub>]*. Since NP<sub>b</sub> (*ce gâteau*) is to the left of the element analyzed as Z by the specified subject condition (here *son enfant* = NP<sub>a</sub>), it can be moved by Cl-Pl. The contrast between underlying dative and accusative is thus due to the fact that in . . . *faire V (NP<sub>b</sub>) [NP<sub>a</sub> (PP)]*, the former (PP) follows the subject NP<sub>a</sub>, whereas the latter (NP<sub>b</sub>) precedes it.

In a derived structure actually containing all three phrases—that is, NP<sub>b</sub>, NP<sub>a</sub>, and PP—the specified subject condition will take Z = NP<sub>a</sub> and predict that only NP<sub>b</sub> and NP<sub>a</sub> are cliticizable. The derived structure will more precisely be, after the application of A-Ins, . . . *faire V NP<sub>b</sub> [à NP<sub>a</sub> PP]*. An example with PP = *pour* NP is

- (45) *Elle fera garder ces livres à son assistant pour son élève.*

‘She’ll have her assistant keep these books for her pupil.’

If NP<sub>b</sub> and NP<sub>a</sub> are cliticizable pronouns, we have

- (46) *Elle les lui fera garder pour son élève.*

‘She’ll have him keep them for her pupil.’

If the underlying PP complement of the infinitive is a dative (and so cliticizable in a simple sentence), for example, *Son fils portera ces livres à*

<sup>14</sup> In the same way, the condition can distinguish between (41), in which *l’un . . . l’autre* cannot appear in the position of the underlying PP if its antecedent is the subject of *faire*, from sentences like (i) *Ils se faisaient manger des bonbons l’un à l’autre*, in which *l’un . . . l’autre* can so appear corresponding to NP<sub>a</sub>; see the last section of chapter 3. [(i) ‘They were having each other eat candies.’]

*sa femme, Son fils lui portera ces livres*, then the embedding under *faire* will yield, after FI and A-Ins, a structure of the form . . . *faire V NP<sub>b</sub> [à NP<sub>a</sub> à NP<sub>c</sub>]*, where *NP<sub>c</sub>* is the underlying dative and *NP<sub>a</sub>* the underlying subject of the infinitive. The specified subject condition predicts that of the two superficial à phrases, only the first will be cliticizable; the condition blocks the extraction of the second, which it analyzes as *Y* in . . . *X . . . s[. . . Z . . . WYV]*, with *Z* = *NP<sub>a</sub>*. This prediction is correct. Embedding *Son fils portera ces livres à sa femme* under *faire* yields (47) or, after a late reordering that increases acceptability,<sup>15</sup> yields (48):

(47) \*Paul fera porter ces livres à son fils à sa femme.

(48) ?Paul fera porter à son fils ces livres à sa femme.

‘Paul will have his son take these books to his wife.’

Now, corresponding to (47) we have the perfectly grammatical (49) where the clitic *lui* is derived from the underlying subject of *porter*, that is, *NP<sub>a</sub>*, and where *les* corresponds to *NP<sub>b</sub>*.

(49) a. Paul lui fera porter ces livres à sa femme.

b. Paul les lui fera porter à sa femme.

a/b. ‘Paul will have him take these books/them to his wife.’

The prediction that *NP<sub>c</sub>* is not cliticizable means that when *sa femme* is replaced by *elle*, Cl-Pl will be unable to apply to it, and we clearly do not have either \*Paul lui lui fera porter ces livres or \*Paul les lui lui fera

<sup>15</sup> Not all reorderings are possible; in (48) we could not interchange the two à complements without altering the meaning (the result would correspond to (i) *Sa femme portera ces livres à son fils*). This may be related to the fact that in a sentence derived parallel to (47), but with the further application of *Wh* Movement as in (ii) *A qui feras-tu porter ces livres à ton fils?*, it is easier to interpret à *ton fils* as the underlying dative than as the underlying subject. Ruwet (1972) argues that such a difference in relative acceptability is best viewed as the effect of a perceptual strategy triggered by the presence of two à + NP phrases in surface structure rather than as a restriction on *Wh* movement (so that *Wh* movement could apply freely to the underlying dative; cf. (37) and (iii) *A qui lui feras-tu porter ces livres?*, where à *qui* is, in fact, unambiguously interpreted as the underlying dative. [(i) ‘His wife will take those books to his son.’ (iii) ‘To whom will you have him take those books?’]

*porter*. Nor do we have *\*Paul lui fera porter ces livres à son fils* in the meaning of (47), (48). In other words, NP<sub>c</sub> is not cliticizable.<sup>16</sup>

The inapplicability of Cl-Pl to the underlying dative complement of the infinitive in the construction with FI is not mirrored in the *faire...par* construction. In the latter, a cliticizable pronoun corresponding to an underlying complement, whether accusative or dative, of the infinitive can be attached by Cl-Pl to *faire*:

- (50) a. Jean a fait porter ces livres à sa femme par son fils.
- b. Jean les a fait porter à sa femme par son fils.
- c. Jean lui a fait porter ces livres par son fils.
- d. Jean les lui a fait porter par son fils.
- a. 'Jean had these books taken to his wife by his son.'

The clitic(s) cannot appear attached to the infinitive:

- (51) a. *\*Jean a fait les porter à sa femme par son fils.*
- b. *\*Jean a fait lui porter ces livres par son fils.*
- c. *\*Jean a fait les lui porter par son fils.*

The attachment of the clitic to *faire* rather than to the infinitive is the same phenomenon as that observed in the general case with FI,<sup>17</sup> and suggests that Cl-Pl is ordered after the transformation (FP; see section 3.6) that moves the subject of the embedded sentence into the *par* phrase. Given the ordering of Cl-Pl after FI, the former's being ordered after FP is natural;<sup>18</sup> in fact, the absence of such an ordering

<sup>16</sup> The facts remain the same in the case of an inanimate dative complement: (i) *Jean lui préfère la syntaxe (à la phonologie)*. Parallel to (48) is (ii) *Cela fait préférer à Jean la syntaxe à la phonologie*, to (49) is (iii) *Cela lui fait préférer la syntaxe à la phonologie*. The sentence (iv) *Cela lui fait préférer la syntaxe à Jean* cannot be interpreted with *lui* corresponding to *à la phonologie* and *Jean* the subject of *préférer*. [(i) 'Jean prefers syntax to it.' (ii) 'That makes Jean prefer syntax to phonology.' (iv) 'That makes him-it prefer syntax to Jean.']}

<sup>17</sup> In positive imperatives, the clitic, of course, follows *faire*: (i) *Fais-les-lui porter par ton fils*. But it is still attached to it (as shown by truncation in (ii) *Fais-le assassiner*, (iii) *\*Fais l'assassiner* as well as in (iv) *Fais-les assassiner*, where the *s* (= /z/) of *les* cannot be pronounced). With *en*, there are marginal cases of infinitival attachment: (v) ??*On fera en manger trois par Jean* (versus the usual (vi) *On en fera manger trois par Jean*); cf. fns. 3 and 5. [(i) 'Have them taken to her by your son.']}

<sup>18</sup> That Cl-Pl does not apply within the embedded S prior to FP follows from Cl-Pl's noncyclicity. That it does not apply on the *faire* cycle prior to FP is shown by the

would be difficult to reconcile with the claim that FI and FP are actually subparts of one rule (see section 3.6). A typical derivation will be *Jean a fait s[son fils porter ces livres à elle par Δ] → first cycle, nothing happens → FP → Jean a fait porter - ces livres - à elle - par son fils → Cl-Pl → Jean lui a fait porter ces livres par son fils.*

Significantly, the specified subject condition correctly predicts that the underlying PP object of the infinitive is cliticizable in this case, although not cliticizable in (47)–(49), nor in (36). In the latter two cases, we had, after FI, the structure . . . *faire V (NP<sub>b</sub>) s[NP<sub>a</sub> PP]* (NP<sub>a</sub> = underlying subject of V). In the case of (50), we have, after FP, the structure . . . *faire V (NP<sub>b</sub>) PP par NP<sub>a</sub>*, in which the only candidate for Z (subject) with respect to the condition, namely NP<sub>a</sub>, is to the right of PP. Therefore, independently of where the S boundary falls, PP could not satisfy the term Y of the condition in (50) (although it does in the structure for (47)–(49), (36)), since the condition requires that Z precede Y. The derivation with Cl-Pl in (50) is thus not blocked.<sup>19</sup>

The specified subject condition is thus capable of accounting for the ungrammaticality of (36) and the nonambiguity of (49) without excluding the case of (50), which at first glance appears similar. Its correct application requires, however, that certain rules apply in a particular order not yet discussed. For example, the ungrammaticality of (36) is unchanged if the underlying subject is moved by *Wh* Movement:

- (52) a. La nouvelle a fait téléphoner Jean à Marie-Claire.
- b. \*La nouvelle m'a fait téléphoner Jean.

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ungrammaticality of (i) \**Elle en a fait boire ce vin par trois* (cf. (ii) *Elle a fait boire ce vin par trois de ses amis*), which must not be derivable from (iii) *Elle a fait [trois-en boire ce vin par Δ]*; see the discussion of (28) above and fn. 8. [(ii) 'She had that wine drunk by three of her friends.']}

<sup>19</sup> Similarly, *l'un . . . l'autre* with subject of *faire* as antecedent is possible corresponding to the underlying PP in sentences like (50), although not in (41), for example, (i) *Ils se sont fait tirer l'un sur l'autre par les soldats* (cf. fn. 14), although *se* is necessary (see fn. 43). The sentences in (41) cannot be saved by *se*: (ii) \**Elles vont se faire téléphoner Jean l'une à l'autre*, (iii) \**Elles se sont fait tirer les soldats l'une sur l'autre*. The condition makes further correct predictions for *Se-Pl* (a T distinct from *Cl-Pl*; see chaps. 5, 6): (iv) *Jean s'est fait porter ces livres par son fils* (like (50)) versus (v) \**Jean se fera téléphoner son fils* (like (36)); see also chap. 6: (31) versus (6), (8) and the discussion of (17), (18). [(i) 'They had each other shot at by the soldiers.' (iv) 'Jean<sub>i</sub> had his son take those books to him<sub>i</sub>.' (v) 'Jean<sub>i</sub> will have his son telephone to him<sub>i</sub>.' ]

a/b. ‘The news made Jean telephone to Marie-Claire/me.’

(53) a. Qui cette nouvelle a-t-elle fait téléphoner à Marie-Claire?

b. \*Qui cette nouvelle t'a-t-elle fait téléphoner?

a/b. ‘Whom did that news make telephone to Marie-Claire/you?’

If (53)b is to be accounted for by the specified subject condition applied to the structure . . . *faire téléphoner* s[*qui à toi*], with  $Z = \text{qui}$ ,  $Y = \text{toi}$ ,  $X = \text{faire}$ , then the movement of *qui* must clearly not be able to precede the application of Cl-Pl.<sup>20</sup>

That *Wh* Movement cannot precede Cl-Pl is suggested by certain other facts too. We recall from sections 2.17, 2.19 that *en*, when associated with a numeral or most quantifiers and when part of an object NP, is obligatorily subject to Cl-Pl. Thus alongside *Elle écrira trois articles*, *Elle a beaucoup d'amis*, stands (54), and not (55):

(54) Elle en écrira trois. Elle en a beaucoup.

‘She will write three. She has many.’

(55) \*Elle écrira trois. \*Elle a beaucoup.

*Combien* patterns in the same way: *Elle a combien d'amis?* and

(56) Elle en a combien? \*Elle a combien?

‘She has how many?’

In all these cases, the movement of *en* from a comparable NP that is a subject NP is not possible; alongside *Trois articles seront acceptés*, *Beaucoup de ses amis iront là-bas*, *Combien d'enfants pleuraient?* stand

(57) a. Trois seront acceptés.

b. \*Trois en seront acceptés.

c. Beaucoup iront là-bas.

d. \*Beaucoup en iront là-bas.

e. Combien pleuraient?

f. \*Combien en pleuraient?

<sup>20</sup> Not a necessary conclusion if *Wh* Movement were to leave behind a nonterminal (because of L-*Tous*) trace, in the sense of Chomsky (1971). The same remark holds for Cl-Pl in (61) but will not be pursued here.

- a–b. ‘Three will be accepted.’
- c–d. ‘Many will go there.’
- e–f. ‘How many were crying?’

The important point is that the paradigm with *combien* is not changed by *Wh* Movement:

- (58) a. Combien en a-t-elle?
- b. \*Combien a-t-elle?
  - c. Combien elle en a?
  - d. \*Combien elle a?
- a–d. ‘How many does she have?’

Similarly, with *Je sais combien de films elle verra ce soir* we have

- (59) a. Je sais combien elle en verra ce soir.
- b. \*Je sais combien elle verra ce soir.
- a–b. ‘I know how many she will see this evening.’

The similarity between the starred sentence of (56) and those of (58), (59) follows immediately (all are violations of the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl) if *Wh* Movement can apply only after Cl-Pl. On the other hand, if *Wh* Movement could precede Cl-Pl, it could move [*combien - en*]: *Elle a [combien - en] → [combien - en] elle a* (cf. [*combien d'amis*] *elle a*). In that case, Cl-Pl would be faced with a structure in which *combien - en* is to the left of the verb, and Cl-Pl would be inapplicable to this structure. Thus the *en* would remain unmoved and would subsequently be deleted parallel to (57). Since in (58), (59), *en* cannot fail to move and cannot be deleted, we conclude that *Wh* Movement may not precede Cl-Pl.<sup>21</sup> This result correlates with the ordering suggested by the relevance of the specified subject condition to (53).

<sup>21</sup> Given the text argument, the noncyclicity of Cl-Pl implies the noncyclicity of *Wh* Movement (otherwise, *combien - en* in (59) would be preposed on the first cycle, and hence before Cl-Pl had a chance to apply), unless one envisions the possibility that *Wh* Movement, although ordered after Cl-Pl, applies nonetheless in cycliclike steps, moving the *Wh* element up one clause at a time, that is, has its own independent cycle (independent of that discussed in chapter 6); if *Wh* Movement does not apply in cyclic fashion, then the specified subject condition cannot be applicable to it (even with reference to

Somewhat similar to (53) are sentences modeled on (52) with the postinfinitival NP replaced by a cliticizable pronoun:<sup>22</sup>

- (60) a. *Cette nouvelle l'a fait téléphoner à Marie-Claire.*

- b. *On la fera répondre aux policiers.*

a. 'That news made him telephone to Marie-Claire.'

b. 'They'll make her answer the policemen.'

- (61) a. *\*Cette nouvelle nous l'a fait téléphoner.*

- b. *\*On la leur fera répondre.*

a. 'That news made him telephone to us.'

b. 'They'll make her answer them.'

If the ungrammaticality of (61) is to be correctly accounted for by the specified subject condition applying to a structure . . . *faire téléphoner [lui à nous]*, with  $Z = \text{lui}$ ,  $Y = \text{nous}$ ,  $X = \text{faire}$ ,<sup>23</sup> then it cannot be the case that there are two Cl-Pl rules the first of which moves the accusa-

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"COMP"; see fn. 11), because of sentences like (i) *Avec qui veux-tu que Marie parle?* For further discussion, see Chomsky (1971). [(i) 'With whom do you want Marie to speak?']

<sup>22</sup> Goosse (1952, p. 261) notes that (i) *Je le lui ai fait écrire* cannot mean (ii) *Je l'ai obligé à lui écrire* (cf. (61)), although it is possible meaning (iii) *Je l'ai obligé à l'écrire* (cf. (iv) *Je le lui ai fait boire*) or (v) *J'ai ordonné qu'on le lui écrive* (cf. (vi) *Je le lui ai fait écrire par Marie*), a fact clarified by the specified subject condition (see the discussion of (49), (50) above). [(ii) 'I made him write to her.' (iii) 'I made him write it.' (vi) 'I had it written to him by Marie.']}

<sup>23</sup> Some speakers accept (i) *?Cette nouvelle l'a fait nous téléphoner*, a sentence irrelevant to the condition if analyzed as an exceptional case of FI not having applied (cf. the normal (ii) *On l'a laissé nous téléphoner*), that is, of a deep structure *faire lui s[lui téléphoner à nous]*; see chapter 3, fn. 31.

As for the even more marginal (iii) ??*Je lui ferai te porter ces livres* (*lui* underlying subject), those who accept it (along, perhaps, with (3)f, (15)a) always reject the NP counterpart (iv) \**Je ferai te porter ces livres à Jean* (along with (3)b, (5)b). Thus the phenomenon noted in fn. 3 can extend to the other clitics when the A-Ins dative is attached to *faire*. The impossibility of (v) \**Je les lui ferai te porter* (vs. (vi) ??*Je lui ferai te les porter*) might lead to an understanding of (40), (41) of chap. 6, even though (40) is better than (v) and (36) there much better than (vii) \**Je lui en ferai te porter*. Perhaps there is some constraint with the effect that two complements of the infinitive cannot be cliticized to different places; the constraint might be partially, but not completely, nullified if one complement is cliticized cyclically, as is *se*, and the other postcyclically. The specified subject condition will have no problem with (iii), (vi) if either FI doesn't move V out of S (see sec. 4.9) or *lui* in (iii), (vi) is cliticized before *toi* without leaving a trace. [(iii) 'I'll have him take you these books.' (vi) 'I'll have him take you them.']}

tive pronoun. Either there must be two rules of which the first moves the dative (and it is blocked in (61) by the condition), or Cl-Pl must apply simultaneously to accusative and dative. In the latter case, the structural description of Cl-Pl would be satisfied simultaneously by *lui* and *nous*, with V = *faire*, but for Cl-Pl to involve all of *faire*, *lui*, and *nous* would violate the specified subject condition.

The specified subject condition would not be violated if Cl-Pl applied only to *lui*, but the nonapplication of Cl-Pl to the underlying dative leads to an ungrammatical sentence too, as shown in (62) and similarly in (63).<sup>24</sup>

(62) a. \**Cette nouvelle l'a fait téléphoner à nous.*

b. \**On la fera répondre à eux.*

(63) a. \**La nouvelle a fait téléphoner Jean à moi.*

b. \**On fera répondre cette fille à eux.*

The ungrammaticality (in the absence of heavy stress on *nous*, *moi*, *eux*) of (62), (63) should be attributed to the quasi-obligatory character of Cl-Pl with datives in nonstressed environments:

(64) \**Il offrira ce livre à toi demain.*

'He'll give that book to you tomorrow.'

The structural description of Cl-Pl is met in (62), (63), with V = *faire*, Pro = *nous*, *eux*, *moi*, so that its nonapplication violates its obligatory character; the fact that, when applied as in (61), it violates a condition on transformations is evidently irrelevant to the status of (62), (63). This recalls the ungrammaticality of sentences like \**Elle connaît eux, qui sont intelligents*, discussed in section 2.17, which we attributed to the nonapplication of Cl-Pl (even though applying Cl-Pl leads to a violation: \**Elle les connaît, qui sont intelligents*). In other words, the obligatory character of Cl-Pl holds even if its application violates some condition on transformations.

<sup>24</sup> Differing from (62) (contrast Seuren (1973)) is nondative (i) *Cela les fera penser à moi*, and from (63) is (ii) ?*Cela fera penser tout le monde à moi* (rejected by some, as is (iii) ?*Cela fera penser tout le monde à Jean*, for reasons likely having to do with the second paragraph of fn. 9, chap. 3). [(i) 'That will make them think of me.']}

The nonapplication of Cl-Pl leads to an ungrammatical result in sentences like (62) even if the clitic attached to *faire* is first or second person or reflexive:

- (65) a. \**Cette nouvelle nous a fait téléphoner à lui.*
- b. \**On te fera répondre à eux.*
- a. ‘That news made us telephone to him.’
- b. ‘They’ll make you answer them.’

As noted in section 2.16, the obligatory character of Cl-Pl in non-stressed environments is compromised in certain (but not all) cases where its application would yield an impossible combination of clitics, such as

- (66) a. \**Elle me lui présentera.*
- b. *Elle me présentera à lui.*
- b. ‘She will introduce me to him.’

That (65) is not “saved” in this way may be related to the fact that the ungrammatical (67) is also excluded for reasons independent of clitic combinations (that is, parallel to (61)).

- (67) a. \**Cette nouvelle nous lui a fait téléphoner.*
- b. \**On te leur fera répondre.*

In the absence of a satisfying account of (66), and in particular of the fact that, even in simple sentences, *me . . . à lui* is not always possible, we leave this question open.

Like (66) and unlike (65) is the embedding of a sentence modeled on (66) in the *faire . . . par* construction:

- (68) a. \**Il me lui fera présenter par ses parents.*
- b. *Il me fera présenter à elle par ses parents.*
- a–b. ‘He will have me introduced to her by his parents.’

Here the ungrammatical half of (68) is excluded solely for clitic combination reasons; cf. *Il les lui fera présenter par ses parents*. Notice that the *me lui* sequence cannot be avoided in the following way:

- (69) a. \*Il me fera lui présenter par ses parents.

- b. \*Il lui fera me présenter par ses parents.

The sentences of (69) are not generable since, after FI/FP, Cl-PI moves pronouns directly from postinfinitival position to the left of *faire*;<sup>25</sup> there is no way for *me* or *lui* to be attached to the infinitive. Finally we note that in the construction studied in chapter 6, with *se* attached to the infinitive prior to FI, as in *Elle fera se laver les mains à ses enfants*, the question of an impossible *se lui* combination does not arise since, after FI, Cl-PI will move a pronoun replacing *ses enfants* directly to the left of *faire*:

- (70) a. Elle leur fera se laver les mains.

- b. \*Elle fera se laver les mains à eux.

a–b. ‘She will have them wash their hands.’

The functioning of Cl-PI with datives in the *faire* construction has been seen to bear on a number of wider issues, including the interpretation of the obligatory character of Cl-PI, and especially the existence of a condition on transformations that refers to the notion “subject of an embedded sentence.” In addition, the restrictions on Cl-PI resulting from such a condition are claimed to constitute an argument against a first-cycle application of Cl-PI; compare the discussion of example (32) and the fact that the exclusion of (61), (53), (43), (36) via the specified subject condition depends on Cl-PI following the application of FI (since, if Cl-PI both preceded and followed FI, its first application would not move the dative out of the embedded S, and its second would not move the dative across the subject; on neither application, then, would the condition be satisfied).

#### 4.4 Pro-Predicate *Le*

A slightly different application of the same type of argument concerning cyclicity can be constructed with respect to the pro-predicate *le*.

<sup>25</sup> And since there is no way of deriving (69) parallel to the initial sentences of fn. 23, just as there is no (i) \*Il me laissera lui présenter par ses parents. The closest one can come in a derivation not involving FI is (ii) ?Il me laissera lui être présenté par ses parents (see fn. 61, chap. 3). Like (69) are (iii) \*Il me fera lui connaître, (iv) \*Il lui fera me connaître, and like (68) are (v) \*Il me lui fera connaître, (vi) Il me fera connaître à elle (derived through FI and A-Ins); this construction is not productive, however (see example (122), chap. 3). [(ii) ‘He will let me be introduced to her by his parents. (vi) ‘He will make her know me.’]

The clitic *le* appears corresponding to predicates in sentences such as the following:

- (71) a. Jean est fou. Jean l'est.  
 b. Jean deviendra complètement fou. Jean le deviendra.  
 c. Jean restera fou. Jean le restera.  
 a/b/c. ‘Jean is/will become completely/will remain crazy.’

The *le* of (71) can be found corresponding to syntactically diverse predicates; for example, *Jean l'est* could correspond to *Jean est en colère*, *Jean est à plaindre*, *Jean est professeur*, *Jean est fidèle à sa femme*, *Jean est adoré de ses enfants*. It can replace the past participle in the passive construction<sup>26</sup> *Jean sera arrêté par les gendarmes*, *Jean le sera par les gendarmes* and is compatible with certain other complements, such as in *Jean l'est contre Marie (fâché)*.<sup>27</sup> With the verbs *sembler* and *paraître*, *le* is often accepted with reluctance, sometimes not at all:

- (72) a. Jean semble fou.  
 b. ?Jean le semble.  
 a/b. ‘Jean seems crazy/it.’
- (73) a. Jean paraît fou.  
 b. ?Jean le paraît.  
 a/b. ‘Jean appears crazy/it.’

*Le* is impossible in *Jean mourra jeune*, *Jean voit juste*, *Jean tombera malade*: \**Jean le mourra*, and so forth.

Of particular interest to us is the fact that, if embedded in the

<sup>26</sup> But not if the subject NP has been extraposed, as in (i) *Il sera arrêté beaucoup de criminels*, (ii) \**Il le sera beaucoup de criminels*, recalling a similar constraint with adjectives (cf. chap. 3, (137) and fn. 52). This might be accounted for by having *le* generated in the base as an A (so that it would never appear under the node V). [(i) ‘There will be arrested many criminals.’]

<sup>27</sup> Compare (i) *Jean l'est de son travail (fier)*, (ii) *Jean l'est à Paris (connu)*, (iii) *Jean l'a été à Paris (arrêté)*. The complement cannot be *en* or *y*: (iv) \**Jean l'en est*, (v) \**Jean l'y est*, (vi) \**Jean l'y a été (arrêté, à Paris)*. With dative clitics, comparable sentences are sometimes accepted: (vii) ?*Dévouée, elle me l'est depuis longtemps*. [(i) ‘Jean is it of his work (proud).’ (ii) ‘Jean is it in Paris (known).’ (iii) ‘Jean was it in Paris (arrested).’ (vii) ‘Devoted, she has been it to me for a long time.’]

construction with FI, sentences like (71)–(73) have no parallel forms in *le*.<sup>28</sup> Examples of such embedding are

- (74) a. Cela fera devenir Jean complètement fou.
- b. Cela fera paraître Jean complètement fou.
- a/b. ‘That will make Jean become/appear completely crazy.’

Replacing *complètement fou* by *le* leads to an ungrammatical sentence:

- (75) a. \*Cela le fera devenir Jean.
- b. \*Cela le fera paraître Jean.
- (76) a. \*Cela fera le devenir Jean.
- b. \*Cela fera le paraître Jean.

If *le* were allowed to be placed in clitic position on the first cycle in the derivation of such sentences, as in *Cela fera s[Jean le devenir]*, then FI would apply on the second cycle (with V = *le devenir*) to yield *Cela fera le devenir Jean*, which is ungrammatical. A supplementary clitic movement rule of the type rejected earlier would do no good; it could only shift the problem from (76) to (75). Such sentences therefore constitute an argument against a first-cycle application of Cl-Pl to *le*.

If Cl-Pl can apply only after FI, there are at least two possibilities for excluding (75), (76). If *le* is inserted in postverbal position transformationally (but see fn. 26), then one might be able to restrict its introduction to the position immediately following the verb. If the rule introducing it were ordered after FI, *le* could then not be introduced at all in (74). Alternatively, and especially if *le* is generated in adjectival position in the base, (75), (76) could be excluded by the specified subject condition applying to the structure *Cela fera devenir s[Jean le]*, with X = *faire*, Y = *le*, Z = *Jean*. The ungrammaticality of (76) would then be doubly accounted for, since it could also be related to the general fact that subsequent to FI, Cl-Pl does not attach a clitic to the embedded infinitive.

#### **4.5 *En* and *Y***

Although the specified subject condition is capable of accounting elegantly for a number of superficially anomalous facts concerning

<sup>28</sup> In that without FI with *laisser*, *le* is possible: (i) *Il a laissé son fils devenir fou et il a laissé sa fille le devenir aussi.*

the functioning of Cl-Pl in the construction with FI, there remain certain data that pose a serious problem. In particular, the movement of *y* and *en* subsequent to FI appears to violate the condition. We recall that the condition accounted for the absence, alongside *Cela fera répondre Jean à ses parents*, of \**Cela leur fera répondre Jean*. The difficulty is that corresponding to *Cela fera répondre Jean à vos questions* is the decidedly better *Cela y fera répondre Jean*. Other comparable sentences, that is, with *y* or *en* deriving from an underlying prepositional complement of the infinitive, which seem to be grammatical are<sup>29</sup>

- (77) a. *Cela fera aller Jean à Paris.*
  - b. *Cela fait penser tout le monde à la deuxième guerre.*
  - c. *On essaiera de faire parler ton ami de son voyage.*
  - d. *Elle fera sortir Jean de cette chambre.*
    - a. ‘That will make Jean go to Paris.’
    - b. ‘That makes everyone think of the Second World War.’
    - c. ‘We will try to make your friend talk about his trip.’
    - d. ‘She will make Jean come out of that room.’
- (78) a. *Cela y fera aller Jean.*
  - b. *Cela y fait penser tout le monde.*
  - c. *On essaiera d’en faire parler ton ami.*
  - d. *Elle en fera sortir Jean.*

As stated, the specified subject condition should apply, for example, to . . . *faire parler*  $s[NP[ton\ ami]\ PP[en]]$ , which is the structure produced by FI, with  $X = faire$ ,  $Z = ton\ ami$ ,  $Y = en$ , to mark as ungrammatical the result of Cl-Pl’s moving *en* and attaching it to *faire*. One could, of course, make (78) compatible with the condition by postulating a rule restructuring the output of FI in just these cases:

$$\dots faire V[NP \left\{ \begin{matrix} en \\ y \end{matrix} \right\}] \rightarrow \dots faire V[NP] \left\{ \begin{matrix} en \\ y \end{matrix} \right\}$$

<sup>29</sup> Independently of the animacy of the referent of *y*, *en*; for example, given (i) *Cette fille-là, il y pense souvent*, then (ii) *Cette fille-là, ça l’y fait penser* is as good as (78); cf. fn. 16. [(ii) ‘That girl, that makes him think of her.’]

But we know of no independent motivation for such a rule, which, by extracting *en*, *y* from the embedded S (in effect making them complements of *faire*), would render the condition inoperative. In any case, the rule as stated would not be sufficiently general, since there exists another construction (with the verb *croire*) which is significantly like the FI construction with respect to the specified subject condition.

Before turning to the case of *croire*, we note briefly that the condition is, correctly, irrelevant to the derivation of a type of sentence discussed earlier (see (25)–(28)), that is,

- (79) a. Le capitaine a fait ramper trois des soldats dans la boue.
- b. Le capitaine en a fait ramper trois dans la boue.

In (79), *en* has been moved out of the embedded S subsequent to FI. However, the fact that *en* is part of the embedded subject (unlike the case of (78)) removes (79) from the domain of the condition. Given the structure . . . *faire ramper* [<sub>NP</sub>[*trois-en*] *dans la boue*], there is no analysis of it such that *Y* = *en* and *Z* = the subject NP, with *Z* distinct from *Y*. Consequently, *en* can be attached to *faire*, as in (79). The specified subject condition is for the same reason irrelevant to (80), where *en* has been moved from within the subject of the embedded sentence to the higher verb.

- (80) a. Il me semble que trois des soldats rampaient dans la boue.
- b. \*Il m'en semble que trois rampaient dans la boue.
- c. Il me semble que la première partie de ce livre plaira à Jean.
- d. \*Il m'en semble que la première partie plaira à Jean.
- a/b. ‘It seems to me that three of the soldiers/of them were crawling in the mud.’
- c/d. ‘It seems to me that the first part of that book/of it will please Jean.’

(It could not have been moved within the embedded S: \**Il me semble que trois en rampaient dans la boue*, \**que la première partie en plaira à Jean*.) The ungrammaticality due to the application of Cl-Pl in (80) follows rather from the tensed-S condition (see section 4.3), which makes no reference to the notion “subject” (and is, in turn, irrelevant to the embedded infinitival S in (79)).

#### 4.6 Similarity with *Croire* Construction

The construction that resembles the *faire* construction with respect to Cl-Pl and in particular with respect to a difference in extractability between *en*, *y* and other clitics is represented in (81):

- (81) a. On croit Jean fou.
- b. Elle croyait Jean capable de tout faire.
- c. Elle croyait Jean un grand savant.
- a. ‘They think Jean crazy.’
- b. ‘She thought Jean capable of doing everything.’
- c. ‘She thought Jean a great scientist.’

There is a fair amount of evidence that the deep structure of such sentences contains an embedded S with *être*, and that this *être* is later deleted. First, the NP to the right of *croire* can be followed not only by adjectives and predicate nominals but by a variety of elements more or less specific to sentences with *être*, for example, past participles from (certain) passives, past participles of verbs taking *être* as tense auxiliary (with certain tense adverbials), the à-NP of *Ce livre est à Jean* (cf. \**Ce livre deviendra à Jean*), the expression *en train de faire quelque chose* from *Jean est en train de chanter*, and the date expression of *Nous sommes le 28*:

- (82) a. On croit Jean aimé de sa femme.
- b. Je le croyais poursuivi par ses créanciers.
- a. ‘They think Jean loved by his wife.’
- b. ‘I thought him pursued by his creditors.’
- (83) a. Elle croyait Jean déjà parti.
- b. Elle croyait Jean arrivé à Paris depuis 4 heures.
- c. Tout le monde croyait ce livre à Jean.
- d. Je le croyais en train de faire une bêtise.
- e. Je nous croyais le 28.
- a. ‘She thought Jean already gone.’
- b. ‘She thought Jean arrived in Paris for four hours.’
- c. ‘Everyone thought this book Jean’s.’

- d. 'I thought him in the midst of doing something foolish.'
- e. 'I thought us the 28th.'

If these were not derived through the deletion of *être*, then the PS rules would have to be complicated to generate in the environment *croire NP* — a set of phrases having little in common but their cooccurrence with *être*, a generalization not expressed if (83) is base-generated. Furthermore, the base generation of "past participle *de/par* NP" would preclude automatically accounting for the fact that those past participles occurring in (82) are of verbs that can be followed by an NP (cf. \**On croit Jean allé de sa femme*) and that the NP object of *croire* is interpreted as the underlying object of the past participle. These facts are straightforwardly accounted for if (82) is derived through the deletion of *être* from a full passive structure.

A second argument in favor of the postulation of an embedded S for (81)–(83) is based on certain restrictions concerning the distribution of reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre*. Although one can have *Jean croit Pierrette amoureuse de Paul et Paul croit Pierrette amoureuse de Jean*, it is impossible for *l'un . . . l'autre* to be the complement of an adjective embedded under *croire* if its antecedent is the subject of *croire*:

(84) \**Jean et Paul croyaient Pierrette amoureuse l'un de l'autre.*

'Jean and Paul thought Pierrette in love with each other.'

The ungrammaticality of (84) follows from the specified subject condition, for example, given the structure  $NP_1 \text{ } croire \text{ } s[NP_2 \text{ } Adj \text{ } P \text{ } NP_3]$ , with  $X = NP_1$ ,  $Y = NP_3$ ,  $Z = NP_2$ . For the condition to be applicable, it is, of course, necessary that there be an embedded S. The condition, on the other hand, allows the antecedent of  $NP_3$  to be  $NP_2$ :

(85) *Jean croyait Pierrette et Paul amoureux l'un de l'autre.*

The ungrammaticality of (84) does not depend crucially on the presence of an adjective. Quite parallel to (84) is this sentence with an embedded *être à*:

(86) \**Jean et Paul croyaient ce livre l'un à l'autre.*

'Jean and Paul thought that book each other's.'

We conclude that the construction exemplified in (81)–(86) contains an embedded S.

Consider the case of a sentence embedded under *croire* consisting of NP - *être* - Adj - P - NP where P - NP represents an adjectival complement normally cliticizable to a dative clitic, for example, as shown in (87):

- (87) a. Jean est antipathique à Marie.
- b. Jean est semblable à Marie.
- c. Jean est inférieur à Marie.
- d. Marie est infidèle à Jean.
- e. Jean t'est antipathique.
- f. Jean vous est semblable.
- g. Jean lui est inférieur.
- h. Marie t'est infidèle.

Thus the full sentence with *croire* where the adjectival complement is not a cliticizable pronoun has the form illustrated in (88):

- (88) a. Tout le monde croyait Jean antipathique à Marie.
- b. Moi, je crois Jean tout à fait semblable à ses parents.
- c. La plupart des gens croyaient Jean inférieur à Pierrette.
- d. Tout le monde la croit infidèle à son mari.
- a. ‘Everyone thought Jean antipathetic to Marie.’
- b. ‘I think Jean quite similar to his parents.’
- c. ‘Most people thought Jean inferior to Pierrette.’
- d. ‘Everyone thinks her unfaithful to her husband.’

Under such conditions we come upon a fact reminiscent of the inapplicability of Cl-Pl to the underlying dative complement in the construction with FI (*Cela fera répondre Jean à Marie*, \**Cela te fera répondre Jean*), namely that the adjectival complement, if a cliticizable pronoun, cannot be attached to *croire*, as shown in (89):

- (89) a. \*Tout le monde te croyait Jean antipathique.
- b. \*Moi, je vous crois Jean tout à fait semblable.

- c. \*La plupart des gens lui croyait Jean inférieur.<sup>30</sup>
- d. \*Tout le monde te la croit infidèle.

The similarity to the construction with FI is emphasized by the observation that the extraction of *y*, *en* from the adjectival complement embedded under *croire* is possible.<sup>31</sup> The following paradigm contrasts with (88), (89):

- (90) a. On croit Jean fidèle à ses principes.
- b. Tout le monde croit Jean digne de cet honneur.
  - a. ‘People think Jean faithful to his principles.’
  - b. ‘Everyone thinks Jean worthy of that honor.’
- (91) a. On *y* croit Jean fidèle.
- b. Tout le monde *en* croit Jean digne.

As in the case of FI, the ungrammaticality of (89) can be considered a consequence of the specified subject condition, here applied, for example, to the structure . . . *croire* s[*Jean semblable à vous*], with *X* = *croire*, *Y* = *vous*, *Z* = *Jean*. Again, the same line of reasoning would lead us to expect (91) to be ungrammatical, given the structure *croire* s[*Jean digne en*], with *X* = *croire*, *Y* = *en*, *Z* = *Jean*. The restructuring rule postulated earlier for *en*, *y* might then be extended to this case:

$$\dots \text{croire } s[\text{NP} \dots \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{en} \\ \text{y} \end{matrix} \right\}] \rightarrow \dots \text{croire } s[\text{NP} \dots] \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{en} \\ \text{y} \end{matrix} \right\}$$

<sup>30</sup> Some speakers find such sentences with *lui*, *leur* slightly better than those with first or second person clitics. Similarly, some find (i) \**Elle t'aurait fait téléphoner son fils* slightly improved with *lui*, *leur*, although still not very good. We have no explanation for this fact. The corresponding sentences with *se* are impossible: (ii) \**Elle se fera téléphoner son fils*, (iii) \**Elle se croyait son mari infidèle*. The nonapplication of Cl-Pl gives a result, for example, (iv) ?*Tout le monde croyait Jean antipathique à toi*, as bad as in a simple S: (v) ?*Jean est antipathique à toi*; cf. (63). [(ii) ‘She<sub>i</sub> will have her son telephone to her<sub>i</sub>.’ (iii) ‘She<sub>i</sub> thought her husband unfaithful to her<sub>i</sub>.’]

<sup>31</sup> As is Wh Movement: (i) *Auquel de tes amis croyais-tu Jean semblable?* (ii) *La fille à qui je crois Jean antipathique*; cf. (37). The patterning together of *en* and *y* is likely due to their pro-PP status; see sec. 2.7 and fn. 55 below. We recall that, as in (91) versus (89), they exhibit more “freedom” than the pro-N(P) datives and accusatives in other ways; see fn. 7, chap. 2, and fns. 3, 17, this chapter.

To this structure the condition would no longer be applicable. Unfortunately, the motivation for such a rule does not extend past the examples in question, and a common formulation for a restructuring rule in (91) and (78) is unclear, so that the behavior of *y*, *en* in these constructions must be considered an at least temporarily unexplained exception to the specified subject condition.<sup>32</sup>

In describing the ungrammaticality of (89), we assumed for the sake of exposition a deep structure of the form *croire* - S. The arguments given above in favor of an embedded S would be equally compatible with a deep structure for (81)–(86), (88)–(91) of the form *croire* - NP - S, to be followed by the deletion of the embedded subject (via Equi) and the deletion of *être*. If the *croire* - S structure were correct, we might expect to be able to embed in this construction various kinds of sentences with *être*, independently of the exact nature of the embedded subject. However, sentences whose subject is the *il* of weather expressions like *Il pleut* cannot be so embedded, even if *être* is present. For example, the embedding of sentences like (92)<sup>33</sup> yields the ungrammatical (93):

- (92) a. Il était foutu de pleuvoir.
- b. Il est susceptible de neiger aujourd’hui.
- c. Il était en train de neiger.
- a. ‘It was supposed to rain.’
- b. ‘It’s liable to snow today.’
- c. ‘It was in the midst of snowing.’

- (93) a. \*Je (le) croyais foutu de pleuvoir.

<sup>32</sup> But see fn. 55. The *en* of (i) *Jean est un grand savant*, (ii) *Jean en est un (grand)* acts like (89) rather than (91): (iii) \**Elle en croyait Jean un grand* (see Gross (1968, p. 127)), (iv) \**Elle en croyait Jean un*. Similarly, (v) *Cela fera devenir Jean un grand savant*, (vi) \**Cela en fera devenir Jean un (grand)* resembles (36) rather than (78). Some accept (91) with *en . . . capable*, but not *en . . . fier*. Similarly, some reject (78)c, whereas (78)d is uniformly accepted; this recalls certain German reflexivization contrasts cited by Reis (1973, p. 522, (16)a vs. (10)a).

<sup>33</sup> These are not instances of simple extraposition; cf. (i) \**Pleuvoir/Qu'il pleuve est foutu/susceptible/en train*, (ii) \**Il est foutu/susceptible/en train qu'il pleuve*. They are, rather, like (iii) *Il semble pleuvoir beaucoup ici*; see (147) ff., chap. 3. All these *il* may be surface realizations of a dummy subject; see (85) ff., chap. 3. [(iii) ‘It seems to rain a lot here.’]

- b. \*Elle (le) croit susceptible de neiger aujourd'hui.
- c. \*Je (le) croyais en train de neiger.

