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Title	Some Facets of Cliticization in the Spanish Causative Construction
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Citation	NIDABA , 23 : 1 - 12
Issue Date	1994-03-31
DOI	
Self DOI	
URL	https://ir.lib.hiroshima-u.ac.jp/00047968
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Some Facets of Cliticization in the Spanish Causative Construction

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0. INTRODUCTION

According to Aissen and Perlmutter (1983), who postulate Clause Union to account for the behavior of Spanish causatives introduced by *hacer*, the embedded (embd.) subject cannot intervene between the matrix V(*hacer*) and the embd. infinitival verbal form, as is in the case of those introduced by *dejar*:

- (1) a. *le hice a Pilar buscar las herramientas (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983: P. 5a)
- b. le hice buscar las herramientas a Pilar (*ibidem*: P. 5b)
- ‘I made Pilar look for the tools’
- (2) a. dejamos a los extranjeros ganar la partida (*ibidem*: P. 7)
- b. les dejamos ganar la partida a los extranjeros (*ibidem*: P. 6)
- ‘we let the foreigners win the game’

However, it is not the case in all Spanish dialects since, as indicated by some researchers (Treviño 1992, Moore 1991, among others), there exist not a few Spanish dialects in which examples of pattern (1a) are judged to be completely grammatical.¹⁾ On the other hand, the Italian and French counterparts of (1a) are not grammatical (with only the pattern (1b) available in these languages), as shown in the following examples:

- (3) Italian (Treviño 1992: (1))
- a. *Gianni fece a Piero aprire la porta
- b. Gianni fece aprire la porta a Piero ‘Gianni made Piero open the door’
- (4) French (Treviño 1992: (1))
- a. *Jean a fait (à) Pierre ouvrir la porte
- b. Jean a fait ouvrir la porte à Pierre ‘Jean made Pierre open the door’

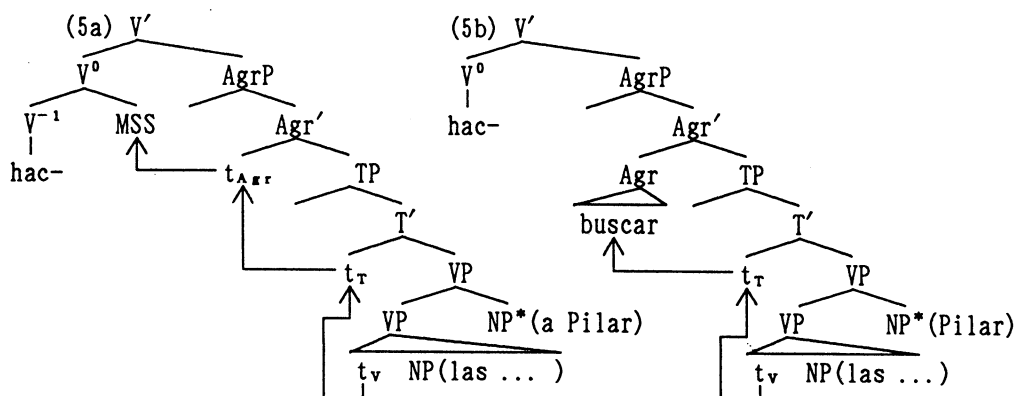
From this, we assume that the Spanish causative construction has two derivational processes at its disposal, one of which is quite different in each group of dialects (which we will call A and B dialects). In A dialects, the pattern

(1a) is allowed, while not in B dialects. The other derivational process is the one common to both the dialectal groups, which is similar to that of the Italian causative. The following discussion will deal with part of the cliticization phenomena in the Spanish causative construction of *hacer*, (subsidiarily the structure of the French causative of *faire*), focussing on the contrasts observed between the Spanish dialectal groups (A and B). It will be shown that these contrasts can be reduced to the difference in their base structure of causatives and the feature [\pm Independent] Agr (to be elucidated below).

