

FRENCH CAUSATIVES IN LFG: ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENTS AS EVIDENCE OF SUBJECTHOOD PROPERTIES OF THE CAUSEE¹

BY JOSEPH LOVETRAN

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics Student

ABSTRACT

This paper covers one grammatical test for subjecthood in French. The relevance of this test is that it points to one of several pieces of grammatical data that call for a re-examination of the complex predicate analysis of the French causative construction in Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) and related theories. The essential claim is that the causee in all French causative constructions has at least one property of a grammatical subject.

1. Introduction

This paper covers one grammatical test for subjecthood in French. The relevance of this test is that it points to one of several pieces of grammatical data that call for a re-examination of the complex predicate analysis of the French causative construction in Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG) and related theories. The essential claim is that the causee in all French causative constructions has at least one property of a grammatical subject. Section 1.1 reviews some of the well-known data and some of the basic claims that have been made about the French causative construction. Section 1.2 is a long-winded analysis of a paper discussing one major problem for the monoclausal analysis in French and an attempt by Nicolas Yates (2002) to show how a biclausal functional-structure (f-structure) can account for the data. Although Yates' paper was the catalyst for my investigation, here I argue that his argument makes some unwarranted assumptions that are not inherent in my analysis. Section 2.1 briefly explains the concept of the grammatical test being applied here by reviewing Yo Matsumoto's (1992) work which applies a similar test to Japanese morphological causatives. Section 2.2 establishes that the test for subjecthood applies equally well in French and then goes on to apply the test to the causee. Section 3.1 looks at the implications of this analysis for writing a lexical entry for *faire*. Section 3.2 briefly examines the implications of a biclausal analysis for the similar *faire-par* construction.

1.1. Historical analysis of French causatives

Should a sentence with two verbs be considered one clause or two clauses? The most straightforward answer is that two predicates should equal two clauses. In French, as in other Romance languages, causatives clauses are periphrastically formed—normally consisting of the verb *faire* 'to do/make' and the infinitival form of another verb. However, certain elements of the French causative construction seem to behave as if the dual predicate construction (*faire* + infinitive) were monoclausal. What essentially makes the causative construction unique from a typical biclausal construction in French is the nature of the causee—that is, the “subject” of the embedded verb. The peculiar nature of the causee basically consists in its placement after the complement verb (in object position) and its propensity to be replaced by an accusative (or dative depending on the transitivity of the embedded verb) proclitic on the matrix verb *faire*.

Nicholas Yates (2002) summarizes what the following data demonstrate:

In simple terms, the causative predicate *faire* (to do, to make) takes an infinitive verb as complement, and apparently shares its arguments with the embedded predicate's arguments. If the embedded verb is intransitive, its subject will be expressed as the causative's direct object. If the infinitive verb is transitive, its subject will be expressed either as an indirect *à*-object or as a *par*-phrase (the typical agent complement phrase in French). These are the possible functions that can be occupied by what has been called the 'causee' role. All other arguments keep their grammatical function but seem to be complements to the causative verb.

¹ This paper was written under the teaching of Paul Kroeger who taught me everything I know about syntax. I wish to thank him for his time and effort in reading and suggesting revisions to this paper.

Below are two sentence of a standard control type². Although the transitivity of the complement verb changes, the construction remains the same. The Actor³ of the complement verb shows up as the OBJ of the matrix verb.

Control construction with an intransitive embedded verb (Rooryck 1990:1):

- (1) J' ai forcé **Arnaud** à partir.
 'I 'have' 'forced' 'Arnaud' 'to' 'leave.INF'
 SUBJ OBJ
 'I forced Arnaud to leave.'

Control construction with a transitive embedded verb (Abeillé 1997):

- (2) Paul convaincra **Marie** de lire Proust.
 'Paul' 'convince.FUT' 'Marie' 'of' 'read.INF' 'Proust'
 SUBJ OBJ OBJ
 Paul will convince Marie to read Proust.

The difference in causative constructions is demonstrated below in (3), (4) and (5). The most obvious difference is that the Actor of the complement verb (causee) is showing up after both verbs, not before the infinitive. A second difference is that when the embedded verb is transitive, the causee of that verb shows up in dative case (a secondary object).

As pointed out by Judith Aissen in 1974, the grammatical function of the causee seems to follow Comrie's Grammatical Relation Hierarchy in the same manner as most morphological causatives behave. That is, the grammatical relation of the causee defers to the grammatical relations that are already inherent in the subcategorization of the embedded verb. It selects its role according to its preference for being an OBJ over an OBJ2 as long as selecting that relation does not violate the Well-Formedness Condition of Uniqueness (each Grammatical Relation can only be selected once by a single verb). The following chart shows the pattern of causee assignment that seems to holds true both for the periphrastic construction in French and the morphological construction in Turkish and other languages.