The sentences (93) are ungrammatical with or without *le*. Under the *croire* - NP - S hypothesis, this would follow if the *il* of weather expressions were excluded from deep structure object positions, in which case (93) would be ungenerable for want of a suitable deep structure NP object for *croire*.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, if the articleless NPs of expressions like *promettre monts et merveilles*, *porter assistance* are limited in occurrence to those particular verbs in deep structure, then the *croire* - NP - S hypothesis would correctly predict the ungrammaticality of

- (94) a. \*Elle croit monts et merveilles susceptibles d'être promis à ce garçon.  
 b. \*Elle croit assistance difficile à porter aux victimes d'hydrocution.  
   a. 'She thinks wonders likely to be promised to that boy.'  
   b. 'She believes assistance difficult to lend to drowning victims.'

This is so because *monts et merveilles*, *assistance* would be excluded as possible deep structure objects of *croire*. Given a deep structure *croire*-S here, on the other hand, it would not be clear (especially since they can often be embedded under other verbs, like *sembler*) why one could not embed under *croire* sentences like *Monts et merveilles sont susceptibles d'être promis à ce garçon*, *Assistance est difficile à porter aux victimes d'hydrocution*, which, when followed by the deletion of *être*, would yield (94).

If the deep structure *croire*-NP-S is the right one for the construction with *être* deletion, then *croire* is a verb that, like *laisser*, *voir* in section 3.4, enters into both V-NP-S and V-S deep structures. For *croire*, the latter is pertinent to sentences such as *Je croyais qu'il était foutu de pleuvoir*, *Elle croit que Jean est fou*.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> In (i) *Je crois nécessaire d'y aller*, the NP object must be (*d'*)*y aller*. The difference between *nécessaire* and the predicates of (92) is shown too (see fn. 33) by (ii) *Que tu y ailles/Ton départ est nécessaire* versus (iii) \**L'arrivée de Jean est susceptible/foutue* (\* in the relevant sense of *foutu*). [(i) 'I believe it necessary to go there.' (ii) 'That you go there/Your departure is necessary.]

<sup>35</sup> Compare, too, pairs like (i) *Elle a dit qu'il était fou* (ii) *Elle a dit de Jean qu'il était fou* with V - S and V - de NP - S. Like (93), (94) is (iii) \**Je croyais ton meilleur ami Jean*; compare

The exclusion of (89) by the specified subject condition is compatible with the attribution to those sentences of a V - NP - S structure (and the problem of (91) remains). The condition will apply, for example, to the structure . . . *croire* NP s[PRO . . . à *toi*] (PRO = the embedded subject ultimately deleted by Equi), with X = *croire*, Y = *toi*, and Z = PRO, thereby preventing Cl-Pl from attaching *toi* to *croire*. The deletion of PRO by Equi must be ordered after Cl-Pl, since once PRO is deleted, the condition is no longer applicable.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.7 Datives Sister to *Faire*

The construction with *croire* and *être* deletion is thus seen to be similar to the *faire*-infinitive construction with respect to certain constraints on the cliticization of a dative pronoun occurring in the sentence embedded under *croire* or *faire*. In both cases, we have suggested that those constraints be viewed as a consequence of a condition on rules which makes use of the notion “subject,” namely the specified subject condition. The present section will be devoted to a class of sentences which bear on the generalization concerning dative clitics in the *faire* construction, as well as on the specified subject condition.

It was observed earlier that superficially similar sentences such as *Elle a fait boire du vin à son ami* and *Cela fera téléphoner Jean à ses parents* differ in that only the first allows the dative to appear as a clitic: *Elle lui a fait boire du vin* versus \**Cela leur a fait téléphoner Jean*. In the latter, the dative corresponds to an underlying complement of the infinitive, in the former to the subject of that infinitive. In the following sentences, the dative does not derive from an underlying subject, yet it is cliticizable:

- (95) a. Ils m'ont fait disparaître ma voiture.
- b. On lui fera mourir son chien.

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Borkin (1973). The idiom argument is complicated by (iv) *Observation nous a été faite que S* versus (v) \**On nous a fait observation que S* (from Giry-Schneider (1974)), where in the active the article must appear. [(ii) ‘She said of Jean that he was crazy.’ (iii) ‘I thought your best friend Jean.’]

<sup>36</sup> See fn. 2. If the correct deep structure for (89) were *croire* - S, then the condition would, unless a PRO or trace were left behind, be incompatible with a rule raising the embedded subject out into the higher S; see Chomsky (1971), Postal (1974). The condition will also exclude (i) \**Je le croyais Marie* (cf. (ii) *Je croyais Marie folle*; see sec. 4.4), as well as (iii) \**Marie l'a longtemps été crue* (cf. (iv) *Marie a longtemps été crue folle*); cf. (11) [(iv) ‘Marie was for a long time thought crazy.’]

- a. 'They made my car disappear.'
- b. 'We'll make his dog die.'

In (95), the underlying subjects of *disparaître* and *mourir*, which are intransitive, are *sa voiture* and *son chien*, respectively. If the datives in (95) derived from underlying complements of *disparaître* and *mourir*, then we would expect them not to be cliticizable, as in the sentence with *téléphoner* above. Let us propose, then, that the datives in (95) are neither subject nor complement of the infinitives and do not originate in the embedded sentence at all.

Evidence in favor of this proposal comes from the ungrammaticality of (96), which shows that in isolation the sentences embedded under *faire* in (95) are incompatible with a dative clitic.

- (96) a. \*Ma voiture m'a disparu.  
 b. \*Son chien lui mourra.

This suggests, in turn, that the datives of (95) are deep structure complements of *faire*, in other words, that they originate in the higher S. They appear to be closely related, if not identical, to the datives of sentences like *On lui a démolî sa voiture*, *On lui a tué son chien*, which were noted in chapter 2, (310) ff., to occur only in sentences of a particular semantic character; vaguely speaking, the dative must be "affected" in some way by the action described. This correlates with the absence of sentences comparable to (95) containing *voir*, *regarder*, *entendre*, instead of *faire*:

- (97) a. \*Tu lui entendras exploser sa voiture.  
 b. \*Je lui ai vu mourir son chien.  
 c. \*Ils m'ont regardé mourir mon chien.  
     a. 'You will hear his car explode.'  
     b. 'I saw his dog die.'  
     c. 'They watched my dog die.'

The contrast between (95) and (97), especially in light of the fact that without the dative all are grammatical (*On a fait/entendu/vu/regardé mourir mon chien*), reinforces the claim that these datives originate as complements of the higher S rather than of the infinitive.

Since the dative in (95) does not originate in the embedded S, the specified subject condition, which requires a configuration  $X \dots s[\dots Z \dots Y \dots]$ , will, as desired, be irrelevant to the movement of that dative via Cl-Pl. In other words, the condition could not take  $X = faire$ ,  $Y = lui$ , since in (95) *faire* and *lui* are not separated by an embedded S node.<sup>37</sup>

Very much like (95) are certain sentences involving the dative plus inalienable possession construction:

- (98) a. *On lui a fait adhérer le bras au mur.*
- b. *Le soleil lui a fait rougir la peau.*
- c. *Le soufre lui a fait se rétrécir la peau.*
- d. *Les cachets lui ont fait enfler le bras.*
- a. ‘They made his arm stick to the wall.’
- b. ‘The sun made his skin redden.’
- c. ‘The sulfur made his skin shrink.’
- d. ‘The pills made his arm swell.’

The meaning of these sentences is similar to that of *On a fait adhérer son bras au mur*, *Le soleil a fait rougir sa peau*, *Le soufre a fait se rétrécir sa peau*, etc., so it is clear that in (98) dative *lui* is not the underlying subject of the infinitive. In section 2.15, we argued that the dative of inalienable possession is not to be derived from an adnominal possessive complement; consequently, *lui* in (98) does not originate as an adnominal complement of the underlying subject of the infinitive, *le bras*, *la peau*. One superficially plausible source for *lui* would be as a dative in the embedded S, in which case we would expect (98) to be ungrammatical, parallel to *\*Cela leur a fait téléphoner Jean*. We shall therefore take the grammaticality of (98) as evidence that the dative does not originate in the embedded S.

This decision is supported by the observation that the embedded Ss of (98) are usually judged incompatible with such datives in isolation:

<sup>37</sup> In the colloquial style to which (95) belongs, one could also have (i) *On lui fera répondre sa femme*, where *lui* is the special dative under discussion and not a deep structure complement of *répondre* (*répondre* then taken intransitively). As expected, such sentences are not possible with the top verbs of (97) and less natural with *lui . . . ta femme*. Example (95)b may be more natural with *mourir* replaced by intransitive *crever* ‘die’.

- (99) a. \*La peau lui a rougi.  
 b. \*Le bras lui.a adhéré au mur.  
 c. \*?Le bras lui a enflé.

- (100) \*La peau se lui est rétrécie.

Although the ungrammaticality of (100) might be attributed to the generally unacceptable clitic combination *se lui*, that of (99) is more difficult to reconcile with an embedded S origin for the datives of (98). Furthermore, if such sentences as (99) could be embedded under *faire* despite their ungrammaticality in isolation, why would the corresponding sentences with *voir*, *entendre*, *regarder* be much worse?

- (101) a. \*Elle lui a vu adhérer le bras au mur.  
 b. \*Nous lui avons regardé enfler le bras.  
 c. \*On lui a entendu se rétrécir la peau.

That the above examples are not good sentences is especially notable since the semantically similar sentences with a possessive rather than the dative are grammatical:

- (102) a. Elle a vu adhérer son bras au mur.  
 b. Nous avons regardé enfler son bras.  
 c. On a entendu se rétrécir sa peau.

The contrast between (101) and (98) would again appear to be semantically based, and related to a general property of the dative-definite article construction, namely that, much like in (95), it implies that the dative be “affected” in some way by the action described by the verb. (The construction without the dative (102) carries no such general implication, whence its grammaticality.)<sup>38</sup> If this is correct, then the crucial point distinguishing (101) and (98) is the main verb, that is, an element that is part of the higher sentence. That an element of the higher sentence should be of such relevance is understandable if the dative itself originates in that higher S, and not in the embedded S.

<sup>38</sup> See chap. 2, examples (291) ff., and fn. 109. The imprecision of this semantic argument is set off by the observation that in certain contexts, such as *hide* ‘n’ *seek*, even *voir* allows the dative: (i) *Attention, on te voit le dos* ‘Your back is showing.’

The higher S deep structure status of the dative in (98) has the desired effect of making the specified subject condition irrelevant. Given a structure *Les cachets ont fait s[le bras enfler] à lui*,<sup>39</sup> FI will apply → *Les cachets ont fait enfler le bras à lui*, at which point Cl-Pl will apply, attaching *lui* to *faire*. The condition will be unable to take  $X = faire$ ,  $Z = le bras$ ,  $Y = lui$  because *lui* is not within the embedded S.

Not all sentences modeled on (98) lead to ungrammaticality if the embedded S is taken in isolation with the dative. The (98)–(99) pattern is not found, for example, in

- (103) a. *Cela lui faisait battre le cœur.*
- b. *Cela lui fait tourner la tête.*
- a. ‘That was making his heart pound.’
- b. ‘That makes his head spin.’
- (104) a. *Le cœur lui battait.*
- b. *La tête lui tourne.*

Here, an argument of the type based on (99) is not possible. The grammaticality of (104) makes plausible the claim that the dative in (103) originates in the embedded S. However, since the base rules must, in light of (98), allow for the generation of datives in the S containing as main verb *faire*, it would be equally plausible to maintain that the datives of (103) originate, parallel to those of (98), in the higher S. In the absence of other considerations, the higher S origin would be preferable, insofar as it, but not an embedded S origin, is compatible with the specified subject condition.

The higher S origin of the dative in (103) is, in fact, supported by another consideration, one related to the observation that almost all the verbs occurring in structures like (104) can also occur intransitively, that is, without a dative: *Son cœur/le métronome/le tambour battait; La tête de Jean/le moteur tournait; Elle a le cœur qui bat; Elle a la tête qui tourne*. This means that the deep structures postulated for (103), such

<sup>39</sup> Probably the dative (since likely prepositionless; see chap. 2, examples (277)–(287)) should be placed between *faire* and S (the same holds for that of (95)). In that case FI would need to allow for an optionally intervening dative NP between *faire* and the subject of the embedded S (cf. the possibility of intervening adverbials, such as (i) *Fais donc entrer Jean*).

as *Cela faisait s[le cœur battre] à lui* (see fn. 39), are coherent. Since such deep structures contain an embedded S in which *battre*, *tourner* occur without a dative, one would expect, correctly, that such verbs can occur without a dative in isolation. Conversely, such a deep structure would not be coherent for a verb that occurred in (104) but that could not occur intransitively without the dative, for example, *démanger*:

- (105) La main lui démange.

‘His hand itches.’

- (106) a. \*Sa main démange.

b. \*L'épaule de Jean démange.

c. \*J'ai le cou qui démange.

(Possible is *Sa main le démange*.) In other words, given (106), a deep structure *Cela faisait s[la main démanger] à lui* is ill-formed, since, by containing an intransitive occurrence of *démanger*, it violates the subcategorization restrictions for *démanger*. Notice, now, that in our analysis, sentences like (103) and (98) are derived from precisely that kind of deep structure (which is not ill-formed for (103) and (98), since those verbs can occur intransitively). Consequently, *démanger* should be excluded from the (103)/(98) construction, and it is:

- (107) a. \*Cela lui faisait démanger la main.

b. \*Les cachets que j'ai pris m'ont fait démanger l'épaule.

a. ‘That was making his hand itch.’

b. ‘The pills that I took made my shoulder itch.’

The ungrammaticality of (107) follows from that of (106), only given the higher S origin of the dative. If the dative in (103) had been able to originate in the embedded S, as in *Cela faisait s[le cœur battre à lui]*, then (107) should have been derivable from *Cela faisait s[la main démanger à lui]*. We conclude that datives generated in the embedded S in such structures lead to a violation of the specified subject condition when Cl-Pl applies (for example, with X = *faire*, Z = *la main*, Y = *lui* in *Cela faisait s[la main démanger à lui]*), and consequently, that the datives of (103), like those of (98), originate in the higher S.

A contrast somewhat similar to the one between (101) and (98) can be constructed using sentences where the inalienable possession is a

prepositional complement of the embedded S, rather than the subject:

- (108) a. On lui a fait tomber des pierres sur la tête.
  - b. Elle lui a laissé tomber des pierres sur la tête.
  - a. ‘Someone made stones fall on his head.’
  - b. ‘She let stones fall on his head.’
- (109) a. ??Nous lui avons vu tomber des pierres sur la tête.
  - b. \*Ils lui ont regardé tomber des pierres sur la tête.
  - c. \*Ils lui ont entendu tomber des pierres sur la tête.

Here, too, the presence of the dative is crucial; if it is removed and the possessive used instead, the paradigm regularizes itself: *On a fait/laissé/vu/regardé/entendu tomber des pierres sur sa tête*; that is, these are possible with all five verbs. This suggests that the datives in (108), (109) too might originate in the higher S, that is, as a complement of *faire*, *laisser*, etc.

An argument comparable to that based on (99) cannot, however, be constructed for (108), as it could not for (103), since a dative is possible in the embedded S in isolation: *Des pierres lui sont tombées sur la tête*. Nor do we know of any verbs like *démanger* that would allow the construction for (108) of an argument comparable to that involving (105)–(107); that is, we do not know of any  $V_i$  such that  $NP \_ lui \_ V_i \_ P \_ NP_{inalienable}$  is possible and  $NP \_ V_i \_ P \_ NP$  impossible. Nonetheless, there is some (additional) evidence supporting a higher S origin for the datives of (108). Sentences such as (110) with the dative appearing as à-NP are generally rejected.

- (110) \*Des pierres sont tombées sur la tête à Jean.

Yet those speakers who do accept (see fn. 106, chapter 2) \**Elle a tiré dans le ventre à Jean* (the difference between *tirer* and *tomber* may be due to the agentiveness of the subject) also accept

- (111) a. \*On a fait tomber des pierres sur la tête à Jean.
- b. \*On a laissé tomber des pierres sur la tête à Jean.

(The asterisk indicates here that (111) is accepted only by the speakers in question.) The contrast, for these speakers, between (110) and

(111) suggests that *à Jean* in the latter originates in the higher S. This correlates with the fact that the corresponding sentences with *voir*, *entendre*, *regarder* are ungrammatical for all:

- (112) \*On a vu/entendu/regardé tomber des pierres sur la tête à Jean.

The deep structures postulated for (98), (103), (108), (111) contain embedded Ss, *La peau rougir*, *Le cœur battre*, *Des pierres tomber sur la tête*, etc., and a dative *lui* (or other NP, as in (111)) outside that embedded S. Thus they do not explicitly represent the “possession relationship” understood between *la peau*, *le cœur*, *la tête*, and *lui*. That is, however, not particular to the *faire* construction. In chapter 2, (291) ff., we argued that the dative of the inalienable possession construction is to be generated independently of the “possession” (this is supported by the higher S origin of the datives in (98), etc.) and in (304) ff. that there is no rule deleting a possessive adnominal complement under identity with the dative. In other words, the deep structure of a sentence like *On lui a cassé le bras* will contain an NP *le bras* devoid of any complement; that is, the relation between it and *lui* is not explicitly represented. Similarly, the deep structure of *Elle a levé la main* will contain the bare NP *la main*, whose relation with the subject is not given explicitly. The interpretation under which *le bras*, *la main* are understood as belonging to *lui*, *elle* could be attributed to a rule that associates such “inalienable” NPs with the appropriate pronoun (or NP, as in *On a cassé le bras à Jean*, *Marie a levé la main*).<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.8 Specified Subject Condition and Inalienables

Of particular relevance to the *faire* construction is the fact that, like reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre* and Cl-Pl, the rule associating inalienables with their possessors normally takes place only within a single S. Thus, alongside *Elle a ouvert la bouche*, *La balle a blessé Jean à la tête*, *La*

<sup>40</sup> The formalization of that rule is beyond the scope of this work. The problem of specifying “inalienable” and that of finding the appropriate NP would not be simplified in an analysis that explicitly represented the possession relationship in deep structure: (i) *Elle a levé NP[la main à elle]*, (ii) *On a cassé NP[le bras à lui] à lui*; they would be transferred to the then necessary rule deleting adnominal *à elle*, *à lui*. Similarly, the single-S data (see text) would still be attributable to the specified subject condition if the “association” rule were replaced by a deletion rule.

*pierre lui est tombée sur la tête*, we do not have (except in the sense of *la bouche*, *la tête* referring to an already mentioned mouth or head)

- (113) a. \*Elle fera en sorte que la bouche ouvre vite.
- b. \*Elle voudrait que la bouche ouvre vite.
- c. \*La balle a blessé Jean, parce que la tête était découverte.
- d. \*Je lui ai fait que les pierres tombent sur la tête.
- a. ‘She will see to it that her mouth opens quickly.’
- b. ‘She would like that her mouth open quickly.’
- c. ‘The bullet wounded Jean, because his head was uncovered.’
- d. ‘I saw to it that stones fell on his head.’

Similarly, in (114), *la bouche*, *la tête* are understood as belonging to *elle*, *Jean*, *lui*, and not to *Paul*, *je*, *tu*.

- (114) a. Paul veut qu’elle ouvre la bouche.
- b. Je sais que la balle a blessé Jean à la tête.
- c. Tu feras en sorte que les pierres lui tombent sur la tête.
- a. ‘Paul wants that she open her mouth.’
- b. ‘I know that the bullet wounded Jean in the head.’
- c. ‘You will see to it that the stones fall on his head.’

Within the framework of this chapter, this means that the rule in question should be subject to the tensed S and specified subject conditions. The former (“no rule can involve *X*, *Y* in the structure . . . *X* . . . *s[. . . Y . . .]* . . . , where S is tensed”) is sufficient to account for (113), (114). The latter would be applicable in cases like (115), where *la bouche* is necessarily associated with the ultimately deleted subject of *ouvrir* (that subject is coreferential here with *Marie*), and not with *Paul*.

- (115) Paul a dit à Marie d’ouvrir la bouche.

‘Paul told Marie to open her mouth.’

It should be noted at this point that the restriction to “within a single S” (which is precisely formulated in terms of the above two conditions) of the rule associating inalienables with their possessors,

since it is in no sense an insertion rule, reinforces the course followed earlier (see (41) ff.), that is, to consider that the 1965 insertion prohibition was insufficiently general, and that the “single S” restriction should be formulated so as to be applicable to different kinds of rules.

The generation of sentences such as (98), for example, *Le soleil lui a fait rougir la peau*, will not be inhibited by the tensed-S condition, since the embedded S is not tensed. Nor will the specified subject condition prevent *la peau* from being associated with *lui*, since *la peau* is itself the subject of the embedded S. The generation of (108) is, however, less straightforward. Consider, for example, *On lui a fait tomber des pierres sur la tête*, where *la tête* has been associated with *lui*. Given the existence of an embedded S node, that is, *On lui a fait tomber s[des pierres sur la tête]* (this is the structure after FI and Cl-Pl), the specified subject condition should prevent *la tête* from being associated with *lui*, by analyzing *lui* as X, *la tête* as Y, and *des pierres*, the embedded subject, as Z.

The preceding statement assumes that the dative is not generated in the embedded S. If it were, contrary to what was concluded earlier, and if the “inalienable” rule preceded Cl-Pl, then the association of *la tête* with *lui* would not violate the condition. However, if the dative originated in the embedded S, then Cl-Pl itself would violate the condition, so there is nothing to be gained (and something to be lost, as concluded earlier) by generating the dative in the embedded S. The preceding statement in question assumes too that the inalienable rule follows Cl-Pl. That assumption is not a necessary one (the optimal ordering is likely the opposite); if the inalienable rule applies prior to Cl-Pl, and if the dative is adjacent to *faire*, as in *On a fait NP<sub>dat</sub>[lui] tomber s[des pierres sur la tête]*, the specified subject condition is unaffected; that is, it will still, incorrectly, block the association of *lui* and *la tête*.

If the dative were to the right of S, as in *On a fait tomber s[des pierres sur la tête] à lui*, then, given the configuration of the condition X . . . s[Z . . . Y . . .], the condition would be inapplicable; it would not be possible to take *lui* as X, *la tête* as Y, *des pierres* as Z, since the above configuration requires that X be to the left of the embedded S, and therefore of Y. Thus it would at first glance appear that by generating the dative to the right of S, one could make the specified subject condition irrelevant and correctly allow (108) to be generated.

Additional data reveal, however, that the grammaticality of (108) is not general. Like (108) is (116), where *la gorge*, *le visage* are associated with *lui*.

- (116) a. Ça lui faisait monter des sanglots à la gorge.
- b. Elle lui a fait couler de la crème sur le visage.
- a. ‘That was making sobs come up to his throat.’
- b. ‘She made cream run down on his face.’

Superficially similar to (108), (116), yet ungrammatical, are<sup>41</sup>

- (117) a. \*On lui fera marcher Jean sur le bras.
- b. \*Elle lui fera tirer les soldats dans le ventre.
- a. ‘We will make Jean step on her arm.’
- b. ‘She will make the soldiers shoot him in the stomach.’

These are ungrammatical despite the grammaticality in isolation of *Jean lui marchera sur le bras*, *Les soldats lui tireront dans le ventre*. The question, then, is “Why is it that the higher S dative allows (116) to be grammatical, but does not suffice to render (117) grammatical?”

If the dative in (117) is, at the point of application of the “inalienable” rule, either in clitic position or adjacent to *faire*, for example, *Elle fera NP dat[lui] tirer s[les soldats dans le ventre]*, the specified subject condition will block the association of *lui* with *le ventre*, and so account for the ungrammaticality of (117). If the dative were to the right of S, as in *Elle fera tirer s[les soldats dans le ventre] à lui*, the condition would block the association of *lui* with *le ventre*, if the requirement that X be to the left of *s[Z . . . Y . . .]* were dropped.<sup>42</sup>

In either case, we are suggesting that the ungrammaticality of (117) be considered a reflection of the general restriction of the “inalienable” rule to “within single Ss,” that is, of the same type as the ungrammaticality of (113). If this is correct, then, independently of the position of the dative in the higher S, it is (116) that is to be treated as

<sup>41</sup> Again, a nondative construction is possible: (i) *On fera marcher Jean sur ton bras*, (ii) *Elle fera tirer les soldats dans le ventre de Paul*.

<sup>42</sup> With no harmful consequences, provided that X be required to be superior to Y, as suggested by Chomsky (1971) for the general case, where “the category A is *superior* to the category B in the phrase-marker if every major category dominating A dominates B as well, but not conversely.”

exceptional. Before attempting to characterize the essential difference between (116) and (117), we point out that the “inalienable” rule is not the only one that makes such distinctions:

- (118) a. Ils se sont fait tomber des pierres l'un sur l'autre.
- b. Elles se sont fait couler de la crème l'une sur l'autre.
- a. ‘They<sub>i</sub> made rocks fall on each other<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. ‘They made cream spill on one another.’

- (119) \*Elles  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{se sont} \\ \text{ont} \end{array} \right\}$  fait tirer le soldat l'une sur l'autre.  
‘They made the soldier shoot at one another.’

With or without *se*, (119) is ungrammatical;<sup>43</sup> *l'une . . . l'autre* cannot there be inserted for the underlying prepositional complement of the infinitive if the antecedent is the subject of *faire*. This too is related to a “single S” constraint, on *l'un . . . l'autre*, as argued in the last section of chapter 3. Moreover, if we compare (118), (119) with (171) of chapter 3 and (41) of this chapter, it seems clear that it is (118) that should be considered in some sense exceptional.

The special status of (116), (118) as apparent violations to the “single S” restrictions on inalienables and reciprocals is mirrored by the following sentences:

- (120) a. On lui fera tomber des pierres dessus.
- b. Elle lui a fait couler de la crème dessus.
- c. Elle lui a laissé tomber des pierres dessus.
- a. ‘We will make rocks fall on him.’
- b. ‘She made cream spill on him.’
- c. ‘She let rocks fall on him.’

These resemble (116), as well as (108), quite closely except for the

<sup>43</sup> Why (118) without *se* is usually judged ungrammatical, as in (i) \*?Ils ont fait tomber des pierres l'un sur l'autre, (ii) \*?Elles ont fait couler de la crème l'une sur l'autre, is unclear, although presumably related (cf. fn. 19) to (iii) Ils se sont foutu de la crème l'un sur l'autre, (iv) \*?Ils ont foutu de la crème l'un sur l'autre; this pair contrasts with the double possibility (v) Elles (se) tiraient l'une sur l'autre (see sec. 5.10). [(iii) ‘They threw cream on one another.’ (v) ‘They were shooting at one another.’]

absence of the inalienable and the presence of the bare preposition. As might be expected, then, counterparts to (117) are available:<sup>44</sup>

- (121) a. \*?On lui fera tirer les soldats dessus.
- b. \*?Elle te fera courir ses amis après.
- a. ‘We will make the soldiers shoot at him.’
- b. ‘She will make her friends run after you.’

Again, this is the case despite the grammaticality in isolation of *Les soldats lui tireront dessus, Ses amis te courront après*.

If the datives in (120), (121) originated in the embedded S, then the specified subject condition would mark the application of Cl-Pl as a violation in both. On the other hand, the datives may well originate in the higher S, as suggested by the contrast between (120) and (122):<sup>45</sup>

- (122) a. \*?Tu lui verras couler de la crème dessus.
- b. \*Je lui regarderai tomber des pierres dessus.
- c. \*Elle lui entendra couler de la crème dessus.

(See the discussion of (108)–(109).) This is suggested also by the (marginal) difference between \*\**Des pierres sont tombées dessus à Jean* and \**On a fait tomber des pierres dessus à Jean*. (See the discussion of (110), (111).) If the origin is in the higher S, then subsequent to FI we will have, for example, *On fera NP<sub>dat</sub>[lui] tirer s[les soldats PP[dessus Δ]]*, at which point the specified subject condition will mark as a violation the association of *lui* with  $\Delta$  in both (120) and (121).<sup>46</sup>

The point is now that if, as we are claiming, the ungrammaticality of (121) is treated as a reflection of a “single S” restriction, parallel to that of (117), (119), then the grammaticality of (120), like that of (116), (118), takes on an exceptional character. One difference between (116), (118), (120) and (117), (119), (121) lies in the nonagen-

<sup>44</sup> Without the dative, these are possible (cf. fn. 41), as in (i) *On fera tirer les soldats sur lui*, (ii) *Elle fera courir ses amis après toi*.

<sup>45</sup> As in fn. 44, we have (i) *Tu verras/regarderas/entendras couler de la crème sur lui*. [(i) ‘You will see/watch/hear cream running down on him.’]

<sup>46</sup> If, rather than an “association” rule formally akin to the “inalienable” rule, the dative-bare preposition construction involved a deletion rule, as in *Elle tire NP<sub>dat</sub>[lui] sur lui* → *Elle tire NP<sub>dat</sub>[lui] dessus*, then the application of that deletion rule would be marked as a violation. (In either case, if it originates in the higher S, the dative must be generated independently of the *sur* phrase; see (288) ff., chap. 2).

tive status of the embedded subjects of the former. That some notion “agentive” plays a significant role here is further suggested by the fact that, although *Jean lui est tombé dessus* is ambiguous, with both an agentive and nonagentive sense (as in *The police fell on the demonstrators*), sentence (123) is understood only in the nonagentive sense.

(123) On lui fera tomber Jean dessus.

Thus one might suggest that “single S” restrictions in nontensed Ss are valid only if the subject of the S is agentive or, more precisely, that Z in the specified subject condition must be agentive. However, that would be incorrect. For example, in English, \**We want very much for her to photograph each other* is ungrammatical since *each other* and its antecedent *we* are in separate Ss or, in terms of the specified subject condition, separated by the subject of the S containing *each other*. Similarly ungrammatical is \**We want very much for that rock to fall on each other*, despite the nonagentiveness of the embedded subject *that rock*.

In the *faire* construction, too, the nonagentiveness of the embedded subject may well be necessary for the specified subject condition to be nullified, but it is not sufficient. This is so because a pronoun corresponding to the underlying object of the infinitive in the sentences *Cet éclairage fait ressembler cette statue à mon ami*, ?*Le nouveau décret fait appartenir ces terres à M. Dupont*, ?*Son talent exceptionnel fera survivre ses oeuvres à ce peintre* cannot be cliticized (as a result of the condition), despite the nonagentive nature of the embedded subject:

- (124) a. \**Cet éclairage lui fait ressembler cette statue.*
- b. \**Le nouveau décret nous fera appartenir ces terres.*
- c. \**Ton talent exceptionnel te fera survivre tes oeuvres.*
- a. ‘This lighting will make that statue look like him.’
- b. ‘The new decree will make those lands belong to us.’
- c. ‘Your exceptional talent will make your works survive you.’

In the same way, *l'un . . . l'autre* cannot have as antecedent the subject of *faire* in <sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Possible is (i) *Les sculpteurs feront ressembler leurs sculptures les unes aux autres*, with antecedent *leurs sculptures*; cf. (175), chap. 3. Unlike (124) is (ii) *Je lui ai fait parvenir une lettre*, although *faire parvenir* might be a set expression.

- (125) \*Les sculpteurs (*se*) feront ressembler leurs sculptures les uns aux autres.

'The sculptors<sub>i</sub> will make their sculptures look like one another<sub>i</sub>.'

That is, despite the nonagentiveness of the subject of *ressembler*, (125) patterns like (121), and not like (120).

A comparison of (116), (118), (120) and (117), (119), (121) reveals that, within the framework of our analysis, all have a deep structure containing an embedded S of the form NP V P NP. Furthermore, all have a dative in the same position (higher S), and all undergo FI. In other words, the contrasts in grammaticality exhibited between the two sets can be attributed neither to a difference in structure nor to a difference in transformational history. It is rather that in one set certain rules have been interpreted as violating a condition having to do with "single S," whereas in the other the same rules have evidently not violated any such condition. Consequently, the condition itself must be able to distinguish the two sets, and the only relevant difference is semantic. Furthermore, the relevant semantic property cannot simply be thought of as residing in the embedded subject NP, as "agent" versus "nonagent," but must depend on additional factors, one of which may be the type of dative involved.<sup>48</sup> Let us tentatively say, then, that the specified subject condition, while in general sensitive to the syntactic configuration of the phrase marker, must also be able to take into account, and be nullified by, certain semantic properties of an as yet imprecise nature, as in (116), (118), (120).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> The sentences in (116), (118), (120) all contain the dative otherwise associated with the "inalienable" and "bare preposition" constructions (which was suggested in section 2.14 to be basically prepositionless). Notice that this distinguishes the sentences under discussion from such as (i) *Elle lui a fait porter ces draps par son domestique* (cf. (50)), in which the dative can be moved out of an embedded S because it is not preceded by the subject of that S (and so is unaffected by the specified subject condition). The semantic factors relevant to (116), etc., must likewise be irrelevant to (ii) *Elle s'est entendu reprocher cela par son fils*, where *se* is allowed out of the embedded S by the specified subject condition, parallel to (50). This is so since whatever principle is at work in (116), etc., requires that the main verb be *faire* or *laisser*, and in particular does not allow *entendre*; cf. (iii) \**Elle s'est entendu tomber des pierres dessus/sur la tête*, (iv) \**Ils se sont entendu tomber des pierres l'un sur l'autre*, and (109), (122). [(i) 'She had those sheets taken to him by her servant.' (ii) 'She heard herself reproached that by her son.]

<sup>49</sup> English displays something akin, but less clearly, in (i) ?*Why are they letting the honey drip on each other's feet?* versus (ii) \**Why are they letting the soldier photograph each other's feet?*

The interaction between FI and the inalienable possession construction, which contributed evidence in favor of the generation of datives as sisters to *faire*, and which bore directly on the functioning of the specified subject condition, gives rise to certain other observations of interest. For example, it provides a straightforward example of pairs of sentences isomorphic in surface structure, yet clearly demanding differentiation at a more abstract level, that of deep structure:

- (126) Les ultrasons lui ont fait rougir la peau.

‘The ultrasonics made his skin redden.’

- (127) Les ultrasons lui ont fait hocher la tête.

‘The ultrasonics made him nod his head.’

To (126) corresponds a deep structure *Les ultrasons ont fait NP dat[lui] s[la peau rougir]* in which *lui* is a dative and the inalienable *la peau* the subject of the embedded S. To (127) corresponds *Les ultrasons ont fait s[lui hocher la tête]*, where *lui* is the subject of and the inalienable *la tête* the object of the embedded S. The difference in deep structure can be brought out by replacing *lui* with an NP:

- (128) ?Les ultrasons ont fait rougir la peau à Jean-Jacques.

- (129) Les ultrasons ont fait hocher la tête à Jean-Jacques.

There is no change in grammaticality from (127) to (129), in which the datives arise through A-Ins (cf. *Je lui ferai boire du vin*, *Je ferai boire du vin à Jean*). However, (128) is less natural than (126), a not surprising fact, since there the dative does not arise through A-Ins but is simply the dative normally associated with inalienable possession, and this dative is often more natural as a clitic than as an NP (cf. *La poussière lui a noirci les jambes*, *?La poussière a noirci les jambes à Jean*).<sup>50</sup>

Sentences such as (127), (129) are themselves constrained in a revealing way. Quite parallel to (129) are

- (130) a. Le professeur a fait lever les mains aux enfants.  
          b. La lumière a fait fermer les yeux à tout le monde.  
          a. ‘The professor made the children raise their hands.’

<sup>50</sup> See also chap. 2, examples (240) ff., (286) ff., and fn. 121.

- b. ‘The light made everybody close their eyes.’

Impossible, on the other hand, are the following:

- (131) a. \**La lumière a fait voir les mains à tout le monde.*
- b. \**Le professeur a fait admirer la langue aux élèves.*
- a. ‘The light made everybody see their hands.’
- b. ‘The professor made the pupils admire their tongue.’

At least they are impossible in the inalienable reading available in (129), (130). The regularity of this paradigm is evident: sentences (129), (130) are possible because the Ss embedded under *faire* in them are grammatical in isolation: *Jean-Jacques a hoché la tête*, *Les enfants ont levé les mains*, *Tout le monde a fermé les yeux*. Sentences (131) are impossible because the corresponding embedded Ss are ungrammatical in the inalienable reading:

- (132) a. \**Tout le monde a vu les mains.*
- b. \**Les élèves ont admiré la langue.*

The implication of this regularity is that the rule relating these inalienables to their possessors must be able to apply prior to FI. This is the case since prior to FI, with structures *Le professeur a fait s[les enfants lever les mains]*, *La lumière a fait s[tout le monde voir les mains]*, the “inalienable” rule can apply just as in simple Ss, relating *les mains* to the subject of its S in the former structure, but not in the latter. Subsequent to FI (and A-Ins), however, the available structures, that is, (130), (131), no longer resemble the simple Ss on which they are built, so that the “inalienable” rule would have to be unnecessarily complicated, for example, to say that “with verbs like *lever* a following inalienable object is associated with the subject, except when *lever* is preceded by *faire*, in which case the inalienable is associated with the following dative.”

One might wonder whether the “inalienable” rule can ever apply subsequent to FI (if it could, then, following a line of argument related to one used in chapter 6, there would be good reason to consider it cyclic). Likely candidates for such subsequent application are the previously discussed *Le soleil lui a fait rougir la peau* and *On lui a fait tomber des pierres sur la tête*, with deep structures *Le soleil a fait NP dat[lui]*

*s[la peau rougir], On a fait NP<sub>dat</sub>[*lui*] s[des pierres tomber sur la tête]*. The higher S position of the dative means that the “inalienable” rule cannot apply within the embedded S, but that does not necessarily exclude the association of *lui* and *la peau, la tête* prior to FI. In the *tomber* case, prior to FI, the specified subject condition would be violated, but it is also after FI, so the only argument would be to show that the semantic nullification of the condition, discussed earlier, depends itself on the prior application of FI, that is, that it requires the contiguity of *faire* and infinitive.<sup>51</sup> We leave this question open.

The higher S position of the dative in the above sentences reinforces a claim implicit in our analysis, namely that the “inalienable” rule is not lexical, in other words, that it applies to phrase markers. The “inalienable” rule cannot, however, apply to the output of FI in

- (133) a. Elle a fait bouger ses pieds.
- b. \*Elle a fait bouger les pieds.
- c. Elle fera avancer ses lèvres.
- d. \*Elle fera avancer les lèvres.
- a-b. ‘She made her feet move.’
- c-d. ‘She will make her lips stick out.’

Compare the following:

- (134) a. Elle a bougé ses pieds. Elle a bougé les pieds.
- b. Elle avancera ses lèvres. Elle avancera les lèvres.
- a. ‘She moved her feet.’
- b. ‘She will stick out her lips.’

Rather than attribute the inapplicability of the “inalienable” rule in (133) to a syntactic ordering restriction, it appears preferable to look for a semantic account of the difference in behavior between the lexical transitive in (134) and the nearly synonymous *faire* + intransitive infinitive in (133). In particular, the absence of *les* in (133) might

<sup>51</sup> Not implausible in light of (i) *On lui a laissé couler de la crème sur la tête* versus (ii) \*?*On lui a laissé de la crème couler sur la tête* and (iii) *Ils se sont laissé tomber des pierres l'un sur l'autre* versus (iv) \**Ils se sont laissé des pierres tomber l'un sur l'autre*. [(i) ‘They let cream run down on his head.’ (iii) ‘They<sub>i</sub> let rocks fall on each other<sub>i</sub>.’]

be due to the fact that the NP V NP<sub>inalien</sub> construction is appropriate only for “gestures,” this combined with the semantic distinction between, for example, *bouger* and *faire bouger*, where the *faire* + Inf form implies a degree of “autonomy” or “separability” between the cause and the movement that would presumably conflict with the notion “gesture.”<sup>52</sup>

#### 4.9 FI as a Verb-Moving Transformation

At the beginning of our discussion of the role played by the specified subject condition in the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (43), \**Cela leur fera téléphoner leur fils*, we tentatively proposed to consider FI as a verb-moving transformation. In the present section, we shall examine this decision in the light of its interaction with certain issues of interest. It can be noted immediately that if FI does not move the verb, then the notion “subject” in the specified subject condition cannot be characterized configurationally. This is so since if FI does not move V, then the embedded subject NP itself must be moved. For example, in the case of verbs like *téléphoner*, where the change effected by FI is . . . *faire* NP<sub>a</sub> V à NP → . . . *faire* V NP<sub>a</sub> à NP, the nondisplacement of V implies that NP<sub>a</sub> be moved in between V and à-NP, that is, . . . *faire* s[NP<sub>a</sub> V à NP] → . . . *faire* s[V NP<sub>a</sub> à NP], at which point the postposed NP<sub>a</sub> is, unless reference is made to an earlier point in the derivation, indistinguishable from an object NP.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, the condition would have to allow Z in . . . X . . . s[. . . Z . . . Y . . .] to be a deep structure subject that is no longer in subject position. At the same time, given examples like \**They have arranged for your article to be sent to each other immediately*, where *each other* is prevented from having as antecedent *they*, by virtue of the specified subject condition, with Z = *your article*, the condition would need to allow Z to be a derived, non-deep structure subject.

<sup>52</sup> For relevant discussion, see chap. 2, examples (304) ff. and chap. 3, fn. 18. We note that, unlike (i) *Elle a senti tomber des pierres sur son (\*le) pied* (cf. (ii) *Elle a attrapé une pierre sur la tête*), (133) could not be accounted for in terms of the specified subject condition. [(i) ‘She felt rocks fall on her foot.’ (ii) ‘She caught a rock on her head.’]

<sup>53</sup> In particular, compare with the text the structures which would be produced, under a non-V-movement hypothesis, from the inputs *faire* s[NP<sub>a</sub> V NP<sub>b</sub> PP] or *faire* s[NP<sub>a</sub> V NP<sub>b</sub> PP *par* Δ], namely *faire* s[V NP<sub>b</sub> à NP<sub>a</sub> PP] (cf. (45)) and *faire* s[V NP<sub>b</sub> PP *par* NP<sub>a</sub>] (cf. (50)). In neither of these derived structures must the underlying object NP<sub>b</sub> be allowed to prevent the cliticization of the following constituent (NP<sub>a</sub> in (45) and PP (when PP = à-NP) in (50)).

Such a disjunctive characterization of *Z* could be avoided in favor of the statement that *Z* simply be the subject at the point of application of the rule to which the condition is being applied,<sup>54</sup> if FI is taken to move V. If FI moves V, then it need not move the embedded subject NP at all, so that . . . *faire* [NP<sub>a</sub> V à NP] will yield . . . *faire* V s[NP<sub>a</sub> à NP], in which case NP<sub>a</sub> is still in subject position and will thereby block the application of Cl-PI to a dative pronoun following à. We shall thus, in light of the advantage gained with respect to the specified subject condition, continue to consider that FI moves V rather than the embedded subject NP.

