

# Towards Establishing an Inventory of Surface-Syntactic Relations: Valency-Controlled Surface-Syntactic Dependents of the Verb in French

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## 1. Introduction

The goal of the present paper is to sketch a general method for establishing an inventory of labeled Surface-Syntactic Relations [= SSyntRels; for a list of abbreviations, see p. 00] for a language **L**. More specifically, such a method must allow the researcher to determine the set of SSyntRels in **L** and distribute relevant SSynt-constructions of **L** among them (i.e. decide by which SSyntRel a given SSynt-construction must be described). As a test case, we have chosen a particular subset of SSyntRels in French—all SSyntRels controlled by the active valency of the verb, i.e. by its Government Pattern.

The research is carried out within the general framework of the Meaning-Text theory (see, e.g., Mel'čuk 1974 [1999], 1988: 43-91, 1997); we take for granted the levels of linguistic representation assumed by the theory and the corresponding notions.

From a formal viewpoint, a SSyntRel **r** is a particular type of syntactic dependency relation holding between two lexemes in a SSynt-Structure [= SSyntS], a G(overnor) and its D(ependent):  $G-r \rightarrow D$ . A SSyntS formed by SSyntRels is a tree; it respects the following two principles: the unicity of the Synt-Governor (= no node can have more than one G) and the presence of the unique Synt-head, or top node, of the whole SSyntS (= there is one and only one node on which all other nodes depend, directly or indirectly).

From a linguistic viewpoint, a SSyntRel must be LABELED, i.e. be identified by a name **r**. This name specifies a FAMILY OF SSYNT-CONSTRUCTIONS of **L** that feature sufficiently similar linguistic properties, i.e. show 'family resemblances.' A SSynt-construction represents a set of binary phrases (a binary phrase being, roughly, two wordforms linked by a direct SSynt-dependency) and is specified by indicating 1) its members—a pair of part-of-speech symbols, perhaps with some additional syntactic features (such as 'copula,' 'transitive,' 'anteposed,' etc.), supplied with corresponding inflectional markings, 2) their mutual linear order and 3) the direction of SSynt-dependency between them. Thus, the French construction 'adjective — noun,' showing obligatory agreement of the adjective in **g**(ender) and **n**(umber) with the noun, appears as follows:

  
ADJ<sub>(antepos)g, n</sub> + N<sub>(g)n</sub>.<sup>1</sup> It represents such phrases as *différents éléments* 'different elements' and

*belles fillettes* ‘beautiful little girls’. Note that  $N_{(g)n} + ADJ_{(postpos)g, n}$ —*équation différentielle* ‘differential equation’, *gouvernement américain* ‘American government’, etc.—is a different SSynt-construction of French, because of different word order.

The set of SSyntRels for  $\mathbf{L}$  must meet at least the following three formal requirements, which have to be satisfied in the SSyntS:

1. Ensure the preservation of all semantic contrasts which appear on the semantic level of utterance representation and are formally expressed on the surface, but which cannot be taken care of by other entities of the syntactic level (for instance, by the syntactic-communicative structure).
2. Ensure the appropriate substitutability of the constructions described by one SSyntRel.
3. Ensure the appropriate combinability of the SSyntRels that share the same SSynt-Governor.

As can be easily seen, these requirements are, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as those underlying all *-emic* units, or X-emes, we know in natural language—e.g., phonemes and morphemes. Therefore, the family of constructions covered by one SSyntRel is, so to speak, a ‘construction-eme.’ The elements of a constructioneme—concrete constructions—behave as all other allo-Xs do: they do not contrast semantically (requirement 1), while obeying certain regularities concerning their mutual substitutability (requirement 2) and mutual combinability (requirement 3).<sup>2</sup>

The above requirements can be formalized as three criteria for postulating DIFFERENT SSyntRels in  $\mathbf{L}$ . Such criteria are needed, in particular, because, in contrast to Deep-Syntactic Relations [= DSyntRels], the SSyntRels are not universal: the set of SSyntRels has to be established empirically, individually for each  $\mathbf{L}$ , very much like the set of phonemes or inflectional categories (e.g. tenses or grammatical cases). Consequently, one needs some principles based on which different SSyntRels should be distinguished in  $\mathbf{L}$ .<sup>3</sup>

This paper is limited to a subset of the SSyntRels of French: it considers only the SSyntRels that are necessary for the description of the SSyntS of all verbal constructions in Modern French that involve the surface realizations of the verb's DSynt-Actants [= DSyntAs]. In other words, we will be dealing only with VALENCY-CONTROLLED SSYNT-Ds of a verb. Any type of valency-controlled SSynt-D and the corresponding SSyntRel must be foreseen in the lexicographic description of the verb, i.e. in its Government Pattern. Thus, as stated at the beginning of the paper, the SSyntRels introduced below all correspond to the active valency of French verbs.

In the framework of dependency syntax, lists of labeled SSyntRels have been proposed for various languages: Russian (cf. Mel'čuk 1962: 47-87, 1963: 490-493, 1964: 20-24 and 1974 [1999]: 221-235); English (Mel'čuk & Pertsov 1987: 85-156, Apresjan *et al.* 1989: 71-121); German, Polish, Danish, Bangla, Finnish, Hungarian, Japanese, and Esperanto (Maxwell and Schubert (eds) 1989); and French (Apresjan *et al.* 1984-1985, Isaac 1986, Candito 1999). If we feel the

need to return to the task, this is because we find the following three drawbacks in previous attempts:

First, the decisions made with regard to specific SSyntRels were not systematically justified. Now we would like to supply the reasons for postulating this or that SSyntRel according to relevant linguistic properties of phrases under consideration and to the formal criteria for the differentiation of SSyntRels (introduced in Mel'čuk 1979: 99-143 and 1988: 141-144 and reworked here).

Second, SSyntRels were established for each language involved more or less in isolation from typological considerations and with no particular regard for the general theory of surface syntax. Now the time seems ripe for taking into account modern developments of syntactic theory and thus making the inventory of SSyntRels we are proposing theoretically 'clean' and linguistically substantiated.

Third, in the Meaning-Text approach, verb-to-actant SSyntRels were too 'semantic;' they were excessively tailored to fit the DSyntRels (we mean, for instance, such SSyntRels as "1st completive," "2nd completive," etc., which were in one-to-one correspondence with DSyntRels). On the other hand, several other approaches known to us seem 'too formal:' the SSyntRels are defined mostly by the distribution classes of their Ds. Now we would like to reconsider previous solutions under the angle of strict separation of levels—such that the SSyntRels be isolated based mainly on SYNTACTIC considerations, striking a necessary balance between the two extremes.

The present paper belongs to the domain of linguistic research into what is known as 'grammatical relations' and 'clause elements:' the dependent member of a 'grammatical relation' is, roughly speaking, a clause element, so that the problem of distinguishing grammatical relations bears directly on clause elements and vice versa (for more, see below, **2.1**). The corresponding literature is too vast to allow even a cursory review. We will limit ourselves to indicating just four publications of general character: Plank (ed.) 1984, Dryer 1986, Hudson 1992, and Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 242-309, where a rich bibliography can be found.

Speaking more specifically about French, the topic of establishing/distinguishing clause elements is here also well studied. Again, it is impossible for us to undertake a survey of existing works. As a principal source of our data we have made extensive use of the classic reference book Grevisse 1993 [13th edition] and a monograph by P. Le Goffic (1993). Also, we have drawn some additional data from Gross 1975, 1986, Boons *et al.* 1976, Kayne 1977, Apresjan *et al.* 1984-1985, and Candito 1999. (Candito 1999 is especially close to our own study: the author proposes a set of SSyntRels for French and Italian, supplying for them syntactic justifications.)

Now we can state the goal of the paper in more precise terms:

To propose a method that would ensure the partition of the set of the syntactic constructions of French such that each subset obtained in this way

1) is sufficiently homogeneous—that is, all the constructions that belong to it share a sufficient number of relevant linguistic properties;

and

2) is 'saturated'—that is, it contains all and only the constructions that can be brought together in accordance with some pre-established formal criteria (see below, **2.2**, p. 00, Criteria 1-3).

We want such a method to be satisfactory from the viewpoint of general linguistic theory.

More precisely:

- The method must produce a set of SSyntRels/clause elements for **L** such that it would be TYPOLOGICALLY valid. For instance, consider the hierarchy of major nominal clause elements established by Keenan and Comrie (1976), see below, p. 00; it is preferable to obtain such SSyntRels/clause elements that satisfy this hierarchy. To meet the requirement of typological plausibility, we need a 'good' selection of relevant properties.

- The method must (more or less) correspond to the UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED METHODS for establishing linguistic units at all levels. Criteria 1-3 constitute an attempt to ensure such universality.

Given its methodological orientation, our paper does not present new facts about French syntax. Our main tool—linguistic properties of clause elements—is not new, either; everyone is using more or less the same set of properties. What is particular to our approach is its SYSTEMATICITY. We have put systematicity above completeness or even factual truth. Our linguistic data are of course incomplete, as is the list of properties we exploit. As a result, some of the solutions we propose might turn out wrong. Yet we believe that a coherent general picture of what an inventory of SSyntRels in a language must look like is, at least for the time being, quite crucial; one cannot successfully work out a host of details until the organization of the whole domain is made sufficiently clear.

The structure of the paper is straightforward: Section **2** proposes a method for establishing an inventory of SSyntRels for a language and then, in Section **3**, we give a partial list of SSyntRels for French, which have been isolated following this method; Section **4** contains a synoptic overview of the SSyntRels proposed in the form of tables, and a condensed discussion of the hierarchy of SSyntRels; Section **5** offers a short conclusion.

## 2. A Method for Establishing an Inventory of SSyntRels for a Language

When introducing SSyntRels for a language, a SSyntRel to be postulated must satisfy two types of requirements: a substantive, or linguistic, requirement; and a set of formal, or logical, requirements.

### 2.1. The Substantive Requirement to be Satisfied by a SSyntRel

The relevant linguistic properties of SSyntRels, that is, of their Ds, are linked to the fact that SSyntRels are subject to three types of constraints. First, a SSyntRel is associated to the semantic role its D fulfills—via the corresponding DSynt-relation (which, in its turn, is related to a semantic role). Therefore, SSyntRels must be such that our linguistic model should be able to 'compute' them in a convenient, straightforward way from the DSyntS. Second, SSyntRels are combined within the SSyntS, where they show a particular behavior with respect to each other (omissibility, cooccurrence, paraphrastic relations). So, SSyntRels must be such as to allow for convenient verification of the well-formedness of the SSyntS. And third, SSyntRels are aimed at linearization, prosodization (punctuation, in written texts), and morphologization of the SSyntS. That is, a SSyntRel must ensure convenient computation of word order for its D, along with the appropriate syntactically-induced prosody/punctuation and syntactically-induced inflections (= agreement and government, cf. Mel'čuk 1993). As a result, the SSyntRels are constrained from 'below' (= by the DSyntS), from 'the side' (= by the SSyntS), and from 'above' (= by the Deep-Morphological Structure [= DMorphS]). Therefore, all possible Ds of a SSyntRel must possess identical or very similar linguistic properties with respect to these three types of constraints. Each SSyntRel is thus characterized by some specific properties of its dependent member D; in conformity with what has just been said and following Keenan's work (1976), we distinguish three types of such properties:

1) Syntactico-semantic properties (Keenan's 'semantic interpretation properties'): properties of Ds from the viewpoint of the correspondence to a deeper level of representation—in our case, to the DSynt-level (and further to the Sem-level).

2) Purely syntactic properties (Keenan's 'behavior/control properties'): properties of Ds from the viewpoint of the SSyntS.

3) Syntactico-morphological properties (Keenan's 'coding properties'): properties of Ds from the viewpoint of their expression in the DMorphS.

All these properties can be readily described as values of a set of PARAMETERS, relevant for a given language; cf. below.

Now, as we have already said, the D of a particular SSyntRel is nothing else but what is known in the traditional grammar as a CLAUSE ELEMENT (cf., e.g., Quirk *et al.* 1991: 59ff.): the D of the **subjectival** SSyntRel is the Subject, the D of the **direct-objectival** SSyntRel is the Direct

Object [= DirO], and so on.<sup>4</sup> Thus, establishing different SSyntRels boils down to defining different clause elements. For this task, we can avail ourselves of two interesting results obtained in syntactic typology:

- A clause element is defined by a BUNDLE of linguistic properties of the above-mentioned types (Mel'čuk & Savvina 1974 [1978], Keenan 1976, Borg and Comrie 1984<sup>5</sup>; cf. Quirk *et al.* 1991: 723ff., where such definitions are supplied for main clause elements in English, and also Lazard 1994b: 101ff., with a list of relevant properties of subjects, mainly, but not exclusively, in French). Therefore, the corresponding labeled SSyntRel must be defined by the same BUNDLE of properties. Consequently, SSyntRels will be 'multi-factor' (Keenan 1976: 323), or 'cluster,' concepts.

- Clause elements form a hierarchy such that an element of a higher stand has some relevant properties which no lower element possesses—but not vice versa (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66, 1979):<sup>6</sup>

Subject > DirO > IndirO > ObIO > Gen(itival)Co(mplement) > Compar(ate)

It is natural to require that the corresponding labeled SSyntRels of **L** form the same hierarchy. At the end of the paper, we will briefly return to this hierarchy, p. 00.

Taking into account these results, we have chosen for French the following sixteen linguistic properties, or parameters, relevant for the description of the valency-controlled SSyntRels (and, of course, of the corresponding clause elements) in the constructions which have a verb as the SSynt-head.

### **Relevant Properties of the Dependents of Valency-Controlled SSyntRels in French**

The properties on the list are parameters admitting some pre-established values; most of them admit just two values: yes (= the property in question is present) or no. For each property P we indicate the syntactic classes (roughly, parts of speech) to which P is applicable—except for the cases when P is applicable to all classes: the default case.

#### **Syntactico-semantic properties of Ds**

**1.** Corresponding to a particular DSynt-Actant (of the Governor).

The DSyntA(ctant)s of a verb correspond to its semantic actants and are numbered in the order of growing obliquity. Roughly speaking, DSyntA **I** corresponds, for instance, to the semantic Causer, the Actor or the Perceiver, DSyntA **II**—to the Patient, DSyntA **III**—to the Beneficiary or the Instrument, etc.

### Purely syntactic properties of Ds

2. Being obligatorily present in any full-fledged clause (of course alongside the Main Verb [= MV]).

To avoid a misunderstanding, let us emphasize that we really mean ANY clause; thus, for instance, a Direct Object, even if it is obligatory with some verbs, is not found in any clause of French.

3. Being the dependent of the MV only (that is, being unable to depend on anything but a finite verb).
4. Being implicated in SSynt-promotion/demotion (applicable to nouns, infinitives and subordinate clauses).
5. Being the target of cliticization of a specific type.
6. Being the target of relativization (applicable to nouns).
7. Being the target of clefting (applicable to nouns and infinitives).
8. Being the controller/target of reflexivization (applicable to nouns).
9. Being the controller of the SSynt-role of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction, namely imposing on it the SSynt-role of IndirO. (For more on the representation of the causative FAIRE-construction in French, see 5.3.3, p. 00.)
10. Being the controller of an actantial-attributive complement (applicable to nouns).

### Syntactico-morphological properties of Ds

11. Being the target of non-specific morphological or lexical government.

We speak of 'non-specific' government when a particular case form or a particular preposition is imposed on the D of a SSyntRel **r** by **r** itself—rather than by the lexical entry of its G, i.e. by the G's Government Pattern. Cf., for instance, case forms of the clitics **le**<sub>ACC</sub> vs. **lui**<sub>DAT</sub> and of the relative pronouns **qui**<sub>NOM</sub> vs. **que**<sub>ACC</sub> as a function of the subordinating SSyntRel (**direct-objectival**, **indirect-objectival**, and **subjectival**); or else the selection of PAR 'by' for the D of the **agentive** SSyntRel. (For non-specific government, see Mel'čuk 1993: 321-322.)

12. Being the target of morphological agreement (applicable to adjectives: *Alain le trouve **intelligent*** vs. *Alain la trouve **intelligente*** 'A. finds him/her intelligent').
13. Being the controller of agreement of the MV.
14. Linear position with respect to G and/or to other D<sub>i</sub>(G) (not applicable to clitics and relative pronouns, whose ordering does not depend on the subordinating SSyntRel).
15. Impossibility of left dislocation. (In what follows, we deal only with 'pure' left dislocation—namely, prosodic separation from the rest of the clause without use of a resumptive clitic.)
16. Particular prosody/punctuation (applicable to Direct Speech).<sup>7</sup>

These properties logically correspond to distinctive features used in phonology (to identify the allophones of the same phoneme and to oppose different phonemes), as well as in morphology, syntax and semantics.

The above list was established empirically and by consulting relevant publications. It clearly could be developed into a logical calculus of possibilities, which would help us for a better coverage. At present, it is far from complete. Thus, we are aware that it lacks, for instance, the following properties:

- Typical question (*Qui ?* ‘Who?’, *À qui ?* ‘To whom?’, *Combien ?* ‘How much?’, etc.).
- Pseudo-Clefting of the type *Ce que* CLAUSE<sup>1</sup>, *c’est* CLAUSE<sup>2</sup>: *Ce que Alain cherche, c’est que tout soit en ordre* ‘What A. is looking for is that everything be in order’ (Candito 1999: 264).
- Other types of pronominalization (*ce, cela, là-dessus*, etc.; Blanche-Benveniste 1975).
- Reaction to negation (*Alain ne lit pas de romans* ‘A. does not read novels’; etc.; Abeillé 1997b: 23).
- Control of anaphora (*On les présentera les uns aux autres* ‘Someone will introduce them to each other’ vs. \**On leur présentera les uns les autres*, lit. ‘Someone will introduce to them each other’; Abeillé 1997a: 25).
- Possible/impossible extraction (*le garçon dont le père est en prison* ‘the boy whose father is in jail’ ~ *le garçon dont Alain connaît le père* ‘the boy whose father A. knows’ vs. \**le garçon dont Alain plaît au père*, lit. ‘the boy to whose father A. is likable’; Abeillé 1997a: 23).
- Right dislocation.
- Mutual ordering of codependents of the same governor.

(Many relevant syntactic properties of the dependents of the French verb are found, in particular, in Gross 1986.)

As the next important step, we have to introduce the notion of PROTOTYPICAL D of a given SSyntRel. Since we are working with four major parts of speech—N(ouns), V(erbs), A(djectives), and ADV(erbs), we will group the SSyntRels into four major PROTOTYPICAL-DEPENDENT CLASSES: those whose prototypical D is a N, those with the prototypical D being a V in the infinitive, those having an A as their prototypical D, and, finally, those where the prototypical D is an ADV; to this, we add a fifth class with the D being a full utterance (for Direct Speech). As we will see below, within each class, the SSyntRels feature many similar properties, so that our grouping is justified. Now, what exactly is the prototypical D of a SSyntRel?



### Definition 1: Prototypical Dependent of a Given SSyntRel

|| A *prototypical D* of a SSyntRel **r** is a D of such a syntactic class ( part of speech) that this D can be used with any G(overnor) possible for **r**.

Thus, the prototypical D of the **subjectival** SSyntRel is a (prepositionless) noun; although a D of this SSyntRel can be not only a noun, but also an infinitive and a subordinate clause (*Fumer nuit à la santé*, lit. 'To smoke harms the health'; *Qu'Alain ne soit pas là nous inquiète*, lit. 'That A. should not be here bothers us'), any MV in French admits an N (or an impersonal pronoun) as its Subject.

The above 16 linguistic properties that characterize French SSyntRels constitute the maximal set; for a particular class of SSyntRels only a subset of these properties may be relevant—in conformity with the prototypical D of this class. Thus, if the prototypical D of a SSyntRel is an A, the property 'Being the target of reflexivization' is simply not applicable: adjectives in French cannot be reflexivized. Therefore, when introducing a SSyntRel **r**, we characterize it according to the properties which are relevant for its prototypical D. We indicate first those properties—or combinations thereof—whose positive values accrue ONLY to (all Ds of) this **r** and which thus distinguish it from all the other SSyntRels of the same prototypical-dependent class: these are DEFINING properties of **r**. Afterwards, we supply other relevant properties, which are, however, not exclusive to (the Ds of) **r** within the same prototypical-dependent class: DESCRIPTIVE properties. (Lazard 1994b: 68-77 proposes a similar, although different, distinction between 'prime' and 'secondary' properties.)

The subdivision of SSyntRels into these five prototypical-dependent classes is similar to the subdivision of phonemes into vowels, consonants, and glides; or to the subdivision of inflectional categories into nominal, verbal, adjectival, and adverbial ones; or else to the subdivision of lexemes into semantic classes 'action,' 'event,' 'substance,' etc.

Now we can formulate the substantive requirement a SSyntRel must satisfy:

#### Similarity of Relevant Linguistic Properties

|| Any D of a SSyntRel **r** 1) must share at least some defining properties with the prototypical D' of **r** and 2) must not contradict any property of **r**.

A D of **r** does not contradict a property P of **r** if either it has the same value of P as the prototypical D' of **r** or P is not applicable to this D. Thus, if two Ds of a SSyntRel belong to different parts of speech, some of the properties of **r** may be simply inapplicable to one of them and so there is no contradiction.

Let us illustrate the above requirement with an example. The prototypical Direct Object—an N—has the following four defining properties:

- 1) It can be promoted (to the Subject) by passivization.
- 2) It controls the SSynt-role of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction (= does not admit the expression of the Secondary Actor as Direct Object).
- 3) It can be replaced with a clitic in the accusative.
- 4) When preceding the MV (that is, when replaced with a clitic or a relative pronoun), it controls the number-gender agreement of the past participles in compound verb forms.

Based on these properties, we can consider as Direct Objects not only nouns, but some infinitives as well (introduced by a preposition or prepositionless). Let us take the infinitive in sentence (1):

(1) [*Tout le monde*] *propose*—**dir-obj**→*de partir* ‘Everybody prefers to leave’.

This infinitive possesses all four defining properties of the prototypical DirO: 1) *Partir a été proposé par tout le monde* ‘To leave was proposed by everybody’; 2) *Cela lui* ⟨\*le⟩ *fait proposer de partir demain*, lit. ‘It makes to him propose to leave tomorrow’; 3) *Partir, tout le monde le propose*, lit. ‘To leave, everybody proposes it’; 4) *Partir, tout le monde l’a proposé* [MASC, SG], lit. ‘To leave, everybody has proposed it’). At the same time, this infinitive does not contradict any property of the prototypical DirO: it either shares a property with the prototype (= has the same value of it) or the property is inapplicable to the infinitive at all. Thus, in French an infinitive, whatever its syntactic role, cannot be the target/controller of reflexivization, but this does not prevent us from considering some infinitives as DirOs, along with nouns, which do control reflexivization and can be reflexivized.

The requirement of similarity of relevant properties calls for two important provisos. When checking the values of relevant properties for a given SSyntRel, one must always bear in mind the following two important facts about natural languages.

- If we say something true about a language, it is true everywhere—except for some particular cases, which must be explicitly identified. This happens, for instance, in all types of PHRASEOLOGIZED expressions, where general rules and properties of the language can be ‘suspended.’ Thus, in the notorious phrase *kick the bucket* the DirO *bucket* cannot be promoted to Subject—which is one of defining properties of DirOs (\**The bucket was kicked*, although the verb [to] KICK has the passive). However, being part of a phraseme and as a result losing many of its relevant properties does not in principle prevent a DirO from being a DirO. Thus, in the French phrasemes *faire pipi* ‘[to] go peepee’, or *faire dodo* ‘[to] go beddy-bye’, PIPi and DODO have almost none of the properties of DirOs—and yet in the causative FAIRE-construction they behave as DirOs, requiring that the SSynt-expression of the Secondary Actor be an IndirO: *Alain lui* ⟨\*le⟩ *fait faire pipi/dodo* ‘A. makes to him go peepee/go beddy-bye’ (Morin 1980: 206). We observe quite a similar behavior of DirOs in many even more opaque phrasemes: *lui* ⟨\*le⟩ *faire plier bagage*, lit. ‘[to] make to him pack up and go’, *faire prendre corps à un projet*, lit. ‘[to] make to a project take

shape', *lui* ⟨\*le⟩ *faire rendre gorge*, lit. '[to] make to him restitute ill-gotten gains', *lui* ⟨\*le⟩ *faire tenir compte de cela*, lit. '[to] make to him take this into account', etc. (Gaatone 1993: 40-41). In all such cases, the boldfaced noun has to be considered a DirO in order to ensure that the Secondary Actor in the causative construction is realized as an IndirO—in spite of the fact that inside the phraseme, such a DirO lacks other typical properties of DirOs.

In the same vein, we find individual cases of impossible cliticization which run counter to our general statements. All such particular cases must of course be described in lexical entries of the corresponding Governors, but we can safely ignore them in the process of establishing the set of SSyntRels of **L**.

- In many cases, a given clause element seems to lack a relevant property which it 'should' possess. This happens because other factors of a completely different nature intervene and muddle the picture. Thus, cliticization of a concrete phrase can be precluded by its semantic and communicative features (or instance, by its non-referentiality). The same holds for left dislocation. Again, such cases should be ignored when introducing SSyntRels of **L**.

In cases in which, from the viewpoint of the above properties, the Ds of two presumed SSyntRels  $r_1$  and  $r_2$  are sufficiently similar although not identical, we use three formal criteria (stated in 2.2 below)—in order to see whether  $r_1$  and  $r_2$  can be collapsed into one SSyntRel  $r$  or should be kept apart. For SSynt-constructions whose Ds manifest very dissimilar properties the question of a common SSyntRel does not even rise and the criteria need not to be recurred to.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2. Formal Requirements to be Satisfied by a SSyntRel (Criteria 1-3)

A SSyntRel must satisfy Criteria 1-3, which are aimed at distinguishing different SSyntRels; the application of these criteria presupposes that (i) the presence and (ii) the direction of SSynt-dependency between two lexemes under consideration is already established. (The criteria for (i) and (ii) are described in Mel'čuk 1977 [1979], 1988: 129-140 and 2000.) Criteria 1-3, introduced first in Mel'čuk 1977 [1979] and 1988: 141-144 and slightly reworked here, help the researcher to decide, for any pair of binary phrases of language **L** (and of course for the pair of corresponding constructions) whether both CAN be described by the same SSyntRel  $r$ . These criteria formulate the requirements any SSyntRel must satisfy; if  $r$  does not satisfy all of them, it has to be split into  $r'$  and  $r''$ . If the criteria do not require such a split, this by no means entails the acceptance of  $r$ : it still can be undesirable because  $r$  does not satisfy the requirement of similarity of relevant properties. Thus, Criteria 1-3 state only necessary but not sufficient conditions for grouping several SSynt-constructions under the same SSyntRel.

