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## Licensing Conditions of the French Reflexive Clitic

Takeshi Fujita

### 0. Introduction

The syntax of the French reflexive clitic "se" has been a major topic since the emergence of early generative grammar. When it appears in a causative construction, it demonstrates a complex pattern of grammatical characteristics. This paper outlines an analysis of the reflexive clitic "se" in a causative construction. The analysis crucially relies on the analysis of the French causative construction discussed in T. Fujita (1994), which is based on the Minimalist Program in Chomsky(1992).

The paper is organized as follows: In Section 1, the relevant data are presented. In Section 2, the preceding analyses of the clitic "se" will be briefly outlined and I will discuss several problems. In Section 3, the basic concepts in the Minimalist Program which are relevant to the analysis are introduced. In Section 4, I will present a new analysis of the grammatical characteristics of "se".

### 1. The data

Contained in a causative construction, "se" manifests quite an intricate complex network of distribution. Non-reflexive accusative clitics in a causative constructions are cliticized in the main verb "faire", the embedded subject (causee) marked by the preposition "à" or "par".

(1) a. Jean l'a fait manger à/par Pierre.

it made eat to/by

"Jean made Pierre eat it."

b. \*Jean a fait le manger à/par Pierre.

c. \*Jean l'a fait manger Pierre.

d. \*Jean a fait le manger Pierre.

By contrast, the position of the reflexive accusative clitic "se", appearing in a causative construction, depends on whether the antecedent of "se" is the main subject or the embedded subject. When the antecedent is the main subject, "se" is cliticized in the main verb. In this case, it should be noted that the causee is marked by "par", not by "à", nor does it appear in its basic form, that is, without any preposition.

(2) a. Marie : se fait laver par la bonne.

SELF makes wash by the servant

"Marie has herself washed by the servant."

b. Marie : s : 'est fait coiffer par la coiffeuse.

SELF made cut-hair by the barber

"Marie had her hair cut by the barber."

(3) a. \*Marie : fait se : laver par la bonne.

b. \*Marie : a fait se : coiffer par la coiffeuse.

(4) a. \*Marie : se : fait laver à la bonne.

to

b. \*Marie : s : 'est fait coiffer à la coiffeuse.

to

(5) a. \*Marie : fait se : laver à la bonne.

b. \*Marie : a fait se : coiffer à la coiffeuse.

(6) a. \*Marie : se : fait laver la bonne.

b. \*Marie : s : 'est fait coiffer la coiffeuse.

(7) a. \*Marie : fait se : laver la bonne.

b. \*Marie : a fait se : coiffer la coiffeuse.

When the antecedent of "se" is the embedded subject, "se" is cliticized in the embedded verb  
The embedded subject appears in its basic form, not marked by any preposition.

(8) a. Cela a fait se : tuer Paul : .

that made SE kill

"That made Paul kill himself."

b. Jean fait se : laver les enfants : .

makes SE wash the children

"Jean makes the children wash themselves."

(9) a. \*Cela a fait se : tuer à Paul : .

b. \*Jean fait se : laver aux enfants : .

(10) a. \*Cela a fait se : tuer par Paul : .

b. \*Jean fait se : laver par les enfants : .

(11) a. \*Cela s : 'est fait tuer Paul : .

b. \*Jean se : fait laver les enfants : .

(12) a. \*Cela s <sub>i</sub> 'est fait tuer à Paul <sub>i</sub> .

b. \*Jean se <sub>i</sub> fait laver aux enfants <sub>i</sub> .

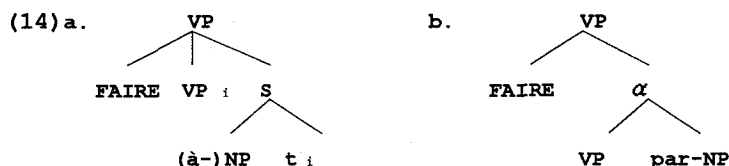
(13) a. \*Cela s <sub>i</sub> 'est fait tuer par Paul <sub>i</sub> .

b. \*Jean se <sub>i</sub> fait laver par les enfants <sub>i</sub> .

In the next section, I briefly sketch the preceding analyses of these data.

## 2. Preceding analyses

Kayne(1975) et al. have analyzed the distribution of "se" in a causative construction in the framework of early generative grammar, but their analyses cannot be accepted in the current framework, especially within the Minimalist Program. In the framework of the GB theory, Burzio(1986) analyzed this phenomenon most extensively. Burzio suggests the following structures of the causative construction.



In this structure (14a), the embedded VP adjoins to the main VP. This movement of the embedded VP explains the inversion of the subject and VP in the embedded clause. Based on this analysis, Burzio explains the following examples:

(2) a. Marie <sub>i</sub> se <sub>i</sub> fait laver par la bonne .

b. Marie <sub>i</sub> s <sub>i</sub> 'est fait coiffer par la coiffeuse .

(4) a. \*Marie <sub>i</sub> se <sub>i</sub> fait laver à la bonne .

b. \*Marie <sub>i</sub> s <sub>i</sub> 'est fait coiffer à la coiffeuse .

In (14a), "à NP" is the subject of the embedded clause in D-structure, while in (14b), "par NP" isn't. Therefore, (4) is excluded by the violation of the Specified Subject Condition.

But this analysis predicts that the embedded subject follows PP when the embedded verb is intransitive.

(15) \*Jean a fait sortir de sa chambre Marie .

made leave from her room

"Jean made Marie leave her room."

In direct contrast to this prediction, the subject precedes PP in the embedded clause, as (16) shows.

(16) Jean a fait sortir Marie de sa chambre.

In order to generate the order such as (16), some rearrangement rule is needed, but its basis is unclear. Furthermore, Burzio proposes the following Dativization rule in terms of the linear order, but this rule predicts that "à NP" appears in other constructions than the causative, such as (18).

(17) Dativization: NP NP → NP à NP

(18) \*Il a appelé son fils à Paul.

he called his son to

"He called his son Paul."

cf. Il a appelé son fils Paul.