GR Hierarchy	Embedded Verb Subcategorization	Grammatical Relation of Causee
SUBJ	<SUBJ>	OBJ
OBJ	<SUBJ, OBJ>	OBJ2
OBJ2	<SUBJ, OBJ2>	OBJ

2 It is worth noting that another difference between these control (Equi) constructions and the *faire* constructions is the presence of an additional particle before the infinitive (*à* or *de*). This is usually ignored when comparing the two types of constructions. Part of the reason may be the confusion between *laisser* 'to let' and other control verbs. Examples like *Jean a laissé Marie partir*. 'John has let Marie leave.' (Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, in Kroeger) are sometimes cited to show a minimal contrast in word order of the agent of the infinitive verb. However, *laisser* is not a normal control verb. It can also take on the causative form in examples like *J'ai laissé manger le gâteau à un enfant*. 'I let the child eat the cake.' (Hyman & Zimmer 1976) A unique feature of non-causative *laisser* constructions (as opposed to normal control constructions) is that they can not be passivized which may mean that the verb takes a sentential complement and does not involve any control at all. While the appearance of the particles *à* and *de* in control constructions is not relevant to proving the subjecthood of the causee, it does have potential for helping to explain why the biclausal f-structure of *faire* sentences has a different c-structure than other biclausal sentences.

3 I use the term "Actor" here to refer to all "external arguments" such as agent and experiencer. All of the examples given are for agent-patient verbs but I am claiming the same thing holds true for experiencer-stimulus verbs.

Causative construction with an intransitive embedded verb (Roberts 1979:5):

- (3) Vous faites rire **vos amis**.
 'you' 'make' laugh.INF' 'your' 'friends'
 SUBJ OBJ
 'You make your friends laugh.'

Causative construction with an embedded transitive verb (Tily, French):

- (4) Le prof fait lire Proust **à l'élève**.
 'the teacher' 'makes' 'to.read' 'Proust' 'the.student.DAT'
 SUBJ OBJ OBJ2
 'The teacher makes the student read Proust.'

Causative construction with an embedded verb with an OBJ2 but no OBJ in its arguments (Yates 2002):

- (5) Pierre a fait téléphoner **Marie** à Paul.
 'Pierre' 'has' 'made' 'call.INF' 'Marie' 'Paul.DAT'
 SUBJ OBJ OBJ2
 'Pierre made Mary call Paul'

These facts have led syntacticians in the transformational tradition to repeatedly offered fairly regular and comprehensive transformational rules to explain how two argument structures come to appear as one through a series of transformations affecting the functional relations of the arguments (Kayne 1975, Roberts 1979). LFG has thrown out transformations as an a priori assumption. Therefore, within the LFG framework, the difference between control constructions and the causative construction can no longer be explained as two clauses becoming one (i.e. transformation).

The analysis that has become predominate in LFG is that the French causative construction behaves like morphological causatives in other languages and thus should be analyzed as a monoclausal construction (Kroeger 2004:222, Bratt 1990, Manning 2002). Therefore, the monoclausal argument structure of a causative sentence can be thought of as two lexical entries becoming one complex predicate. For example, a causative sentence containing two verbs is limited to one subject and one object as if it had only one argument-structure. This is notably different from the more typical control construction which is clearly biclausal in every sense and allows two objects.

How exactly the argument-structure of faire combines with its infinitival complement has not been demonstrated. The appeal to this approach comes from the pattern of how the causee is grammatically signaled. In most cases it seems that the causee is being assigned “differential” case—that is the next available grammatical function on the Grammatical Relation Hierarchy based on the argument-structure of the embedded infinitive (Tily & Sag 2006, Kroeger 2004:222). The pattern, however, fails when a verb with three arguments is embedded in a causative construction. In that case, the causee is still assigned dative case (i.e. secondary object).

(Roberts 1979:135)

- (6) J'ai fait envoyer à l'avocat les documents sur la table **à Paul**.
 'I.have' 'made' 'send.INF' 'the.lawyer.DAT' 'the' 'documents' 'on' 'the' 'table' 'Paul.DAT'
 SUBJ OBJ2 OBJ OBJ2
 'I had Paul send to the lawyer the documents on the table.'

