

PCC effects with *se*-reflexives in causative constructions

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Abstract The empirical focus of this paper are well-known restrictions on the distribution of the French reflexive clitic *se* in *faire*-infinitive causative constructions. I argue against previous analyses of these restrictions as a consequence of the alleged intransitivity of *se*-reflexives, and instead make the parallel with identical constraints on 1st and 2nd person pronouns in causatives. I show that the pattern of reflexives and 1st and 2nd person pronouns find a natural explanation if connected with similar restrictions found in double object constructions and known as the Person-Case Constraint (PCC, or *me-lui* Constraint), and propose an analysis of PCC effects in causatives, building on Sheehan (to appear). By doing so, this paper provides an explanation for the pattern of *se*-reflexives in causatives, which acknowledges the pronominal status of the reflexive clitic and accounts for its common patterning with 1st and 2nd person pronouns.

1. Restrictions on *se*-reflexives in FI-causatives

Faire-infinitive causatives (FI-causatives, [Kayne 1975](#)) are a type of periphrastic causative constructions found in French and in Romance at large. FI-causatives are formed using the causative light verb *faire* ‘to make’ and the infinitival form of the lexical verb. They convey the idea that the event taking place between the two arguments of a simple transitive verb is caused by someone else (the causer). (1b) is an example of a causative based on the transitive verb *saluer* ‘to greet’ in (1a).

- (1) a. Paul *salue* Sarah.
 Paul greet.PRS.3SG Sarah
 ‘Paul greets Sarah.’
 b. Je *fais* *saluer* **Sarah** *à Paul*.
 I make.PRS.1SG greet.INF Sarah to Paul
 ‘I make Paul greet Sarah.’

The causative verb introduces an extra argument in the form of the causer, which is the subject of the sentence, e.g. *je* ‘I’ in (1b). *Sarah*, the person who is being greeted, is the object or theme (boldfaced throughout the paper). The person who is made to greet, i.e. *Paul*, is called the causee (italicized), and is introduced by the dative preposition *à*. Both the theme and the causee can be pronominalized using clitics. In (2a), the theme is expressed by the accusative clitic *la*, and in (2b), the causee is also pronominalized and takes the form of the dative clitic. Both clitics must raise and attach to the left of *faire*.

- (2) a. Je **la** *fais* *saluer* *à Paul*.
 I 3FSG.ACC make.PRS.1SG greet.INF to Paul
 ‘I make Paul greet her.’
 b. Je **la** *lui* *fais* *saluer* *chaque matin*.
 I 3FSG.ACC 3SG.DAT make.PRS.1SG greet.INF each morning
 ‘I make him greet her every morning.’

The reflexive clitic *se* behaves differently than other object clitics in FI-causatives in two respects ([Kayne 1975](#); [Reinhart and Siloni 2004](#)). First, the theme of a canonical FI-causative which involves a dative causee cannot be reflexive. As (3) shows, *se* is ungrammatical as the

theme in FI-causatives whose causee is introduced by the dative-marking preposition *à*.

- (3) *Marie_i **se**_i fait saluer *à* Paul_j chaque matin.
 Marie REFL make.PRS.3SG greet.INF to Paul each morning
 Int.: ‘Marie_i makes Paul_j greet her_i every morning.’

Instead, the grammatical counterpart of (3) is (4), which at first sight seems to be a prepositionless version of the former.

- (4) Marie_i *se*_{i/*j} fait saluer **Paul**_j.
 Marie REFL make.PRS.3SG greet.INF Paul
 ‘Marie_i makes herself_i greet Paul_j.’ (Paul = THEME)
NOT *‘Marie_i makes Paul_j greet her_i.’ *(Paul = CAUSEE)

However, in contrast with (3), prepositionless *Paul* is no longer interpreted as the causee, but as the theme. *Se*, in turn, may only be interpreted as the causee: the sentence is only grammatical under the reading *Marie_i makes herself_i greet Paul_j*, and may not be interpreted as *Marie_i makes Paul_j greet her_i*, where *se* would be the theme. In this example, *se* is obligatorily coindexed with the subject, as expected given its overall subject-orientation (Ahn 2015; Raynaud in prep).

This restriction on reflexive themes is not limited to cases in which the causee is a noun introduced by *à*, and also holds when the causee is a dative pronoun. In (5a), a reflexive theme is ungrammatical when combined with the dative 3rd person singular pronominal causee *lui*. (5b) is the pronominalized equivalent of (4): *se* can only be interpreted as the causee here, and it can be seen clearly that the pronoun *le*, standing for prepositionless *Paul*, bears accusative case instead of dative, making it the theme.