The claim that FI moves V raises the question of where exactly V is moved to. Given, for example, . . . *faire* s[NP V PP], two possibilities must be distinguished: either V is moved out of the embedded S, or it is not. If it is, then the output of FI is . . . *faire* V s[NP PP]. However, the extraction of V from the embedded S itself violates the specified subject condition if X = the position into which V is moved, Z = NP, and Y = V. Consequently FI can be considered to move V out of the lower S only at the cost of being classified as exceptional with respect to that condition.<sup>55</sup>

If FI moves V within the lower S, that is, . . . *faire* s[NP<sub>VP</sub>[V PP]] → . . . *faire* s[V NP<sub>VP</sub>[PP]], then the specified subject condition is not violated, since X and Y are not separated by an S boundary.<sup>56</sup> How-

<sup>54</sup> Where the subject is the NP directly dominated by S (see Chomsky (1965, pp. 70 ff., 220–221)). This configurational definition requires, of course, that object NPs not be dominated by S, that is, that there be an intermediate node VP or Pred P, such that . . . *faire* s[NP<sub>VP</sub>[V à NP]] → . . . *faire* V s[NP<sub>VP</sub>[à NP]], and implies that there is no node pruning here following FI. If there is a PS rule S → COMP S' (with S', rather than S, then rewritten as NP VP), as in Bresnan (1970; 1971b; 1972) and Chomsky (1971), the subject will be the NP directly dominated by S' (in which case the problem of distinguishing the subject in sentences like (i) *That movie she hasn't seen yet* would be resolved if the preposed NP is dominated either by COMP or by S).

<sup>55</sup> The cost would be eliminated if the condition could be shown to require in general that X be a possible controller (regardless of what Z is); cf. Chomsky (1971). That would eliminate FI as an exception, while implying that, for Cl-PI, X be interpreted as the derived clitic position (rather than the verb), with sentences like (i) *Je l'ai forcé à partir* taken as cases of clitics as (derived) controllers; examples (78), (91) might then be linked to the absence of pure PP controllers.

<sup>56</sup> Assuming X to be the position V moves to. If the word *involve* figuring in the statement of the condition allowed X = *faire*, then the condition would be violated here too.

ever, a problem arises when a more complex case is examined, namely when the embedded S contains an NP object, as in . . . *faire* NP<sub>a</sub> V NP → . . . *faire* V NP à NP<sub>a</sub>. In such a case, the movement of V alone is not sufficient to give the correct output order of constituents; since we are trying to avoid moving NP<sub>a</sub>, and since it seems more natural for two categories to move in one direction rather than in two directions, the conclusion is that the object NP is moved along with V. If V is moved out of its S, as in the preceding paragraph, the result of FI is . . . *faire* V NP s[à NP<sub>a</sub>], which presents no new difficulty. If V is moved within its S, the result of FI is . . . *faire* s[V NP à NP<sub>a</sub>], where both V and NP (as well as à-NP<sub>a</sub>) are directly dominated by S, so that NP will incorrectly be analyzed as a subject by the specified subject condition and thus incorrectly block the cliticization of NP<sub>a</sub> in *Je lui ferai boire du vin* (NP<sub>a</sub> = *lui*).

The movement of V within the embedded S thus has the undesirable consequence of leading to the attachment of the underlying object to that S node, and we shall for that reason (see also fn. 56) tentatively prefer to have FI move V (more precisely V(NP)) out of the embedded S. That preference would be less clear-cut if it turned out that V-NP were a constituent, that is, if there existed a node *A* such that a sentence of the form NP<sub>VP</sub>[V NP PP] received the further bracketing NP<sub>VP</sub>[*A*[V NP] PP], and if that node *A* dominated V-NP subsequent to FI too, that is, if . . . *faire* s[NP<sub>a</sub> VP[*A*[V NP] (PP)]] → . . . *faire* s[*A*[V NP] à NP<sub>a</sub> VP[(PP)]], in which case the displaced NP would not be directly dominated by S.<sup>57</sup>

Even if, as is being suggested here, FI moves V(NP) out of the embedded S, the possibility that V(NP) is a constituent is of some interest, insofar as it might be thought that transformations should be disallowed from moving nonconstituents.<sup>58</sup> If, in fact, no well-motivated transformation moving nonconstituents can be demon-

<sup>57</sup> A similar effect could be gotten, in the S' framework of note 54, if V and NP were attached, not to S', but either to COMP or S. Attachment to COMP would imply the possibility of a subsequent otherwise unknown movement out of COMP via Cl-Pl in (i) *Elle en fera boire à Jean*; attachment of V NP to S as sisters of COMP would not appear to be well motivated either. [(i) 'She will have Jean drink some.']}

<sup>58</sup> As proposed by Ross (1969). Cf. also chap. 2, fn. 52, and (203) ff. Conceivable too would be a modified restriction, for example, one disallowing the movement of *A B* in  $\rho[A_E[B C]]$ , but allowing it in  $\rho[A B C]$ .

strated to exist and if such a restriction could be shown to have explanatory force, then the hypothesis that FI moves V(NP) would imply that V(NP) be a constituent.<sup>59</sup>

The verb-moving nature of FI can be compared with the effect of another transformation changing the relative order of a subject NP and following V, one that will be called NP-Extraposition and that applies in the derivation of sentences like *Il est arrivé trois femmes*, *Il a été mangé plusieurs tartes*, *Il se construit beaucoup d'immeubles dans cette ville*. It seems clear that NP-Extrap moves the NP itself to the right of the verb, whether in applying to intransitives such as *arriver* or to the output of the passive or *se-moyen* transformations, and that the *il* is in some sense filling the vacated subject position.<sup>60</sup> FI and NP-Extrap, despite their formal difference, have one point in common: in both cases, the simple change in relative position of subject NP and V is perturbed if that V is followed by an NP object. With FI, an embedded NP object will, as we have seen, obligatorily trigger the insertion of *à*: *Elle fera manger cette tarte à Jean*. As a result, neither of the following is grammatical:

- (135) \**Elle fera manger cette tarte Jean/Jean cette tarte.*

Their ungrammaticality resembles that produced by the application of NP-Extrap in the presence of an NP object:

- (136) a. \**Il mangera cette tarte trois filles.*  
 b. \**Il mangera trois filles cette tarte.*  
 a–b. ‘Three girls will eat that pie.’

<sup>59</sup> Likewise for V\* NP in chap. 3, examples (164)–(165). Notice that such a restriction could trivially be gotten around by decomposing FI into a sequence of movement rules (for example, first V, then NP). Evidence for the constituent status of V NP might be sought along the lines indicated in Schlyter (1972; 1974) and Williams (forthcoming), where it is observed that the preposing to S-initial position of objects and adverbials is more difficult as the depth of embedding increases (that is, given *s[... s[... Pred P[... vp[...]]]]*; compare this to (205), chap. 2, if *[... vp[... A[...]. . .]]*).

<sup>60</sup> On *il*, see fn. 35, chap. 3; on *se-moyen*, see sec. 5.9; on NP-Extrap, see chap. 3, (135) ff. and sec. 5.6. In addition to being supported by its application to the output of other transformations, the transformational nature of NP-Extrap permits maintaining the generalization that, apart from reflexives, *être* occurs as tense auxiliary only with deep structure intransitives: (i) *Trois filles sont sorties*, (ii) *Il est sorti trois filles* (via NP-Extrap); (iii) *Jean a (\*est) sorti trois filles* (deep structure transitive). [(ii) ‘There went out three girls.’ (iii) ‘Jean took out three girls.’]

Like (136) is the impossibility, alongside *Trois nouvelles étoiles feront leur apparition cette nuit, Des manifestations auront lieu demain*, of

- (137) a. \*Il fera leur apparition trois nouvelles étoiles cette nuit.
  - b. \*Il fera trois nouvelles étoiles leur apparition cette nuit.
  - c. \*Il aura lieu des manifestations demain.
  - d. \*Il aura des manifestations lieu demain.
- a–b. ‘Three new stars will make their appearance tonight.’
- c–d. ‘Some demonstrations will take place tomorrow.’

(Compare *Il apparaîtra trois nouvelles étoiles cette nuit, Il se passera des choses importantes demain* ‘Some important things will happen tomorrow.’)

The ungrammaticality of (136)–(137) would follow from Emonds’s (1970) constraints on transformations, with NP-Extrap a “structure-preserving” transformation, on the assumption that the PS rules of French do not generate V-NP-NP sequences, that is, that they generate but one prepositionless NP node to the right of the verb. NP-Extrap would, when that node was unfilled (as with lexical intransitives, or when the object NP was moved away by a prior transformation, such as the Passive), be able to fill it with the (postposed) subject NP; if that node is filled, as in (136)–(137), then NP-Extrap has, under the structure-preserving hypothesis, no place to put the subject NP and can therefore not apply.<sup>61</sup>

The ungrammaticality of (135) would follow from Emonds’s hypothesis, in the same way as that of (136)–(137), if FI were structure-preserving and, crucially, if FI moved the embedded subject NP into the VP. On the other hand, if, as we are suggesting, FI moves V(NP) to the left of the subject, and likely out of the embedded S entirely, then Emonds’s hypothesis would not predict the ungrammaticality of (135). These observations would constitute an argument in favor of FI moving the subject NP if the parallelism between FI and NP-Extrap were systematic, but it is not.

Unlike the case of FI, the application of NP-Extrap in the presence of an NP object never leads to the insertion of *à*:<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf. fn. 26. The interaction between NP-Extrap and Emonds’s hypothesis is also briefly discussed by Ruwet (1972, pp. 20 ff. and 166–167).

<sup>62</sup> Notice that the structure-preserving constraint would not block (138). A related

- (138) a. \*Il mangera cette tarte à trois filles.  
 b. \*Il fera leur apparition à trois nouvelles étoiles cette nuit.  
 c. \*Il aura lieu à des manifestations demain.

The constraint represented by (136)–(137) can thus not be neutralized by the introduction of *à* (or any other preposition, for that matter). This implies at the same time that there can be no rule in French to the effect that an NP moving into a VP already containing a direct object automatically becomes an indirect object. In terms of cases, it means that no general rule exists which automatically marks as dative an NP moving into a VP containing an accusative. Consequently, the hypothesis that FI moves the embedded subject NP into the embedded VP cannot provide an automatic account of the existence of A-Ins.

A second difference between NP-Extrap and FI involves predicate adjectives, which block the application of the former, but not the latter, transformation. Relevant grammatical examples of FI have already been seen, for example, in (74): *Cela fera devenir/paraître Jean complètement fou*. The equivalent construction with NP-Extrap yields

- (139) a. \*Il est devenu trois filles complètement folles.  
 b. \*Il apparaissait deux garçons complètement fous.  
 c. \*Il a paru plusieurs enfants très malades.  
 d. \*Il est resté beaucoup de gens silencieux.  
 a. ‘Three girls became completely crazy.’  
 b. ‘Two boys appeared completely crazy.’  
 c. ‘Several children appeared very sick.’  
 d. ‘Many people remained silent.’

These are not possible in the reading NP V Adj, that is, as *Beaucoup de gens sont restés silencieux*, *Plusieurs enfants ont paru très malades*, etc., although the last, for example, is possible in the reading NP V, that is,

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point is that if prepositionless datives are basic, then V-NP-NP sequences are actually PS-generated, so that the constraint will incorrectly allow the second of each pair in (136)–(137) to be produced by NP-Extrap (subject moving into dative position). In French, this could be met by excluding such sentences along with other surface NP prepositionless datives (cf. chap. 2, fn. 104), but the problem is potentially nontrivial.

as *Beaucoup de gens silencieux sont restés*. The impossibility of deriving (139) from NP V Adj structures via NP-Extrap could, like the ungrammaticality of (136), (137), be considered to follow from the structure-preserving hypothesis, if the PS rules of French do not generate V NP Adj sequences, where Adj is a predicate adjective.<sup>63</sup>

If this is correct, that is, if the status of (139) is a function of the structure-preserving quality of NP-Extrap, then we may immediately conclude, in light of the *faire*-V-NP-Adj examples (74), that if FI moves the embedded subject NP into the embedded VP, then FI is not a structure-preserving transformation. But if FI is not structure-preserving, then Emonds's constraints do not furnish an explanation for (135), in which case (135) cannot constitute evidence in favor of having FI move the subject NP. We shall therefore continue to consider that FI moves V(NP).<sup>64</sup>

The V-moving character of FI is consistent with the subsequent application of A-Ins and is moreover consistent with the suggestion made in section 3.1 that FI and A-Ins be combined into a single transformation. That A-Ins is stated as part of FI, rather than as a separate rule, is supported by its inability to apply in (138), as well as by its inapplicability to the output of Styl-Inv, the rule operative in *la fille que connaît ton ami* (from *la fille que ton ami connaît*). If the V is followed by an NP object, the output of Styl-Inv is often totally ungrammatical, but occasionally not: *Le jour où a pris fin la deuxième guerre mondiale*, *Le jour où aura lieu la révolution*, \*?Où mettra ses livres la fille qui est entrée en retard?<sup>65</sup> Systematically inconceivable, however, is the result of inserting à:

- (140) a. \**Le jour où a pris fin à la deuxième guerre mondiale*

<sup>63</sup> Implying that the Adj in (i) *Marie a rendu Jean fou* (see Nilsson-Ehle (1953)) derives from an embedded structure and is not introduced by the PS rule expanding the main VP. A more detailed discussion, from which the text argument is essentially taken, of (the English counterparts to) example (139) is given in Emonds (1970). [(i) 'Marie made Jean crazy.']}

<sup>64</sup> If FI moved the subject NP, it would, since it could not be structure-preserving (nor a minor movement, nor a root transformation), be a counterexample to Emonds's general hypothesis. If V (NP) is moved, FI might fit into his framework if the PS rules generated V V V . . . sequences; the plausibility of such would depend on the analysis of the V-sequences in (i) *Quand j'ai eu fini de parler*. [(i) 'When I had finished speaking.']}

<sup>65</sup> A detailed discussion of Styl-Inv can be found in Kayne (1972); see also chap. 2, examples (83) ff. The *pris fin* and *aura lieu* examples (cf. (137)c and chap. 3, (18) ff.) indicate a problem for Emonds (1970).

- b. \*Où mettra ses livres à la fille qui est entrée en retard?
- a. ‘The day when the Second World War took end (came to an end)’
- b. ‘Where will the girl who came in late put her books?’

Instead of attempting, unsuccessfully, to generalize A-Ins to the output of other syntactic transformations, one might attempt to relate the appearance of *à* to the fact that lexical verbs never take two accusative objects. Although such an approach might ultimately prove fruitful, it is not without difficulties. On the one hand, the derived sequence *faire* + infinitive does not act like a lexical V syntactically, nor is it in general semantically equivalent to a lexical V.<sup>66</sup> On the other, it is not even true that the set of derived complements of *faire* + infinitive is limited to combinations that can occur with lexical Vs. A-Ins can take place, creating a new dative, even when the infinitive already has a dative complement, as in *?Paul fera porter à son fils ces livres à ta femme, Paul lui fera porter ces livres à ta femme*. Lexical Vs, however, do not normally occur with two datives.<sup>67</sup>

The dativeness of the *à* phrase created by A-Ins is shown clearly by its behavior under Cl-Pl and must presumably be specified in the rule itself, that is, the feature “+dative” must be introduced by A-Ins.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the *à* added by A-Ins to the underlying embedded subject NP must have the effect of producing a phrase labeled PP, since the resulting *à* phrase behaves like a PP, and not like an NP, with respect to the extraction of internal <sub>PP</sub>[*de* NP]:<sup>69</sup>

- (141)
- a. De qui as-tu fait disparaître la voiture?
  - b. L'homme dont il a fait mourir la maîtresse s'appelle Pierre.
  - c. On vient d'en faire paraître la première partie.
  - a. ‘Whose car did you make disappear?’

<sup>66</sup> See chap. 3, examples (38) ff. and fns. 16, 18, and this chapter, examples (133) ff.

<sup>67</sup> Except when one is an “ethical dative” (see fn. 122, chap. 2), which is not felt to be the case with the *faire porter* example (for example, ethical datives are not possible as nonclitic dative; cf. fn. 15, this chapter).

<sup>68</sup> Left open is the question of why it is dative *à*, rather than, for example, *de* that is introduced, as well as why that dative recalls *donner* and not *répondre* in (i) *Je lui (\*y) ai fait faire un tour, à la boîte*; cf. chap. 2, examples (263) ff. [(i) ‘I made it do a spin, the box.’]

<sup>69</sup> See chap. 2, examples (153) ff., and this chapter, examples (25)–(28).

- b. ‘The man whose mistress he made die is named Pierre.’
  - c. ‘They have just had the first part of it come out.’
- (142) a. \*De qui as-tu fait prendre feu à la voiture?
- b. \*L’homme dont il a fait boire cela à la maîtresse s’appelle Pierre.
  - c. \*On vient d’en faire visiter cette maison à plusieurs.
- a. ‘Whose car did you make catch fire?’
  - b. ‘The man whose mistress he made drink that is named Pierre.’
  - c. ‘They have just had several of them visit that house.’

Since the adjunction of *à* to the relevant NP via “Chomsky adjunction”<sup>70</sup> would merely yield the structure  $_{NP}[\dot{à} NP]$ , some further convention is required, perhaps one specifying any NP immediately dominating a P as PP.<sup>71</sup>

The PP character of the *à* phrase produced by A-Ins is reflected in its behavior with respect to Q-Post. In nonrestrictive relatives, NPs and PPs contrast in the following way: *ces garçons, que ton ami connaît tous*; \**ces garçons, avec qui/lesquels ton ami se disputait tous*. Similar to the latter is

- (143) a. \**Ces garçons, à qui ton ami faisait tous boire du vin*
- b. \**Ces garçons, auxquels ton ami faisait boire tous du vin*
  - a–b. ‘Those boys, all of whom your friend was having drink wine’

Unfortunately, this argument has a rough edge: those speakers who accept *?Je leur en ai tous offert* of fn. 81, chapter 1, also accept *?Je leur en ai tous fait boire*, and those (fewer) who accept (265) of chapter 2 will do likewise for ??*ces garçons, à qui ton ami a tous fait boire du vin*.

<sup>70</sup> Term due to Ross (1967a, chap. 4); the Chomsky adjunction of *B* to *A* yields either  ${}_A[B]$  or  ${}_A[A B]$ .

<sup>71</sup> A related point is that if the noncliticizability of  $NP_c$  in (47) ff. is to be ascribed to the specified subject condition, then a PP in the environment  $s[\_\_ VP]$  must count as subject. These two instances of “wavering” between NP and PP can undoubtedly be made sense of only within a theory that has them not entirely distinct; see chap. 2, fn. 81. On the rough edge below, see chap. 2, fn. 104; the *à*-NP dative produced by A-Ins could be subject to the same marginal leftward movement rule.

To return briefly to the V-moving status of FI, we are now in a position to ask the same question of FP. It is clear that FP must move the embedded subject NP into the *par* phrase. It is less clear whether, like FI, FP should be considered to move V(NP), as would be natural, and in fact no empirical evidence is yet known to us that bears on the issue. The alternative derived structures are NP *faire* s[V NP à NP *par* NP<sub>a</sub>], where NP<sub>a</sub> is the underlying embedded subject, and (if V-NP is moved out of S): NP *faire* V NP s[à NP *par* NP<sub>a</sub>].

A deep structure with a complement à NP of the infinitive has been used to show that, in either case, this complement remains in the embedded S. Since this complement is cliticizable, as in (50) *Jean lui a fait porter ces livres par son fils*, this provides an example of Cl-Pl moving a pronoun out of an S and is to be compared with the derived structure for sentences like (33), NP *faire* V s[NP<sub>a</sub> à NP], where à NP is not cliticizable (see (36): \**Elle te fera téléphoner Jean*). As noted earlier, the contrast between (50) and (36) follows from the specified subject condition, as does that between à NP in (36) and NP<sub>a</sub> itself, which is cliticizable in (36).

These structures at the same time indicate the inadequacy of a characterization of Cl-Pl as never able to extract pronouns from an embedded S. Such a characterization, moreover, could not be saved by claiming that, subsequent to FP, the embedded S node is pruned,<sup>72</sup> since that would still leave the cliticization of NP<sub>a</sub> in (33), (36). Nor would the postulation of an ad hoc restructuring rule to remove NP<sub>a</sub> from the embedded S, prior to Cl-Pl, suffice either, since subsequent to such a restructuring, whatever pruning convention had been claimed to operate in the FP case would automatically operate in (36), leading to the incorrect prediction of the grammaticality of (36).

## Part III

### 4.10 *Facile* and the Noncyclicity of Cl-Pl

The preceding analysis of the restrictions concerning dative clitics in the *faire* construction originated, we recall, at example (32), with the

<sup>72</sup> The desirability of an S-pruning convention is in any case questionable if such a convention increases the weak generative capacity of transformational grammars; see Chomsky (1971). The need for one was originally argued in Ross (1967a, chap. 3; 1966). We note that this point concerning pruning and “single S” could equally well be made with Se-Pl; see fn. 19.

claim that those restrictions constitute one of several arguments in favor of the noncyclicity of Cl-Pl. Let us now examine an additional argument in favor of the noncyclicity of Cl-Pl, which will be drawn from a construction not involving *faire*. The pertinent sentences are of the form

- (144) Jean est facile à contenter.

'Jean is easy to please.'

They are similar in meaning to

- (145) Il est facile de contenter Jean.

Moreover, one might well take the deep structure of (144) to be essentially the same as that of (145). This would amount to the hypothesis that *Jean* is not the deep structure subject of the adjective in (144), but that it is moved from the position following the infinitive to superficial subject position by transformation. The available evidence for such a transformation is the occurrence in subject position in (144) of nominals that correspond to the object component of certain idioms:

- (146) a. ?Justice sera difficile à rendre dans ces conditions.

b. ?Assistance serait facile à prêter à une si belle fille.

- (147) a. Il sera difficile de rendre justice dans ces conditions.

b. Il serait facile de prêter assistance à une si belle fille.

a. 'It will be difficult to do justice under those conditions.'

b. 'It would be easy to lend assistance to such a pretty girl.'

However, (146) is not as widely accepted as the corresponding simple passives, for example *Justice a été rendue* and is often felt to be literary.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>73</sup> As are the (better) sentences (151) of chap. 3. The idioms of (146) are invariably passivizable, a fact treatable as in Fraser (1970) and not requiring that the Passive transformation intervene in the derivation of (144), (146); such intervention is counterindicated by (i) \**Jean est facile à contenter par Marie*, (ii) \**Elle est difficile à aimer de tout le monde*; (iii) *Cette décision sera difficile à faire accepter au Comité*, (iv) *Les légumes ne sont pas faciles à faire manger aux petits enfants* (versus (139) of chap. 3); (v) *Ce livre est difficile à se procurer* (accepted by most; literary examples in Sandfeld (1965, III, p. 296)) versus (vi)

The derivation of (144) via a movement transformation would raise the question of the relationship between (144) and

- (148) a. *Marie est jolie à regarder.*
- b. *Cette table est lourde à porter.*
- a. ‘*Marie is pretty to look at.*’
- b. ‘*This table is heavy to carry.*’

These differ from (144) in not admitting a counterpart of the form of (145):

- (149) a. \**Il est joli de regarder Marie.*
- b. \**Il est lourd de porter cette table.*

Thus the deep structure subject of (148) must be the same as the surface subject; that is, (148) does not seem to involve a movement transformation. Yet the two constructions (144) and (148) share a number of notable properties. One is the impossibility of *y*:

- (150) a. \**Jean y est facile.*
- b. \**Marie y est jolie.*
- c. \**Cette table y est lourde.*

(Compare *Marie est prête à danser*, *Marie y est prête*.) Another is the impossibility for the infinitive to be replaced by *cela*:

- (151) a. \**Jean est facile à cela.*
- b. \**Marie est jolie à cela.*
- c. \**Cette table est lourde à cela.*

(Compare *Marie est prête à cela*.) Still another is the absence of a corresponding nominalization:

- (152) a. \**La facilité de Jean à contenter*
- b. \**Sa difficulté à comprendre*

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\**Ce livre se sera procuré (par Jean);* and perhaps by (vii) \**Le menton serait facile à lui caresser* versus (viii) ?*Le menton lui a été caressé (par Jean).* [(iii) ‘This decision will be difficult to get the committee to accept.’ (iv) ‘Vegetables aren’t easy to get little children to eat.’ (v) ‘This book is difficult to procure.’ (viii) ‘Her chin was caressed by Jean.’]

- a. ‘Jean’s easiness to please’
- b. ‘His difficulty to understand’

(Example (152) is ungrammatical in the reading where *Jean, sa* correspond to underlying objects of the infinitive, although possible, irrelevantly, where *Jean, sa* are taken as underlying subjects of the infinitive.)

- (153) a. \**Sa beauté à regarder*
- b. \**La lourdeur de cette table à porter*
  - a. ‘Her beauty to look at’
  - b. ‘This table’s heaviness to carry’

(Compare *son aptitude à faire ce travail, son impuissance à avouer ses crimes, sa promptitude à admettre qu'il a tort*, all with a “subject reading.”)<sup>74</sup>

These common properties need not, however, militate against a movement analysis for (144). The ungrammaticality of (150), (151) may be due to some kind of “complementizer” status for *à* (perhaps parallel to that of *de* in *Il est important de faire ceci, Jean est courageux de dire ça, Tu ferais bien de t'en aller*); that is, *à* + infinitive here may not be a PP, contrary to the case of *prêt, apte, impissant, prompt*. The appearance of *à* in (144), (148) may be due to the removal of the object of the infinitive, whether by deletion or movement. If this is the case, then a unified account of (150) or (151) can be envisaged without imposing a nonmovement analysis on (144). Similarly, the probably significant generalization represented by (152) and (153) could, in principle, be stated by excluding rules removing objects of embedded infinitives from applying within NPs. An argument against a movement analysis of (144) could be constructed on the basis of such data only if some explanation were found for (150)–(153) which depended crucially on there being no movement.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Many more such examples are given by Sandfeld (1965, III, pp. 236 ff.), whose work contains a detailed (pp. 215–349) study of *à*-infinitive constructions.

<sup>75</sup> No explanation for (153) is known to us. If one is found, and if it carries over to (152), then the latter might cease to constitute a strong argument for Chomsky’s (1970a) lexicalist hypothesis (The facts are comparable in English (i) \**John’s easiness to please*, (ii) \**That table’s heaviness to carry*). On the appearance of *à*, see Kayne (forthcoming).

On the assumption, then, that (144) involves a movement transformation, that its deep structure contains an embedded S, and that the movement takes place in one step, that is, that the embedded object NP is moved directly to the left of *être*-Adj,<sup>76</sup> the noncyclicity of Cl-Pl follows from the fact that an *en* originating within the embedded object NP cannot appear attached to the infinitive once that NP has been moved:

- (154) a. Il serait facile d'*en* trouver l'auteur.
- b. Il serait facile d'*en* trouver trois.
- c. Il serait facile d'*en* trouver une petite.
- a. 'It would be easy to find the author of it.'
- b. 'It would be easy to find three of them.'
- c. 'It would be easy to find a small one.'

(These are like *Il serait facile de trouver l'auteur de ce livre*, *Il serait facile de trouver trois livres*, *Il serait facile de trouver une petite voiture*.)

- (155) a. \*L'auteur serait facile à *en* trouver.
- b. \*Trois seraient faciles à *en* trouver.
- c. \*Une petite serait facile à *en* trouver.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> For English, the second assumption has been questioned by Bresnan (1971b), whose proposal for an underlying embedded VP is criticized in Berman (1973), and the third, but not the second, by Chomsky (1971), who raises the possibility that the object is first moved into subject position within the embedded S and later moved up by Subj-R (sec. 3.7), in which case the text argument would show only that Cl-Pl may not precede the initial movement, and would become neutral as to cyclicity. Chomsky's proposal bears in complex fashion on the formulation of the specified subject condition; we shall simply note here that, in French, movement across several different subjects is not possible, as shown in (i) \**Ce livre serait facile à amener ton frère à lire*, (ii) \**Ce livre serait difficile à empêcher ton fils de lire*, and neither is (iii) \**Ce livre est facile pour Jean-Jacques à lire* (except with commas around *pour* NP; cf. below), nor (iv) \**Jean est facile à Marie de contenter*, (v) \*?*Jean lui est facile à contenter* (cf. (vi) *Il est facile pour/à Marie de contenter Jean*), although (vii) *Pour Jean-Jacques, ce livre est facile à lire* (see Ruwet (1972, pp. 195, 201)). Furthermore, the subject of the infinitive in (144) cannot be quantified: (viii) \**Jean-Jacques serait facile à contenter tous* (cf. (ix) ?*Il serait facile de contenter tous Jean-Jacques*). [(i) 'This book would be easy to get your brother to read.' (ii) 'This book would be difficult to prevent your son from reading.' (vi) 'It's easy for Marie to please Jean.' (ix) 'It would be easy to all please Jean-Jacques.']}

<sup>77</sup> *En* originating as a PP complement of the V yields the questionable but better (i) ??*Cette bouteille serait facile à en remplir (de ce vin)*. [(i) 'This bottle would be easy to fill with it.']}

Given a structure of the form . . . *facile* s[. . . *trouver* NP[*l'auteur en*]], the derivation of (154) is straightforward; Cl-Pl applies attaching *en* to *trouver*, independently of whether Cl-Pl is cyclic or not. Consider now the derivation based on the same structure but including the movement of NP to the left of *facile*. Since that movement involves a position outside the embedded S, it cannot take place on the first cycle, that is, on the cycle bounded by the inner S, but must take place on the second, or higher, cycle. From this it follows that if Cl-Pl were a cyclic rule, then Cl-Pl, in applying on the first cycle, would be applying prior to that movement, so that the movement rule would receive as input the structure . . . *facile* s[. . . *en trouver* NP[*l'auteur*]]. The movement of the NP would then, undesirably, yield (155).

The hypothesis that Cl-Pl is not a cyclic rule will account for the ungrammaticality of (155). Given . . . *facile* s[. . . *trouver* NP[*l'auteur en*]], the noncyclicity of Cl-Pl will prevent it from applying on the inner-S cycle.<sup>78</sup> At the level of the higher S, the object NP will be moved, yielding NP[*l'auteur en*] . . . *facile* s[. . . *trouver*], to which configuration Cl-Pl is inapplicable. The fact that Cl-Pl could not precede the NP movement has prevented *en* from being attached to *trouver*.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Noncyclic is to be understood in this work as postcyclic; see fn. 8.

<sup>79</sup> If the NP movement is cyclic, the correct ordering follows simply from the postcyclicity of Cl-Pl. If the former were itself postcyclic, it would have to be explicitly stated that Cl-Pl be ordered after it; see fn. 8. Subsequent to the movement of the NP, *En*-Extrap (followed by Cl-Pl) can occasionally apply: (i) ?*La première partie en est très facile à lire*, (ii) \**Trois en seraient faciles à trouver*; cf. fn. 69, chap. 3. [(i) 'The first part of it is very easy to read.']}

# 5

## Reflexive/Reciprocal Clitic Placement

### Part I

#### 5.1 Introduction

The central topic of this chapter will be the element *se*, which displays all the characteristic properties of clitics seen in chapter 2. It occurs only in combination with a verb:

- (1) a. Jean se photographie.
- b. Qui Jean photographie-t-il? \*Se.
- a. ‘Jean photographs himself.’
- b. ‘Who does Jean photograph? Himself.’

It precedes the verb, which may not be a past participle:

- (2) a. \*Jean photographie se.
- b. Jean s'est photographié.
- c. \*Jean a/est se photographié.

It follows the negative particle *ne* and can be separated from the verb only by other object clitics:

- (3) a. Jean ne se comprend pas.
- b. \*Jean se ne comprend pas.
- c. Jean, souvent, s'achète des bonbons.
- d. \*Jean se, souvent, achète des bonbons.
- a-b. ‘Jean doesn't understand himself.’
- c-d. ‘Jean often buys himself candies.’

It can be neither conjoined nor modified:

- (4) a. \*Jean se et te photographiera.
- b. \*Jean se-même photographiera.
- a. ‘Jean will photograph himself and you.’

The clitic *se* appears when a third person pronoun in clitic position is understood as coreferential with the subject of the sentence. This is true of both accusatives and datives:

- (5) a. Jean se tuera.
- b. Jean s'offrira un bonbon.
- a. 'Jean will kill himself.'
- b. 'Jean will give himself a candy.'

The interpretation in (5) is necessarily that the object of *tuera* and the dative object of *offrir* are coreferential with *Jean*. If the clitics *le*, *lui* are substituted for *se* in (5), that interpretation disappears:

- (6) a. Jean le tuera.
- b. Jean lui offrira un bonbon.

In (6), *le* and *lui* may not be coreferential with *Jean*.

The clitic properties of *se* in (1)–(4) and the complementarity of interpretation between (5) and (6) make natural the claim that *se* is simply the form taken by a third person pronoun placed in clitic position by the already established transformation Cl-Pl, when that pronoun is coreferential with the subject. In other words, the *se* of (5) would originate as pronouns in postverbal object NP position, as do the *le* and *lui* of (6). Under appropriate conditions of coreference, such object pronouns would be marked with a feature (let us call it *+R*) ensuring that they are spelled *se* in clitic position. The treatment of *se* as a third person pronoun would be supported by the observation that the replacement of *Jean* in (5) by a first or second person subject entails the replacement of *se* by an ordinary first or second person object pronoun:

- (7) a. Je me tuerai.
- b. Tu te tueras.
- c. Nous nous offrirons un bonbon.
- d. Vous vous offrirez un bonbon.

The form of the object clitic in (7) is not affected by the coreferentiality with the subject (cf. *Jean me tuera*, *tu tuera*, *nous offrira un bonbon*, *vous offrira un bonbon*, without coreferentiality).

The analysis described in the preceding paragraph would imply the following type of derivation for (5): *Jean<sub>i</sub> tuera Pro<sub>i</sub>* → feature introduction → *Jean<sub>i</sub> tuera Pro<sub>i,+R</sub>* → Cl-Pl → *Jean<sub>i</sub> Pro<sub>i,+R</sub> tuera* → morphology → *Jean se tuera*. The derivation of (7) would be similar (although Pro would have different person features), except that the feature *+R* would have no effect on the morphology. The feature introduction mechanism will be taken up in more detail below.

The derivation of *se* from postverbal position via the transformation Cl-Pl would appear to be supported by the fact that those complements which are not subject to Cl-Pl in the general case do not give rise to *se* either. For example, all prepositional complements with a preposition other than *à*, as well as nondative *à* complements, are incompatible with Cl-Pl, apart from the case of *y*, *en*, as argued in sections 2.12, 2.13. Thus, alongside *Elle pense à Jean*, *Elle a voté pour Jean*, we do not have \**Elle lui pense*, \**Elle lui a voté pour*. Nor is *se* possible in such cases:

- (8) a. \**Elle se pense*.
- b. \**Elle s'est voté pour*.
- a. ‘She thinks of herself.’
- b. ‘She voted for herself.’

The derivation of *se* from postverbal position via Cl-Pl raises the question of the absence of a special morphological form for a nonclitic pronoun marked *+R*. That is, unlike those in (6), the pronouns in the following sentences may or may not be interpreted as coreferential with the subject:

- (9) a. *Jean est fier de lui*.
- b. *Marie pense d'abord à elle*.
- c. *Marie parle souvent d'elle*.
- a. ‘Jean is proud of him(self).’
- b. ‘Marie thinks first of all of her(self).’
- c. ‘Marie speaks often of her(self).’

In the case of non-third-person pronouns, it is not surprising to find the form independent of coreferentiality: *Tu es content de toi*, *Marie est*

*contente de toi*, since that was the case even in clitic position (cf. (7)). The extra interpretation available in (9), as opposed to (6), would require that the feature *+R* be able to have no morphological effect in nonclitic position, despite its obligatorily yielding the form *se* in clitic position (for third person pronouns). This asymmetry seems, though, not to be particular to the feature *+R*, but to be related to the fact, noted in chapter 2, examples (81)–(82), that the case features in French are reflected morphologically in clitic position but not in NP position.

That the coreferentiality interpretation in (9) has no effect on the morphology of the pronoun does not necessarily imply that such an interpretation will never have any effect in nonclitic position. What we have in mind are sentences like

- (10) a. Jean parle souvent de lui-même.
- b. Marie pense d'abord à elle-même.
- c. Tu voteras pour toi-même.

Here, the interpretation is obligatorily one of coreferentiality with the subject. Correspondingly, the following are ungrammatical:

- (11) a. \*Jean parle souvent d'elle-même.
- b. \*Jean parle souvent de toi-même.

This might suggest making the appearance of *même* dependent on the feature *+R*, via a rule that would optionally attach *même* to a nonclitic pronoun marked with that feature (without affecting the morphological form of the pronoun). The postulation of such a rule is complicated by the difficulty in specifying those cases in which it is not optional. Thus, the absence of *même* in (9) contrasts with

- (12) Jean s'est attaqué à lui-même.

'Jean attacked himself.'

- (13) Jean s'est attaqué à lui.

Whereas (12) is like (10) in having the nonclitic pronoun obligatorily coreferential with the subject, (13) differs from (9) in that such a coreferential interpretation in (13) is excluded. Why *s'attaquer à*, but not *être fier de*, *penser à*, *parler de*, requires the presence of *même* under

the coreferential interpretation is unclear. In still other cases, the presence of *même* is impossible:<sup>1</sup>

- (14) a. J'ai toujours mes livres avec moi (\*-même).
- b. Jean t'emmènera avec lui (\*-même).
- c. Marie est chez elle (\*-même).
- a. 'I always have my books with me.'
- b. 'Jean will take you with him.'
- c. 'Marie is at her home.'

A rule introducing *même*, whether optionally or not, in the presence of the feature *+R* that distinguishes *se* from *le*, *la*, *les*, *lui*, *leur* would make the claim that there is a linguistically significant relationship between *se* and *même*. Some evidence weakening that relationship derives from consideration of the conditions on rules, namely the tensed-S condition and the specified subject condition, discussed in chapter 4. The latter, we recall, disallowed rules from involving elements *X*, *Y* in the structure . . . *X* . . . *s*[. . . *Z* . . . *WYV* . . .] . . ., where *Z* is the subject of *WYV*. The rule introducing the feature *+R* that determines the appearance of *se* is strictly limited by that condition. Thus if the object *Marie* in the embedded sentence of *Elle veut que tu montres tes photos à Marie*, *Elle m'a dit de photographier Marie* is replaced by a pronoun coreferential with the subject *elle* of the higher S, the result is (15), and not (16):

- (15) a. Elle veut que tu lui montres tes photos.
- b. Elle m'a dit de la photographier.
- a. 'She wants you to show her your pictures.'
- b. 'She told me to take a picture of her.'
- (16) a. \*Elle veut que tu se montres tes photos.
- b. \*Elle m'a dit de se photographier.

In other words, the pronoun, despite its coreferentiality with subject *elle*, is not marked as *+R*. This follows from the specified subject condition, which will prevent the rule introducing *+R* from applying

<sup>1</sup> For some discussion, see Borillo (1971), from which the *chez* example is taken.

in (15); the condition will take  $X = elle$  (subject of the higher S) and  $Y =$  the pronoun coreferential with it. In the first half of (15), the rule will be blocked by the presence of  $Z = tu$ , in the second by  $Z =$  the later-to-be-deleted subject of *photographier* (which happens to be coreferential with *moi*).

The applicability of the specified subject condition to the presumed rule introducing *même* is less clear. If the pronominal objects in (15) are replaced by complements whose pronouns are not subject to Cl-Pl, the resulting sentences, without *même*, are, like (15), possible under the coreferential reading as well as the noncoreferential reading:

- (17) a. Elle veut que tu parles d'elle.
- b. Elle m'a dit de parler d'elle.

The addition of *même* results in sentences that, unlike (16), are not uniformly rejected:

- (18) a. ?Elle veut que tu parles d'elle-même.
- b. ?Elle m'a dit de parler d'elle-même.

The partial acceptability of (18) is likely related to the occurrence of *même* in sentences like

- (19) Jean croyait que lui-même devait gagner.

'Jean thought that he himself should win.'

Such sentences, although not violations of the specified subject condition, are violations of the tensed-S condition (the first half of (18), in fact, violates both conditions, while that of (16) is excluded by both). The latter condition, we recall, disallowed rules from involving  $X, Y$  in the structure  $\dots X \dots s[\dots Y \dots] \dots$ , where S is tensed.

The contrast between (18) and (16) raises the possibility that the *même* of (10), (12) is not to be considered a reflex of the syntactic process responsible for the appearance of *se*, but rather as more closely related to the *même* of

- (20) a. Jean a fait cela lui-même.
- b. Marie elle-même n'aurait rien pu faire de plus.
- c. Si tu étais toi-même en prison . . .

- a. 'Jean did that himself.'
- b. 'Marie herself couldn't have done anything more.'
- c. 'If you yourself were in prison . . .'

Even if it should turn out that *même* and *se* are both to be dependent on a common feature *+R*, it would not be desirable to derive the latter via Cl-Pl from a pronoun to which the form *même* had already been attached. In other words, we would in no case want to derive *Jean se regarde dans le miroir* from a structure resembling the ungrammatical sentence

(21) \**Jean regarde lui-même dans le miroir.*

'Jean is looking at himself in the mirror.'

This is so because, as we argued in section 2.6, Cl-Pl applies only to bare pronouns. For Cl-Pl to apply to *lui-même* would require both complicating the structural description of Cl-Pl itself and postulating an otherwise unmotivated rule deleting the *même* so moved:

(22) \**Jean se-même regarde dans le miroir.*

The ungrammaticality of (21) can still be considered a function of the quasi-obligatory character of Cl-Pl with accusatives and parallel to the ungrammaticality of sentences like \**Elle aime bien vous autres* (in the latter the structural description of Cl-Pl is met by *vous*, and in (21) by *lui*).<sup>2</sup>

The analysis under consideration, then, would have *se* derived via Cl-Pl from a pronoun in postverbal NP (accusative or dative) position. That pronoun will belong to the class *lui, elle, eux, elles*, but will carry an extra feature *+R*. At the point at which it is moved, that pronoun will not be modified by *même*. The presence of *+R* will cause the third person pronoun in clitic position to be spelled out as *se*. In nonclitic position, the form of the pronoun will be unaffected.