1. STRUCTURE OF SPANISH CAUSATIVES

In this section we will consider the derivational structure of Spanish causatives, contrasting the Spanish derivation with the French one. It will be shown that the derivational differences are reduced to those regarding the L-marking property of [$-$ Finite] Agr in each language.

It is argued here that the matrix V^0 *hacer* subcategorizes for AgrP, which is also the case with the French/Italian matrix verb *faire/fare* (the common property to the three languages). Adopting the assumption that subjects are internal to VP (cf. Contreras 1987, Koopman and Sportiche 1991, among others), it is specifically postulated that subjects are generated in the VP-adjoined position. Thus, the S-structure of (1b) is shown as in (5a):²⁾



As discussed in Belletti (1990), verbs X^0 -move, at least, to [\pm Finite] Agr in Italian. We assume that the same is also true of Spanish, in which they move up to [$-$ Finite] Agr. The movement from T to Agr is allowed on condition that, as we assume, the Spanish [$-$ Finite] Agr adjoined to by a lexical X^0 element can L-mark its sister node. Thus, there is no barrier on the path of the movement.³⁾

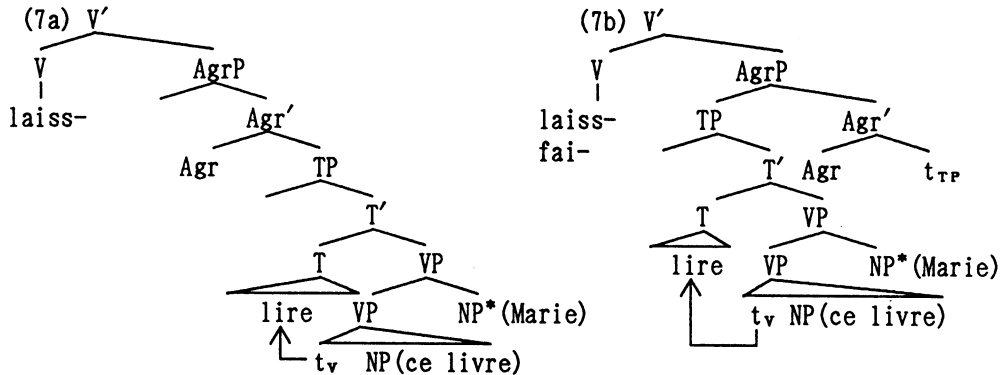
In (5a), the matrix $V^{-1}(\text{hac-})$ has the property (and/or rule) of morphologically selecting the infinitival form (i.e. Agr complex) which the embd. V has moved to via the embd. T (cf. Roberts 1991, Guasti 1991). The selectional property (rule) enforces the Agr complex to move further to the MSS position, where the matrix $V^{-1}(\text{hac-})$ and the Agr complex in infinitival form a kind of complex verb (henceforth, CV). Note that the application of the matrix V^{-1} 's selectional rule is obligatory in both A and B dialects, which correctly accounts for the grammaticality of (1b) in the two dialectal groups. The above discussion can be applied to the examples (3) of Italian, which has the only one derivational process (i.e. that of (5a)) and consequently does not allow the output (3a).

A question arises here: why is (1a) also possible in A dialects, while not in B dialects and in the French counterpart (cf. (4a))? As the following examples show, (1a) is quite similar to the French example (6a) in A dialects, while in B dialects, (1a) to the French example (4a). In sum, A dialects allow an alternative derivation similar to the French causative of *laisser*, while B dialects admit an alternative similar to the French causative by *faire*.⁴⁾

- (6)a. Jean a laissé Marie lire ce livre
 b. Jean a laissé lire ce livre à Marie 'Jean let Marie read the book'