The table below gives a complete overview of how the use of the Grammatical Relation Hierarchy fails to correctly predict the grammatical relation of the causee. Not only does it fail to make the correct predication but

the resulting sentence, if monoclausal, clearly violates the Well-Formedness Condition of Uniqueness.⁴

GR Hierarchy	Embedded Verb Subcategorization	Grammatical Relation of Causee
SUBJ	<SUBJ>	OBJ
OBJ	<SUBJ, OBJ>	OBJ2
OBJ2	<SUBJ, OBJ2>	OBJ
OBL	<SUBJ, OBJ, OBJ2>	OBJ2 (not OBL)

1.2. A recent biclausal argument in LFG

This discrepancy is precisely what Yates points out as his motivation for a biclausal analysis of the f-structure. Of course, within a monoclausal analysis it may be possible to argue that these complex predicates are the only predicates in French which happen to allow two types of secondary object in their subcategorization (i.e. OBJrec and OBJcausee). In order to show that the two dative NPs are actually part of separate clauses, Yates appeals to clitic placement.

The placement of pronominal object clitics is a feature of French grammar that has been used as evidence for a complex predicate analysis of the causative construction. Accusative and Dative pronouns (OBJ and OBJ2) are, in simple clauses, pronounced as proclitics on the verb of which they are an argument. In regular biclausal sentences we see that the object of the subordinate clause appears as a clitic on the embedded verb, not the matrix verb. By contrast, in a causative construction the object of the sentence will appear as a clitic on the first verb faire.

Biclausal construction with object of embedded verb as a clitic (Rouveret & Vergnaud 1980, in Kroeger):

- (7) Marie a laissé Paul **les** lire.
 'Marie' 'has' 'let' 'Paul' '3pl.ACC' 'read'
 'Marie has let Paul read them.'

Causative construction with the object as a clitic:

- (8) Pierre **les** fera acheter à Jean.
 'Pierre' '3pl.ACC' 'will.make' 'buy.INF' 'Jean.DAT'
 'Pierre will make Jean buy them.'

What the monoclausal analysis claims is happening here is that the arguments of the clause are being shared by one complex predicate so therefore the clitics show up at the beginning of the complex predicate. Yates shows why this is not a consistent analysis. In the examples below he demonstrates that there are restrictions on what types of OBJ2 can be cliticized on the matrix verb.

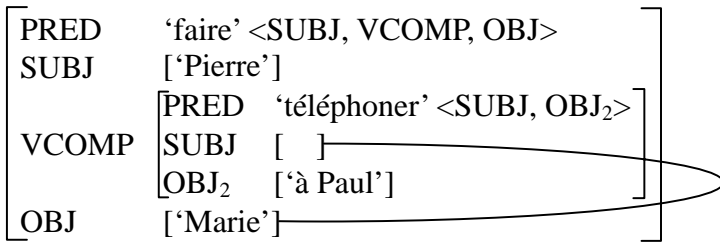
(Yates 2002)

- (9) Pierre a fait téléphoner Marie à Paul.
 'Pierre' 'has' 'made' 'call.INF' 'Marie' 'Paul.DAT'
 causer causee recipient
 'Pierre made Mary call Paul'

⁴ This fact can be obscured by the *faire-par* construction which does use an OBL for the causee and seems to be a stylistically preferred construction over the “double dative” sentence (Bratt 1990:12). The use of *faire-par* is not relevant here since it is consistently considered distinct from the *faire* + infinitive construction and the “double dative” causative sentences, as in (6), are consistently accepted as grammatical.

- (10) *Pierre lui a fait téléphoner Marie.
 'Pierre' '3sg.DAT' 'has' 'made' 'call.INF' 'Marie'
 causer recipient causee
 'Pierre made Mary call him.'

What Yates claims to demonstrate in the examples above is that in some sentences (though not all) the dative recipient can not be cliticized on the first verb while in other sentences it can be cliticized on faire. The explanation that Yates offers for all clitic placement is that the clitic will appear on the verb for which it appears in the same clause of the functional-structure: "Only the functional relations directly subcategorized for by the causative predicate can appear as clitics." (Yates 2002) The dative recipient in this sentence is only an argument of *téléphoner* so it can not appear as a clitic on faire.

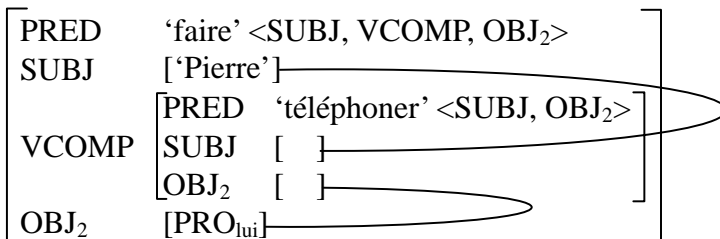


Yates' explanation seems to give a much more natural and comprehensive account of clitic placement in contrast with a monoclausal analysis that is forced to allow idiosyncratic exceptions for dative clitics. Unfortunately there are major gaps in his analysis of clitic placement. One fault with his claim is that it predicts that the clitic *lui* referring to the recipient should be cliticized on the infinitive verb. This in fact, does not happen, except in non-standard dialects (Fauconnier 1996, Abeillé 1997). Another problem is the following counter-example which gets three sentences of attention in his paper.