The preceding analysis does not systematically relate *se* and the superficially similar *soi*, despite our treating *me/moi* (and *te/toi*) as realizations of a single underlying pronoun. The reasons for not con-

<sup>2</sup> Sentences such as (21) are sometimes better with datives: (i) ?*Jean écrit souvent à lui-même*. See chap. 2, examples (336) ff., for relevant discussion, and fn. 20 below. [(i) 'Jean often writes to himself.']}

sidering *soi* the strong form of *se* are several. First, *soi*, unlike *se*, can have an antecedent in a higher S. Thus, contrasting with (16) is (23), in which the antecedent of *soi* is *on*.

- (23) On ne doit pas dire aux gens de parler de soi.

‘One shouldn’t tell people to speak about one.’

The antecedent of *se* cannot be the subject of such a higher S even if that subject is *on*:

- (24) \*On<sub>i</sub> ne doit pas dire aux gens de se<sub>i</sub> donner de l’argent.

‘One shouldn’t tell people to give one money.’

The grammaticality of (23) suggests that *soi* is not dependent on the feature +R. In fact, (23) should be aligned with

- (25) Jean<sub>i</sub> dit toujours aux gens de parler de lui<sub>i</sub>.

The relationship between *on* and *soi* should be considered an instance of simple pronominal coreference, such as that between *Jean* and *lui*, of the type that is not sensitive to the notion “within a single S” (which is reflected in the specified subject condition).

The possible antecedents of *soi* are on the whole limited to *on*, *chacun* and a few other “generic” NPs.<sup>3</sup> This is true even in simple sentences:

- (26) a. Quand on parle trop de soi, . . .

b. Chacun pense à soi.

a. ‘When one talks too much about oneself, . . .’

b. ‘Each man thinks of himself.’

- (27) a. \*Marie parlera de soi ce soir.

b. \*Jean s’est attaqué à soi l’autre jour.

c. \*Mes amis sont fiers de soi.

d. \*Ses enfants ont versé de l’eau sur soi.

a. ‘Marie will speak of herself this evening.’

<sup>3</sup> *Chacun*, but not *on*, can be referred back to by *lui* (see fn. 16, chap. 1), and not all *on* can be referred to by *soi* (see fn. 154, chap. 2).

- b. ‘Jean attacked himself the other day.’
- c. ‘My friends are proud of themselves.’
- d. ‘His children poured water on themselves.’

Notice that (27) is precisely the kind of case where *soi* would be expected to appear if it were the strong form of *se*.<sup>4</sup> If *même* were dependent on the feature *+R*, then the following would provide additional evidence against making *soi* dependent on that feature, in that *même* is not possible in these positions (see (14)):

- (28) a. Quand on a ses livres avec soi . . .  
 b. Quand on emmène les gens avec soi . . .  
 c. Quand on est chez soi . . .

In fact, *même* can itself be added to *soi* just as it can be added to *lui*, *moi*, etc.:<sup>5</sup>

- (29) Quand on parle de soi-même . . .

(As noted, *même* is not possible in (28).)

A further difference between *se* and *soi* is shown, finally, in certain environments in which *se* is impossible, for example, with many adjectives:

- (30) a. Jean est infidèle à lui-même.  
 b. \*Jean s'est infidèle.  
 a–b. ‘Jean is unfaithful to himself.’

*Se* is impossible also in passives where the identity is between two underlying objects:

<sup>4</sup> The relationship between *se* and *soi* was closer in Old French; see Brandt (1944), Hatcher (1942), Foulet (1924; 1968), Stefanini (1962). A few speakers accept certain examples of *soi* referring to a nongeneric singular NP, although even then not to a plural (*se* refers equally well to singular and plural; a distinction between singular and plural with *soi* existed even in Old French; see above references). In the plural, *soi* becomes more possible through the addition of *chacun*, or even *tous*: (i) ?Mes amis sont chacun/tous fiers de soi (cf. English (ii) *We'll buy a book* versus (iii) *We'll all buy a book*, with a *many books* interpretation easier in the latter; cf. (307) ff., chap. 2).

<sup>5</sup> Recall the argument in chap. 2, example (317), that *soi* is subject to Cl-Pl (and possessive formation (fn. 154)). *Soi* differs from the other strong form pronouns in requiring a coreferent somewhere in the sentence and in being incompatible with certain detachments: (i) \**Soi, on ne doit pas faire de telles choses*, (ii) \**Quand on est comme ça, soi . . .*.

- (31) a. Marie sera livrée à elle-même par ses amis.

- b. \*Marie se sera livrée par ses amis.

a–b. ‘Marie will be left to herself by her friends.’

In both cases, *soi* is possible:

- (32) a. Quand on est infidèle à soi . . .

- b. Quand on est livré à soi . . .

Sentences (30) and (31) at the same time emphasize the difference between *se* and *même* and cast doubt on the feasibility of considering them realizations of a common feature. Again, the grammaticality of (32) supports the idea that the strong form of *se* is not simply *soi*.<sup>6</sup>

## 5.2 Reciprocal *Se*

In this section we consider how reciprocal *se* can be integrated into the clitic placement type of analysis described earlier.

Let us begin by noting that the gaps of (30), (31) are set off by the compatibility of those constructions with non-*R* clitics:

- (33) a. Jean lui est infidèle.

- b. Marie leur sera livrée par ses amis.

a. ‘Jean is unfaithful to her.’

b. ‘Marie will be left to them by her friends.’

The +*R* character of the clitic is more important than its morphological form:<sup>7</sup>

- (34) a. \*Tu t'es infidèle.

- b. Elle t'est infidèle.

The same is true with plural clitics:

<sup>6</sup> Rather, in the general case, *se* is the form of a pronoun, which, had it not been cliticized, would have been realized as *lui*, *elle*, *eux* rather than *soi* (see (27)) except for sentences with *on*, *chacun* (see (26)). In this sense, *se* is the +*R* clitic form of all five third person pronouns: *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles*, *soi* (cf. the fact that *son* is the possessive form of *lui*, *elle*, *soi*).

<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the *être/avoir* alternation depends on the feature rather than the form: (i) *Tu t'es frappé* (like (ii) *Il s'est frappé*) versus (iii) *Elle t'a frappé* (like (iv) *Il l'a frappé*). [(i) ‘You struck yourself.’ (iii) ‘She struck you.’]

- (35) a. \*Nous nous sommes infidèles.

- b. Elle nous est infidèle.

This is significant in that the *+R* clitics have a wider range of meaning in the plural than in the singular. Normally, a sentence such as *Nous nous aimons* could be translated into English as ‘We love ourselves’ or as ‘We love each other’. So far we have primarily used singular examples, where the second type of reading does not exist. Let us tentatively speak of two readings, the first “reflexive,” the second “reciprocal.”

The point is, now, that the first half of (35) is ungrammatical under either reading, despite the fact that *Nous nous . . .* can normally cover both readings with datives, for example, *Nous nous écririons* ‘We will write to ourselves/to each other’. Moreover, the reciprocal sense of (35) is perfectly well expressible through the use of the complex expression *l’un . . . l’autre*:

- (36) Nous sommes infidèles l’un à l’autre.

‘We are unfaithful to each other.’

Similarly, the passive facts of (31) are mirrored with *+R* clitics in the reciprocal sense:

- (37) a. Ils seront présentés l’un à l’autre par Marie.

- b. Nous serons décrits l’un à l’autre par Marie.

a. ‘They will be introduced to each other by Marie.’

b. ‘We will be described to each other by Marie.’

- (38) a. \*Ils se seront présentés par Marie.

- b. \*Nous nous serons décrits par Marie.

(Compare *Jacques nous sera décrit par Marie*, *Ils leur seront présentés par Marie*.)

With respect to these restrictions on the formation of clitics with adjectives and passives, then, *se* and the other *+R* clitics (that is, *nous*, *vous*, *me*, *te* when there is identity with the subject) act uniformly as reflexives and reciprocals and are distinguished from all the non-*R* clitics. One straightforward way of accounting for this uniform behavior, as well as for the very fact that *se* covers both senses, reflexive

and reciprocal, would be to derive both reflexive and reciprocal *se*, *nous*, *vous* from the same deep structure. We have taken sentences like *Jean se regarde* to be derived from a structure with like-indexed NPs, *Jean<sub>i</sub> regarde Pro<sub>i</sub>*, via a rule introducing the feature *+R* and subsequent movement of the pronoun to clitic position. In the plural, we would have *Les garçons<sub>i</sub> regardent Pro<sub>i</sub>*, which, through the same two operations, yields *Les garçons se regardent*.

The extra interpretation in the plural could now be considered a semantic fact. Identity in the singular could be viewed as identity between two sets, each containing a single element, with the verb of the sentence establishing some relation between the two elements. In the plural, there would be identity between two sets, each containing more than one element. Here, however, the manner in which the verb could establish a relation between the members of the two sets would be ambiguous. If we represent the elements of the two sets as  $a_1 a_2 \dots a_i \dots a_n; b_1 b_2 \dots b_i \dots b_n$ , where  $a_i = b_i$  and  $1 \leq i \leq n$ , the verb could be interpreted as establishing a relation between  $a_1$  and  $b_1$ ,  $a_2$  and  $b_2$ , etc., that is, in general between  $a_i$  and  $b_i$ . This interpretation is effectively the reflexive one. If  $a_i$  is paired instead with  $b_j$ ,  $i \neq j$ , or if each  $a_i$  is paired with several elements from the  $b$  set, we would have an example of a reciprocal interpretation.<sup>8</sup>

This approach to the multiple interpretations of sentences such as *Ils se regardent* does not establish a distinct deep structure for each interpretation and in that sense does not distinguish them syntactically. The alternative would be to construct an explicit set of deep structures that would characterize the range of interpretation of this type of sentence. One question that arises immediately is Why should those distinct deep structures all yield surface structures containing *se*? For example, if the reciprocal interpretation of *Jean et Jacques se regardaient* is attributed to a deep structure of the form *Jean regardait Jacques et Jacques regardait Jean*, the appearance of *se* is not automatically accounted for (why not *\*Jean et Jacques regardaient*, in the same sense?). One potential solution to this problem would consist of postulating a reduction transformation whose output would satisfy the structural description of the rule introducing the feature *+R* as in

<sup>8</sup> For further discussion of the semantics of (English) reciprocals, see Fiengo and Lasnik (1973).

*Jean regardait Jacques et Jacques regardait Jean* → [Jean et Jacques]<sub>i</sub> regardaient [Jacques et Jean]<sub>i</sub> → [Jean et Jacques]<sub>i</sub> regardaient Pro<sub>i</sub>, the latter step via some pronominalization transformation.<sup>9</sup>

An analysis involving a reduction process of this type has in common with an analysis assigning a single deep structure to reflexives and reciprocals the postulation of structures NP<sub>i</sub> V Pro<sub>i</sub> for reflexives as well as for reciprocals. The two analyses differ in that in the former the identity in structure between reflexives and reciprocals comes about only as a result of certain transformational operations. Since we are most interested in the rules that apply to structures NP<sub>i</sub> V Pro<sub>i</sub>, namely the introduction of +R and the movement of the pronoun to clitic position, the rest of this chapter would in principle be compatible with either type of analysis. Let us, however, briefly point out certain disadvantages of a reduction analysis.

The construction of a deep structure explicitly representing the reciprocal sense of *Jean et Jacques se regardaient* is decidedly more straightforward than in the case of a conjunction of, for instance, thirty-seven NPs, particularly since the reciprocal sense does not specify how many of the others each of the thirty-seven might be looking at.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, if one replaces the conjunction of NPs by a plural NP, the construction of an appropriate deep structure becomes even more difficult, especially when the cardinality of the set is unspecified, as in *Plusieurs femmes se regardaient* or uncountably infinite, as in *Les nombres réels se ressemblent*. Finally, in the following examples, the construction of a conjoined structure paraphrase seems impossible:

- (39) a. Tout le monde se connaît.
- b. Tout se ressemblait.

These sentences, which can correspond to the English ‘Everybody knows everybody else,’ ‘Everything looked like everything else’, could be derived from *Tout le monde<sub>i</sub> connaît Pro<sub>i</sub>*, *Tout<sub>i</sub> ressemblait à Pro<sub>i</sub>*,

<sup>9</sup> We have represented the deep structure of (i) *Jean se regarde* as *Jean<sub>i</sub> regarde Pro<sub>i</sub>* and not *Jean<sub>i</sub> regarde Jean<sub>i</sub>*; consequently the introduction of the feature +R need not be preceded by a pronominalization operation; see fn. 73, chap. 3, and corresponding text.

<sup>10</sup> In a sentence like (i) *Ils se succédaient*, not all of *ils* need to have succeeded somebody, as noted in Borillo (1971). [(i) ‘They succeeded each other.’]

given some principle of semantic interpretation permitting a reciprocal interpretation for like indexed “plural” sets.<sup>11</sup> The existence of such a principle would then support the derivation of *Ils se regardaient* from a single deep structure.

Given that the clitics *se*, *nous*, *vous* in their reciprocal usage can be derived, just as in their reflexive usage, from a structure of the form  $NP_i V X \text{ Pro}_{i,+R}$  (whether or not a conjunction reduction process is previously involved), the question arises as to the shape that  $\text{Pro}_{+R}$  takes if the pronoun is not moved to clitic position. In other words, what is the strong form pronoun that corresponds to these reciprocal clitics? The answer, especially for *nous* and *vous*, seems unavoidable: *Nous nous connaissons* is derived from *\*Nous connaissons nous<sub>+R</sub>*, and similarly for *vous*, in which case *Ils se connaissent* would be derived from *\*Ils connaissent eux<sub>+R</sub>* (as with reflexives). The problem is that the reciprocal sense is very difficult, if not impossible to perceive, if the pronoun is not in clitic position in surface structure. Thus (40) is normally felt only as reflexive:

- (40) a. Vous parliez de vous.
- b. Elles parlaient d'elles.

However, it is not clear that (40) is incompatible with a reciprocal reading. If it were, we would expect the following, where the dots stand for a pause, to be contradictory, but it is not:

- (41) Elles parlaient d'elles . . . les unes des autres.

The primacy of the reflexive reading in (40) may be akin to that of the animate reading of *lui* in *Je ne connais que lui*.<sup>12</sup> We shall consequently consider *se*, *nous*, *vous* to have the same corresponding strong forms in their reciprocal sense as in their reflexive sense.

### 5.3 The Transformation LL (*L'un L'autre*)

The only other superficially plausible source for reciprocal clitics might lie in the reciprocal *l'un . . . l'autre* construction:

<sup>11</sup> Not only does (39) require a refinement of the semantic notion “plural” (cf. Dougherty (1970; 1971)), but it also does not lend itself to a description in terms of  $a_i$ ,  $b_i$  as in the text above.

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion of (78) ff. of chapter 2. The strong form corresponding to the *se* of (39) would presumably have to be *soi* (see fn. 16, chap. 1; fn. 6, this chapter), despite the fact that an overt *soi* could not have a reciprocal interpretation.

- (42) a. Ils parlaient l'un de l'autre.  
 b. Jean et Georges comptent l'un sur l'autre.  
 c. Elles discutaient les unes avec les autres.  
 a. 'They were talking about one another.'  
 b. 'Jean and Georges are counting on each other.'  
 c. 'They were debating with each other.'

An important property of this construction is its ungrammaticality with nonprepositional complements, as shown in (43), and with many dative *à* complements, as in (44).

- (43) a. \*Jean et Marie aiment l'un l'autre.  
 b. \*Nous avons frappé les uns les autres.  
 c. \*Elles photographieront les unes les autres.  
 (44) a. \*Jean et Marie ont offert des cadeaux l'un à l'autre.  
 b. \*Elles faisaient manger des radis les unes aux autres.

Since there are sentences with clitics that correspond to (43), (44), namely (45), but no such sentences that correspond to (42), one might initially be tempted to derive the clitics in (45) from the complex *l'un* (P) *l'autre* expressions of (43), (44).

- (45) a. Jean et Marie s'aiment.  
 b. Nous nous sommes frappés.  
 c. Elles se photographieront.  
 d. Jean et Marie se sont offert des cadeaux.  
 e. Elles se faisaient manger des radis.  
 a. 'Jean and Marie love each other.'  
 b. 'We hit each other.'  
 c. 'They will photograph one another.'  
 d. 'Jean and Marie gave presents to each other.'  
 e. 'They were having each other eat radishes.'

It is not easy, however, to imagine a motivated morphological rule yielding, for example, *nous* from *les uns les autres* in the sentence with

*frapper*. Furthermore, for Cl-Pl to apply to *l'un* (P) *l'autre* would violate the characterization of Cl-Pl as a transformation that applies to accusative and dative pronouns only when they are bare, as argued in section 2.6, and would require having Cl-Pl apply to elements, *un*, *autre*, which are not always contiguous, as seen in (44), and which do not bear any simple relation to those known to be subject to Cl-Pl, such as *moi*, *lui*, *nous*. There is thus good reason not to take the *l'un* (P) *l'autre* expressions as possible sources for reciprocal clitics.

The ungrammaticality of (43), (44) does seem nonetheless to be related to the existence of (45). This relationship can be made precise, as will be seen shortly, without *l'un* (P) *l'autre* being subject to Cl-Pl, if the *l'un* (P) *l'autre* expressions of (42) are not basic, that is, if they are not generated in their surface positions by the PS rules.

If they were basic and were a kind of complex pronominal element, we might expect the preposition to be able to precede the entire element, but that is impossible:

- (46) a. \*Ils parlaient de l'un l'autre.
- b. \*Elles discutaient avec les unes les autres.
- c. \*Jean et Marie ont offert des cadeaux à l'un l'autre.

In addition, the base generation of *l'un l'autre* as a complex element would leave unexplained the ungrammaticality of (43), (44). The problem of (43), (44) would not be resolved either by an analysis that derived, for example, *Les garçons parlaient l'un de l'autre* from (47) via a rule moving *l'un* off the subject NP toward *l'autre*, since such a rule could presumably derive (43), (44) from sentences like (48).

- (47) L'un des garçons parlait de l'autre.  
‘One of the boys was speaking about the other.’
- (48) a. L'un de nous a frappé l'autre.  
      b. L'une d'elles a fait manger des radis à l'autre.

The derivation of (42) from sentences like (47) would also require the postulation of a rule of semantic interpretation which would apply subsequent to the movement of *l'un*, since (47), (48) do not have a reciprocal reading.

In order to account for the ungrammaticality of (43), (44), let us

then propose a derivation of (42) from deep structures containing two Ss. For example, *Les garçons parlaient l'un de l'autre* would be derived from  $s[Les \text{garçons}_i \text{parlaient de Pro}_i] s[L'\text{un parlait de l'autre}]$  by means of the following rule (which we shall refer to as *L'un L'autre*, or LL):

$$\begin{array}{l} s[X \text{ NP}_i Y \text{ P Pro}_i Z] s[X' l'\text{un} Y' \text{ P l'autre} Z'] \\ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6 \ 7 \ 8 \ 9 \ 10 \ 11 \ 12 \\ \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 8+10+11 \ 6, \text{ where } 1 = 7, 3 = 9, 4 = 10, 6 = 12 \end{array}$$

The effect of this transformation is to delete the material from the second S which is identical to that of the first, except for the preposition, and to substitute the remaining *l'un P l'autre* for *P Pro<sub>i</sub>*.

The pluses of 8+10+11 are meant to suggest that those terms form a derived structure constituent, perhaps a PP (like the *P Pro* they replace). Some evidence in favor of a derived PP structure would be available if sentences in which they are conjoined with other PPs were grammatical, and in fact the following are usually considered so:<sup>13</sup>

- (49) a. Ils parleront (et) de toi et l'un de l'autre.  
 b. Ils parleront ou bien l'un de l'autre ou bien de leurs amis.  
 a. 'They will speak (both) of you and of one another.'  
 b. 'They will speak either of each other or of their friends.'

The substitution of 8, 10, 11 for 4, 5 could then be looked at as

$$\begin{array}{l} _{\text{PP}}[\emptyset \text{ P Pro}] \rightarrow _{\text{PP}}[l'\text{un} \text{ P l'autre}] \\ 4 \ 5 \qquad \qquad 8 \ 10 \ 11 \end{array}$$

Here terms 10 and 11 are substituted for 4 and 5, respectively. The substitution of 10 for 4 would permit doing away with the specification  $4 = 10$ , since if 4 did not equal 10, then the substitution would violate the condition on "recoverability of deletion."<sup>14</sup> The existence of that general condition on transformations likewise renders the other equality specifications superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> This constitutes evidence on the supposition that only like-labeled nodes can be conjoined; see Chomsky (1957, p. 36). The constituent status of *l'un P l'autre* is supported too by sentences like (i) *C'est les uns des autres qu'ils parlaient* if the cleft formation rule (see Moreau (1970)) moves only constituents.

<sup>14</sup> The substitution of 11 for 5 is compatible with such a condition since 5 is recoverable from another term in the structural description, namely 2. For some discussion of the recoverability condition, see Chomsky (1965) and Katz and Postal (1964).

Terms 8 and 11 should be interpreted as unspecified for number, to allow for the plural *les un(e)s P les autres*. However, they must agree with each other in number:

- (50) a. \*Ils parleront l'un des autres.
- b. \*Ils comptent les uns sur l'autre.

This is the case despite the existence of (nonreciprocal):

- (51) L'un d'eux parlera des autres.

'One of them will speak about the others.'

Whether the ungrammaticality of (50) is best stated as a restriction on LL is not clear, since similar data are found with certain nonreciprocal combinations of *l'un* and *l'autre*: *ni l'un ni l'autre*, *ni les uns ni les autres*, \**ni l'un ni les autres*, \**ni les uns ni l'autre*—for example, in the environment *Je ne les enverrais . . . chercher du pain*.

These combinations were discussed briefly in chapter 1 (examples (139)–(149)), as were the perhaps related

- (52) Ils iront l'un à Paris, l'autre à Londres.

'They will go, the one to Paris, the other to London.'

- (53) Ses frères habitent, Jean à Paris, Jacques à Londres.

'His brothers live, Jean in Paris, Jacques in London.'

The sentences in (52), (53) are potentially important to the formulation of LL in that the (presumed) reduction process<sup>15</sup> they result from has certain properties in common with LL.

For example, in a sentence like *Ses frères parleront l'un de l'autre*, *l'un* is understood as being one of *ses frères* (rather than one of some arbitrary set of people), and the same for *l'autre*. This partial coreference, which is not explicitly indicated in the above formulation of LL, is also found in (52), (53). *Jean* and *Jacques*, in (53), are each under-

<sup>15</sup> Although the text sentences appear to be derivable, for example, from (i) *Ils iront X, l'un ira à Paris, l'autre ira à Londres* via simple deletion, the sentence (ii) *Elle les a, l'un envoyé à Paris, l'autre gardé à Londres* poses a problem (because of (iii) \**Elle a l'un envoyé à Paris*), which is beyond the scope of this work. [(ii) 'She has sent the one to Paris, kept the other in London.']}

stood as being one of *ses frères*.<sup>16</sup> An indexing (or interpretive) system adequate to the task of (52), (53) could presumably be used in LL. Alternatively, one might take *l'un* in LL to be derived from *l'un de NP<sub>i</sub>* where  $NP_i$  = that of term 2, which would reduce the indexing problem to the more usual type. A possible argument in favor of such a deletion of *de NP* might come from the following agreement phenomenon:

- (54) \*Ils parleront l'une de l'autre.

Sentence (54) is ungrammatical even if *ils* consists of one male and one female. If a deletion of *de NP<sub>i</sub>* has taken place, then that ungrammaticality is accounted for in terms of that of \**l'une d'eux*, which is impossible even if *eux* contains both genders.<sup>17</sup>

The transformation LL can in some cases substitute *l'un P l'autre* for a PP that is itself dominated by a more inclusive PP:

- (55) a. Ils étaient assis à côté l'un de l'autre.  
 b. Elles vont souvent dans les chambres les unes des autres.  
 c. Elles sont tombées dans les bras l'une de l'autre.  
 a. 'They were seated next to one another.'  
 b. 'They often go into each other's rooms.'  
 c. 'They fell into each other's arms.'

This contrasts with the inability of the inner PP in  $_{PP}[\dot{a} \ côté \ _{PP}[de \ NP]]$ ,  $_{PP}[dans \ les \ chambres/bras \ _{PP}[de \ NP]]$  to be extracted from within the outer one:

- (56) a. \*De quelle table étaient-ils assis à côté?  
 b. \*Ils en étaient assis à côté.  
 a. 'Which table were they seated next to?'  
 b. 'They were seated next to it.'

<sup>16</sup> And together exhaustively comprise *ses frères*. Similarly, (52) implies that the cardinality of *ils* is two. In this respect (52), (53) differ from *l'un P l'autre*; see (77) below. An additional difference is that (52), (53) do not require a P: (i) *Ils achèteront l'un une voiture, l'autre un camion*, whereas LL does, as argued at (59) ff. Also (50) contrasts with (ii) *Ils iront l'un à Paris, les autres à Rome*. [(i) 'They will buy, the one a car, the other a truck.']}

<sup>17</sup> The deletion of *de NP* is less natural for plural *les un(e)s P les autres*, because of \**les un(e)s de NP* (for example, \**les uns de mes amis*, versus *l'un de mes amis*).

(57) a. \*De quelles filles vas-tu souvent dans les chambres?

b. \*Tu en vas souvent dans les chambres.

a. ‘Of which girls do you often go into the rooms?’

b. ‘You often go into their rooms.’

(58) a. \*De qui est-elle tombée dans les bras?

b. \*C'est de Jean-Jacques qu'elle est tombée dans les bras.

a. ‘Of whom did she fall into the arms?’

b. ‘It was Jean-Jacques whose arms she fell into.’

The ungrammaticality of (56)–(58) is due to the A/A principle. The grammaticality of (55) correlates with the observation made in chapter 2 that the A/A principle is relevant only to extraction transformations.<sup>18</sup>

Let us return now to the important question of the interaction of LL and the clitics *se*, *nous*, *vous* and in particular to the contrast between (44), \**Jean et Marie ont offert des cadeaux l'un à l'autre*, and (42), *Jean et Georges comptent l'un sur l'autre*. We make the following claim: The ungrammaticality of (44) is a function of the cliticizability of the *à* complement of *offrir* and, more precisely, is due to the fact that at the point of application of LL, the  $\text{Pro}_i$  that is to be substituted for has, in the case of *offrir*, already been moved to clitic position. In other words, (44) will not be generated because the structural description of LL will not be met, as a result of the prior cliticization of  $\text{Pro}_i$ . A derivation based on the structure [*Jean et Marie*]<sub>i</sub> *offrent des cadeaux à*  $\text{Pro}_i$  will proceed as follows: introduction of  $+R \rightarrow [\text{Jean et Marie}]_i$  *offrent des cadeaux à*  $\text{Pro}_{i,+R} \rightarrow \text{Cl-Pl} \rightarrow [\text{Jean et Marie}]_i \text{ se} + \text{offrent des cadeaux}$ . (At this point LL is inapplicable.)<sup>19</sup> Given the cliticizability of

<sup>18</sup> See (183) ff. and fn. 76, chap. 2. The grammaticality of (i) *Ils étaient assis l'un à côté de l'autre* (cf. (55)) will require a modification of term 4 of LL, unless *à côté de* is analyzable as a P. (Analysis as P is unlikely for the possibly ungrammatical sentence (ii) ??*Elles vont les unes dans les chambres des autres*). Certain prepositional sequences are inviolable, as pointed out to us by N. Ruwet: (iii) ?*Ils sont revenus l'un de chez l'autre/\*de l'un chez l'autre*; (iv) *l'un par-dessus l'autre, \*par l'un dessus l'autre*. Intermediate is (v) ?*au dessus l'un de l'autre*. Such inviolability appears general: (vi) \**de, vraisemblablement, chez Jean* versus (vii) ?*à côté, vraisemblablement, de Jean*. [(iii) ‘They came back from at each other’s house.’ (iv) ‘over each other.’ (v) ‘above one another.’]

<sup>19</sup> LL cannot analyze  $\text{Pro}_i$  as the pronoun in clitic position (*se*) since the latter is not preceded by a preposition. If term 4, that is, P, of LL were made optional (see below),

the *à* complement of *offrir*, (44) could be generated only if LL could apply before the cliticization rule, or if that cliticization were optional with *offrir*. Consequently this analysis implies that LL is ordered after the rule placing a +R pronoun in clitic position, and also that with *offrir* such clitic placement is obligatory.<sup>20</sup>

The ungrammaticality of (43), for example, \**Ces filles photographieront les unes les autres*, can be looked at in the same way as that of (44). Given a structure *Ces filles<sub>i</sub> photographieront Pro<sub>i</sub>*, the feature +R will be introduced, and the pronoun then placed in clitic position prior to the point of application of LL; that is, LL is, as before, ordered after the (obligatory for accusatives) clitic placement rule. The input to LL will therefore not have the form *NP<sub>i</sub> V Pro<sub>i</sub>*, which means that *l'un l'autre* cannot be inserted in immediately postverbal position, whence the impossibility of (43). The phrase marker at the point of application of LL will have the pronoun in clitic position, and LL will fail to apply.<sup>21</sup>

The preceding paragraph is, strictly speaking, rendered superfluous by the actual formulation of LL given above. Quite independently of the ordering of LL and quite independently of the obligatoriness of clitic placement with accusatives, that formulation will fail to generate (43), for the simple reason that its structural description requires that *Pro<sub>i</sub>* be preceded by a preposition (term 4). In effect, (43) is doubly excluded in this analysis, once for the lack of preposition and once because prepositionless complements are obligatorily cliticized prior to LL. The latter exclusion might lead one to wonder whether the former is necessary. That is, why not formulate LL so as to apply even in the absence of a preposition? On the surface, the interaction with clitic placement would seem to ensure that such an extension of the rule would not generate any ungrammatical sentences.

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(i) \**Jean et Marie l'un l'autre offrent des cadeaux* would still be excluded by the absence of  
(ii) \**L'un l'autre offre des cadeaux*.

<sup>20</sup> Not all datives act alike: (i) ?*Jean et Marie ont écrit l'un à l'autre* is better than (44). (The sentence (ii) *Ils se sont écrit* is fully grammatical.) The ordering needed for LL here is itself a consequence of the cyclic principle; see section 6.3. [(i) 'Jean and Marie wrote to one another.']}

<sup>21</sup> The insertion at that point of *l'un l'autre* would yield (i) \**Ces filles les unes les autres photographieront*; cf. fn. 19.

Consider, however, an environment in which Cl-Pl is not applicable, such as the *ne . . . que* construction: *Elle ne photographiera que toi* (see section 2.17). Given a structure  $\text{NP}_i \text{ ne } \text{V que } \text{Pro}_i$ , Cl-Pl will not apply, so that if LL were able to work in the absence of a preposition, we would expect it to be able to replace the  $\text{Pro}_i$  in such a structure by *l'un l'autre*. The ungrammaticality of the following suggests, then, that the original formulation of LL, with the preposition necessary, is correct:

- (59) a. \*Jean et Marie n'aiment que l'un l'autre.
- b. \*Nous n'avons frappé que les uns les autres.
- c. \*Elles ne photographieront que les unes les autres.
- a. 'Jean and Marie only love each other.'
- b. 'We only hit each other.'
- c. 'They will photograph only each other.'

The ungrammaticality of (59) cannot simply be attributed to obligatory clitic placement prior to LL, as was that of (44), since a pronoun directly modified by *ne . . . que* is not subject to Cl-Pl. Especially notable in this regard is the contrast between (59) and (60):

- (60) a. Jean et Marie n'aiment qu'eux-mêmes.
- b. Il n'a frappé que lui-même.
- c. Tu ne photographies plus que toi-même.
- a. 'Jean and Marie love only themselves.'
- b. 'He only hit himself.'
- c. 'You no longer photograph anyone but yourself.'

In (60), as in (59), there is a coreference relationship between subject and object. In (60), the  $\text{Pro}_i$  in object position is not subject to Cl-Pl either. The pronoun has been spelled out as a strong form, and *même* has been introduced.<sup>22</sup>

The contrast between (59) and (60) reappears in sentences not containing *ne . . . que*, so that the impossibility of (59) cannot be ascribed to any incompatibility between *ne . . . que* and LL. (The inappropriate-

<sup>22</sup> With the coreferential reading, it is more natural to have *même* here than not; sentences like (i) *Il n'a frappé que lui* are not perfect in that reading.

ness of such an account of (59) is underlined by the existence of *Ils n'ont parlé que les uns des autres.*)

- (61) Jean a photographié et sa femme et lui-même.

'Jean photographed both his wife and himself.'

- (62) ?Jean préfère lui-même.

- (63) \*Jean et Marie ont photographié et leurs enfants et l'un l'autre.

'Jean and Marie photographed both their children and each other.'

- (64) \*Jean et Marie préfèrent l'un l'autre.

The examples of (61), (62) illustrate environments in which the obligatoriness of clitic placement is completely (with *et . . . et*) or partially (with heavy stress on the object of *préférer*) nullified. Nonetheless, the corresponding sentences with *l'un l'autre* are totally ungrammatical, so that the introduction of prepositionless *l'un l'autre* via LL must be barred by means above and beyond the interaction of LL and clitic placement.

The sharp difference in grammaticality between (59), (63), (64) and (60), (61), (62) is thus due to the following factors: the transformational character of *l'un P l'autre* (that is, its not being generated in NP position as a complex element by the PS rules),<sup>23</sup> and the fact that the structural description of LL demands a preposition.

#### 5.4 Supplementary *L'un L'autre*

The transformation LL cannot be the one responsible for the appearance of *l'un l'autre* in (65) for two reasons.

<sup>23</sup> The less sharp difference between (i) ?*Ils ont offert des bouquins l'un à l'autre* and (ii) *Il a offert des bouquins à lui-même* (with both contrastively stressed on the dative) and similarly between (iii) ?*Ils n'ont offert de bouquins que l'un à l'autre* and (iv) *Il n'a offert de bouquins qu'à lui-même* suggests that violations of the obligatoriness of Clitic Placement be marked on the relevant constituent at the point of application of the rule, but that the nullification of such a violation by virtue of contrast or stress be accomplished after LL (probably in surface structure) and depend on the presence of a "contrastively stressable" element, with that property held by pronouns like *lui*, but only with some difficulty by *l'un à l'autre*; this suggestion recalls Chomsky's (1972, pp. 132–133) proposal concerning violations of constraints on transformations. [(iii) 'They gave books only to each other.']}

- (65) a. Jean et Marie s'aiment l'un l'autre.  
 b. Nous nous sommes frappés les uns les autres.  
 c. Elles se photographieront les unes les autres.

First, the preposition demanded by LL is lacking; second, the presence of the clitic means that the  $\text{Pro}_i$  is no longer in object position but in clitic position, so that postverbal *l'un l'autre* in (65) cannot have been substituted for it. Since LL works only through substitution, it cannot have applied in (65). The second of the preceding arguments carries over to sentences like

- (66) a. Ils se sont offert des cadeaux l'un à l'autre.  
 b. Elles s'écrivent souvent les unes aux autres.  
 a. 'They gave presents to each other.'  
 b. 'They often write to each other.'

In such sentences *l'un à l'autre* cannot be the result of LL since the  $\text{Pro}_i$  (term 5 of LL) is in clitic position in surface structure and so could not have been substituted for by *l'un à l'autre*.

Our hypothesis, then, is that *l'un (à) l'autre* in (65), (66) is due to a rule that is distinct from LL and that differs from it in not requiring the presence of a preposition, as shown by the contrast between (59) and (65). The plausibility of such a hypothesis is enhanced by the observation that the *à* of (66) can in some cases fail to appear, while that of the construction with LL can never fail to appear. Examples of the application of LL are

- (67) a. ?Jean et Marie ont écrit l'un à l'autre.  
 b. ?Ils ressemblent les uns aux autres.  
 a. 'Jean and Marie wrote to each other.'  
 b. 'They resemble one another.'

(Here Clitic Placement has not applied; see fn. 20.) The *à* may not be absent:

- (68) a. \*Jean et Marie ont écrit l'un l'autre.  
 b. \*Ils ressemblent les uns les autres.

In the construction exemplified by (66), with an overt clitic corre-

sponding to the dative complement, the *à* may, for many speakers, be absent:

- (69) a. ?Ils se sont offert des cadeaux l'un l'autre.
- b. ?Elles s'écrivent souvent les unes les autres.

- (70)     Ils se ressemblent les uns les autres.

Let us call the rule responsible for the appearance of *l'un (à) l'autre* in (65), (66), (69), (70) "Supplementary *L'un L'autre*" (SLL).<sup>24</sup>

Although the optionality of the *à* in (66), (69), combined with the somewhat marginal character of the latter, recalls pairs such as *Je leur ai offert des cadeaux à tous*, ?*Je leur ai tous offert des cadeaux*, there are differences between the two constructions concerning the position of *à-less tous* and *l'un l'autre*, as shown by the contrast between (69), (70) and the following:<sup>25</sup>

- (71) a. \**Je leur ai offert des cadeaux tous les trois.*
- b. \**Elle nous écrit souvent presque tous.*
- c. \**Tu leur ressembles toutes.*
- a. 'I gave presents to all three of them.'
- b. 'She often writes to almost all of us.'
- c. 'You resemble them all.'

Since *tous* originates as a modifier of the pronoun, that is, <sub>NP</sub>[*tous - eux*], in these constructions, we shall, not unnaturally, assume that *l'un l'autre* does not: \*<sub>NP</sub>[*l'un l'autre - eux*]. The most obvious proposal is that, as with LL, the *l'un (à) l'autre* due to SLL originates in a deep structure coordinate sentence, such as the following (for (70)): <sub>S</sub>[*Ils se ressemblent*] <sub>S</sub>[*les uns ressemblent aux autres*], where, unlike the case of LL, clitic placement has applied in the left-hand sentence. In isolation, however, the right-hand sentence must keep the *à*:

<sup>24</sup> With *ressembler*, which is atypical, *à* is in fact dubious: (i) ??*Ils se ressemblent beaucoup les uns aux autres*. In the popular French studied by Bauche (1951, p. 96), SLL, although not LL, is apparently lacking. SLL is compatible with *ne . . . que* in (ii) *Ils ne se sont vantés que l'un l'autre* (best in reading 'only each other, not themselves'), and so contrasts with (59).

<sup>25</sup> See section 2.14.

- (72) a. \*Les uns ressemblent les autres.

- b. \*L'un a offert des cadeaux l'autre.

The lack of parallelism between (72) and (69), (70) recalls the observation made in chapter 2 ((270) ff.) to the effect that a bare dative *tous* can fail to be preceded by *à* only when not an NP. In (72), as well as in (67), *les autres* is an NP (in the latter it has been substituted for the NP-dominated  $\text{Pro}_i$  by LL). This, then, suggests that it might not be one in (69), (70); instead *l'un l'autre* there might be introduced as a kind of set expression not derived from a full deep structure sentence.

The relevant rule (SLL) might very tentatively be stated as follows:<sup>26</sup>

NP	Pro	V	X	$\rightarrow$	1	2	3	4	<i>l'un l'autre</i>
(plural)	+R								
1	2	3	4						

It could be extended to allow for an optional *à* if term 2 is dative. However, those datives which cannot be full NPs in simple sentences, for example, *Elle lui tire dessus*, \**Elle tire dessus à Jean* (and which may lack a preposition in deep structure), are incompatible with *à*:

- (73) a. Ils se tiraient dessus les uns les autres.

- b. \*Ils se tiraient dessus les uns aux autres.

a–b. ‘They were shooting at each other.’

An additional difficulty lies in the inapplicability of SLL to sentences like *Ils s'évanouissent* (see section 5.8).

- (74) \*Ils s'évanouissent les uns les autres.

The ungrammaticality of (74) would constitute evidence in favor of a derivation from conjoined sentences, since (74) could then be related

<sup>26</sup> The specification “plural” here will exclude (i) \**Tout le monde se connaît les uns les autres*; it is distinct from that of fn. 11; it is also necessary for LL in (ii) \**Tout le monde peut compter les uns sur les autres* and may cover just those NPs that are compatible with *l'un, chacun, aucun*: (iii) *L'un de ces garçons*, (iv) \**L'un de tout le monde* (see fn. 17). SLL must allow *l'un l'autre* to vary in gender and number, too. [(i) ‘Everybody knows one another.’ (ii) ‘Everybody can count on one another.’]

to (75), only if all sentences of the form *NP se V les uns les autres* had counterparts (not paraphrases) of the form *les uns V les autres*.

- (75) \*Les uns évanouissent les autres.

'The ones are fainting the others.'

That this is not the case is shown by

- (76) a. Ils s'entretuaient les uns les autres.  
 b. \*Les uns entretuaient les autres.  
 a. 'They were killing each other.'

Although the existence of (76) poses a problem for a derivation from conjoined sentences, it remains for SLL to distinguish (76) from (74) in a principled way; we shall consider the above questions raised by SLL open.<sup>27</sup>

If *l'un l'autre* is not in the deep structure of sentences derived through SLL (see footnote 27) and if the feature *+R* is compatible in general with both reflexive and reciprocal interpretations, then the application of SLL affects the meaning of sentences in that it imposes a reciprocal interpretation, for example, in (73), (70), (69), (66), (65). In other words, SLL would require that a rule of semantic interpretation apply after its application. No such rule is needed for sentences derived through LL, since *l'un . . . l'autre* is present in the deep structure and can be considered incompatible with a reflexive interpretation. The fact that sentences derived through LL have a fully reciprocal meaning (and not simply that of *L'un V X l'autre* in

<sup>27</sup> For LL we know of no case like that of (76); whenever *NP V l'un P l'autre* is grammatical, so is *L'un V P l'autre*. For some discussion of verbs like *s'entretuer*, which we note require *se* in order to have a reciprocal meaning, as shown in (i) \**Ils ont entrediscuté*, \**Ils ont entretué*, see Borillo (1971).

