

Reflexives and Causatives in French

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1 Introduction

- (1) a. Jean se lave
Jean se washes
Jean washes himself
- b. Ce livre se vend bien
This book se sells well
This book sells well
- c. Jean s' évanouit
Jean se faints
Jean is fainting

Reflexives in French raise two (syntactic) questions:

I. Morpho-Syntactic Status

- (2) a. Il ne s'y plaît pas
He ne se there is-happy not
He does not like it there
- (3) a. Paul fera étudier Proust aux élèves de terminale
Paul make-fut to-study Proust to-the students of senior-year
Paul will make the senior year students study Proust
- b. Paul le fera étudier aux élèves de terminale
Paul it make-fut to-study to-the students of senior-year
Paul will make the senior year students study it
- c. * Paul fera l' étudier aux élèves de terminale
Paul make-fut it to-study to-the students of senior-year
(same interpretation as (1b))

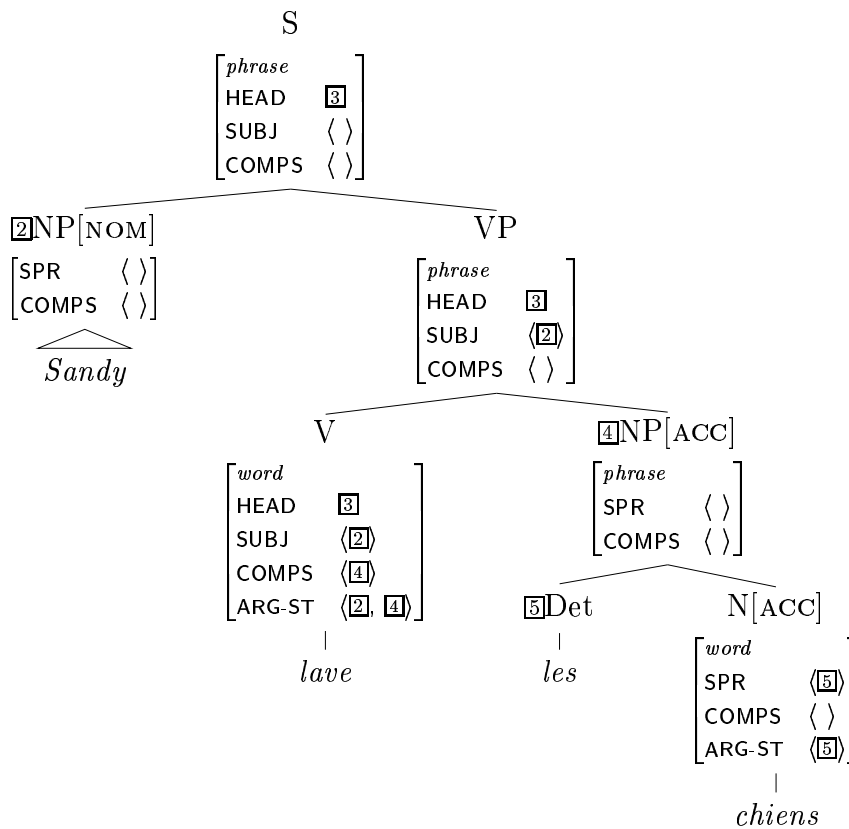
- d. La chaleur a fait s'évanouir Paul
 The heat has made se-to-faint Paul
The heat made Paul faint

II. Binding

- (4) a. *Paul_i se_i fait raser à Figaro_j
 Paul se makes shave to Figaro
glt (put) Paul makes Figaro shave him
- b. Paul_i se_i fait raser par Figaro_j
 Paul se makes shave by Figaro
Paul makes Figaro shave him

2 Argument Structure and Binding

(5)



(6) HPSG Binding Theory (Pollard & Sag (1992,1994)):

- Principle A. A locally a-commanded anaphor must be locally a-bound.
 Principle B. A personal pronoun must be locally a-free.
 Principle C. A non-pronoun must be a-free.