To digress a little, we will consider the derivation of French causatives. As shown in (6), the *laisser* construction admits two positions which the embd. subject (*Marie*) occupies with respect to the embd. predicate. It is assumed that the French [-Finite] Agr, even when adjoined to by a lexical X^0 element, can not L-mark its sister node (TP), as in Spanish. Thus, the TP node sister to the [-Finite] Agr constitutes a barrier, which makes it impossible for an X^0 element (T^0) moved to the [-Finite] Agr position to govern its trace left behind by the movement. Thus, this X^0 -movement will violate the ECP (Empty Category Principle), which seems to explain the fact that French V in [-Finite] CP (AgrP) stops its X^0 movement in the T position and cannot X^0 -move to the Agr position. From the above discussion it follows that the *laisser* construction has a configuration (7a) similar to (5b) as its base structure except that the embd. V is located in the embd. T position (to be refined later). The subject (*Marie*) can be assigned no Case in its base-generated position, and must move to a position in which the subject is properly Case-assigned (Case Filter). As is clear in the configuration (7a), the matrix V seems to be the only element to fulfill the Ca-

se requirement, thus causing the subject in question to move to a position governed by the matrix V (i.e. the embd.SPEC(Agr) position). Notice that Agr in the French [-Finite] CP(AgrP) cannot L-mark its sister node even when the Agr concerned is lexicalized by the replacement (or adjunction) of a lexical element (TP=barrier). As a consequence, the movement of the subject (*Marie*) will be excluded, and the example (6a) will be judged ungrammatical, contrary to the facts.



This problem can be overcome by hypothesizing that the embd. whole TP moves vacuously to the embd. SPEC(Agr) position, thus voiding the barrierhood of the embd. TP (cf. the structure (7b) and the definition of L-Marking in fn. 3). This vacuous movement of the embd. TP will make it possible for the subject (*Marie*) to move to the embd. SPEC (T) position to be properly Case-assigned by the matrix V.

A question arises here as to how (6b) are derived. As mentioned above, the subject NP moves to the embd. SPEC(T) to fulfill Case Filter. From the relative order of the elements in the embd. AgrP, it can be claimed that the embd. NP elements (including the subject) remain *in situ*. How is it that these NP's are properly Case-assigned? The embd. V assigns Accusative Case to the NP(*ce livre*). On the other hand, the subject (*Marie*) cannot be Case-assigned by the embd. V. Nor can it be Case-assigned by the matrix V, since the embd. complex T(*lire*) forms a Relativized Minimality barrier, thus making it impossible for the matrix V to govern into the elements in the embd. AgrP. Notice here that the matrix V governs the embd. (*lire*). Following the line of Reed (1990a-b), we will propose that in the structure of (7b) the matrix V and the embd. T governed by the former constitute a kind of complex verb (called Verbal Government Chain (VGCh)), and that the subject (*Marie*) and the object NP(*ce livre*) are assigned Dative and Accusative, respectively, by the VGCh.⁵¹ The difference between the *laisser* construction

and the *faire* construction is accounted for by postulating that in the latter causatives, the formation of VGCh is obligatorily applied.

Returning to the Spanish causatives, we will assume that in addition to the derivation (5a), the causatives in A dialects have an alternative derivation identical to that of the French *laisser* construction in which VGCh is not formed and the matrix V assigns Case to the embd. subject NP moved to the embd. SPEC(T), thus explaining the intervention of the embd. subject between the matrix V and the embd. infinitival verbal form (and the grammaticality of (1a) in A dialects). On the other hand, in B dialects, in addition to the derivation (5a), there is an alternative way of deriving the causatives, in which the matrix V⁰ (*hac-*) and the embd. complex Agr in the infinitival form constitute VGCh. This way of reasoning will account for the impossibility of the subject intervention (and the ungrammaticality of (1a)) in B dialects.