As we mentioned above, these criteria are a specific variation of the three basic criteria used in linguistics for all -emes: Semantic Contrast (= Minimal Pair Criterion), Substitutability, and Combinability.

### Criterion 1: Absence of semantic contrast

Notations:  $w(L)$  is a wordform of lexeme  $L$  ( $w_i$  and  $w_j$  can be different or identical);  $\oplus$  is the operation of linguistic union, which links signs, in particular—wordforms, according to their syntactics (i.e. their combinatorial properties) and general rules of  $\mathbf{L}$ .

A SSyntRel must not describe two different phrases

$w_i(L_1) \oplus w_j(L_2)$  and  $w_m(L_1) \oplus w_n(L_2)$ , where  $L_1 \rightarrow L_2$ ,

which 1) contrast semantically [ $w_i(L_1) \oplus w_j(L_2)$  '  $w_m(L_1) \oplus w_n(L_2)$ ']

and 2) differ formally only by some syntactic means of expression (i.e. by word order, by syntactic prosody, or by syntactic grammemes).

### Examples

1. Two French phrases *Alain←aime...* 'A. loves ...' and *...aime→Alain* '... loves A.' contrast semantically and differ only by word order; therefore, they must be described by different SSyntRels (the **subjectival** SSyntRel in the first one, and the **direct-objectival** in the second). Cf. also the discussion of the **quotative-objectival** SSyntRel below, p. 00.

2. Consider the phrases *semble→fatigué* and *fatigué←semble* in sentences (2a-b):

(2) a. *Ivre, Alain semble fatigué* 'Drunk, A. seems tired'.

b. *Fatigué, Alain semble ivre* 'Tired, A. seems drunk'.

Can both be described by the same SSyntRel  $\mathbf{r}$ ? No, because  $\mathbf{r}$  would contradict Criterion 1: there is a semantic contrast—(2a) is not synonymous with (2b)—and this contrast is expressed by purely syntactic means (word order and prosody).

Criterion 1 corresponds to what is known in linguistics as the '*minimal pair test*,' which is used in phonology (= two phones cannot be relegated to one phoneme if they are the only distinguishers of the signifiers of two semantically contrasting wordforms), morphology, and semantics.

### Criterion 2: SSynt-substitutability

The first formalization of the SSynt-substitutability of syntactic subtrees as a means for establishing SSyntRels was proposed by the German researcher J. Kunze (Kunze 1972: 23; see also Kunze 1975: 5.3, p. 235ff.): the so-called Kunze property. We start with presenting it here, in order to show that a weaker version of it must be preferred.

Let there be, in  $\mathbf{L}$ , lexemes  $L_{(X)}$ ,  $L_{(Y)}$ , ... of syntactic classes  $X$ ,  $Y$ , ..., complete SSynt-configurations  $\Delta_{(Z)}$  and  $\Delta_{(W)}$  (i.e. subtrees having as their top nodes lexemes  $L_{(Z)}$  and  $L_{(W)}$ ), and a SSyntRel  $\mathbf{r}$ .

**Definition 2: Kunze Property**

A SSyntRel  $\mathbf{r}$  has the *Kunze Property* if, and only if, for any pair of SSynt-configurations  $L_{(X)}-\mathbf{r}\rightarrow\Delta_{(Z)}$  and  $L_{(Y)}-\mathbf{r}\rightarrow\Delta_{(W)}$ , replacing  $\Delta_{(Z)}$  by  $\Delta_{(W)}$  and vice versa does not affect their SYNTACTIC<sup>9</sup> well-formedness.

To put it differently, for a SSyntRel that has the Kunze property, any of its potential Ds can be attached to any of its potential Gs (= all Ds of a SSyntRel are mutually substitutable in all SSyntSs *salva correctione*). In Mel'čuk 1988: 142 it was required that any SSyntRel in any  $\mathbf{L}$  has the Kunze property.<sup>10</sup> Now, however, we think that the Kunze property is too rigid, since it does not allow for some desirable generalizations. For instance, it does not admit the same SSyntRel for nominal and infinitival Subjects, as in (3):

(3) a. *La course* $\leftarrow\mathbf{r}$ -*fatigue*, lit. 'The running tires'.

b. *Courir* $\leftarrow\mathbf{r}$ —*fatigue*, lit. 'To run tires'.

Since far from any finite verb in French can take an infinitive as its Subject (*\*Pleuvoir m'a surpris*, lit. 'To rain has caught me out'), the SSyntRel  $\mathbf{r}$  in the phrases of (3) does not possess the Kunze Property: with  $L_{(X)} = \text{SURPRENDRE}$  '[to] catch N (out)',  $\Delta_{(Z)} = \text{Noun Phrase}$  [e.g., *La pluie* $\leftarrow\mathbf{r}$ -*surprend*] and  $L_{(Y)} = \text{FATIGUER}$ ,  $\Delta_{(W)} = \text{Infinitive Phrase}$  [e.g., *Courir*  $\leftarrow\mathbf{r}$ -*fatigue*], the replacement produces the syntactically ill-formed configuration  $*V_{\text{inf}}\leftarrow\mathbf{r}$ -SURPRENDRE. As a result, using the Kunze Property leads to having in (3) two different SSyntRels: one for nominal and the other for infinitival Subjects (as stated in Kunze 1975: 279). But we think that this  $\mathbf{r}$  should not be split: all the Subjects, whether nominal or infinitival, share a set of unique linguistic properties, and we prefer to describe all of them by the same SSyntRel.

Therefore, we propose to use the *quasi-Kunze Property*, which is weaker: substitutability is required only in one direction and only at least by one particular subtree (which is not a substitute pronoun, since substitute pronouns—IL/ELLE/ILS/ELLES—constitute a 'secondary' syntactic class: they are introduced by the operation of pronominalization), rather than in both directions and by any subtree. (Another weaker version of the Kunze Property was considered in Mel'čuk 1977: 261.)

**Definition 3: The Quasi-Kunze Property**

A SSyntRel  $\mathbf{r}$  has the *quasi-Kunze Property* if, and only if, there exists in  $\mathbf{L}$  a syntactic class ( part of speech)  $X$ , which is different from substitute pronouns and such that for any

|| SSynt-configuration  $L-r \rightarrow \Delta_{(Y)}$ , replacing  $\Delta_{(Y)}$  by  $\Delta_{(X)}$  (but not necessarily vice versa!) in any SSyntS does not affect the syntactic well-formedness.

The element  $\Delta_{(X)}$  that 'passes' with any Governor of the SSyntRel  $r$  is nothing else but the PROTOTYPICAL D of the SSyntRel  $r$ , which has been introduced above, 2.1, Definition 1, p. 00.

The SSyntRel  $r$  in (3) possesses the quasi-Kunze property, since  $r$  has a prototypical D: a prepositionless noun/(impersonal) pronoun—because in French any finite verb admits a nominal Subject.<sup>11</sup> As a result, the same SSyntRel  $r$  is allowed in (3a) and (3b): this is the **subjectival** SSyntRel.

Let it be emphasized that, while the G is a particular lexeme, the D is considered UP TO THE SYNTACTIC CLASS. Thus, for instance, different prepositions are not distinguished: the SSyntRel  $r$  in *insister*— $r \rightarrow sur$  '[to] insist on', *dépendre*— $r \rightarrow de$  '[to] depend on' and *comparer*— $r \rightarrow avec$  '[to] compare to' has the quasi-Kunze property (because a PREP + N phrase can be substituted for its D with any of these verbs, provided the appropriate preposition is chosen according to the verb's Government Pattern). Cf. the discussion of the **oblique-objectival** SSyntRel, p. 00ff.

Now we can formulate Criterion 2:

|| Any SSyntRel  $r$  must possess the quasi-Kunze property.

Or, to put it differently:

|| Any SSyntRel must have a prototypical D.

### Examples

1. Two French phrases *pouvoir respirer*, lit. '[to] be able to breathe', and *couper le bâton*, lit. '[to] cut the stick', cannot be described by the same SSyntRel  $r$ , since French has no element that could be used as the D of this  $r$  with any modal and any transitive verb; that is, such a SSyntRel would have no prototypical D (thus, *\*pouvoir*— $\rightarrow N$  and *\*couper*— $\rightarrow V_{inf}$ ).<sup>12</sup> Consequently, these two phrases require two different SSyntRels. For *pouvoir*— $\rightarrow respirer$  we propose the **infinitival-objectival** SSyntRel, while for *couper*— $\rightarrow [le\ bâton]$  of course the **dir(ect)-obj(ectival)** SSyntRel should be used.

2. On the other hand, Criterion 2 does not forbid to use the **dir-obj** SSyntRel for the infinitives with such verbs as INTERDIRE '[to] forbid' or PRÉFÉRER '[to] prefer', cf. (4):

- (4) a. *interdire*—**dir-obj**— $\rightarrow de\ partir$  '[to] forbid to leave',  
*préférer*—**dir-obj**— $\rightarrow partir$  '[to] prefer to leave'.

Here, a substitution of the infinitive by a prototypical—nominal—DirO is possible:

- b. *interdire*—**dir-obj**— $\rightarrow [le]\ départ$  '[to] forbid the departure',  
*préférer*—**dir-obj**— $\rightarrow [le]\ départ$  '[to] prefer the departure'.

With the Kunze property, the description shown in (4a) would not be allowed because of (4c):

- c. *couper-dir-obj*→[*le bâton*] ‘[to] cut the stick’,  
 but  
 \**couper-dir-obj*→*de partir* ‘[to] cut to leave’.

In other words, since there are many French transitive verbs that do not take infinitives as DirOs, as COUPER above, the Kunze property disallows us to treat an infinitive as DirO with any verb.

3. Nor does Criterion 2 forbid the use of the same **copular-attributive-completive** SSyntRel to describe the phrases *être*→[*avec sa mère*] ‘[to] be with his/her mother’ and *sembler*→*malade* ‘[to] seem ill’: although \**sembler*→[*avec sa mère*] ‘[to] seem with his/her mother’ is impossible, it suffices that the adjective, which is the prototypical D of the **copular-attributive-completive** SSyntRel, passes with both Gs (*être*→*malade* ‘[to] be ill’ and *sembler*→*malade* ‘[to] seem ill’). Again, should we use the Kunze property, we would have to split the **copular-attributive-completive** SSyntRel into at least two different SSyntRels.

**NB:** Criterion 2 should not be applied to the phrases that realize the SSynt-constructions which do not have direct DSynt-correlates because they are obtained from underlying DSynt-constructions by special rule (so to speak, ‘transformations;’ for instance, to the construction of the type *Il est venu trois étudiants*, lit. ‘It has come three students’ = ‘There came three students’).

Criterion 2 is similar, although not identical, to the ‘**commutation test**’ (used, for instance, in Le Goffic 1993). The important difference is the way Criterion 2 is used: it can forbid the unification of some constructions under one SSyntRel, but it cannot impose such a unification; therefore, for us, the possibility of commutation entails no more than the POSSIBILITY of unification, since a substantial difference in the linguistic properties of the constructions in question may prevent us from unifying them under one SSyntRel. Thus, Le Goffic (1993: 169) mentions the fact that with a phasal verb, the infinitive commutes, more or less freely, with an obvious DirO: *commencer à travailler* ‘[to] begin to work’ *commencer le travail* ‘[to] begin the work’; he concludes that this infinitive is a DirO. For us, however, such commutation cannot be a decisive argument: it is typologically well-known that the same DSyntA can be expressed by different SSynt-elements. Consider, for instance, *l’aide canadienne* ‘the Canadian aid’ *l’aide du Canada* ‘the aid of Canada’; here the adjective and the DE-phrase express both the same DSyntA (= I) of AIDE ‘[the] aid’. Criterion 2 does not forbid subsuming these two constructions under the same SSyntRel, since the substitution of an adjective by the DE-phrase is always possible. However, the defining properties of the Ds in both constructions do not warrant such unification (cf. Footnote 6, p. 00).

Criterion 2 corresponds to what is known in linguistics as the ‘**substitution test**.’ Thus, in phonology, two phones must be relegated to the same phoneme if one can be substituted

by the other in any context *salva significatione*; this is so-called inclusive distribution. In morphology, the notions of gender and grammatical case are often defined as substitution classes (cf., e.g., Gladkij 1983). Here we deal with substitution of SSynt-subtrees which depend, in a given SSyntS, on the same G via the same SSyntRel **r**.

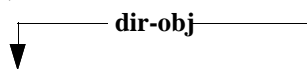
### Criterion 3: Repeatability with the Same SSynt-Governor

In order to formulate Criterion 3 we need to define non-repeatable and repeatable SSyntRels.

A SSyntRel **r** is *non-repeatable* if, and only if, no more than one branch labeled **r** can start from any G. In other words, in **L**, a G of a non-repeatable **r** can have, in a given SSyntS, only one D (= one clause element) of the corresponding type.

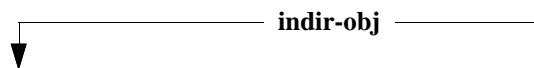
For instance, actantial SSyntRels whose Ds are marked by purely syntactic means (word order, prosody, inflection)—such as the **subj** and the **dir-obj** SSyntRels in French or in English—are obligatorily non-repeatable: otherwise, they would violate Criterion 1, because their Ds would contrast semantically, while differing only in syntactic means. (Actantial SSyntRels whose Ds are marked by lexical means, that is, by different prepositions—such as the **oblique-objectival** SSyntRel— can be repeatable.)<sup>13</sup>

In some languages, a clause element can be DUPLICATED by a pronoun; as a rule, this pronoun is what is called a *resumptive clitic*. Such is, for instance, the D of the **dir-obj** SSyntRel in Spanish, where we have the construction of the type (5a):



(5) a. Sp. *A Alain le←dir-obj-veo*, lit. ‘To A. him [I] see’.

We do not consider pronominal duplication of a clause element as repeatability, since such duplication has a (more or less) grammaticized character and is ‘orthogonal’ to the genuine cooccurrence of SSyntRels; in spite of the expressions of the type (5a), the **dir-obj** SSyntRel is considered non-repeatable in Spanish. Similarly, in spite of (5b), the **indir-objectival** SSyntRel is also non-repeatable in French:



b. *À mes enfants, je leur←indir-obj-permets tout*,  
lit. ‘To my children, I permit them everything’.<sup>14</sup>

A SSyntRel **r** is *unlimitedly repeatable*—or, for short, *repeatable*—if, and only if, several branches labeled **r** can start from a G such that their possible number is theoretically unlimited. In practice, this number is limited by pragmatic considerations (interpretability by the addressee, etc.) or by the properties of particular Gs, as a rule—by their Government Pattern, as is the case with the **obl-obj** SSyntRel, cf. below, p. 00. Thus, the **modificative** and the **circumstantial** SSyntRels



in French and English are unlimitedly repeatable; so is the **obl(ique)-obj(ectival)** SSyntRel (although the actual number of possible OblOs is obviously controlled by the Government Pattern of the G).

Criterion 3 runs as follows:

|| Any **r** of language **L** must be either non-repeatable or unlimitedly repeatable.

An equivalent formulation:

|| No SSyntRel can be LIMITEDLY repeatable, i.e. its repeatability cannot be constrained to a particular number by general syntactic factors.

### Examples

1. To illustrate 'limited repeatability,' consider the French sentence (6):

(6) *Ils lisent tous ce roman très jeunes* 'They read all this novel very young'.

If we try to describe the phrases *lisent*→*tous* and *lisent*→*jeunes* by the same SSyntRel **r**, it would be repeatable exactly two times, since no more non-actantial adjectives can be added to the construction in question as attributes of the MV, no matter what particular verb we take. Thus, **r** is neither non-repeatable, nor unlimitedly repeatable, which is not allowed by Criterion 3. Therefore, we need here two different SSyntRels.

2. Another example:

(7) *Il est venu trois étudiants*, lit. 'It has come three students'.

One could think that both nominal Ds of the MV (the impersonal *il* and the noun *étudiants*) are Subjects, so that the phrases *il est venu* and *est venu trois étudiants* can be described by the same **subj** SSyntRel. (Some actually say so, treating *il* and *trois étudiants* as two Subjects.) Criteria 1 and 2 do not prevent us from doing so: they are not applicable. (More specifically, Criterion 1 is not applicable, because the phrases *il est venu ...* and *... est venu trois étudiants* cannot be contrasted semantically, and Criterion 2 is not applicable because the construction in question has been produced by a 'transformational' rule, see above, p. 00.) However, Criterion 3 is not satisfied: the **subj** SSyntRel would be limitedly repeatable—again exactly two times, and this, not because of the Government Pattern of the MV. Therefore, we have to use here two different SSyntRels:

*il*←**subj**—[*est venu*]—**quasi-subj**→[*trois étudiants*].

This decision agrees quite well with our linguistic intuition, which is based on the following two considerations, a specific and a general one:

- The SSynt-properties of *il* and *trois étudiants* in this construction are very different; for details, see the properties of the **subj** SSyntRel (p. 00) vs. the properties of the **quasi-subj** SSyntRel (p. 00).
- One of the tenets of syntactic typology is the uniqueness of the Subject in a clause; we would like to retain this feature.

Criterion 3 corresponds roughly to the '*cooccurrence test*,' used in linguistics on all levels of analysis. Thus, two phones cannot be included in the same phoneme if one of them contradicts the general conditions for phonemic cooccurrence in **L**. In morphology, an element of a morphological category is either non-repeatable (tense or number in English or French) or unlimitedly repeatable (the causative in Turkish). When we see, for instance, just two possible repetitions—like nominal case suffixes in Basque or Georgian, we speak of two different case categories (semantic case vs. syntactic case; governed case vs. agreeing case).

Criteria 1 and 2 are paradigmatic, while Criterion 3 is syntagmatic.<sup>15</sup>

To sum up:

A SSyntRel is postulated for a particular family of SSynt-constructions  $G_i \rightarrow D_j$  if, and only if, all these constructions

- 1) satisfy the requirement of the similarity of the relevant linguistic properties of their Ds
- and 2) satisfy Criteria 1-3.

The similarity of relevant properties, on the one hand, and the Criteria 1-3, on the other, play different roles:

—A sufficient similarity of properties of the constructions A and B argues for using the same SSyntRel **r** to describe them; more precisely, it RECOMMENDS uniting A and B under the same **r**.

—Criteria 1-3 argue for not using the same SSyntRel **r** to describe A and B; more precisely, they FORBID uniting A and B under the same **r**.

### 3. SSynt-Relations Between a Verb and its Valency-Controlled Dependents in French

The theoretical principles discussed in 2 have been systematically applied to French data in the domain of valency-controlled verb dependents. In this section, we present the results—a partial list of SSyntRels of French, with some explanations and justifications.

A SSyntRel is designated by an adjective derived from the name of the SSynt-role of its D, that is, the name of the corresponding clause element. For instance, we call the SSyntRels linking *John to have* and *children to have* **subjectival** and **direct-objectival**:

*John* ← **subj(ectival)** – *has* – **dir(ect)-obj(ectival)** → *children*,

because *John* is the Subject, and *children*, the Direct Object of the MV [*to*] HAVE.

As stated above, the SSyntRels considered are grouped into five classes, according, roughly speaking, to the part of speech of their prototypical D:

Class I : the prototypical D is an N (without or with a preposition);

Class II : the prototypical D is a V in the infinitive (without or with a preposition);

Class III : the prototypical D is an A;

Class IV : the prototypical D is an adverbial (= an ADV, a prepositional phrase or a phrase introduced by the comparative conjunction COMME 'as');

Class V : the prototypical D is a sentence.

Each SSyntRel **r** is described in four steps:

- Relevant linguistic properties of **r**. (When a property is not applicable to all types of Ds of a given **r**, but only to some of them, we indicate its value for the prototypical D.)
- Formal types of the Ds of **r**.
- Justification of **r**: in non-obvious situations, we try to show that **r** cannot be collapsed with a different **r'**.
- Comments on difficult cases and interesting features of specific constructions (if any).

### 3.1. SSyntRels whose Prototypical D is a Noun

SUBJECTIVAL, OBJECTIVAL and AGENTIVE SSynt-Relations (1 - 7)

The order of the presentation of the SSyntRels in this group is in accordance with the syntactic hierarchy of the corresponding clause elements (see below, 4.1, page 00).

#### N° 1. Subjectival SSyntRel: G–subj→D

The prototypical D is a prepositionless noun; any French verb can take an N (or an impersonal pronoun) as its Subject: cf. *Me promener là-bas me tente* 'To go for a walk there tempts me' ~ *Que je me promene là-bas me tente* 'That I go for a walk there tempts me' ~ *Une promenade là-bas me tente* 'A walk there tempts me'; etc.

#### Properties

The dependent member of the **subj** SSyntRel is the Subject, which is the most privileged clause element depending on a verb in **L**. In French, the SSynt-privileges of the Subject are the following seven properties that accrue to Subjects only and thus may be considered defining properties:

##### 1) Only the Subject corresponds to DSyntA I of the MV.

Exceptions

1. A Subject may correspond to no DSyntA at all, as the so-called 'formal,' or dummy, Subject, i.e. the impersonal **IL** 'it', or the Subject of idiomatic expressions of the type *Quelle mouche l'a piqué ?*, lit. 'What fly bit him?' 'What makes him so irritated?'. Cf. as well *La culotte y a été portée par madame*, lit. 'The pants have been worn there by the lady', where the Subject is part of the phraseme *porter la culotte* '[to] wear the pants' '[to] dominate', which is represented at the DSynt-level as one node; therefore, CULOTTE does not correspond to any DSyntA.

2. The Quasi-Subject, which is obtained by the Impersonalization DSynt-rule, also corresponds to DSyntA I, see below, n° 2, p. 00.

3. The Agentive phrase that depends on the infinitive in the construction with FAIRE, SE FAIRE and SE VOIR corresponds to its DSyntA I: *Il a fait écrire la lettre par la secrétaire*, lit. 'He has made write the letter by the secretary', or *Il s'est fait renverser par un camion*, lit. 'He has made himself hit by a truck', see 3.1, n° 6, property 2, p. 00.

2) Only the Subject is necessarily present in (the SSyntS of) any full-fledged clause.<sup>16</sup> (Note that we consider here only clauses with a finite verb form as their SSynt-predicate; such clauses as *Voilà Alain* 'Here is A.' or *Heureusement [qu'il est là]*, lit. 'Happily that he's here', do not have a Subject.)

3) Only the Subject can depend on nothing but the MV. (This means that in no situation a clause element different from the finite verb—for instance an infinitive or a participle—can govern a Subject.)

Exception

The Quasi-Subject can also depend on nothing but the MV, *idem*.

4) Only the Subject can be the target of demotion by passivization (to the Agentive phrase).

Let it be emphasized that this approximate formulation is used here for simplicity's sake. In the Meaning-Text theory, a Subject, i.e. an element of the SSyntS, cannot be 'moved.' What our formulation means is as follows: 'In French, only DSyntA I, which is to be implemented as a Subject, can be demoted by passivization.'

5) Only the Subject can be the target of a particular non-specific morphological government—namely, if it is replaced by a clitic or a relative pronoun, the latter is in the nominative: *Il* [= *le vin*] *est bon* 'It [= the wine] is good', [*le pain*] *qui nous nourrit* '[the bread] which feeds us', *C'est partir qui m'inquiète* 'It is to leave that bothers me', *C'est que Helen soit là qui nous intéresse*, lit. 'It is that H. should be here that interests us'.

6) Only the Subject controls the agreement of the finite MV: *Vous êtes chez vous* 'You are at home'; *Alain et Helen sont chez eux* 'A. and H. are at home'; *Travailler trop et boire beaucoup sont mauvais pour la santé* 'To work too much and drink a lot are bad for your health'.<sup>17</sup>

Exception

With the Subject CE 'this' and the MV ÊTRE '[to] be', it is the Copular-Attributive Complement that controls the agreement of the MV, cf. *Ce sont mes amis*, lit. 'This are my friends'.

7) Among the valency-controlled dependents, only the Subject normally precedes the Main Verb.

Exception

Subject may follow the MV in a set of well-defined constructions, such as interrogative inversion, inversion with the introduction of Direct Speech, Subject inversion in a relative clause, etc. Cf., e.g., *Est-elle arrivée ?* 'Has she arrived?', ... *sans que se modifie le chiffre total des ventes* 'without any modification in the figure of sales'; *Je me demande quand partira Alain*, lit. 'I ask myself when will leave A.', « *Me voilà !* » dit *Alain*, lit. 'I am here!', said A.; *C'est là où Alain veut aller* 'It is there where A. wants to go' ~ *C'est là où veut aller Alain*, lit. 'It is there where wants to go A.'; etc.

In addition, the Subject has seven more relevant properties that it shares with other clause elements (one property is inapplicable: being prototypically a noun, a Subject cannot be the target of agreement).

8) The Subject can be the target of cliticization by a personal clitic: *Est-elle venue ?* 'Has she come?'.

**NB:** In accordance with the proposal of Morin 1985: 794 ff., we do not consider as the Subject the clitic that participates in the interrogative/exclamatory 'inversion' in the presence of an explicit ANTEPOSED nominal Subject. Thus, in *Alain a-t-il mangé ?*, lit. 'A. has he eaten?', ALAIN is the Subject, but IL—or, more precisely, *-t-il/-t-elle*— is taken to be an interrogative/exclamatory marker that agrees with the Subject or with the DirO;<sup>18</sup> it depends on the MV via a special auxiliary SSyntRel. (With a anteposed nominal Subject this marker cannot be used: *À quelle heure a(\*-t-il) mangé Alain ?*, lit. 'At what hour has he eaten A.?). On the contrary, in *A-t-il mangé ?* 'Has he eaten?' or *Pleut-il ?* 'Does it rain?', the clitic IL 'he'/it' is of course the Subject.

9) The Subject can be the target of relativization: *J'aime ce livre, qui décrit les voyages d'Amundsen* 'I like this book, which describes Amundsen's travels'.

10) The Subject can be the target of clefting: *C'est (de) partir le plus vite possible qui m'intéresse*, lit. 'It is to leave as soon as possible that interests me'.