- (7) a. An **a-subject** is an entity that is first on some ARG-ST list **and which is on a SUBJ list**.
 b. A-subject-oriented anaphor must be a-bound by an a-subject.
- (8) Juuna-p Kaali immi-nik uqaluttuup-p-a-a (Inuit)
 Juuna-ERG Kaali.ABS self-MOD tell-IND-TR-3SG.3SG
 ‘Juuna_i told Kaali_j about self_{i/*j}.’
- (9) a. Boris mne rasskazal anekdot o sebe (Russian)
 Boris.NOM me.DAT told joke about self
 ‘Boris_i told me a joke about himself_i.’
 b. Èta kniga byla kuplena Borisom dlja sebja
 this book.NOM was bought Boris.INSTR for self
 ‘This book was bought by Boris_i for himself_i.’
- (10)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{pass-v-lxm} \\ \text{ARG-ST } \langle \text{NP}[\textit{nom}]_j, \langle \text{NP}[\textit{instr}]_i, \text{PRO}_j, \boxed{\text{PP}}_k \rangle \rangle \\ \text{CONT } \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{buying} \\ \text{ACTOR } i \\ \text{UNDERGOER } j \\ \text{BENEFICIARY } k \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$
- (11) a. Naja Tobiasi-mit uqaluttuun-niqar-p-u-q (Inuit)
 Naja.ABS Tobias-ABL tell-PASS-IND-INTR-3SG
 b. taa-ssu-ma itigartis-sima-ga-a-ni
 DEM-SG-ERG turn.down-PRF-PRT.TR-3SG-4SG
 ‘Naja_j was told by Tobias_i that he_k had turned self_{i/j} down.’
 c. (Sanskrit)
 sarpas tenātmanā svālayaṃ nītaḥ
 snake.NOM he.INSTR self.INSTR self.house.ACC brought.PASS.PART.NOM
 ‘The snake was brought by him_i himself to self_i’s house.’

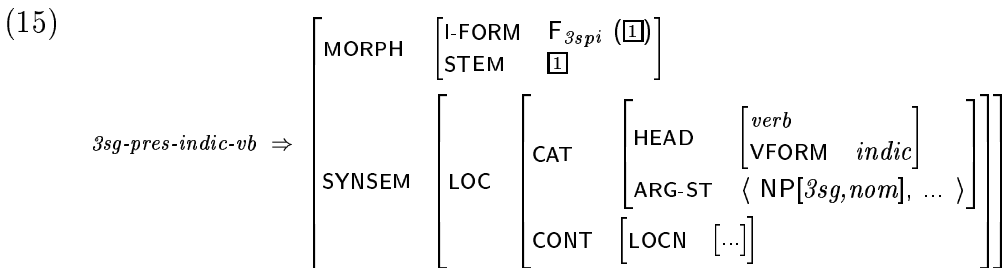
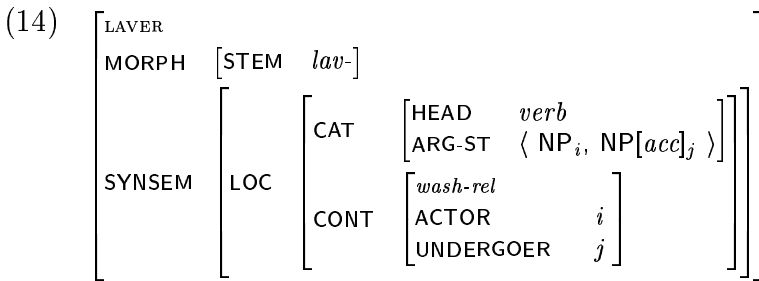
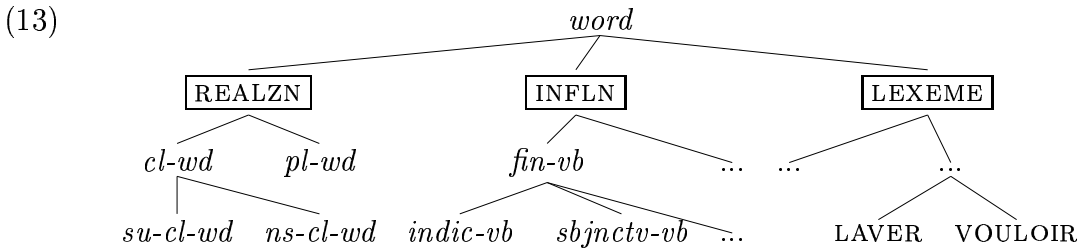
 anṛtaṃ tu vadan daṇḍyaḥ svavittasyāṃśam
 untruth.NOM but telling.NOM fine.GER.NOM self.property.GEN part.ACC
 ‘But a perjurer_i is to be fined one eighth (*lit.* part) of self_i’s property.’