The need for SLL to extend to *l'un à l'autre* is unclear. The domain of SLL might instead be limited to *l'un l'autre*, as in (65), (69), (70), (73)a, (76)a; *l'un à l'autre* in (66) could then be treated, like (131) below, as a case of "pauseless detachment." This would permit relating (73)b to the fact that in (ii) *La pierre lui est tombée dessus, à lui*, the comma intonation pause seems to be obligatory, although it is optional in (iii) *Je lui ai écrit, à lui* (cf. (vi), (vii) of fn. 41, chap. 2; the pause is obligatory in (iv) *Je lui ai écrit, à Jean*).

The ungrammaticality of (74) recalls (v) \**Ils se sont évanouis mutuellement* (vs. (vi) *Ils se sont entretués mutuellement*), which suggests that SLL might be assimilable to whatever mechanism (transformational or not; see Dougherty (1970; 1971)) is optimal for such adverbs. [(ii) 'The rock fell on him, him.' (vi) 'They mutually killed each other.']}

isolation) can be attributed to the other half of the deep structure, and in particular to the coreferentiality between  $NP_i$  and  $Pro_i$  (terms 2 and 5).<sup>28</sup>

One final observation of a semantic nature is that if  $NP_i$  is a plural consisting of more than two elements, both *l'un P l'autre* and *les uns P les autres* are sometimes possible, with a difference in meaning. Thus if *ils* refers to a group of fifty men, either of the following is possible (for many speakers; some would accept only the second):

- (77) a. Ils tiraient l'un sur l'autre.<sup>29</sup>
- b. Ils tiraient les uns sur les autres.

The first of these, however, seems to imply that the shooting is viewed as taking place between pairs of men and is felt as inappropriate if the shooting is being done with machine guns too heavy for one man to manipulate alone. In that context, the second is natural.

## Part II

### 5.5 The Transformation *Se*-Pl (*Se* Placement)

In the previous sections of this chapter, we developed an analysis of *se* as a pronoun subject to clitic placement whose special morphological form is due to the presence of a feature (+R) introduced under certain conditions of coreference. In both its reflexive and reciprocal uses, *se* was claimed to derive from a pronoun that, if it had not undergone clitic placement, would have appeared as one of the usual strong form pronouns, that is, *lui*, *elle*, *eux*, *elles* (or as *soi*, in the case of subjects such as *on*). The feature +R was taken to have no morphological effect in the first and second persons. A transformation LL was postulated for reciprocal *l'un P l'autre*, and the interaction of LL with *se* was examined. In addition, sentences containing instances of *l'un (à) l'autre* that could not be derived using LL were discussed.

The most important element of the preceding analysis, as far as the principle of the transformational cycle is concerned, is the transfor-

<sup>28</sup> Where ‘fully reciprocal’ allows for cases like those of fn. 10: (i) *Ils sont nés les uns après les autres.* (Additional examples are given by Borillo (1971).) [(i) ‘They were born one after the other.’]

<sup>29</sup> Herein lies one difference between the LL construction and that of (52)–(53); see fn. 16.

mation that effects the movement of the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun to clitic position, and in particular the relationship of that movement transformation to Cl-Pl. The assumption that the movement to clitic position of the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun is effected by Cl-Pl itself would be a natural one and was, in fact, followed, with varying degrees of explicitness, in the first part of this chapter. The similarities noted there between the cliticization of reflexive/reciprocal pronouns and that of the other elements subject to clitic placement are, however, compatible with an alternative hypothesis, namely that there are two distinct, though formally similar, clitic placement transformations, one of which is limited to the reflexive/reciprocal pronouns. Under this hypothesis, the transformation Cl-Pl does not extend to such pronouns; their movement is effected by a separate transformation, which will be called *Se* Placement (*Se*-Pl).

The evidence in favor of the separation of *Se*-Pl from Cl-Pl comes from consideration of their interaction with other transformations. In the present chapter, we shall suggest first that the behavior of clitics in the passive construction leads to the conclusion that the reflexive/reciprocal clitics are placed in clitic position prior to the others. Second, and independently of passives, certain facts concerning clitics and the transformation NP Extrap will be shown to support the same conclusion. Additional evidence in favor of the separation of *Se*-Pl and Cl-Pl will be presented in chapter 6 and will derive from the special behavior of reflexive/reciprocal clitics in the *faire* construction.

In preparation for the “passive argument,” let us reconsider the following facts: *Se* may appear as an accusative or dative indicating coreference with the subject:

- (78) a. Jean se regarde.
- b. Elles se sont donné des coups de pied.
- a. ‘Jean is looking at himself.’
- b. ‘They gave themselves/each other some kicks.’

But it cannot occur as a dative indicating coreference with an accusative:<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> The ungrammaticality of (80) is unaltered if the accusative is a clitic as in (i) \**Je se les présenterai*, or if it is moved to the left by *Wh* Movement, as in (ii) \**Les filles que je vais se présenter* (similarly for (81) we have (iii) \**Je se leur présenterai*, (iv) \**Les filles à qui je vais se présenter*). [(ii) ‘The girls that I’m going to introduce to one another.’]

- (79) a. La psychiatrie a révélé Jean à lui-même.  
       b. Je présenterai ces filles l'une à l'autre.  
           a. 'Psychiatry revealed Jean to himself.'  
           b. 'I will introduce those girls to one another.'
- (80) a. \*La psychiatrie *s<sub>i</sub>*'est révélé Jean<sub>*i*</sub>.  
       b. \*Je se présenterai ces filles.

Nor can *se* appear as an accusative indicating coreference with a dative:

- (81) a. \*La psychiatrie *s<sub>i</sub>*'est révélé à Jean<sub>*i*</sub>.  
       b. \*Je se présenterai à ces filles.

Informally speaking, then, we can say that the antecedent of *se* must be the subject and cannot be either kind of object.

If *se* in (78) originates as a pronoun that is marked +R in object position and then cliticized, example (81) can be excluded simply by requiring that the antecedent precede the pronoun to which +R is added. As for (80), one might attempt to take advantage of the fact that its derivation involves the movement of *se* across the antecedent, for example: *Je présenterai ces filles<sub>i</sub>* à Pro<sub>*i*,+R</sub> → *Je Pro<sub>*i*,+R</sub> présenterai ces filles<sub>i</sub>*. Thus one might claim that some general principle prohibited the movement of one coreferential element across the other.<sup>31</sup> If that were the case, then the pronoun object in (80) would be marked +R and the ungrammaticality attributed to its having been moved across its antecedent. The plausibility of such an account of (80) is reduced by the existence of grammatical sentences whose derivation does in fact involve the crossing of two coreferential elements. Thus, the rule Styl-Inv mentioned in section 2.4 moves *Jean* across *se* in deriving (82)b from a structure resembling (82)a:

- (82) a. Voilà ce que Jean se disait.  
       b. Voilà ce que se disait Jean.

<sup>31</sup> As proposed in Postal (1971). The actual formulation given there (p. 181) is, however, inapplicable to (80), since it requires that the elements in question be "pronominal virgins," that is, not yet pronominalized. This is incompatible with the fact that the rule moving *se* in (80) applies only to pronouns. (A similar point is made in Kayne (1971) concerning "crossover" and other clitics.)

a–b. ‘That’s what Jean was telling himself.’

Similarly, FI changes the relative order of *Jean* and *se* in the construction studied in chapter 6:<sup>32</sup>

(83) Cela fera se tuer Jean.

‘That will make Jean kill himself.’

Furthermore, FI changes the relative order of a pronoun and a coreferential NP in

(84) a. ?Cela fera connaître Jean à lui-même.

b. Je ferai connaître ces garçons l’un à l’autre.

a. ‘That will make Jean know himself.’

b. ‘I will make those boys know each other.’

The derivation of the latter example is *Je ferai s[NP[Pro<sub>i</sub>] connaître ces garçons<sub>i</sub>]* → FI, A-Ins → *Je ferai connaître ces garçons<sub>i</sub> à NP[Pro<sub>i</sub>]* → LL (where the second deep structure sentence has undergone the same rules,<sup>33</sup> yielding *Je ferai connaître l’un à l’autre*) → *Je ferai connaître ces garçons l’un à l’autre*.

An even more damaging argument against accounting for (80) in terms of a “crossover” principle comes from the consideration of sentences with all three NP constituents coreferential. Thus if such a principle were responsible for the ungrammaticality of (80), or of (85), then we would expect (86) to be equally ungrammatical.

(85) \*Je se décrirai Jean.

‘I will describe Jean to himself.’

(86) a. Jean ne se décrira que lui-même.

b. ?Jean se décrira lui-même (mais personne d’autre).

a. ‘Jean will describe only himself to himself.’

b. ‘Jean will describe himself (but no one else) to himself.’

<sup>32</sup> On the question of what is moved, see section 4.9.

<sup>33</sup> Starting from *Je ferai s[l’autre connaître l’un]*, which has an embedded S that is ungrammatical in isolation, so that the mechanism requiring that *l’un* precede *l’autre* must not apply in deep structure.

In (86), a dative *se* has moved across an object *lui-même*, with which it is coreferential, yet the result is far better than in (85). This is, moreover, precisely what we would expect if there were no such principle at work, and if the ungrammaticality of (85) were due rather to the lack of a subject antecedent for *se*.<sup>34</sup>

The inadequacy of a “crossover” solution to (85) suggests that the feature *+R* itself may not be attached to an indirect object pronoun unless the antecedent is the subject NP. This suggestion can be made more precise as follows: Let us initially assume, as we have done until now, that the transformation moving the reflexive/reciprocal pronoun to clitic position applies to a pronoun already marked *+R*, in other words, that the feature *+R* is introduced by a rule independent of, and prior to, the cliticization rule. Then the ungrammaticality of (85) can be stated by requiring that the feature introduction rule apply only if the first of the two coreferential phrases is the subject NP, for example:

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{NP}_i & \text{V} & \text{X} & \text{Pro}_i & \rightarrow & 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4_{+R} \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & & \end{array}$$

In this statement of the rule, the “subject restriction” is achieved by specifying the term V to the right of  $\text{NP}_i$ .

Comparison of the above feature assignment rule with the rule introducing reciprocal *l'un P l'autre* (LL), as well as with whatever rule accounts for the occurrence of *même* in sentences like *La police a livré Marie à elle-même*, reveals a curious asymmetry. All three rules involve pronouns and antecedents, yet the *+R* rule is the only one of the three to require a subject antecedent; as noted earlier (see example (79)), both *Pro-même* and *l'un P l'autre* can have as antecedent a direct object NP.<sup>35</sup> This asymmetry can be stated by requiring the antece-

<sup>34</sup> The relevance of (85), (86) to crossover depends on the (natural) assumption that the complement order when *se* is moved is NP à NP. (Even if the dative with *décrire* could be shown to be necessarily prepositionless at that point, making the opposite order more plausible, the argument would still hold, with the relevant contrast (i) \**Je se décrirai à Jean* (or \*à *lui-(même)*) versus (ii) *Jean se décrira à lui-même*). Also difficult for crossover is (iii) *Je ne lui<sub>i</sub> décrirai que lui<sub>i</sub>(-même)* versus (iv) \**Je ne lui<sub>i</sub> décrirai que Jean<sub>i</sub>*, like (v) *Je lui<sub>i</sub> décrirai son<sub>i</sub> frère* versus (vi) \**Je lui<sub>i</sub> décrirai le frère de Jean<sub>i</sub>*; see Kayne (1971). [(iii) ‘I’ll describe only him(self) to him.’ (v) ‘I’ll describe his brother to him.’]

<sup>35</sup> As can English *Pro-self* and German *sich* (German examples provided us by H. Obenauer): (i) *Ich habe sie sich selbst überlassen*; (ii) *Ich habe Fritz mit sich selbst versöhnt*. [(i) I left her to herself.’ (ii) ‘I reconciled Fritz with himself.’]

dent  $NP_i$  to precede the verb in the structural description of the  $+R$  rule, while imposing no such requirement on the SD of the other two rules. However, the very fact that it is the  $+R$  rule which is so singled out would appear to be related to another, namely that the pronoun marked with that feature is subsequently moved to the left of V (whereas *Pro-même* and *l'un P l'autre* are not). If this relationship is a linguistically significant one, as we would claim, then the analysis under consideration, in which no such relationship is expressed, needs to be modified.

The modification to be proposed will dispense with the  $+R$  rule as an independent transformation. Instead, we shall suggest that the feature  $+R$  be introduced by *Se-Pl* itself, that is, by the transformation that moves the coreferential pronoun to clitic position. Subsuming the  $+R$  rule under *Se-Pl* would not be possible if there existed some transformation that needed to apply after the introduction of that feature but prior to *Se-Pl*. Since no such transformation is known to us, and since the feature  $+R$  had in any case no morphological effect in nonclitic position, it is plausible to restrict its use to pronouns in clitic position.<sup>36</sup>

The principal advantage of incorporating the  $+R$  rule into *Se-Pl* is that it allows an improved account of the restriction of  $+R$  to pronouns with subject antecedents. As long as the  $+R$  rule is thought of as separate from the movement to the verb, the appearance of V in it (and the consequent restriction to subject antecedents) is fortuitous. If it is part of *Se-Pl*, however, that objection disappears, since *Se-Pl*, as a transformation moving pronouns to the verb, must clearly contain the term V. *Se-Pl* will be stated in the following way:<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The “strong forms” of the  $+R$  clitics can be understood as before, with the difference that they will now have no  $+R$  in NP position; see the paragraph surrounding (40).

<sup>37</sup> The scope of the variable Y will be constrained by various conditions, as in the discussion of (16). *Se-Pl* must not apply in the case of an  $NP_i$  that is a final and proper subpart of a subject, such as (i) \**Le père de [Marie<sub>i</sub>] s<sub>i</sub>'aime* (even though that  $NP_i$  satisfies the SD). Similarly, an adnominal complement may not be taken by LL as an antecedent for *l'un P l'autre* unless the two are within the same NP: (ii) *La haine de ces femmes l'une pour l'autre* versus (iii) \**Les amies de ces deux garçons ont voté l'un pour l'autre*, (iv) \**Je présenterai les soeurs de ces garçons l'un à l'autre*. This suggests that some general condition on rules is at issue, presumably one that would also cover the intuitively similar restriction on Q-Post (sec. 1.8): (v) \**La mère de ces garçons est tous partie*. [(i) ‘Marie’s father loves

$$Se\text{-Pl: } X \underset{1}{NP_i} \underset{2}{V} \underset{3}{Y} \underset{4}{Pro_i} \underset{5}{Z} \longrightarrow 1 \underset{2}{2} \underset{5+R}{5} + 3 \underset{4}{4} \underset{6}{6}$$

$Pro_i$  must be accusative or dative, and  $X$ ,  $Y$ ,  $Z$  are variables. This treatment of the feature  $+R$  differs from the previous in that it explicitly requires that  $NP_i$  precede the  $Pro_i$  both before and just after the movement to clitic position; the “just after” is what ensures that the antecedent to *se* must be a subject NP.

### 5.6 Separation of *Se*-Pl and *Cl*-Pl

Although the above formulation of *Se*-Pl still resembles *Cl*-Pl in many ways, the coreferentiality indications would make it difficult to formally combine the two.<sup>38</sup> Let us assume, however, that some formal solution could be found and argue rather that, even if that were the case, it would be incorrect to combine *Se*-Pl and *Cl*-Pl, on the basis of the ordering arguments promised earlier. The first concerns passives and depends (unlike the other two) on the just-discussed incorporation of the  $+R$  rule into *Se*-Pl.

The crucial observation bearing on the relative ordering of *Se*-Pl and the Passive transformation is that the passives of ungrammatical sentences like (80), (85) are likewise ungrammatical. The passives of the grammatical (79) are well formed, however; they are of the form

- (87) Jean sera décrit à lui-même par sa femme.

‘Jean will be described to himself by his wife.’

- (88) a. Ces filles seront présentées l'une à l'autre par Paul.

- b. Ils seront décrits l'un à l'autre par un ami.

- c. Ces livres seront substitués les uns aux autres par le voleur.

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herself.’ (ii) ‘The hatred of those women for one another,’ (iii) ‘The friends of those two boys<sub>i</sub> voted for each other<sub>i</sub>.’ (iv) ‘I’ll introduce those boys<sub>i</sub>’ sisters to each other<sub>i</sub>.’ (v) ‘Those boys’ mother all left.’]

<sup>38</sup> The formal difficulty would disappear if *Se*-Pl were separated from the  $+R$  rule, in which case *Se*-Pl could be stated

$$X \underset{1}{NP} \underset{2}{V} \underset{3}{Y} \underset{4}{Pro_{+R}} \underset{5}{Z} \rightarrow 1 \underset{2}{2} \underset{5}{5} + 3 \underset{4}{4} \underset{6}{6}$$

with  $Pro_{+R}$  dative or accusative.

- a. 'Those girls will be introduced to one another by Paul.'
- b. 'They will be described to one another by a friend.'
- c. 'These books will be substituted for one another by the thief.'

The passives of (80), (85) resemble those of (79), except that the dative appears as *se*:

(89) \*Jean se sera décrit par sa femme.

- (90) a. \*Ces filles se seront présentées par Paul.
- b. \*Ils se seront décrits par un ami.
- c. \*Ces livres se seront substitués par le voleur.

In (89), (90), *se* cannot refer to *Jean*, *ces filles*, *ils*, *ces livres*, even though those are all subjects. Passives are also incompatible with *+R* clitics other than *se*:

- (91) a. \*Tu te seras décrit par ta femme.
- b. \*Vous vous serez présentés par Paul.

Dative clitics not marked *+R*, on the other hand, occur freely in passives:

- (92) a. Elle te sera décrite par ta femme.
- b. Ils vous seront présentés par Paul.
- c. Ces livres leur seront substitués par le voleur.

The contrast between (89)–(91) and (92) is mirrored by the dative of the inalienable possession construction:

- (93) \*Ils se seront jetés dans les bras par cet homme.  
‘They will be thrown into each other’s arms by that man.’
- (94) Ils te seront jetés dans les bras par cet homme.  
‘They will be thrown into your arms by that man.’

As the ungrammaticality of (89)–(91) recalls that of (80), (85), so does the ungrammaticality of (93) recall that of its corresponding active:

- (95) \*Je se jetteai ces enfants dans les bras.  
‘I will throw those children into each other’s arms.’

(Compare *Je te jetterai ces enfants dans les bras.*)

The impossibility of *se* in the above passives is, we would claim, significantly related to its impossibility in the corresponding actives and is to be attributed to the nonsubject status in deep structure of the antecedent of *se*. The superficial subject in (89)–(91), (93) cannot be the antecedent of *se*, *te*, *vous* because it derives from an underlying object or, more precisely, because it was not a subject at the point of application of *Se*-Pl, which requires a subject antecedent. In other words, we propose to account for the ungrammaticality of (89)–(91), (93) in terms of that of (80), (85), (95) by ordering *Se*-Pl before the Passive transformation.

If this analysis is correct, that is, if *se* cannot refer to the superficial subject of the passive because that NP was an object at the relevant point of the derivation,<sup>39</sup> then that constitutes a strong argument in favor of the Passive transformation.<sup>40</sup>

This analysis has, then, the consequence that the movement of *se* must precede the Passive transformation. The same would be true, it may be noted, of the crossover analysis discussed earlier, since if the passive\**Ces garçons se seront présentés par Paul* is to be excluded parallel to \**Je se présenterai ces garçons* via a crossover principle, then the movement of *se* must be ordered before the Passive rule; otherwise, *ces garçons* could be moved to subject position first, at which point *se* would no longer be crossing over it in moving to clitic position. Thus, even if the crossover analysis turned out to be correct, the movement of *se* would have to precede the Passive rule, just as in the analysis of *Se*-Pl we have adopted.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Conceivably, one might instead try to relate the passive facts to those holding for adjectives; the latter were noted in (30), (34), (35) using *être*, but are valid too with other verbs: (i) *Ils sont semblables l'un à l'autre*, (ii) *Elles resteront semblables l'une à l'autre*; (iii) \**Ils se sont semblables (l'un à l'autre)*, (iv) \**Elles se resteront semblables (l'une à l'autre)* (versus (v) *Ils me sont/resteront semblables*). The adjectives are not perfectly homogeneous, however (passives are): (vi) ?*Ils se sont/resteront fidèles l'un à l'autre*. In the absence of an explanation for the impossibility of *se* with (many) adjectives, the proposal of this note has no immediate empirical content. [(i)/(ii) ‘They are/will remain similar to one another.’ (vi) ‘They are/will remain faithful to one another.’]

<sup>40</sup> If the Passive transformation were decomposed into several rules (see (141), chap. 3), then the text analysis would support (and would order after *Se*-Pl) only the rule moving the object to subject position. If +R assignment were independent of *Se*-Pl, then from the passive facts one could conclude only that the former is ordered before Passive.

<sup>41</sup> The ordering of *Se*-Pl before Passive implies that the ungrammaticality of (i) \**Ce livre*

The ordering of *Se*-Pl prior to the Passive transformation makes significant the observation that the placement of at least certain other clitics must follow the Passive transformation.

Consider the fact that the *en* that corresponds to *de* + articleless NP, as in *Paul en a trois, de soeurs*, can, as noted in section 2.19, originate in a nonprepositional object, but not in a subject:

- (96) a. Paul en lira trois.
- b. Elle en choisira un jaune.
- a. ‘Paul will read three.’
- b. ‘She will pick a yellow one.’
- (97) a. \*Trois en sont ici.
- b. \*Un jaune en est à votre droite.
- a. ‘Three are here.’
- b. ‘A yellow one is to your right.’

The superficial subject of a passive sentence cannot serve as the source for such *en*:

- (98) a. \*Trois en ont été lus par Paul.
- b. \*Un jaune en a été choisi par Marie.
- a. ‘Three were read by Paul.’
- b. ‘A yellow one was picked by Marie.’

(Both (97) and (98) are grammatical without *en*.) The ungrammaticality of (98) follows immediately if Cl-Pl is ordered after Passive. Once *trois-en, un jaune-en* become subjects through the application of Passive, Cl-Pl cannot apply, just as it cannot in (97). If Cl-Pl were able to precede Passive, we would expect (98) to be the passive(s) corresponding to (96): *Paul a lu trois-en* → Cl-Pl → *Paul en a lu trois* →

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*se<sub>i</sub> sera acheté par Jean<sub>i</sub>* (cf. (ii) *Jean<sub>i</sub> s<sub>i</sub>'achètera ce livre*) is not attributable to ordering (unless Passive were decomposed in such a way that its “agent-postposing” part preceded *Se*-Pl while its “subject-preposing” part followed (see fn. 40); however, that would not extend to (iii) \**Je ferai s'acheter ce livre par Jean*; since crossover is an unlikely candidate (cf. (82)), the solution must lie with the broader incompatibility between agent phrases and certain types of coreference; see chap. 3, fn. 55 and corresponding text. [(i) ‘That book will be bought himself by Jean.’ (iii) ‘I’ll have that book bought himself by Jean.’]

Passive → \**Trois en ont été lus par Paul*. The incorrectness of the preceding derivation leads us to conclude that *Cl*-Pl is ordered after Passive.<sup>42</sup>

The ordering of *Cl*-Pl after Passive, taken in conjunction with the ordering of *Se*-Pl before Passive, clearly supports the hypothesis that the two are distinct transformations.

The second argument in favor of a separation between *Se*-Pl and *Cl*-Pl involves the transformation NP Extrap. This argument is independent of the “passive” one and independent of the decision as to whether *Se*-Pl incorporates, or applies to the output of, the feature-marking rule. As noted in section 4.9, NP Extrap, which is responsible for the postverbal position of the underlying subject NPs in sentences like *Il est arrivé trois enfants*, *Il a existé dix espèces de lions depuis ce temps* is inapplicable to structures containing a direct object NP. Thus alongside *Trois mille hommes ont dénoncé la décision*, we have neither of the following:

- (99) a. \**Il a dénoncé la décision trois mille hommes*.
- b. \**Il a dénoncé trois mille hommes la décision*.
- a–b. ‘Three thousand men denounced the decision.’

If *la décision* in (99) is replaced by the corresponding object clitic, the result is still ungrammatical:

- (100) \**Il l'a dénoncée trois mille hommes*.

Moreover, this appears to be completely general; to our knowledge there are no instances of NP Extrap with sentences containing a clitic *le*, *la*, or *les* corresponding to a direct object of the verb.

NP Extrap is not incompatible, on the other hand, with dative *lui*, *leur*:

- (101) a. *Il leur est arrivé quelque chose d'effroyable*.
- b. *Il lui a échappé un cri*.
- c. *Il lui est venu une idée*.
- a. ‘Something dreadful happened to them.’

<sup>42</sup> Strictly speaking, this conclusion follows only for the placement of *en*. If all the other non-*R* clitics are placed at the same time as *en*, then it is also valid for them.

- b. 'A cry escaped from him.'
- c. 'An idea came to him.'

The last of these, which is derived through NP Extrap from a structure that would otherwise yield *Une idée lui est venue*, contrasts with the ungrammatical output of NP Extrap in the semantically somewhat similar case of *Une idée l'a frappé*:

(102) \*Il l'a frappé une idée.

'An idea struck him.'

The systematic absence of sentences like (100), (102) can be related to the equally systematic absence of sentences like (99) in the following way: Let us say that NP Extrap moves an NP from subject position to direct object position, and that there is only one of the latter. Then NP Extrap will be blocked in every instance in which the direct object position is filled by some other NP. The ungrammaticality of (99) can thus be described straightforwardly.<sup>43</sup> That of (100), (102) can be accounted for in parallel fashion if one takes advantage of the fact that the clitics *le*, *la*, *les* originate in the same NP position as that of the object in (99). It will suffice to have NP Extrap tested for applicability at a point in the derivation at which the pronouns underlying *le*, *la*, *les* have not yet been moved to clitic position. For example, (102) might have been thought derivable from a structure *Une idée a frappé lui*. However, NP Extrap cannot apply there, since *lui* fills the relevant NP position. Now (102), or sentences like it, could be derived from such a structure if NP Extrap were allowed to apply subsequent to Cl-Pl. The latter will yield *Une idée l'a frappé*, at which point the object NP position is unfilled, so that NP Extrap could, though undesirably, fill it with the subject NP. Consequently, the exclusion of (102) requires that NP Extrap not be allowed to apply subsequent to Cl-Pl, or, in other words, that Cl-Pl be ordered after NP Extrap.

The ordering of Cl-Pl after NP Extrap is of special interest, since

<sup>43</sup> Recall that this solution can be made more precise within Emonds's (1970) theory; see chap. 4, examples (136) ff. The text ordering argument does not, however, depend on treating (99) à la Emonds; it would suffice for our purposes if NP-Extrap were simply declared inapplicable anytime there was a direct object in the VP (which would leave open the question of whether an extraposed NP occupies the same position as a direct object).

there is evidence that *se* can be placed in clitic position prior to NP Extrap, a fact that strongly supports the claim that *Se*-Pl and *Cl*-Pl are distinct transformations. The evidence for the earlier placement of *se*, as compared with that of the elements subject to *Cl*-Pl, comes from sentences in which NP Extrap has applied to a structure containing a direct object cliticized as *se*. In a context such as *A government bureaucrat is assigned the job of determining the number of people who denounce themselves in a given period of time*, the following sentence is possible:

- (103) Il s'est dénoncé trois mille hommes ce mois-ci.

'Three thousand men denounced themselves this month.'

(Also possible is *Trois mille hommes se sont dénoncés ce mois-ci*.) However, if the people counted are denouncing bureaucrats, or the speaker, or another set of people, then only the nonextraposed form is possible: *Trois mille hommes nous/m'/les ont dénoncé(s) ce mois-ci*. The corresponding sentences with NP Extrap are not:<sup>44</sup>

- (104) a. \*Il nous a dénoncés trois mille hommes ce mois-ci.  
 b. \*Il m'a dénoncé trois mille hommes ce mois-ci.  
 c. \*Il les a dénoncés trois mille hommes ce mois-ci.

Similarly, alongside *Trois mille hommes en ont dénoncé ce mois-ci* (where *en* replaces a direct object such as *des criminels*), we do not have<sup>45</sup>

- (105) \*Il en a dénoncé trois mille hommes ce mois-ci.

The ungrammaticality of (104), (105) is precisely parallel to that of (100), (102) and follows simply from the ordering of *Cl*-Pl after NP Extrap, as indicated above. The grammaticality of (103) would be in direct contradiction to that ordering if *se* were moved by *Cl*-Pl. In fact, (103) constitutes evidence for the movement of *se* prior to NP Extrap. The derivation of (103) proceeds *Trois mille hommes; ont dénoncé Pro;*

<sup>44</sup> The first two of (104) have another (grammatical but irrelevant) reading in which *me*, *nous* are datives, *il* a personal pronoun, and *trois mille hommes* an underlying direct object of *dénoncer*, that is, in which NP-Extrap does not intervene at all.

<sup>45</sup> Although NP-Extrap is compatible with an *en* originating in a prepositional complement: (i) *Il en sortira quelque chose de bon* (cf. (ii) *Quelque chose de bon sortira de cela*). Further discussion of the NP-Extrap construction can be found in Eskénazi (1968), Gaatone (1970), and Martin (1970). [(i) 'There will come of it something good.']}

→ *Se-Pl* → *Trois mille hommes se sont dénoncés* → NP Extrap → (103). The prior cliticization of the object pronoun via *Se-Pl* “unfills” the NP position into which NP Extrap then places the subject NP. Since *Se-Pl* can thus precede NP Extrap, whereas *Cl-Pl* is ordered after NP Extrap, we conclude that *Se-Pl* must be distinguished from *Cl-Pl*.

The ordering conclusion based on (100), (102), (104), (105) is compatible with other evidence concerning the interaction of NP Extrap and *Cl-Pl*. Consider the sentence with *en* that corresponds to *Il existe trois univers*:

(106) *Il en existe trois.*

‘There exist three of them.’

The question is whether *en* was attached to the verb before or after the application of NP Extrap. That it was not placed prior to NP Extrap is suggested by the fact that such *en* are not subject to *Cl-Pl* at all when part of a subject NP. Thus alongside *Trois univers existent* stands *Trois existent*, and not

(107) \**Trois en existent.*

The *en* of (106) must therefore have been placed in clitic position subsequent to NP Extrap. Similarly, the *en* of (108) must have been subject to *Cl-Pl* after NP Extrap<sup>46</sup> since it is not possible in the unextraposed version given in (109).

(108) *Il s'en est dénoncé trois mille.*

‘Three thousand of them denounced themselves.’

(109) \**Trois mille s'en sont dénoncés.*

(Rather: *Trois mille se sont dénoncés.*) On the other hand, the *se* of (108) must have been cliticized prior to NP Extrap, just as in (103), so that

<sup>46</sup> The fact that an extraposed subject NP is never cliticized as an accusative as in (i) \**Ils se les est dénoncé*, (ii) \**Ils les existe* (*les* underlying subject) might be due to the inapplicability of case marking (that is, if the extraposed NP does not really become “accusative”), and/or it might be related to the heavy restrictions on extraposing definites as in (iii) \**Ils s'est dénoncé mes amis*, especially those referring back to something already mentioned as in (iv) \**Les mensonges<sub>i</sub>, il existe cela<sub>i</sub>* versus (v) *Les mensonges<sub>i</sub>, cela<sub>i</sub> existe.* [(v) ‘Lies, that exists’]

(108) actually provides direct evidence within a single derivation for the separation of *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl*.<sup>47</sup>

Additional evidence in favor of a distinction between *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl* will be presented in chapter 6.

## Part III

### 5.7 Justification of Transformational Derivation

The transformation *Se-Pl* moves a dative or accusative pronoun from a postverbal NP position to the left, attaching it to the appropriate V. The pronoun is subsequently spelled out as *se* in the third person and assumes its usual clitic shape in the first and second person. The naturalness of such a movement derivation is clear in a wide range of cases, for example, *Jean se photographie*, *Jean s'achète des bonbons*, *Jean et Marie s'aiment*, *Nous nous sommes frappés*, *Ils se sont offert des cadeaux*, *Ils se ressemblent*, *Trois mille hommes se sont dénoncés ce mois-ci*, in that these verbs otherwise occur with NP complements capable of providing a source for *se*. Thus *Jean se photographie* will derive from a structure of the form *Jean photographie* <sub>NP</sub>[Pro], the postulation of which is supported by the existence of sentences like *Jean photographie* <sub>NP</sub>[*la fille*], as well as by *Jean la photographie*, which we know to be derived via *Cl-Pl* from *Jean photographie* <sub>NP</sub>[*elle*]. Similarly, the derivation of the *se* in *Ils se sont offert des cadeaux* from *Ils ont offert des cadeaux à* <sub>NP</sub>[Pro] is made natural by the occurrence of *Ils ont offert des cadeaux à la fille*, and the *Cl-Pl*-derived *Ils lui ont offert des cadeaux*.<sup>48</sup>

The alternative to deriving the above *se* from postverbal NP position would be to generate them in clitic position in the base. Such an attempt to eliminate *Se-Pl* would, however, suffer from several disadvantages akin to those discussed at the beginning of chapter 2, when we argued against the base generation of clitics and in favor of *Cl-Pl*. First, the absence of *Se-Pl* would require some complication of the base rules in order to have pronouns generated in preverbal position. Now, that complication of the base component would be offset by the corresponding simplification of the transformational

<sup>47</sup> The general claim that *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl* are distinct implies, of course, that *se* and *en* are placed separately in any derivation in which both are found.

<sup>48</sup> The *à* will be deleted after *Se-Pl* moves Pro just as it is with *Cl-Pl*; see sec. 2.6.

component if it were not for the fact that the base generation of clitic *se* would still require introducing lexical redundancy rules somewhat similar to *Se-Pl* itself in order to prevent the generation of base structures containing both *se* and a verb like *partir*:

- (110) \*Jean se part.

'Jean is going himself away.'

In our *Se-Pl* analysis (110) will fail to be generated because *partir* takes neither accusative nor dative NP complements, so that there is no source for *se*. If *se* were base-generated, (110) could be excluded by restricting the lexical insertion of verbs, in the presence of *se*, to verbs marked *+se\_\_\_\_\_*, where that subcategorization feature is assigned by some lexical redundancy rule to all lexical verbs subcategorized for accusative or dative complements, but not to *partir*. The combination of a redundancy rule and more complicated base rules would seem, at the very least, to present no advantage as compared to the *Se-Pl* analysis.

In any case, a lexical redundancy rule would fail to account correctly for instances of *se* occurring in surface structure attached to verbs of which *se* is not a deep structure complement. For example, in (111) *se* corresponds to a dative complement of *remettre*.

- (111) Jean se fera remettre votre dépêche par son domestique.

'Jean will have your dispatch handed to him by his servant.'

Replacing *remettre* with a verb not subcategorized for datives yields the ungrammatical sentence

- (112) \*Jean se fera tuer votre chien par son domestique.

'Jean will have your dog killed to him by his servant.'

No redundancy rule operating in the lexicon could assign *+se\_\_\_\_\_* to *faire* in (111) without doing so in (112).

Equally damaging to a lexical redundancy rule are sentences in which *se* corresponds to the subject of an embedded S, as in (113), since *se* here does not correspond to an accusative or dative complement for which *faire* is subcategorized.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The same point would be made by *Jean se croyait à Paris* if the deep structure were *croire—S*; see chap. 4, (92) ff. [(i) 'Jean thought himself in Paris.']}

- (113) a. Jean se fera passer pour fou.  
 b. Ils se faisaient manger des radis (l'un à l'autre).  
 a. 'Jean will make himself pass for crazy.'  
 b. 'They were making each other eat radishes.'

The *faire* construction provides an additional argument: Recall that the appearance of *à* in *Jean a fait connaître Marie à tout le monde* is due to the presence of an NP object following *connaître*, and that the *à* of *Jean m'a fait connaître à tout le monde* is accounted for in similar fashion if Cl-Pl follows FI/A-Ins, so that the latter applies to a structure still containing a postinfinitival NP: . . . *faire tout le monde connaître NP[moi]*. Consider now the following (see also chapter 6):

- (114) Jean s'est fait connaître à tout le monde.

'Jean made everybody know him.'

The *à* of (114) can have the same origin as the others only if *se* is a postinfinitival NP at the point of application of FI/A-Ins: . . . *faire tout le monde connaître NP[Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. Consequently, the *se* of (114) is not to be generated in its surface position by the PS rules.

Moreover, we note that our account of (44), \**Ils ont offert des cadeaux l'un à l'autre*, depends on the obligatory removal via *Se-Pl* of a pronoun from dative NP position prior to LL. In the absence of *Se-Pl*, it is not clear what would prevent LL from applying to a structure containing *Ils<sub>i</sub> ont offert des cadeaux à Pro<sub>i</sub>* to incorrectly yield (44).<sup>50</sup>

## 5.8 Transformational Derivation of Inherent *Se*

The preceding arguments suggest that it is not only natural but also necessary to attribute the surface position of the *se* under consideration to the effect of a movement transformation *Se-Pl*. It does not follow, however, that all *se* need to be so derived; in particular, there exists a set of *se* for which the preceding arguments do not hold and for which it would not be unnatural to propose a PS derivation. These

<sup>50</sup> One could not invoke a prior obligatory application of Cl-Pl, since that would not allow distinguishing (44) from the grammatical (i) *Je présenterai ces filles l'une à l'autre* (from *Je présenterai ces filles<sub>i</sub> à Pro<sub>i</sub>* . . ., where *Se-Pl* is inapplicable), and since the needed ordering might well be impossible, in particular if LL is cyclic and if, as we have claimed, Cl-Pl is postcyclic. [(i) 'I'll introduce those girls to one another.']}

“inherent” *se*, as we shall call them, are sharply distinguished from those discussed just above in that there is no convenient postverbal NP source for them. For instance, alongside *s'évanouir*, *s'en aller*, *s'imaginer quelque chose* in (115) there is no *\*évanouir (à) NP*, *\*en aller (à) NP*, *\*imaginer quelque chose à NP*, as shown in (116).

- (115) a. Marie s'est évanouie.

- b. Ils s'en sont allés.
- c. Jean s'imagine cela.
- a. ‘Marie fainted.’
- b. ‘They went away.’
- c. ‘Jean imagines that.’

- (116) a. \*Marie a évanoui (à) son enfant.

- b. \*Ils en ont allé (à) leurs amis.
- c. \*Jean imagine cela à tout le monde.

Furthermore, there is no possibility for nonreflexive accusative or dative clitics:

- (117) a. \*Marie m'a évanoui.

- b. \*Ils nous en ont allés.
- c. \*Jean leur imagine cela.

And there is none for strong form pronouns in NP position:

- (118) a. \*Marie évanouit elle (-même)/soi (-même).

- b. \*Ils en iront moi.
- c. \*Jean m'imagine à lui (-même).
- d. \*Quand on t'imagine à soi (-même), . . .

The ungrammaticality of (116)–(118) makes the following assertion plausible: Although many *se* are derived via *Se-Pl* from postverbal NP position, the “inherent” *se* are generated directly in clitic position by the PS rules. Nevertheless, we suggest that even the “inherent” *se* are derived via *Se-Pl*. It should be noted that if this claim is correct, that is, if the “inherent” *se* are subject to *Se-Pl*, then this reinforces the argument against the PS generation of clitic *se* in the case of ordinary

reflexives and reciprocals (by which we mean those that have clear NP sources), although that argument does not require that “inherent” *se* be derived via *Se-Pl*.<sup>51</sup>

If inherent *se* were generated in preverbal position by the PS rules, rather than being placed there by *Se-Pl*, then they would not be objects of the verb in any obvious sense. If derived via *Se-Pl*, they are verbal objects in the sense that they are generated in the same PS position as ordinary dative or accusative object NPs: . . . *évanouir*  $\text{Pro}_i \rightarrow \text{Se-Pl} \rightarrow \text{se} + \text{évanouir}$ , . . . *imaginer quelque chose à*  $\text{Pro}_i \rightarrow \text{Se-Pl} \rightarrow \text{se} + \text{imaginer quelque chose}$ . Their base generation in preverbal position would make them some special kind of clitic adjunct, with more freedom of positioning than prefixes (since they occur attached to the auxiliary: *s'être évanoui*). Our suggestion that inherent *se* derive through *Se-Pl* will thus be supported by phenomena with respect to which inherent *se* pattern like other object pronouns.

Past participle agreement in French is of two principal types: One has the participle agreeing with the subject in the presence of *être*. This type is found in passives and with intransitives taking *être* as auxiliary:

- (119) a. *Cette robe sera offerte à Marie par Paul.*
- b. *Ce bouquin sera offert à Marie par Paul.*
- c. *Marie est morte voilà deux ans.*
- d. *Paul est mort voilà deux ans.*
- a/b. ‘This dress/this book will be given to Marie by Paul.’
- c/d. ‘Marie/Paul died two years ago.’

It is probably to be identified with adjective agreement across the copula, *Marie est petite*, *Paul est petit*, and is obligatory both in literary and in conversational French:

- (120) a. \**Cette robe sera offert à Marie par Paul.*
- b. \**Marie est mort voilà deux ans.*
- c. \**Marie est petit.*

<sup>51</sup> One list of inherent *se* can be found in Byrne and Churchill (1966, p. 405); see also Boons, Guillet and Leclère (1973, pp. 75–78), where an element of productivity is noted.

The other type of past participle agreement has the participle agreeing with its direct object when that object precedes the participle in surface structure:

- (121) a. Paul l'a mise à la porte.
- b. \*Paul a mise Marie à la porte.
- a/b. 'Paul threw her/Marie out.'

This type of agreement differs significantly from that of (119) in that it occurs primarily in the literary language; in conversational French, it is often (perhaps usually) not made.<sup>52</sup> The following thus contrasts with (120):

- (122) Paul l'a mis à la porte (where *l'* is *Marie*).

Sentences (119) and (121) differ with respect to the auxiliary, and the *avoir/être* distinction does play a role, in that the subject agreement of (119) has no counterpart with *avoir*, that is, there are no cases of a subject triggering past participle agreement when the auxiliary is *avoir* and not *être*. However, there are cases of object agreement in the absence of *avoir*:

- (123) Marie se serait pris(e) pour une folle.

'Marie would have taken herself for a crazy woman.'

This is an example of an ordinary reflexive (cf. nonreflexive *Elle a pris Marie pour une folle*, *Elle l'a pris(e) pour une folle*); the agreement pattern is that of (121)–(122) and not that of (119)–(120). Despite the presence of *être*, the agreement is not obligatory and is more literary than conversational. This suggests, then, that the agreement in (123) is being triggered by the preposed direct object pronoun *se*. If this is correct, we would expect a dative *se* counterpart to (123) not to show agreement since preposed nonreflexive datives do not:

- (124) Paul lui a mis(\*e) la main sur l'épaule (*lui* being *Marie*).

