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*How to passivize French causatives*

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It has been assumed, since Burzio 1986, that French doesn’t allow passivization across *faire*-causatives (2b), whereas Italian does (2a):

(1) a. ✓Maria ha fatto fare una gonna.
   b. ✓Marie a fait faire une jupe.
      *Mary has CAUS-m. made a skirt.*
      ‘Mary had a skirt made.’

(2) a. ✓Una gonna è stata fatta fare (da Maria)
      A skirt is PASS-f. CAUS-f. made (by Mary).
   b. *Une jupe a été fait(e) faire (par Marie).
      A skirt is PASS-m. CAUS-m.(.-f.) made (by Mary).
      ‘A skirt was caused to be made by Mary.’

But the impersonal passive of (1b) is perfect in French (3b) as in Italian (3a) (the unnaturalness of a demoted agent isn’t surprising owing to the impersonal semantics):

(3) a. ✓È stata fatta fare una gonna (?da Maria).
      Pro-f. is PASS-f. CAUS-f. made a skirt (by Mary).
   b. ✓Il a été fait faire une jupe (?par Marie).
      There is PASS-m. CAUS-m. made a skirt (by Mary).
      ‘A skirt was caused to be made.’

What seems crucial to the (un)grammaticality of passivized causatives in French is whether movement has taken place. Long passivization must transit through an intermediate specifier of agreement associated with the causative auxiliary: we assume that the French causative participle *fait* is morphologically defective, lacking all but a default form, whilst its Italian counterpart is provided with the full flexion.

Passives in Romance require past participle agreement, expressed in Italian on both the passive and the lexical participles, in French on the latter only:

(4) a. *Questa gonna è stato fatto da Gianna.
   b. *Cette jupe a été fait par Jeanne.
This skirt is PAST-m. made-m. by Jane.
‘This skirt was made by Jane.’

(5) a. ✓Questa gonna è stata fatta da Gianna.
   This skirt is PAST-f. made-f. by Jane.
   ‘This skirt was made by Jane.’

b. ✓Cette jupe a été faite par Jeanne.
   This skirt is PAST-m. made-f. by Jane.
   ‘This skirt was made by Jane.’

Standard interpretation is that a raised subject must pass through the specifier of AgrPastPartP to enter into agreement configuration with the participle. In French, this passage is possible in long passives only when the features of the passivized DP match those of the default form of the participle, namely [-f., -pl.]:

(6) a. ✓Un calzone è stato fatto fare.
   A pant is PASS-m. CAUS-m. made.
   ‘Pants were caused to be made.’

b. ✓Un pantalon a été fait faire.
   ‘Pants were caused to be made.’

Thus the contrast between (2b) and (6b) follows from the defectiveness of French faire in its causative guise, which doesn’t license feminine and plural DPs in its specifier. Failing to agree with the participle is the source of the ungrammaticality of (2b). This problem doesn’t arise if the object exhibits the morphologically unmarked set of features ((6b)) or if the target of the object is filled by an impersonal expletive ((3b)).

The fact that the availability of past participle agreement be a strong condition for the possibility of passivization across causatives can shed light on the derivation of the passive sentences, that is to say the raising of an object up to the subject position.

References