2. CLITICIZATION (NON-REFLEXIVE CLITICS)

In this section, we will discuss the behavior of cliticization in the Spanish causative construction of *hacer*. As pointed out by various researchers, clitics corresponding to the embd. complements can be attached either to the matrix V or to V in the infinitival form, in contrast with clitics corresponding to the embd. subject which obligatorily move (attach) to the matrix V (*hac-*). The behavior of Spanish object clitics makes a sharp contrast with that of French clitics in the causative construction:⁶⁾

- (8) a. *María hizo tocar_i le_i la flauta (a José_i) (Borer 1984:p.170)
 b. María le_i hizo tocar la flauta (a José_i) (*ibidem*)
 'María made him play the flute'
- (9) a. *Jean a fait lui manger le gâteau (Goodall 1987:18b)
 b. Jean lui a fait manger le gâteau (*ibidem*:18a)
 'Jean made him eat the cake'
- (10) a. hizo construirla (a/por Leonardo) (Treviño 1992:(14a))
 b. la hizo construir (a/por Leonardo) (*ibidem*:(14b))
 c. hizo a Leonardo construirla (*ibidem*:(15a))
 d. *la hizo a Leonardo construir (*ibidem*:(15b))
 'he/she made Leonardo built it'
- (11) a. *Jean a fait l' écrire à Marie
 b. Jean l' a fait écrire à Marie 'Jean made Marie write it'

The contrast in (8a-b) can be accounted for by postulating the following assumptions (12-15) which were devised in Ishioka (1993a, b) to explain the French cli-

ticization, for instance, (9). There I assumed that a properly Case-assigned clitic adjoins to some uppermost functional X^0 in the governing category of the trace in the Case-assigned position (Clitic Placement Constraint(CPC)), in which adjunction ECP and Binding Principle A are respected. ”

(12) Binding Principle A (X^0 Binding):

The trace of a clitic is bound by its antecedent in its governing category(GC).

(13) The definition of X^0 Binding:

YP is bound by X^0 iff YP and X^0 are coindexed and X^0 c-commands YP (c-command being defined with respect to a branching node X' or XP).

(14) The definition of Governing Category(GC):

β is a governing category for α iff β is the minimal XP (whose head is not a trace in S-structure) containing α , a canonical governor of α , and a SUBJECT accessible to α (cf. Aoun 1985). ”

(15) The definition of SUBJECT:

The SUBJECT consists of Agr which is Case-assignable by SPEC-HEAD agreement or of a Case-assigned subject (NP and clitic) which is base-generated in the left VP-adjoined position or has moved from its base-generated position to a SPEC position to fulfill Case Filter.

In (8), GC for the embd. subject clitic(/*e*) is the matrix AgrP, since the matrix Agr constitutes SUBJECT for the clitic. It follows that the clitic(/*e*) has to adjoin to the matrix Agr, the highest functional category in its GC, thus explaining the contrast in (8a-b). Nevertheless, the same line of reasoning will account for the behavior of cliticization in the French causative (cf. (11)), while it will lead us to judge (10a) ungrammatical, clearly contrary to the facts. It is that Clitic Placement Constraint(CPC) enforces the clitic(/*a*) to adjoin to the uppermost functional X^0 element in its GC (i.e. the matrix Agr). ” Needless to say, the grammatical judgements of (10c-d) are those in A dialects, while in B dialects (10c-d) are both judged to be ungrammatical.

Note here that as mentioned above, [-Finite] Agr behaves differently in French and Spanish. As a preliminary step, we will assume that the Spanish [-Finite] Agr *in situ* functions as SUBJECT. Thus, the embd. AgrP constitutes GC for the clitic(/*a*) and this assumption will lead to a puzzling situation, improperly predicting that (10a) is grammatical in B dialects. Now, we will hypothesize that in Spanish, [-Finite] Agr constitutes a SUBJECT as far as it functions independently. Here, the term *independently* means that embd. Agr does not depend on the matrix V(*hac-*) for some property, for instance, Case. Thus, the definition of SUBJECT(15) will be rewritten as follows:

(16) The definition of SUBJECT in Spanish:

The SUBJECT consists of an independent Agr *in situ* or of a Case-assigned subject (including its trace) which is base-generated in the left VP-adjoined position or has moved from its base-generated position to a SPEC position to fulfill Case Filter.