3 A Lexical Analysis of French Clitics (Miller & Sag (1997))

3.1 French Clitics as Pronominal Affixes

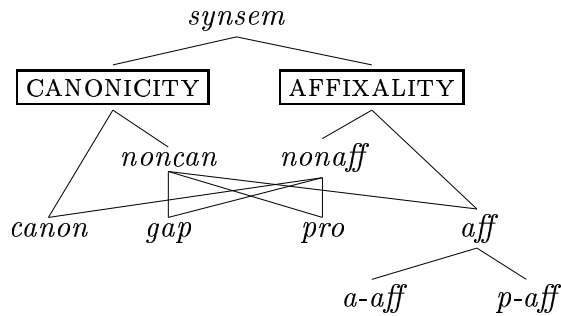
- (12) a. high degree of selection with respect to a host
- b. arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations
- c. morphophonological idiosyncrasies
- d. rigid and idiosyncratic ordering
- e. lexical phonological rules applying to clitic-host combinations
- f. the impossibility of clitics attaching to a coordination of verbs

3.2 Types of Words (Miller & Sag (1997); AGS (1998))



(16)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LAYER \& } 3sg\text{-pres-indic-vb} \\ \text{MORPH} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{I-FORM } l\text{ave} \\ \text{STEM } l\text{av-} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SYNSEM} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{VFORM } \textit{indic} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \langle \text{NP}[3sg,nom]_i, \text{NP}[acc]_j \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{wash-rel} \\ \text{ACTOR } i \\ \text{UNDERGOER } j \\ \text{LOCN } [\dots] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(17) Types of *synsem*



(18) Argument Realization Principle

$$wd \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SS|LOC|CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{VAL} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \boxed{1} \\ \text{COMPS} \boxed{3} \oplus (\boxed{2} \ominus \text{list}(\textit{noncan})) \\ \text{GOV} \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \boxed{1} \oplus \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(19) Naoki-ga mi-ta
 Naoki-NOM see-PAST
 ‘Naoki saw (it).’

(20)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \langle \boxed{1} \text{NP}[nom] \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \langle \rangle \\ \text{ARG-ST} \langle \boxed{1}_i, \text{NP}[pro]_j \rangle \\ \text{CONTENT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{see-rel} \\ \text{ACTOR } i \\ \text{UNDERGOER } j \\ \text{LOCN } [\dots] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(21)

$$pl-wd \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MORPH} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FORM} \quad \boxed{0} \\ \text{I-FORM} \quad \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SYNSEM} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{LOC|CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \text{bas-}vb \\ \text{VAL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \boxed{3} \oplus \boxed{4} \\ \text{GOV} \quad \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \boxed{2} \oplus \boxed{4} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(22)

$$cl-wd \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MORPH} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FORM} \quad F_{PRAF}(\boxed{0}, \boxed{4}, \dots) \\ \text{I-FORM} \quad \boxed{0} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SS|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \boxed{4} / \text{red-}vb \\ \text{VAL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \boxed{2} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \boxed{3} \oplus (\boxed{4} \ominus \text{nelist}(\text{aff})) \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \text{list}(\text{non-}aff) \\ \text{GOV} \quad \boxed{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \boxed{2} \oplus \boxed{4} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

- (23) $F_{PRAF}(X, Y, \dots) =$
- (a) X, if Y is [VFORM *past-p*];
 - (b) $X \oplus \text{AFF-CL}(\text{USTER})$, if Y is a positive imperative form;
 - (c) $\text{AFF-CL} \oplus X \oplus \text{SUBJ-AFF}$, if Y is a ‘clitic-inverted’ form;
 - (d) $\text{AFF-CL} \oplus X$, otherwise.