- (5) a. *Marie_i **se**_i lui fait saluer chaque matin.
 Marie REFL 3SG.DAT make.PRS.3SG greet.INF each morning
 Int.: ‘Marie_i makes him_j greet her_i every morning.’
 b. Marie_i *se*_{i/*j} **le**_j fait saluer.
 Marie REFL 3MSG.ACC make.PRS.3SG greet.INF
 ‘Marie_i makes herself_i greet him_j.’ (le = THEME)
NOT *‘Marie_i makes him_j greet her_i.’ *(le = CAUSEE)

The second specificity of reflexive FI-causatives concerns the placement of the reflexive clitic. In order to yield an interpretation of *se* as a theme, the reflexive clitic can attach to the infinitive, as in (6a) (involving a DP causee) and (6b) (with a pronominal causee).

- (6) a. Marie_i fera **se**_{*i/j} dénoncer (*à) Paul_j.
 Marie make.FUT.3SG REFL denounce.INF to Paul
 ‘Marie_i will make Paul_j denounce himself_j.’
- b. Je_i le_j ferai **se**_{*i/j} laver.
 I 3MSG.ACC make.FUT.1SG REFL wash.INF
 ‘I_i will make him_j wash himself_j.’

While the use of the preposition *à* to introduce the causee remains ungrammatical, attachment of *se* to the infinitive permits the reflexive clitic to be interpreted as the theme, circumventing the restriction observed in (4). Note that in these examples *se* can only be coindexed with the causee, and not with the subject (unlike what we saw in (4)), and that the causee is expressed using an accusative clitic instead of a dative one in (6b), two unexpected facts to which I will return in section 4.

With respect to its attachment site, *se* contrasts with pronominal objects like 3rd person *le/la*, which cannot remain low and attach to the infinitive, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (7a) and (7b), directly paralleling (6a) and (6b) above.

- (7) a. *Marie fera **la** dénoncer (à) Paul.
 Marie make.FUT.3SG 3FSG.ACC denounce.INF to Paul
 Int.: ‘Marie will make Paul denounce her.’
- b. *Je le ferai **la** laver.
 I 3MSG.ACC make.FUT.1SG 3FSG.ACC wash.INF
 Int.: ‘I will make him wash her.’

Se-reflexives thus exhibit a particular behavior in FI-causatives, with regard to both their interpretation (*se* cannot be the theme in a canonical FI-causative involving a dative causee) and clitic placement (*se* may attach to the infinitive to circumvent this restriction).

The observed asymmetry between the reflexive clitic *se* and other object pronouns in FI-causatives has been previously explained by and used as an argument for the hypothesis that *se*-reflexives are in fact intransitive

constructions. This conclusion rests on the apparent similarity between the patterning of intransitive verbs and reflexives in FI-causatives (Kayne 1975; Reinhart and Sioni 2004) and is embedded into a larger body of research claiming the intransitivity of *se*-reflexives (e.g. Bouchard 1984; Marantz 1984; Wehrli 1986; Grimshaw 1990; Sportiche 1998; Chierchia 2004; Embick 2004). However, there are several grounds to dismiss the general hypothesis that *se*-reflexives are intransitives. For instance, it can be shown that reflexive clitics have case, a characteristic of nominal arguments (Labelle 2008; Raynaud 2018b; *in prep*). Labelle (2008) also shows that *se*-reflexives are perfectly licit in another type of causative constructions in French, known as *faire-par* (FP) causatives, where they obey the same clitic placement rules than other clitic pronouns and behave as expected with regard to subject-orientation and interpretation (they can be both themes and causees; see also Raynaud *in prep*). These facts follow straightforwardly from an analysis of *se* as a reflexive anaphor, and are not expected if *se* was for instance a lexical marker of reflexivity or a functional voice head.

An even stronger argument is provided by the behavior of 1st and 2nd person pronouns in FI-causatives, which forms the core topic of this paper. In the next section, I show that restrictions identical to those on reflexives can be observed of 1st and 2nd person object pronouns in FI-causatives, further dismissing the hypothesis that such constraints are characteristic of intransitives. In section 3, building on the parallel between 1st/2nd person and reflexives, I argue that the restrictions observed in causatives find their match in double object constructions and are known as Person-Case-Constraint effects, and propose an analysis in those terms, building on recent work by Sheehan (*to appear*). Finally in section 4 it is argued that the availability of infinitive attachment and the interpretative restrictions that follow for reflexives are explained by an analysis as a repair ECM-construction, following Schifano and Sheehan (2018) and Sheehan (*to appear*). While it builds on previous analyses of the PCC with 1st/2nd person, this paper makes two original contributions. First, it connects for the first time two independent observations, namely the existence of restrictions on reflexives in FI-causatives on the one hand and PCC effects on the other. Second, it provides a novel account for the common behavior of reflexives and 1st/2nd person, unifying

person licensing and anaphoric binding as resulting from the valuation of referential [1D]-features.