Based on the observations above, it cannot be said that Burzio's analysis defines the syntactic characteristics of "à NP" in a causative construction comprehensively.

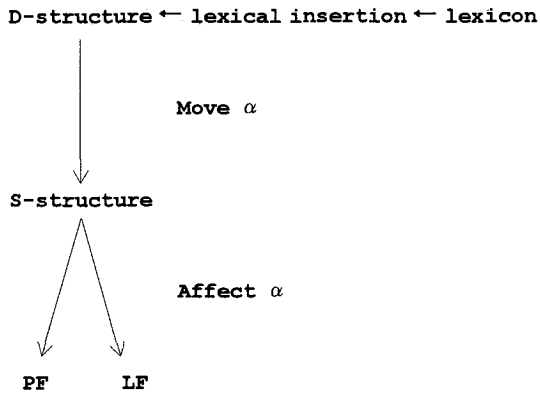
### 3. The Minimalist Program

The analysis in this paper relies on the importance of the Minimalist Program proposed in Chomsky(1992). In this framework, several subtheories and concepts in the GB theory have been integrated into new concepts. In this section, I will outline some of the concepts which are relevant to the present analysis.

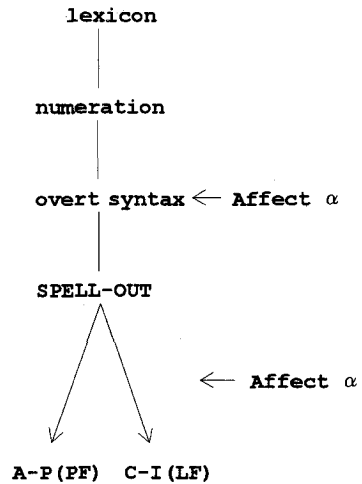
#### 3.1. Model

In the GB theory, principles and conditions in the subtheories are applied at D-structure, S-structure, LF or PF, depending on their characters. In the Minimalist Program, the levels where principles and conditions apply are limited to two interface levels, that is, articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and conceptual-intentional (C-I) levels, with both D-structure and S-structure being eliminated. The basic models applicable to the two approaches are shown in (19).

(19) a. GB theory



b. Minimalist program

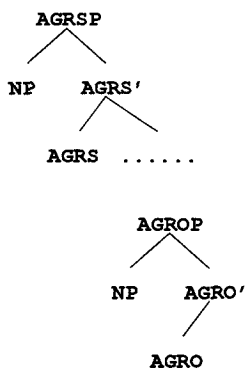


Numeration is a set of pairs of items of the lexicon and the number of times that they are selected. A linguistic expression is derived from the numeration. After the derivation in the overt syntax has finished, SPELL-OUT is applied, which switches to the PF and LF components. At LF and PF it is checked whether the linguistic expression is legitimate or not. The derivation must be economical.

3.2. LF Case-checking

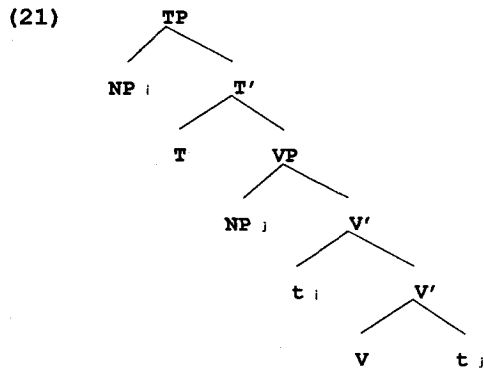
In the GB framework, NP is obliged to be Case-assigned at S-structure by the Case filter. In the Minimalist Program proposed in Chomsky(1992), NP's with the Case selected from Numeration are Case-checked at LF by SPEC-head agreement relation with AGR.

(20)



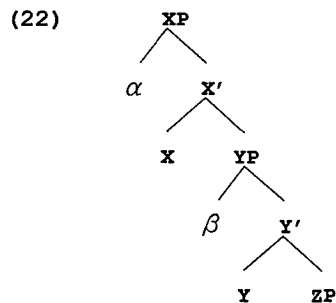
In Chomsky(1995), AGR elements are abolished and the structures are made much simpler, the

functions of AGR assumed by T and V. As the multiple specifier constructions are allowed, VP has two specifier positions, one which assigns  $\theta$  -role and the other which checks accusative Case. In (21) Nominative NP<sub>i</sub> moves from SPEC1 VP to SPEC TP, accusative NP<sub>j</sub> from VP complement to SPEC2 VP and they are Case-checked in each position.



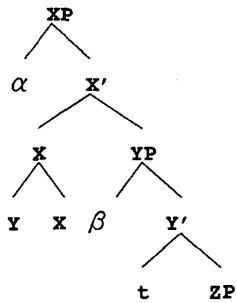
### 3.3. Economy of derivation

To be Case-checked NP's must move to SPEC TP or SPEC VP. The movement must be shortest to obey the economy of derivation. Therefore, in the following structure ZP cannot move to  $\alpha$ , skipping  $\beta$ .



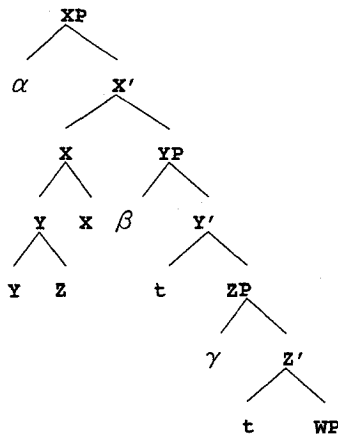
ZP, however, can move to  $\alpha$  when the head movement of Y to X takes place as in (23) because  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  become equidistant from ZP (or within ZP).<sup>1</sup>

(23)



But even with concomitant head movement, NP cannot skip more than one specifier position. In the following structure,  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  are not equidistant from WP (or within WP) because they are not in the same minimal domain, so WP cannot move to  $\alpha$ , skipping  $\gamma$  and  $\beta$ .