As a consequence, the embd. Agr cannot be SUBJECT in B dialects as in A dialects. From the definition (16) it follows that in A dialects, what derives from the structure (5a) is (10b), since not the embd. Agr, but the matrix Agr constitutes SUBJECT accessible to the clitic (*la*) (with the embd. Agr depending on the matrix V for Case and not being *in situ*). In the derivation based on the structure (5b), the embd. Agr forms SUBJECT (with the result of the embd. AgrP constituting GC for the clitic), thus predicting that (10a) is grammatical. On the other hand, in B dialects, the output is (10b), whether based on (5a) or (5b), since in both derivations, what constitutes GC for the clitic is the matrix AgrP (with the embd. Agr not forming SUBJECT). The same is true of (10c-d) in A dialects, in which the output based on the structure (5b) is (10c). It is that the embd. AgrP is GC for the clitic, since the embd. Agr or the embd. subject NP (*Leonardo*) moved to the embd. SPEC(Agr) constitutes SUBJECT. As mentioned above, (10c-d) cannot derive in B dialects. Thus, the definition (16) correctly predicts the (un)grammatical status of (10) in both A and B dialects.

Returning to the putative clitic-doubling construction (8) in which the embd. subject NP and the corresponding clitic appear, we assume tentatively that the doubled subject clitic (*le*) is base-generated in the embd. SPEC(Agr), a chain having formed between the subject clitic in the embd. SPEC(Agr) and the subject NP *in situ*. In both A and B dialects, the derivation based on the structure (5a) properly generates just (8b), since the matrix AgrP constitutes GC for the subject clitic (*le*) in the embd. SPEC(Agr) (with the matrix Agr forming SUBJECT). Likewise, the derivation based on the structure (5b) in both A and B dialects generates just (8b). On the other hand, the embd. subject clitic is thought to be base-generated in the position of the subject NP *in situ* when the subject NP (*José*) does not appear. In this case, what is generated, based on the structure (5a), is (8b) (with the matrix AgrP being GC for the clitic). In B dialects, it is (8b) that the derivation, based on (5b), generates. It is to be noted that in A dialects the derivation based on the structure (5b) also generates just (8b), since the subject clitic (*le*) moves to the embd. SPEC(Agr) position to fulfill

Case Filter, thus the matrix AgrP constitutes GC for the clitic in the SPEC position. In sum, the X⁰ Binding Principle A properly accounts for the (un)grammatical status of (8a-b).

Next we will discuss such examples as (17) in which two clitics are base-generated in the embd. AgrP:

- (17)a. se las hice buscar (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983:P. 4a)¹⁰⁾
 b. *le hice buscarlas (*ibidem*:P. 4b) 'I made him look for them'
 c. / Juan me la hizo vender (Pizzini 1982:35a)
 d. /* Juan me hizo venderla (*ibidem*:35b) 'Juan made me sell it' ¹¹⁾
 e. / Juan le hizo besarme (*ibidem*:36a)
 f. /* Juan le me hizo besar (*ibidem*:36b) 'Juan made her kiss me'

As mentioned above, Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) deal mainly with B dialects. It is clear that the way of explaining (8) and (10) properly accounts for (17a-c). The embd. subject clitics (here, *le, me*) move to the matrix Agr, as usual. In B dialects, the embd. object clitics (*las, la*) also adjoin to the matrix Agr since, whether based on the structure (5a) or on (5b), it is the matrix AgrP that forms GC for the object clitics (with the matrix Agr being SUBJECT). Thus, our way correctly accounts for the (un)grammaticality of (17a-c) in B dialects. In A dialects, in addition to (17a,c), (17b) is also judged to be grammatical. It is that the embd. Agr or the trace of the subject clitic (*le*) moved to the embd. SPEC (Agr) constitutes SUBJECT in the derivation based on (5b), thus the embd. AgrP forms GC for the object clitic (*las*).