(24)

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{pl-}wd \ \& \ \text{LAYER} \ \& \ \text{3sg-pres-indic-}vb \\ \text{MORPH} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{FORM} \quad \text{lave} \\ \text{I-FORM} \quad \text{lave} \\ \text{STEM} \quad \text{lav-} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SS|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{bas-}vb \\ \text{VFORM} \quad \text{indic} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{VAL} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ} \quad \langle \boxed{1} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \\ \text{GOV} \quad \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle \boxed{1}\text{NP}[3sg, nom]_i, \boxed{2}\text{NP}[acc]_j \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{wash-rel} \\ \text{ACTOR} \quad i \\ \text{UNDERGOER} \quad j \\ \text{LOCN} \quad [\dots] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(25)

		<i>cl-wd & LAVER & 3sg-pres-indic-vb</i>		
MORPH	[FORM	<i>il-le-lave</i>	
		I-FORM	<i>lave</i>	
STEM		<i>lav-</i>		
SS LOC	[CAT	HEAD	<i>red-vb</i>
			VFORM	<i>indic</i>
			SUBJ	$\langle \rangle$
		VAL	$\langle \rangle$	
		GOV	$\langle \rangle$	
ARG-ST	$\langle \text{I} \text{NP}[p\text{-aff}, \text{nom}, 3\text{sg}]_i, \text{NP}[p\text{-aff}, \text{acc}]_j \rangle$			
CONT	[<i>wash-rel</i>		
		ACTOR	<i>i</i>	
		UNDERGOER	<i>j</i>	
		LOCN	$[\dots]$	

3.3 Intrinsic Clitics

- (26) a. Jean en veut à tout le monde
 Jean of-it wants to everybody
Jean is angry at everybody
- b. Jean s' évanouit
 Jean se faints
Jean is fainting

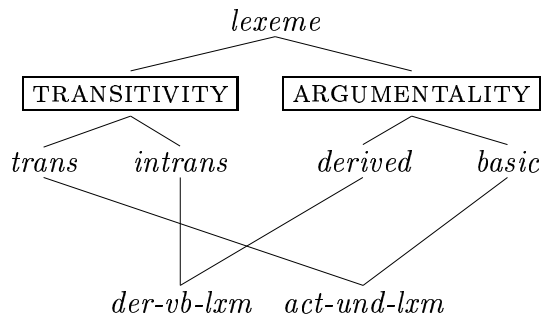
(27) S'ÉVANOUIR:

		<i>S'ÉVANOUIR & cl-wd</i>		
SS LOC	[CAT	HEAD	<i>bas-vb</i>
			ARG-ST	$\langle \text{NP}_i, \text{NP}[\text{acc}, a\text{-aff}] \rangle$
CONT		<i>faint-rel</i>		
		UNDERGOER	<i>i</i>	

3.4 Lexemes

- (28) a. S'ÉVANOUIR is an *intrans(itive-verb)*
 b. LAVER is a *trans(itive-verb)*
 c. The ARG-ST of a transitive verb contains exactly one (noninitial) [*acc*] element:
trans \Rightarrow [ARG-ST $\langle X, \dots [\text{acc}]! \dots \rangle$]

(29) Types of *lexeme*



4 Composition FAIRE

- (30) a. clitic climbing
 b. absence of negation on downstairs V[*inf*]
 c. realization of ‘causee’ determined by properties of downstairs V[*inf*]

13

- (31) a. Paul fera étudier Proust aux élèves de terminale
 Paul make-fut to-study Proust to-the students of senior-year
Paul will make the senior year students study Proust
 b. Paul le fera étudier aux élèves de terminale
 Paul it make-fut to-study to-the students of senior-year
Paul will make the senior year students study it
 c. * Paul fera l’étudier aux élèves de terminale
 Paul make-fut it to-study to-the students of senior-year
 (same interpretation as (31b))

- (32) a. * Paul fera les élèves de terminale [étudier Proust]
Paul will make the senior year students study Proust
 b. % Paul les fera [étudier Proust]
 Paul them make-fut [to-study Proust]
Paul will make them study Proust

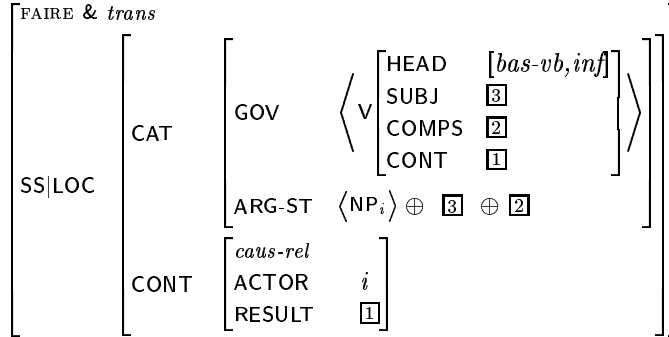
- (33) % Paul les fera [l’ étudier]
 Paul them make-fut [it to-study]
Paul will make them study it