11) The Subject can be the controller of reflexivization: *Alain se rase* 'A. shaves himself'.

Exception

In the Impersonalization construction, it is the Quasi-Subject that controls reflexivization, rather than the Subject, n° 2, property 8, p. 00.

12) The Subject does not control the SSynt-role of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction: since the Subject is present in any clause, it cannot be distinctive in this respect, so that this property is not applicable to Subjects.

13) The Subject can be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement: *Cette nouvelle est considérée comme intéressante*, lit. 'This piece of news is considered as interesting'.

14) The Subject cannot be the target of 'pure' left dislocation: *\*Alain, est venu hier* 'A., has come yesterday'.

## Formal Types of Subject

1. A prepositionless noun in the broad sense:

- a. A noun (with the subclass of stressed pronouns): *Alain travaille* 'Alain is working'; *Celui de mon père est plus grand* 'That of my father is bigger'.
- b. A SSynt-equivalent of a noun: a substantivized adjective (*Le plus sage est de tout oublier* 'The wisest [thing to do] is to forget everything'), a headless relative (*Qui veut y aller doit faire une demande*, lit. 'Who wants to go there should make an application') or a quantitative phrase of the type *Beaucoup de livres ont été perdus* 'Many books have been lost'.
- c. The impersonal clitic IL or a personal clitic in the nominative: *Il pleut* 'It rains'; *Elle lit* 'She reads'.

2. An infinitive (with or without preposition): *Courir fatigue Alain* 'To run tires A.'; *De voir ça m'a bouleversé* 'To see this has upset me'; *Se plaindre passe pour un signe de faiblesse* 'To complain is considered as a sign of weakness'.

3. A subordinate clause:

a. A QUE-clause (with the MV in the subjunctive): *Que Helen soit arrivée étonne Alain*, lit. 'That H. should have arrived amazes A.'

b. A clause with an interrogative pronoun: *Pourquoi Alain a dit cela reste un grand mystère* 'Why A. has said this remains a great mystery'.

4. Direct Speech: « *On doit partir le plus tôt possible* » est la consigne que tout le monde comprend 'We have to leave as soon as possible' is the slogan that everyone understands'.

### Comments

Nominal Subjects and non-nominal Subjects show two types of differences:

1) Different behavior with respect to word order: thus, inversion rules do not apply to non-nominal Subjects (= formal types 2 - 4).

2) A nominal and a non-nominal Subjects are not easily coordinated with each other, even where semantics allows this coordination: *??Courir et le travail physique fatiguent Alain* 'To run and physical work tire A.'. Such coordination, however, does not seem to be completely ungrammatical, and it is better in some cases: *?Manger trop de fraises et la sieste sont mes deux péchés* 'To eat too many strawberries and the sieste are my two sins'. Coordination of two different non-nominal constructions is possible without problems: *Travailler deux jours et qu'on me paye le double m'arrange* 'To work two days and be paid the double suits me'.

Facts of this type are irrelevant for SSyntRels as such; they must be taken care of in DSynt-rules (during the DSyntS  $\Rightarrow$  SSyntS transition).

### N° 2. Quasi-subjectival SSyntRel: G—quasi-subj $\rightarrow$ D

This SSyntRel has no prototypical D: the constructions covered by it do not have DIRECT DSynt-correlates, being produced by a lexically restricted DSynt-rule of Impersonalization (cf. **NB** after the formulation of Criterion 2, p. 00).

### Properties

The dependent member of the **quasi-subj** SSyntRel is the Quasi-Subject: an element that corresponds—in an impersonal construction—to DSyntA I of the MV, but is not the Subject, the Subject being the impersonal clitic IL 'it' or the demonstrative pronoun CELA/ÇA 'this' (*Il est raconté beaucoup d'histoires bizarres*, lit. 'It is told many strange stories'; *Cela m'étonne qu'Alain soit venu*, lit. 'This amazes me that A. should have come'). The Quasi-Subject is introduced, together with IL or CELA, in the SSyntS by the Impersonalization rule—under the control of communicative information. Let it be emphasized that with some verbs the application of this rule is obligatory: *Il semble qu'Alain soit venu* 'It seems that A. has come' ~ \**Qu'Alain soit venu semble*.

The Quasi-Subject shares with the genuine Subject no defining properties—except for the correspondence to DSyntA I of the MV and the ability to depend only on the MV; therefore, it can by no means be considered a Subject. In the French grammatical tradition, the Quasi-Subject is called *sujet réel* ‘real subject’, while the impersonal IL is *sujet apparent* ‘apparent subject’. These terms show the failure to distinguish the semantic and the syntactic levels: from the viewpoint of syntax, it is rather IL which is the ‘real’ subject, while our Quasi-Subject is an ‘apparent’ subject.

The Quasi-Subject has one defining property:

1) The Quasi-Subject corresponds to DSyntA I of the MV, being the product of DSynt-rule of Impersonalization.

Its descriptive properties are:

2) The Quasi-Subject is not obligatorily present in any full-fledged clause.

3) The Quasi-Subject can depend on nothing but the MV.<sup>19</sup>

4) The Quasi-Subject cannot be promoted/demoted.

5) A nominal Quasi-Subject can be the target of cliticization and is substitutable by the clitic EN: *Il en* [= *bâtiments de ce type*] *a été construit en France en 1970*, lit. ‘It has been built thereof [= buildings of this type] in France in 1970’, *Il en* [= *des coups*] *pleuvait*, lit. ‘It rained thereof [= blows]’, *Il en* [= *des camions*] *arrive*, lit. ‘It is arriving thereof [= trucks]’.

6) The Quasi-Subject cannot be the target of relativization: *toutes ces histoires \*qu’il a été racontées*, lit. ‘all these stories that it has been told’.

7) The Quasi-Subject can be the target of clefting: *C’est des étudiants qu’il est venu*, lit. ‘It is students that it has come’.

8) The Quasi-Subject can be the controller of reflexivization: *Tous les ans, à la même période, il se baigne dans le Gange des milliers de fidèles*, lit. ‘Every year, at the same period, there bathe themselves in the Ganges thousands of the faithful’.

9) The Quasi-Subject does not control the role of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction: the Quasi-Subject is incompatible with the causative construction, so that this property is not applicable to it.

10) The Quasi-Subject cannot be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement: *\*Il est considéré de telles théories comme fort intéressantes*, lit. ‘It is considered such theories as very interesting’.

11) The Quasi-Subject cannot be the target of non-specific morphological government. (Non-specific morphological government manifests itself in French only with personal clitics, which distinguish cases; however, the Quasi-Subject is not cliticizable by personal clitics.)

12) The Quasi-Subject cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.

13) The Quasi-Subject always follows the MV.

14) The Quasi-Subject cannot be the target of 'pure' left dislocation: \**Des étudiants, il est venu*, lit. 'Students, it has come'.

**NB:** A nominal Quasi-Subject has an additional important property: it must be indefinite.

### Formal Types of Quasi-Subject

1. An indefinite prepositionless noun (including indefinite and interrogative pronouns): *Il pleuvait des coups*, lit. 'It was raining blows' = 'Blows were raining'; *Il risque d'être venu des gens*, lit. 'It risks to have come people' = 'It is possible that some people have come'; *Il est entré quelqu'un*, lit. 'It has entered somebody'; *Il est entré qui ? ~ Qui est-il entré ?*, lit. 'It has entered who?' = 'Who has entered?'.
2. The clitic EN.
3. An infinitive (with the preposition DE): *Il /Cela fatigue Alain de courir*, lit. 'It/This tires A. to run'; *Il n'est pas difficile de savoir quand Alain partira* 'It is not difficult to know when A. will leave'.
4. A subordinate QUE-clause: *Il semble qu'Alain est venu* 'It seems that A. has come'; *Il /Cela m'étonne qu'Alain soit venu*, lit. 'It/This amazes me that A. should have come'.
5. Direct Speech: *Il a été annoncé: « Restez tranquilles ! »* 'It has been announced: 'Remain calm!'.

### Comments

1. Although the constructions listed above do not possess a common prototypical D, this does not prevent us from subsuming all of them under the same SSyntRel. Criterion 2 is simply not applicable in this case: the constructions in question do not have DIRECT DSynt-correlates, being produced by a lexically restricted DSynt-rule of Impersonalization.

2. G. Lazard (1994a) considers only nominal expressions, including EN, as possible Quasi-Subjects (*actant H*, in his terms); actually, he describes these as something intermediate between Subjects and Direct Objects, with which they share several properties (Lazard 1994a: 9), but, in any rate, as a separate SSynt-role. We do the same thing, with the difference that we include under the label of **quasi-subjectival** SSyntRel three other constructions, which have not been considered by Lazard.

3. Nominal and non-nominal Quasi-Subjects show the following important difference: the presence of a nominal Subject with a given verb does by no means entail the possibility of the Impersonalization rule, which will produce a Quasi-Subject; only some existential verbs and all the verbs in the passive admit it. However, the presence of a non-nominal Subject with a verb automatically entails the possibility of the Impersonalization, and, as indicated above, in some cases, this is even obligatory.



4. Another important difference cuts across nominal and non-nominal Quasi-Subjects: some of them correlate with genuine Subjects possible on the surface while some others do not. For instance: *Il pleuvait des coups* ‘It rained blows’ ~ *Des coups pleuvaient* ‘Blows rained’ or *Il fatigue Alain de courir* ‘It tires A. to run’ ~ *Courir fatigue Alain* ‘To run tires A.’, but *Il semble qu’Alain est venu* ‘It seems that A. has come’ ~ \**Qu’Alain est venu semble*.

### N° 3. Direct-objectival SSyntRel: G–dir-obj→D

The prototypical D is a prepositionless noun: cf. *Alain propose de partir* ‘A. proposes to leave’ ~ *Alain propose le départ* ‘A. proposes the departure’; *Alain sait quoi lui répondre*, lit. ‘A. knows what to answer to him’ ~ *Alain sait la réponse* ‘A. knows the answer’; etc.

#### Properties

The dependent member of the **dir-obj** SSyntRel is the Direct Object [= DirO]. It is the second most privileged clause element depending on a verb in **L**. In French, the SSynt-privileges of the DirO are the following four defining properties:

- 1) The DirO can be the target of promotion (to Subject—by passivization).

##### Exception

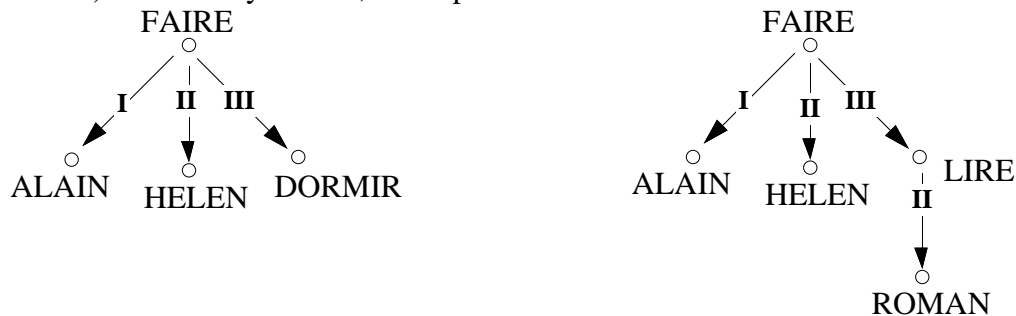
In the Accusativus-Cum-Infinitivo construction, the promotion of the DirO is not accepted by some speakers in all contexts: <sup>?</sup>*Helen a été vue sortir de l'immeuble* ‘H. has been seen to go out of the building’ (Abeillé 1997b: 15).

If the verb governing a DirO is not passivizable as such, this property is taken to be not applicable. Thus, it is not applicable, for instance, in the case of *avoir ce livre* ‘[to] have this book’, since AVOIR (in this sense) does not have the passive; the same holds for *comporter trois parties* ‘[to] contain three parts’. (Many cases of transitive verbs that do not passivize inside phrases are quoted in Gaatone 1993: 42-48: *donner lieu* ‘[to] give rise’ ~ \**Le lieu a été donné*; *prendre froid* ‘[to] catch cold’ ~ \**Le froid a été pris*; *faire le désespoir (d’Alain)* ‘[to] make (A.’s) despair’ ~ \**Le désespoir a été fait*; *foutre le camp* ‘[to] flee, get out of here’ ~ \**Le camp a été foutu*; etc. On unpassivizable French transitive verbs, see also Leclère 1993.) But the case of *Alain a commencé à travailler* ‘A. has begun to work’ vs. \*(*À*) *travailler a été commencé par Alain* ‘To work has been begun by A.’ is different: here this property is applicable and not satisfied, since COMMENCER—in this sense!—has a passive: *Le travail a été commencé* ‘The work has been begun’. (As a result, *à V<sub>inf</sub>* with COMMENCER is not considered to be a DirO, cf. Comment 6 below, p. 00.)

- 2) The DirO imposes the IndirO realization of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction (Kayne 1977: 202-211, Morin 1980, Tasmowski-de Ryck 1984).

In order to explain this property, we have to say a few words about the syntactic representation of the French causative construction FAIRE + V (*Alain fait dormir Helen*, lit. ‘A.

makes sleep H.’), *Alain fait lire un roman à Helen*, lit. ‘A. makes read a novel to H.’ = ‘A. makes H. read a novel’). At the DSynt-level, it is represented as follows:



The causative FAIRE is considered to have three DSyntAs: its DSyntA I is the Primary Actor, or the Causer, the DSyntA II the Secondary Actor, i.e. the demoted Actor of the lexical verb V (*Helen* in our examples), and the DSyntA III the lexical verb itself.

The SSynt-role of the corresponding clause elements depends on the transitivity of V and the presence of a DirO with this V.

- If V is intransitive or, being transitive, has no DirO, the Secondary Actor is realized as the DirO of FAIRE; cf.:

(8) a. *Helen sort de sa chambre* [= ObIO of SORTIR] ‘H. goes out of her room’.

vs.

b. *Alain fait sortir Helen* [= DirO of FAIRE] *de sa chambre* [= ObIO of SORTIR],

lit. ‘A. makes go out H. from her room’ ~

*Alain la* ⟨\*lui⟩ *fait sortir de sa chambre*, lit. ‘A. makes her go out from her room’.

c. *Helen lit chaque soir* ‘H. reads every night’.

vs.

d. *Alain fait lire Helen* [= DirO of FAIRE] *chaque soir*, lit. ‘A. makes read H. every night’.

*Alain la* ⟨\*lui⟩ *fait lire chaque soir*, lit. ‘A. makes read her every night’.

- If V is transitive and has an expressed DirO, the Secondary Actor is realized as an Indirect Object of FAIRE; cf.:

(9) a. *Alain fait lire le roman* [= DirO of LIRE] *à Helen* [= IndirO of FAIRE] ⟨\*Helen⟩

lit. ‘A. makes read the novel to H.’ ~

*Alain lui* ⟨\*la⟩ *fait lire le roman*,

lit. ‘A. makes to her read the novel’ = ‘A. makes her read the novel’.

Cf. also:

(10) *J’ai fait comprendre à Alain* [= IndirO of FAIRE] ⟨\*Alain⟩ *que c’était inutile* [= DirO of COMPRENDRE], lit. ‘I have made understand to A. that this was useless’ ~

*Je lui* ⟨\*l’⟩ *ai fait comprendre que c’était inutile*,

lit. ‘I have made understand to him that this was useless’.

Thus, when we say that a DirO is the controller of the SSynt-role of the Secondary Actor, we mean the following: in the presence of the DirO of the lexical verb, the Secondary Actor in a causative construction must be realized as an IndirO of FAIRE, and in its absence, as a DirO of the latter.<sup>20</sup>

3) The DirO can be the target of non-specific morphological government—the clitic/the relative pronoun replacing the corresponding noun is in the accusative: *Je le* [= *le vin*] *bois* ‘I drink it [= the wine]’, [*le pain*] *que j’ai acheté* ‘[the bread] that I have bought’.

Exceptions

1. An indefinite DirO can be replaced with the clitic EN (*J’ai trouvé des livres* ‘I have found books’ ~ *J’en ai trouvé*, lit. ‘I have found thereof’; *Je n’ai pas trouvé de livres* ‘I haven’t found books’ ~ *Je n’en ai pas trouvé*, lit. ‘I haven’t found thereof’).

2. A partitive DirO can also be replaced with the clitic EN and the relative pronoun DONT (*Je mange du pain blanc* ‘I eat white bread’ ~ *J’en mange*, lit. ‘I eat thereof’; *le pain dont j’ai mangé*, lit. ‘the bread of which I have eaten’).

4) The DirO is the controller of the agreement of the past participle in compound forms of the MV in case the DirO precedes the participle (the DirO is the relative pronoun or a clitic): *les lettres que j’ai écrites* ‘the letters that I have written’, *Je les* [= *les lettres*] *ai écrites* ‘I have written them [= the letters]’.

Exceptions

1. The past participle of inherently impersonal verbs does not agree with the DirO: *les lettres qu’il m’a fallu* (\**fallues*), lit. ‘the letters that it needed me’, *les chaleurs qu’il a fait* (\**faites*), lit. ‘the heats that it made’.

2. The DirO implemented by the clitic EN does not control the agreement of the past participle, so that we have *Des lettres, j’en ai écrit* (\**écrites*) *dans ma vie*, lit. ‘Letters, I have written thereof in my life’.

In addition, the DirO has ten descriptive properties:

5) The DirO corresponds exclusively to DSyntA II of the governing verb.

Exception

A DirO in an idiomatic expression [= full phraseme] of the type *faire l’amour* [*avec qqn.*] ‘[to] make love [with someone]’ or [to] *kick the bucket* (cf. p. 00), where—under sentence production—the governing verb appears first only in the SSyntS (in the DSyntS, the whole phraseme is represented as one node) and therefore has no DSyntAs.

In order to avoid cluttering our presentation with non-relevant details, we will not discuss a complication related to the DSynt-representation of constructions with an ‘internal’ DirO, as in *vivre sa vie* ‘[to] live one’s life’ or *suer la sueur de tes nuits* [Verlain] ‘[to] sweat the sweat of your nights’, where the verb receives—by a semantic rule—the DSyntA II that does not correspond to any of its SemAs.

6) The DirO is not necessarily present in any clause.

7) The DirO does not necessarily depend on the MV. (It can, unlike the Subject, depend on an infinitive or a present participle.)

8) The DirO can be the target of personal cliticization: *Je les* [= *les conditions*] *considère* ‘I consider them [= the conditions]’.

9) The DirO can be the target of relativization: *J'aime ce livre, **que** j'ai acheté à Paris* 'I love this book, which I have bought in Paris'.

10) The DirO can be the target of clefting: *C'est ce livre **que** je veux lire* 'It is this book that I want to read'; *C'est **travailler la nuit** que je déteste* 'It is to work at night that I hate'.

11) The DirO can be the controller/the target of reflexivization: *Helen a forcé Alain à **se** raser* 'H. has forced A. to shave himself'; *Helen a fait **se** raser Alain* 'H. has made A. to shave himself'.

12) The DirO can be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement: *Il considère cette **nouvelle** comme intéressante* 'He considers this piece of news as interesting'.

13) The DirO follows the governing verb.

Exception

A DirO expressed by a quantifying pronoun TOUT 'everything' or RIEN 'nothing' can precede the governing verb.

14) The DirO cannot be the target of 'pure' left dislocation: \**Les romans, Alain lit* 'Novels, A. reads'; ??*Ce film, je préfère de loin à un roman* 'Ce film, I strongly prefer to a novel'; ??*Partir tôt, je préfère* 'To leave early, I prefer'.

Exception

In colloquial speech a few verbs admit 'pure' left dislocation of the DirO (without the resumptive clitic), cf. *Ce film, j'ai aimé*, lit. 'This film, I have loved'; *Les mille-feuilles, Alain adore*, lit. 'The mille feuilles, A. adores'; *Nager le matin, j'ai beaucoup aimé* 'To swim in the morning, I have loved a lot'.

## Formal Types of DirO

1. A prepositionless noun in the broad sense:

a. A noun (including the subclass of stressed pronouns): *J'ai trouvé **un livre*** 'I have found a book'; *Je trouve **cela** dangereux* 'I find this dangerous'; *Je vois **celui de mon père*** 'I see that of my father'.

b. A SSynt-equivalent of a noun, such as a headless relative (*J'embrasse **qui je veux*** 'I kiss who I want'; *Alain sait **qui sa femme voit*** 'A. knows who his wife is seeing'; *Alain chassera **qui apparaîtra*** 'A. will chase who will appear'), a subordinate clause of the type *Helen a invité **tu ne devineras jamais qui*** 'H. has invited you will never guess who',<sup>21</sup> a quantitative phrase (*Alain lit **beaucoup de livres*** 'A. reads many books'), etc.

c. A personal clitic in the accusative: *Alain **la** trouvait partout* 'A. was finding it everywhere'; *Alain ne **me** quite jamais* 'A. never leaves me'.

2. A noun without article introduced by the preposition DE—with a negated verb: *Alain n'a pas trouvé **de livre*** 'A. has not found a book'.

3. The clitic EN: *Alain **en** [= des légumes frais] trouve partout*, lit. 'A. finds thereof [= fresh vegetables] everywhere'.

4. An infinitive:

- a. Without preposition or with the preposition À or DE: *Alain préfère partir* ‘A. prefers to leave’; *Alain propose de partir* ‘A. proposes to leave’, *Tous les étudiants apprennent à parler chinois* ‘All students learn to speak Chinese’.
  - b. Governing an interrogative pronoun: *Alain sait combien lui donner/à qui parler/qui inviter* ‘A. knows how much to give him/to whom to speak/whom to invite’.
5. A subordinate clause:
- a. Including a relative/interrogative pronoun: *Alain sait quand son ami part* ‘A. knows when his friend is leaving’.
  - b. Introduced by the conjunction QUE: *Alain sait que Helen est là* ‘A. knows that H. is here’.
  - c. Introduced by the interrogative conjunction SI: *Alain veut savoir si nous travaillons ce vendredi* ‘A. wants to know whether we work this Friday’.

### Comments

1. A prepositionless noun that corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb is not necessarily a DirO: it may be an OblO. This is, for instance, the case of the noun that designates the topic of the discussion with the verbs PARLER ‘[to] speak’ and CAUSER ‘[to] chat’: *parler politique* ‘[to] talk politics’ or *causer argent*, lit. ‘[to] chat money’ (cf. *to talk shop*), cf. n° 7 below, p. 00. The noun in question does not possess three of the four defining properties of a DirO: it does not forbid the SSynt-implementation of the Secondary Actor in the causative construction as a DirO (*Alain la/lui fait parler politique*) and, since it does not allow either cliticization (*\*la parler*) or relativization (*\*politique que nous parlions*), it cannot be the target of non-specific morphological government and does not control the agreement of the past participle in compound verb forms (*\*politique qu'on a parlée*). It does not passivize, either (*\*Politique a été parlée*), but this is because the verbs PARLER and CAUSER do not have a genuine passive form.

2. Another controversial case is a prepositionless quantitative phrase that corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb of measure and designates the value of a parameter: *coûter 300 francs* ‘[to] cost 300 francs’/*toute une fortune* ‘a whole fortune’/*une somme rondelette* ‘a nice little sum’/*mesurer 4 mètres* ‘[to] measure 4 meters’ = ‘[to] be 4 meters long’, etc. The traditional French grammar (e.g., Grevisse 1993: 1336) does not consider this phrase as a DirO; we agree, since this clause element violates two of DirO's defining properties:

- It allows the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction to be in the accusative if it is cliticized, which a genuine DirO does not allow: *Ce régime la/lui [= Helen] fera peser 45 kilos* ‘This diet will make her weigh 45 kilos’ [measure verbs do not readily admit the causative construction, so that this example is a bit far-fetched] vs. *Ce régime lui <\*la> fera perdre 5 kilos* ‘This diet will make her lose 5 kilos’.

- It does not control the agreement of the past participle in compound verb forms: *300 francs que cette robe m'a coûté(\*s)* '300 francs that this dress has cost me', *la somme que cette robe m'a coûté(\*e)* 'the sum that this dress has cost me'.

As for two other defining properties of the DirO, the picture is as follows:

- This construction does not passivize (*\*300 francs est/sont coûté(s) par cette robe*), but this is because the verbs involved do not have passive forms.

- Although the accusative cliticization in this construction is not readily done (because of the inherent non-referentiality of the noun), it is possible: e.g., *300 francs ! Cette robe les coûte*, lit. '300 francs! This dress costs them'; *Le sac les pèse, ses 15 kilos*, lit. 'The bag weighs them, its 15 kilos'. In addition, the quantitative phrase admits of relativization via the accusative **que**: *les 300 francs que cette robe m'a coûté/les grosses sommes que ces voitures m'ont coûté* 'the 300 francs that this dress has cost me/the big sums that these cars have cost me' (but note the lack of agreement in the past participle!). Because of this, the quantitative phrase with measure verbs is fairly close to DirO, so that the distinction is really tenuous (especially if we take into account the fact that the agreement of the past participle with these verbs would be purely orthographic). However, in conformity with what has been said above we declare the quantitative phrase a special clause element which we call *Pseudo-Direct Object* [= Pseudo-DirO], and the corresponding SSyntRel is **pseudo-dir(ect)-obj(ectival)**; see n ° 5, p. 00 ff.

A similar, but actually different case is represented by sentence (11):

(11) *Nous avons payé cette robe 300 francs*, lit. 'We have paid this dress 300 francs'.

On the one hand, since the **dir-obj** SSyntRel is non-repeatable in French, the quantitative phrase *300 francs* cannot be a DirO—*cette robe* 'this dress' is the DirO. On the other hand, unlike the Pseudo-DirO, the phrase *300 francs* expresses DSyntA III of PAYER '[to] pay' and does not admit cliticization.<sup>22</sup> We consider the phrase *300 francs* in (11) to be an ObIO: it is substitutable by a prototypical ObIO—a noun introduced by a preposition, cf. *Nous avons payé cette robe avec les 300 francs d'Alain* 'We have paid this dress with A.'s 300 francs'.