2. 1st and 2nd person in FI-causatives

A key observation against the intransitivity of *se*-reflexives as an explanation for their behavior in FI-causatives and towards an adequate analysis is that the restrictions observed above are not specific to reflexive clitics. As noted already by Kayne (1975:241) and recently explored in depth in Sheehan (to appear), independently of the reflexive pattern, 1st and 2nd person pronouns are subject to similar restrictions. As I will argue here, not only does this speak in favor of the pronominal status of *se*, but the parallel with 1st/2nd person also provides a coherent explanation for the behavior of reflexives in causatives.

First, similarly to what we observed with reflexives, a 1st or 2nd person theme is ungrammatical in FI-causatives, be it with a causee introduced by the dative preposition *à* or a pronominal causee.

- (8) a. *Marie **me/te** fera embrasser *à* Paul.
 Marie 1SG/2SG make.FUT.3SG kiss.INF to Paul
 Int.: ‘Marie will make Paul kiss me/you.’
- b. *Marie **me/te** lui fera embrasser.
 Marie 1SG/2SG 3SG.DAT make.FUT.3SG kiss.INF
 Int.: ‘Marie will make him kiss me/you.’

When the causee appears without *à*, i.e. in the accusative case, the 1st or 2nd person pronoun may only be interpreted as the causee and not as the theme, again mirroring the patterns observed with the reflexive.

- (9) a. Marie *me/te* fera embrasser **Paul**.
 Marie 1SG/2SG make.FUT.3SG kiss.INF Paul
 ‘Marie will make me/you kiss Paul.’ (Paul = THEME)
NOT *‘Marie will make P. kiss me/you.’*(Paul = CAUSEE)
- b. Marie *me/te* **le** fera embrasser.
 Marie 1SG/2SG 3MSG.ACC make.FUT.3SG kiss.INF
 ‘Marie will make me/you kiss him.’ (le = THEME)
NOT *‘Marie will make him kiss me/you.’*(le = CAUSEE)

Second, 1st and 2nd person clitics may also attach to the infinitive, and when they do, they are successfully interpreted as themes. This is possible when both the theme and the causee are pronominalized, as in (10a). In this case, the causee, *le*, is attached to *faire*, and the 1st/2nd person theme is attached to the infinitive. Judgements vary as to the availability of this strategy when the causee is a full noun, as in (10b).

- (10) a. Marie *le* fait **me/te** saluer chaque matin.
 Marie 3MSG.ACC make.PRS.3SG 1SG/2SG greet.INF each morning
 ‘Marie makes him greet me/you every morning.’
- b. ??Marie fait **me/te** saluer *Paul* chaque matin.
 Marie make.PRS.3SG 1SG/2SG greet.INF Paul each morning
 ‘Marie makes Paul greet me/you every morning.’

A 1st/2nd person or reflexive theme can thus be expressed by attaching the clitic to the infinitive, rather than to *faire* as is standardly the case – a strategy only available for 1st/2nd person and reflexive clitics, and not to other 3rd person pronouns. Restrictions on reflexive clitics in FI-causatives are thus paralleled by identical restrictions on 1st and 2nd person pronouns, indicating that they are likely not the result of the alleged intransitivity of the former. Instead, the common patterning of 1st/2nd person and reflexives can be connected with other restrictions targeting this class of items, namely the Person-Case Constraint.

3. The parallel with the PCC

3.1. A ban on 1st/2nd person and reflexives

The first restriction on *se*-reflexives in FI-causatives can be summed up as follows: whenever there is a dative causee, the theme cannot be 1st/2nd person or reflexive. As argued by Sheehan (*to appear*), albeit only about 1st/2nd person, this pattern is reminiscent of person restrictions observed for double object constructions (DOCs), in which a direct object (DO) cannot be 1st/2nd person or reflexive in the presence of a dative indirect object (IO) clitic. This generalization is known as the Person-Case Constraint (PCC, or *me-lui* Constraint, Bonet 1991).

(11) *Person-Case Constraint*

In a double object construction which combines a weak indirect object and a weak direct object [clitic, agreement marker or weak pronoun], the direct object has to be 3rd person.

The PCC is illustrated by the examples from French below, which show that while a 3rd person accusative DO can occur together with a dative IO in (12a), the same is not true of a 1st or 2nd person DO, which yields an ungrammatical combination (12b). DOs (themes) are coded in bold, while IOs (goals/beneficiaries) are italicized.