(24)



### 3.4. Binding theory on anaphors

In the GB framework, anaphors are characterized by Binding Condition A. In the Minimalist Program Binding Conditions are abolished, so another method must be sought. In this paper, I take that the licensing condition of anaphors is to be co-indexed with elements which c-commands them in the local domain at LF. This idea has already been proposed in the GB theory. According to this, anaphors move to AGR at LF to be co-indexed. This movement must satisfy the economy of derivation. For example, in (25);

(25) Tom<sub>i</sub> thinks John<sub>j</sub> admires himself\*<sub>i/j</sub>.

"self" must be raised to AGR to be co-indexed.<sup>2</sup> In this case, there are two possibilities. The first option is to move to AGR of the main clause. The second one is to move to AGR of the embedded



clause. We must take the second option in terms of the economy of derivation, because the embedded AGR is closer to "self" than the main AGR. Therefore, the anaphor is co-indexed with "John" in the local domain of embedded AGR. So in (25), the antecedent of "himself" must be the embedded subject "John", not the main subject "Tom".

In the framework of Chomsky (1995), which has abolished AGR elements, we can translate the idea as follows: Reflexive elements move to a head position to be co-indexed with a Case-checked NP which is in the minimal domain of the head position. In (25), for example, the reflexive element "self" moves to the embedded T, where it is co-indexed with the Case-checked embedded subject.

#### 4. Analysis

##### 4.1. Structure of causative constructions

In T. Fujita (1994) I analysed the word order and the distribution of non-reflexive clitics in a causative construction. The following examples are relevant:

(26) a. Jean a fait sortir Marie de sa chambre.

made leave of her room

"Jean made Marie leave her room."

b. Jean a fait manger ce gâteau à /par Pierre.

made eat this cake to/by

"Jean made Pierre eat this cake."

(27) a. Jean l' a fait manger à /par Pierre.

it made eat to/by

"Jean made Pierre eat it."

b. \*Jean a fait le manger à /par Pierre.

made it eat to/by

The position of the embedded subject depends on the transitivity of the embedded verb. With the verb intransitive, the subject follows the embedded verb in its basic form, while the subject co-occurs with the preposition "à" or "par" when the verb is transitive. Non-reflexive clitics are cliticized in the main verb, unlike the reflexive clitic, in a causative construction. I proposed the following conditions to explain these phenomena.

(28) a. The lower clause in a causative construction contains neither AGRSP nor TP.

b. In a causative construction, the main verb faire forms a complex verb together with the lower

verb in overt syntax.

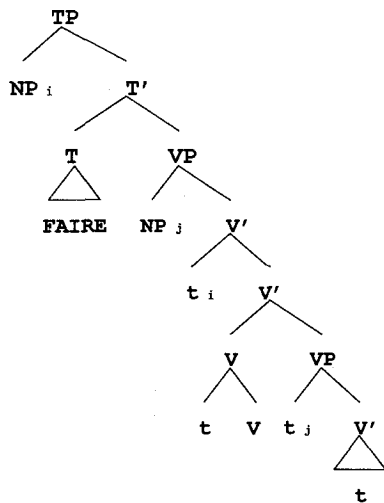
- c. When the lower verb in a causative construction is transitive, *faire* selects argument–demoted VP like a passive.
- d. Accusative clitics must be incorporated into the verb complex and checked in overt syntax.

In this paper, I presuppose these conditions except (28a). As for (28a), AGR elements eliminated in Chomsky(1995), I revise it as follows:

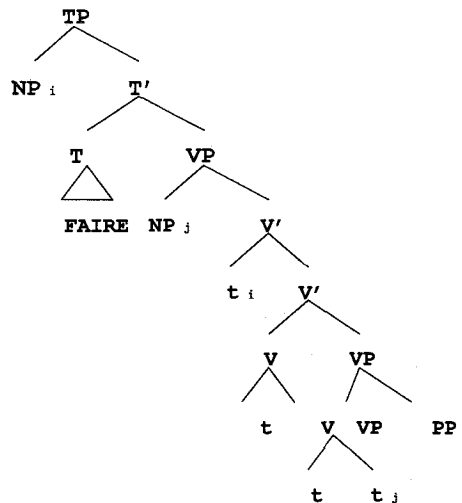
(29) The lower clause in a causative constructions doesn't contain TP.

Along this line, I take the structure of the causative constructions to be (30).

(30) a. Intransitive lower clause



b. Transitive lower clause



The subject of the intransitive lower clause is Case–checked in SPEC VP of the main clause, while that of the transitive one occurs within the prepositional phrase. The lower clitic object is Case–checked in SPEC VP of the main clause and then, incorporated into the main V.

Either "à" or "par" co–occurs with the lower subject of the transitive clause. "Par" also marks the agent NP in the passive sentences besides the causative construction, so I take it to be a preposition which marks the agent in general, not to be selected by "faire". On the other hand, the marking of the agent by "à" is limited to the causative and conception verb constructions. So I deduce that it is selected by the main verb. The phrase selected by a verb, it must be checked somehow. In this paper, I propose the following condition as the licensing condition of "à NP":

(31) "à NP", selected by a verb, is Case–checked in SPEC VP headed by selecting V.

Multiple SPEC allowed in the Minimalist Program, the main V Case—checks both accusative Case and dative Case of "à NP". The following example supports the present analysis. When "à NP" is cliticized, it is cliticized in the main verb, not the lower verb.

- (32) Son père lui fait étudier la peinture.  
his father him makes study the painting  
"His father makes him study painting."  
cf. Son père fait étudier la peinture à Paul.

In this sentence, "à NP" is Case—checked in SPEC VP headed by the main verb, so it is incorporated into the T head of the main clause.

#### 4.2. Licensing condition of the reflexive clitic

I propose the following assumptions as the licensing condition of the reflexive clitic.

- (33) i) VP containing a reflexive clitic is selected by the verb "EN", which merges with the reflexive clitic morphologically.  
ii) The reflexive clitic is Case—checked in overt syntax.