3. The prepositionless noun which depends on the verb FALLOIR (*Il faut des livres* 'Books are needed'), the meteorological verb FAIRE '[to] do' (*Il fait une chaleur !*, lit. 'It does a heat!' = 'It is very hot') and the phraseme IL Y AVOIR (*Il y a des livres* 'There are books') is considered a DirO, although we have to admit that this is a controversial DirO. Namely, the defining properties 1, 2 and 4 of the DirO are not applicable here: the corresponding verbs do not have the passive form, they cannot be used in the causative construction, and their past participles are invariable. However, the defining property 3 (= the accusative form of the clitic or of the relative pronoun) is satisfied: *Il me les [= les médicaments] faut* 'I need them [= the drugs]', *la chaleur qu'il fait*, lit. 'the heat that it does' and *les inondations qu'il y a eu*, lit. 'the floods that it has had there'. Moreover, the noun in question does not contradict the descriptive properties of the DirO: thus, it does

not admit the 'pure' left dislocation: \**Ces outils, il me faut* or \**Des inondations, il y a eu partout*, etc. We take all this to be sufficient for its status as a DirO, because we do not have much choice: the only other SSyntRel whose D admits the accusative form is the Pseudo-DirO (see n° 5, p. 00), but we cannot present our 'suspicious' clause element as a Pseudo-DirO for the following two reasons:

- Control of attributive complements. The DirO controls attributive complements, actantial (*On considère cette théorie **fausse*** 'They consider this theory wrong'), as well as non-actantial (*La soupe, je la mange très **chaude*** 'The soup, I eat it very hot'), while the Pseudo-DirO does not (\**La somme, cette robe la coûte **rondelette***, lit. 'The sum, this dress costs it tidy'). In this respect, the element in question is closer to the DirO: it controls non-actantial attributive complements, although of a slightly different form—they must be preceded by an indefinite article, cf.: *Des outils de constructions, il m'en faut **des pas trop chers***, lit. 'Construction tools, it needs thereof to me not too expensive'; *Des inondations, il en a eu **des meurtrières***, lit. 'Floods, it thereof there had been deadly'; *Des chaleurs, il en a fait **des vraiment accablantes***, lit. 'Heats, it thereof has done really oppressive'.

- Treatment of the infinitive and the QUE-clause with FALLOIR (*Il faut **partir***, lit. 'It needs to leave'; *Il faut **qu'il parte***, lit. 'It needs that he leave'). Considering the 'suspicious' clause element as a DirO, we open the way for this infinitive/QUE-clause to be described also as DirOs: they are substitutable by a prototypical nominal D, and many other French transitive verbs admit an infinitive/a QUE-clause as a DirO. Otherwise (i.e., if we decide that this element is a Pseudo-DirO), we meet with a serious problem: how to treat the QUE-clause with FALLOIR? We do not have a SSyntRel whose prototypical D is a completive clause; and it seems not natural to subsume it under the **pseudo-dir-obj** SSyntRel, since no other verb taking a Pseudo-DirO admits a QUE-clause.

4. The infinitive in a construction of the type *préférer partir, apprendre à parler, proposer de partir* and *savoir quand partir* is considered a DirO since it satisfies all four defining properties of DirOs:

1) Passivization (in many cases, additional Impersonalization is required, as is typical of infinitives):

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (12) a. <i>Tout le monde préfère <b>partir</b></i><br>'Everybody prefers to leave'. | ~ <i><b>Partir</b> a été préféré par tout le monde</i><br>'To leave has been preferred by everybody'.                                       |
| b. <i>Ils apprennent à <b>parler</b> chinois</i><br>'They learn to speak Chinese'.  | ~ <i>Il est appris par eux à <b>parler</b> chinois</i><br>'It is learned by them to speak Chinese'.   |
| c. <i>Il a proposé <b>de partir</b></i><br>'He has proposed to leave'.              | ~ ? <i><b>Partir</b> a été proposé par lui</i><br>'To leave has been proposed by him'./<br><i>Il a été proposé par lui <b>de partir</b></i> |

‘It has been proposed by him to leave’.

- d. *Tout le monde sait quand partir* ~ ?*Il est su de tout le monde quand partir*  
 ‘Everybody knows when to leave’. ‘It is known to everybody when to leave’.

2) Control of the SSynt-role of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction (Morin 1980: 206): the Secondary Actor cannot be realized as a DirO. Here are some relevant examples:

- (13) a. ?*J’ai fait apprendre à parler chinois à Alain* <?*J’ai fait apprendre à parler chinois Alain*>  
 ‘I have made A. learn to speak Chinese’.  
 b. ?*Cela fait proposer à Alain de partir* <?\**Cela fait proposer Alain de partir*>  
 ‘It makes A. propose to leave’.  
 c. *J’ai fait promettre à Alain de partir* <?\**J’ai fait promettre Alain de partir*>  
 ‘I have made A. promise to leave’.

However, for the infinitive with the verb PRÉFÉRER this property is not distinctive: if the Secondary Actor is a noun, the causative FAIRE-construction is impossible; but if it is expressed by a clitic both realizations (the accusative and the dative one) are possible, although judged awkward:

- d. ?\**Cela fait préférer partir à Alain* ~ ?\**Cela fait préférer partir Alain*  
 ‘It makes A. prefer to leave’.  
 vs.  
 ?*Cela lui fait préférer partir* ~ ?*Cela le fait préférer partir*.

This makes the infinitive that depends on PRÉFÉRER ‘less’ of a DirO.

3) Accusative cliticization (the infinitive is substitutable by the accusative ‘neuter’ clitic LE):

- (14) a. *Tout le monde préfère partir.* ~ *Tout le monde le préfère.*  
 b. *Ils apprennent à parler chinois.* ~ *Ils l’apprennent.*  
 c. *Il a proposé de partir.* ~ *Il l’a proposé.*  
 d. *Tout le monde sait quand partir.* ~ *Tout le monde le sait.*

4) Control of the agreement of the past participle in compound verbal forms (masculine singular):

- (15) *Partir, tout le monde l’a préféré; Parler chinois, nos étudiants l’ont appris.*

Moreover, this infinitive possesses the descriptive properties of the prototypical DirOs that are applicable to the verb: it corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb, follows the governing verb, admits clefting and cannot be the target of ‘pure’ left dislocation.

Criterion 2 does not forbid us to consider the infinitive in these constructions a DirO since it is substitutable by the prototypical DirO—a noun: *Il préfère le départ* ‘He prefers the departure’, *Il propose le départ* ‘He proposes the departure’, *Il sait l’heure du départ* ‘He knows the time of the departure’.



5. However, Criterion 2 precludes treating the infinitival complement of the modal verbs POUVOIR ‘can’ and DEVOIR ‘must’ as a DirO, since it is not substitutable by a noun: *Alain peut/doit partir* ‘A. can/must leave’ ~ \**Alain peut/doit le départ* ‘A. can/must the departure’).

From the viewpoint of the defining properties of the DirO, the modal-governed infinitive could be considered a DirO. The first and the second properties are not applicable to it: POUVOIR and DEVOIR have no passive forms, and they do not readily admit the causative construction (\**Alain lui /l'a fait pouvoir partir*). The third and the fourth properties are satisfied: the infinitive with POUVOIR/DEVOIR can be cliticized via the accusative ‘neuter’ clitic LE (*Alain peut/doit partir* ‘A. can/must leave’ ~ *Alain le peut/ ?le doit* ‘A. can/must it’), which controls the agreement of the past participle (*Alain l'a pu*: masculine singular). Nevertheless, for us the fact that POUVOIR/DEVOIR do not accept nominal objects outweighs the similarity of their infinitives with DirOs. Their DSyntA II inherently designates an action, a state, etc.; therefore, their prototypical D must be verbal rather than nominal, while the prototypical DirO is the name of an entity. As a result, the construction POUVOIR/DEVOIR–r→V<sub>inf</sub> is described by the **direct-infinitival-objective** SSyntRel (3.2, n° 8, p. 00).

The situation with the modal verb VOULOIR ‘[to] want’ is different: with it, the infinitive is substitutable by a noun (*Je veux ce départ* ‘I want this departure’), so that Criterion 2 does not forbid us to treat it as a DirO. The VOULOIR infinitive admits as well limited passivization (*Qu'Alain vienne est voulu par tous* ‘That A. should come is wanted by everybody’) and the accusative cliticization—with the resulting control of past participle agreement (*Alain l'a voulu* ‘A. has wanted it’). True, with respect to the FAIRE-construction, VOULOIR behaves like the semantically close PRÉFÉRER (see above)—that is, for VOULOIR this property is not distinctive:

- (16) \**Cela a fait vouloir partir à Alain/Alain* ‘This has made A. want to leave’ ~  
 ?*Cela lui /l'a fait vouloir partir* ‘This has made him want to leave’.

However, since the other three defining properties of DirOs are satisfied, the dependency of an infinitive on VOULOIR is described by the **direct-objective** SSyntRel—like that with PRÉFÉRER (as well as with DÉSIRER ‘[to] desire’ and SOUHAITER ‘[to] wish’).

6. Not all infinitives that correspond to DSyntA II of the governing verb and are introduced by the preposition À or DE are DirOs: they can also be Oblique Objects as well as Direct-Infinitival Objects and Oblique-Infinitival Objects (see below 3.2, n°n° 7-9). For instance, the infinitive with a phasal verb such as COMMENCER ‘[to] begin’, CONTINUER ‘[to] continue’, or CESSER ‘[to] cease’, is not a DirO (*contra* Le Goffic 1993: 169). This is so because such an infinitive violates the defining properties of DirOs: it does not admit passivization (\**(À )travailler a été commencé*, \**Il a été commencé à travailler*),<sup>23</sup> does not impose the realization of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction as IndirO (*Alain la <\*lui> fait commencer à travailler* ‘A. makes her

begin to work<sup>3</sup>), and disallows cliticization with the 'neuter' LE (*\*Alain l' [= à travailler] a commencé*).

7. The direct-reflexive pronoun SE—even in genuinely reflexive verbs, such as SE LAVER '[to] wash oneself' or SE RASER '[to] shave oneself'—is by no means a DirO, in sharp contrast to other personal clitics (*me, te, le, ...*): it does not correspond to DSyntA II of the governing verb, since this verb in the direct-reflexive voice has only DSyntA I. (In the DSyntS, a verbal form of this type is represented by one node and is supplied with the grammeme 'dir-refl'.) Moreover, this SE contradicts the only defining property of DirOs which is applicable to it: namely, SE does not impose the IndirO realization on the Secondary Actor in the causative construction (*Elle fait se raser (\*à) Alain tous les jours/Elle le <\*lui> fait se raser tous les jours* 'She makes A./him shave every day'). In the SSyntS, the lexeme SE is linked to its verb by a special auxiliary SSyntRel; its behavior is different from that of normal object clitics; cf., for instance:

(17) a. *\*Helen fait le [= le roman] lire à Alain ~ Helen le [= le roman] fait lire à Alain*  
'H. makes A. read it [= the novel]'.  
vs.

b. *Helen fait se raser Alain ~ \*Helen se [= Alain] fait raser Alain*  
'H. makes A. shave himself'.

These facts fit nicely with a general typological consideration: a direct-reflexive verb like SE LAVER is by definition intransitive and cannot have a DirO.

It is obvious that the 'inherent' reflexive SE, as in *se lever* '[to] rise', *se taire* '[to] keep silent', etc., has even less reasons to be considered a DirO.

8. The quantitative adverb in such phrases as *Il a mangé beaucoup (trop) <plus qu'elle>* 'He has eaten much <too much, more than she>' is treated as a Circumstantial—rather than a DirO; for explanations and a justification, see 3.4, n° 14, p. 00.

9. In other approaches, other properties may be taken as defining for the DirO. Thus, M. Gross (1986: 27) defines DirO as the clause element that can be replaced by one of the clitics LE, LA, LES; this definition includes among DirOs, for instance, the attributive adjective with a copula: *Alain est intéressant* 'A. is interesting' ~ *Alain l'est*, etc. Abeillé 1997b: 22-25 proposes the following two defining properties for the DirO in French: possibility of the quantitative EN (*Alain en a mangé trois*, lit. 'A. thereof has eaten three') and possibility of the indefinite determiner DE with negation (*Alain n'a pas mangé de steak*, lit. 'A. has not eaten of steak'). We, however, cannot use them as defining properties:

- On the one hand, they *a priori* exclude from DirOs what we believe should be considered as such: the infinitive and the completive clause that satisfy our defining properties.

• On the other hand, they include among DirOs what we believe should not be considered as such: the Quasi-Subject (otherwise, one is forced to admit the existence of a DirO with typically intransitive verbs, which is typologically implausible).

However, Abeillé's properties isolate the CENTRAL SUBCLASS of DirOs: nominal referential DirOs. Thus, only such a DirO, as shown in Abeillé 1997b: 29-30, precludes the otherwise possible inversion of the Subject in a relative clause: \**C'est là où lui rendront un hommage éclatant les chefs d'État*, lit. 'It is there where will pay to him a strong homage the chiefs of State' vs. *C'est là où lui rendront hommage les chefs d'État*, lit. 'It is there where will pay homage to him a the chiefs of State' and *C'est là où souhaite aller Alain* 'It is there where wants to go A.'

#### N° 4. Indirect-objectival SSyntRel: G—indir-obj→D

The prototypical D is a noun introduced by the preposition *à*.

##### Properties

The dependent member of the **indir-obj** SSyntRel is the Indirect Object [= IndirO]. It is the third most privileged clause element depending on a verb in **L**. In French, the SSynt-privilege of the IndirO is the following defining property:

1) The IndirO can be the target of non-specific morphological government—that is, if it is replaced with a clitic this clitic is in the dative: *Je lui donne ce livre* 'I give this book to him'.

Other relevant properties are descriptive:

2) The IndirO corresponds to DSyntA **II** or **III** of the governing verb: *Helen plaît à Alain* [= DSyntA **II**], lit. 'H. is likable to A.', *Helen donne une poire à Alain* [= DSyntA **III**] 'H. gives a pear to A.'

As is the case with the DirO, we will not discuss here in detail two complications related to the DSynt-representation of the following constructions with IndirOs:

• The IndirO expresses a 'raised' Possessor of the Subject or of the DirO: *La gorge lui brûlait*, lit. 'The throat was burning to him'; *Alain lui a touché l'épaule*, lit. 'A. has touched the shoulder to her'; *Se fâcher avec Helen a gâché la vie à Alain*, lit. 'To quarrel with H. has spoiled the life to A.'

• The IndirO expresses a Beneficiary: *Alain a acheté une glace à Helen*, lit. 'A. has bought an ice-cream to H.'

In both cases the governing verb receives—as a result of the application of a special semantic rule—an additional DSyntA (= **III**), which does not correspond to any of its SemAs.

- 3) The IndirO is not necessarily present in any clause.
- 4) The IndirO does not necessarily depend on the MV.
- 5) The IndirO cannot be promoted/demoted.

Exception

With the verbs OBÉIR '[to] obey', DÉSOBÉIR '[to] disobey' and PARDONNER '[to] pardon' the IndirO—which corresponds to DSyntA II of the verb—can be promoted to the Subject by passivization: *Alain obéit à Helen*, lit. 'A. obeys to H.' ~ *Helen est obéie d'Alain* 'H. is obeyed by A.'; *Alain pardonne à Helen*, lit. 'A. pardons to H.' ~ *Helen est pardonnée par Alain* 'H. is pardoned by A.'

- 6) The IndirO can be the target of personal cliticization: *Alain lui* [= à Helen] *envoie un cadeau* 'A. sends a present to her'.
- 7) The IndirO can be the target of relativization: *le garçon à qui j'ai envoyé ce livre* 'the boy to whom I have sent this book'.
- 8) The IndirO can be the target of clefting: *C'est à Alain que je donne mon texte à lire /que je fais lire mon texte*, lit. 'It is to A. that I give my text to read/that I make read my text'.
- 9) The IndirO can be the controller/the target of reflexivization: *Helen a ordonné à Alain de se* [= 'Alain', which is the controller] *raser* 'H. has ordered A. to shave himself'; *Alain se* [= 'à Alain', which is the target] *parle* 'A. talks to himself'.
- 10) The IndirO cannot be the controller of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction (that is, the presence of an IndirO of the lexical verb does not impose the realization of the Secondary Actor as an IndirO of FAIRE: *Alain le* ⟨\*lui⟩ [= *le chien*] *fait obéir à son maître* 'A. makes him [= the dog] obey his master').
- 11) The IndirO cannot be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement.
- 12) The IndirO cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.
- 13) The IndirO follows the governing verb.
- 14) The IndirO can be the target of left dislocation: *À mes enfants, j'envoie des livres* 'To my children, I send books'.

### Formal Types of IndirO

- a. A noun (including the subclass of stressed pronouns) with the preposition À: *Alain a donné son livre à Helen* 'A. has given his book to H.'
- b. A phrase equivalent to a noun with preposition À: *Alain donne son livre à qui le veut* 'A. gives his book to who wants it'.
- c. A personal clitic in the dative: *Alain lui parle souvent* 'A. often speaks to him/her'.

The **indir-obj** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Justification

The IndirO plays quite a special role in French syntax:

- The IndirO can express the Beneficiary, which is represented, at the DSynt-level, as DSyntA III of the governing verb: *Alain a fait un bon repas à Helen*, lit. 'A. has made a good meal to Helen' ~ *Alain lui a fait un bon repas*, lit. 'A. has made a good meal to her'.

- The IndirO can express the raised Possessor in the French possessive construction of the type *Alain a lavé la tête à Helen*, lit. ‘A. has washed the head to Helen’ ~ *Alain lui a lavé la tête*, lit. ‘A. has washed the head to her’, where the IndirO is a surface-syntactic realization of DSyntA I of DSyntA II of the governing verb (HELEN is DSyntA I of TÊTE ‘head’).

- The IndirO can express the Secondary Actor of the causative FAIRE-construction with a transitive verb having an expressed DirO: *Alain fait lire le roman à Helen*, lit. ‘A. makes read the novel to H.’ ~ *Alain lui fait lire le roman*, lit. ‘A. makes read the novel to her’.

- The clitic IndirO can express DSyntA II of the verbs that govern adjuncts DESSUS ‘on ...’ and APRÈS ‘behind ...’: *On lui a tiré dessus*, lit. ‘They to him have fired on’ = ‘They have fired at him’ or *Alain lui court après*, lit. ‘A. to her is running after’ = ‘... is courting her’. (If DSyntA II is not cliticized, it is implemented as an ObIO: *On a tiré sur Alain* ‘They have fired at A.’ and *Alain court après Helen*, lit. ‘A. is running after H.’).

The IndirO in French is typical of animate nouns only; its very existence is one of the manifestations of the category of animacy.

These considerations enhance our decision to introduce the IndirO as a clause element different from the Oblique Object (n° 7, p. 00; in Justification 2, it is shown that the IndirO and the ObIO have different relevant properties). The traditional French grammar does not make this distinction, subsuming all prepositional nominal Ds of a verb which are its actants under the name of ‘complément d’objet indirect,’ so that this term is much broader than our ‘Indirect Object.’ (In general typological studies, the IndirO is carefully distinguished from ObIOs; cf., e.g., Comrie 1974: 4 and *passim*, Keenan & Comrie 1977, 1979. For a discussion of the opposition ‘DirO vs. IndirO’ in a vast typological perspective, see Dryer 1986.)

## Comments

1. In the Meaning-Text description of the SSynt-structure of French sentences, a non-subject pronominal clitic depends syntactically on its host<sup>24</sup>—rather than on the clause element on which its source depends; see, for instance, Fig. 1 (next page). The clitic is, so to speak, transferred from its ‘genuine,’ i.e. DSynt-, Governor (= ENVOYER ‘[to] send’) to its host (= the auxiliary AVOIR ‘[to] have’)—retaining the same subordinating SSyntRel, in our case, the **indir-obj**; we do not posit here a new SSyntRel. This solution is adopted because the linear position of French clitics in general does not depend on the specific subordinating SSyntRel—it is determined by the nature of the clitic itself (a property which is ‘orthogonal’ to the properties of SSyntRels). At the same time, the grammatical case of the clitic—the accusative vs. the dative—must be computed from (the name of) the subordinating SSyntRel, since the Government Pattern of the new G (i.e. of the host) should not contain the necessary information; thus, AVOIR by no means governs the dative. This fact constitutes another argument in favor of distinguishing the IndirO vs. the ObIO.

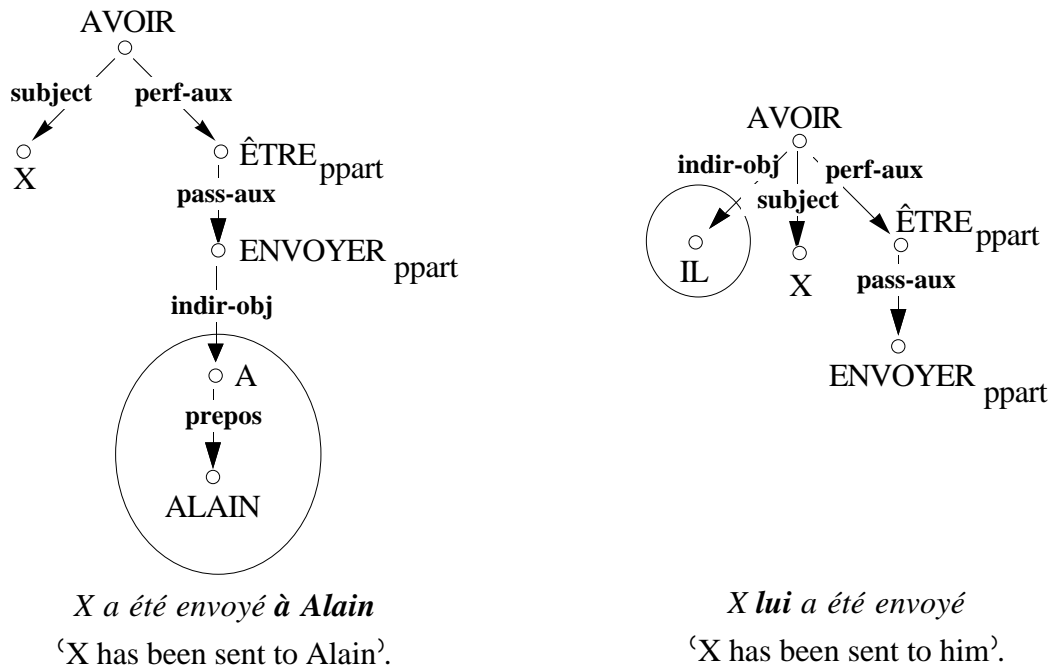


Figure 1: A clitic and its host

2. Criterion 3 does not allow us to consider the so-called ‘Dativus Ethicus’ of the type *Ne me fais pas de bêtises !*, lit. ‘Don’t do me stupidities!’, as a particular case of IndirO, since these clause elements can be combined:

(18) a. *Alain te* [= Dat. Ethic.] *recite trois poèmes en trois minutes à qui veut l’écouter* [= IndirO], lit. ‘A. recites you three poems in three minutes to who wants listen to him’.

b. *Alain te* [= Dat. Ethic.] *lui* [= IndirO] *fabriquera une table en vingt minutes*, lit. ‘A. manufactures you him [= for him] a table in twenty minutes’ (Leclère 1979: 134).

Uniting the Dativus Ethicus and the IndirO under the same SSyntRel would create an **r** which would be limitedly repeatable (exactly two times, and that, without intervention of the Government Pattern of the verb).

3. Similarly to what has been said about the direct-reflexive SE, the indirect-reflexive SE—as in *S’ACHETER une maison* ‘[to] buy oneself a house’—is not an IndirO: it does not correspond to any DSyntA of the governing verb. A verbal form of the type *s’acheter* [qqch.] ‘[to] buy something to oneself’, *se préparer* [qqch.] ‘[to] prepare something to oneself’ or *s’imaginer* [qqch.], lit. ‘[to] imagine something to oneself’, is the form of the indirect-reflexive voice; this verbal form is represented in the DSyntS as one node supplied with the grammeme ‘INDIR-REFL’. In the SSyntS, the indirect-reflexive SE is linked to the verb by the same auxiliary SSyntRel as the direct-reflexive SE (there is no need to distinguish the two SE, since they do not have different case forms).

#### N° 5. Pseudo-direct-objectival SSyntRel: G–pseudo-dir-obj→D

The prototypical D is a prepositionless noun.

## Properties

The dependent member of the **pseudo-dir-obj** SSyntRel is the Pseudo-Direct Object [= Pseudo-DirO]—the expression of the value of a parameter or a property; it appears with verbs of measure —PESER ‘[to] weigh’, COÛTER ‘[to] cost’, etc.—and a few verbs of the type SENTIR ‘[to] smell [intrans.]’: *Ça coûte une fortune /300 francs* ‘This costs a fortune/300 francs’; *Ça sent le hareng* ‘This smells of herring’.

It is the fourth most privileged clause element depending on a verb in **L**. In French, the SSynt-privileges of the Pseudo-DirO—with respect to the Agent and to the Oblique Object—consist in that it shares more linguistically relevant properties with the DirO than the Agent or the Oblique Object; namely, the Pseudo-DirO has the same type of cliticization and the same case government as the DirO.

The Pseudo-DirO is defined by the following combination of properties:

1) The Pseudo-DirO can be the target of personal cliticization: *Le poisson, la caisse le sent encore*, lit. ‘The fish, the box still smells of it’; *Cette grosse somme, ma robe la coûte*, lit. ‘This big sum, my dress costs it’; *La table les mesure, ses deux mètres*, lit. ‘The table measures them, its two meters’.

2) The Pseudo-DirO can be the target of non-specific morphological government—the clitic/the relative pronoun replacing the corresponding noun is in the accusative: *Cette robe la* [= *cette somme*] *coûte* ‘This dress costs it [= this sum]’; [*la somme*] *que cette robe coûte* ‘[the sum] that this dress costs’.

3) The Pseudo-DirO cannot be promoted or demoted.

4) The Pseudo-DirO cannot be the controller of the past participle in compound forms.

The first two properties are shared with the DirO, but the second two oppose the Pseudo-DirO to the DirO.

The Pseudo-DirO's descriptive properties are:

5) The Pseudo-DirO corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb.

6) The Pseudo-DirO is not necessarily present in any clause.

7) The Pseudo-DirO does not depend exclusively on the MV.

8) The Pseudo-DirO can be the target of relativization: *Je trouverai les 300 francs que cette robe coûte* ‘I’ll find the 300 francs that this dress costs’; *On ne mangera pas ce hareng pourri que la caisse sent encore* ‘We will not eat this rotten herring of which the box still smells’.