- (12) a. Ils **le** *lui* présentent.
 They 3MSG.ACC 3SG.DAT introduce.PRS.3PL
 ‘They introduce him to him/her.’
 b. *Ils **me/te** *lui* présentent.
 They 1SG/2SG 3SG.DAT introduce.PRS.3PL
 Int.: ‘They introduce me/you to him/her.’

In contrast, the reverse combination, i.e. a 1st/2nd person IO and a 3rd person DO, is perfectly grammatical.

- (13) Ils *me/te* **le** présentent.
 They 1SG/2SG 3MSG.ACC introduce.PRS.3PL
 ‘They introduce him to me/you.’

The PCC is known cross-linguistically to hold of 1st and 2nd person weak pronouns, for which its formulation and subsequent theoretical accounts were originally designed. However, it has also been noted that the 3rd person reflexive clitic *se* in French is subject to PCC effects in the same way as 1st/2nd person clitics: *se* cannot occur as the DO of a DOC.

- (14) *Ils_i **se_i** *lui_j* présentent.
 They REFL 3SG.DAT introduce.PRS.3PL
 Int.: ‘They_i introduce themselves_i to him/her_j.’

In recent work (Raynaud 2018a; in prep), I have shown that PCC effects with reflexives are by no means a French idiosyncrasy: identical effects

can be observed with reflexives in several unrelated languages (e.g. Swahili, Southern Tiwa, Warlpiri).

The nature and the scope of the restriction captured by the PCC can be directly paralleled with the patterns found with 1st/2nd person and reflexives in FI-causatives: in the presence of a dative causee or indirect object, accusative 1st/2nd person and reflexive themes or direct objects are disallowed. This is summarized in the tables below.

Table 1: PCC in DOCs

| IO | DO | |
|-----------|-----------|---|
| 3 | 3 | ✓ |
| 1/2/REFL | 3 | ✓ |
| 3 | 1/2/REFL | ✗ |
| 1/2/REFL | 1/2/REFL | ✗ |

Table 2: PCC in causatives

| Causee | Theme | |
|---------------|--------------|---|
| 3 | 3 | ✓ |
| 1/2/REFL | 3 | ✓ |
| 3 | 1/2/REFL | ✗ |
| 1/2/REFL | 1/2/REFL | ✗ |

3.2. Formalizing the PCC

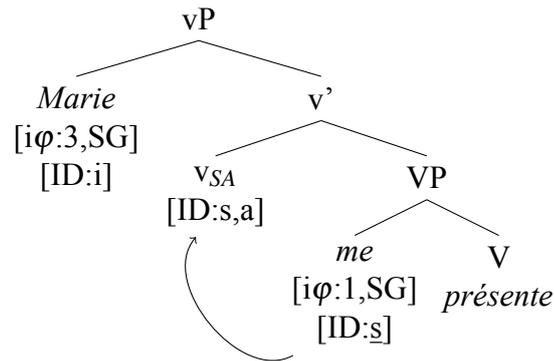
The most influential account of the PCC in the generative framework is the syntactic analysis initiated by Béjar and Rezac (2003) and since then developed in different versions by Anagnostopoulou (2003; 2005); Adger and Harbour (2007); Nevins (2007); Pancheva and Zubizarreta (2017); Stegovec (2019) among others. These accounts analyze PCC effects as the result of the combination of two principles: the Person Licensing Condition (PLC) and syntactic intervention. I will first provide details about the PLC and my interpretation of it, before turning to the role of syntactic intervention.

1st and 2nd person are assumed to be subject to a special licensing requirement, termed the Person Licensing Condition.

- (15) *Person Licensing Condition (PLC)* (Béjar and Rezac 2003:53)
An interpretable 1/2 feature must be licensed by entering into an Agree relation with a functional category.

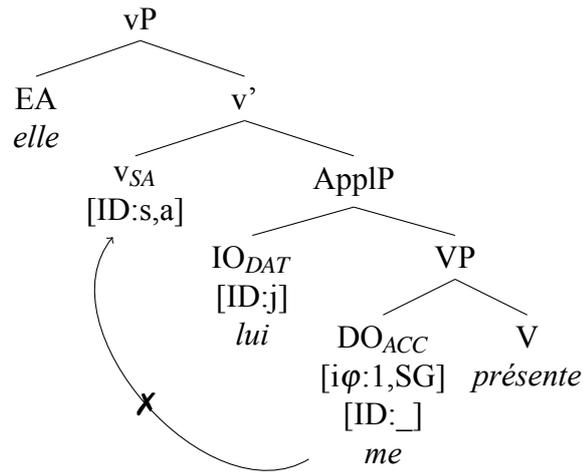
According to the canonical version of the PLC, in order for a 1st/2nd person (weak) pronoun to be licensed, a given feature on that item must Agree with a matching feature on a functional category, understood as *v*. The relevant feature is often defined as a PARTICIPANT OR PERSON \varnothing -feature, which would occur only on 1st and 2nd person items, i.e. PLC-sensitive items, separating them from 3rd person items, i.e. non-PLC-sensitive items (see e.g. Béjar and Rezac 2003; Anagnostopoulou 2005; Adger and Harbour 2007). However, as seen above, some 3rd person items such as reflexive *se* do obey the PCC, despite presumably lacking such a PERSON feature. While some accounts have postulated such a feature on reflexives (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2005; Adger and Harbour 2007), I have previously argued against this assumption (see Raynaud 2018a; in prep; Kaur and Raynaud 2019). Instead, in order to account for the common patterning of 1st/2nd person and reflexives, I propose that what they have in common is an unvalued referential feature, which requires valuation by a valued counterpart located on *v* (or above). The formal account developed here is based on this theoretical premise, which is developed in the following lines. Note that the main insight captured by this paper, namely that restrictions on *se*-reflexives and 1st/2nd person in FI-causatives are to be analyzed as an instance of the PCC, is not dependent on that particular assumption.