'Paul put his hand on her shoulder.'

The expectation is fulfilled:

<sup>52</sup> See fn. 55, chap. 2. This, of course, weakens the text argument, which could not be made internal to a French never displaying agreement with *se*.

(125) *Marie se serait offert(\*e) des cadeaux.*

‘Marie would have given herself presents.’

The difference between (123) and (125) is a function of the unlike origin of the two *se* and of the fact that agreement in the ordinary reflexive construction is not made with the subject.<sup>53</sup>

Of relevance to the problem of inherent *se* is the observation that the agreement patterns there resemble those of ordinary reflexives. For example, with *se dédire* (cf. *\*dédire* ( $\rightarrow$ ) NP, in modern French), we have

(126) *Elle s'est dédit(e) le lendemain.*

‘She recanted the following day.’

Depending on the style, both agreement and nonagreement are possible.<sup>54</sup> Sentence (126) is thus like (123) and (121)–(122), and it is unlike (119)–(120). In other words, the *se* of *se dédire* is behaving as a preposed direct object with respect to participle agreement, despite the fact that *dédire* does not otherwise take direct objects.

Additional evidence that inherent *se* should originate in object position comes from consideration of the range of postverbal complements with which inherent *se* can cooccur. If these *se* are invariably derived from either an accusative or a dative object via *Se-Pl*, and if, as would appear to be true in general, verbs can be subcategorized for at most one accusative or one dative complement, then we would predict that inherent *se* could cooccur with one or the other, but not with both. That is, we could have *se* V NP or *se* V  $\rightarrow$  NP, but never *\*se* V NP  $\rightarrow$  NP, where *se* is ‘inherent’ and  $\rightarrow$  NP dative. Under the *Se-Pl* hypothesis, this must be so, since the existence of *\*se* V NP  $\rightarrow$  NP would imply either two deep structure accusatives or two deep structure datives, that is, two of whichever type *se* derived from.

<sup>53</sup> This is presumably related to the fact that the auxiliary with the verbs of (123), (125) is normally *avoir*: (i) *Marie lui aurait offert un cadeau*. A possible solution is that the auxiliary in (123), (125) is specified as *être*, with that specification triggered by the presence of a reflexive/reciprocal clitic, by a rule ordered after the one effecting agreement across *être* with the subject. The auxiliary of verbs like *mourir* (see (119)) can be specified as *être* in deep structure; cf. fn. 60, chap. 4; compare also Kayne (1972, fn. 53) on the nonuniform behavior of *être* with respect to *ce*.

<sup>54</sup> That nonagreement is possible here is noted by Blinkenberg (1968, p. 117).

The hypothesis that inherent *se* is generated directly in clitic position would, on the other hand, allow a verb to have both an accusative and a dative complement in addition to that *se*. Since there does not appear to exist any such verb (and on the assumption that that lack is not accidental), the *Se-Pl* hypothesis is to be favored.

The hypothesis that inherent *se* are generated in clitic position by the PS rules could have been made with almost equal plausibility for another class of *se* including those in

- (127) a. Elle s'en est pris(e) à son mari.
- b. Elle s'est plaint(e) de tout cela à son amie.
- a. 'She blamed her husband.'
- b. 'She complained about all that to her friend.'

These differ from the *se* of *s'en aller*, *s'évanouir* in that the verbs of (127) can otherwise occur with object NPs: *Elle a pris son enfant à son mari*, *Elle plaint tout le monde*, so that the derivation of *se* in (127) from object position via *Se-Pl* is at first glance straightforward. However, such a derivation in some cases leads to a subcategorization problem:

- (128) \*Elle plaint tout le monde de tout cela à son amie.

And, more centrally, it raises difficult semantic questions, since the meaning of (127) is not immediately predictable from the meaning of the lexical verb without *se*. For example, *s'en prendre à* bears no simple relation semantically to (*en*) *prendre quelqu'un à quelqu'un d'autre* 'to take someone from somebody (for some reason)'.

The derivation of (127) from structures of the form *en prendre Pro<sub>i</sub> à NP*, *plaindre Pro<sub>i</sub> de NP à NP*, etc., poses much the same problem, on the whole, as that of *s'évanouir* from *évanouir Pro<sub>i</sub>*. In both cases, the pronoun destined to be spelled out as *se*, subsequent to *Se-Pl*, has a very specific and not easily predictable semantic effect and is in varying degrees difficult to interpret semantically as an ordinary object. In the case of *évanouir*, the difficulty is most visible, since any other object NP is impossible.

On the other hand, the evidence suggesting an object origin for inherent *se* is not altered by the extension of the domain of inquiry to (127). First, the past participle agreement there is not obligatory and is sensitive to the degree of "literariness," just as in (126), (123),

(121)–(122), so that *se* again seems to be acting as a preposed direct object. Second, it is still not possible to find a verb, \**se* V NP à NP (à NP is dative),<sup>55</sup> even though there are a great many *se* that could be considered like those of (127), in other words, that do not lend themselves to a straightforward semantic interpretation.

A third piece of evidence against the generation of inherent *se* in clitic position might be derivable from the following observation: Although one can speak of inherently reflexive and inherently reciprocal verbs with *se* (an example of the latter is *s'entretuer*, as in (76)), there are no comparable inherently reflexive or reciprocal adjectives. If such an adjective existed, it would have the property of occurring with *se* (*Ils se sont Adj<sub>I</sub>*), but not with any nonreflexive/nonreciprocal dative clitic (\**Ils me sont Adj<sub>I</sub>*), nor with any dative NP (\**Ils sont Adj<sub>I</sub>* à NP). Now if the PS rules of French could generate directly *Ils se sont évanouis*, they might well be expected to be able to generate in the same way \**Ils se sont Adj<sub>I</sub>*. On the other hand, if the clitic position of *se* is always due to the application of *Se-Pl*, then the absence of inherent adjectival *se* might be reducible to the at best marginal applicability of *Se-Pl* with adjectives in the case of ordinary reflexives.<sup>56</sup>

The derivation of inherent *se* via *Se-Pl* leaves open the question of how to exclude sentences such as (116)–(118). Notice that it would not be sufficient to say the following: Sentences containing *évanouir*, *en aller*, *imaginer*, etc., must undergo *Se-Pl*. First, that would fail to elimi-

<sup>55</sup> This assertion would be strengthened (in that counterexamples would be easier to look for) if it became less difficult to determine when an à NP complement was dative; as it is, the presence of *se* precludes using cliticization as a guide, since \**se lui* is never a possible clitic sequence. Pronominalization (of an animate; see chap. 2, (262) ff.) to *y* (such as (i) *Elle se fie à Jean*, (ii) *Elle s'y fie*) would indicate a nondative, though. [(i) ‘She trusts Jean.’]

<sup>56</sup> See fn. 39. Additional evidence for the *Se-Pl* analysis of inherent *se* comes from *se taper*, as in (i) *Jean s'est tapé un bon repas*, (ii) \**Jean a tapé un bon repas à Marie*. Since there is an accusative NP, the *Se-Pl* analysis forces us to derive this inherent *se* from a dative NP. Such a derivation accounts for the contrast between (iii) ?*C'est à ce type-là que les cannibales ont mangé le bras gauche* and (iv) \**C'est à ce type-là que les cannibales se sont tapé le bras gauche* (both are grammatical with *de* instead of à) in terms of the incompatibility between the dative of inalienable possession, here à *ce type-là*, and another nonethical dative, here *se*; see fn. 122, chap. 2.

We note that the derivation of inherent *se* via *Se-Pl* poses a problem for Emonds's (1970) structure-preserving hypothesis, since there is now no productive class of pronominal clitic nodes filled in deep structure. [(i) ‘Jean ate a good meal.’ (iii)–(iv) ‘It's that guy's left arm that the cannibals ate.’]

nate derivations in which *Se-Pl* applied to the “wrong” complement. Thus, from *Jean<sub>i</sub> imagine Paul à Pro<sub>i</sub>*, one correctly derives *Jean s’imagine Paul*, but given *Jean<sub>i</sub> imagine Pro<sub>i</sub> à Pro<sub>i</sub>*, one must not confuse the following:

- (129) a. ?Jean s’imagine lui-même.
- b. \*Jean s’imagine à lui-même.
- a–b. ‘Jean is imagining himself.’

With *imaginer*, it is the dative, not the accusative, that is inherent. Second, the application of *Se-Pl* to the right complement does not ensure grammaticality in

- (130) a. \*Jean s’imagine Paul à lui-même.
- b. \*Quand on se l’imagine à soi-même . . .
- c. \*Jean s’imagine à lui-même que tout est bon.

(The preceding are grammatical without the *à* phrase.) Compare

- (131) a. Quand on se parle à soi-même . . .
- b. Jean s’écrit à lui-même de très longues lettres.
- a. ‘When one speaks to oneself’
- b. ‘Jean writes very long letters to himself.’

In (131), *se* appears in addition to a corresponding *à* phrase, in a construction that might be assimilable to that of “detachment”: *Je lui parlerai, à Jean*. The ungrammaticality of (130), in which *Se-Pl* has applied, suggests that what is crucial in (130), (129), and (116)–(118) is the presence of an overt phrase corresponding to the position from which the inherent *se* was, or should have been, derived, and not simply the fact that the (right) *se* might be lacking. One might thus speculate and propose that inherently reflexive (or reciprocal) verbs impose a constraint such that they may not cooccur with an accusative NP or, in the case of *imaginer*, with a dative à-NP.<sup>57</sup>

The interpretation of such a constraint might be altered somewhat, in the direction of greater plausibility, by the following data:<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The constraint would need to apply after *Se-Pl* and prior to *Ci-Pl* (because of (117)).

<sup>58</sup> Which were brought to our attention by J.-P. Boons.

- (132) a. Elle s'est jetée par la fenêtre.  
       b. Elle s'est hissée sur la table.  
           a. 'She threw herself out the window.'  
           b. 'She pulled herself up onto the table.'
- (133) a. ?Elle n'a jeté par la fenêtre qu'elle-même.  
       b. ?Elle n'a hissé sur la table qu'elle-même.  
           a. 'She threw only herself out the window.'  
           b. 'She lifted only herself up onto the table.'
- (134) a. Elle n'a jeté par la fenêtre que lui.  
       b. Elle n'a hissé sur la table que Paul.

*Jeter* and *hisser* are verbs that can take human objects, and in particular a reflexive object realized as *se*. However, the semantics of (132) are not quite identical to the more straightforward *Elle m'a jeté par la fenêtre*, *Elle les a hissés sur la table*; the physical movements accomplished by the subject are not the same in the *se* case. Of special interest is that this difference is reflected in (133)–(134), the first of which is odd. The oddity seems to be that (133) is understood with a strictly literal reading for *jeter*, *hisser* and does not permit that of (132).

Similar data can be found in English: Compare *He threw himself out the window*, *He pulled himself up onto the table*, *He twisted himself into a Moebius strip* with *?He threw only himself out the window*, *?He pulled even himself up onto the table*, *?He twisted neither his cat nor himself into a Moebius strip*. The first set, in its most natural reading, describes a movement by the subject which does not occur as a natural reading in the second set. The second set seems to force a more literal interpretation, as if something is being done to someone else.

The similarity between the French and English data suggests that the clitic character of *se*, while relevant, may not be fundamental. This, in turn, reinforces the conclusion drawn from (130) that it is the occurrence of a certain NP, rather than the nonoccurrence of *se*, which determines the ill-formedness of examples (116)–(118). Let us therefore entertain the following analysis: Whereas in English the natural reading of the first set of reflexive examples is lost (to the more literal reading) in the presence of any direct object other than a

noncontrasted, noncoordinate reflexive, in French the natural reading of (132) will be lost to the more literal one in the presence of any accusative NP whatsoever (the derived non-NP status of *se* permits this simpler statement). Moreover, let us consider that the semantic interpretation of *se plaindre*, for example, in (127) is subject to the same restriction as that of (132); that is, it is lost in the presence of an accusative NP. Continuing in this manner, we can say that the normal interpretation of *s'imaginer* NP is necessarily lost in the presence of dative *à* NP; since in this case there is no more literal interpretation available, the sentence will be ill formed, whence the ungrammaticality of (129)b, (130).

If the problem raised by (116)–(118) is solved by (some more detailed version of) the above proposal,<sup>59</sup> or by any other, then the evidence offered earlier (past participle agreement, \**se* V NP *à* NP, \**se être* Adj) will be compelling in favor of a *Se-Pl* origin for inherent *se*, as well as for those of (127). Such an extension of the domain of *Se-Pl* would have an effect on the presentation of certain data treated in chapter 6. There we give a set of sentences that are instances of the application of *Se-Pl* followed by the application of FI/A-Ins. The examples chosen are almost all of ordinary *se*, that is, where the NP source is well motivated, and furthermore can almost all be interpreted straightforwardly, such that the reflexive or reciprocal reading does not differ perceptibly from the nonreflexive/nonreciprocal reading for the same verb. One example would be (135), where the *se* of *se dénoncer* has a clear NP source, and where *dénoncer* has the same interpretation in *se dénoncer* as in *dénoncer quelqu'un*.

(135) La peur de la police a fait se dénoncer un de ses amis.

'Fear of the police made one of his friends denounce himself.'

<sup>59</sup> The semantic rules of this proposal would be subject to the remarks in fn. 57 and extended to cases of inalienable possession. Perhaps related to the text proposal is the extra reading (alongside the expected 'She had herself arrested by the police') of sentences like (i) *Elle s'est fait arrêter par la police*. This reading, which is close (not identical) to that of (ii) *Elle a été arrêtée par la police* (see Stimm (1957), Spang-Hanssen (1967), Gross (1968, p. 44)) disappears in (iii) ?*Elle n'a fait arrêter qu'elle-même par la police* (cf. (132) versus (133)); and similarly for (iv) *Elle s'est fait voler quelque chose* versus (v) ?*Elle a fait voler quelque chose à elle-même (par quelqu'un)*. Not all FP sentences act the same; the passivelike reading is absent in (vi) *Quand elle était jeune, elle s'est fait considérer comme bête*. [(iii) 'She had only herself arrested by the police.' (v) 'She had something stolen from herself by someone.' (vi) 'When she was young, she made herself be considered stupid.']}

The derivation of inherent *se* and those of (127) via *Se-Pl* will broaden the set of sentences derived through the application of *Se-Pl* followed by that of FI/A-Ins, since counterparts to (135) with inherent *se* and with the “semantically inherent” *se* of (127) are readily available:

- (136) a. Le choc a fait s'évanouir la jeune femme.
- b. Les nombreuses insultes ont fait s'en aller le jeune homme.
- c. Un malentendu a fait s'entretuer la plupart des soldats.
- d. Voilà ce qui l'a fait s'en prendre à son patron.
- a. ‘The shock made the young woman faint.’
- b. ‘The numerous insults made the young man go away.’
- c. ‘A misunderstanding made most of the soldiers kill each other.’
- d. ‘That's what made him blame his boss.’

### 5.9 Middle *Se*

This common property shared by inherent *se* and ordinary *se* with respect to embedding under *faire*<sup>60</sup> distinguishes both of them from another *se* that can be called “middle” *se*. It is found in sentences like

- (137) a. Cela se dit surtout pour ennuyer les gens.
- b. Les noisettes se mangent bien en parlant.
- c. Un tel jouet pourrait s'acheter pour soi-même.
- a. ‘That is said especially to annoy people.’
- b. ‘Hazelnuts eat well while talking.’
- c. ‘A toy like that could be bought for oneself.’

It is not possible to embed these in the *faire*-infinitive construction:<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Another common property is nonpassivizability: (i) \**Cela se sera imaginé par Jean* (cf. (ii) *Jean s'imaginerá cela*); see fn. 41. Our *Se-Pl* hypothesis predicts further that past participle agreement with *s'imaginer* will pattern like that of (125); unfortunately the hypothesis is not yet testable. Neither *s'imaginer* nor any other verb with dative inherent *se* (that we are aware of) has a past participle that could show phonological modification under agreement. [(ii) ‘Jean will imagine that.’]

<sup>61</sup> As noted by Gross (1968, p. 44).

- (138) a. \*Les moeurs actuelles font se dire cela surtout pour ennuyer les gens.
- b. \*Leur rondeur fait se manger bien en parlant les noisettes.
- c. \*Un prix intéressant ferait s'acheter un tel jouet pour soi-même.
- a. ‘Present-day mores make that be said especially to annoy people.’
- b. ‘Their roundness makes hazelnuts eat well while talking.’
- c. ‘A good price would make a toy like that be bought for oneself.’

The ungrammaticality of (138), when compared with the grammaticality of (135)–(136), could be interpreted to mean that (137) is not derived through *Se-Pl*, and, in fact, there is some other evidence that might lend support to that idea. However, even (138) itself is not necessarily incompatible with *Se-Pl* intervention. First, to deny that *Se-Pl* applies in (137) does not provide any insight into the impossibility of (138). Second, (138) could in principle be accounted for via a restriction concerning FI and some other transformation applicable in (137). A plausible candidate is, in fact, available, since one might well want to relate (137) to the sentences shown in (139) via a transformation moving the object NP to subject position and deleting the indefinite subject.<sup>62</sup>

- (139) a. On dit cela surtout pour ennuyer les gens.
- b. On mange bien les noisettes en parlant.
- c. On achèterait un tel jouet pour soi-même.

A good argument in favor of such a transformation would consist of showing that structures produced by an already established transformation entered into the (137)/(139) paradigm. Opinions unfortunately differ on FI structures; thus alongside the examples of (140) stand those of (141).

- (140) a. On fait manger ça aux vaches pour les faire grossir.
- b. On fait cuire un roti avant de se coucher.

<sup>62</sup> Whether the subject is *on* or not is irrelevant here. For a more detailed discussion of the motivation for such a transformation, see Ruwet (1972, chap. 3).

- c. On peut faire venir un medecin chez soi.
    - a. ‘One makes cows eat that in order to make them get fat.’
    - b. ‘One has a roast cook before going to bed.’
    - c. ‘One can have a doctor come to one’s house.’
- (141) a. ?Ça se fait manger aux vaches pour les faire grossir.
- b. ?Un roti, ça se fait cuire avant de se coucher.
  - c. ?Un médecin, ça peut se faire venir chez soi.

On the assumption that (137) is transformationally derived from structures resembling (139), the ungrammaticality of (138) could be accounted for, quite independently of the *Se*-Pl issue, if the transformation in question were prohibited from applying prior to FI.<sup>63</sup>

The derivation of (137) from a structure *On V NP . . .* could incorporate the appearance of *se* in one of two ways. Either *se* could be inserted directly into clitic position by the transformation that replaces *on* by the NP, or it could be inserted into the position vacated by the displaced object NP. The latter possibility would yield an intermediate structure  $NP_i V Pro_i \dots$  and, unlike the former, would assign to *se* the status of a derived object NP (which would subsequently be moved by *Se*-Pl). Thus just as in the case of inherent *se*, one is led to look for ways in which middle *se* does or does not exhibit object behavior.<sup>64</sup>

Middle *se* appears to behave differently from the others with respect to past participle agreement:

- (142) Une phrase comme ça ne se serait pas dite (\*dit) pour plaisanter.

‘A sentence like that would not have been said in order to joke.’

<sup>63</sup> Via an ordering solution akin to that discussed for passives in chap. 3, examples (142) ff. Alternatively, some semantic solution might relate (138) here to (144), chap. 3.

<sup>64</sup> This would be true even if one generated the surface subject of (137) in subject position in deep structure. The insertion of  $Pro_i$  in object NP position may be equivalent to leaving behind a pronominal copy of the displaced NP, a solution proposed in Furrow (1973) for a partially similar construction in Italian. Gross (forthcoming) has pointed out a construction (acceptability judgments vary) that is significant in containing a middlelike *se* very clearly not derivable via *Se*-Pl, namely (i) *Il se réfléchit à de drôles de choses ici*, since the complement of *réfléchir* is neither accusative nor dative; see also fn. 51, chap. 3. [(i) ‘There is thought about funny things here.’]

The absence of nonagreement distinguishes the *se* of (142) from the object *se* of (123), (126), (127).

A second notable characteristic of middle *se* is that it does not favor the nonapplication of Cl-Pl to datives. It was noted in chapter 2, examples (323) ff., that in simple sentences containing both an accusative and dative pronominal object, the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl could be nullified for the dative (provided it was not the dative of the inalienable construction) if the application of Cl-Pl would lead to an impossible clitic sequence: \**Jean me lui a présenté, Jean m'a présenté à elle*; \**Jean se m'est présenté, Jean s'est présenté à moi*. Consider now this paradigm:

- (143) a. Ça, ça pourrait se dire de Jean.
- b. Ça, ça pourrait se dire de moi.
- a/b. 'That could be said of Jean/me.'
  
- (144) a. Ça, ça pourrait se dire à Jean.
- b. ?Ça, ça pourrait se dire à moi.
- a–b. 'That could be said to Jean/me.'

In the absence of stress on the dative, (144)b is not perfectly grammatical, a fact that we would attribute to the obligatoriness of Cl-Pl. Thus, here there is no comparable nullification, even though the application of Cl-Pl yields an impossible clitic sequence:

- (145) \*Ça, ça pourrait se me dire.

The contrast between (144) and *se présenter à moi* could be stated by requiring that the cliticized pronoun be accusative in order for the obligatoriness to be suspended; the nonaccusative character of the *se* in (144) would then be considered a consequence of its having been inserted directly in clitic position.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The agreement in (142) would then be with the subject; perhaps the NP-moving transformation itself specifies the auxiliary as *être*, prior to the subject agreement rule, and unlike fn. 53. Unlike (144) is (i) *La question s'est posée à moi* (that *à moi* is dative is suggested by (ii) *Elle m'a posé une question* and (cf. fn. 55) by (iii) \**La question s'y est posée, à Jean*), which, although superficially like middle *se* in certain ways, does not have a paraphrase with *on*, that is, no underlying agent is understood, and should probably be treated more like inherent *se*, that is, via *Se-Pl*; for detailed discussion of these *se*, see Ruwet (1972, chap. 3), and Boons, Guillet, and Leclère (1973). [(i) 'The question posed itself to me.']}

### 5.10 *Se*-Pl and Datives with Inalienables

The transformation *Se*-Pl, which we have claimed plays a central role in the derivation of both ordinary and inherent *se*, may thus turn out not to play any role in the derivation of middle *se*. Another type of sentence that seems at first glance not to fit into the *Se*-Pl analysis is the following:

- (146) a. Ils se sont tiré l'un sur l'autre.
  - b. Jean et Marie se couraient l'un après l'autre.
  - a. 'They shot at each other.'
  - b. 'Jean and Marie were running after one another.'
- (147) a. Ils se chatouillaient les bras l'un de l'autre.
  - b. Elles se chuchotaient à l'oreille l'une de l'autre.<sup>66</sup>
  - a. 'They were tickling each other's arms.'
  - b. 'They were whispering in each other's ear.'

Nevertheless, these sentences are, we shall argue, entirely compatible with *Se*-Pl in a rather interesting way. The reason that they appear to pose a problem is that their *se* is in some kind of relation with *l'un sur/après/de l'autre*. Now *Se*-Pl, like *Cl*-Pl (apart from *en*, *y*), has been taken to apply only to pronouns marked accusative or dative. Furthermore, it was specifically argued earlier, in section 2.12, that, in deriving dative clitics, *Cl*-Pl never applies to a pronoun immediately preceded by a preposition other than *à* or, put another way, that pronouns immediately preceded by a preposition other than *à* are not dative. Moreover, if one thinks of other sentences in which *se* cooccurs with *l'un* (*P*) *l'autre* such as *Ils se connaissent l'un l'autre*, *Ils se téléphonent l'un à l'autre*, one might be tempted to consider *se* to have originated in the position filled by *l'un* (*à*) *l'autre*, in which case, by extension, the *se* of (146)–(147) might seem to be derived from a nondative prepositional phrase in *sur*, *après*, or *de*.

Recall, however, the analysis that was proposed in section 2.15 for the dative/inalienable possession and dative/preposition constructions. There we argued that the dative of sentences like *Ils lui chatouillaient les bras*, *Elles lui chuchotaient à l'oreille* were generated by the PS

<sup>66</sup> This example is taken, with minor modification, from Spang-Hanssen (1963, p. 128).

rules independently of the NP containing the inalienable. On the other hand, the *de* NP complement of *Ils chatouillaient les bras de Jean*, *Elles chuchotaient à l'oreille de Jean* is within the NP containing the inalienable. There are thus two positions that can serve to indicate the possessor of the inalienable, although in the sentences of this paragraph only one is filled at a time. This suggests that (147) should be analyzed as an instance of both positions being filled, the dative by *se* (which is then moved to clitic position by *Se-Pl*), and the *de* NP by *l'un de l'autre* (which is inserted by LL).<sup>67</sup>

In similar fashion, (146) should be analyzed as containing a dative, which is realized as *se* after *Se-Pl*, plus a PP in *sur, après*, to which LL adds *l'un . . . l'autre*. Again, the dative and PP are generated independently of each other. An example derivation would proceed as follows:  $s[Ils_i \text{ tiraient } NP_{\text{dat}}[\text{Pro}_i] \text{ sur Pro}_i] s[l'un \text{ tirait sur l'autre}] \rightarrow Se-\text{Pl} \rightarrow s[Ils_i se \text{ tiraient sur Pro}_i] s[l'un \text{ tirait sur l'autre}] \rightarrow LL \rightarrow Ils \text{ se tiraient l'un sur l'autre}$ . If the dative had not been generated, we would have derived (77), *Ils tiraient l'un sur l'autre*. If the dative, but not the second S, had been generated, we would have derived the also possible *Ils se tiraient dessus*. The latter would yield the fourth possibility: *Ils se tiraient dessus l'un l'autre*, like (73)a, if SLL were applied.

Apart from the reciprocal cases of (146), one does not usually have the option of having both the dative and the object of *sur, après*; that is, in standard French one has *On lui tirait dessus*, *On lui courait après*, or *On tirait sur lui*, *On courait après lui*, but not

- (148) a. \**On lui tirait sur lui*.
- b. \**On lui courait après lui*.
- a/b. ‘They were shooting at/running after him.’

The natural question as to whether the difference between (146) and (148) is due to some special property of *se* or instead to some special property of *l'un . . . l'autre* could in principle be answered by taking the corresponding reflexive sentences, which would have *se* but not *l'un . . . l'autre*. Unfortunately, the status of those sentences is murky;

<sup>67</sup> With LL presumably applying as in (55), except that for (146), (147) a convention is needed to allow the identity conditions to ignore the clitic *se* (cf. (i) \**L'un se tirait sur l'autre*, (ii) \**L'une se chuchotait à l'oreille de l'autre*). LL will follow *Se-Pl* in (146), (147); see fn. 20. The convention might be linked to chap. 2, fn. 41.

opinions differ on the sentences of (149), with some finding an improvement if a more “popular” verb is chosen, as in (150).

- (149) a. ??Il se tirait sur lui-même.  
 b. ??Il se courait après lui-même.  
 a/b. ‘He was shooting at/running after himself.’

- (150) ?Il se tapait sur lui-même.

‘He was abusing himself.’

(Compare the normal *Elle lui tapait dessus*, *Elle tapait sur lui*.) Some may even find that with *taper* (148) is not entirely impossible. The latter reaction, combined with the intermediate status of (149), could be taken to mean that there is no irrevocable incompatibility between dative and (independent) object of *sur*, *après*; in standard French, the occurrence of both together would be more highly restricted than in popular French.<sup>68</sup>

The claim that *se* in (146) is a dative related to the dative of *On lui tirait dessus* is supported by the observation that those verbs occurring in the environment \_\_\_\_*sur* NP which do not admit the *lui . . . dessus* construction do not admit *se . . . l'un sur l'autre* either. While *Elle compte sur lui* and *Elles comptent l'une sur l'autre* are both possible, neither of the following is:

- (151) a. \**Elle lui compte dessus*.  
 b. \**Elles se comptent l'une sur l'autre*.  
 a. ‘She counts on him.’  
 b. ‘They count on one another.’

In the same way, verbs that would not work in the dative/inalienable possession construction would not work in (147):

- (152) a. \**Elle lui pense aux yeux*.  
 b. \**Elles se pensent aux yeux l'une de l'autre*.

<sup>68</sup> Compare the occurrence in popular French of many possessives absent in standard French: (i) *Elle a mal à sa tête* versus (ii) *Elle a mal à la tête*; (iii) *Elle lui a tapé dans son ventre* versus (iv) *Elle lui a tapé dans le ventre*. [(i)–(ii) ‘She has pain in her head.’ (iii)–(iv) ‘She hit him in the belly.’]

- a. ‘She’s thinking of his eyes.’
- b. ‘They’re thinking of each other’s eyes.’

This correlation holds too in the case of datives and *pour* phrases. In section 2.12 we discussed pairs such as *Elle lui a acheté un jouet*, *Elle a acheté un jouet pour lui* and argued that, despite some semantic similarity, the dative clitic was not to be derived from a *pour* phrase. Now, although this dative does not normally cooccur with the *pour* phrase, many speakers accept

(153) Elles se sont acheté des jouets l’une pour l’autre.

‘They bought toys for each other.’

Now according to our analysis, the *se* must be a dative not derived from the *pour* phrase. Thus we would predict that verbs taking *pour* phrases that are not replaceable by dative à-NP would not enter into the construction shown in (153). One verb taking such a *pour* phrase is *voter*: *Elle a voté pour Paul*; the prediction is satisfied:

- (154)
- a. \**Elle lui a voté*.
  - b. \**Elle lui a voté pour*.
  - c. \**Elles se sont voté l’une pour l’autre*.
- a–b. ‘She voted for him.’
- c. ‘They voted for each other.’

We conclude that the *se* of (153), (150), (149), (147), (146) are derived via *Se-Pl* from datives and not from NP objects of *sur*, *après*, *de*, or *pour*.

# 6

## The Transformational Cycle

### 6.1 *Se*-PI and Cl-PI in the *Faire*-Infinitive Construction

The distribution of the clitic *se* in the *faire/laisser*-infinitive construction is superficially asymmetrical. This asymmetry, which manifests itself when FI has applied, will be demonstrated to be explicable in terms of the principle of the transformational cycle. In the absence of FI, *se* patterns just like the other clitics:

- (1) a. Paul laissera son fils se dénoncer.
  - b. Paul laissera son fils te dénoncer.
  - c. Paul laissera son fils la dénoncer.
- a/b/c. ‘Paul will let his son denounce himself/you/her.’
- (2) a. \*Paul se laissera son fils dénoncer.
  - b. \*Paul te laissera son fils dénoncer.
  - c. \*Paul la laissera son fils dénoncer.

When FI has applied, however, the distribution of *se* is rather different from that of the other clitics. As noted in chapter 4, the application of FI has the effect of preventing the attachment of embedded object clitics to the infinitive:

- (3) a. \*Paul laissera la dénoncer son fils.
  - b. \*La crainte du scandale a fait les tuer le frère du juge.
  - c. \*La vie en commun aurait sûrement fait te détester les deux amants.
  - d. \*Elle voulait faire m'écrire ses enfants.
  - e. \*Cet éclairage fait nous ressembler Jean et Marie-Claire.
  - f. \*J'essaierai de faire vous acheter des chaussures à mon ami.
  - g. \*Elle voudrait faire lui laver les mains à ses enfants.

But this is not true of *se*:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Further examples of (4), provided us by M. Borel, are (i) *La crainte d'être reconnu a fait se défigurer l'escroc au vitriol*, (ii) *La vue d'un ennemi fait s'enterrer ce petit rongeur à une vitesse impressionnante*, (iii) *Le froid fait se huiler soigneusement les nageurs qui traversent la Manche*;

- (4) a. Tu n'aurais pas dû laisser se dénoncer ton fils.
- b. La crainte du scandale a fait se tuer le frère du juge.
- c. La vie en commun aurait sûrement fait se détester les deux amants.
- d. Je voudrais faire s'écrire ces enfants l'un à l'autre.
- e. Cet éclairage fait se ressembler Jean et Marie-Claire.
- f. Cette décision permet de faire se succéder la réunion des professeurs et l'assemblée générale.
- g. J'essaierai de faire s'acheter des chaussures à mon ami.
- h. Je voudrais bien faire se laver les mains à mes enfants.
- i. La crainte du scandale a fait se donner la mort à plusieurs centaines de personnes.
- a. 'You shouldn't have let your son denounce himself.'
- b. 'Fear of scandal made the brother of the judge kill himself.'
- c. 'Living together would surely have made the two lovers hate each other.'
- d. 'I would like to make those children write to each other.'
- e. 'This lighting makes Jean and Marie-Claire resemble each other.'
- f. 'This decision allows having the professors' meeting and the general assembly follow one another.'
- g. 'I will try to get my friend to buy himself some shoes.'
- h. 'I would like to have my children wash their hands.'

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(iv) *Les difficultés du trafic font s'apostropher grossièrement les conducteurs parisiens,* (v) *La hâte du plaisir a fait se déshabiller fébrilement les jeunes gens;* (vi) *Le conciliateur a fait se pardonner les deux époux qui ont renoncé au divorce;* (vii) *Leur manque de scrupule a fait s'adjuger les meilleurs postes aux députés de la majorité,* (viii) *Ses parents ont fait s'arranger sa coiffure à la jeune fille négligente,* (ix) *La faim a fait se mordre la queue au serpent,* (x) *Une violente crise a fait se trancher l'oreille à Van Gogh,* (xi) *L'amour fait s'écrire bien des bêtises aux jeunes amants.*

In all of the preceding, the substitution of a nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusative or dative for *se* yields, as in (3), a totally ungrammatical sentence. [(i) 'Fear of being recognized made the crook disfigure himself with vitriol.' (iv) 'Traffic difficulties make Parisian drivers address each other rudely.' (vi) 'The conciliator made the husband and wife forgive (to) each other, who then forwent the divorce. (vii) 'Their lack of scruples made the deputies of the majority appropriate the best positions for themselves.' (xi) 'Love makes young lovers write each other many foolish things.]

- i. ‘Fear of scandal made several hundred persons take their lives.’

The examples of (4) indicate that a *se* corresponding to an underlying object of the infinitive can appear attached to that infinitive even if FI has applied;<sup>2</sup> in this respect *se* differs sharply from the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal object clitics of (3).

On the other hand, *se* is like the other object clitics in that it can occur attached to *faire*:

- (5) a. Jean me fera connaître à Marie.
- b. On te fera embrasser par Marie.
- c. Elle lui fera laver les mains par Marie.
- (6) a. Jean se fera connaître à Marie.
- b. Il se fera embrasser par Marie.
- c. Elle se fera laver les mains par Marie.
- a. ‘Jean<sub>i</sub> will make Marie know him<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. ‘He will get himself kissed by Marie.’
- c. ‘She<sub>i</sub> will have her<sub>i</sub> hands washed by Marie.’

The same is true when *se* corresponds to the underlying subject of the infinitive:

- (7) a. On leur fera manger des carottes.
- b. Cela me fait rire.
- c. Elle voulait te faire passer pour fou.
- (8) a. Ils se faisaient manger des carottes l’un à l’autre.
- b. Elles se font rire l’une l’autre.
- c. Elle voulait se faire passer pour folle.
- a. ‘They were having each other eat carrots.’

<sup>2</sup> Sentences such as (i) *La crainte du scandale l'a fait se tuer*, (ii) *Cet éclairage les fait se ressembler*, (iii) *J'essaierai de lui faire s'acheter des chaussures*, (iv) *Je voudrais bien leur faire se laver les mains* make the same point as (4), insofar as they are instances of FI, which seems clear for (iii), (iv); and likewise for (i), (ii), except for those speakers who accept (i), (iii) of fn. 23, chap. 4, for whom the question is not easily decidable. [(i) ‘Fear of scandal made him kill himself.’]

- b. 'They make each other laugh.'
- c. 'She wanted to make herself pass for crazy.'

The difference between *se* and the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusatives and datives, then, is that in the FI construction *se* can be attached either to *faire* or to the infinitive, whereas the others can be attached only to *faire*.<sup>3</sup>

This initial asymmetry is complemented by another concerning the interpretation of *se* in (4) versus (6), (8). In (4), *se*, attached to the infinitive, is understood as coreferential with the underlying subject of that infinitive, that is, with *ton fils, le frère du juge, les deux amants, ces enfants, Jean et Marie-Claire, la réunion et l'assemblée, mon ami, mes enfants, plusieurs centaines de personnes*, respectively. In all the sentences of (4) *se* is thus coreferential with an NP that in surface structure follows the infinitive. Conversely, in (6), (8), where *se* is attached to *faire*, it is understood as coreferential with a preceding NP, with the subject of *faire*, that is, with *Jean, il, elle; ils, elles, elle*.

Furthermore, these are the only possible interpretations for *se*. When *se* is attached to the infinitive, as in (4), it may not be understood as coreferential with the subject of *faire*. When *se* is attached to *faire*, as in (6), (8), it may not be coreferential with the underlying subject of the infinitive. This correlates with the fact that the *se* of (6), (8) could not be moved to the infinitive:

- (9) a. \*Jean fera se connaître à Marie.  
     b. \*Il fera s'embrasser par Marie.  
     c. \*Elle fera se laver les mains par Marie.  
     d. \*Ils faisaient se manger des carottes l'un à l'autre.  
     e. \*Elles font se rire l'une l'autre.  
     f. \*Elle voulait faire se passer pour folle.

Nor could the *se* of (4) be attached to *faire*:

- (10) a. \*Tu n'aurais pas dû se laisser dénoncer ton fils.  
     b. \*La crainte du scandale s'est fait tuer le frère du juge.

<sup>3</sup> More precisely, it is the FI/FP construction under consideration, since the last two-thirds of (5), (6) are instances of FP. There are no cases of FP like (4); see (107), chap. 3.

- c. \**La vie en commun se serait sûrement fait détester les deux amants.*
- d. \**Je voudrais se faire écrire ces enfants l'un à l'autre.*
- e. \**Cet éclairage se fait ressembler Jean et Marie-Claire.*
- f. \**Cette décision permet de se faire succéder la réunion et l'assemblée.*
- g. \**J'essaierai de se faire acheter des chaussures à mon ami.*
- h. \**Je voudrais bien se faire laver les mains à mes enfants.*
- i. \**La crainte du scandale s'est fait donner la mort à plusieurs centaines de personnes.*

We have so far noticed two “peculiarities” in the behavior of *se* in the FI/FP construction. First, it occurs in positions that exclude other clitics, and, second, it varies oddly in coreference possibilities depending on its position. A third peculiarity of *se* in this construction is one involving the rule A-Ins, discussed in chapters 3 and 4. Subsequent to the application of FI, an *à* is inserted before the underlying subject of the infinitive, in the presence of an NP object of that infinitive: *Elle fera boire son enfant* versus *Elle fera boire ce vin à son enfant*. In general, this *à* appears even if the object NP is cliticized: *Elle le fera boire à son enfant*, \**Elle le fera boire son enfant*. When attached to *faire*, *se* fits into the preceding paradigm:

- (11) a. *Jean se fera connaître à Marie.*  
       b. \**Jean se fera connaître Marie.*

Yet when attached to the embedded infinitive, *se* does not trigger the insertion of *à*:<sup>4</sup>

- (12) a. *La crainte du scandale a fait se tuer le frère du juge.*  
       b. \**La crainte du scandale a fait se tuer au frère du juge.*

<sup>4</sup> This fact has often been noted (though left unexplained) by traditional grammarians; see Lancaster (1943). The *se faire* V à construction of (11), for unclear reasons independent of *se* (see chap. 3, (122)), is not productive, despite having been so 350 years ago (see Haase (1969, p. 337)). However, the need for *à* even in the general case is clear on the basis of degree of ungrammaticality: (i) \**Jean se fera embrasser à Marie* versus (ii) \*\**Jean se fera embrasser Marie* (*se* underlying object of *embrasser*). [(i) ‘Jean<sub>i</sub> will have Marie kiss him<sub>i</sub>.’]

- c. Le hasard a fait se connaître Jean et Marie sur le pont du *France*.
- d. \*Le hasard a fait se connaître à Jean et (à) Marie sur le pont du *France*.
- a–b. ‘Fear of scandal made the judge’s brother kill himself.’
- c–d. ‘Chance made Jean and Marie meet each other on the bridge of the *France*.’

This is so despite the fact that, in both (11) and (12), *se* corresponds to an underlying direct object of the infinitive. In (11), *se* corresponds to an underlying object of *connaître*; in (12), *se* is again an underlying object of *connaître* or, in the first pair, of *tuer*.

The above differences between *se* and the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusatives and datives, namely the possibility for *se*, but not the others, to be attached to the infinitive in the FI construction ((3) versus (4)), and the fact that only *se* can fail to trigger A-Ins when originating as an underlying direct object of the infinitive ((12) versus *\*Elle le fera boire son enfant*) reinforce the proposal made in section 5.6 that *se* should not be placed in preverbal position by the same rule as the others.

## 6.2 Explanation Provided by the Transformational Cycle

A still stronger claim is now possible, however. While differences between two phenomena may well justify the postulation of separate rules, the postulation of separate rules does not in itself suffice to account for the particular differences observed between the two phenomena. In the case at hand, the question is, in part, how to account for the differences mentioned in the previous paragraph between *se* and the other clitics. In addition, one must account for the asymmetries apparent within the *se* paradigm: the fact that *se* sometimes, but not always, triggers A-Ins ((11) versus (12)), and the fact that the coreference possibilities for *se* vary according to whether it is attached to *faire* or to the infinitive. We now claim that all these superficially anomalous facts can be simply explained within the framework of a transformational theory that includes the principle of the transformational cycle.

The precise claim is as follows: The facts discussed so far in this

chapter are compatible with the formulation of the transformations Cl-Pl, FP, FI/A-Ins, *Se*-Pl developed in chapters 2 through 5 and do not necessitate any modification of those transformations. The apparent irregularity in the behavior of *se* versus the other clitics, and the particular complexities in the distribution of *se* itself, follow as an automatic consequence of the order in which the rules are applied, where the order in question is that determined by the principle of the cycle, with *Se*-Pl, FP, and FI/A-Ins cyclic transformations and Cl-Pl a postcyclic transformation.