(33ii) applies to any accusative or dative clitics. (33i) applies only to reflexive clitics. The verb "EN" is a verb which selects VP in the passive construction. K. Fujita(1995) argues that "EN" selects VP in the ergative and middle constructions in English. In French, these constructions involve the clitic "se".

- (34) a. La branche s'est cassée.  
the branch SELF broke  
"The branch broke."  
b. La foule se disperse.  
the crowd SELF scatters  
"The crowd scatters."  
(35) a. Cette cravate se porte bien avec un veston clair.  
this tie SE wears well with a jacket light  
"This tie matches a light jacket well."  
b. Un veston de laine se lave facilement.  
a jacket of wool SE washes easily

"A jacket of wool washes easily."

In this paper, I take that "EN" selects VP containing reflexive "se", as it does in the case of the ergative and middle constructions. This enables us to unify the structures of the sentences which contain "se", and further, to explain the fact that any verbs in which "se" is cliticized selects "être (be)" as an auxiliary verb in composed tenses.

(36) a. Jean s'est/\*a rasé.

SE shaved

"Jean shaved himself."

b. La porte s'est/\*a fermée.

the door SE closed

"The door closed"

The auxiliary "être" is selected by a class of intransitive verbs. In these examples, it is not "se" that selects "être", but "EN", which belongs to the class of intransitive verbs.

And further, the present analysis also easily explains the fact that sentences containing "se" cannot be passivized, regardless of the meaning of "se", while sentences of similar meanings which don't contain "se" can.

(37) a. Ils seront présentés l'un à l'autre par Marie.

they will-be introduced to each other by

"They will be introduced to each other by Marie."

b. \*Ils se seront présentés par Marie.

(38) a. Jean sera décrit à lui-même par sa femme.

will-be described to himself by his wife

"Jean will be described to himself by his wife."

b. \*Jean se sera décrit par sa femme.

The reason is that "EN" cannot be merged with another "EN", a passive morpheme, as is shown by the fact that passive sentences cannot be further passivized. If the existence of "EN" in sentences containing "se" isn't assumed, it may be difficult to explain the ungrammaticality of the examples (37b) and (38b).

### 4.3. Syntactic Derivation

In this section, I will show how the above examples are explained in terms of the conditions proposed in the present analysis.

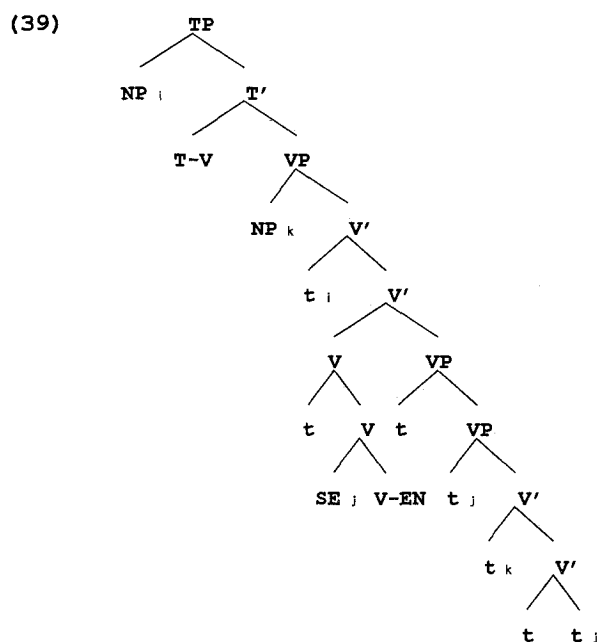
#### 4.3.1. Case-checking of the reflexive clitic

First, I will consider the grammaticality of sentences (8), where the antecedents of the reflexive clitic are the embedded subjects.

(8) a. *Cela a fait se<sub>i</sub> tuer Paul<sub>i</sub>.*

b. *Jean fait se<sub>i</sub> laver les enfants<sub>i</sub>.*

The derivation of these sentences at LF is shown in (39).



As in (39), in overt syntax, the reflexive clitic "se" moves to [SPEC, VP] in the embedded clause to be Case-checked, and then incorporates into the verb "EN", which moves to the main verb to form a complex verb, satisfying the condition repeated below:

(28) b. In a causative construction, the main verb faire forms a complex verb together with the lower verb in overt syntax.

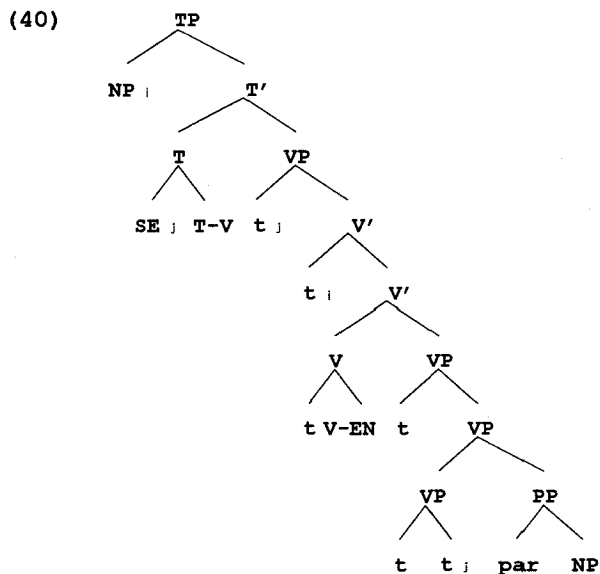
The reflexive clitic "se", which is an anaphor, is co-indexed with a Case-checked NP in the domain of the main V at LF, that is, the embedded subject in [SPEC, VP]. The trace of the main subject in [SPEC, VP], which is not Case-checked, cannot be co-indexed with "se". Therefore, an adequate interpretation can be obtained, where the antecedent of "se" is the embedded subject.

Secondly, we consider the grammaticality of the following examples, where the antecedents of "se" are the main subjects.

(3) a. Marie<sub>i</sub> se<sub>i</sub> fait laver par la bonne.

b. Marie<sub>i</sub> s<sub>i</sub> 'est fait coiffer par la coiffeuse.