(Yates 2002)

- (11) Pierre lui a fait téléphoner
 'Pierre' '3sg.DAT' 'has' 'made' 'call.INF'
 causer recipient/causee
 'Pierre made him call (someone).' / 'Peter had (someone) call him.'

By showing that the dative clitic on *faire* can be interpreted as a recipient in absence of a stated causee Yates undermines his explanation of why recipients are sometimes prohibited from becoming a clitic.⁵ The only way he can maintain his claim that cliticisation is determined by f-structure is either to claim that the recipient is no longer an argument in the VCOMP or that for some unknown reason, the recipient can become an argument of the matrix clause when the OBJ is not stated and also controls the recipient of the embedded clause.



5 The interpretation of the dative clitic in this sentence as the recipient is likely the only standard interpretation. In the standard dialect the causee only takes dative case when the embedded verb subcategorizes for an object. In non-standard dialects there may be some optional variation with slight semantic difference. See Bratt (1990) example 18b or the paper on the differences between the standard and non-standard version of causatives by Abeillé, Godard, and Miller (1997).

Even without the above complication, Yates' analysis requires any causative construction with an embedded transitive verb to use control twice between the same clauses. This "double control" is a very convenient, but unattested phenomenon cross-linguistically and is likely too good to be true.⁶

While Yates does not provide a very convincing case for a biclausal f-structure he does succeed in cracking the foundation of arguments for monoclausality based on clitic placement. In addition to the problem of recipients, others have shown that reflexive clitics can also create exceptions to a complex predicate analysis where the patient of the embedded clause becomes a clitic on the complement instead of the matrix verb. Example (13) shows that the OBJ (an accusative clitic) can be cliticized on the embedded verb when the reflexive *se* clitic is also present, instead of before *faire* as in example (12) and most *faire* + infinitive constructions. This adds another layer of complication to the claim that the clitic placement reveals that causative constructions are monoclausal. The reflexive constructions must be either an exception to the clitic placement rule or an exception to monoclausality.

(Müller 2004)

- (12) Jean les fait laver aux enfants
 'Jean' 'them.ACC' 'made' 'wash.INF' 'the children.DAT'
 'Jean makes the children wash them.'

(Tily 2006)

- (13) Il fait se les laver aux enfants
 'he' 'makes' SE 'them.ACC' 'wash.INF' 'the children.DAT'
 'He makes the children wash them (*their hands*).'

Even though some of the evidence from clitic placement is highly suggestive of some type of complex predicate, we can see that there are several exceptions that are difficult to account for if the claim for a single predicate is based on clitic placement. Under the assumption that clitic placement is going to be a complex issue in either a monoclausal or biclausal analysis, the simplest analysis would be that of a biclausal f-structure that avoids the complication of trying to combine two predicates into one argument structure. One consequence of the biclausal analysis, as seen above, is that the f-structure now involves control. If the causee is an OBJ (or OBJ₂) of the matrix clause and also functions as the SUBJ of the complement clause then we should expect to find that, in addition to being an OBJ (as evidenced by its accusative clitic form) it also should have some properties of a grammatical SUBJ. The next section looks at a specific test for subjecthood to prove that this is true of the causee in French causatives.

2. Adverbial tests for subjecthood

2.1. Japanese morphological causatives

In his work in Japanese, Matsumoto (1992) applies several different tests for subjecthood to the causee of the types of morphological causatives that he claims have biclausal f-structures in Japanese. The reasoning behind his claim is that if the causee can have the properties of a grammatical subject, then it must, somewhere in the f-structure, take the function of subject. One of these tests can also be applied to French causatives to show that they are also functionally biclausal. Matsumoto found an adjunctival clause in Japanese whose subject must be controlled by a matrix subject.