9) The Pseudo-DirO can be the target of clefting: *C’est 300 dollars que cette robe coûte* [, *pas 300 francs*], lit. ‘It is 300 dollars that this dress costs [, not 300 francs]’; *C’est le hareng que le pain sent*, lit. ‘It is the herring that the bread smells of’.

10) The Pseudo-DirO cannot be the controller/the target of reflexivization.

11) The Pseudo-DirO does not impose the IndirO realization of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction: *Ça le <\*lui> [= le pain] fera sentir le hareng* ‘This will make it [= the bread] smell of herring’.

12) The Pseudo-DirO cannot be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement.

13) The Pseudo-DirO follows the governing verb.

14) The Pseudo-DirO cannot be the target of 'pure' left dislocation: \**300 francs, la robe coûte* ‘300 francs, the dress costs’; \**Le hareng, la caisse sent* ‘The herring, the box smells of’.

### Formal Types of Pseudo-DirO

- a. A noun (particularly, a 'Num + N' phrase): *Il pesait 60 kilos* ‘He weighed 60 kg’; *Ça sent le brûlé*, lit. ‘It smells of [something] burnt’ <*rien* ‘of nothing’/le hareng ‘of herring’>.
- b. A phrase equivalent to a noun: *Ça va me coûter exactement ce que je veux* ‘It will cost me exactly what I want’.
- c. A personal clitic in the accusative: *Cette robe la [= cette somme] coûte* ‘This dress costs it [= this sum]’.

### Justification

The **pseudo-dir-obj** SSyntRel cannot be subsumed under the **dir-obj** or the **obl-obj** SSyntRels, which both have prepositionless nouns among their Ds:

- A Pseudo-DirO contradicts two defining properties of a DirO—it does not control the Secondary Actor in the causative construction and the agreement of the participle in compound forms.
- A Pseudo-DirO is not substitutable by the prototypical OblO, i.e. a prepositional phrase (Criterion 2). Moreover, a Pseudo-DirO differs from an OblO with respect to cliticization: unlike an OblO, a Pseudo-DirO is replaceable by an accusative clitic.

Neither can the **pseudo-dir-obj** SSyntRel be subsumed under the **pred-attr-compl** SSyntRel (see below, 3.3, n° 13, p. 00: *coûter cher* ‘[to] cost much’, *sentir bon* ‘[to] smell good’), which is semantically very close, since Criteria 2 and 3 do not allow us to collapse them:

- They do not possess the same prototype (the prototypical D is N for the Pseudo-DirO and A for the PredAttrCo).
- A Pseudo-DirO and a PredAttrCo can appear as co-subordinates of the same verb: *La cuisine sent bon le pain frais*, lit. ‘The kitchen smells good—fresh bread’; therefore the presumed 'unit-ed' SSyntRel would not possess an admissible value of repeatability: it would be limitedly repeatable.

On the other hand, the **pseudo-dir-obj** SSyntRel covers two semantically different cases: real measures and perceptual parameters, which are distinguished, for instance, by different interrogative words: *Ça mesure combien ?* ‘This measures how much?’ [— *2 mètres* ‘2 meters’] vs.



*Ça sent quoi ?* ‘This smells of what?’ [— *Le hareng* ‘Of herring’]. This can be an indication that we deal here with two different SSyntRels.

The **pseudo-dir-obj** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

## N° 6. Agentive SSyntRel: G—agentive→D

The prototypical D is a noun introduced by the preposition PAR or DE.

### Properties

The dependent member of the **agentive** SSyntRel is the Agent. It is the fifth most privileged clause element depending on a verb: *Helen a été reçue par son frère* ‘H. was received by her brother’; *Alain fait lire le roman par Helen*, lit. ‘A. makes read the novel by H.’; *Aimée de tout le monde, Helen ...* ‘Loved by everybody, Helen ...’.

**NB:** The term *Agent* should not be construed as a semantic entity; the corresponding clause element does not necessarily denote people nor semantic ‘agents’. Thus, *par la cérémonie* is an Agent in *Sa fureur a été changée en excessive amabilité par la cérémonie du matin* ‘His fury has been changed into excessive amiability by the morning ceremony’.

In French, the SSynt-privileges of the Agent are the following two defining properties:

1) The Agent corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb in the passive form (it corresponds to the Subject of the active form of the verb) or to DSyntA I of the governing verb in the infinitive in a number of constructions (*faire lire le roman par Helen* [= Agent of LIRE], lit. ‘[to] make read the novel by H.’; *se faire voler par un mendiant*, lit. ‘[to] make oneself rob by a beggar’, *se voir refuser un contrat par le gouvernement*, lit. ‘[to] see oneself refuse a contract by the government’, etc.).

2) The Agent is the target of non-specific lexical government: it is always introduced by the preposition PAR ‘by’ (with the exception of a handful of verbs which take an Agent with the preposition DE).

**NB:** When depending on a noun, the Agent corresponds to its DSyntA I and has more means of expression (*une traduction par Alain* ‘a translation by A.’, *l’arrivée d’Alain* ‘A.’s arrival’, *une conversation entre amis* ‘a conversation among friends’, etc.).

The Agent possesses the following descriptive properties:

3) The Agent is not necessarily present in any clause.

4) The Agent does not necessarily depend on the MV.

5) The Agent cannot be promoted/demoted.

6) The Agent can be the target of cliticization, but only if it is introduced by the preposition DE (the phrase PAR + N is not cliticizable in principle); the replacing clitic is EN: *Il plaisait aux femmes; en fait, il en était adoré*, lit. ‘Women liked him; actually, he was adored thereby’.

7) The Agent can be the target of relativization: *La femme par qui Alain est gâté est très belle* ‘The woman by whom A. is spoiled is very beautiful’; *Les étudiants dont ce prof est tellement aimé ...* ‘The students by whom this professor is loved so much ...’.

8) The Agent can be the target of clefting: *C'est par Alain que Helen est gâtée* ‘It is by A. that H. is [being] spoiled’.

9) The Agent cannot be the controller/the target of reflexivization.

10) The Agent cannot be the controller of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction (strictly speaking, this property is not applicable).

11) The Agent cannot be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement.

12) The Agent cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.

13) The Agent follows the governing verb.

14) The Agent can be—in informal speech—the target of left dislocation: *?Par Alain, ce travail sera fait vite et très bien*, lit. ‘By A., this job will be done fast and very well’.

### Formal Types of Agent

1. A noun (in the broad sense) introduced by the preposition PAR or DE:

a. A noun (with the subclass of stressed pronouns): *Aimée de tous ses amis/de nous, Helen ...* ‘Loved by all her friends/by us, H. ...’.

b. A phrase equivalent to a noun (e.g., a headless relative): *Elle se laisse séduire par qui le veut* ‘She lets herself to be seduced by who wants it’.

2. The clitic EN: *Il en était adoré*, lit. ‘He was adored thereby’.

For considerations that justify the introduction of the **agentive** SSyntRel as different from the **oblique-objective** SSyntRel, see below, Justification 3, p. 00.

The **agentive** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### N° 7. Oblique-objective SSyntRel: G–obl-obj→D

The prototypical D is a noun with a preposition.

#### Properties

The dependent member of the **obl-obj** SSyntRel is the Oblique Object [= OblO]. It is the least privileged clause element, which does not possess defining properties: it is characterized rather negatively, by the opposition to other nominal objects.

The OblO's descriptive properties:

1) The OblO can correspond to any DSyntA of the governing verb, except for DSyntA I: *insister sur N* [= DSyntA II] ‘[to] insist’, *inviter N à V-er* [= DSyntA III] ‘[to] invite’, *louer N à*

N *pour* Num *francs* [= DSyntA IV] *pour* Num *mois* [= DSyntA V] ‘[to] rent out N to N for Num francs for Num months’.

2) The ObIO is not necessarily present in any clause.

3) The ObIO does not necessarily depend on the MV.

4) The ObIO cannot be promoted/demoted.

5) If the ObIO is a noun introduced by the preposition *À* or *DE*, it can be the target of cliticization by Y (but not by *lui!*) or EN: *J’y* [= *à ce projet*] *renonce* ‘I renounce thereto [= this project]’; *Ma décision en* [= *de ta présence*] *dépend* ‘My decision depends thereon [= your presence]’. With a few verbs, the ObIO introduced by the preposition *SUR* can also be cliticized by Y: *J’y* [= *sur ta présence*] *compte beaucoup* ‘I count much thereon [= your presence]’.

6) The ObIO can be the target of relativization: *le principe sur lequel j’insiste* ‘the principle on which I insist’; *le principe dont ma décision dépend* ‘the principle on which my decision depends’; *Ces dix centimètres dont Alain la dépasse sont très importants* ‘These 10 cm by which A. exceeds her are very important’.

7) The ObIO can be the target of clefting: *C’est sur ce point que j’insiste* ‘It is on this point that I insist’; *C’est à construire la maison qu’Alain m’a aidé* ‘It is to build the house that A. has helped me’; *C’est de dix centimètres qu’Alain la dépasse* ‘It is by 10 cm that A. exceeds her’.

8) The ObIO cannot be the controller/the target of reflexivization (as opposed, for instance, to the DirO and the IndirO).

9) The ObIO cannot be the controller of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction.

10) The ObIO cannot be the controller of an actantial-attributive complement.

11) The ObIO cannot be the target of non-specific government (the clitics EN and Y do not have case, and the **obl-obj** SSyntRel does not impose a specific preposition).

12) The ObIO cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.

13) The ObIO follows the governing verb.

14) The ObIO can be the target of ‘pure’ left dislocation: *Sur ce point, j’insiste*, lit. ‘On this point, I insist’; *À mourir si jeune, elle ne s’attendait pas*, lit. ‘To die so young, she did not expect’; *De travailler le matin, Alain n’enrage pas*, lit. ‘To work in the morning, A. is not angered by’.

Some specific ObIOs cannot be dislocated for purely semantico-communicative reasons: *\*En sanglots, Helen éclate* ‘In sobs, H. bursts out’; *\*De quelques mètres, Alain s’est approché* ‘A few meters, A. has approached’ (cf., however, *De 3 mètres, Alain s’est approché de Helen; Danielle, c’était 5 mètres* ‘5 meters, A. has approached H.; for D, it was 5 meters’).

## Formal Types of ObIO

1. A noun (in the broad sense) introduced by a preposition:

- a. A noun (including stressed pronouns): *insister sur le départ* ‘[to] insist on the departure’, *en vouloir* [à N = IndirO] *de ces paroles* ‘[to] hold a grudge against N for having said this’, *s’approcher de quelques mètres* ‘[to] approach a few meters’, *penser à Helen* ‘[to] think of H.’, *éclater en sanglots* ‘[to] burst out in sobs’, *rémonter à 1937* ‘[to] go back to 1937’, *soumettre* [N] *à un test* ‘[to] submit [N] to a test’, *échanger* [N] *avec Jean contre un vélo* ‘[to] exchange [N] with J. against a bike’, etc.
- b. A phrase equivalent to a noun (e.g., a headless relative or a quantitative phrase): *Je me moque de qui viendra* ‘I don’t care who is coming’.
2. The clitic EN or Y: *J’en raffole* ‘I am very keen thereon’, *J’y pense* ‘I think thereof’.
3. An infinitive introduced by a preposition: *Alain a consenti à travailler* ‘A. has agreed to work’, *Alain doute de pouvoir venir* ‘A. doubts that he can come’, *Alain se passe de dormir* ‘A. can do without sleeping’.
4. A subordinate QUE-clause: *douter que* **CLAUSE** ‘[to] doubt’, *prévenir* [N] *que* **CLAUSE** ‘[to] warn’.
5. A prepositionless noun (with the verbs PARLER, CAUSER, ACHETER, VENDRE, PAYER, VOTER and a few others): *parler politique* <*bébés*> ‘[to] talk politics/children’, *causer affaires* ‘[to] talk business’, *vendre ses concombres 5 francs* ‘[to] sell one’s cucumbers 5 francs’, *payer cette robe 300 francs* ‘[to] pay this dress 300 francs’, *voter Mitterand* ‘[to] vote for M.’.

**NB:** The **obl-obj** SSyntRel is repeatable (for instance, *Leo a changé des marks en pesetas* [= OblO] *avec Marga* [= OblO] ‘L. has exchanged marks for pesetas with M.’).

### Justification

1. The constructions subsumed under the **obl-obj** SSyntRel satisfy all three Criteria 1-3.

—Criterion 1: no Ds of the **obl-obj** SSyntRel that can appear with the same G contrast semantically while differing only by some syntactic means. Thus, consider the case of *dessiner au pinceau* ‘[to] draw with a brush’ vs. *dessiner sur le pinceau* ‘[to] draw [something] on a brush’; here, *au pinceau* et *sur le pinceau* both are OblOs corresponding to different DSyntAs of DESSINER and they do contrast semantically. But these expressions do not contradict Criterion 1, because their difference is not in purely syntactic means: they are distinguished by prepositions, which are different lexemes.

—Criterion 2: all Ds are either implemented by a prepositional phrase, or are substitutable by a prepositional phrase, as in *parler politique* ‘[to] talk politics’ ~ *parler de la politique* ‘[to] talk of the politics’;<sup>25</sup> *voter Mitterand* ~ *voter pour Mitterand* ‘[to] vote for M.’; *douter qu’il part* ‘[to] doubt that he leaves’ ~ *douter de son départ*, lit. ‘[to] doubt of his departure’.

—Criterion 3: the **obl-obj** SSyntRel is repeatable (the possible number of OblOs is specified by the governing verb), cf. *Il m'invite au restaurant* [= OblO] *pour manger des moules* [= OblO] 'He invites me to a restaurant to eat mussels'; *Il m'aide à construire* [= OblO] *la maison avec son argent* [= OblO] 'He helps me to build the house with his money'; *Alain loue sa voiture pour 3 mois* [= OblO] *à 100 francs par jour* [= OblO] 'A. rents his car for 3 months 100 francs a day'.

2. Traditional French grammar does not distinguish the IndirO and the OblO. We, however, think that they should be separated: only the IndirO, but not the OblO, is replaceable with the personal dative clitic **lui** 'to him/her'/**leur** 'to them', controls reflexivization and can itself be reflexivized. Cf. such indicative examples as the following ones (Blanche-Benveniste 1975: 39-40):

(19) a. *Alain obéit à Helen* [= IndirO] 'A. obeys H.'

~ *Alain lui obéit* < \**Alain obéit à elle* >.

b. *Alain renonce à Helen* [= OblO] 'A. renounces H.'

~ *Alain renonce à elle* < \**Alain lui renonce* >.

The verbs TÉLÉPHONER and APPARTENIR take the phrase à N as the IndirO, the verbs RÉVER and RÉFLÉCHIR—as an OblO. The verb SERVIR '[to] serve' admits two à N-phrases: one as an IndirO, the other as an OblO: *Cela sert à Alain* [= IndirO] *au nettoyage* [= OblO] *des toilettes* 'This serves A. for the cleaning of the toilet'; the first is cliticizable by **lui**, the second does not cliticize (moreover, the OblO of SERVIR can be expressed by an infinitive: *Cela sert à Alain à nettoyer les toilettes* 'This serves A. to clean the toilet'). For more reasons to isolate the IndirO with respect to the OblO, see above, n° 4, **Comment** 1, p. 00.

3. Neither can the Agent be subsumed under the **obl-obj** SSyntRel:

- The preposition that introduces an OblO is specified by the Government Pattern of the verb, while the choice of the basic preposition of the Agent—PAR—does not depend on the verb; it is imposed by the SSyntRel itself (this is a case of non-specific lexical government). As was already indicated—n° 6, item 2, p. 00, this statement is true with the exception of a few verbs that require DE.

- In contrast to the OblO, left dislocation is problematic for the Agent:

(20) a. *Pour Alain* [= OblO], *une telle lettre a été écrite la semaine dernière*

'For A., such a letter has been written last week'.

vs.

?*Par Alain* [= Agent], *une telle lettre a été écrite la semaine dernière*

'By A., such a letter has been written last week'.

This is of course a consequence of the Agent being a result of communicative demotion, while left dislocation is a means to express (among others) Focalized Topicalization, i.e. communicative

promotion. The Agent's 'demoted status' is also seen in that the Agent discourages proleptization as well:

**b.** *Alain, cette lettre a été écrite pour lui* [= OblO],

lit. 'A., this letter has been written for him'.

vs.

?? *Alain, cette lettre a été écrite par lui* [= Agent],

lit. 'A., this letter has been written by him'.

- Criterion 3 does not allow us to collapse the Agent with the OblO: the **obl-obj** SSyntRel is repeatable, but the **agentive** SSyntRel is not (a Governor can have two, three, etc. OblOs—as a function of its Government Pattern, but there can be no more than one Agent per Governor).

### Comment

In the expressions of the type *parler politique, causer affaires* and *voter Mitterand* the D does not behave like a typical OblO: it does not allow relativization, clefting or 'pure' left dislocation. However, we deal here with an extremely phraseologized construction (possible with just a few verbs), so that we need not require from these expressions to be fully similar to the prototype.

## 3.2. SSyntRels whose Prototypical D is an Infinitive

### INFINITIVAL-OBJECTIVAL SSynt-Relations (8 - 10)

#### N° 8. Direct-infinitival-objectival SSyntRel: G—dir-inf-obj→D

The prototypical D is a prepositionless infinitive.

#### Properties

The dependent member of the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel is the Direct Infinitival Object [= DirInfO]—a prepositionless infinitive depending on the verbs *pouvoir* 'can', *devoir* 'must', *savoir* [*nager*] '[to] know [how to swim]', *faillir* (*tomber*) '[to] almost (fall)', *daigner* '[to] deign', ...

The **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel possesses two defining properties:

1) The DirInfO can be the target of cliticization by the 'neuter' LE, but not with any governing verb: *Je peux/dois partir* 'I can/must leave' ~ *Je le peux/<sup>?</sup>le dois* 'I can/ must it'. Cf., however: *Je sais nager* 'I know how to swim' ~ \**Je le sais*; *J'ai failli tomber* 'I almost fell' ~ \**Je l'ai failli*; *Il n'a pas daigné lire ce texte* 'He did not deign to read this text' ~ \**Il ne l'a pas daigné*.

Although with SAVOIR, FAILLIR and DAIGNER the cliticization of the infinitive is impossible, we have decided to keep this infinitive in the DirInfO group, since it cannot be covered by any of the other Infinitival SSyntRels or by the **dir-obj** SSyntRel—in conformity with Criterion 2; it seems counterintuitive to have for the governed infinitive of these three verbs a separate SSyntRel. On the other hand, the impossibility of cliticization of the governed infinitive is an indi-

vidual property of the governing verb and has to be specified as a piece of lexicographic information in its Government Pattern.

**NB:** The impossible cliticization of the infinitive governed by the three above verbs does not contradict the first defining property of the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel (a contradiction would be a possible cliticization of a different type, e.g., by Y).<sup>26</sup>

2) In most cases, the DirInfO can be the target of left dislocation: *Partir, je peux*, lit. 'To leave, I can'; *parlé Nager le crawl, je sais bien* 'To do the crawl, I know well'; *Lire ce texte, il n'a pas même daigné*, lit. 'To read this text, he has not even deigned'. With some verbs, however, left dislocation is infelicitous or impossible: ?*Partir, je dois*, lit. 'To leave, I must'; \**Tomber, il a failli à cause de sa nonchalance*, lit. 'To fall, he almost did because of his carelessness'.

It has the following descriptive properties:

- 3) The DirInfO corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb.
- 4) The DirInfO is not necessarily present in any clause (it is used only with a very small group of verbs).
- 5) The DirInfO does not necessarily depend on the MV.
- 6) The DirInfO cannot be implicated in promotion or demotion.
- 7) The DirInfO cannot be the target of clefting: \**C'est partir que je peux* 'It is to leave that I can'.
- 8) The DirInfO cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.
- 9) The DirInfO follows the governing verb.

The **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Formal Types of the DirInfO

1. A prepositionless infinitive: *pouvoir partir* '[to] be able to leave'.
2. The 'neuter' LE clitic: *Il le peut* 'He can it'.

### Justification

This SSyntRel cannot be collapsed neither with the **dir-obj** SSyntRel, nor with the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel:

- 1) The DirInfO cannot be considered as a particular case of DirO, since it is not substitutable by the prototypical DirO—a noun (Criterion 2).
- 2) The DirInfO cannot be considered as a particular case of CopredDirInfO (see below, n° 10), since they possess different defining properties.

### N° 9. Oblique-infinitival-objectival SSyntRel: G—obl-inf-obj→D

The prototypical D is an infinitive introduced by a preposition.

## Properties

The dependent member of the **obl-inf-obj** SSyntRel is the Oblique Infinitival Object [= OblInfo]—an infinitive introduced by a preposition: *commencer à V<sub>inf</sub>* ‘[to] begin’, *continuer de V<sub>inf</sub>* ‘[to] continue’, *se dépêcher de V<sub>inf</sub>* ‘[to] hurry’, *réussir à V<sub>inf</sub>* ‘[to] manage’, *finir par V<sub>inf</sub>* ‘[to] finish’, ... Exceptionally, the OblInfo can be a prepositionless infinitive: it happens only with the verb PENSER ‘[to] intend’.<sup>27</sup>

The **obl-inf-obj** SSyntRel does not possess defining properties: within its group, it is characterized rather negatively, by opposition to other infinitival objects. (Let it be reminded that the same situation obtains with the **obl-obj** SSyntRel, n° 7.)

The **obl-inf-obj** SSyntRel has the following descriptive properties:

- 1) The OblInfo corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb.
- 2) The OblInfo is not necessarily present in any clause.
- 3) The OblInfo does not necessarily depend on the MV.
- 4) The OblInfo cannot be promoted/demoted.
- 5) The OblInfo cannot be the target of cliticization.

Exception

With a few individual verbs, the cliticization by Y is possible: *Alain pense préparer un cassoulet* ‘A. intends to prepare a cassoulet’ ~ *Alain y pense*; *Alain a réussi à me convaincre* ‘A. has succeeded to convince me’ ~ *Alain y a réussi*.

6) The OblInfo cannot be the target of clefting: \**C'est à travailler que je commence*, lit. ‘It is to work that I begin’.

7) The OblInfo cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.

8) The OblInfo follows the governing verb.

9) In most cases, the OblInfo cannot be the target of ‘pure’ left dislocation (note that under left dislocation, an infinitive loses its preposition À, so that in the following examples this À is omitted): \**Préparer le repas*, *Alain se dépêche*, lit. ‘To prepare the meal. A. hurries’; ??*Partir pour la France*, *Alain pense depuis trois mois*, lit. ‘To leave for France, A. has been intending for three months’; ?*Préparer le repas*, *Alain commencera dès demain*, lit. ‘To prepare the meal, A. will begin tomorrow’. Cf., however, *Faire un bon repas*, *Alain réussit toujours*, lit. ‘To do a good meal, A. always manages’.

## Formal Types of the OblInfo

- a. An infinitive with a preposition: *Alain a fini par accepter*, lit. ‘A. has finished by to accept’.
- b. A prepositionless infinitive: *Je pense partir* ‘I intend to leave’.

The **obl-inf-obj** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.



## Justification

1. Strictly speaking, Criterion 2 does not allow us to subsume the constructions **a** and **b** under the same SSyntRel. However, since the problem is related to a single verb—PENSER in the given sense, we decided to force the matters a bit, violating our own principles. The construction PENSER + V<sub>inf</sub> cannot be subsumed under the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel, because this would contradict the defining properties of the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel: the infinitive in the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel is not cliticizable by Y and admits left dislocation, while with PENSER it is replaceable with Y, but cannot be dislocated. At the same time, it satisfies the properties of the **obl-inf-obj** SSyntRel.

2. The **obl-inf-obj** SSyntRel cannot be collapsed with none of the following four SSyntRels: the **dir-obj** SSyntRel, the **obl-obj** SSyntRel, the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel, and the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel:

1) The OblInfO cannot be considered as a particular case of the DirO, since it is not substitutable by the prototypical DirO—a prepositionless noun (Criterion 2), even in the case of a prepositionless infinitive: *Tout le monde pense partir* ‘Everybody intends to leave’ ~ \**Tout le monde pense le départ* ‘Everybody intends the departure’. In addition, the OblInfO does not satisfy the defining properties of the DirO (\**Tout le monde le [= partir] pense*; \**Partir est pensé par tout le monde*, *Cela le (\*lui) fera penser partir* ‘This will make intend to leave’).

2) The OblInfO cannot be considered as a particular case of OblO, because it is not substitutable by a prepositional noun phrase: *Alain se hâte de partir* ‘A. hurries to leave’ ~ \**Alain se hâte de/du départ* ‘A. hurries of the departure’. Moreover, the OblInfO and the OblO differ with respect to clefting: \**C'est de partir* [= an OblInfO] *qu'Alain se hâte* ‘It is to leave that A. hurries’ ~ *C'est à partir* [= an OblO] *qu'Alain a consenti* ‘It is to leave that A. has agreed’ (cf. *C'est au départ qu'Alain a consenti* ‘It is to the departure that A. has agreed’).

3) The OblInfO is different from the DirInfO with respect to cliticization and left dislocation: only the latter, but not the former, can be cliticized and admits 'pure' left dislocation.

4) The OblInfO cannot be considered as a particular case of CopredInfO, since it contradicts the defining property of the latter (see immediately below).

The introduction of the last two infinitival objects—DirInfO and OblInfO—runs counter to the French grammatical tradition (cf. also Candito 1999). The corresponding infinitives are generally collapsed with nominal objects, i.e. with the DirO and the OblO. We, however, find this practice unfortunate: our infinitival objects combine with the verbs whose corresponding DSyntA (= II) expresses essentially a semantic fact (an event, an action, a state, etc.) rather than a semantic name; therefore, their prototypical D must be verbal rather than nominal. The governing verbs in question have very special ('semi-grammatical') meanings: modal, phasic, aspectual, etc. It is not for nothing that these verbs participate in paraphrases in which they become adverbial modifiers of

the governed infinitive: *Il continue à écrire* 'He continues to write' *Il écrit toujours* 'He is still writing'; *Il se hâte de sortir* 'He hurries to go out' *Il sort en hâte* 'He goes out in a hurry'; *Il hésite de répondre* 'He hesitates to answer' *Il répond de façon hésitante* 'He answers in a hesitant way'.