The derivation of these sentences at LF is shown in (40):



Unlike in the case of (39), "se" moves to SPEC VP in the main clause for the reason mentioned in the following section, and then incorporates into T. At LF "se" is co-indexed with the Case-checked main subject in SPEC TP. Therefore, a proper interpretation of "se" is given and the sentence is grammatical.

#### 4.3.2. Co-indexing of the reflexive clitic with the antecedent

In this section and the following, I will consider the ungrammaticality of the above mentioned examples. The reasons for the ungrammaticality involve three points: first, licensing of the reflexive clitic, that is, the condition of co-indexing, second, the economy of derivation, and finally, checking of the accusative

Case.

In this section, I will argue that the ungrammaticality of the examples (4), (12), and (13) is attributed to the licensing of the reflexive clitic. In (4), (12), repeated below, the reflexive clitic is cliticized in the main verb and the embedded subject is marked with "à". Whether the antecedent of the reflexive clitic is the main subject or the embedded one, cliticization of "se" in the main verb with the embedded subject marked with "à" is ungrammatical.

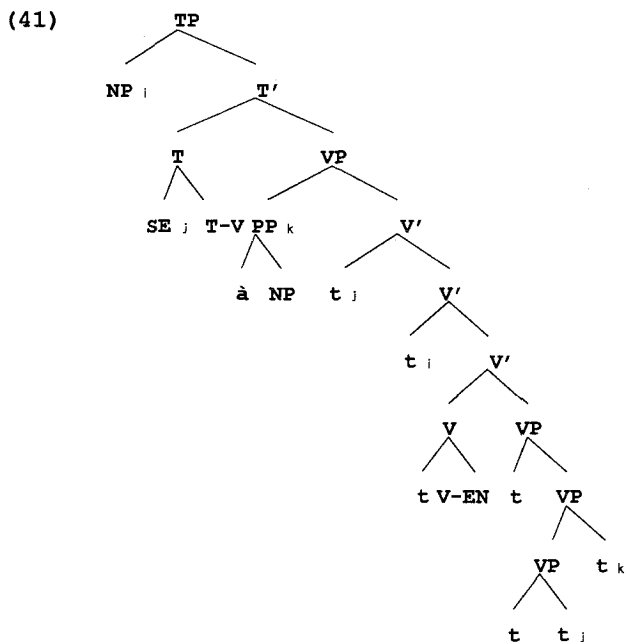
(4) a. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> se<sub>i</sub> fait laver à la bonne.

b. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> s<sub>i</sub> 'est fait coiffer à la coiffeuse.

(12) a. \*Cela s<sub>i</sub> 'est fait tuer à Paul<sub>i</sub>.

b. \*Jean se<sub>i</sub> fait laver aux enfants<sub>i</sub>.

The derivation of these examples at LF is shown in (41):



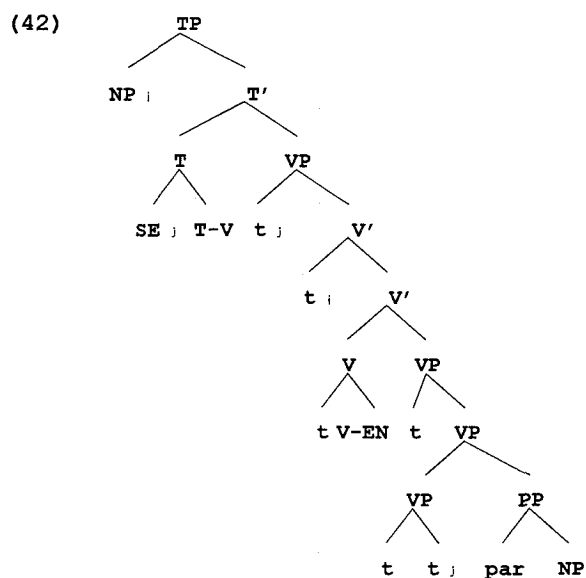
In (41), "se" moves, Case-checked, and incorporates as in (40). (41) differs from (40) in that "à NP" moves to [SPEC, VP] in the main clause. At LF, "se" is co-indexed with a Case-checked NP in the local domain. In this case, both the main subject in [SPEC, TP] and the embedded one in [SPEC, VP] in the main clause are co-indexed with "se", because "se" moves through [SPEC, VP] in the main clause to T. Therefore an adequate interpretation of "se" cannot be obtained, so the examples are

ungrammatical. As a result, the cliticization of "se" to the main verb cannot co-occur with the marking of the embedded subject with "à".

Next, we consider the ungrammaticality of the examples (13), repeated below, where "se", whose antecedent is the embedded subject, is cliticized in the main verb, with the embedded subject marked with "par".

- (13) a. \*Cela  $s_i$  'est fait tuer par Paul  $_i$  .  
 b. \*Jean  $se_i$  fait laver par les enfants  $_i$  .

The derivation of these sentences at LF is shown in (42).



In (42), "se" moves to [SPEC, VP] in the main clause to be Case-checked and incorporates to T, so the only candidate for the NP co-indexed with "se" is the main subject. The embedded NP, marked with "par", is not Case-checked in the main VP,<sup>3</sup> so it cannot be co-indexed with "se". Therefore, the interpretation where the antecedent of "se" is the embedded NP marked with "par" cannot be obtained and (13) doesn't have such an interpretation.

#### 4.3.3. Movement of the reflexive clitic

In this section, I argue that the ungrammaticality of (6) and (11) is attributed to the violation of MLC. MLC is defined as follows:



(43) MLC (Minimal Link Condition)

$\alpha$  can raise to target K only if there is no legitimate operation Move- $\beta$  targeting K, where  $\beta$  is closer to K.

In (6) and (11), "se" is cliticized in the main verb, the embedded subject appearing in its basic form.