(Matsumoto 1992:177)

⁶ My analysis below will prove the control relation for the causee (OBJ or OBJ₂ controlling SUBJ) but does not require that other arguments of the clause be in both clauses. Although at this point there is no evidence for "double control" it might still be possible to prove that it is, in fact, necessary to posit an OBJ to OBJ control when the lower verb is transitive. If other grounds can be found for establishing this type of control then Yates' analysis of clitic placement might be the most comprehensive analysis of clitic placement in French. My analysis of the subjecthood of the causee does not make any claims about the other arguments in the sentence. Therefore, since at this point there is no evidence for OBJ to OBJ control, I will assume below that the object of the infinitive in a *faire* + infinitive construction is an object of the lower clause only in spite of the fact that it becomes a clitic on *faire*.

- (14) Sensee wa Jon ni [odayakana hyoojoo de]_{PP} sono hon o yom-ase-ta
 teacher TOP John DAT mild expression INST the book ACC read-CAUS-PAST
 'With mild expressions, the teacher had John read the book.' (ambiguous)

In a non-causative monoclausal sentence the phrase “with mild expressions” could not refer to the object (DAT or ACC). Here, John could be interpreted as the one “with mild expressions”. That means that “John” is taking on a characteristic which is only true of grammatical subjects elsewhere in the language. There is another type of causative construction, which Matsumoto describes as monoclausal in its f-structure, for which there is no ambiguity in the interpretation of the adjunct clause. In (15) the teacher is the only subject (TOP) and is the only one that can be interpreted as controlling the adjunct.

- (15) Sensee wa Jon ni odayakana hyoojoo de sono hon o yom-ase ni natta.
 'teacher.TOP' 'John.DAT' 'mild' 'expression.INST' 'the' 'book.ACC' 'H.read.CAUS.COP' 'become.PAST'
 'With mild expressions, the teacher made John read the book.'

The implication is that example (15) exhibits a monoclausal f-structure with only one subject while example (14) has a biclausal f-structure with two subjects under the reading that interprets the causee as the controller of the adjunct.

2.2. Adverbial test applied to French causatives
 a) Subject-oriented adverbial clauses

In French, certain adverbial clauses can only be understood as being controlled by the grammatical subject of the matrix verb.

(Kayne 1975:215)

- (16) Elle a quitté **sans rien dire** son meilleur ami
 'She' 'has left' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF' 'her' 'best' 'friend'
 'She left her best friend without saying anything.'

Just as in the English translation, it would be impossible to interpret the object ('friend') as being the agent of the infinitival adverbial clause. The question remains, is the control relationship determined by grammatical function, or by contextual and semantic evidence for who the controllee is most likely to be describing? Hypothetically, it would be possible to say something like: “She left her friend without her friend saying anything,” but perhaps that is a less likely scenario. A further test that can be done to see if this clause really needs to be controlled by a subject would be to concoct a sentence where there is no possible way that the context would imply that the adverbial clause is referring to the subject but is more logically connected with the object. If the native speaker's interpretation is based solely upon context than we would expect them to be able to naturally interpret the sentence with the object as the controller of the adverbial clause's subject. However, if the relationship is determined by an inflexible rule that stipulates that the subject of the matrix clause controls the subject of the adverbial complement then we would expect a sentence with a subject that can't logically or semantically fit as the subject of the complement clause to crash—to be ungrammatical. That is precisely what we find.

(Kayne 1975:215)

- (17) *Ton arrivée a surpris **sans rien dire** Jean
 'your' 'arrival' 'has surprised' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF' 'Jean'
 *'Your arrival has surprised Jean without saying anything.'

The above sentence is ungrammatical because “without saying anything” insists on referring to “your arrival” but since an event does not have vocal cords the sentence cannot have any sensible interpretation. While it seems clear from this evidence that the subject of this adverbial clause must be controlled by the matrix subject, there is one further counter-argument that needs to be addressed. It is possible to propose that the pattern we are seeing is not one of grammatical relations, but of semantic roles. Perhaps it is not the grammatical subject, but

the Actor that controls the matrix clause. This will be a crucial point in applying the test to the causative construction because, even in a monoclausal analysis, the clause has two Actors: a causer and a causee. This can be tested by adding the same adverbial clause to a passive sentence in which the patient has become the subject and the Actor has become an oblique argument. If the interpretation of the controllee in the complement clause is based on the semantic role than we would expect the oblique argument (agent) of the matrix clause to be the controller. However, if the interpretation is based on grammatical functions than the subject of the passivized matrix clause (the semantic patient) will still control the complement. The latter is precisely what we find. The only interpretation of the following sentence is that “Paul”—the grammatical subject—is controlling the subject of the adverbial complement despite being the semantic patient.⁷

(18) Paul a été embrassé par Marie **sans rien dire.**

'Paul' 'has' 'been' 'kissed' 'by' 'Marie' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF'

'Paul was kissed by Marie without saying anything.'