#### N° 10. Copredicative-infinitival-objectival SSyntRel: G—copred-inf-obj→D

The prototypical D is a prepositionless infinitive.

##### Properties

The dependent member of the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel is the Copredicative Infinitival Object [= CopredInfoO]—a prepositionless infinitive which depends on a verb of perception or else on FAIRE '[to] make', LAISSER '[to] let' or ENVOYER '[to] send'; this is the infinitive in the 'Accusativus Cum Infinitivo' construction : *Alain voit Helen traverser la rue* 'A. sees H. cross the street'; *Alain fait traverser la rue à Helen*, lit. 'A. makes cross the street to H.'; *Alain laisse Helen traverser la rue* 'A. lets H. cross the street'; *Alain envoie Helen chercher du vin* 'A. sends H. to bring some wine'; ?*Helen a été vue traverser la rue* 'H. has been seen to cross the street'. Note that the traditional French—and, more generally, European—grammar does not have an established term for the dependent member of this SSyntRel. Le Goffic 1993: 275-276 considers it as the second direct object and proposes to call it 'prédicat de l'objet;' this seems rather infelicitous, since the first direct object is not necessarily present: *Il entend chanter de vieilles chansons* 'He hears sing old songs'. Yet the infinitive in question does have a semantic link to the DirO—it is, so to speak, predicated about it. In this respect, this infinitive is similar to copredicative attributes such as *I drink my coffee hot*, *to pound the metal flat*, *He prefers Helen slim*, etc. It is for this reason that we decided to call the infinitive in the constructions of the Accusativus cum Infinitivo type *copredicative infinitival object*.

The CopredInfoO possesses the following defining property:

1) The CopredInfoO corresponds to DSyntA III of the governing verb, whose DSyntA II is realized as a DirO (which may be absent); this DSyntA II is, at the same time, coreferential with DSyntA I of DSyntA III.<sup>28</sup>

Other relevant properties of the CopredInfoO are:

2) The CopredInfoO is not necessarily present in any clause (it is used with a very small group of verbs).

3) The CopredInfoO does not necessarily depend on the MV.

4) The CopredInfoO cannot be implicated in promotion or demotion.

5) The CopredInfoO cannot be the target of cliticization.

6) The CopredInfoO cannot be the target of clefting: \**C'est traverser le fleuve à la nage que j'ai vu Alain* 'It is to cross the river swimming that I have seen A.'.

7) The CopredInfO cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.

8) The CopredInfO follows the governing verb: *Il voit Helen danser/Il voit danser Helen* ‘He sees H. dance’.

9) The CopredInfO cannot be the target of ‘pure’ left dislocation: \**Traverser le fleuve à la nage, j’ai vu Alain*, lit. ‘Cross the river swimming, I have seen A.’ (in the correct sentence *Traverser le fleuve à la nage, j’ai vu Alain le faire*, lit. ‘To cross the river swimming, I have seen A. to do it’, the infinitival phrase is a Prolepse, not a dislocated CopredInfO); \**Se lever très tôt, j’ai fait Alain*, lit. ‘Get up early, I have made A.’.

**NB:** The **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel has an additional important property: its G is a *clitic-attracting* verb; that is, this verb admits the raising of the clitic from (a dependent of) its CopredInfO: *Il entend parler de leur voyage*, lit. ‘He hears speak of their trip’ ~ *Il en entend parler*, lit. ‘He hears speak thereof’; *J’enverrai prendre le livre* ‘I’ll send to take the book’ ~ *obsol. Je l’enverrai prendre* ‘I’ll send to take it’; *Cet air, je le laisse chanter*, lit. ‘This tune, I let sing it’.

The **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Justification

Criteria 2 and 3 forbid us to collapse this SSyntRel either with the **dir-obj** SSyntRel or the **obl-obj** SSyntRel:

- The CopredInfO is substitutable neither by a prototypical DirO (= a noun) nor by a prototypical OblO (= a prepositional phrase).
- Collapsing the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel with the **dir-obj** SSyntRel or the **obl-obj** SSyntRel would violate the value of their repeatability (it would allow for just two DirOs or two CopredInfOs). At the same time, their relevant properties are different.

### Comments

1. The causative construction FAIRE—**copred-inf-obj**→V<sub>inf</sub> differs from other constructions covered by the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel in that it is characterized by a particular word order: it is so ‘monolithic’ in this respect that only the reflexive SE of V<sub>inf</sub>, or a clitic governed by this V<sub>inf</sub> (under very specific conditions: for instance, *Cela la faisait me téléphoner tous les matins* ‘This made her call me every morning’), or some adverbs and parentheticals can linearly separate FAIRE and the governed infinitive: \**Alain fait Helen danser* ‘A. makes H. dance’ vs. *Alain laisse <voit> Helen danser* ‘A. lets <sees> H. dance’ (Tasmowski-de Ryck 1984). Furthermore, DSyntA II of the causative construction (= the Secondary Actor) is expressed either by the DirO or by the IndirO of FAIRE—as a function of the presence of a DirO with the V<sub>inf</sub>; however, other Accusativus-

Cum-Infinitivo constructions also show this feature, even if less frequently: for instance, *Il a laissé faire le travail à ces assistants*, lit. ‘He has let do the job to his assistants’. All other linguistic properties which have been selected in this paper as relevant to the establishment of SSyntRels in French are shared by the causative FAIRE-construction and all the other Accusativus-Cum-Infinitivo-constructions. We have therefore opted to subsume the causative FAIRE-construction under the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel and formulate additionally its individual properties—rather than to create a special SSyntRel just for this construction.

2. The constructions with the semi-auxiliaries SE FAIRE et SE VOIR (*Il s'est fait tuer* ‘He's got killed’; *Il s'est vu refuser l'accès*, lit. ‘He has seen himself to refuse the access’ = ‘He was refused the access’) are also described via the **copred-inf-obj** SSyntRel: in spite of their semantic particularities, they have the same relevant syntactic properties.

As the preceding discussion has shown, the infinitive (prepositionless or introduced by a preposition) which depends on a verb can fulfill one of the following five SSynt-roles: a Direct Object, an Oblique Object, a Direct Infinitival Object, an Oblique Infinitival Object, and a Copredicative Infinitival Object. Let us give examples of corresponding verbs:

**V-dir-obj**→**V<sub>inf</sub>** (the infinitive is substitutable by the prototypical D of the **dir-obj** SSyntRel—a prepositionless noun): *apprendre à [parler chinois]* ‘[to] learn to [speak Chinese]’, *attendre de* ‘[to] wait to’,<sup>29</sup> *chercher à* ‘[to] try to’,<sup>30</sup> *craindre de* ‘[to] be afraid of’, *decider de* ‘[to] decide to’, *demander à [être admis]* ‘[to] ask to [be admitted]’, *exiger de* ‘[to] require to’, *jurer de [dire la vérité]* ‘[to] swear to [tell the truth]’, *promettre de* ‘[to] promise to’, *proposer de* ‘[to] propose to’, *regretter de* ‘[to] regret to’, *vouloir* ‘[to] want’, ...

**V-obl-obj**→**V<sub>inf</sub>** (the infinitive is substitutable by the prototypical D of the **obl-obj** SSyntRel—a noun introduced by a preposition): *consentir à* ‘[to] agree to’, *se décider à* ‘[to] bring oneself to’, *douter de [pouvoir venir]* ‘[to] doubt to [be able to come]’, *inviter à* ‘[to] invite to’, *obliger à* ‘[to] oblige to’, *parler de [partir]* ‘[to] talk of [leaving]’, *souçonner de* ‘[to] suspect of’, ...

The verb RISQUER ‘[to] risk’ represents an interesting case: it governs two infinitives, one as a DirO and the other as an OblO, cf. *Tu risques d'avoir* [= DirO] *une contravention à te garer ici* [= OblO] *ici* ‘You risk a ticket if you park here’.

**V-dir-inf-obj**→**V<sub>inf</sub>** (the infinitive is the prototypical D of this SSyntRel, and cliticization via ‘neuter’ LE is possible): *pouvoir* ‘can’, *devoir* ‘must’, ...

**V-obl-inf-obj**→**V<sub>inf</sub>** (the infinitive is the prototypical D, but cliticization via ‘neuter’ LE is impossible): *commencer à /par* ‘[to] begin to/by’, *continuer de* ‘[to] continue to’, *se dépêcher de* ‘[to] hurry to’, *essayer de* ‘[to] attempt to’,<sup>31</sup> *se hâter de* ‘[to] hasten to’, *hésiter à* ‘[to] hesitate to’, *persiste à* ‘[to] persist to’, *réussir à* ‘[to] manage to’, *tâcher de* ‘[to] attempt to’, *tarder à* ‘[to] be long V-ing’, *terminer par* ‘[to] finish by’, ...

V–copred-inf-obj→V<sub>inf</sub> (the infinitive is the prototypical D; the construction 'Accusativus cum Infinitivo'): *voir* '[to] see', *entendre* '[to] hear', *faire* '[to] make', *laisser* '[to] let', ...

### 3.3. SSyntRels whose Prototypical D is an Adjective

#### ATTRIBUTIVE-COMPLETIVE SSynt-Relations (11 - 13)

#### N° 11. Copular-attributive-completive SSyntRel: G–cop-attr-compl→D

##### Properties

Its dependent member is the Copular-Attributive Complement [= CopAttrCo]—clause element depending on a copular verb and corresponding to its DSyntA II: *Il est malade* 'He is sick', *Elle reste directrice*, lit. 'She remains she-director', *Cet ensemble devient complet* 'This set becomes complete', *La maison fait très grande*, lit. 'The house does big' = '... gives the impression of being big'.

The copular verbs form a small closed set: ÊTRE '[to] be', DEVENIR '[to] become', RESTER (*malade*) '[to] remain (sick)', DEMEURER (*son ami*) '[to] remain (his friend)', SEMBLER '[to] seem', PARAÎTRE '[to] seem', FAIRE (*petit*) '[to] give the impression of (being small)'. A copula includes in its meaning the semantic component '[to] be' and has two DSyntAs which correspond to two SemAs of '[to] be'; thus, a copula is inherently intransitive. (This is a provisory characterization; the exact definition of copular verbs requires a special study.) On the contrary, a verb such as TROUVER in *Alain trouve Helen belle* 'A. finds H. beautiful' or RENDRE in *La robe rend Helen belle* 'The dress makes H. beautiful' is by no means a copula, since although it also includes the semantic component '[to] be', it has three DSyntAs and is transitive. As a result, the configuration *trouver/rendre*→*belle* '[to] find/make beautiful' is described by a different SSyntRel (= n° 12, **actantial-attributive-completive**).

The CopAttrCo possesses the following two defining properties:

1) The CopAttrCo must be the target of subject agreement: it agrees obligatorily with the clause element that corresponds to DSyntA I of the governing copula: *Il m'a ordonné d'être prête* 'He ordered me to be ready [fem]' (DSyntA I of ÊTRE is MOI 'I' [a woman]).

The agreement in question is either morphological (*Alain est intelligent* 'Alain is intelligent [masc]' ~ *Aline est intelligente* 'Aline is intelligent [fem]') or lexico-semantic (*Alain a été directeur* 'Alan has been he-director' ~ *Aline a été directrice* 'Aline has been she-director').

2) The CopAttrCo can be the target of cliticization by the 'neuter' LE: *Je ne semble pas intelligente, je le* (\*la) *suis*, lit. 'I don't seem intelligent, I am it'; *Elle n'est pas encore intelligente, elle le* (\*la) *devient*, lit. 'She is not yet intelligent, she is becoming it'; *Je ne suis pas encore une cantatrice, je le* (\*la) *deviens*; lit. 'I am not yet a she-singer, I am becoming it'; *Elle n'est pas*

*encore la directrice, mais elle le* ⟨\*la⟩ *deviendra*, lit. ‘She is not yet the she-director, but she will become it’.

Other properties of the CopAttrCo:

- 3) The CopAttrCo corresponds to DSyntA II of the copula.
- 4) The CopAttrCo is not necessarily present in any clause.
- 5) The CopAttrCo does not necessarily depend on the MV.
- 6) The CopAttrCo cannot be promoted/demoted.
- 7) If the CopAttrCo is a noun, it can be the target of relativization: *Voilà l'homme que tu deviendra si tu n'es pas sage* ‘Here is the man that you'll become if you are not well-behaved’. (Cf. *\*Je déteste être malade, qu'Alain est toujours* ‘I hate to be sick, which A. always is’, where the CopAttrCo is an adjective.)
- 8) If the CopAttrCo is a noun, it can be the target of clefting, although the construction is deemed non-elegant (and the judgments of the speakers diverge): *?C'est un grand linguiste qu'il deviendra* ‘It is a great linguist that he will become’.
- 9) In a special case—with the Subject CE ‘this’ and the verb ÊTRE in the identifying sense—the CopAttrCo is the controller of the agreement of the MV: *Ce sont mes amis*, lit. ‘This are my friends’.
- 10) The CopAttrCo follows the governing verb.
 

Exceptions  
The D precedes if 1) it is TEL ‘such’, cf. *Tel était son ordre* ‘Such was his order’; or if 2) it is focalized, cf. *Plus dure sera la chute*, lit. ‘Harder will be the fall’.
- 11) The CopAttrCo cannot be the target of ‘pure’ left dislocation: *?\*Intelligent, il est peut-être*, lit. ‘Intelligent, he is maybe’; *?Intelligent, il n'est pas encore, mais il le deviendra*, lit. ‘Intelligent, he isn't as yet, but he will become it’; *?Intelligent, il deviendra peut-être*, lit. ‘Intelligent, he will become maybe’; *\*Intelligent, il semble à tout le monde, sauf moi*, lit. ‘Intelligent, he seems to everybody, except to me’.

### Formal Types of the CopAttrCo

We give here the maximal set of possibilities: the formal types of the CopAttrCo which depends on ÊTRE; with other copulas the CopAttrCo may lack some of these formal types (the respective possibilities are specified in the Government Pattern of the copula).

1. An adjective: *Il est gentil* ‘He is nice’.
2. A prepositionless noun: *Il est médecin* ‘He is a doctor’; *C'est une linguiste* [fem] ‘She is a linguist’.
3. The ‘neuter’ LE or a personal clitic: *Il l'est*, lit. ‘He is it’.
3. A prepositional phrase: *Il est sans argent* ‘He is without money’.
4. A noun introduced by the conjunction COMME: *Il est comme les autres* ‘He is like others’.

5. A numeral: *Ils étaient cinq* ‘They were five’.
6. An adverb: *Il est debout <bien, mieux>* ‘He is standing up <well, better>’.
7. An infinitive:
  - a. Without preposition: *Refuser serait l’offenser* ‘To refuse would be to insult him’; *Cette expérience semble condamner votre hypothèse* ‘This experiment seems to condemn your hypothesis’.
  - b. Introduced by a preposition: *Notre but est de décrire la conjugaison* ‘Our goal is to describe the conjugation’.
8. A QUE-clause: *Son désir est qu’on le laisse tranquille*, lit. ‘His desire is that they leave him alone’.

The **cop-attr-compl** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Comment

The verb ÊTRE seem to admit several CopAttrCos—if they are implemented by adverbial or prepositional phrases; thus, in (21) we have three such phrases:

- (21) a. *Alain était à Paris <là-bas> sans argent dans un état désespéré* ‘A. was in Paris <there> without money in a desperate state’.

However, this does not contradict our statement about the non-repeatability of the **cop-attr-compl** SSyntRel: it is not true that each of the three prepositional phrases depends directly on the copula ÊTRE, so that we have ‘parallel’ dependencies of the same type. Were this the case, we would face a theoretically impossible situation: one DSynt-valency (= DSyntA II of ÊTRE) being implemented more than one time. It is only the leftmost of the prepositional phrases that depends on ÊTRE via the **cop-attr-compl** SSyntRel; each of the others depends on its predecessor via the **quasi-coordinative** SSyntRel:

b.

ÊTRE—**cop-attr-compl**→À PARIS—**quasi-coord**→SANS ARGENT—**quasi-coord**→DANS UN ÉTAT ...

Similarly to the **coordinative** SSyntRel, the **quasi-coordinative** SSyntRel links the clause elements that fulfill the same semantic role.

### N° 12. Actantial-attributive-completive SSyntRel: G—act-attr-compl→D

#### Properties

Its dependent member is the Actantial-Attributive Complement [= ActAttrCo], which bears semantically either a) on the Subject, or b) on the Direct Object:

- a) *Il s’appelle Alain*, lit. ‘He calls himself Alain’, *Elle s’appelle Aline*, lit. ‘She calls herself Aline’; *Cet ensemble est dit maximal*, lit. ‘This set is said maximal’; *Aline est considérée intelli-*

*gente*, lit. ‘Aline is considered intelligent [fem]’; *Élu directeur*, *Alain est parti en Espagne*, lit. ‘Elected he-director, A. has left for Spain’.

b) *On l'a appelé Alain*, lit. ‘They called him Alain’, *On l'a appelée Aline*, lit. ‘They called her Aline’; *On considère Aline intelligente*, lit. ‘They consider Aline intelligent [fem]’; *On a élu Alain directeur*, lit. ‘They elected Alain he-director’; *On l'a faite trop grosse*, lit. ‘They have made it too big [fem]’; *On l'a surnommé le barbu*, lit. ‘They nicknamed him the Bearded’.

The two defining properties of the ActAttrCo are:

1) The ActAttrCo must be the target of subject/object agreement. More precisely, it agrees obligatorily:

- either with the Subject of the governing V, if this V has no DirO (in particular, if it is in the passive);
- or with the nominal SSynt-governor of the governing V, if this V is in the form of past participle (= reduction of a clause with the passive: *J'ai lu un roman, [qui a été] considéré par tout le monde fort intéressant* ‘I have read the novel, [which has been] considered very interesting by everybody’);
- or with the DirO of V, if it is present.

The agreement in question is either morphological (*intelligent ~ intelligente*) or lexico-semantic (*Alain a été nommé directeur*, lit. ‘Alain has been nominated he-director’ ~ *Aline a été nommée directrice*, lit. ‘Aline has been nominated she-director’; *On a nommé Alain directeur*, lit. ‘They have nominated Alain he-director’ ~ *On a nommé Aline directrice*, lit. ‘They have nominated Aline she-director’).

2) The ActAttrCo cannot—in contrast to the CopAttrCo—be the target of cliticization: *Il est considéré intelligent* ‘He is considered intelligent’ ~ \**Il l'est considéré* ‘He is considered it’ vs. *Il est malade* ‘He is ill’ ~ *Il l'est*, lit. ‘He is it’; \**On le [= malade] considère Alain* ‘They consider A. it [= ill]’.

Other properties of the ActAttrCo:

3) The ActAttrCo corresponds to DSyntA II or III of the governing verb.

Verbs that take the ActAttrCo as their DSyntA II: *s'appeler* ‘[to] be called’, *s'annoncer* ‘[to] announce itself’, *s'avérer* ‘[to] turn out to’, *se percevoir* ‘[to] be perceived’, *se présenter (comme ...)* ‘[to] appear (as ...)', *être dit* ‘[to] be said’, *tomber (malade, amoureux)* ‘[to] fall (ill, in love), ...

Verbs that take the ActAttrCo as their DSyntA III: *considérer* ‘[to] consider’, *élire* ‘[to] elect’, *nommer* ‘[to] nominate’, ... (*Tout le monde considère Alain génial* ‘Everybody considers A. a genius’ and *Alain est considéré génial par tout le monde* ‘A. is considered a genius by everybody’).

4) The ActAttrCo is not necessarily present in any clause.

5) The ActAttrCo does not necessarily depend on the MV.

6) The ActAttrCo cannot be promoted/demoted.



7) The ActAttrCo cannot be the target of relativization: \**Le directeur de l'usine, qu'Alain a été nommé* ⟨*qu'on a nommé Alain*⟩ *a beaucoup de moyens* 'The plant director, which A. has been nominated ⟨which they have nominated A.⟩, has many means'.

8) Even if the ActAttrCo is a noun, it cannot be the target of clefting: \**C'est un grand linguiste qu'Alain est considéré* 'It is a great linguist that A. is considered'; \**C'est un grand linguiste qu'on considère Alain* 'It is a great linguist that they consider A.'.

**NB:** If the ActAttrCo is an adjective, it admits of 'concessive detachment': *Tout intelligent qu'Alain est, il ne le comprendra pas* 'However intelligent A. is, he will not understand this'.

9) The ActAttrCo cannot be the controller the agreement of the MV.

10) The ActAttrCo follows the governing verb.

Exception

The ActAttrCo precedes the MV in the concessive detachment construction, see above.

11) The ActAttrCo cannot be the target of 'pure' left dislocation: \**Intelligent* ⟨*Un grand linguiste*⟩, *Alain est considéré* ⟨*on considère Alain*⟩ 'Intelligent ⟨a great linguist⟩, A. is considered ⟨they consider A.⟩'.

### Formal Types of the ActAttrCo

1. An adjective or a participle: *Helen est considérée intelligente* 'H. is considered intelligent'; *Helen, considérée intelligente par ses collègues, peut obtenir ce qu'elle veut* 'H., considered intelligent by her colleagues, can obtain what she wants'; *Alain considère Helen intelligente* 'A. considers H. intelligent'; *Alain regarde Helen traversant la rue* 'A. watches H. crossing the street'; *Je voudrais voir cette affaire clarifiée* 'I would like to see this business clarified'.
2. A prepositionless noun: *Il s'appelle Alain*, lit. 'He calls himself A.', *Alain est élu directeur*, lit. 'A. is elected he-director'; *Alain nomme son fils Igor* 'A. calls his son I.'; *On l'a bombardé président* 'He was suddenly thrust into the position of president'.
3. A noun or an adjective introduced by the conjunction *COMME* 'as' or the preposition *DE*: *Alain est proposé* ⟨*On propose Alain*⟩ *comme directeur* 'A. is proposed ⟨They propose A.⟩ as director'; *Cette théorie est considérée* ⟨*On considère cette théorie*⟩ *comme fort intéressante* 'This theory is considered ⟨They consider this theory⟩ as very interesting'; *Alain a traité Helen de menteuse* 'A. has called H. a liar', *Alain a qualifié ce journal de tendancieux* 'A. has labeled this newspaper as tendentious'.
4. A noun introduced by the preposition 'EN TANT QUE', 'À TITRE DE' or *POUR*: *Alain est proposé* ⟨*On propose Alain*⟩ *en tant que* ⟨*à titre de*⟩ *directeur* 'A. is proposed ⟨They proposed A.⟩ as director'; *On tient Alain* ⟨*Alain est tenu*⟩ *pour un génie*, lit. 'They hold A. ⟨A. is held⟩ for a genius'.

5. A prepositional phrase: *Helen croyait Alain à Paris* *⟨sans argent⟩*, lit. ‘H. believed A. in Paris *⟨without money⟩*’; *Je l’a laissé sans un sou* ‘I have left him without a cent’.
6. An adverb: *Helen croyait Alain dehors*, lit. ‘H. believed A. outside’.
7. A relative clause: *Alain les voit qui traversent la rue*, lit. ‘A. sees them who are crossing the street’; *Ils étaient vus qui traversaient la rue*, lit. ‘They were seen who were crossing the street’.

The types 5 and 6 appear only with the verb CROIRE ‘[to] believe’, the type 7—with perception verbs.

The **act-attrib-compl** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Justification

1. For the **act-attrib-compl** SSyntRel Criterion 2 is satisfied only partially, that is, not for all governing verbs: some Ds indicated above are not substitutable by the prototypical ActAttrCo—an adjective. The ActAttrCo with the verbs APPELER ‘[to] call’, PROPOSER ‘[to] propose’, ÉLIRE ‘[to] elect’ and NOMMER ‘[to] call/[to] nominate’ can only be a noun (*s’appeler Alain* ‘[to] be called Alain’; *être proposé comme directeur* ‘[to] be proposed as director’); thus, we admit an ActAttrCo which is not substitutable by the prototype. Our decision is justified by the high degree of similarity of the syntactic behavior of this non-referential noun and all ‘normal’ ActAttrCos and our unwillingness to postulate a separate SSyntRel just for these verbs otherwise.

On the other hand, we see some reasons for an alternative solution: to posit a different **attrib-compl** SSyntRel, because one of the **attrib-compl** SSyntRels presupposes morphological agreement of the ActAttrCo (when the latter is an adjective), while the other does not.

2. We do not see other SSyntRels with which the **act-attrib-compl** SSyntRel could be collapsed. Thus, the **act-attrib-compl** SSyntRel is opposed to the **subject-copredicative** and the **object-copredicative** SSyntRels<sup>32</sup> (Criterion 1):

(22) a.

↓ **subj-copr** ↓  
*Petit, Alain était considéré intelligent*, lit. ‘Small [masc.], A. was considered intelligent [masc.]’.

b.

↓ **obj-copr** ↓  
*Petite, Alain la considérait intelligente*, lit. ‘Small [fem.], A. considered her intelligent [fem.]’.

### Comments

1. In some approaches, the distinction between the clause elements covered by the **copular** and the **act-attrib-compl** SSyntRels is drawn in a different way. Thus, for English, Quirk *et al.* (1991: 728-729) distinguish ‘Subject Complement,’ which includes complements of copulas and of the

verbs of the type [to] *be considered* or [to] *be called* (because they bear semantically on the Subject), and 'Object Complement'—for the cases of the type [to] *find* [N] *beautiful* (because this complement bears on the Object). The same treatment is traditionally proposed for French: for instance, Le Goffic 1993 (*passim*) et Baylon & Fabre 1995: 198-199. Our decision to oppose Copular Complements to Actantial Complements (without distinction between Subject and Object Complements) is based on the following two considerations:

1) CopAttrCos and ActAttrCos differ in their relevant properties:

- CopAttrCos, but not ActAttrCos, admit of cliticization: *Il l'est*, lit. 'He is it' vs. \**Il l'est considéré*, lit. 'He is considered it'.

- CopAttrCos admit of 'pure' left dislocation, while ActAttrCos do not: *Intelligent, il est*, lit. 'Intelligent, he is' vs. \**Intelligent, il est considéré*, lit. 'Intelligent, he is considered'/\**Intelligent, on le considère*, lit. 'Intelligent, they consider him'.

- Unlike ActAttrCos, a CopAttrCo can control the agreement of the MV (with ÊTRE '[to] be'): *Ce sont mes amis*, lit. 'This are my friends'.