- (34) a. Paul fera étudier Proust aux/*les élèves de terminale
 Paul make-fut to-study Proust to-the/*the students of senior-year
Paul will make the senior year students study Proust

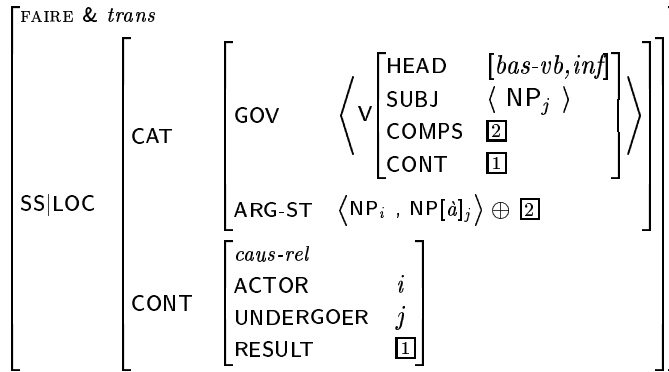
- b. Paul fera travailler les enfants/*aux enfants
 Paul make-fut to-work the/*to-the children
Paul will make the children work

4.1 Composition Causatives and Upstairs Cliticization

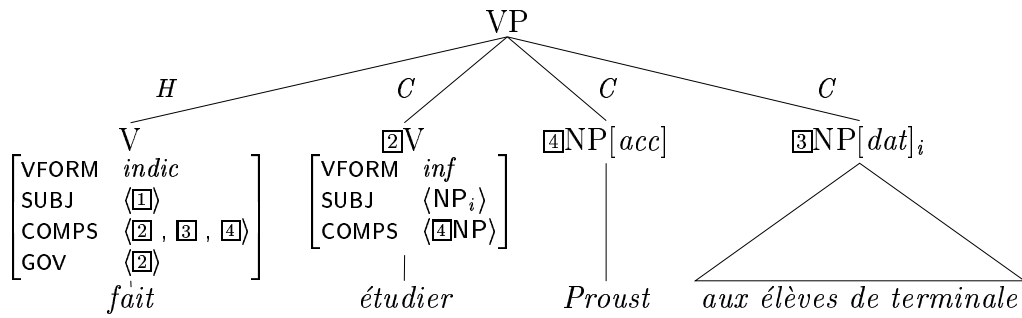
(35) a. Composition FAIRE (dyadic):

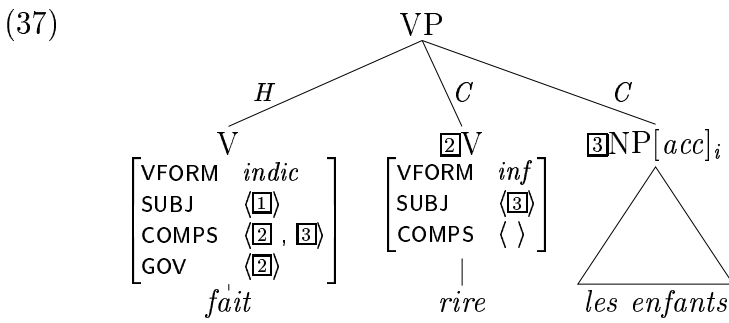


b. Composition FAIRE (triadic):



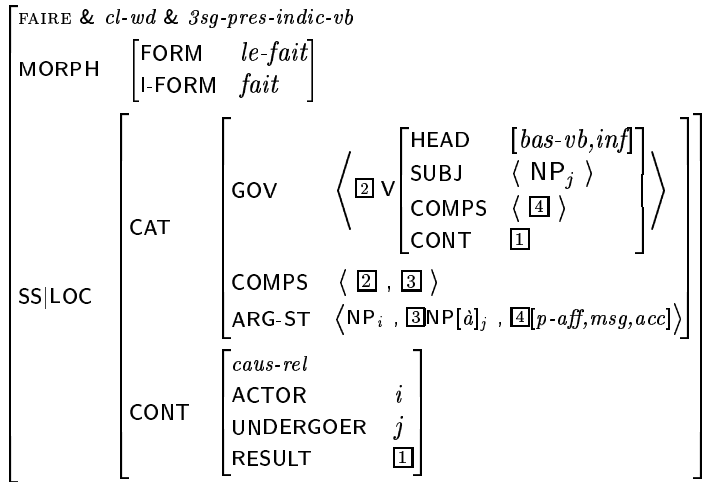
(36)





(38) Paul le fait étudier aux élèves.
 'Paul makes the students study it.'