The requirement for licensing through *v* is thus argued to be due to the presence of an unvalued feature on reflexive and 1st and 2nd person items. That reflexive anaphors are featurally deficient, resulting in their need to be bound via agreement with a local antecedent, has been proposed by much recent work on binding (Heinat 2008; Kratzer 2009; Hicks 2009; Reuland 2011; Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd 2011). Following Hicks' insight, I take the relevant feature to be a referential feature labeled [ID], which takes indices (*i*, *j*, etc.) as values and thereby encodes referential (non-)identity of DPs. Anaphoric binding is thus a syntactic mechanism that proceeds as follows: reflexives are born with unvalued [ID]-features, which get valued via upward Agree (downward valuation, Wurmbrand 2012) with a valued [ID] on an antecedent. This Agree relation is mediated by a reflexive voice head v_{REFL} , which provides reflexive semantics and ensures subject-orientation by targeting the closest c-commanding argument, i.e. the subject, as the antecedent (Ahn 2015).

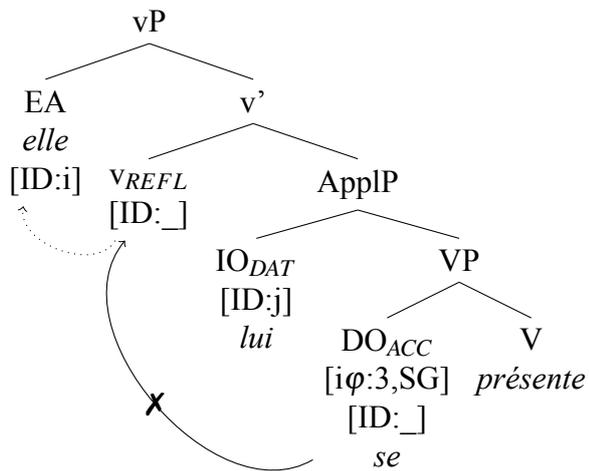


Both 1st/2nd person and reflexives must thus be syntactically licensed through valuation of their unvalued $[ID]$ -feature. PCC effects are due to failure to meet this licensing requirement, as a result from a syntactic intervention effect. Indeed, PCC effects arise in DOCs, which are configurations involving one licensing head, *v*, and two objects, and in which DOs are structurally lower than IOs. Dative IOs are furthermore assumed to be defective interveners: they bear valued $[ID]$ -feature (they are referential DPs), rendering them visible by any $[ID]$ -probe, but are unaccessible goals for agreement by virtue of their case (Rezac 2004). Consequently, the IO structurally intervenes between the DO and *v*, preventing a 1st/2nd/reflexive DO to establish the Agree relation necessary for its licensing, and thus accounting for the ban on 1st/2nd person and reflexive DOs in DOCs, i.e. PCC effects. This is schematized in (18) for 1st/2nd person, and in (19) for a reflexive.

- (18) a. *Elle **me** *lui* présente.
 3_{FSG}.NOM 1_{SG} 3_{SG}.DAT introduce.PRS.3_{SG}
 Int.: 'She introduces me to him/her.'
- b.



- (19) a. *Elle se lui présente.
 3FSG.NOM REFL 3SG.DAT introduce.PRS.3SG
 Int.: ‘She introduces herself to him/her.’
 b.