2) Typologically, copular constructions have in syntax the pride of place—they are (near-)universal and have special properties in many languages; therefore we prefer keep them separate.

2. The distinction between Subject and Object Complements, as we have seen, is fully determined by the presence of a DirO (with the governing verb) and thus can be dispensed with. This means that we can do with one **act-attr-compl** SSyntRel.

3. An interesting case of ActAttrCo: an adjective bearing semantically on an infinitive which is introduced by the preposition DE (this infinitive is the DirO of the governing verb), for instance: *Alain trouve **plaisant** de faire un cassoulet*. 'A. finds [it] pleasant to prepare a 'cassoulet'.

4. Similar to the **cop-attr-compl** SSyntRel, the **act-attr-compl** SSyntRel can also have seemingly multiple Ds expressed by prepositional phrases or adverbs:

(24) *Helen croyait Alain à Paris sans argent dans un état désespéré* 'H. believed A. in Paris without money in a desperate state'.

They are treated the same way as Ds of this type with the copula ÊTRE (n° 11, **Comment**, p. 00): only the leftmost is considered to be a ActAttrCo, while the others depend on their left neighbor via the **quasi-coord** SSyntRel:

CROIRE [A.]—**cop-attr-compl**→À PARIS—**quasi-coord**→SANS ARGENT—**quasi-coord**→DANS UN ÉTAT...

### N° 13. Predicative-attributive-completive SSyntRel: **G**—**pred-attr-compl**→**D**

#### Properties

Its dependent member is the Predicative-Attributive Complement [= PredAttrCo], which is possible with a number of verbs of the type SENTIR '[to] smell' [intrans], COUPER '[to] cut', COÛTER '[to] cost', CHANTER '[to] sing', RAPPORTER '[to] yield, bring in': *Ça coûte **cher*** [=

**II**], lit. ‘This costs expensive’, *Les draps sentent bon* [= **III**] *la menthe*, lit. ‘The sheets smell good the mint’; *couper gros/menu* [= **III**] *la viande*, lit. ‘[to] cut meat big/small’, *Alain chante juste* [= **III**], lit. ‘A. sings correct’, *Son entreprise rapporte gros* [= **II**], lit. ‘His enterprise brings big’ = ‘... gives him a good return’, *Il porte haut* [= **III**] *la tête* ‘He carries the head high’ (see the list of such verbs in Le Goffic 1993: 367-368).

The PredAttrCo possesses one defining property:

1) The PredAttrCo is the target of non-specific government, namely, it is an adjective in the masculine singular form: *Les roses sentaient bon* ‘The roses smelled good’.

Other properties:

2) The PredAttrCo corresponds to DSyntA **II**, **III** or **IV** (*vendre Y à Z cher*, lit. ‘[to] sell Y to Z expensively’) of the governing verb.

3) The PredAttrCo is not necessarily present in any clause.

4) The PredAttrCo does not necessarily depend on the MV.

5) The PredAttrCo cannot be promoted/demoted.

6) The PredAttrCo cannot be the target of cliticization: \**Cette robe le* [= *cher*] *coûte* ‘This dress costs it [= much]’; \**Cette caisse le* [= *mauvais*] *sent* ‘This box smells it [= bad]’.

7) The PredAttrCo cannot be the target of the agreement.

8) The PredAttrCo cannot be the controller of the agreement of the MV.

9) The PredAttrCo follows the governing verb; it precedes all other objects, including the DirO.

10) The PredAttrCo cannot be the target of ‘pure’ left dislocation: \**Bon, le pain sent* ‘Good, the bread smells’.

The pred-attr-compl SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### 3.4. SSyntRels whose Prototypical D is an Adverbial Expression (= Adv or Comme-Phrase)

#### THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL and COMPARATIVE SSynt-Relations (14 - 15)

The two SSyntRels below cover ALL Circumstantials and Comparative Expressions, including all free modifiers of verbs. However, in what follows we characterize them strictly within the limits of our data—that is, only those Circumstantials and Comparative Expressions which express DSyntAs of the verb.

#### N° 14. Circumstantial SSyntRel: G–circum→D

The prototypical D is an adverb.

## Properties

Its dependent member is a Circumstantial [= Circum]: an adverbial expression that specifies the place, the time, the duration of an action, the manner in which the action is carried out, etc. But what we are interested in here is a particular case of Circum: a Circum that expresses a DSyntA of the verb (cf. Adverbials in the role of *compléments essentiels* in Le Goffic 1993: 355). Some of these Circums—the Circums of PLACE, of TIME and of MANNER—appear rather restrictedly, i.e. with a handful of verbs, such as HABITER *à Paris* ‘[to] live in Paris’, VIVRE *rue du Dahomey* ‘[to] live in Dahomey Street’, SE TROUVER *là-bas* ‘[to] find oneself there’, ATTENDRE [N] *demain* ‘[to] expect [N] tomorrow’, SE COMPORTER *bien* *⟨de façon amicale, avec une générosité incroyable, royalement⟩* ‘[to] behave well ⟨in a friendly manner, with an incredible generosity, royally⟩’, TRAITER [N] *très bien* *⟨royalement⟩* ‘[to] treat [N] very well ⟨royally⟩’, ÉVALUER [N] *très haut* ‘[to] evaluate [N] very highly’, CARACTÉRISER [N] *positivement* ‘[to] characterize [N] positively’, or RECEVOIR [N] *amicalement* ‘[to] receive [N] friendly’, etc. Some other Circums—for instance, the Circums of MEASURE—are more widespread as an expression of a DSyntA (DSyntA II, most of the time): MANGER *beaucoup* ‘[to] eat much/a lot’, LIRE *plus qu'elle* ‘[to] read more than she’, BOIRE *trop* ‘[to] drink too much’, etc.<sup>33</sup>

The **circum** SSyntRel has no defining properties.

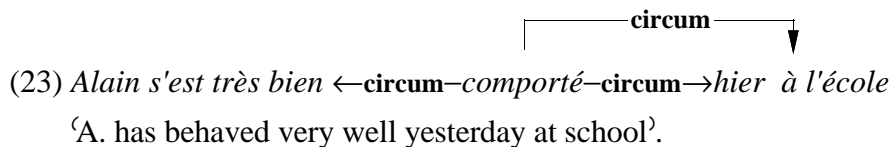
The descriptive properties of the Circum considered here are:

- 1) The Circum corresponds to DSyntA II or III of the governing verb.
- 2) The Circum is not necessarily present in any clause.
- 3) The Circum does not necessarily depend on the MV.
- 4) The Circum cannot be promoted/demoted.
- 5) If the Circum is a locative phrase, it can be the target of cliticization by EN or Y.
- 6) If the Circum is a noun phrase, it can be the target of relativization: *la générosité avec laquelle Alain nous a reçus* ‘the generosity with which A. has received us’; *la ville où Alain habite* ‘the city where A. lives’.
- 7) The Circum can be the target of clefting: *C'est très amicalement qu'Alain nous a reçus* ‘It is very friendly that A. has received us’.
- 8) The Circum (we speak only of Circums that express DSyntAs!) follows the governing verb.
- 9) The Circum cannot be the target of 'pure' left dislocation: *\*Très amicalement, il s'est comporté envers son frère, pas envers moi* ‘Very friendly, he has behaved with respect to his brother, not me’; *?\*À Paris/Là-bas, il habite depuis longtemps* ‘In Paris/There, he has been living for a long time’.

### Formal Types of the Circum

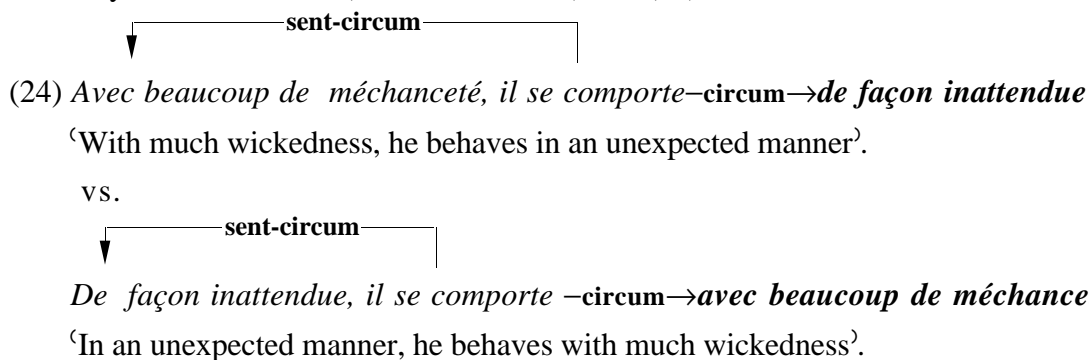
1. An adverb (*ici* ‘here’, *là* ‘there’, *bien* ‘well’, *amicalement* ‘friendly’).
2. A prepositional phrase (*au bord de la mer* ‘at the sea-side’, *sous le pont* ‘under the bridge’, *avec amitié* ‘with friendship’, *sans cérémonie* ‘without ceremony’, *de façon* Adj ‘in an Adj way’, ...).
3. The clitic Y or EN.
4. A prepositionless noun phrase:
  - a. a proper name of a place in a city ([*Alain habite*] *Place de la Concorde*, lit. ‘[A. lives] Place de la Concorde’);
  - b. a noun denoting a day or a date (*Noël tombe un dimanche* ‘Christmas falls on a Sunday’).

Generally speaking, i.e. taking into account all Circums rather than only those that express the DSyntAs of the Governor, the **circum** SSyntRel is repeatable:



### Justification

1. The **circum** SSyntRel must be distinguished from the **sentential-circumstantial** SSyntRel in conformity with Criterion 1 (semantic contrast). Cf. (24):



2. The **circum** SSyntRel with a D implemented by a prepositional phrase must also be distinguished from the **obl-obj** SSyntRel. Although our relevant properties do not distinguish them, a linguistically valid distinction exists. As a rule, the preposition which introduces an ObIO, is uniquely determined by the governing verb: in its Government Pattern, a specific preposition is indicated and the corresponding prepositional phrase cannot be attached to any verb. Thus, in *louer* [*une voiture*] ***pour trois mois*** ‘[to] rent [a car] for three months’, the boldfaced phrase is an ObIO (although, semantically, it could be considered a Circumstantial). With a Circum, the choice of the specific preposition is not imposed by the governing verb: cf. *aller à/vers/devant/derrière/dans/hors de l'école* ‘[to] go to/towards /in front of/behind/in/outside of the school’; the

corresponding prepositional phrase combines in principle with any semantically appropriate verb. Therefore, the three prepositional phrases in *aller de Montréal à Singapour par le Pacifique* ‘[to] go from Montreal to Singapore via the Pacific’ are considered to be Circums.

More difficult is establishing the syntactic difference between *au concert* ‘to a concert’ [= ObIO] and *au restaurant* ‘to a restaurant’ [= Circum] with the verb INVITER ‘[to] invite’. In both cases, the preposition is not determined by the verb alone (*inviter au concert/au restaurant/en France/sur la terrasse/chez Alain* ‘[to] invite to a concert/to a restaurant/to France/on the terrasse/at Alain’s’) and the prepositional phrase easily combines with any verb (e.g., *mourir au concert* ‘*au restaurant*’ [to] die at a concert/in a restaurant’). However, a telling distinction can be found even here: *le restaurant où Alain m’a invitée* ‘the restaurant where A. has invited me’ vs. *le concert où Alain m’a invitée* ‘the concert where A. has invited me’ [correct expression: *le concert auquel Alain m’a invitée*], which shows that a locative Circum and an ObIO admit of different types of relativization. (Unfortunately, this test does not work for all verbs. Thus, *emmener au concert* ‘to take to a concert’ is described by the **obl-obj** SSyntRel, similarly to *inviter au concert*, but the relativization with *où* is here quite natural: *le concert où Alain m’a emmenée*.)

A Circum expressed by a prepositionless noun of the type *tomber un dimanche* ‘[to] fall on a Sunday’ cannot be considered an ObIO, because it is not replaceable with a prepositional phrase (the prototypical D of the **obl-obj** SSyntRel, but is replaceable with an adverb (the prototypical D of the **circum** SSyntRel): *Pâques tombe tard/tôt cette année* ‘Easter falls late/early this year’.

3. With some transitive verbs, the Circum of Measure expresses DSyntA II and therefore does not combine with an obvious DirO:

(27) \**Il a beaucoup mangé la soupe*, lit. ‘He has much eaten the soup’.<sup>34</sup>

However, even in such cases, the Circum of Measure cannot be subsumed under the **dir-obj** SSyntRel since it violates the defining properties of the latter:

- It does not readily passivize: \**Trop a été mangé* ‘Too much has been eaten’, \**Plus que normal a été bu* ‘More than normal has been drunk’.
- It does not impose the IndirO role on the Secondary Actor of the causative FAIRE-construction: *On le (\*lui) fait manger beaucoup trop* ‘They make him eat too much’.

The quantitative adverbs of the type BEAUCOUP, PEU, PLUS [*que*], TROP, etc. are not considered traditionally as Circums of Measure; the only example found in Grevisse 1993: 476—*allonger une robe de dix centimètres* ‘[to] lengthen the dress by 10 cm’—presents in the point of fact an ObIO (because in this phrase, the preposition DE is uniquely determined by the verb). Le Goffic 1993: 234 notes the semantic relatedness between quantitative adverbs and DirOs with some verbs, without, however, making his proposal specific enough.

## Comment

We by no means imply that one **circum** SSyntRel is sufficient for the description of the French syntax. It is quite possible that several particular types of Circums should be distinguished based on purely SSynt-considerations. We, however, allow ourselves to make abstraction from this problem, which is marginal within the present context.

## N° 15. Comparative SSyntRel: G–comparat→D

The prototypical D is a nominal phrase introduced by the comparative conjunction **COMME** ‘as’.

### Properties

Its dependent member is a Comparete [= Compar]: a nominal phrase introduced by the conjunction **COMME** ‘as’ [COMME→N] and expressing the comparison either with the Subject or with the DirO of the governing verb V. Let it be reminded that here we consider only a particular case of the Compar, namely, a Compar that expresses a DSyntA of V; French has only a few verbs of the corresponding type, such as **SE COMPORTER** ‘[to] behave’ or **TRAITER** ‘[to] treat’: *Alain s’est comporté **comme un héros*** ‘A. has behaved as a hero’; *Alain a traité Helen **comme une reine*** ‘A. has treated H. as a queen’.

The **comparat** SSyntRel has no defining properties.

The descriptive properties of the Compar considered here are:

- 1) The Compar corresponds to DSyntA **II** or **III** of the governing verb.
- 2) The Compar is not necessarily present in any clause.
- 3) The Compar does not necessarily depend on the MV.
- 4) The Compar cannot be promoted/demoted.
- 5) The Compar cannot be the target of cliticization.
- 6) The Compar cannot be the target of relativization.
- 7) The Compar can be the target of clefting: *C’est **comme un ami** qu’Alain nous a reçus*, lit. ‘It is as a he-friend that A. has received us’; *C’est **comme une amie** qu’Alain a reçu Helen*, lit. ‘It is as a she-friend that A. has received H.’
- 8) The Compar follows the governing verb.
- 9) The Compar can be the target of left dislocation: ***Comme un héros**, Alain s’est comporté pendant le voyage au Népal* ‘As a hero, A. has behaved during the trip to Nepal’.

The **comparat** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Justification

1. Distinguishing the **comparat** SSyntRels from the **circum** SSyntRel is motivated by the following three considerations:



- They do not have the same prototype: the prototypical Circum is an adverb, while the prototypical Compar is a COMME-phrase. Therefore, Criterion 2 does not allow the unification.

- They have diverging relevant properties: the Compar does not admit cliticization or relativization, which are possible (even if partially) for the Circum.

- Typologically, comparative constructions present a host of specific properties. They are related to coordination and, like the latter, are implicated in complex transformations irrelevant for simple Circums. Cf., for instance, *J'aime Alain comme Helen* 'I love Alain as Helen', which means either 'I love Alain as I love Helen' (*Helen* is parallel to *Alain*) or 'I love Alain as Helen loves him' (*Helen* is parallel to *je*).

2. Consider the significative opposition in (25):

(25) a. *Alain traite Helen comme un roi* 'A. treats H. as a king'.

vs.

b. *Alain traite Helen comme une reine* 'A. treats H. as a queen' /

*Alain traite ses amis comme des rois* 'A. treats his friends as kings'.

One can have the impression that (25) constitutes a clear case of application of Criterion 1 (= semantic contrast). However, in point of fact, the contrast here is not related to different SYNTACTIC means of expression: the derivational difference in gender (ROI 'king' ~ REINE 'queen') is lexical-semantic and the inflectional difference in number (**roi** 'king' ~ **rois** 'kings') is semantic. Both differences are taken care of at the deeper level of representation (this is, so to speak, 'semantic agreement'). Therefore, they should not have any impact on SSyntRels. As a result, we have no need to postulate two different SSyntRels (for instance, **subj-compar** vs. **obj-compar**).

### 3.5. SSyntRels whose Prototypical D is a Direct Speech

#### THE QUOTATIVE-OBJECTIVAL SSyntRel (16)

#### N° 16. Quotative-objectival SSyntRel: G–quot-obj→D

##### Properties

Its dependent member is Direct Speech, or the Quotative Object [= QuotO]: « *J'aime le poulet à l'estragon* », *annonça Alain* 'I love tarragon chicken,' announced A.'; "*Tu es déjà là ?*", *s'étonna Helen*, lit. 'You are already here?', became astonished H.'.

The QuotO has just one defining property:

1) The QuotO has special prosody/punctuation.

Other (descriptive) properties of the QuotO:

2) The QuotO corresponds to DSyntA II of the governing verb.

3) The QuotO is not necessarily present in any clause.

4) The QuotO does not necessarily depend on the MV.

5) The QuotO can be the target of promotion by passivization, with possible subsequent Impersonalization: *Il a été annoncé* : « **Gardez vos places** », lit. ‘It has been announced: ‘Keep your seats’); *C’est alors que fut annoncé* : « **Gardez vos places** », lit. ‘It is then that was announced: ‘Keep your seats’).

6) The QuotO imposes the IndirO realization of the Secondary Actor in the causative FAIRE-construction, but—unlike the DirO—only with nominal phrases; with clitics, both realizations remain possible:

- (26) a. *Alain fait crier à Helen* : « *Nous sommes foutus !* »,  
lit. ‘A. makes to Helen shout: ‘We are finished!’) ~  
??*Alain fait crier Helen* : « *Nous sommes foutus !* »,  
lit. ‘A. makes Helen shout: ‘We are finished!’)

vs.

- b. *Alain lui/la fait crier* : « *Nous sommes foutus !* »,  
lit. ‘A. makes to her/her shout: ‘We are finished!’)

7) The QuotO can both follow and precede the MV (= a speech verb); in case it precedes the MV, it entails the inversion of the MV and the Subject: « **Gardez vos places** », *a dit Alain*, lit. ‘Keep your seats,’ has said A.’.

The **quotative-objectival** SSyntRel is non-repeatable.

### Justification

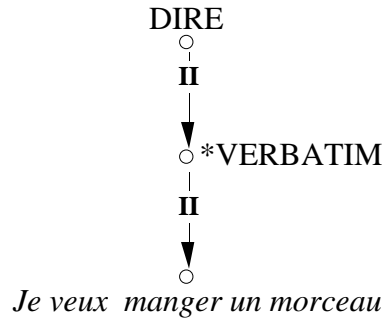
The **quot-obj** SSyntRel cannot be subsumed under the **dir-obj** SSyntRel in conformity with Criterion 1 (semantic contrast):

- (27) *Alain me dit trois mots* [= DirO] ‘A. says to me three words’.

vs.

- Alain me dit* : « **Trois mots** » [= QuotO] ‘A. says to me: ‘Three words’).

On the DSynt-level, Direct Speech is taken to be DSyntA II of the governing speech verb. This means that on the SSynt-level, the Direct Speech and the DirO are considered as two different expression means corresponding to the same valency slot—1) either an utterance (« *Trois mots* »), or else 2) a description of an utterance (*trois mots* ‘three words’) or the content of an utterance (*qu’il veut manger un morceau* ‘that he wants to have a bite’). But in the DSyntS, a fictitious lexeme—e.g., \***VERBATIM**—must be used as the G of the node representing the Direct Speech in order to show that this element is a LITERAL reproduction of an utterance (no changes in it, in particular no paraphrasing, are possible); the sentence *Alain dit* : « *Je veux manger un morceau* » ‘A. says: ‘I want to have a bite’ receives the following DSyntS:



Accordingly, a special **quotative** SSyntRel was proposed in Iordanskaja & Mel'čuk 1981.

However, as we have just seen, the SSynt-behavior of Direct Speech is very similar to that of the DirO: two of DirO's defining properties (passivization and the control of the Secondary Actor in the FAIRE-construction) are shared by the QuotO, although in a 'weakened' form. In addition, Indirect Speech, which is semantically and syntactically close enough to Direct Speech, is considered a DirO: *Alain dit—dir-obj→qu'il voulait manger un morceau* 'A. says that he wanted to have a bite'. It is thus not astonishing that grammarians hesitate in regard to syntactic representation of Direct Speech. Cross-linguistically, Direct Speech manifests as well this duality. Thus, in Georgian, the Subject of the 'Speech Verb + Direct Speech' construction is in the ergative, what is expected of the Subject of a transitive verb—so that Direct Speech is treated in Georgian as a normal DirO: (28a). But, for instance, in Chukchee, the Subject of the same construction is in the nominative, what is expected of the Subject of an intransitive verb; therefore, we see that in Chukchee Direct Speech is by no means a DirO: (28b).

- (28) a. Georg. «*Sadili mzada+a!*» — *deda +m tkva*  
 dinner ready is mother **ERG** said  
 'The dinner is ready,' said Mother'.

- b. Chukchee «*ḡottqenəna ənje ejmevke!*» — *ikvʔi pipiqəlǵəkej+∅ mel'ota+gtə*  
 that.one not come.close said mouse **NOM** hare DAT  
 'Don't come close to this one!'—said the mouse to the hare'.

Interesting data about particularities of the syntactic behavior of Direct Speech in different languages can be found in Munro 1982.

#### 4. The Summary: Synoptic Tables of French Valency-Controlled SSyntRels

To make the results of our description more surveyable, we will now offer four tables (for the first four classes of SSyntRels) which present, in a compact form, a characterization of the considered SSynt Rels/the corresponding clause elements in terms of their relevant properties.

The value of a property is given according to the prototypical D' of the SSyntRel in question; wherever it seems important to specify a different value for a non-prototypical D we do so,

using a slash and indicating (in brackets) the part of speech of D. [?] means that the corresponding value is not stable—either speakers are not unanimous with respect to it, or it varies as a function of different governors. If a property is inapplicable to the prototype of **r** it is indicated by a zero.

#### 4. 1. Nominal Clause Elements: Subjects, Objects, Agents

Clause elements	Subj	DirO	IndirO	Pseudo-DirO	Agent	ObIO	Quasi-Subj
Properties of SSyntRels							
1. Corresponding DSyntA	<b>I</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>II/III</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>I/II</b>	any but <b>I</b>	<b>I</b>
2. Obligatory presence	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Dependence on the MV only	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
4. Target of promotion/demotion	demotion	promotion	-	-	-	-	-
5. Target of cliticization	Cl <sub>pers</sub>	Cl <sub>pers</sub> / LE <sub>neut</sub> [V <sub>inf</sub> ]	Cl <sub>pers</sub>	Cl <sub>pers</sub>	EN	EN, Y	EN [N]
6. Target of relativization	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
7. Target of clefting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Controller/Target of reflexivization	controller	controller/ target	controller/ target	-	-	-	controller
9. Controller of the SSynt-role of the Secondary Actor	0	+	-	-	-	-	0
10. Controller of actantial- attributive complements	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
11. Target of non-specific government	nominative	accusative	dative	accusative	PAR	-	-
12. Controller of agreement of the MV	finite verb	past participle	-	-	-	-	-
13. Precedes the MV	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. Impossibility of left dislocation	+	+	-	+	[?] -	-	+

The clause elements represented in this table are ordered—from left to right—according to the number of positive values (of the properties) they feature: Subj has 13 positive values, DirO—11, IndirO—6, Pseudo-DirO—6, Agent—5, and ObIO—4. The IndirO is put before the Pseudo-DirO, which has the same number of positive values, because the IndirO is linguistically closer to the preceding elements according to a more important property: reflexivization. (The Quasi-Subject is an exception: since it is the result of a 'transformation,' it is not considered in the subsequent discussion; it is positioned in the rightmost column in order not to obscure the picture.) Interestingly, such ordering leads to a hierarchy: if a lower element features the positive value of a property, then either any higher element also does or the property is not applicable to it, but not vice versa. (Exception: the Pseudo-DirO precludes 'pure' left dislocation while the higher IndirO does not.) And

this hierarchy corresponds to the hierarchy of nominal clause elements mentioned on p. 00: the Keenan-Comrie Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1976).

The Keenan-Comrie hierarchy was established using one parameter only: accessibility of a clause element for (a particular type of) relativization. However, it was shown that the same hierarchy obtains according to several other parameters: thus, an element higher in the hierarchy determines the syntactic role of the Causee (= the Secondary Actor under causativization; Comrie 1974) while lower elements do not; the accessibility of clause elements for promotion via grammatical voices also corresponds to this hierarchy (if a lower element can be promoted, then all the higher elements necessarily can; Keenan 1977); the same hierarchy manifests itself in the ability of clause elements to control reflexive and reciprocal anaphora (Pollard and Sag 1992: 266) and to admit extraction (Abeillé 1997a: 23); etc. Now, our results confirm once again the validity of this hierarchy—based, however, not just on one parameter, but rather on a full set of parameters relevant in this framework.

Here is the hierarchy such as it results from our study:

Subject > DirO > IndirO > Pseudo-DirO > Agent > OblO

Note that it includes two more clause elements, which were not considered by Keenan and Comrie: the Pseudo-DirO (a kind of 'degenerate' DirO) and the Agent. Two lower elements in the Keenan-Comrie hierarchy are omitted, since they do not belong to the verb active valency and therefore are outside our scope. To make this hierarchy more transparent, we present it at the end of the paper in the form of an inheritance tree: p. 00.