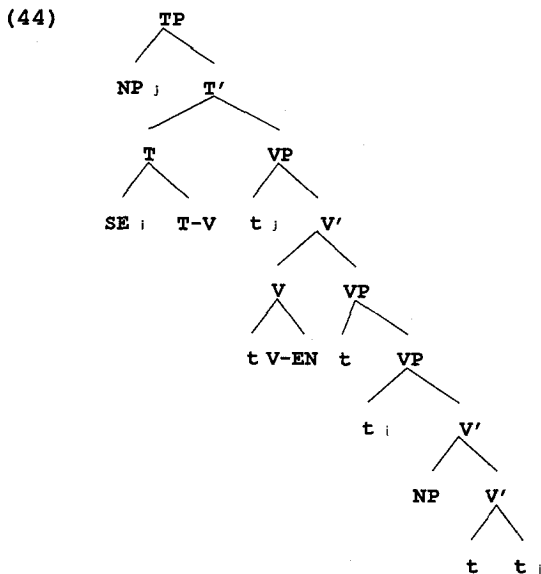
(6) a. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> se<sub>i</sub> fait laver la bonne.

b. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> s<sub>i</sub> 'est fait coiffer la coiffeuse.

(11) a. \*Cela s<sub>i</sub> 'est fait tuer Paul<sub>i</sub>.

b. \*Jean se<sub>i</sub> fait laver les enfants<sub>i</sub>.

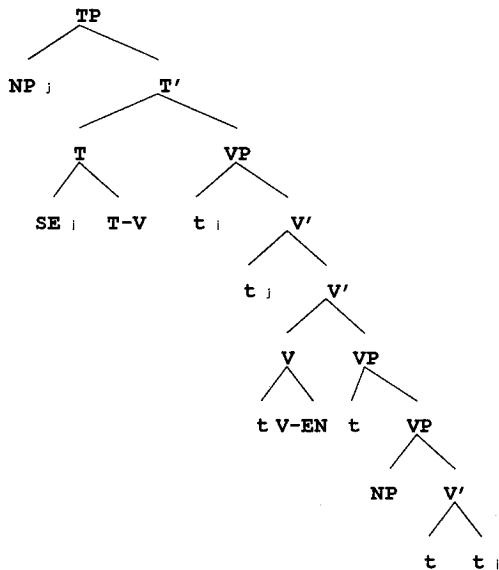
In these examples, "se" must move to [SPEC, VP] either in the main clause or in the embedded to be Case-checked. "Se" cliticized in the main verb, it must be Case-checked in [SPEC, VP] in the main clause. If it is to be Case-checked in [SPEC, VP] in the embedded clause, it moves from [SPEC, VP] in the embedded clause to the main verb, violating MLC. The movement skips the intervening head, that is the verb "EN", as is shown in (44).



The derivation where "se" moves to [SPEC, VP] in the main clause to be Case-checked is shown in (45). Even in this case, the movement of "se" violates MLC. "Se" moves from V complement in the embedded clause to [SPEC, VP] in the main. This chain violates MLC. According to MLC, "se"

can only move to a position which is in the same minimal domain as SPEC VP in the embedded clause, that is, SPEC VP headed by "EN". To satisfy MLC, "se" must move through the latter. But in the framework in Chomsky(1995), a movement which is a necessary step toward some later operation in which a feature will be checked is excluded. Even if "se" moves to SPEC VP headed by "EN", the Case feature of "se" is not checked, so it cannot move there. Therefore, no matter how it moves, its movement cannot be legitimate.

(45)



#### 4.3.4. Last Resort Condition

In this section, I argue that the ungrammaticality of the examples (5) and (7) involves the Last Resort condition, which is defined as follows:

(46) Move-F raises F to target K only if F enters into a checking relation with a sublabel of K.

In (7), "se", whose antecedent is the main subject, is cliticized in the embedded verb, the embedded subject appearing in its basic form.

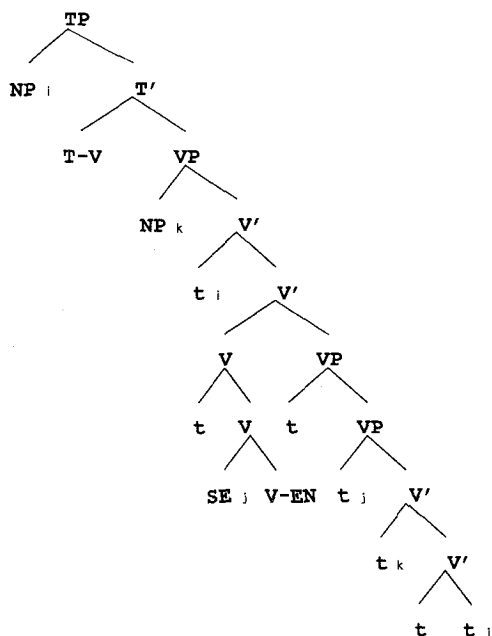
(7) a. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> fait se<sub>i</sub> laver la bonne.

b. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> a fait se<sub>i</sub> coiffer la coiffeuse.

The derivation of this sentence is shown in (47). In (47), after moving to [SPEC, VP] in the embedded clause to be Case-checked, "se" incorporates into the verb "EN", which moves to the main verb. At

LF, "se" is co-indexed with a Case-checked NP in [SPEC, VP] in the main clause, which is the embedded subject. For "se" to be co-indexed with the main subject, it must move to T. If we take the co-indexing of reflexive elements to be a kind of checking of a reference feature, the movement of "se" to T violates the Last Resort condition because "se" has already been checked as to the reference feature. Therefore, the interpretation cannot be obtained where the antecedent of "se" is the main subject.