(39) Composition FAIRE in (38):



4.2 Composition Causatives and Downstairs Cliticization

(i) Paul fera en acheter trois à Marie
 Paul make-fut of-them to-buy three to Marie
Paul will make Marie buy three of them

(ii) Marie en fera acheter trois à Paul
 Marie of-them make-fut to-buy three to Paul
Marie will make Paul buy three of them.

(40) a. Une telle décision fera en vouloir à tout le monde à Jean
 A such decision make-fut of-them to-want to everybody to Jean
Such a decision will make Jean angry at everybody

- b. Cette manoeuvre a fait n'y voir que du feu au responsable
 This maneuver has made in-it to-see only fire to-the manager
This maneuver caused the manager to be completely taken in
- c. La crise fait se serrer la ceinture à tout le monde
 The crisis makes se_{dat} to-tighten the belt to everybody
The crisis is making everyone tighten their belt

5 Reflexive Verbs

- (41) a. Marie s'est coupée.
 Marie_{fsq} se_{acc}-is cut_{fsq}
Marie cut herself.
- b. Marie s'est coupé le doigt
 Marie_{fsq} se_{dat}-is cut_{msg} the finger
Marie cut her finger.
- c. Ces maisons se sont construites rapidement.
 These houses se are built_{pl} quickly
These houses got built quickly
- d. Marie s'est évanouie.
 Marie se-is fainted_{fsq}
Marie fainted.
- (42) La maison qu'il s'est construite
 The house_{fsq} that he_{msg} se_{dat}-is built_{fsq}
The house that he built for himself
- (43) Paul n'a lavé que lui-même
Paul washed only himself
- (44) REFL-ETRE Constraint:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{past-part} \\ \text{SS|LOC|CAT|ARG-ST} \langle \dots [a\text{-aff}] \dots \rangle \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow [\text{SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD|V-AUX } \textit{etre}]$$

5.1 Intrinsic Reflexive Verbs

- (45) a. Julie s'évanouit souvent
Julie often faints
- b. * Julie évanouit (son esprit)
Julie faints (her mind)

- (46) a. Plusieurs personnes s'évanouissaient sous l'effet de la chaleur
 Several persons se-faint-imperf-3pl under the-effect of the heat
Several people fainted because of the heat
- b. Il s'évanouissait plusieurs personnes sous l'effet de la chaleur
 It se-faint-imperf-3sg several persons under the-effect of the heat
There were several people fainting because of the heat
- c. La chaleur a fait s'évanouir Paul
 The heat has made se-to-faint Paul
The heat made Paul faint

(47) S'ÉVANOUIR (*intrans*):

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{S'ÉVANOUIR \& cl-wd} \\ \text{SS|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \quad \textit{bas-vb} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \langle \text{NP}_i, \text{NP}[\textit{acc}, \textit{a-aff}] \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{faint-rel} \\ \text{UNDERGOER} \quad i \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

5.2 True Reflexives

- (48) *Il le lavait un enfant dans la fontaine
 It it wash-imperf-3sg a child in the fountain
 (putatively) *There was a child washing it in the fountain.*
- (49) a. Quelqu'un se lavait dans la fontaine
 Someone se wash-imperf-3sg in the fountain
Someone was washing himself in the fountain.
- b. Il se lavait quelqu'un dans la fontaine
 It se wash-imperf-3sg someone in the fountain
There was someone washing himself in the fountain.
- c. Marie a fait se laver les enfants
 Marie has made se to-wash the children
Marie made the children wash themselves
- (50) a. Certains journalistes s'offriront un exemplaire des Mémoires
 Some journalists se-give-fut-3pl a copy of-the Memoirs
Some journalists will buy a copy of the Memoirs for themselves.
- b. *Il s'offrira un exemplaire des Mémoires certains journalistes
 It se-give-fut-3sg a copy of-the Memoirs some journalists
There will be some journalists who buy a copy of the Memoirs for themselves

- c. Leur profession fera s'offrir un exemplaire des Mémoires à
 Their job make-fut se-give a copy of-the Memoirs to
 certains journalistes
 some journalists
*Their job will make some journalists buy a copy of the memoirs
 for themselves*