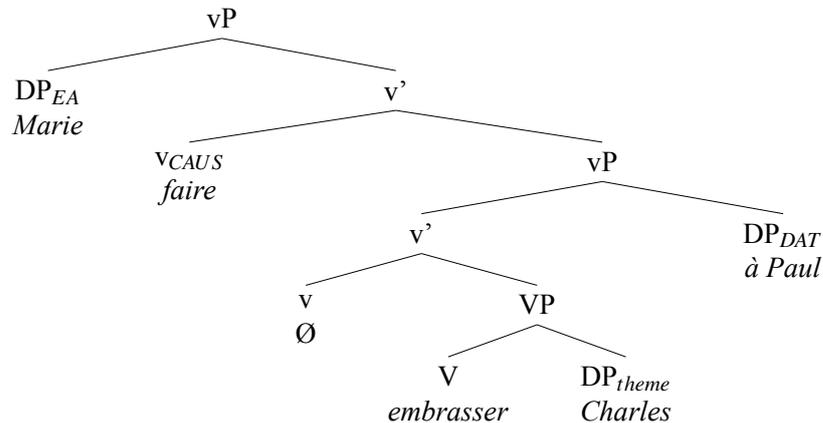
Finally, 3rd persons items like *le/la* are immune to such syntactic requirements. They neither need to be syntactically bound by an antecedent (they are not anaphoric), nor are they indexicals/speech act participants

that need to be syntactically linked to a speech act center. Accordingly, they are assumed to be born with inherently valued [ID]-features, absolving them from the requirement to Agree to be licensed and thus accounting for the absence of PCC effects.

3.3. Extending this account to FI-causatives

The person restriction observed in FI-causatives can be shown to follow from an intervention effect of the dative causee for licensing, exactly in the same way as with DOCs, as shown recently for 1st/2nd person by Sheehan (to appear). I assume the following structure for FI-causatives, following Folli and Harley (2007). *Faire* is the head of a v_{CAUS} , that introduces the causer in its specifier and takes as its complement a small clause, i.e. a defective vP with the causee, a dative \grave{a} -marked DP, as its external argument.¹

(20) *Faire-infinitive (FI) causatives*

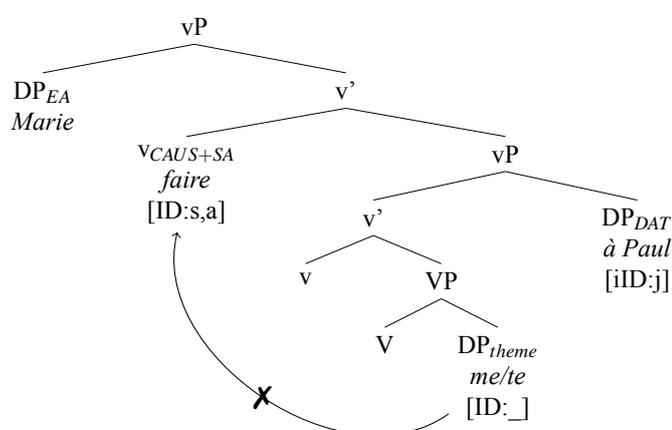


Given this structure, if one takes v_{CAUS} to be a person licenser (i.e. a speech act center), it becomes immediately apparent that the causee and the theme stand in the same relation vis-à-vis v_{CAUS} as the IO and the

¹ Folli and Harley (2007:208) assume rightward specifiers for v. I follow their proposal here for simplicity's sake, but note that nothing in the present analysis depends on that particular assumption.

DO vis-à-vis *v* in a DOC: the dative causee intervenes for the licensing of a 1st/2nd person theme by v_{CAUS} .

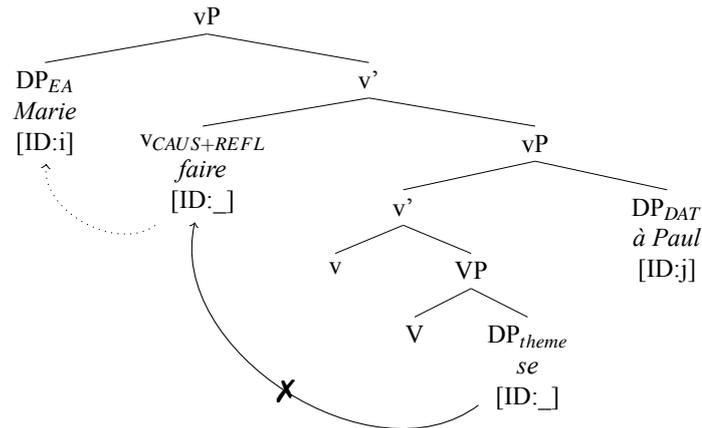
(21) *1st/2nd person theme in an FI causative*



Building on Sheehan's insight about 1st and 2nd person in causatives, and on the fact that reflexives are subject to the same constraint in DOCs for the reasons exposed above, the behavior of *se* in FI-causatives is then straightforwardly explained. Given the subject-orientation of reflexives in FI-causatives, we can assume that the locus of reflexivization is the causative head *faire*, which gets the properties of a v_{REFL} . In order to be bound, a reflexive in an FI-causative must Agree with the subject for an [ID]-value through the reflexive voice head. However, this relation is only possible if the reflexive is the causee; if it is the theme, the dative causee will intervene, leaving the reflexive's feature unvalued and leading to ungrammaticality.