However, the same reasoning will not properly account for (17d,f). (17e) will be judged to be grammatical along the same lines as (17b) in A dialects. It can be assumed that (17d-e) are examples in A dialects (cf. the grammatical status of (17e)). Our reasoning will properly judge (17e) to be grammatical, while (17d) is unacceptable, at least in some subgroup of A dialects (called A' dialects). This brings about a puzzling problem, which can be solved by tentatively assuming that in A' dialects, under a certain condition, neither the trace of the embd. subject clitic nor the independent [-Finite] Agr functions as SUBJECT. It is to be noted here that (17d) contains an inanimate object clitic in the embd. AgrP different from (17e) which has an animate object clitic. We will assume that in A' dialects, the clitic trace or the independent [-Finite] Agr does not function as SUBJECT when the embd. subject and object clitics are not common with respect to the feature [\pm Animate]. In other words, in A' dialects, these

elements can function as SUBJECT as far as both the clitics have the same feature concerning [\pm Animate]. Thus, the above assumption makes it possible to predict the ungrammaticality of (17d) and grammaticality of (17e) in A' dialects. If this assumption is correct, we will predict that in A' dialects, (17b) is unacceptable, with the interpretation of the clitic (*las*) being inanimate), while in A dialects it is completely acceptable.

It remains to elucidate the process by which (17f) is judged to be ungrammatical in all the dialects discussed here. Our reasoning will incorrectly predict the grammaticality of this example. Note that both the clitics adjoined to the matrix Agr have the feature [+Animate], which will lead to an ambiguous situation in which we cannot identify which clitic is the subject and which is the object of the embd.V. This is not the case when one of the clitics moved to the matrix Agr is inanimate (cf. (17a)).¹² Thus, it appears that the ungrammaticality of (17f) in A, A' and B dialects has nothing to do with X⁰ Binding, but is due to the strategy to avoid ambiguity. In the next section, we will discuss the behavior of the reflexive clitic *se*.

3. CLITICIZATION (REFLEXIVE CLITICS)

In this section we will treat such examples as follows:

- (18)a. *María se_i hizo pintar por Picasso,
 b. *María hizo pintarsese_i por Picasso, 'María had himself painted by Picasso'
 c. *María se_i hizo pintar a Picasso, (Treviño 1992:(4b))
 'María made Picasso paint himself'
- (19)a. María hizo a Picasso_i pintarsese_i la cara (Treviño 1992:(5a))
 b. María hizo pintarsese_i la cara a Picasso_i (Treviño 1992:(5b))
 'María made Picasso paint his face'
- (20)a. María_i se_i hizo pintar (por Picasso) (Treviño 1992:(4a))
 b. *María_i se_i hizo pintar a Picasso
 'María had herself painted by Picasso/had Picasso paint herself'

The examples in (18) show that the reflexive clitic *se* behaves differently from the non-reflexive clitic (cf. the contrast between (18) and (10)). Up to now, we have taken into account just X⁰ Binding. Here we will bring in the conception of XP Binding, which regulates the generation of clitics in their base-position. X⁰ Binding and XP Binding are quite similar to each other except for a difference in the definition of SUBJECT. In XP Binding, the Case-assigned subject in the right-adjoined position is also identified as SUBJECT (with the other defini-

tions are the same in X^0 and XP Binding). Specifically, we will adopt the following definitions.

(21)a. The definition of SUBJECT for XP Binding:

The SUBJECT consists of an independent Agr *in situ* or of a Case-assigned subject (including its trace) which is in the base-generated position or has moved from its base-generated position to a SPEC position to fulfill Case Filter.