It may also be worth noting that constituent order does not affect the interpretation of this clause either. In any grammatical ordering of the constituents, the adverbial phrase is always interpreted as being controlled by the subject.

(19) Paul a été embrassé **sans rien dire** par Marie.

'Paul' 'has' 'been' 'kissed' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF' 'by' 'Marie'

'Paul was kissed by Marie without saying anything.'

(20) Paul a **sans rien dire** été embrassé par Marie.

'Paul' 'has' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF' 'been' 'kissed' 'by' 'Marie'

'Paul was, without saying anything, kissed by Marie.'

While it seems clear that a subject must control the adjunct clause there is one other possible interpretation that would apply directly to causees. Perhaps the control is defined by the Actor with the restriction that the controller must also be a term argument of the verb—not an oblique. This is a crucial distinction because an analysis of French causatives involving a merging of two verbs in one argument structure results in a subcategorization where the causee is an agent and still a term (OBJ or OBJ2). In order to test this hypothesis we will add an adverbial clause to a sentence that has a subject but no agent: *Il pleut*. 'It is raining.'

(Coulomb 1829:201)

(21) Il pleut **sans discontinuer.**

'It' 'rains' 'without' 'discontinue.INF'

'It rains constantly.'

In the above sentence, and many like it, we see that there is no Actor involved at all, yet the “dummy subject” pronounced to make the sentence grammatical also allows the addition of an adverbial clause. Therefore, the only requirement for this type of *sans* + infinitive adverbial clause is that it can be controlled by a grammatical subject.

b) Adverbial control in causatives

We can now turn to what this test can tell us about the causative construction. This paper is essentially contrasting two possible interpretations of the f-structure of the causative construction. In the monoclausal analysis each argument in the sentence plays a single grammatical role according to the subcategorization of a complex predicate. In the biclausal analysis, the causer and causee are selected by the subcategorization of the matrix verb *faire* but additional arguments are selected by the embedded verb. In addition, the causee controls a grammatical function in the complement clause. (See footnote 6 above for discussion of the non-causee

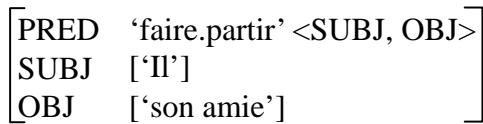
⁷ The following sentences in this section are my own and have been verified by at least two mother-tongue French speakers from France via email.

arguments.)

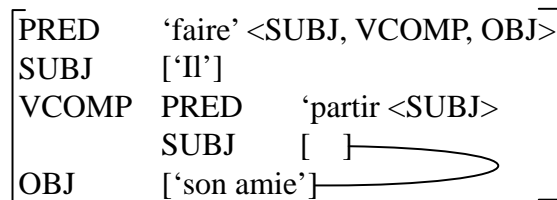
(Kayne 1975: 203, translation mine)

- (22) Il a fait partir son amie.
 'He' 'made' 'to leave' 'his friend'
 'He made his friend leave.'

Monoclausal f-structure:



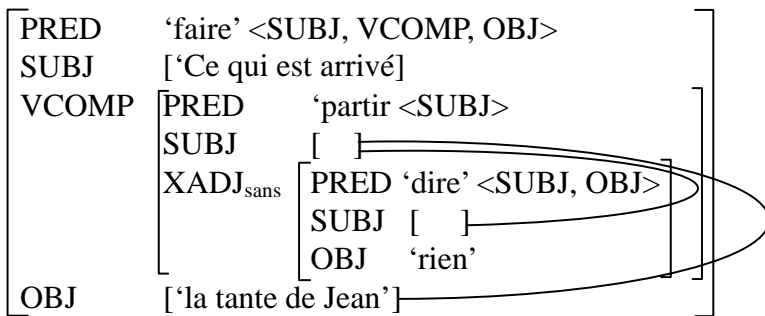
Biclausal f-structure:



If the causee in the monoclausal analysis is exclusively functioning as an object of the complex predicate we should find that the adverbial complement clause *sans rien dire* would not accept the causee as its controller since it requires a subject. On the other hand, if the biclausal analysis is correct than we should find that the causee can freely be interpreted as the controller of the adverbial clause subject. The latter is precisely what we find, giving strong evidence in favor of a biclausal analysis.

(Kayne 1975:216)

- (23) Ce qui est arrivé a fait partir sans rien dire la tante de Jean.
 'That' 'which' 'is' 'arrived' 'has' 'made' 'leave' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF' 'the' 'aunt' 'of' 'Jean'
 'What happened made John's aunt leave without saying anything.'