The principle of the transformational cycle, originally proposed in Chomsky (1965), states that, given a set of cyclic transformations  $T_1 \dots T_m$  and a phrase marker of the form  $s_0[\dots s_1[\dots \dots s_{n-1}[\dots s_n[\dots] \dots] \dots] \dots]$ , one begins by applying  $T_1 \dots T_m$  to that portion of the phrase marker dominated by  $S_n$ , after which one re-applies  $T_1 \dots T_m$ , but this time to the configuration dominated by  $S_{n-1}$ ; subsequently  $T_1 \dots T_m$  are applied to the configuration dominated by  $S_{n-2}$ , and so on, until they are finally applied to  $S_0$ . Let us call the  $S_i$  cycle that part of the derivation in which  $T_1 \dots T_m$  are applied to the configuration dominated by  $S_i$ . Then on the  $S_i$  cycle, it is the case that transformations may not take into account any part of the phrase marker not dominated by  $S_i$ , that is, any part higher in the tree than  $S_i$ . On the other hand, transformations can, on the  $S_i$  cycle, involve material dominated by  $S_{i+1}$ , or  $S_{i+2}$ , etc.<sup>5</sup>

Although the set of cyclic transformations in a language could in principle be coextensive with the set of transformations in that language, it has often been argued for English that certain transformations should not be applied until after the application in  $S_0$  of the entire set of cyclic transformations, in other words, not until after the cycling process has been completed. Such transformations can be called “postcyclic.” The type of transformation most widely considered postcyclic is perhaps that which normally applies only in nonembedded sentences, for example, subject-auxiliary inversion in English,

<sup>5</sup> Chomsky (1971) has, however, proposed a sharpening of the cyclic principle, to the approximate effect (“strict cyclicity”) that any transformation applying on the  $S_i$  cycle must have at least one of its terms satisfied by an element not dominated by  $S_{i+1}$  (see also Jackendoff (1972)), and has suggested limitations on the involvement of  $S_{i+j}, j \geq 2$ .

or subject-clitic inversion in French. The postcyclicity of Cl-Pl argued here implies that postcyclic transformations are not limited to such “root” (in the sense of Emonds (1970)) transformations.<sup>6</sup>

The way in which the distribution of clitics in the *faire* construction can be said to follow from the principle of the cycle will be seen to depend in part on the possibility of distinguishing between cyclic and postcyclic rules. In particular, the differences in behavior between *se* and the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusatives and datives will result from the cyclic character of *Se-Pl* versus the postcyclic character of Cl-Pl. On the other hand, the curious facts about the possible coreferents of *se*, as well as the nonuniform behavior of *se* with respect to the insertion of *à*, will follow simply from the cyclic interplay between *Se-Pl* and FI/A-Ins.

Two remarks concerning FI/A-Ins are in order. First, the cyclicity of FI/A-Ins implies the postcyclicity of Cl-Pl quite independently of the *se* facts. This was argued at length in chapter 4, where it was shown that Cl-Pl must not apply prior to FI/A-Ins. But if Cl-Pl were cyclic, then one would expect it to be able to apply on the cycle determined by the S embedded under *faire*:  $s_0[\dots faire s_1[\dots]\dots]$ , that is, on the  $S_1$  cycle. Such application would, however, be prior to FI/A-Ins, since the latter would in no case be applicable until the  $S_0$  cycle.<sup>7</sup> This observation leads to the second remark, namely that in the general case, FI/A-Ins will always apply on the *faire* cycle and never on the cycle of the S embedded under *faire*. Thus given a structure  $s_0[\dots\dots s_j[\dots faire s_{j+1}[NP\ V\dots\dots]\dots]\dots]$ , FI/A-Ins will be inapplicable on the  $S_{j+1}$  cycle by virtue of the cyclic principle that prohibits transformations applying on an  $S_i$  cycle from involving parts of the phrase

<sup>6</sup> Contrary to a suggestion of Jackendoff's (1972, p. 375). The postcyclicity of certain nonroot transformations in English is argued in Ross (1967a) and Postal (1970). The postcyclicity of Cl-Pl implies the postcyclicity of any rule that can follow it, such as *L-Tous* (see sec. 1.2), Aux Deletion (see chap. 2, examples (104) ff.), *Wh* Movement (see chap. 4, fn. 21), pronominalization (see Kayne (1971)). The preceding statement would not be valid if *postcyclic* were replaced by *last cyclic* (see chap. 4, fn. 8), except for those rules for which it can be demonstrated that they must be prohibited from applying before Cl-Pl, which has so far been claimed only for *Wh* Movement.

<sup>7</sup> The cyclicity of Cl-Pl would not imply application prior to FI if the latter were precyclic. Since this entire chapter provides strong confirmation for the cyclicity of FI (and since the need for precyclic transformations in linguistic theory has yet to be demonstrated (apparent evidence for such transformations can often be taken as favoring a lexical solution)), the text argument stands.

marker not dominated by  $S_i$ . FI/A-Ins cannot apply on the  $S_{j+1}$  cycle here, because its structural description requires *faire*, which is outside  $S_{j+1}$ , and in addition because it (probably) moves V to a position outside  $S_{j+1}$ . (We are assuming, of course, that  $S_{j+1}$  is not itself a *faire*-S structure. If it were  $s_j[\dots faire s_{j+1}[\dots faire s_{j+2}[\dots]]]$ , then FI/A-Ins would apply twice, first on  $S_{j+1}$ , then on  $S_j$ —but not on the  $S_{j+2}$  cycle, etc.)<sup>8</sup>

Unlike FI/A-Ins, the transformation *Se*-Pl can apply without making reference to more than one S and so will be able to apply on the inner cycle in a structure:  $s[\dots faire s[NP V \dots] \dots]$ . In so doing, *Se*-Pl will be applying prior to FI/A-Ins. In other words, the cyclicity of *Se*-Pl versus the postcyclicity of Cl-Pl has as a corollary the fact that *Se*-Pl, but not Cl-Pl, can precede the application of FI/A-Ins. But this difference between *Se*-Pl and Cl-Pl is precisely what accounts for the possibility of *se*, unlike the other clitics, being attached to the infinitive embedded under *faire*.

We noted in chapter 4 that when FI has applied, Cl-Pl will subsequently apply in such a way as to move pronouns from the right of the infinitive and attach them to *faire*, as in *Paul les fera manger à son chien*. If Cl-Pl had been able to apply on the first cycle (and so prior to FI), it would have had to attach the pronoun to the infinitive (cf. (3)), *\*Paul fera les manger (à) son chien*, an undesirable and, as argued in section 4.1, incorrigible result.

Such early cliticization is, however, exactly what is needed for the generation of sentences like (4), with *se* attached to the infinitive. A typical derivation will be  $\dots faire votre ami_i tuer Pro_i \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl}$  (first cycle)  $\rightarrow \dots faire votre ami se + tuer^9 \rightarrow FI$  (second cycle)  $\rightarrow \dots faire se + tuer votre ami$ , where FI analyzes as V the string *se + tuer*, since, as argued in sections 2.4, 2.5, clitic + verb is assigned a derived structure so as to be dominated by the node V.<sup>10</sup> A derivation comparable to the pre-

<sup>8</sup> For double application of FI/FP, see below and sec. 3.8.

<sup>9</sup> More precisely  $Pro_{i,+R} + tuer$ , where the  $+R$  pronoun is later spelled out as *se*. We are assuming here that  $+R$  is introduced as part of the rule *Se*-Pl that moves  $Pro_i$  (see sec. 5.5); if it is introduced by a separate earlier rule, then both that rule and *Se*-Pl must apply cyclically.

<sup>10</sup> The SD of FI,  $\dots faire NP V \dots$ , would prevent taking V to be *tuer*, since *se* would then not satisfy any term. The movement of the inner V in  $v[se V]$  would also be prohibited by the A/A principle; cf. fn. 33, chap. 2.

ceding, differing only with respect to A-Ins is as follows: . . . *faire mes enfants; laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub>* → *Se-Pl* (first cycle) → . . . *faire mes enfants se + laver les mains* → *FI* (second cycle, with V = *se + laver*) → . . . *faire se + laver les mains mes enfants* → *A-Ins* (second cycle, triggered by *les mains*) → . . . *faire se + laver les mains à mes enfants*.

The fact that in the *FI* construction *se* can appear attached to the infinitive, and the other clitics cannot, is thus the result of two factors: first, that *Se-Pl*, but not *Cl-Pl*, is capable of applying on the first cycle, prior to *FI*; second, that when applying subsequent to *FI*, *Cl-Pl* has the property of attaching the moved pronouns to *faire* or *laisser*.

The difference in cyclicity between *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl* will have no overt effect in the *laisser* construction without *FI*. Given a structure of the form . . . *laisser NPs[NP V . . . Pro]*, where *Pro* is dative or accusative, *Se-Pl* will, under appropriate conditions of coreferentiality, apply on the first cycle to attach *Pro* to *V*: *Paul laissera son fils se dénoncer*. In the case of noncoreferentiality, *Cl-Pl* will apply to *Pro* postcyclically; however, since *FI* has not applied, the embedded subject remains, and the specified subject condition ensures that *Pro* can be attached only to *V*, and not to *laisser*: *Paul laissera son fils te dénoncer*.

Consider now the sentences of (6) and (8), where *se* is attached to *faire*. A feature common to them is that *se* corresponds to an element of the underlying embedded S, but the particular position in which *se* originates can vary substantially. Thus *se* is, respectively, an underlying accusative object, dative object, subject in *Jean se fera connaître à Marie*, *Elle se fera laver les mains par Jean*, *Elle se fera passer pour folle*. A second common property of these sentences is that *se* is understood as coreferential with the subject of *faire*. The deep structure of, for example, the first of the above sentences will consequently have the form *Jean<sub>i</sub> fera s[Marie connaître Pro<sub>i</sub>]*.

The crucial observation is this. The pronoun destined to be spelled out as *se* is in the deep structure embedded S, while its antecedent is outside that S, with the result that *Se-Pl* will be unable to apply on the first cycle. This is so for several reasons. If *Se-Pl* is stated as follows, that is, if the movement of the pronoun and the introduction of the feature *+R* are incorporated into a single rule, then *Se-Pl* clearly requires the string under consideration to contain both the pronoun and its antecedent:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_i \text{ V } X \text{ Pro}_i \rightarrow 1 \ 4 + 2 \ 3 \\ 1 \quad 2 \ 3 \quad 4 \qquad +R \end{array}$$

But on the first cycle in sentences like (6) and (8), the antecedent is not available to satisfy term 1 of *Se-Pl*, since that antecedent is outside the S that comprises the domain of the first cycle.

An alternative formulation of *Se-Pl*, one that separates movement and feature introduction, is  $\text{NP } V \ X \ \text{Pro}_{+R} \rightarrow 1 \ 4 + 2 \ 3$ . Here *Se-Pl* moves a pronoun already endowed with the feature  $+R$ . As discussed in section 5.5, this supposes an earlier introduction of that feature via a rule  $\text{NP}_i \text{ V } X \text{ Pro}_i \rightarrow 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4_{+R}$ . Now given a structure such as that of (6), for example,  $Jean_i \ fera \ s[\text{Marie } \text{connaître } \text{Pro}_i]$ , the structural description of this formulation of *Se-Pl* could be met on the first cycle, with term 1 satisfied by *Marie*, only if  $\text{Pro}_i$  were marked  $+R$ . But the feature introduction rule itself requires that its first term be satisfied by the antecedent of  $\text{Pro}_i$ , which as before is outside the domain of the first cycle. Consequently,  $\text{Pro}_i$  could not be marked  $+R$  on the first cycle and therefore could not be subject to *Se-Pl* on the first cycle. We conclude that *Se-Pl* (whichever formulation) applies in the derivation of (6) and (8) on the second cycle.<sup>11</sup>

The derivation of *Jean se fera connaître à Marie* proceeds as follows:  $Jean_i \ fera \ \text{Marie } \text{connaître } \text{Pro}_i \rightarrow$  first cycle: neither *Se-Pl* nor FI/A-Ins applicable  $\rightarrow$  FI/A-Ins (second cycle)  $\rightarrow Jean_i \ fera \ \text{connaître } \text{Pro}_i \ à \ \text{Marie} \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl}$  (second cycle)  $\rightarrow Jean \ se \ fera \ \text{connaître } à \ \text{Marie}$ . It should be noted that, on the second cycle, the application of FI/A-Ins must precede that of *Se-Pl*, since the configuration prior to FI/A-Ins,  $Jean_i \ fera \ s[\text{Marie } \text{connaître } \text{Pro}_i]$ , has pronoun and antecedent separated both by an S boundary and by the subject of that S. In other words,

<sup>11</sup> This paragraph's formulation of *Se-Pl*, along with the conclusion concerning "second cycle," would be, in principle, compatible with an analysis of reflexives that had the feature  $+R$  introduced in the base (as in Jackendoff (1972), for English), rather than by transformation, and an interpretive rule to assign a coreferent to  $\text{Pro}_{+R}$ . To exclude (80) of chap. 5, the interpretive rule would apply subsequent to *Se-Pl*, but before Passive, to exclude (89)–(91). It would precede NP-Extrap, to allow (103), and would be cyclic, to allow (4) above. It does not appear to have to follow any rule that itself follows *Se-Pl*, and could therefore be advantageously combined with *Se-Pl*. Whether there are any significant empirical differences between this approach and the one we have favored (*Se-Pl* itself introduces  $+R$ ) is left an open question.

any transformation applying to that configuration and involving both pronoun and antecedent (or pronoun and *faire*) would violate the specified subject condition, with  $X = Jean_i$  (or *faire*),  $Y = \text{Pro}_i$ ,  $Z = Marie$ . Subsequent to FI/A-Ins, however, pronoun and antecedent (as well as pronoun and *faire*) are likely no longer separated by an S boundary (assuming FI/A-Ins to move V NP, here *connaître*  $\text{Pro}_i$ , out of the embedded S, as suggested in section 4.9), and in any case they are no longer separated by a subject, so that the specified subject condition will not inhibit *Se-Pl* (and the  $+R$  rule, if the two are separate) from marking  $\text{Pro}_i$  as  $+R$  under coreference with  $Jean_i$  and attaching it to *faire*.

The derivation of *Elle se fera laver les mains par Jean* is *Elle<sub>i</sub>fера s[Jean laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub> par Δ]* → first cycle: neither *Se-Pl* nor FP applicable (both depend on elements outside the embedded S) → FP (second cycle) → *Elle<sub>i</sub>fера laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub> par Jean* → *Se-Pl* (second cycle) → *Elle se fera laver les mains par Jean*. Again, the application of FP must precede that of *Se-Pl*, so as to allow the embedded subject to be removed from between pronoun and antecedent, thereby avoiding the violation of the specified subject condition. Notice in particular the following contrast:

- (13) *Elle<sub>i</sub> s<sub>i</sub>'est laissé offrir un livre par Jean.*

'She let herself be given a book by Jean.'

- (14) a. \**Elle<sub>i</sub> a laissé Jean s<sub>i</sub>'offrir un livre.*

- b. \**Elle s'est laissé Jean offrir un livre.*

The deep structure of (13) is *Elle<sub>i</sub>a laissé s[Jean offrir un livre à Pro<sub>i</sub> par Δ]*, and that of (14) is *Elle<sub>i</sub>a laissé Jean s[PRO offrir un livre à Pro<sub>i</sub>]*.<sup>12</sup> In the former, FP applies on the higher cycle, removing the embedded subject from between *elle<sub>i</sub>* and  $\text{Pro}_i$ , thereby permitting *Se-Pl* to apply. In (14), the subject is not moved by FP or FI, and the specified subject condition will block both the introduction of  $+R$  (with  $X = elle_i$ ,  $Y = \text{Pro}_i$ ,  $Z = \text{PRO}$ ) and the movement of the pronoun to the left of *laisser*.

<sup>12</sup> Where PRO (controlled by *Jean*) will be deleted by Equi (see fn. 13, chap. 4), after *Se-Pl* has been blocked (just as in other Equi cases: (i) \**Elle<sub>i</sub> obligera Jean à s<sub>i</sub>'offrir un livre*, (ii) \**Elle<sub>i</sub> s<sub>i</sub>'obligera Jean à offrir un livre*). The ungrammaticality of (14) does not depend though on its having a V NP S structure; if it were V S, then the condition would take  $Z = Jean$  rather than PRO. [(i) 'She will oblige Jean to give herself a book.']}

Consequently,  $\text{Pro}_i$  in (14) can only be moved by Cl-Pl, and then only to the infinitive:

- (15)  $\text{Elle}_i \text{ a laissé Jean lui}_i \text{ offrir un livre.}$

'She let Jean give her a book.'

The derivation of sentences in which the *se* attached to *faire* originates as the underlying subject of the infinitive proceeds as follows: *Elle<sub>i</sub> fera Pro<sub>i</sub> passer pour folle* → first cycle: neither Se-Pl nor FI/A-Ins applicable → FI (second cycle) → *Elle<sub>i</sub> fera passer Pro<sub>i</sub> pour folle* → Se-Pl (second cycle) → *Elle se fera passer pour folle*.

The preceding derivation, as well as the others we have seen containing the second cyclic attachment of *se*, shows that such post-FI application of Se-Pl has the effect of attaching *se* to *faire*, rather than to the infinitive. Thus, \**Elle fera se passer pour folle* is impossible, as was noted earlier in (9). The formulation of Se-Pl given above states this fact by requiring that the V to which *se* is attached be directly preceded by NP, that is, NP V X . . . , so that the infinitive following *faire* could not be analyzed as V (but only as (part of) X). This is basically the same approach as that taken with Cl-Pl, where the inclusion of an initial NP in the structural description NP V X . . . would suffice to distinguish *Elle les fera manger à Jean* from \**Elle fera les manger à Jean*.<sup>13</sup>

The fact that the post-FI application of Se-Pl attaches *se* to *faire* reinforces the claim made earlier that in sentences like *La peur de la police a fait se dénoncer un de mes amis*, *se* is attached prior to FI, that is, on the first cycle. Furthermore, we now see that the extra freedom of distribution of *se* in the FI construction, compared with that of the other clitics, is a function of the cyclicity of Se-Pl. In these constructions, each possible position for *se* correlates with its placement on a particular cycle.

This is, moreover, the reason for the striking difference in coreferentiality relations between *se* attached to *faire* and *se* attached to the infinitive. In the latter case, *se* is attached on the first cycle and so must be coreferential with the subject of the S of that cycle, that is, with the subject of the S embedded under *faire* (which underlying subject NP appears in surface structure to the right of the infinitive in (4)). In the

<sup>13</sup> As well as to exclude (i) \**Elle a les mangé*; cf. (ii) \**Elle a se lavée*. For further discussion, see sec. 2.21 and fn. 2, chap. 4.

former case, *se* is attached on the second cycle and has as antecedent the subject of the S of that cycle, that is, the subject of *faire*.

The principle of the cycle also allows us to account for the superficially capricious behavior of *se* with respect to A-Ins. Recall that, for example, in both (11)a, *Jean se fera connaître à Marie*, and (12)c, *Le hasard a fait se connaître Jean et Marie sur le pont du France*, as well as in (16), which is like (12), *se* corresponds to the underlying object of the infinitive:

- (16) La peur de la police a fait se dénoncer un de mes amis.

'Fear of the police made one of my friends denounce himself.'

Yet only in (11) does the insertion of *à* take place. The explanation is straightforward. In (16), or (12), *Se-Pl* has applied on the first cycle, that is, prior to FI/A-Ins. Thus at the point of application of FI/A-Ins there is no longer an NP immediately following the infinitive, since that (pronominal) NP has been removed by *Se-Pl*. The derivation is . . . *faire [un de mes amis]<sub>i</sub> dénoncer Pro<sub>i</sub>* → *Se-Pl* (first cycle) → . . . *faire un de mes amis se dénoncer* → FI (second cycle) → . . . *faire se dénoncer un de mes amis*. No *à* is inserted since . . . *faire un de mes amis se dénoncer* does not meet the structural description . . . *faire NP V NP*.<sup>14</sup>

In (11), on the other hand, *Se-Pl* does not apply on the first cycle. On the second cycle, *Se-Pl* will apply after FI/A-Ins. (The order of application FI/A-Ins, then *Se-Pl*, on the second cycle has already been seen to be necessary in the discussion preceding that of (13). The movement of *Pro<sub>i</sub>* to *faire*, as well as the marking of *Pro<sub>i</sub>* as +R, in the structure *Jean<sub>i</sub> fera Marie connaître Pro<sub>i</sub>* would violate the single-S constraint or, more precisely, the specified subject condition on reflexivization and clitic movement.) Consequently, at the point of application of FI/A-Ins, the pronominal NP object of *connaître* will not yet have been removed by *Se-Pl* and will be able to trigger the insertion of *à*: *Jean<sub>i</sub> fera Marie connaître Pro<sub>i</sub>* → first cycle: neither *Se-Pl* nor FI applicable → FI/A-Ins (second cycle) → *Jean<sub>i</sub> fera connaître Pro<sub>i</sub> à*

<sup>14</sup> If the *les uns les autres* of (i) *Ils se détestent les uns les autres* is present cyclically, then the contrast (ii) ?*La jalouse professionnelle faisait se détester les professeurs les uns les autres* versus (iii) \**La jalouse faisait se détester les uns les autres aux professeurs* suggests that it is not an NP; cf. the discussion following (72), chap. 5. [(i) 'They hate each other.' (ii) 'Professional jealousy made the professors hate each other.']}

*Marie* (with the second NP of . . . *faire* NP V NP satisfied by  $\text{Pro}_i$ ) → *Se-Pl* (second cycle) → *Jean se fera connaître à Marie*.

In the same way, a nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusative pronominal object of the infinitive embedded under *faire* will necessarily trigger the insertion of *à*, *Elle les fera manger à Jean*, since Cl-Pl always follows FI/A-Ins.

All the “exceptional” facts about *se* presented at the beginning of this chapter are thus accounted for under the hypothesis that *Se-Pl* is cyclic, while *Cl-Pl* is not. The cyclicity of *Se-Pl* will account in addition for an apparent exception to the observation that, in the FI construction, the cliticization of the underlying dative object of the infinitive in sentences like *La peur de la police a fait téléphoner Jean à ses avocats* is excluded: \**La peur de la police leur a fait téléphoner Jean*. The “exception” in question can be illustrated with *ressembler*. If the dative in *Le sculpteur fera ressembler toutes ses statues à votre femme* is replaced by a cliticizable pronoun coreferential with the subject of *faire*, or by a cliticizable pronoun not coreferential with any element of the sentence, then cliticization results in ungrammaticality:

- (17) a. \**Le sculpteur se fera ressembler toutes ses statues.*
- b. \**Le sculpteur vous fera ressembler toutes ses statues.*
- c. \**Le sculpteur leur fera ressembler toutes ses statues.*
- a/b/c. ‘The sculptor will make all his statues resemble himself/you/them.’

Yet the cliticization of a dative pronoun coreferential with the underlying subject of *ressembler* is possible (cf. (4)):

- (18) *Le sculpteur fera se ressembler toutes ses statues.*

‘The sculptor will make all his statues resemble each other.’

The deep structure of both (17) and (18) is of the form . . . *faire* s[NP V à Pro]. In (17), FI has applied on the second cycle, yielding . . . *faire* V s[NP à Pro], to which structure neither Cl-Pl nor *Se-Pl* can apply, by virtue of the specified subject condition, as discussed in chapter 4. In (18), FI has applied on the second cycle too; the essential difference is that, in (18), *Se-Pl* applies on the first cycle, at which point the attachment of Pro to the infinitive involves no crossing of a subject, or even

of an S boundary, so that the specified subject condition is inapplicable.<sup>15</sup>

### 6.3 Ordering Restriction as a Consequence of the Cycle

The cyclicity of *Se-Pl*, combined with the general functioning of the cycle, will also account for an ordering restriction noted in section 5.3, namely the ordering in certain cases of *Se-Pl* before LL. Given the cyclicity of *Se-Pl*, the required ordering follows, independently of whether LL is cyclic or postcyclic.<sup>16</sup> In the latter case, the ordering follows by definition. In the former case (perhaps the more plausible, although decisive evidence is not yet available to us), the ordering follows from the fact that LL is a transformation that crucially involves two Ss. Thus in the relevant structure, which was of the form  $s_0[s_1[NP_i V \dots Pro_i \dots] s_2[l'un \dots l'autre \dots]]$ , LL involves both  $S_1$  and  $S_2$ . Consequently LL could not apply on the  $S_1$  cycle, since it involves material not dominated by  $S_1$  (nor, similarly, on the  $S_2$  cycle), but only on the  $S_0$  cycle. On the other hand, the structural description of *Se-Pl* will be met by material contained entirely within  $S_1$ , so that *Se-Pl* will apply on the  $S_1$  cycle. Since the  $S_1$  cycle precedes the  $S_0$  cycle, *Se-Pl* will be certain to apply to  $Pro_i$  before LL has a chance to apply, in any structure of the above form.<sup>17</sup>

### 6.4 Explanation Extended to Double FI/FP Sentences

We have so far seen the cyclic interaction of *Se-Pl* and FI/FP in two types of sentences: those such as (4) in which *Se-Pl* applies on the lower cycle and FI on the higher, and those such as (6), (8) in which *Se-Pl* applies on the higher, the *faire*, cycle subsequent to FI or FP. There exist in addition sentences of a more complicated nature, in which *Se-Pl* applies in between two applications of FI/FP. We shall now show how the principle of the cycle accounts elegantly for certain

<sup>15</sup> Parallel to (17) versus (18), and accounted for in the same way, is the following contrast, with *son frère* subject of *laver*: (i) \**Marie se/vous/leur fera laver les mains à son frère* (cf. (49), chap. 4) versus (ii) *Marie fera se laver les mains à son frère*. [(i) ‘Marie<sub>i</sub> will have her brother wash her<sub>i</sub>/your/their hands.’ (ii) Marie will have her brother<sub>i</sub> wash his<sub>i</sub> hands.’]

<sup>16</sup> And would be incompatible with a precyclic LL; see fn. 7. On *Se-Pl* before LL, see the text corresponding to fn. 20, chap. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Which is sufficient to exclude (44), chap. 5. Therefore, the grammar need not contain any ordering statement concerning the pair *Se-Pl/LL*.

otherwise opaque properties of these constructions. The sentences in question are of the following form:<sup>18</sup>

- (19) a. Sa vanité extraordinaire a fait se faire photographier plusieurs fois de suite le frère de Jean-Jacques.
- b. L'hiver fait se faire emprisonner beaucoup de clochards.
- a. 'His extraordinary vanity made Jean-Jacques's brother get himself photographed several times in succession.'
- b. 'Winter makes many derelicts get themselves imprisoned.'

These derive from the embedding under *faire* of structures that in isolation would yield

- (20) a. Le frère de Jean-Jacques s'est fait photographier plusieurs fois de suite.
- b. Beaucoup de clochards se font emprisonner.

The sentences of (20) are both instances of FP (with the deletion of the agent phrase). Those of (19) consequently reflect the application of both FP and FI. A sample derivation proceeds *L'hiver fait s[beaucoup de clochards<sub>i</sub> faire s[NP emprisonner Pro<sub>i</sub> par Δ]]* → first cycle: nothing happens → second cycle → FP (and agent deletion) → *L'hiver fait [beaucoup de clochards<sub>i</sub> faire emprisonner Pro<sub>i</sub>]* → Se-Pl (second cycle) → *L'hiver fait [beaucoup de clochards se faire emprisonner]* → third cycle → FI → *L'hiver fait se faire emprisonner beaucoup de clochards*.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Sentences like (i) *L'hiver les fait se faire emprisonner* make the same point as (19) insofar as they are instances of FI applying to (ii) *Ils se font emprisonner*, a conclusion subject to the reservations of fn. 2. [(i) 'Winter makes them have themselves imprisoned.']}

<sup>19</sup> With *se faire emprisonner* analyzed by FI as V\*, in this case VV, the first V equal to *se faire* (see fn. 10 and related text); see section 3.8. That agent deletion actually occurs on the FP cycle is unclear (it might be postcyclic); grammatical sentences with FP/Se-Pl/FI and overt agent are somewhat less easily constructed than (19): (i) ?*Le roi a laissé se faire couronner la princesse Anne-Marie par la foule déchainée*. Nor do all speakers readily accept FP/Se-Pl/FI/A-Ins sentences (the existence of which was brought to our attention by M. Borel) like (ii) ?*Le printemps fait se faire faire un enfant à beaucoup de jeunes filles*, and those with overt agent like (iii) ?*Son snobisme a fait se faire faire son portrait à ce bourgeois parvenu par un barbouilleur à la mode* (from *Son snobisme a fait s[ce bourgeois parvenu se faire faire son portrait par un barbouilleur à la mode]*). [(i) 'The King let the princess Anne-Marie have herself crowned by the impassioned crowd.' (ii) 'Spring makes many girls have themselves made pregnant.' (iii) 'His snobbery made the bourgeois parvenu have his portrait done for himself<sub>i</sub> by a fashionable scribbler.']}

Superficially similar to (19) are certain sentences in which *Se-Pl* has applied in between two applications of FI:

- (21) *Sa mère a fait se faire avorter la jeune fille.*

'Her mother made the girl make herself miscarry.'

The structure embedded under the higher *faire* would have yielded in isolation

- (22) *La jeune fille s'est fait avorter.*

Unlike the infinitives of (20), that of (22) is an intransitive. The derivation of (21) is therefore *Sa mère a fait s[la jeune fille<sub>i</sub> faire s[Pro<sub>i</sub> avorter]]* → first cycle: nothing happens → second cycle → FI → *Sa mère a fait s[la jeune fille<sub>i</sub> faire avorter Pro<sub>i</sub>]* → *Se-Pl* (still second cycle) → *Sa mère a fait s[la jeune fille se faire avorter]* → third cycle → FI → *Sa mère a fait se faire avorter la jeune fille.*

The sentences of (20) and (22), which are instances of FP/FI followed by *Se-Pl*, have counterparts derived through the application of FP/FI followed by that of Cl-Pl:

- (23) a. *Le frère de Jean-Jacques nous a fait photographier plusieurs fois de suite.*

b. *Beaucoup de policiers les font emprisonner.*

a. 'Jean-Jacques's brother got us photographed several times in a row.'

b. 'Many policemen have them imprisoned.'

- (24) *La bonne femme l'a fait avorter.*

'The woman made her miscarry.'

However, these cannot be embedded under *faire* in the way that (20), (22) were embedded under *faire* to yield (19), (21):

- (25) a. \**Sa vanité extraordinaire a fait nous faire photographier plusieurs fois de suite le frère de Jean-Jacques.*

b. \**L'hiver fait les faire emprisonner beaucoup de policiers.*

c. \**Sa mère a fait la faire avorter la bonne femme.*

The contrast between (25) and (19), (21) is immediately explicable

within the framework of the transformational cycle and follows in particular from the cyclicity of *Se*-Pl versus the postcyclicity of *Cl*-Pl. The derivation of (19), (21) involves a second-cycle application of *Se*-Pl, as described above. For (25) to be generated would correspondingly require a second-cycle application of *Cl*-Pl, which is impossible in a three-cycle structure such as (25) by virtue of the postcyclicity of *Cl*-Pl.

For example, sentence (25)c would have had to have a deep structure much like that of (21), with the derivation proceeding *Sa mère a fait s[la bonne femme faire s[elle avorter]]* → first cycle: nothing happens → second cycle → FI → *Sa mère a fait s[la bonne femme faire avorter elle]*. At this point *Cl*-Pl cannot apply, since the cycling process has not been completed. (If it were applied, yielding *Sa mère a fait s[la bonne femme la faire avorter]*, then FI would apply on the third cycle to derive (incorrectly)<sup>20</sup> \**Sa mère a fait la faire avorter la bonne femme*.) A derivation based on this deep structure will therefore not lead to (25). Rather, FI will apply on the third cycle to yield *Sa mère a fait faire avorter elle la bonne femme*, which becomes via A-Ins *Sa mère a fait faire avorter elle à la bonne femme*. Now at the completion of this third (and final) cycle, *Cl*-Pl can apply postcyclically, with the result \**Sa mère l'a fait faire avorter à la bonne femme*, which is an ill-formed sentence for reasons independent of the cycle.

The same result obtains if (25)b is taken: *L'hiver fait s[beaucoup de policiers faire s[NP emprisonner eux par Δ]]* → first cycle: nothing happens → second cycle → FP (and agent deletion) → *L'hiver fait [beaucoup de policiers faire emprisonner eux]*. Again, *Cl*-Pl cannot yet apply because the final cycle has not been completed. (If it did and we

<sup>20</sup> With *la faire avorter* analyzed as V\*, just as *se faire avorter* is in the last step of the derivation of (21); cf. fn. 19. Further examples like (21) are (i) *Le sadique a fait se faire souffrir le pauvre jeune homme*, (ii) *Le curé a fait se faire passer pour folle la pauvre jeune femme* (see (8)c), and (iii) *La vanité a fait se faire connaître à tout le monde le frère de Jean-Jacques* (see (6)a). Notice that, in (iii), *se* has triggered A-Ins on the second cycle, but not on the third, just as in (28) versus (29) below. For some speakers, *avorter* can be transitive as well as intransitive.

We note that neither (21) nor (19) could be generated under a VSO analysis of the type discussed by Bordelois (1974); such an analysis would in addition incorrectly generate (8) of chap. 3, along with (iv) \**Elle a fait faire son fils sauter le pont* (cf. (164) of chap. 3). It would also interfere with the account in terms of left-right conditions on bound anaphora of the contrasts discussed in section 5.5 (see especially the last paragraph); see also Berman (1974).

derived *L'hiver fait [beaucoup de policiers les faire emprisonner]*, then a third-cycle FI would yield the incorrect *\*L'hiver fait les faire emprisonner beaucoup de policiers.*) Instead, FI/A-Ins will apply on the third cycle to yield *L'hiver fait faire emprisonner eux à beaucoup de policiers* → Cl-Pl(postcyclic) → *\*L'hiver les fait faire emprisonner à beaucoup de policiers*.

The ungrammaticality of the final sentence of each of the last two paragraphs can be better understood if attention is focused on the significant similarity between (25) versus (19), (21), on the one hand, and (3) versus (4), on the other. That is, the contrast between (25) and (19), (21) is precisely the same as, for example, that between (3)b, *\*La crainte du scandale a fait les tuer le frère du juge*, and (4)b, *La crainte du scandale a fait se tuer le frère du juge*. The only difference is that in the latter pair, the pronouns have been cliticized on the first cycle, whereas in (25), (19), (21) they have been cliticized on the second cycle. In both cases, the cyclic cliticization is inadmissible for Cl-Pl, though correct for Se-Pl.

A typical derivation based on a structure underlying (3) would proceed *La crainte du scandale a fait s[le frère du juge tuer eux]* → first cycle: nothing happens, since the postcyclicity of Cl-Pl prevents it from applying at this point. (If it did we would have *La crainte du scandale a fait s[le frère du juge les tuer]*, then → second cycle → FI → (3), that is, incorrectly *\*La crainte du scandale a fait les tuer le frère du juge*.) Rather, on the second cycle, FI yields *La crainte du scandale a fait tuer eux le frère du juge* → A-Ins → *La crainte du scandale a fait tuer eux au frère du juge* → Cl-Pl (postcyclic) → *\*La crainte du scandale les a fait tuer au frère du juge*.

The ungrammaticality of *\*... la/les faire faire avorter/emprisonner à ...* is thus related to the simpler case of *\*... les faire tuer à ...*, the ungrammaticality of which was noted in section 3.5 for the A-Ins construction when the underlying object of the infinitive is animate (especially if definite), whether pronoun or full NP: *\*La crainte du scandale a fait tuer les cambrioleurs au frère du juge*, *\*L'hiver fait faire emprisonner les clochards à beaucoup de policiers*, etc. We conclude that *\*... les faire tuer à ...* and *\*... la/les faire faire avorter/emprisonner à ...* are excluded for reasons independent of (the postcyclic character of) Cl-Pl and consequently independent of those excluding (3) and (25).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The relevant examples from chap. 3 are (119) ff. As expected from (120), cliticization of the dative leads to a decided improvement: (i) *?Sa mère vous la fera faire avorter*, (ii) *?On me les a fait faire emprisonner*; it does not, however, in (26). We recall too that the ...

The sentences of (19) contain a *se* corresponding to an underlying direct object of the infinitive, yet the subject NP that ends up to the right of that infinitive is not preceded by *à*:

- (26) a. \*Sa vanité extraordinaire a fait se faire photographier plusieurs fois de suite au frère de Jean-Jacques.  
 b. \*L'hiver fait se faire emprisonner à beaucoup de clochards.

In other words, the *se* of (19), despite its underlying direct object status, does not trigger A-Ins. As noted earlier in the discussion of (11), (12), the ability to fail to trigger A-Ins distinguishes *se* from the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusative clitics. Furthermore, (11) itself showed that *se* does sometimes trigger A-Ins. The facts concerning *se* can be summed up by the following array:

- (27) a. La peur de la police a fait se dénoncer le frère de Jean-Jacques.  
 b. \*La peur de la police a fait se dénoncer au frère de Jean-Jacques.
- (28) a. \*Marie s'est fait connaître le frère de Jean-Jacques.  
 b. Marie s'est fait connaître au frère de Jean-Jacques.
- (29) a. Sa vanité a fait se faire photographier le frère de Jean-Jacques.  
 b. \*Sa vanité a fait se faire photographier au frère de Jean-Jacques.

In all three pairs, *se* corresponds to an underlying direct object of the rightmost verb. The question is What do the sentences of (27) and (29) have in common that distinguishes them significantly from those of (28) and causes them not to admit the application of A-Ins?

The answer to that question and an explanation for the alternating asymmetry of (27)–(29) is given by the principle of the transforma-

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*faire faire V NP à . . .* construction is not perfect for all even with a definite inanimate NP (see chap. 3, fn. 78), and neither is the corresponding one with a clitic: (iii) *Elle l'a fait faire sauter à son fils (le pont)*. However, example (25) with an inanimate clitic is still totally ungrammatical: (iv) \**Elle a fait le faire sauter son fils*. [(i) ‘Her mother will have you make her miscarry.’ (ii) ‘Someone made me have them imprisoned.’ (iii) ‘She had her son make it blow up (the bridge).’]

tional cycle. What (27) and (29) have in common is that they exhibit the application of *Se-Pl* on the cycle preceding the FI cycle. In (28), on the other hand, *Se-Pl* applies on the same cycle as, and subsequent to, FI.

The derivation of (29) proceeds *Sa vanité a fait s[le frère<sub>i</sub> faire s[NP photographier Pro<sub>i</sub> par Δ]]* → first cycle: nothing happens → second cycle → FP (and agent deletion) → *Sa vanité a fait s[le frère<sub>i</sub> faire photographier Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. At this point, the derived structure is in relevant respects just like the deep structure of (27): *La peur de la police a fait s[le frère<sub>i</sub> dénoncer Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. In both, the application of FI must wait until the next cycle, with the result that the application of *Se-Pl* on the present cycle (yielding *Sa vanité a fait s[le frère se faire photographier]* and *La peur de la police a fait s[le frère se dénoncer]*) will have removed the object NP, here *Pro<sub>i</sub>*, before FI has a chance to apply. The absence of any post-infinitival object NP at the point of application of FI will then render A-Ins inapplicable.

In (28), however, *Se-Pl* cannot apply on the cycle prior to FI in *Marie<sub>i</sub> a fait s[le frère connaître Pro<sub>i</sub>]* since the antecedent of *Pro<sub>i</sub>* is outside that S. The *Pro<sub>i</sub>* will still be in NP position when FI applies and will consequently trigger A-Ins: *Marie<sub>i</sub> a fait connaître Pro<sub>i</sub> au frère de Jean-Jacques*. To this structure *Se-Pl* will apply to give (28).

The superficially complex interaction of *se* and A-Ins is thus seen to be subject to a coherent explanation in terms of the transformational cycle, whether the domain of inquiry is taken to be sentences exhibiting one application of FI/FP, as in (11) versus (12), or extended to cover sentences with two applications of FI/FP, as in (27)–(29). In the same way, the framework of the transformational cycle has been seen capable of accounting in unified fashion for the asymmetry between *se* and the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusatives and datives that is manifested both in the double FI/FP sentences of (19), (21) versus (25) and in the single FI/FP sentences of (4) versus (3).<sup>22</sup>

## 6.5 Sentences with Double Clitic Movements

In the present section, we shall consider derivations containing two

<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, the cyclic derivation given for (29), (21), (19) accounts straightforwardly for the fact that (like (27), (4), but unlike (28), (8), (6)) the *se* there refers to an NP to the right of it in surface structure; the reason for this is that in (29), (21), (19), but not (28), (8), (6), *Se-Pl* has been followed on the next cycle by FI.

applications of the clitic movement transformations, rather than two FI/FP. We recall that sentences (29), (21), and (19) illustrated the order of application FI/FP → *Se-Pl* → FI/FP, where each of the two applications of FI/FP was on a separate cycle. The principle of the cycle would also allow derivations containing two applications of *Se-Pl*, on different cycles, surrounding one instance of FI/FP, that is, *Se-Pl* → FI/FP → *Se-Pl*. Unfortunately, the set of potential derivations is reduced in various ways on independent grounds. For example, the possibility of *Se-Pl* → FP → *Se-Pl* is eliminated by the fact that *Se-Pl* → FP is always ungrammatical.<sup>23</sup> Conversely, the possibility of *Se-Pl* → FI → *Se-Pl* is severely limited by diverse restrictions on FI → *Se-Pl*. (It should be noted that the two most easily constructible combinations of FI/FP and *Se-Pl*, namely *Se-Pl* → FI and FP → *Se-Pl*,<sup>24</sup> cannot themselves be linked to give a derivation with two *Se-Pl*, since one involves FP and the other FI.)

The restrictions on FI → *Se-Pl* that make it difficult, though not impossible, to construct a single derivation containing *Se-Pl* → FI → *Se-Pl* can be separated into three cases, depending on the deep structure status of the pronoun that is subject to the post-FI application of *Se-Pl*. If that pronoun is an underlying dative complement of the infinitive, then we have the construction studied in Part II of chapter 4:

(30) *Sa mère a fait répondre la jeune fille aux policiers.*

'Her mother made the girl answer the policemen.'