(22)a. The definition of XP Binding A:

An anaphor is bound by an argument XP but PRO in its GC(XP-GC).¹³⁾

b. The definition of XP Binding B:

A pronominal is not bound by an argument XP in its XP-GC.

In B dialects, whether based on (5a) or (5b), the embd. Agr in (18a-b) does not function as SUBJECT, thus the matrix AgrP constituting XP-GC for *se* in its base-generated position (i.e. the embd.V's sister position). This violates XP Binding A, since the clitic is not bound by argument XP but by PRO coindexed with it. In A dialects, the derivation based on (5a) is the same with that in B dialects. In the derivation based on (5b), XP-GC for the clitic is the embd. AgrP (with the embd. Agr functioning as SUBJECT). The same embd. AgrP also forms GC for the clitic in X^0 Binding (X^0 -GC). Thus, the derivation in (18a-b) will contravene XP and X^0 Binding at once. But this line of reasoning will improperly predict that (18c) is grammatical in both A and B dialects. It is that in both A and B dialects, the derivation based on (5a) will be grammatical, since XP-GC for the clitic is the embd. AgrP (with the embd. Agr being SUBJECT) and X^0 -GC is the matrix AgrP.

How can this problem be overcome? We will assume that the reflexive clitic *se* may not move from within its XP-GC as the non-reflexive clitic:

(23) The reflexive clitic *se* is not allowed to move from within its XP-GC.¹⁴⁾

These assumptions make it possible to properly account for the (un)grammaticality of (19a-b) and (20a-b). The derivations of (20a-b) are to be noted. (20a) has at least one proper derivation, the one based on (5a). There, the matrix AgrP is simultaneously X^0 - and XP-GC for the clitic *se* (with the matrix Agr being SUBJECT). This situation clearly does not violate any regulation assumed here. On the contrary, (20b) will be judged to be ungrammatical in both A and B dialects (details omitted).

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present study is just the beginning of further research on the subject, and, needless to say, the hypotheses built up here remain to be refined. In conclusion we will offer some examples that differ in their grammaticality in A and B dialects according to our hypotheses, as well as others that are to be noted:

(24)	A dialects	B dialects
a. Marfa _i hizo pintar <u>la</u> _i por Picasso	ok	*
b. Marfa _i hizo pintar <u>la</u> _i a Picasso	ok	*
c. Marfa _i hizo a Picasso pintar <u>la</u> _i	ok	*
d. Marfa _i <u>la</u> _i hizo pintar por Picasso	*	*
e. Marfa _i <u>la</u> _i hizo pintar a Picasso (cf. (20b))	ok	ok
f. Marfa _i <u>la</u> _i hizo a Picasso pintar	*	*
g. Marfa _i hizo pintar <u>se</u> _i (por Picasso) (cf. (24b))	*	*
h. Marfa _i <u>se</u> _i hizo a Picasso _i pintar la cara	*	*