(47)



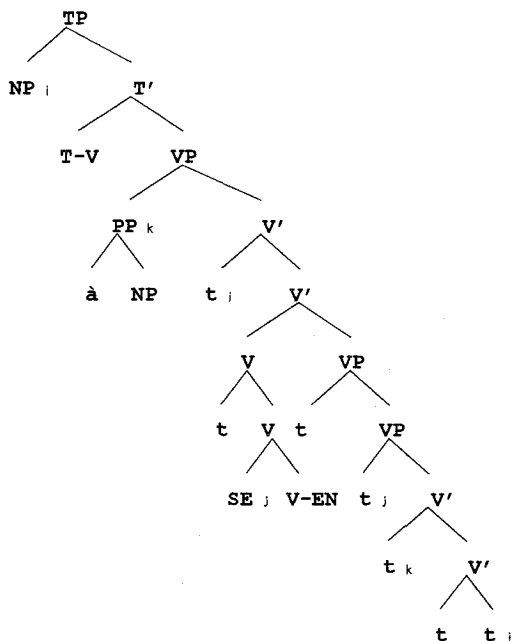
The ungrammaticality of the example (5), where the embedded subject is marked with "à", is explained in the same way.

(5) a. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> fait se<sub>i</sub> laver à la bonne.

b. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> a fait se<sub>i</sub> coiffer à la coiffeuse.

The derivation of this sentence is shown in (48). "À NP" moves to [SPEC, VP] in the main clause to be Case-checked.

(48)



Also in this case, the movement of "se" from V to T violates the Last Resort condition for the same reason in the case of (7).

#### 4.3.5. Case-checking in argument-demoted VP

In this section, I argue that the verb heading argument-demoted VP doesn't have the ability to check the accusative Case of an NP, that is, it has the same status as intransitive verbs. This is supported by the fact that in passive constructions, the accusative Case of the object NP is not checked.<sup>4</sup>

(49) \*Il a été construit l'immeuble dans cette ville.

it was built the building in this city

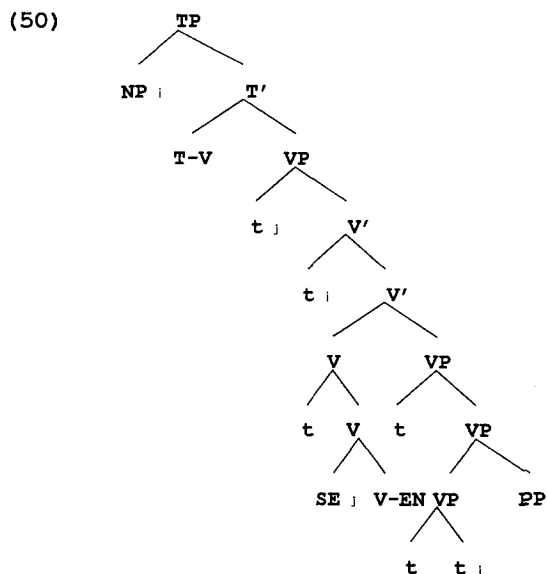
Also in a causative construction, it must be the case that it is impossible for the verb heading argument-demoted VP to check the accusative Case.

The ungrammaticality of the examples (3), (9), (10), and the above mentioned (5), where "se" is cliticized in the embedded verb, the embedded subject appearing marked by a preposition "à/par", is attributed to checking of the accusative Case of "se".

- (5) a. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> fait se<sub>i</sub> laver à la bonne.  
 b. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> a fait se<sub>i</sub> coiffer à la coiffeuse.
- (3) a. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> fait se<sub>i</sub> laver par la bonne.  
 b. \*Marie<sub>i</sub> a fait se<sub>i</sub> coiffer par la coiffeuse.
- (9) a. \*Cela a fait se<sub>i</sub> tuer à Paul<sub>i</sub> .  
 b. \*Jean fait se<sub>i</sub> laver aux enfants<sub>i</sub> .
- (10) a. \*Cela a fait se<sub>i</sub> tuer par Paul<sub>i</sub> .  
 b. \*Jean fait se<sub>i</sub> laver par les enfants<sub>i</sub> .

For "se" to be Case-checked in these sentences, it must move to [SPEC, VP] in the main clause, and then be cliticized in the embedded V. But in this case, the movement of "se" from [SPEC, VP] in the main clause to the embedded V results in a lowering movement, which is barred in overt syntax in the framework by Chomsky(1995). Therefore no legitimate derivations are given to these sentences.

Furthermore, in the example (10), the co-indexing condition of "se" is not satisfied. The derivation of (10) is shown in (50).



In (50), the antecedent of "se", the embedded subject appearing within a PP, isn't Case-checked in SPEC VP. Therefore, it is impossible to co-index "se" with the embedded subject.

As we have seen so far, we can directly explain the ungrammaticality of the causative construction containing "se" in terms of the licensing condition of the reflexive clitic along with MLC and the Last Resort condition.

#### 4.4. Dative "se"

In the preceding sections, I have argued that the distribution of the accusative reflexive clitic in a causative construction is explained in terms of the licensing condition of the reflexive clitic. The reflexive clitic "se" also appears in dative case. There is a case where the embedded subject is marked with "à", even when dative "se" is cliticized in the embedded verb, unlike the case of accusative "se", as is shown in (51).

(51) a. Marie a fait s<sub>i</sub> 'acheter ces livres à Jean<sub>i</sub>.