This contrasts sharply with the non-causative example where an inanimate subject made the sentence ungrammatical because it couldn't logically be the control of the adjunct—as in (17) repeated below as (24). That means that the interpretation of the controller is not based on a hierarchy where the object becomes an acceptable controller if the subject is not plausible.

- (24) *Ton arrivée a surpris sans rien dire Jean
 'your' 'arrival' 'has surprised' 'without' 'nothing' 'say.INF' 'Jean'
 *'Your arrival arrival has surprised Jean without saying anything.'

3. Implications

3.1. Faire-par in a biclausal analysis

It is interesting to note that a biclausal analysis also seems to correspond with the well known semantic contrast that Hyman and Zimmer (1976) have pointed out between a causee marked in dative case versus the oblique agent marking (par). The biclausal f-structure offers a possible explanation for this distinction by placing the oblique agent in the complement clause with no role in the matrix clause.

(Hyman & Zimmer 1976)

(25) J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes au général.
 'I.have' 'made' 'clean.INF' 'the' 'toilets' 'to.DAT.the' 'general'
 'I made the general clean the toilets.'

(26) J'ai fait nettoyer les toilettes par le général
 'I.have' 'made' 'clean.INF' 'the' 'toilets' 'by' 'the' 'general'
 'I had the toilets cleaned by the general.'

Dative causee:

Oblique causee:

<p>PRED 'faire' <SUBJ, VCOMP, OBJ₂> SUBJ ['Je'] VCOMP PRED 'nettoyer' <SUBJ, OBJ> SUBJ [] OBJ [toilettes] OBJ₂ ['général']</p>	<p>PRED 'faire' <SUBJ, VCOMP, OBJ> SUBJ ['Je'] VCOMP PRED 'nettoyer_{PASS}' <SUBJ, OBL_{agt}> SUBJ [] OBL_{agt} [général] OBJ [toilettes]</p>	}
--	---	---

Two major assumptions are being made under this analysis. One is that the complement verb in the faire-par construction is passive even though there is none of the normal morphological evidence of the passive—a copular verb and past participle morphology (Bratt 1990:19). The other, also mentioned above, is that the OBJ in the faire + infinitive construction only has a grammatical relation to the lower verb even though its pronominal form is an accusative proclitic on faire.

3.2. Lexical entries for faire

Another implication of this analysis is that the complication of trying to explain how two lexical entries become one has been traded for the task of writing lexical entries for faire that allow it to subcategorize for different grammatical relations depending on the subcategorization of its embedded clause. Yates (2002) picks up on this and makes a rather complete attempt to write entries for the verb allowing “double control” (see footnote 6 for why I have not taken this approach). In my account the lexical entries for faire only need to account for a control relationship for two types of causees: OBJ or OBJ₂. All other arguments in a causative structure are analyzed as being selected by the complement verb.

These two entries can also account for the similar faire-par construction where the object (i.e. the toilets in (26)) is selected by faire but the OBL_{agt} is selected by the embedded verb so does not need to be a part of the lexical entry for faire. In either case, faire need only have three arguments: the subject, the causee, and the complement clause. Of course, additional entries would be needed for other uses of faire such as the basic meaning of ‘to do/make’.

Modified version of Yates’ (2002) lexical entries for faire:

Intransitive VCOMP or transitive passive VCOMP (faire-par):

faire1, V : Pred = 'faire' <SUBJ, VCOMP, OBJ>
 (↑OBJ = ↑VCOMP SUBJ)

Transitive VCOMP :

faire2, V : Pred = 'faire' <SUBJ, VCOMP, OBJ2>
 (↑OBJ2 = ↑VCOMP SUBJ)

4. Conclusion

In a sense, this paper is a return to what was observed by the transformationalists when they claimed that the causee was a subject in deep-structure (Kayne 1957, Roberts 1979). It doesn't necessarily return to the theory, but to the basic evidence that motivated the transformations proposed. In returning to the evidence, we find a fatal flaw in the functionally monoclausal analysis of French causatives. This does not necessarily imply a weakness in the LFG model—it shows a weakness in the monoclausal analysis. In pointing to the weakness of this analysis, the evidence also showcases the strength of LFG's separating the functional-structure from the constituent-structure.

This paper has only looked at the grammatical evidence and its implications for the functional structure. If the analysis is correct then its claims must drive the theory behind writing lexical entries for faire and similar verbs. Under the biclausal interpretation, there has been at least one attempt to encode the lexical entry for faire within LFG (Yates 2002). The more complex question would be regarding the relationship between the f-structure and c-structure. Why is it that control constructions and causative constructions can have apparently identical f-structures but still require different word orders and exhibit different cliticisation patterns? As Yates puts it: "...there is, at some point, a structural mismatch between an embedded and a flat representation. ...this mismatch should not be between a[rgument]- and f-structure, it has to be between f-structure and c[onstituent]-structure."