(51) Sample Output of (Detransitivizing) Reflexive LR:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{der-vb-lxm} \\ \text{MORPH} \left[\text{STEM } lav- \right] \\ \text{SS|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD} \left[\begin{array}{l} (bas-vb) \\ \text{VFORM } indic \end{array} \right] \\ \text{ARG-ST} \langle NP_i, NP[acc, a-aff]_j \rangle \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \left[\begin{array}{l} wash-rel \\ \text{ACTOR } i \\ \text{UNDERGOER } j \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(52) (A-Varieties only)

$$\left[\text{SS|LOC|CAT} \left[\text{ARG-ST} \langle \dots [a-aff] \dots \rangle \right] \right] \Rightarrow \left[\text{SS|LOC|CAT|HEAD } bas-vb \right]$$

5.3 Medio-Passives

- (53) a. Beaucoup de livres se vendront ce mois-ci
 Many of books se sell-fut this month
Many books will be sold this month.
- b. Il se vendra beaucoup de livres ce mois-ci
 It se sell-fut many of books this month
There are many books that will be sold this month.
- (54) Le snobisme fait se vendre bien les classiques
 The snobism makes se to-sell well the classics
Snobism makes the classics sell well

(55) Medio-Passive Lexical Rule:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{trans} \\ \text{SS|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\text{ARG-ST} \langle NP, \boxed{NP[acc]}_i \rangle \oplus \boxed{1} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \boxed{2} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{der-vb-lxm} \\ \text{SS|LOC} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{HEAD } bas-vb \\ \text{ARG-ST} \langle NP_i, \boxed{a-aff} \rangle \oplus \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONT} \boxed{2}[\dots] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

(56)

<i>der-vb-lxm & cl-wd</i>													
MORPH	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>FORM</td> <td><i>se-vendre</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>I-FORM</td> <td><i>vendre</i></td> </tr> </table>	FORM	<i>se-vendre</i>	I-FORM	<i>vendre</i>								
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I-FORM	<i>vendre</i>												
SS LOC	<table border="1"> <tr> <td rowspan="2" style="vertical-align: middle;">CAT</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>HEAD</td> <td><i>bas-vb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM</td> <td><i>inf</i></td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> <tr> <td>SUBJ</td> <td>$\langle \boxed{\square} \rangle$</td> </tr> <tr> <td>COMPS</td> <td>$\langle \rangle$</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ARG-ST</td> <td>$\langle \boxed{\square} NP_i, NP[acc, a-aff]_i \rangle$</td> </tr> </table>	CAT	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>HEAD</td> <td><i>bas-vb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM</td> <td><i>inf</i></td> </tr> </table>	HEAD	<i>bas-vb</i>	VFORM	<i>inf</i>	SUBJ	$\langle \boxed{\square} \rangle$	COMPS	$\langle \rangle$	ARG-ST	$\langle \boxed{\square} NP_i, NP[acc, a-aff]_i \rangle$
	CAT		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>HEAD</td> <td><i>bas-vb</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>VFORM</td> <td><i>inf</i></td> </tr> </table>	HEAD	<i>bas-vb</i>	VFORM	<i>inf</i>						
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COMPS	$\langle \rangle$												
ARG-ST	$\langle \boxed{\square} NP_i, NP[acc, a-aff]_i \rangle$												
CONT	<table border="1"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;"><i>sell-rel</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>ACTOR</td> <td><i>j</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>UNDERGOER</td> <td><i>i</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td>...</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	<i>sell-rel</i>		ACTOR	<i>j</i>	UNDERGOER	<i>i</i>	...					
	<i>sell-rel</i>												
	ACTOR	<i>j</i>											
UNDERGOER	<i>i</i>												
...													

- (57) a. Il ne se vend bien que vous dans ce salon, qui n'en
 It-3sg ne se sell-pres-3sg well only you-2pl in this meeting who ne-of-it
 avez aucun besoin
 have no need
*You are the only ones who(se books) are selling well in this meeting, and
 you have no need for that.*
- b. *Il ne te vend bien que toi dans ce salon
 It-3sg ne te-2sg sell-pres-3sg well only you-2sg in this meeting

5.4 Clitic Trapping With Composition FAIRE

- (58) a. Marie a fait s'en souvenir Jean.
 Marie has made se-of-it to-remember Jean
Marie made Jean remember it.
- b. *Marie en a fait se souvenir Jean.
 Marie of-it has made se to-remember Jean
- c. Ça lui fera leur en vouloir.
 this him_{dat} make-fut them_{dat} of-it to-want
This will make him get annoyed at them.
- d. *Ça leur fera en vouloir à Jean.
 this them_{dat} make-fut of-it to-want to Jean
This will make Jean get annoyed at them.