Such sentences have the post-FI structure *Sa mère a fait répondre s[<sub>NP</sub>[la jeune fille] aux policiers]*. Now for *Se-Pl* to be able to apply to the dative subsequent to FI, it would be necessary for the dative to be a cliticizable pronoun coreferential with the subject of the higher-cycle S: *Sa mère<sub>i</sub> a fait répondre s[<sub>NP</sub>[la jeune fille] à Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. But the application of *Se-Pl* to such a structure is blocked by the specified subject condition, with X = *sa mère*, Y = Pro, Z = the subject NP *la jeune fille*, whence the ungrammaticality of

<sup>23</sup> See fn. 41, chap. 5, and references therein. Thus, there is no (i) \**Le pauvre jeune homme s'est fait se taper par les cannibales.* [(i) 'The poor young man got himself eaten by the cannibals.']}

<sup>24</sup> The latter is represented by (20), the last two sentences of (6), and chap. 5, fn. 59; the former is found in (4) and fn. 1.

- (31) \*Sa mère s'est fait répondre la jeune fille.

The impossibility of FI → Se-Pl in this case implies the impossibility of the corresponding Se-Pl → FI → Se-Pl. Thus alongside *Sa mère a fait se présenter la jeune fille aux policiers* (Se-Pl → FI, but otherwise like (30)), there could be no Se-Pl → FI → Se-Pl; the following would be excluded by the specified subject condition in the same way as (31):

- (32) \*Sa mère s'est fait se présenter la jeune fille.

'Her mother<sub>i</sub> made the girl introduce herself to her<sub>i</sub>.'

If the pronoun subject to the post-FI application of Se-Pl is an underlying subject of the embedded S, then we have the FI → Se-Pl construction of (8) and (22), for example, *Elle s'est fait passer pour folle*. In the case of reflexive *se*, this construction is sensitive to semantic constraints of a not entirely clear nature; the grammatical examples we have given have embedded Ss whose subjects might be called nonagentive. Furthermore, there are many cases of ungrammaticality with agentives. Thus, there exists a clear contrast:

- (33) a. Elle est arrivée à se faire maigrir.

- b. \*Elle est arrivée à se faire partir.

a/b. 'She managed to make herself get thinner/leave.'

With reciprocal *se*, this phenomenon is blurred; however, of the two reciprocal sentences of (8), *Elles se font rire l'une l'autre*, *Ils se faisaient manger des carottes l'un à l'autre*, the former is uniformly accepted, whereas some speakers find the latter questionable. Those who do not will generally judge the following to be grammatical:

- (34) Ils se faisaient se laver les mains (l'un (à) l'autre).

'They were making each other wash their hands.'

Thus the semantic constraints on this construction do not completely eliminate sentences whose derivations contain the sequence of transformational applications Se-Pl → FI → Se-Pl.

For some, (34) is best with an overt *l'un à l'autre* or *l'un l'autre* understood as linked to the first *se*; the most natural interpretation for (34) is that the first *se* is reciprocal and the second reflexive. The derivation proceeds *Ils<sub>i</sub> faisaient s[Pro<sub>i</sub> laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub>] → first*

cycle → *Se-Pl* → *Ils<sub>i</sub> faisaient s[Pro<sub>i</sub> se laver les mains]* → second cycle → *FI/A-Ins* → *Ils<sub>i</sub> faisaient se laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub>* → *Se-Pl* (second cycle) → *Ils se faisaient se laver les mains*.<sup>25</sup>

In the derivation of (34), the leftmost *se* is placed in clitic position on the second cycle, and the rightmost on the first. The cyclicity of *Se-Pl* thus allows it to apply at two distinct points in a single derivation. Two distinct clitic placement operations are likewise found in sentences such as *Elle lui a fait se laver les mains*. Here *se* is placed on the first cycle by *Se-Pl*, and *lui* is placed postcyclically by *Cl-Pl*: *Elle a fait s[lui; laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub>]* → first cycle → *Se-Pl* → *Elle a fait [lui se laver les mains]* → second cycle → *FI/A-Ins* → *Elle a fait se laver les mains à lui* → *Cl-Pl* (postcyclically) → *Elle lui a fait se laver les mains*.

The difference in point of application between *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl* is reflected in *Elle lui a fait se laver les mains* by the different positions of the two clitics. It should be emphasized, however, that the separation of *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl* implies that *se* is never placed at the same time as *le*, *lui*, *en*, etc., even when there is no surface difference in position. This claim was supported, independently of the *faire* construction, when we argued in section 5.6 that the two clitics of (108), *Il s'en est dénoncé trois mille*, must be placed in clitic position at different times. Thus, even in simple sentences such as (35), *se* and *en* must not have been cliticized at the same point in the derivation.

- (35) a. *Elle s'en achètera une paire.*
- b. *Elle s'en est grillé un.*
- a. ‘She will buy herself a pair of them.’
- b. ‘She smoked herself one.’

The distinctness of the two cliticization processes in (35) can be brought out by embedding those sentences under *faire*:

- (36) a. *Sa mère est arrivée à lui en faire s'acheter une paire.*
- b. *Sa mère lui en a fait se griller un.*
- a. ‘Her mother managed to get her to buy herself a pair of them.’
- b. ‘Her mother had her smoke herself one.’

In (36), *se* and *en*, which both correspond to underlying complements

<sup>25</sup> The optional appearance of *l'un (à) l'autre* is discussed in section 5.4.

of *acheter*, *griller*, just as in (35), appear in different surface positions. The derivations proceed *Sa mère a fait s[elle<sub>i</sub> griller un-en à Pro<sub>i</sub>]* → first cycle → *Se-Pl* → *Sa mère a fait s[elle se griller un-en]* → second cycle → *FI/A-Ins* → *Sa mère a fait se griller un-en à elle* → *Cl-Pl* (postcyclically) → *Sa mère lui en a fait se griller un*. The surface separation of *en* and *se* in (36) is seen here to reflect the earlier placement of the latter, which is, in turn, a function of the cyclicity of *Se-Pl* versus the postcyclicity of *Cl-Pl*.<sup>26</sup> The contrast between (36) and (35) is due to the fact that in (36) the application of FI, in between *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl*, increases the distance over which *Cl-Pl* can move its pronoun (since after FI the subject of the embedded S no longer intervenes between *en* and *faire*). In (35) no significant change in structure occurs between *Se-Pl* and *Cl-Pl*, so that the two attach the pronoun in the same place.<sup>27</sup>

The *en* of (35) originates in the direct object of the verb. In (36) that *en* is moved to *faire* by *Cl-Pl*, in the last step of the transformational sequence *Se-Pl* → *FI/A-Ins* → *Cl-Pl*. The existence of this derivation leads back to the question raised toward the beginning of this section as to whether *Se-Pl* → *FI* → *Se-Pl* derivations could be found; the answer, we recall, was affirmative for underlying subjects of the infinitive (see (34)) and negative for underlying dative complements of the infinitive (see (32)). A comparable derivation with the post-FI *se* an underlying direct object of the infinitive (like the NP containing *en* in (36)) would resemble that of (36), with the post-FI movement of *en* replaced by the post-FI movement of *se*.

There does not, however, exist any grammatical sentence modeled on (36) but having *se* in the place of *en*. Thus, alongside the *Se-Pl* → *FI/A-Ins* sentence of (37), one might expect to find, if the direct object of *s'imaginer* were a pronoun coreferential with the subject of *faire*, a sentence such as (38).

(37) ?Le choc qu'elle a subi lui a fait *s'imaginer* son ancien mari.

'The shock that she suffered made her imagine her former husband.'

<sup>26</sup> Recall that in (108), chap. 5, the order of application, *Se-Pl* → *NP-Extrap* → *Cl-Pl*, has *Se-Pl* earlier than *Cl-Pl*, thereby correlating with the results of this chapter.

<sup>27</sup> Comparable to (35) versus (36), but with *en* a PP complement of the verb, is (i) *Elle s'en souvient* versus (ii) *Voilà ce qui l'en a fait se souvenir* (the latter, accepted by most, is mentioned by Martinon (1927, p. 302) and by Gougenheim (1971, p. 355)). [(i) 'She remembers it.' (ii) 'There's what made her remember it.']}

- (38) \*Son ancien mari se lui est fait s'imaginer.

'Her former husband<sub>i</sub> made her imagine him<sub>i</sub>.'

In (38), the leftmost *se* is derived from the position occupied in (37) by *son ancien mari*. The ungrammaticality of (38) could, of course, be attributed to the general impossibility of the clitic combination *\*se lui*, and similarly for *\*lui se*: \*Son ancien mari *lui s'est fait s'imaginer*. But (38) remains ungrammatical even if the dative clitic is removed in favor of à NP:

- (39) \*Son ancien mari s'est fait s'imaginer à la bonne femme.

'Her former husband<sub>i</sub> made the woman imagine him<sub>i</sub>.'

(Compare ?Le choc qu'elle a subi a fait s'imaginer son ancien mari à la bonne femme.)

The ungrammaticality of (39), like that of (32), can be related to phenomena outside the *Se-Pl → FI → Se-Pl* construction. For example, in *Se-Pl → FI* sentences, the post-FI movement via Cl-Pl of pronouns that are underlying direct objects of the infinitive is severely restricted:

- (40) \*?Sa mère est arrivée à les faire s'acheter.

'Her mother managed to get her to buy them for herself.'

- (41) a. \*Sa mère est arrivée à les faire s'acheter à la jeune fille.

b. \*Le manque de scrupule les a fait s'adjudiquer aux députés.

a. 'Her mother managed to get the girl to buy them for herself.'

b. 'Lack of scruples made the deputies appropriate them for themselves.'

Presumably, the restriction operative in (41) is part of the reason for the status of (39).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Also helping to rule out (39) is the lack of productivity of the *FI → Se-Pl* (with *Se-Pl* applying to underlying accusative) construction noted in fn. 4. Conversely, whatever is wrong with (41) might also be a second reason for the ungrammaticality of (32). The constraint on (40), (41), for which we have as yet no explanation, may itself extend beyond clitic movements: The movement of underlying infinitival object *tout* to the left of *faire* is subject to a similar, though less pronounced, restriction: (i) *Sa rapacité lui a fait s'acheter tout*, (ii) . . . *lui a fait tout s'acheter*, (iii) ? . . . *lui a tout fait s'acheter* (versus (iv) *Elle aurait tout voulu s'acheter*; and (v) . . . *lui a tout fait acheter*; cf. (71), chap. 3; also (vi) *Leur*

The contrast between (40) and (36)a, *Sa mère est arrivée à lui en faire s'acheter une paire*, is paralleled by that between (41) and the following:

- (42) ?*Sa mère est arrivée à en faire s'acheter une paire à la jeune fille.*

'Her mother managed to get the girl to buy herself a pair of them.'

The less than perfect grammatical status of (42) can be interpreted as due to the same constraint as that excluding (41). The difference between *en* and the more sharply affected accusatives is perhaps related to other instances of greater freedom that we have noted for *en*.<sup>29</sup>

One of these is the acceptance by some speakers of sentences in which Cl-Pl attaches *en* to the infinitive, as in ??*Elle fera en manger trois à son fils*, in addition to the normal *Elle en fera manger trois à son fils*. The marginal attachment of *en* to the infinitive becomes somewhat less so if the infinitive is preceded by *se*:

- (43) ?*Sa mère est arrivée à faire s'en acheter une paire à la jeune fille.*

The contrast with accusatives still holds:<sup>30</sup>

- (44) a. \**Sa mère est arrivée à faire se les acheter à la jeune fille.*

- b. \**Le manque de scrupule a fait se les adjuger aux députés.*

By analyzing (43) as a case of *en* being attached by Cl-Pl to the infinitive subsequent to FI, we are rejecting an alternative analysis that would have (43) represent an exceptional first-cycle application

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*manque de scrupule a fait s'adjuger tout aux députés de la majorité, (vii) . . . a fait tout s'adjuger aux . . . , (viii) ? . . . a tout fait s'adjuger aux . . . . Neither *tout* nor the accusative clitics are constrained in this way in their post-FI movement when derived from underlying subjects of the infinitive: (ix) *L'explosion a tout fait s'écrouler* (see (73) ff., chap. 3) and (x) *Cela l'a fait se tuer* (see fn. 2); see fn. 23, chap. 4. [(i)–(iii) 'His rapacity made him buy himself everything.' (iv) 'She would have wanted to buy herself everything.' (v) ' . . . made him buy everything.' (vi)–(viii) 'Their lack of scruples made the majority deputies appropriate everything for themselves.' (ix) 'The explosion made everything collapse.']*

<sup>29</sup> See fn. 31, chap. 4. This extra freedom might be related to the PP character of *en*, in that PPs generally position more freely than NPs (accusative clitics derive from pro-NPs), as suggested to us by K. Hale.

<sup>30</sup> Better than (43), (44) are (i) ??*Sa mère lui a fait se les acheter*, (ii) ?*Sa mère lui a fait s'en griller un*; see fn. 23, chap. 4. [(i) 'Her mother made her buy them for herself.' (ii) 'Her mother made her smoke herself one.']}

of Cl-Pl to *en*. The choice between these two analyses of (43) is influenced by the fact that sentences comparable to (43) can be constructed with *en* originating in the underlying subject of the infinitive:

- (45) a. ?L'explosion a fait s'en évanouir trente-trois.  
       b. ?Les mauvaises nouvelles ont fait s'en tuer une bonne dizaine.  
           a. 'The explosion made thirty-three of them faint.'  
           b. 'The bad news made a good ten of them kill themselves.'

(Compare *L'explosion a fait s'évanouir trente-trois des enfants*, *Les mauvaises nouvelles ont fait se tuer une bonne dizaine des soldats*.)

The existence of (45) is important, in that (45) does not lend itself to an analysis in terms of a first-cycle movement of *en*. This is so, since on the first cycle *en* is to the left of the infinitive: *Les mauvaises nouvelles ont fait s[<sub>NP</sub>[une bonne dizaine-*en*]<sub>i</sub> tuer Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. Thus *en* could not be attached to the infinitive by Cl-Pl on the first cycle:

- (46) \*Une bonne dizaine s'en sont tués.

Furthermore, there are no even partially grammatical A-Ins sentences corresponding to (45):

- (47) \*Elle a fait s'en acheter des chaussures à trois.

'She got three of them to buy themselves some shoes.'

(Compare *Elle a fait s'acheter des chaussures à trois de ses enfants*.) This follows immediately, given our analysis, from the fact that a post-FI/A-Ins application of Cl-Pl to *en* in (47) violates the A/A principle. A first-cycle application of Cl-Pl to *en*, on the other hand, would incorrectly fail to distinguish the embedded S in (47), *Elle a fait s[<sub>NP</sub>[trois-*en*]<sub>i</sub> acheter des chaussures à Pro<sub>i</sub>]*, from that of (45).<sup>31</sup>

While a post-FI application of Cl-Pl in (45) can (marginally) attach *en* to the infinitive, the normal place of attachment is to *faire*:

- (48) a. L'explosion en a fait s'évanouir trente-trois.  
       b. Les mauvaises nouvelles en ont fait se tuer une bonne dizaine.

This has a derivation of the form *Les nouvelles ont fait s[<sub>NP</sub>[une bonne*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. fn. 3, chap. 4. Like (47) is (i) \**Elle en a fait s'acheter des chaussures à trois*, which is to (48) as (28) of chap. 4 was to (26) of chap. 4.

*dizaine-en]<sub>i</sub> tuer Pro<sub>i</sub>] → first cycle → Se-Pl → *Les nouvelles ont fait s[NP[une bonne dizaine-en] se tuer]* → second cycle → FI → *Les nouvelles ont fait se tuer NP[une bonne dizaine-en]* → Cl-Pl (postcyclically) → *Les nouvelles en ont fait se tuer une bonne dizaine*.<sup>32</sup>*

## 6.6 Immobile Infinitival Clitics

The derivations examined in the previous section were of the form *Se-Pl* → FI → Cl-Pl (as is that of (48)) or *Se-Pl* → FI → *Se-Pl*.<sup>33</sup> All the sentences so derived contain a *se* attached to the infinitive, a straightforward reflection of their first-cycle application of *Se-Pl*. Notice, however, that the surface position of that *se* implies something further, namely that neither a later (postcyclic) application of Cl-Pl nor a later (second-cycle) application of *Se-Pl* can move that *se* away from the infinitive. For example, the input to Cl-Pl in (48) is *Les nouvelles ont fait se tuer [une bonne dizaine-en]*, but the output cannot be (49) \**Les mauvaises nouvelles s'en sont fait tuer une bonne dizaine*.

The same point is made, for example, by (4)e, that is, *Cet éclairage fait se ressembler Jean et Marie-Claire*, versus (10)e, \**Cet éclairage se fait ressembler Jean et Marie-Claire*. After its first-cycle attachment to the infinitive, the *se* of (4) cannot be moved further left either by Cl-Pl or by *Se-Pl*.

<sup>32</sup> The fact that (48) is better than (42) (and, for some speakers, (45) slightly worse than (43)) would appear to be related to the final observation of fn. 28. Somewhat comparable examples with *y* are (i) *Elle a fait s'y asseoir ses beaux-parents* (better than (43)) and (ii) ?*Elle y a fait s'asseoir ses beaux-parents* (better than (42)). The relevance of *se* is underlined by (iii) *Elle a fait (\*y) asseoir ses beaux-parents*.

The *se* of *asseoir* can fail to appear in the FI construction with *faire* and *laisser* (despite (iv) \**Ses beaux-parents ont assis*): (v) ?*Elle a laissé asseoir son père* versus the non-FI (vi) \**Elle a laissé son père asseoir*. This apparent deletion of *se* exists with various inherent *se* (but not with ordinary, in the sense of sec. 5.8, reflexive or reciprocal *se*), especially with *faire*. The *faire asseoir* construction was much more productive in earlier stages of French (as it is in modern Italian); in fact, in Old French, the *faire se V* construction did not exist (cf. fn. 7, chap. 2), nor was there a corresponding \**faire soi V* (according to a search through Brandt (1944)). For further discussion, see Risop (1927), Johansson (1896), Hatcher (1942), Gougenheim (1971, pp. 346 ff.) and Godefroy (1862, pp. 186–206). [(i) ‘She had her in-laws sit down there.’]

<sup>33</sup> In all, both pronouns cliticized are underlying constituents of the embedded S, unlike (i) *Elle lui a fait s'écrouler un mur sur la tête*, where the dative *lui* originates in the higher S; see section 4.7. This construction provides an example of *Se-Pl* → FI → *Se-Pl* that is but slightly odd: (ii) ?*Le géant s'est fait s'écrouler un mur sur la tête*. [(i) ‘She made a wall collapse on his head.’ (ii) ‘The giant<sub>i</sub> made a wall collapse on his<sub>i</sub> head.’]

One might argue that, given our formulation

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_i \text{ V } X \text{ Pro}_i \rightarrow 1 \ 4 \ + \ 2 \ 3, \\ 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \qquad \qquad \qquad +R \end{array}$$

*Se*-Pl would in any case be inapplicable to (48) or (4) on the second cycle since the subject of *faire* is not coreferential with *se*.<sup>34</sup> However, given (50) with *lui-même* the underlying subject of *laver*, the SD of *Se*-Pl would be met, yielding (51).

- (50) ?Jean<sub>i</sub> n'a fait se<sub>i</sub> laver les mains qu'à lui<sub>i</sub>-même.  
 'Jean made only himself wash his hands.'

- (51) \*Jean<sub>i</sub> ne s<sub>i</sub>'est fait laver les mains qu'à lui<sub>i</sub>-même.

This is a clearly undesirable result (if possible at all, (51) is interpreted with the subject of *laver* unspecified (FP with agent deletion), and *lui-même* the underlying dative object of *laver*). Consequently, *Se*-Pl must be blocked from applying on the second cycle in (50), by means beyond the above structural description.

The undesirable derivation of (51) from the deep structure that underlies (50) indicates that the ungrammaticality of (49), (10) is not simply a matter of coreference considerations. If (49), (10) were ungrammatical merely because *se* there is adjacent to an NP not coreferential with it, then we would expect the derivation of (51) to proceed smoothly, but this is not the case. The claim that there is something else at issue is, in fact, supported by additional data:

- (52) a. ?Un malentendu a fait y avoir trop d'enfants à la soirée.  
 b. \*Un malentendu y a fait avoir trop d'enfants à la soirée.  
 a–b. 'A misunderstanding made there be too many children at the party.'
- (53) a. Voilà ce qui l'a fait en vouloir à Jean.  
 b. ?Voilà ce qui a fait en vouloir votre ami à Jean.  
 c. \*Voilà ce qui l'en a fait vouloir à Jean.  
 d. \*Voilà ce qui en a fait vouloir votre ami à Jean.

<sup>34</sup> If NP V X Pro<sub>+R</sub>, as in fn. 38, chap. 5, then *Se*-Pl would, in principle, be applicable.

- a/b. ‘That’s what made him/your friend hold a grudge against Jean.’

The *y* and *en* of the idioms *y avoir* and *en vouloir à quelqu’un*<sup>35</sup> when embedded under *faire* occur attached to the infinitive, and not to *faire*, contrary to the normal case. These facts can be accounted for if one allows the base generation of idioms containing pronouns in clitic position. Thus the input to the transformational component in (53) would be of the form . . . *a fait s[lui en vouloir à Jean]*. On the second cycle, FI would yield . . . *a fait en vouloir lui à Jean*, followed by Cl-Pl (postcyclically), to give . . . *l'a fait en vouloir à Jean*.

The starred examples of (52), (53) show that Cl-Pl cannot take the *y* or *en* attached to the infinitive and move it to *faire*. Now, insofar as this inapplicability of Cl-Pl to idiom clitics is significantly similar to the inapplicability of Cl-Pl, or a second cycle *Se-Pl*, to infinitival *se* in (51), it must be the case that the entire phenomenon involves something more than coreferentiality (which is not at issue in (52), (53)).

Additional idiom clitics that act like those of *y avoir* and *en vouloir à* are the *en* of *s'en aller* and *s'en prendre à quelqu'un*:

- (54) a. Son orgueil l'a fait s'en prendre à sa femme.  
 b. \*Son orgueil l'en a fait se prendre à sa femme.  
 a–b. ‘His pride made him blame his wife.’
- (55) a. Son orgueil l'a fait s'en aller.  
 b. \*Son orgueil l'en a fait s'aller.  
 a–b. ‘His pride made him go away.’

If the *se* of (55) is removed, the position of *en* remains the same:<sup>36</sup>

- (56) a. Ce produit fait en aller les taches.  
 b. \*Ce produit en fait aller les taches.

<sup>35</sup> On *y avoir*, see chap. 2, fn. 31, and corresponding text. The contrast (i) ??*Un malentendu a fait y en avoir trop* versus (ii) \**Un malentendu en a fait y avoir trop* recalls (41), except that *en* is usually freer, as in (42). [(i) ‘A misunderstanding made there be too many of them.’]

<sup>36</sup> The starred examples of (54), (55) contrast with fn. 27. On (56), see fn. 32; examples (55), (56) are relevant only for those (many) who can fail to treat that *en* as a prefix, that is, for those who have (i) *Je m'en suis allé* rather than, or in addition to, (ii) *Je me suis enallé*.

a–b. ‘This product makes stains go away.’

The base generation of the *en*, *y* of (52)–(56) in clitic position, that is, dominated by the node V, is made plausible by the absence of a natural source for them: \**Il a là trop d'enfants à la soirée*, \**Votre ami veut à Jean de cela*, \**Il s'est pris à sa femme de cela*, \**Il s'est allé de là*.<sup>37</sup>

The fact that neither Cl-Pl nor Se-Pl can apply to a clitic already attached to the infinitive of the FI construction, as seen in (49), (51), (52)–(56), can be accounted for in two ways. First, one can plausibly propose a convention whereby transformations are prohibited from extracting material from under a lexical node (N, V, A). Since pronouns in clitic position are dominated by the node V, that would suffice to inhibit the leftward movement of the clitic in *faire v[se tuer]*, *faire v[en vouloir]*, etc. Second, and not mutually exclusive with the first, one could have the SD of Cl-Pl and Se-Pl mention the major categories NP, PP. Thus instead of  $NP_i \ V \ X \ PRO_i$ , Se-Pl could be stated  $NP_i \ V \ X \ NP[PRO_i]$ . In similar fashion, Cl-Pl could refer to  $NP[PRO]$ ,  $PP[en/y]$ . Since pronouns in clitic position are almost certainly not immediately dominated by major category nodes, that is, \* $v[NP[se] tuer]$ , \* $v[PP[en] vouloir]$ , this modification would ensure that neither transformation could ever reapply to its own, or the other's, output.<sup>38</sup>

Under either hypothesis, the position of *en*, *y* to the left of the auxiliary in (57), where the separation from the main verb contrasts with the *faire* facts, implies that *en* is not generated on the past participle: \* $v[en voulu]$ , etc.

- (57) a. Elle en a voulu à son mari.
- b. Elle s'en est pris(e) à son mari.
- c. Il y a eu un siècle de paix.
- a. ‘She held a grudge against her husband.’

<sup>37</sup> However, the absence of a transparent postverbal source does not a priori preclude a clitic movement derivation (witness the derivation of inherent *se* proposed in sec. 5.8), from which results the (logical) possibility that other superficially idiomatic *y*, *en* might originate in postverbal position if their positioning under *faire* were the opposite of that in (52)–(56). On the diversity of “idiomatic” *y* and, especially, *en*, see Pinchon (1972).

<sup>38</sup> See chap. 2, examples (269) ff. and (352) ff. In the case of *en*, *y* the same effect would obtain if Cl-Pl were stated

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} NP & V & X & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} de \\ à \end{array} \right\} & PRO \rightarrow 1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} en \\ y \end{array} \right\} + 2 \ 3 \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \end{array}$$

- b. 'She blamed her husband.'
- c. 'There was a century of peace.'

If it were, then its movement to the auxiliary would violate both the proposed convention and a modified SD of Cl-Pl. Consequently, under either hypothesis, (57) implies that, if *en* is generated as a clitic, it is generated on the auxiliary.<sup>39</sup>

## 6.7 Cyclic Derivations

We examined in section 6.5 certain derivations involving the FI construction that contain more than one application of a clitic movement transformation. Sentences (49)–(56) were then seen to indicate a constraint on such derivations, to the effect that no later clitic movement transformation can displace a clitic previously attached to the infinitive. Let us now turn to another, rather different, type of constraint on these derivations.

The deep structure of (34), *Les enfants se faisaient se laver les mains*, is of the form *Les enfants<sub>i</sub> faisaient s[Pro<sub>i</sub> laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. Se-Pl applies first within the embedded S, yielding *Les enfants<sub>i</sub> faisaient s[Pro<sub>i</sub> se laver les mains]*; this structure is then transformed by FI/A-Ins into

<sup>39</sup> Alternatively, and compatible with either hypothesis, examples (52)–(57) could be analyzed as involving a special first-cycle (or even precyclic; but see fn. 7) movement of the idiom clitic from postverbal position. The contrast between (52)–(56) and (57) would then follow from the absence of embedded S with *avoir* (see (384) ff., chap. 2): *Elle a voulu . . . en . . .* versus . . . *faire s[elle vouloir . . . en . . .]*, but not \**Elle a s[. . . voulu . . . en . . .]*. Both hypotheses would be compatible with an analysis having a rightward shift of clitics in positive imperatives (see fn. 95, chap. 2): (i) (*Tu*) *t'en vas* → *Va-t'en*, since that would not be effected by Cl-Pl, and since it would take place within the string dominated by V.

The Italian and Spanish construction (ii) It. *La vuole vedere*, Sp. *La quiere ver*, which exists in addition to (iii) It. *Vuole vederla*, Sp. *Quiere verla* (Old French had the former only; see fns. 7, 162, chap. 2) would appear to be a problem for the proposed convention (assuming one claimed for it an extension outside French), insofar as *La vuole vedere* is derived via some special clitic-hopping rule from *Vuole vederla*. However, one might well derive *La vuole vedere*, etc., directly from *Vuole vedere NP[Pro]* via (the It. or Sp. equivalent of) Cl-Pl, especially if verbs like It. *volere*, Sp. *querer* can occur with complement Vs, that is, without subjects, at least at the point of application of Cl-Pl (and Se-Pl: (iv) Sp. *Se quiere matar*, (v) *Quiere matarse*); see fn. 26, chap. 3. The absence of any supplementary clitic-hopping rule would then account for (vi) Sp. *Eso hizo matarse a Juan* versus (vii) \**Eso se hizo matar a Juan*, from (viii) *Eso hizo s[Juan matar NP[se]]*; cf. (48), (50) versus (49), (51). [(i) 'Go away.' (ii)–(iii) 'He wants to see her.' (iv)–(v) 'He wants to kill himself.' (vi) 'That made Juan kill himself.')

*Les enfants<sub>i</sub> faisaient se laver les mains s[à Pro<sub>i</sub>]. Se-Pl then applies a second time, at the level of the top S, moving the remaining nonclitic dative Pro<sub>i</sub> to faire.*

The deep structure of (34) will not yield the desired surface structure if the two applications of *Se-Pl* are made in the opposite order. Let us start by applying *Se-Pl* at the level of the top S (recall that *Se-Pl* is stated

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{NP}_i \text{ V X Pro}_i \rightarrow 1 \quad 4 \quad + \quad 2 \quad 3) \\ 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \qquad \qquad +R \end{array}$$

Terms 1 and 2 will be met by *les enfants<sub>i</sub>*, *faisaient*. The specified subject condition will prevent term 4 from being taken as the rightmost Pro<sub>i</sub>, but term 4 will be satisfied by the leftmost Pro<sub>i</sub>, with X = Ø. The application of *Se-Pl* will yield *Les enfants<sub>i</sub> se faisaient s[laver les mains à Pro<sub>i</sub>]*. At this point, *Se-Pl* will be able to apply again, by analyzing *les enfants<sub>i</sub>* as NP<sub>i</sub>, *laver les mains à* as X (it wouldn't matter if FI were considered to have moved *laver les mains* after the first *Se-Pl*), and *se faisaient* as V.<sup>40</sup> The result will be

(58) \*Les enfants se se faisaient laver les mains.

In other words, to derive (34), one must not merely apply *Se-Pl* twice, but one must also have the first application take place within the embedded S, rather than at the level of the top S.

A similar point can be made concerning derivations with one application of *Se-Pl* and one of FI. A sentence such as (12), *Le hasard a fait se connaître les enfants*, is derived from the deep structure *Le hasard a fait [les enfants<sub>i</sub> connaître Pro<sub>i</sub>]* by first applying *Se-Pl* within the embedded S, yielding *Le hasard a fait s[les enfants se connaître]*. The subsequent application of FI at the level of the top S gives (12) as the result. If, however, one began with FI rather than with *Se-Pl*, one would derive *Le hasard a fait connaître Pro<sub>i</sub> à les enfants<sub>i</sub>*, to which structure *Se-Pl* is not applicable at all. Subsequent application of Cl-Pl would yield

(59) \*Le hasard les<sub>i</sub> a fait connaître aux enfants<sub>i</sub>.

<sup>40</sup> *Laver*, since it is no longer adjacent to any NP<sub>i</sub>, could not be analyzed as V; compare the fact that (i) *Les enfants<sub>i</sub> faisaient gronder Pro<sub>i</sub> par leur mère* yields (ii) *Les enfants se faisaient gronder par leur mère*, and not (iii) \**Les enfants faisaient se gronder par leur mère* (cf. (9)). [(ii) 'The children got themselves scolded by their mother.']}

In other words, to derive (12), one must start by applying *Se*-Pl within the embedded S.

The order of application necessary for (34) and (12), that is, with the first application within the embedded S, is that determined by the principle of the cycle, as has been claimed throughout this chapter.

A third case illustrating the importance of order of application involves derivations containing two applications of FI/A-Ins. For example, a sentence like (164) of chapter 3, *Jean a fait faire sauter le pont à son fils*, can be derived from the deep structure *Jean a fait s<sub>1</sub>[son fils faire s<sub>2</sub>[le pont sauter]]*, by first applying FI at the level of S<sub>1</sub> with the result *Jean a fait s<sub>1</sub>[son fils faire sauter le pont]*, followed by FI/A-Ins at the level of the top S, with V\* NP = *faire sauter le pont*. If we had initially applied FI/A-Ins to the top S, however, we would have produced the structure *Jean a fait faire le pont s<sub>1</sub>[à son fils s<sub>2</sub>[sauter]]*, to which FI(/A-Ins) cannot reapply (since there is no string . . . *faire NP V\** (NP) . . .). This end result is ungrammatical, even if *son fils* is replaced by a cliticizable pronoun:<sup>41</sup>

(60) \**Jean a fait faire le pont à son fils sauter.*

(61) \**Jean lui a fait faire le pont sauter.*

That is, to derive the desired *Jean a fait faire sauter le pont à son fils* or *Jean lui a fait faire sauter le pont*, one must start by applying FI/A-Ins to the more deeply embedded of the two *faire*-S structures.

The same is true of sentences like (21), *Sa mère a fait se faire avorter la jeune fille*, which is derived from the deep structure *Sa mère a fait s<sub>1</sub>[la jeune fille; faire s<sub>2</sub>[Pro<sub>i</sub>; *avorter*]]*, by applying FI and then *Se*-Pl at the level of S<sub>1</sub>, followed by FI at the level of the top S. The initial application of FI to the top S would lead to *Sa mère a fait faire Pro<sub>i</sub> à la jeune fille; *avorter**, which, after Cl-Pl, would give

(62) \**Sa mère l<sub>i</sub>'a fait faire à la jeune fille; *avorter*.*

<sup>41</sup> Contrasting with (61) is (i) ?*Le médecin lui a fait voir son enfant naître*, from *Le médecin a fait s<sub>1</sub>[lui voir son enfant; s<sub>2</sub>[NP<sub>i</sub> *naître*]]*, with FI/A-Ins inapplicable on the S<sub>1</sub> cycle because of the Equi structure (see section 3.4). (Ungrammatical is (ii) \**Le médecin a fait voir son enfant à Jean naître*, for reasons that are unclear (cf. fn. 79, chap. 3); better are the presumably derivative (iii) ?? . . . *a fait voir à Jean son enfant naître*, (iv) ?? . . . *a fait voir son enfant naître à Jean*—a contrast with (60) still exists: (iv) \* . . . *a fait faire à son fils le pont sauter*, (v) \* . . . *a fait faire le pont sauter à son fils*.) [(i) 'The doctor had him see his child being born.' ]

This sentence combines the defects of (59) and (60). Again, to correctly derive (21), FI must apply to the embedded *faire* structure, that contained in the domain of  $S_1$ , before applying at the level of the top S.

The derivations of the grammatical sentences discussed in this section reinforce our general hypothesis that all the grammatical sentences whose derivation involves the multiple application of *Se-Pl* and/or FI/A-Ins/FP can be derived through the sequential application of those transformations, where the order of application is the one specified by the principle of the transformational cycle.<sup>42</sup>

Conversely, to our knowledge, there is no grammatical sentence whose derivation must involve the application of *Se-Pl*, FI/A-Ins/FP in an order contrary to the principle of the cycle. That is, assume a structure of the form  $\dots s_i[\dots s_{i+1}[\dots] \dots] \dots$ . Then there is *no* case such that the following holds: a string  $W_{i+1}$  entirely within  $S_{i+1}$  meets the structural description of *Se-Pl*, FI/A-Ins, or FP; some other string  $W_i$  entirely within  $S_i$  but not entirely within  $S_{i+1}$  meets the SD of one of those transformations; the transformation applicable to  $W_i$  must apply before the one applicable to  $W_{i+1}$ .

## 6.8 Summary and Conclusion

In summary, then, the transformations *Se-Pl*, FI/A-Ins/FP, when applied in cyclic fashion, interact in such a way as to generate the superficially complex array of sentences shown in (63), where the order of application is given by (a)  $Se\text{-Pl} \rightarrow FI$ , (b)  $FI/A\text{-Ins} \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl}$ , (c)  $FP \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl}$ , (d)  $FI \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl}$ , (e)  $FP \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl} \rightarrow FI$ , (f)  $FI \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl} \rightarrow FI$ , (g)  $Se\text{-Pl} \rightarrow FI/A\text{-Ins} \rightarrow Se\text{-Pl}$ , (h)  $FI \rightarrow FI/A\text{-Ins}$ . This accounts for the varying position of the “antecedent” of *se* (sometimes to the left, sometimes to the right), as well as for the superficially asymmetric distribution of à (a, e versus b), as discussed earlier.

- (63) a. Le hasard a fait se connaître Jean et Marie.
- b. Jean s'est fait connaître à Marie.
- c. Jean s'est fait arrêter par la police.
- d. Jean s'est fait passer pour fou.

<sup>42</sup> The cyclic principle is, of course, neutral in the case of two transformations applying at the same level. For instance, in the derivation of (6), (8), (11), (13), both *Se-Pl* and FI/FP apply on the top S (with FI/FP first, as discussed in the corresponding text).

- e. Sa vanité a fait se faire photographier le frère de Jean.
  - f. Sa mère a fait se faire avorter la jeune fille.
  - g. Ils se faisaient se laver les mains.
  - h. Elle fait faire sauter des ponts à ses enfants.
- a. 'Chance made Jean and Marie meet each other.'
  - b. 'Jean made Marie know him.'
  - c. 'Jean got himself arrested by the police.'
  - d. 'Jean made himself pass for crazy.'
  - e. 'His vanity made Jean's brother get himself photographed.'
  - f. 'Her mother made the girl make herself miscarry.'
  - g. 'They were having each other wash their hands.'
  - h. 'She has her children make bridges blow up.'

Combined with the fact that these transformations never need to apply in any but cyclic fashion, this constitutes a strong argument for the principle of the transformational cycle.

The absence of grammatical sentences whose derivations would have required the application of transformations in an order incompatible with the cyclic principle can, of course, now be considered a consequence of the existence of that principle in linguistic theory. If there were no such principle, then one might expect there to exist not only (a)–(h) as orders of application but also others that would, in fact, be incompatible with a cyclic principle. A theory including the cycle thus has the advantage of (correctly) restricting the class of possible derivations.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> As compared with a theory specifying no constraints on ordering at all (that is, with any *T* allowed to apply anywhere in the tree anytime its SD were met). While such a theory would (by definition) be compatible with (a)–(h), it would be untenable in the general case (even apart from the problem of (60)–(61)), since the order of application is not free between the following rules (in each pair, the first mentioned is the earlier one): Cl-Pl and *Wh* Movement (chap. 4, examples (54) ff.); *Se*-Pl and Passive (chap. 5, examples (87) ff.); NP-Extrap and Cl-Pl (chap. 5, examples (99) ff.); Passive and Cl-Pl (chap. 5, examples (96) ff.); FI/A-Ins and *L-Tous* (chap. 3, example (76)); FI/A-Ins and Cl-Pl (chap. 4); Cl-Pl and the deletion rule of chap. 2, examples (338), (200); *L-Tous* and the same deletion (chap. 1, example (84)).

For each pair, one can, of course, attempt to find some abstract principle or property of the transformations involved from which the required ordering will follow (on the last two pairs, see fn. 43, chap. 1). In fact, precisely that approach was taken in section

The principle of the cycle provides at the same time an account of the ungrammaticality of (58)–(62), since those sentences could be derived only by contravening the principle of the cycle.<sup>44</sup>

The superficially exceptional facts about *se* presented in earlier sections of this chapter have thus been accounted for by the cyclic interaction of *Se-Pl* and *FI/A-Ins/FP*. The differences in behavior noted between *se* and the nonreflexive, nonreciprocal accusatives and datives have been accounted for by the postcyclicity of *Cl-Pl*, as compared with the cyclicity of *Se-Pl*. In the sense that the asymmetrical distribution of *se* in the *faire*-infinitive construction may be said to follow from the principle of the transformational cycle, our analysis has contributed toward the achievement of an explanatorily adequate linguistic theory.<sup>45</sup>

At the same time, this analysis provides a strong argument for the existence of the cycle as a principle of grammar.<sup>46</sup> In searching for potential linguistic universals, those principles are of greatest interest which can account in a simple way for an otherwise complicated mass

6.3 when we argued that an ordering restriction between *Se-Pl* and *LL* followed, given the cyclicity of *Se-Pl*, from the very principle of the transformational cycle.

A related observation is that the need for a special statement concerning the ordering between *FI/A-Ins* and *L-Tous*, *Cl-Pl* is obviated by the conjunction of the cyclicity of *FI/A-Ins* and postcyclicity of *L-Tous*, *Cl-Pl* (see fn. 6). Similarly, the ordering of *NP-Extrap* and *Passive* before *Cl-Pl* will follow from the postcyclicity of *Cl-Pl*, if the former two are cyclic.

We note, too, that the set of orders of application given in (63), to which can be added the *FI* → *FP* sentences of (131), chap. 3, would appear to refute the linear ordering conventions discussed in Kimball (1972).

<sup>44</sup> In (59)–(62), the contravention would derive in part from the obligatoriness of *Se-Pl*, *FI/A-Ins*. Notice too that (58) is the type of sentence which could constitute evidence for strict cyclicity (see fn. 5) if the rule in question were optional (*Se-Pl* is obligatory, though) and that, in any case, all the grammatical derivations under study have the cyclic transformations applying in “strict cyclic” fashion. Sentences (59) and (62) are actually twice excluded, since they violate the pronominalization constraint operative in (i) \**Je lui<sub>i</sub> parlerai des enfants de Jean<sub>i</sub>*; and so is (58), since \**se se* is an impossible clitic combination. [(i) ‘I’ll speak to him<sub>i</sub> of Jean<sub>i</sub>’s children.’]

<sup>45</sup> In the sense of Chomsky (1965, esp. pp. 35–36). For example (p. 35): “Real progress in linguistics consists in the discovery that certain features of given languages can be reduced to universal properties of language, and explained in terms of these deeper aspects of linguistic form.”

<sup>46</sup> For further discussion of the principle of the cycle, with reference to English, see Bresnan (1971b), Chomsky (1965; 1968; 1971), Jackendoff (1972), Postal (1970), Rosenbaum (1967), Ross (1967b).

of data. To the extent that this can be achieved in the context of a particular linguistic analysis, significant evidence is produced for the proposed linguistic universal, here the transformational cycle, as well as for those aspects of the grammar of the language which crucially interact with it, in this case the transformations developed in earlier chapters of this work, and, finally, for the linguistic theory that provided the framework in which we could formulate that analysis, that is, for the theory of transformational grammar.

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