References

- Abeillé, Anne, Danièle Godard, and Philip Miller. 1997. *Les causatives en français: un cas de compétition syntaxique*. *Langue Française* 115. 62-74. Online: www.persee.fr
- Abeillé, Anne, Danièle Godard, and Ivan A. Sag. online ms. (to appear, 'Two Kinds of Composition in French Complex Predicates', in Erhard Hinrichs, Andreas Kathol and Tsuneko Nakazawa eds., *Complex Predicates in Nonderivational Syntax*, New York: Academic Press.)
<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Paola.Monachesi/personal/ESSLLI01/abgod.pdf>
- de Alencar, Leonel F & Carmen Kelling. 2005. *Are Reflexive Constructions Transitive or Intransitive? Evidence from German and Romance*. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, eds., *On-Line Proceedings of the LFG05 Conference*.
<http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/LFG/10/lfg05alencarkelling.pdf>
- Bratt, Elizatbeth. 1990. *The French Causative Construction in HPSG*. ms Stanford University.
- Coulomb, Charles Augustin. 1829. *L'introducteur Français, Or First Principles of the French Language*. New Haven: A.H. Maltby. Online at books.google.com
- Fauconnier, Gilles and Mark Turner. 1996. *Blending as a Central Process of Grammar*. In Goldberg, Adele, ed., *Conceptual Structure, Discourse, and Language*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information (CSLI) [distributed by Cambridge University Press]. Pages 113-129. Expanded web version (1998): <http://markturner.org/centralprocess.WWW/centralprocess.html>
- Frank, Anette. 1996. *A note on complex predicate formation: Evidence from auxiliary selection, reflexivization, and past participle agreement in French and Italian*. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, eds., *On-Line Proceedings of the First LFG Conference*.
<http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/LFG/1/frank.ps>.
- Hyman, Larry and Karl Zimmer. 1976. *Embedded Topic in French*. In C. N. Li, ed. *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press. 189-211.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1975. *French Syntax: The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Kroeger, Paul R. 2004. *Analyzing Syntax: A Lexical-Functional Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manning, Christopher D. 1992. *Romance is So Complex*. Technical Report CSLI-92-168, Center for the Study of Language and Information, Stanford University.
<http://nlp.stanford.edu/manning/papers/romance.pdf>
- Matsumoto, Yo. 1992. *On the Wordhood of Complex Predicates in Japanese*. PhD dissertation. Stanford University.
- Matsumoto, Yo. 1998. *A Reexamination of the Cross-linguistic Parameterization of Causative Predicates: Japanese Perspectives*. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, eds., *Proceedings of the LFG98 Conference*, Stanford CA: CSLI.
<http://64.233.179.104/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=cache:GEX9CbL0TQcJ:www-csli.stanford.edu/publications/LFG3/matsumoto.ps+matsumoto,+yo+causative>
- Müller, Natascha. 2004. *Argumentreduktion im Französischen und Italienischen*. In Kailuweit, Rold and Martin Hummel, eds., *Semantische Rollen*. Tübingen: G. Narr. Online at books.google.com
- Roberts, James S. 1979. *French Causatives in Generative Syntax*. PhD dissertation. Georgetown University.

- Rooryck, Johan. 1990. *On the distinction between raising and control*. In Paul Hirschbühler & Konrad Koerner, eds., *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*. Papers from the 20th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Ottawa, 10 - 14 April, 1990 (1992), 225-250, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Online: <https://www.openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/1252>
- Rouveret, Alain and Jean-Roger Vergnaud. 1980. *Specifying reference to the subject: French causatives and conditions on representations*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 11:97-202.
- Ruwet, Nicolas. 1991. *Syntax and Human Experience*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tily, Harry. 2006. *French Null Instantiation and the Causative Construction*. online ms. Stanford University.
<http://www.stanford.edu/dept/linguistics/qp-fest/2006/abstracts/TilyQPFest2006Abstract.pdf>
- Tily, Harry and Ivan Sag. 2006. *A Unified Analysis of French Causatives*. online ms. Stanford University.
<http://www.bultreebank.org/HPSG06/paper21.pdf>
- Yates, Nicholas. 2002. *French Causatives: a Biclausal Account in LFG*. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, eds., *On-Line Proceedings of the LFG02 Conference*.
<http://cslipublications.stanford.edu/LFG/7/lfg02yates-num.pdf>