NOTES

- 1) Among the dialects that admit the pattern of (1a) are almost all Latin-American dialects and Peninsular Spanish (Treviño 1992 and Moore 1991). Further, Treviño (1992: fn. 2) points out that the Rio Platense dialect of Argentina does not allow the pattern.
- 2) t_v , t_r , etc. indicate traces left behind by X^0 - and XP-movement. MSS stands for a morphologically selected slot.
- 3) The definition of L-Marking is as follows in this paper: Where α is a lexical category, α L-marks β iff β agrees with the head of γ that is θ -governed by α (Chomsky 1986:p. 24). We will refer the reader to Rizzi (1990), Cinque (1990), and Ouhalla (1991) for the GB framework operating conceptions (barriers, Relativized Minimality, ECP, etc.).
- 4) We will refer the reader to Ishioka (1993a) for some further details of French causatives.
- 5) In Ishioka (1993a, b), the following assumptions are set up as to the Case-assignment by VGCh and the matrix V (*Jaisser*) ((ii-v) are adapted from Goodall (1987)):
 - (i) the matrix V (*Jaisser*) has the Case Array ____ Acc.
 - (ii) VGCh has the Case Array ____ Acc (Dat).
 - (iii) Case-assignment is optional.
 - (iv) When a verb assigns Case, the entire Case Array must be assigned.
 - (v) Acc is assigned only under Adjacency.
 - (vi) VGCh loses its property of assigning Case when the Case in question has already been assigned by the embd V(t_v).
 It is to be noted that the embd. subject NP cannot move to the embd. SPEC(Agr) position when VGCh is formed in (7b), since VGCh as a whole assigns Case to the embd. subject NP. Here it is temporarily postulated that Spanish CV has the Case Array (____ Acc (Dat), ____ Dat), the matrix V in A dialects and VGCh in B dialects have the Case Array (____ Acc) and (____ Acc (Dat)), respectively (to be refined elsewhere).
- 6) Clitics will be indicated by a double underline. In this paper it is assumed that Spanish subject and object clitics are generated as subject and object NP's of a verb. Specifically we assume that for the purpose of θ -assignment and Case assignment they behave as NP's (XP's), while for the purpose of movement, they behave as heads (X^0), that is, cliticization is identified as X^0 -movement.
- 7) In this case, ECP naturally refers to proper antecedent government. CPC is defined as follows: Clitics must attach/move to the highest functional element in their governing category (adapted from Ouhalla 1989:24) Furthermore, with Kayne (1989), it is to be assumed that in cliticization adjunction to a trace (X^0) is forbidden, and Relativized Minimality does not apply.
- 8) Accessibility is defined as follows: α is accessible to β iff β is in the c-command domain of α and coindexing of (α , β) would not violate the i/i condition (cf. Acoun 1985:p. 30).

- 9) In Aissen and Perlmutter (1983), it is assumed that Clause Union, which is obligatorily applied in *hacer* causatives, corresponds to clitic promotion and vice versa. Thus, they predict(judge) that (10a) will be ungrammatical. Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) mainly treat causatives of B dialects. As shown below, we claim that with Aissen and Perlmutter (1983) (10a) is ungrammatical in B dialects.
- 10) The clitic sequence le(dat)las(acc) is transformed into the sequence se las by the spurious se rule (cf. Perlmutter 1971). Aissen and Perlmutter (1983:fn.20) point out that some speakers accept sentences like (17b).
- 11) Pizzini (1982:p.63) says that while some speakers reject (17d), (17e) is considered grammatical by all speakers.
- 12) Much the same line of reasoning is found in Borer (1984:p.198). The same reasoning will account for the ungrammaticality of (i), taking into account the fact that the embd.subject NP and clitic of the embd. transitive V can be assigned Accusative Case as shown in (ii,iii):
- (i) me la(acc) hicieron educar (Moore 1991:p.243) 'they made me educate her'
- (ii) María lo(acc) hizo escribir una carta (Contreras 1979:(44c)) 'María made him write a letter'
- (iii) los(acc) hicieron deponer las armas (Treviño 1992:(9a)) 'they made them depose the arms'
- Pizzini (1982:fn.12) points out that the following example (i) is grammatical with the meaning: 'Juan made someone sell it to me', that is, with the interpretation as *hacer+por* causative (which corresponds to the French *faire+par* construction).
- (i) Juan hizo vendermela
- This is other evidence that the independent [-Finite] Agr functions as SUBJECT in A dialects.
- 13) We assume that in the *hacer+por* causative, PRO coindexed with *por*'s sister element is generated in the position in which the subject is usually base-generated(i.e. VP-adjoined position). Furthermore, it is assumed that the reflexive clitic and the non-reflexive clitic are subject to XP Binding A and B, respectively.
- 14) The same effect may be obtained by assuming that the trace of the reflexive clitic *se* is bound by its antecedent in its governing category (XP-GC) (to be refined elsewhere).

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