made SELF buy these books to

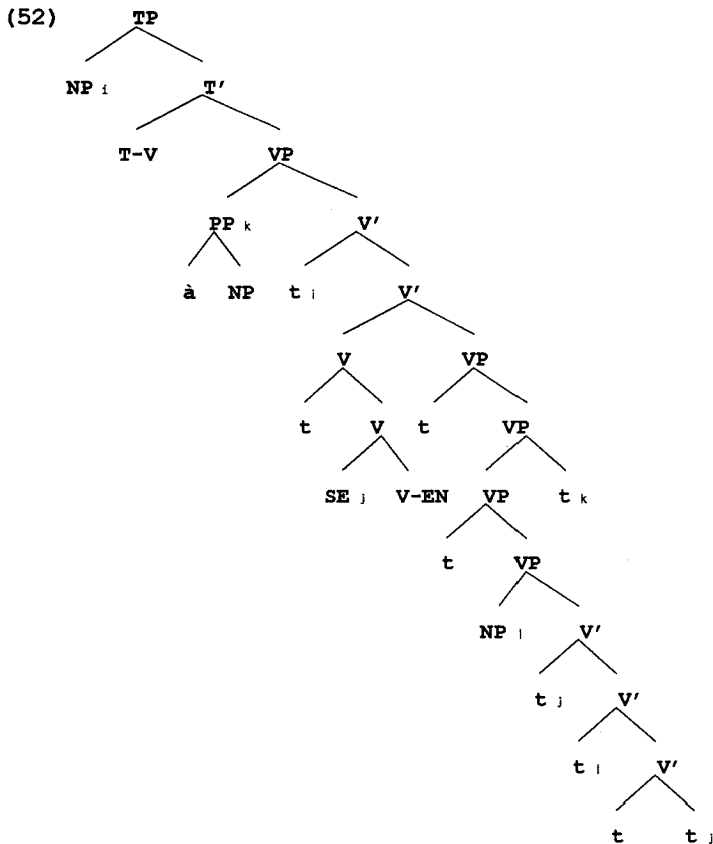
"Marie made Jean buy these books for himself."

b. On a fait se<sub>i</sub> laver les mains à Pierre<sub>i</sub>.

made SE wash the hands to

"They made Pierre wash his hands."

How are NP's in (51) Case-checked legitimately? In the present analysis, we analyze the examples as follows. The derivation is shown in (52). As shown in (52), because the double object construction involves a VP-shell structure, both the dative object and the accusative object are Case-checked in the lower VP in the embedded clause,<sup>5</sup> dative "se" need not move to the main VP.<sup>6</sup> It is cliticized in the embedded V, which moves as far as the main V to form a complex verb with "faire", and at LF it is co-indexed with the Case-checked embedded subject in SPEC VP in the main clause, satisfying its licensing condition.



## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that assuming the licensing conditions of the reflexive clitic "se" and "à NP", which are repeated below, makes us straightforwardly explain the intricate distribution of "se".

(53) "à NP", selected by a verb, is Case-checked in SPEC VP headed by a selecting V.

(54) i) VP containing a reflexive clitic is selected by the verb "EN", which merges with the reflexive clitic morphologically.

ii) The reflexive clitic is Case-checked in overt syntax.

(55) Reflexive elements move to a head position to be co-indexed with a Case-checked NP which is in the minimal domain of the head.

Considering the distribution of "se" in a specific environment, that is, a causative construction, enables us to reveal important characteristics of the reflexive clitic in terms of the generative grammar, specifically the Minimalist Program.

The present analysis also gives a support to the analysis of the causative constructions in the Minimalist Program, proposed in T. Fujita(1994). The work of specifying the relation of "à NP" representing causee and a dative object, and the status of neuter clitics is left for a further research.

#### Notes

1. The shortest movement is a movement to the closest head or specifier. In the case of a movement to a specifier, a movement skipping only one specifier with a concomitant head movement is allowed based on the concept of equidistance, defined as follows:

- a. If  $\alpha$  ,  $\beta$  are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from  $\gamma$  .
- b. The domain of a head  $\alpha$  is the set of nodes contained in  $\alpha$  MAX that are distinct from and do not contain  $\alpha$  .
- c. Given  $D(\alpha)$  = the domain of a head  $\alpha$  ,  $MD(\alpha)$  = the minimal domain of  $\alpha$  is the smallest subset of  $D(\alpha)$  such that for any  $\gamma \in D(\alpha)$  , some  $\beta \in MD(\alpha)$  reflexively dominates  $\gamma$  .  
(Chomsky(1995): 184, 178)

2. This is an LF clitic movement in Chomsky(1992). Along this line, reflexive morphemes of anaphors (-self, in English) move to AGR as a clitic at LF.

3. As for Case-checking of NP's appearing within PP's, I take that NP's are Case-checked by a P head. Further researches are needed for Case-checking in PP, but it is not unreasonable to distinguish between Case-checking in VP and in PP.

4. When we replace a definite NP with an indefinite one in (49), we get a grammatical sentence.

**Il a été construit un immeuble dans cette ville.**  
**it was built a building in this city**

I take that an indefinite NP in the impersonal constructions has partitive case, which is checked in a quite different way from the accusative case.

5. In the Minimalist Program, there may be several analyses of Case-checking of NP's in VP-shell structures such as double object constructions. I take that each VP in VP-shell structures



has the ability to Case-check an NP in its SPEC.

6. As a matter of fact, "se" moves to the main V in (52). But this is not due to the cliticization of the reflexive clitic. "Se", being cliticized in the embedded V, moves with the latter, which forms a complex verb with the main verb "faire" to satisfy the condition (28b).

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## Licensing Conditions of the French Reflexive Clitic

Takeshi Fujita

### Summary

The purpose of this paper is to present an excellent analysis of a complex set of grammatical characteristics of the French reflexive clitic within the framework of Chomsky(1995).

When it is contained in a causative construction, the position of the reflexive clitic "se" depends on whether its antecedent NP is the main subject (causer) or the embedded one (causee). The antecedent being the main subject, "se" is cliticized in the main verb, with the causee marked by a preposition "par". On the other hand, the antecedent being the embedded subject, "se" is cliticized in the embedded verb, the causee appearing without any preposition.

I will explain these properties of the reflexive clitic "se" proposing the following licensing conditions of the reflexive clitics and the causee marked by the preposition "à".

- (1) i) VP containing a reflexive clitic is selected by the verb "EN", which merges with the reflexive clitic morphologically.  
ii) The reflexive clitic is Case-checked in overt syntax.
- (2) Reflexive elements move to a head position to be co-indexed with a Case-checked NP which is in the minimal domain of the head.
- (3) "à NP", selected by a verb, is Case-checked in SPEC VP headed by a selecting V.

With these assumptions, all the grammatical characteristics of "se" contained in a causative construction can be accounted for in terms of the basic concepts such as MLC and the Last Resort Condition. Furthermore, the present analysis enables us to specify the appropriate structure of the causative construction, which has long been discussed in the field of the generative grammar.