6 Reflexive Binding in Causatives

- (59) a. *Paul_i se_i fait raser à Figaro_j
 Paul se makes shave to Figaro

- Paul gets himself shaven by Figaro*
- b. Paul_i se_i fait raser par Figaro_j
 Paul se makes shave by Figaro
Paul gets himself shaven by Figaro
- c. Paul_i se_i fait apprécier de ses collègues_j
 Paul se makes appreciate of his colleagues
Paul makes himself be appreciated by his colleagues
- (60) a. * Paul_i se_i fait donner des livres_k à Figaro_j
 Paul se makes give (some) books to Figaro
Paul makes Figaro give (some) books to him
- b. Paul_(i) se_i fait donner des livres_k par Figaro_j
 Paul se makes give (some) books by Figaro
 (same interpretation)
- (61) a. Paul_i fait s'_j acheter des livres_k à Figaro_j
 Paul makes se buy (some) books to Figaro
Paul makes Figaro buy books for himself
- b. * Paul_i fait s'_j acheter des livres_k par Figaro_j
 Paul makes se buy (some) books by Figaro
 (same interpretation)

(62) The ‘Passive’ Infinitive (*raser* in (59b)):

<i>inf-vb-lxm & der-vb-lxm</i>																												
MORPH	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="border: none;">FORM</td> <td style="border: none;"><i>raser</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">I-FORM</td> <td style="border: none;"><i>raser</i></td> </tr> </table>	FORM	<i>raser</i>	I-FORM	<i>raser</i>																							
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(63) *se-fait* in (59b):

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(64) *raser* in (*59a):

<i>inf-vb-lxm & trans</i>																												
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UNDERGOER	<i>i</i>																											
...																												

(65) *se-fait* in (*59a):

CAT	SUBJ	$\langle \boxed{4} \rangle$
	ARG-ST	$\langle \boxed{2}NP[nom]_i, NP[\acute{a}]_j, NP[a-aff]_i \rangle$
CONT	<i>cause-rel</i>	
	ACTOR	i
	RESULT	<i>shave-rel</i>
		ACTOR
	UNDERGOER	i

(66) (passive) *s'acheter* in (61b):

MORPH	FORM	<i>s'acheter</i>	
	I-FORM	<i>acheter</i>	
SS LOC	CAT	HEAD	$\begin{bmatrix} bas-vb \\ VFORM\ inf \end{bmatrix}$
		SUBJ	$\langle \rangle$
	COMPS	$\langle \boxed{2}, \boxed{3} \rangle$	
	ARG-ST	$\langle \boxed{2}NP[acc]_k, NP[\acute{a}, a-aff]_j, \boxed{3}PP[par]_j \rangle$	
	CONT	$\begin{bmatrix} buy-rel \\ ACTOR\ j \\ UNDERGOER\ k \\ RECIPIENT\ j \\ \dots \end{bmatrix}$	

(67) *fait* in (61b):

CAT	SUBJ	$\langle \boxed{1} \rangle$	
	ARG-ST	$\langle \boxed{1}NP[nom]_i, NP[acc]_k, PP[par]_j \rangle$	
CONT	<i>cause-rel</i>		
	ACTOR	i	
	RESULT	<i>buy-rel</i>	
		ACTOR	j
		UNDERGOER	k
RECIPIENT		j	

(68) (active) *s'acheter* in (61a):

		<i>inf-vb-lxm & trans & cl-wd</i>			
MORPH		FORM		s'acheter	
		I-FORM		acheter	
		CAT		HEAD	
				SUBJ	
				COMPS	
				ARG-ST	
SS LOC					
				ACTOR	
				UNDERGOER	
				RECIPIENT	
				...	

(69) *fait* in (61a):

		SUBJ		< 4 >	
		ARG-ST		< 2 NP[nom] _i , NP[à] _j , NP[acc] _k >	

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