(22) *Reflexive theme in an FI causative*

- a. *Marie_i se_i fera embrasser à Paul_j.
 Marie REFL make.FUT.3SG KISS.INF to Paul
 Int.: 'Marie_i will make Paul_j kiss herself_i.'
- b.



The first restriction on *se*-reflexives in FI-causatives, namely its inability to occur as the theme and cohabit with a dative causee (whether introduced by the preposition *à* or in the form of a dative clitic), can thus be straightforwardly derived as a PCC-like effect, resulting of the need of reflexive anaphors to Agree with a higher antecedent in order to be bound and the intervention of the dative causee.

4. ECM causatives

The second property of *se* in causatives remains to be accounted for. Recall that reflexive and 1st/2nd person clitics also differ from other clitics in their possible attachment site. While a 3rd person clitic like *le/la* can only attach to *faire* in FI-causatives, *se*, *me* or *te* can also attach to the infinitive.

- (23) Marie *le* fait **me/te/se** saluer tous les matins.
 Marie 3MSG.ACC makes 1SG/2SG/REFL greet.INF all the mornings
 ‘Marie makes him greet me/you/himself every morning.’

The possibility of infinitive attachment for 1st/2nd person clitics is accounted for by Sheehan (to appear) and Schifano and Sheehan (2018) as a repair strategy, and I argue that it can once again be extended to the case of reflexives. Indeed, a FI causative with a 1st/2nd person theme

otherwise seems ineffable, given the ungrammaticality of (24a) and the interpretation of (24b), calling for the use of an alternative structure to the rescue (a repair strategy).

- (24) a. *Marie_i **me/te/se**_i lui_j fera saluer.
 Marie 1SG/2SG/REFL 3SG.DAT make.FUT.3SG greet.INF
 Int.: ‘Marie_i will make him_j greet me/you/her_i.’
- b. Marie_i *me/te/se*_i fera saluer **Paul**_j.
 Marie 1SG/2SG/REFL make.FUT.3SG greet.INF Paul
 ‘Marie_i will make me/you/herself_i greet Paul_j.’
NOT ‘Marie_i will make Paul_j greet me/you/her_i.’

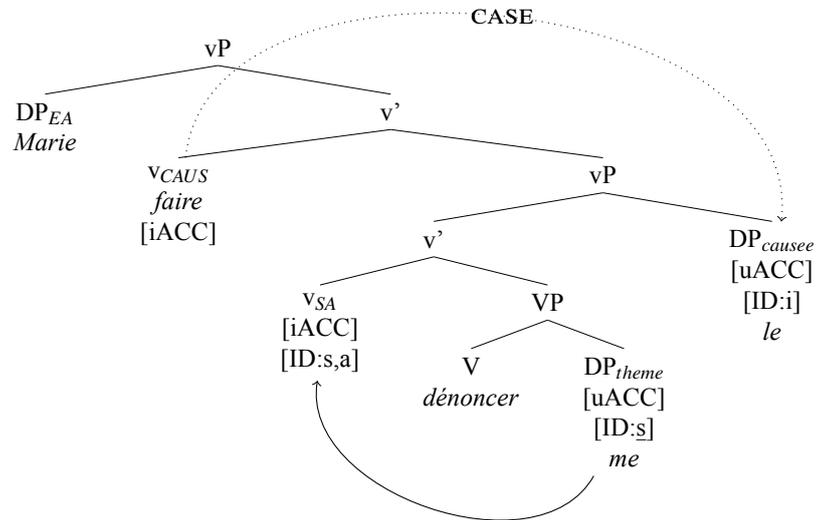
According to Sheehan (to appear) and Schifano and Sheehan (2018), structures like (23) are types of ECM constructions, which are more biclausal. Evidence for this first comes from the fact that in (23), the causee *le* is accusative, and not dative (*lui*), while the theme remains accusative too. This suggests that these constructions involve two accusative assigning heads, unlike regular FIs (hence their qualification as ECM). Furthermore, evidence for the biclausality of these structures comes from the clitic climbing possibilities. As (23) shows, the accusative causee may climb while the accusative theme stays low. However, the reverse, i.e. climbing of the theme clitic only, is not possible in (25a), and neither is climbing of both clitics (under the reading where *me*=theme and *le*=causee), in (25b).