#### 4.2. Verbal (= Infinitival) Clause Elements: Infinitival Objects

Clause elements	DirInfO	OblInfO	CopredInfO
Properties of SSyntRels			
1. DSyntA	<b>II</b>	<b>II</b>	<b>III</b>
2. Obligatory presence	-	-	-
3. Dependence on the MV only	-	-	-
4. Target of promotion/demotion	-	-	-
5. Target of cliticization	LE <sub>neut</sub>	-	-
6. Target of clefting	-	-	-
7. Control of agreement of the MV	-	-	-
8. Precedes the MV	-	-	-
9. Impossibility of left dislocation	-	[?] +	+

As one sees from this table, the three Infinitival Objects do not differ very much. However, their distinctions, although not numerous, are rather important and seem to justify our differentiating them.

### 4.3. Adjectival Clause Elements: Attributive Complements

Clause elements Properties of SSyntRels	CopAttrCo	ActAttrCo	PredAttrCo
1. DSyntA	<b>II</b>	<b>II/III</b>	<b>II/III/IV</b>
2. Obligatory presence	-	-	-
3. Dependence on the MV only	-	-	-
4. Target of promotion/demotion	-	-	-
5. Target of cliticization	LE <sub>neut</sub>	-	-
6. Target of relativization	0 / + [N]	0 / - [N]	-
7. Target of clefting	0 / [?] + [N]	0 / - [N]	0
8. Target of non-specific government	accusative [N]	0	masc, sg
9. Target of agreement	subj. agreement	subj./obj. agreement	-
10. Control of agreement of the MV	0 / + [N, with CE as Subj]	0 / -[N]	0
11. Precedes the MV	-	-	-
12. Impossibility of left dislocation	+	+	+

#### 4.4. Adverbial Clause Elements: Circumstantials and Comparates (Valency-controlled)

Clause elements	Circum	Compar
Properties of SSyntRels		
1. DSyntA	II/III	II/III
2. Obligatory presence	-	-
3. Dependence on the MV only	-	-
4. Target of promotion/demotion	-	-
5. Target/type of cliticization	Y, EN	-
6. Target of relativization	0/+ [N]	-
7. Target of clefting	+	+
8. Precedes the MV	-	-
9. Impossibility of left dislocation	+	+

Similarly to what has been just said concerning the Infinitival Objects, our Circums and Comparas are not very different with respect to the established list of relevant properties. This is due to the fact that we consider only a particular case—these clause elements as expression of DSyntAs of the governing verb. Should we take into account the full range of possibilities open to the comparative construction in French, the differences would be more visible.

#### 5. Conclusion

Put in a nutshell, the content of this paper is as follows: While working on the inventory of valency-controlled SSyntRels governed by a verb, we have tried to take into account the complex interaction between a SSyntRel, formal types (= syntactic classes) of its dependents<sup>35</sup> and individual lexemic features of its governor. In other words, we tackle the problem of an optimal distribution of linguistic information between these three types of linguistic entities. Our guiding principle has been to avoid both extreme semanticism and extreme formalism. We do not want to base the system of SSyntRels on their semantic functions nor on the syntactic distribution of their Ds; what we are looking (and hoping) for is a SUBTLE EQUILIBRIUM between both these aspects—such that it is in conformity with the lexicographic information contained in the lexical entries of the Gs. (Cf., in this connection, Ju. Apresjan's insistence on the necessity of a perfect 'agreement' between the grammar and the lexicon, "which must be tuned to each other:" Apresjan 1986: 57.)

Our central tool in this endeavor is the PROTOTYPICAL Dependent of a given SSyntRel—an idea that is itself by no means new (it goes back to Jespersen and Tesnière and is shared by many others), but that has been applied to our material in a rigorous and systematic way. Non-pro-

totypical dependents of a SSyntRel are determined based on their similarity with the prototype; we suggest a more precise interpretation of the notion of 'similarity,' p. 00.

And last, but not least, as has been already said, we made a special effort to ensure the TYPOLOGICAL PLAUSIBILITY of the proposed system of SSyntRels.

### List of Abbreviations

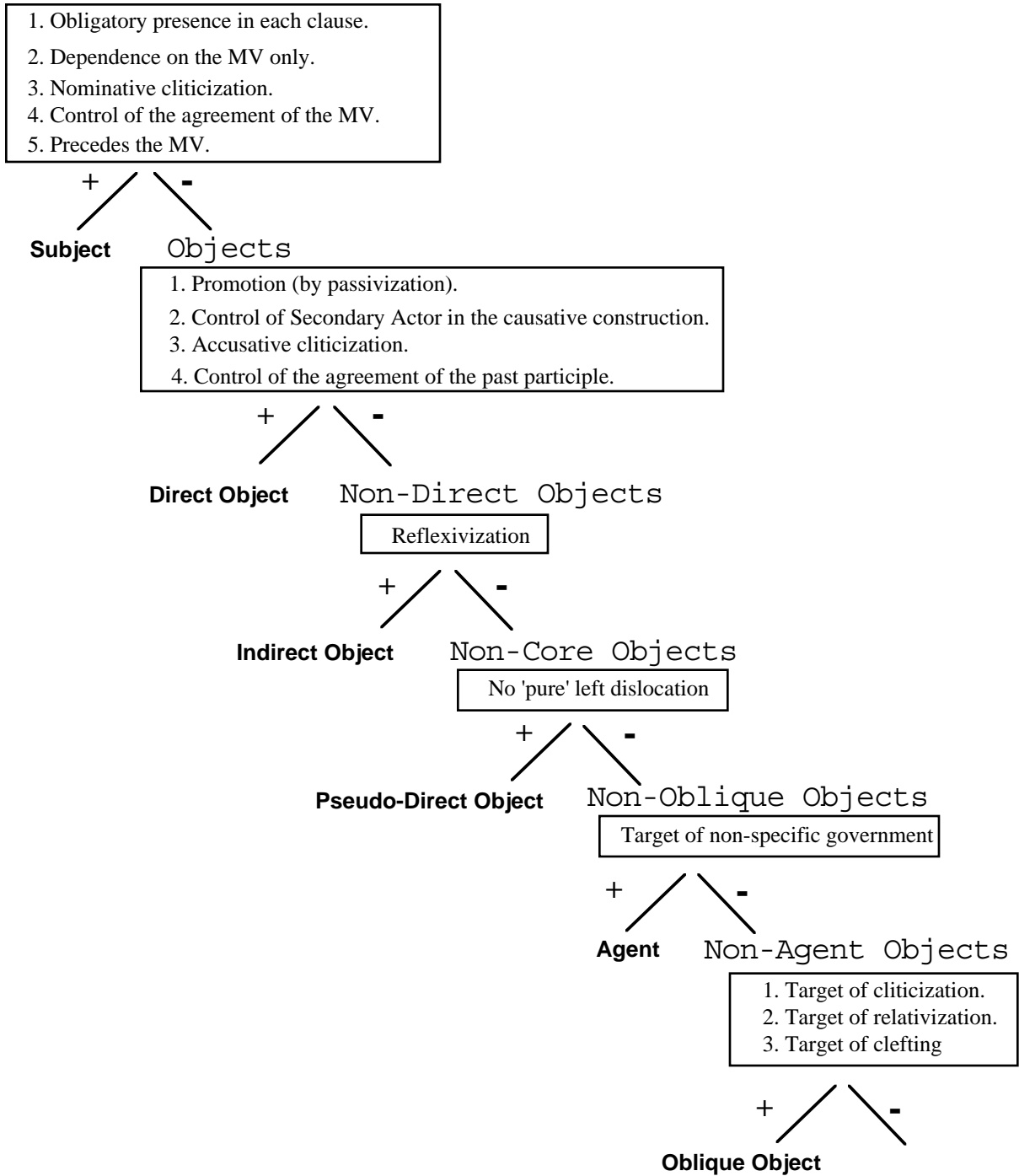
A	actant	IndirO	Indirect Object	Rel	relation
D	dependent (syntactic)	L	a given language	S-	surface
D-	deep	Morph	morphological	-S	structure
DirO	Direct Object	MV	Main Verb	Sem-	semantic
G	governor (syntactic)	OblO	Oblique Object	Synt-	syntactic

### List of Specific Lexemes and Constructions Considered in the Paper

Causative FAIRE-construction: p. 00	Measure Verbs, the governed noun: p. 00
Clitic as interrogative marker: p. 00	Modal Verbs, the governed infinitive: p. 00
FAIRE, meteorol., the governed noun: p. 00	<i>parler politique</i> : : p. 00
FAIRE, SE, the governed infinitive: p. 00	PAYER, the governed numeral phrase: p. 00
FAILLIR, the governed infinitive: p. 00	Phase Verbs, the governed infinitive: p. 00
FALLOIR, the governed noun and infinitive: p. 00	SAVOIR, the governed infinitive: p. 00
IL Y A, the governed noun: p. 00	VOIR, SE, the governed infinitive: p. 00



## Nominal Clause Elements: Inheritance Hierarchy



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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Subscripts without parentheses with the names of lexemes stand for inflectional values; subscripts in parentheses represent syntactic features, specified in the corresponding lexical entry.

<sup>2</sup> When speaking of the properties of constructions, in point of fact we mean the properties of their 'lexical realizations': two constructions contrast semantically if it is possible to fill them with the same lexemes and obtain semantically different phrases; for more, see 2.2, Criterion 1, p. 00.

<sup>3</sup> For one of the earliest characterizations of the notion of SSyntRel, see Apresjan *et al.* 1978: 255-265; it was developed and enriched in Apresjan *et al.* 1984-1985, vyp. 155: 4-11.

<sup>4</sup> The main difference between a system of SSyntRels in our approach and a system of traditional clause elements is that the former has to distinguish and, as a rule, does distinguish many more different SSyntRels than the latter distinguishes different clause elements.

<sup>5</sup> "... each identified grammatical relation represents a clustering of syntactic properties in the language, sufficient to justify the internal cohesion of the grammatical relation and to set it off from other grammatical relations" (Borg & Comrie 1984: 109).

<sup>6</sup> Let it be emphasized that this hierarchy is NOT a hierarchy of concepts or classes, where each lower element shows all the properties of all higher elements—but not vice versa.

<sup>7</sup> Using distributional and transformational properties to characterize syntactic entities is by no means a novel idea. For instance, such an approach has been developed for French and applied for a detailed description of thousands of verbs by M. Gross and his collaborators (Gross 1975, 1986; Boons *et al.* 1976, Guillet & Leclère 1992). They use about a hundred properties to specify the government patterns and isolate useful semantico-syntactic classes of verbs. Since our goals are essentially different (we are interested in SSynt-roles of Dependents, rather than in classes of Governors), our set of relevant properties is also different. However, a few intersections occur: thus, 'Antéposition des compléments prépositionnels' de Boons *et al.* (1976: 200-201) corresponds to our 'Impossibility of left dislocation.'

<sup>8</sup> Such is, for instance, the case for the synonymous French constructions implemented by the phrases *l'aide canadienne* 'the Canadian aid' and *l'aide du Canada* 'the aid of Canada'. An agreeing adjectival modifier and a prepositional phrase are so dissimilar in their SSynt-properties that there is not the slightest temptation to describe them with the same SSyntRel. (Adjectival agreement and the presence of a preposition are among the most important syntactic properties in French.)

<sup>9</sup> A violation of semantic/lexical constraints is not considered as syntactic ill-formedness. Thus, cf. *inside the car* vs. \**inside Stuttgart* or *according to Leo* vs. \**according to the car*; however, the starred phrases are considered as syntactically well-formed (PREP + N being a legitimate phrase of English).

<sup>10</sup> A similar property was used for the identification of SSyntRels in the METATAXIS system (see Schubert 1989: 10: "Interchangeable dependents are grouped in classes and the relations that are definitional for these classes are given names").

<sup>11</sup> The Subject of so-called impersonal verbs (PLEUVOIR '[to] rain', NEIGER '[to] snow', etc.)—the 'impersonal' IL— is considered as a particular case of noun (= a pronominal noun which is not a substitute pronoun). Note that with the Kunze Property, Subjects in *Il* [= *Alain*] *dort* 'He is sleeping' and *Il pleut* 'It is raining' must be described by two different SSyntRels.

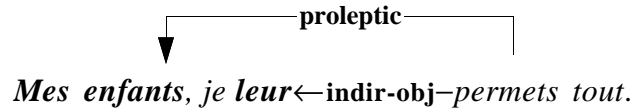
<sup>12</sup> The phrases [*Il*] *le peut*, lit. '[He] can it' and [*Il*] *le coupe* '[He] cuts it' do not constitute a counter-example: the two *le* seen here (they belong to two different lexemes) are substitute pronouns, which are explicitly excluded from consideration.

<sup>13</sup> It is sometimes claimed that even actantial SSyntRels can be repeatable. The best-known example is the repeatability of the **dir-obj** SSyntRel in Kinyarwanda: it is said that in this language, a clause can have up to three DirOs (Kimenyi 1980: 229); cf.:

- (i) *Umo +góre á +r +úubak+iish +iriz +a ábá+ana umu+gabo inzu*  
 Class I woman I PRES build CAUS BENEF CONT II children I man house  
 ‘The woman, on behalf of the children, is making the man build the house’.

A detailed analysis of 'repeated DirOs' in Kinyarwanda in Gary & Keenan 1977: 87-94 shows that indeed all of them possess the same relevant linguistic properties, which set them off with respect to oblique objects: they passivize, reflexivize and relativize, they can be cross-referenced in the verb, etc. And yet, in our framework, all three of them cannot be considered DirOs, because they contrast semantically—that is, they violate our Criterion 1. The corresponding presumed SSyntRel in Kinyarwanda has to be split into three different SSyntRels: the **dir-obj** SSyntRel, the **caus-dir-obj** SSyntRel and the **benef-dir-obj** SSyntRel. (These are, so to speak, the subtypes of an abstract—objectival—SSyntRel; in this way, the commonality of their linguistic properties is explicitly shown.)

<sup>14</sup> The construction *Mes enfants, je leur permets tout* is represented in a different way:



Here, we see a special SSyntRel used for a Fronted Dislocated Topic, which can be called, in syntactic terms, a *prolepsis*.

<sup>15</sup> Along with Criteria 1-3, the researcher can use the following heuristic test:

#### **Coordinability with one SSynt-governor**

Within a coordinated phrase  $D_1$ -**coord**→ $D_2$  which is subordinated as a whole to a SSynt-Governor G, each element must in principle bear the same SSyntRel **r** to G:

if  $G$ -**r**→ $D_1$ -**coord**→ $D_2$ , then both  $G$ -**r**→ $D_1$  and  $G$ -**r**→ $D_2$  are syntactically correct configurations.

#### **Examples**

- (i) **a.** *Il craint d'être découvert et que l'administration le punisse*, lit. 'He fears to be discovered and that the administration punish him'.  
**b.** *Il veut partir et aussi que je parte avec lui*,  
 lit. 'He wants to leave and that I leave with him'.  
**c.** *le rendement augmente successivement et par degré*,

lit. 'The yield rises successively and by degree'.

In each example of (i), the boldfaced phrases bear the same SSyntRel to the Main Verb.

Unfortunately, this test cannot be raised to the rank of a genuine formal criterion: coordination—at any rate, in many languages—is strongly semantically motivated; therefore, in some cases, syntactically different clause elements can be coordinated, while in some other cases identical clause elements cannot. Here are a few examples.

Coordination of different clause elements (cf. Grevisse 1993: 371):

(ii) a. *Elle vieillissait dans l'aisance et entourée de considération*

'She was aging in well-being and surrounded with consideration'.

b. *augmentation successive et par degré*, lit. '[a] rise successive and by degree'.

c. *Je me demande si et sous quelles conditions on pourra régler le problème*

'I ask myself whether and under what conditions it will be possible to solve the problem'.

(iii) (Defrancq 1998: 118-119)

a. *Je me demande qui travaille et où* 'I ask myself who is working and where'.

b. *Je me demande qui décide et quoi* 'I ask myself who decides and what'.

(iv) *couper les cheveux très court et de façon à ce qu'ils ne lui tombent pas sur le front*, lit. 'to-cut the hair very short and in such a way that it does not fall to-him on the forehead'

Other examples can be drawn from Russian:

(v) a. *Èto otkrytie bylo sdelano v Anglii i angličaninom*,

lit. 'This discovery was made in England and by an Englishman'.

b. *Ja govorju s poètom i o poète*, lit. 'I talk with a poet and about a poet'.

c. *Nikto, nikomu i nikogda ne pomogaet*, lit. 'Nobody, to nobody and never helps'.

(Russian coordinate constructions of this 'exotic' type are described in detail in Sannikov 1989: 14-20.)

Impossible or difficult coordination of identical clause elements:

(v) a. *\*Ils étaient cinq et très blonds*, lit. 'They were five and very blond'.

b. *\*des plats français et exquis*, lit. 'French and exquisite dishes'.

c. *?Tout le monde préfère le repos maintenant et partir plus tard*,

lit. 'Everybody prefers the rest now and to leave later'.

Consequently, the results of the coordination test can serve as arguments in favor of or against a particular solution (especially in less obvious cases); but the test as such cannot be accepted as a rigorous criterion. Cf. the discussion of the role coordination plays in establishing gramma-

tical relations in Sag *et al.* 1985 (*I am neither **an authority** on this subject nor **trying** to portray myself as one, Pat was **awarded** the prize and **very upset** about it, and the like) and Hudson 1988.*

<sup>16</sup> We believe that in imperative sentences, the Subject is present in the SSyntS (it controls the person and number of the verb), but does not appear on the surface.

<sup>17</sup> 'The MV agrees with the Subject' means that the form of the MV is determined as a function of the Subject, not that their forms coincide; thus, in *Travailler deux jours et qu'on me paye le double me convient* [= SG] *parfaitement*, lit. 'To work two days and that they pay me the double suits me perfectly', the MV agrees with the conjoined Subject, just as it does in *La plupart sont* [= PL] *heureux* 'The majority are happy'.

<sup>18</sup> The reasons for this decision are based on the following examples (from Morin 1985), which we quote without discussion:

- (i) *Ces conclusions, ne voilà-t-il <\*-t-elles> pas qu'elles sont caduques maintenant ?* 'These conclusions, is it not the case that they are obsolete now?'
- (ii) *Ne la voilà-t-elle <\*-t-il> pas prisonnière de ses mensonges ?* 'Isn't she a prisoner of her lies?'
- (iii) *Cela la gêne-t-il ?/ Cela la gêne-t-elle ?* 'Does this bother her?'
- (iii) *Cela est-t-il vrai ?* 'Is this true?'
- (iv) *Cela te gêne-t-il ?/ \*Cela la gêne-t-elle ?* 'Does this bother you [sg, masc/fem]?'
- (v) *Comment Marie le trouve-t-il ?* 'How does M. find him?'

<sup>19</sup> S. Kahane has indicated to us an example which can seem problematic in this respect:

- (i) *Il devrait arriver trois personnes*, lit. 'It should arrive three people'.

If the Quasi-Subject in (i) is cliticized, the clitic attaches to *arriver* rather than to *devrait* :

- (ii) *Il devrait en arriver trois <\*Il en devrait arriver trois>* 'It should arrive three thereof'.

Does (ii) argue in favor of subordinating *trois personnes* to *arriver* and not to the MV *devrait*? We do not think so, because many other cases of similar behavior of EN are known. Ruwet 1972: 50-51 gives a whole series of corresponding examples:

- (iii) *L'auteur de ce livre va devenir célèbre* 'The author of this book will become famous'. ~

*L'auteur va en devenir célèbre <\*L'auteur en va devenir célèbre>*.

*La solution de ce problème doit être simple* 'The solution of this problem must be simple'. ~

*La solution doit en être simple <\*La solution en doit être simple>*.

As we see, EN is put into a position where it has the infinitive as its host—much like the situation with EN what replaces the Quasi-Subject in (ii). (This is explainable by the fact that the verbs ALLER, DEVOIR, etc. are not clitic-attracting, see p. 00.)

<sup>20</sup> Our short discussion of the causative FAIRE-construction requires three additional remarks.

- As indicated in Morin 1980, the rule formulated here is, in point of fact, more complex. Thus, in some cases the Secondary Actor of a causative FAIRE-construction can appear as an IndirO of FAIRE in the absence of a DirO of the lexical verb: *Cela **leur** fait penser à leurs enfants*, lit. ‘This makes to them think of their children’. In some other cases, the Secondary Actor appears as a DirO even in the presence of a DirO of the lexical verb: *Cela **la** fait se poser de nombreuses questions*, lit. ‘This makes her ask of herself numerous questions’. (Note, however, that such ‘deviations’ are possible only with clitics: \**Cela fait penser à leurs enfants à tous les parents qui ...*, lit. ‘This makes think of their children to all parents who ...’, and \**Cela fait se poser de nombreuses questions **cette pauvre femme** qui ...*, lit. ‘This makes ask of herself numerous questions this poor woman who ...’.)

- Similar facts concerning different SSynt-realizations of the Secondary Actor are observed in some other constructions with embedded infinitives, for instance, with LAISSER ‘[to] let’ and VOIR ‘[to] see’—as a function of word order:

- (i) *Je laisse **Alain** lire le livre* ‘I let A. read the book’ ~  
*Je laisse lire le livre à **Alain***, lit. ‘I let read the book to A.’
- (ii) *Je vois **Alain** lire le livre* ‘I see A. read the book’ ~  
*Je vois lire le livre à **Alain***, lit. ‘I see read the book to A.’

- The property of imposing the SSynt-role of the IndirO on the Secondary Actor of the causative FAIRE-construction is shared by the Quotative Object, i.e. Direct Speech (Kayne 1977: 203): *Alain fait dire à **Helen**/Alain **lui** fait dire : « J’ai tort. »*, lit. ‘A. makes to H./to her say: ‘I am wrong’’. At the same time, unlike the DirO, the QuotO systematically allows the Secondary Actor of the causative construction to be realized as a DirO as well: *Alain **la** fait dire : « J’ai tort »* ‘A. makes her say: ‘I am wrong’—but again, only if this DirO is a clitic: \**Alain fait dire **Helen** : « J’ai tort. »* ‘A. makes H. say: ‘I am wrong’’.

<sup>21</sup> We owe this type of example to Y.-Ch. Morin.

<sup>22</sup> In *Nous avons payé 300 francs pour cette robe* ‘We have paid 300 francs for this dress’ the phrase *300 francs* is a DirO—here it corresponds to DSyntA II of PAYER and satisfies all the defining properties of DirOs.

<sup>23</sup> Phasal verbs themselves have passive forms: *Le travail a été commencé* ‘The work has been begun’.

<sup>24</sup> The *host* of a clitic is the clause element which determines its linear position, that is, the word-form to which this clitic ‘attaches’ linearly and prosodically (cf. Zwicky 1977).

<sup>25</sup> The expressions *parler politique* and *parler de la politique* are not synonymous (*parler politique* is phraseologized and implies an exchange of political opinions), just as *parler affaires* ‘[to] talk business’ is not synonymous with *parler des affaires* ‘[to] talk about business’. This, however, is irrelevant in the present context: the only important thing for us is the fact that the verb PARLER is used in both these expressions in the same sense (‘[to] talk’).

<sup>26</sup> Our decision to subsume SAVOIR + V<sub>inf</sub> under the **dir-inf-obj** SSyntRel is buttressed by the fact that the expression of the type <sup>?</sup>*Je lui ferai savoir nager*, lit. ‘I will make to-him know how to swim’, although not ideal, is much better than \**Je le ferai savoir nager*. In this respect (= imposing the IndirO realization on the Secondary Actor of the FAIRE-construction), the V<sub>inf</sub> with SAVOIR is thus closer to the nominal DirO.

<sup>27</sup> However, the construction PENSER–**r**→*que* +CLAUSE is treated differently: we see here a different lexeme PENSER ‘[to] think’, with which the QUE-clause is considered a DirO, since one can say *Qu’il faut se préparer était pensé par tout le monde* ‘That it is necessary to prepare oneself was thought by everybody’ and *Ce qu’Alain a pensé, tout le monde le pense* ‘What A. has thought, everybody thinks it’. Even if this verb does not accept the prototypical DirO—a regular noun, it takes nouns featuring a pronominal character: *Alain pense la même chose* ‘A. thinks the same thing’, without mentioning the demonstrative CELA/CE [QUE] or the negative RIEN ‘nothing’.

<sup>28</sup> The latter fact explains why some researchers consider the DirO in this construction to be the Synt-Subject of the infinitive (e.g., Isaac 1986: 26-27). However, in French, it does not possess any defining properties of the Subject (except for corresponding to DSyntA I), while it can be promoted to Subject and is replaceable by an accusative clitic, as all DirOs do.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Être admis est attendu de plusieurs malades depuis longtemps*, lit. ‘To be admitted is awaited by several patients for a long time’ and *Alain attend d’être admis* ‘A. awaits to be admitted’ ~ *Alain l’attend*.



<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Alain cherche à convaincre ses opposants* ‘A. seeks to convince his opponents’ ~ *Il le cherche*. CHERCHER ‘[to] try to achieve...’ (as opposed to CHERCHER ‘[to] look for’) has no passive form.

<sup>31</sup> This ESSAYER means ‘[to] attempt’; in *essayer la nouvelle robe* ‘[to] try the new dress’ we have a different lexeme ESSAYER ‘[to] test’.

<sup>32</sup> The **subject-copredicative** SSyntRel, as well as the **object-copredicative** SSyntRel (see immediately below), is not actantial and therefore not considered in this paper.

<sup>33</sup> The Circum of Measure does not express DSyntA II with all transitive verbs; cf.:

(i) **a.** *Ils ont beaucoup mangé <construit>* ‘They have eaten <built> a lot’.

vs.

**b.** \**Ils ont beaucoup préparé <coupé>* ‘They have prepared <cut> a lot’.

This fact shows the DSynt-actantial role of the Circum of Measure in cases **a**.

<sup>34</sup> The expression of the type *Il a beaucoup manger de soupe*, lit. ‘He has much eaten of soup’ represents the ‘split’ of the phrase *beaucoup de soupe* ‘much soup’ (which is a DirO) rather than the combination of two codependents BEAUCOUP and SOUPE (cf. \**Il a mangé de soupe*).

<sup>35</sup> Technically speaking, to account for the special nature of different Ds of a SSyntRel, we do the following: For each relevant property of any SSyntRel, it is explicitly indicated to which syntactic classes this property is applicable. For instance, the property of specific linear placement (= precedes/follows the MV) is not applicable to clitics, whose linear position is not determined by their subordinating SSyntRel.

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