- (25) a. *Marie **me/te/se**_{theme} fera le_{causee} dénoncer.
 Marie 1SG/2SG/REFL make.PRS.3SG 3MSG.ACC denounce.INF
 Int.: ‘Marie will make him denounce me/you/herself.’
- b. *Marie **me/te/se**_{theme} le_{causee} fera dénoncer.
 Marie 1SG/2SG/REFL 3MSG.ACC make.PRS.3SG denounce.INF
 Int.: ‘Marie will make him denounce me/you/herself.’

A sentence like (26a), where the 1st/2nd person clitic attaches to the infinitive and the causee bears accusative case, thus roughly has the structure in (26b), which is more biclausal in that both v’s are full v’s with complete feature sets. This means they are accusative case assigners, person licensors, as in (26b), and can be v_{REFL}, as will be shown in (27b).

(26) *ECM causative (1st/2nd theme)*

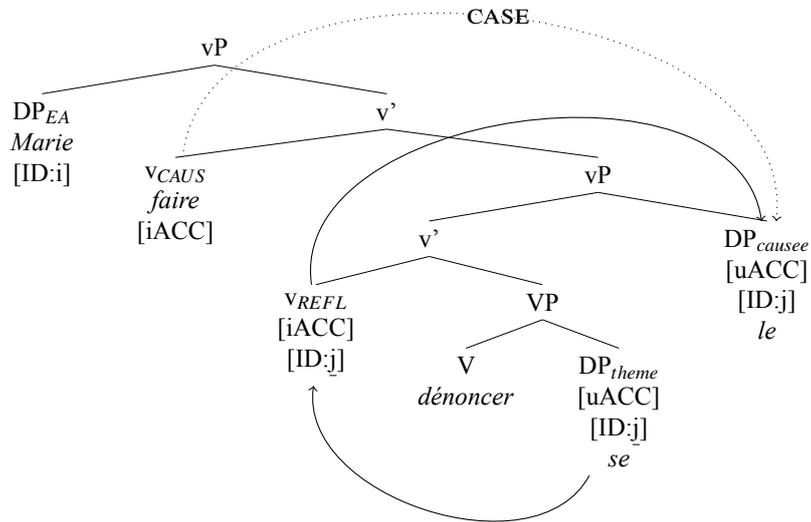
- a. Marie *le* fera **me** dénoncer.
 Marie 3MSG.ACC make.FUT.3SG 1SG denounce.INF
 ‘Marie will make him denounce me.’
- b.



Since the lower *v* is able to take care of case and person licensing, the causee is no longer an intervener, being in the specifier of that lower *v*. Similarly for reflexives, case assignment and reflexivization can take place in the lower *vP*. The prediction, which is borne out, is that in this configuration *se* can only be coindexed with the specifier of the lower *vP*, given the locality of the arguments. The sentence in (27a) can thus only mean *Marie will make him denounce himself*, where the causee and the theme are coreferent.

(27) *ECM causative (reflexive theme)*

- a. Marie_i le_j fera se_{j/*i} dénoncer.
 Marie 3MSG.ACC make.FUT.3SG REFL denounce.INF
 ‘Marie_i will make him_j denounce himself_j.’
NOT *‘Marie_i will make him_j denounce her_i.’
- b.



Infinitive attachment for *se*-reflexives and 1st/2nd person clitics is therefore licensed by a different structure than regular FI-causatives, that acts as a repair strategy which allows the licensing of 1st/2nd and reflexive themes, otherwise impossible in FI-causatives. While in standard FIs, only the higher *v* is an active case assigner and the lower *v* is defective (in the sense that it cannot assign accusative to the theme), in these ECM constructions both *v*'s are fully active transitive *v*'s, creating two separate licensing domains.

5. Conclusion

The behavior of *se*-reflexives in FI-causatives has been shown to follow not from their alleged intransitivity, but rather from the Person-Case Constraint, thus providing a unified analysis of clitic pronouns in FI-causatives and correctly predicting the interpretative possibilities of reflexives in FI-causatives and their ECM variant. Several insightful conclusions can also be drawn from the findings of this paper. First, the PCC applies beyond DOCs to other environments counting a licensing *v* head, a dative intervener and a PCC-sensitive item. The PCC is also shown not to be reduced to clitic combinations but to arise in environments where dative interveners are full DPs, introduced by the preposition *à* (*Sheehan to appear*). Finally, the similar patterning of 1st/2nd person and reflexives in FI-causatives reinforces the claim, previously made on the basis of DOC-environments only, that reflexives and 1st/2nd person form a natural class, which is defined as referentially or contextually dependent elements. Building on previous work, the analysis proposed here unifies person licensing and anaphoric binding as resulting from the valuation of referential [_{ID}]-features on featurally deficient elements (1st/2nd person and reflexives).

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