

(23) La crainte du scandale l'a fait tuer {au juge, *le juge}.
 the fear of-the scandal OBJclitic PAST make kill {at-the judge, the judge}
 'Fear of scandal made the judge kill him.'

(24) When the embedded clause is reflexive, its head behaves as an intransitive:

(25) La crainte du scandale a fait se tuer {le frère du juge,
 *au frère du juge}.
 the fear of-the scandal PAST make REFL kill {the brother of-the judge,
 at-the brother of-the judge}
 'Fear of scandal made the judge's brother kill himself.'

(26) Therefore, contrary to initial appearances, the reflexive clitic (*se*) is not functioning as the direct object. Marantz argues that the embedded subject (*le frère du juge*) is actually the underlying object.

3.3 Young Children Succeed

(27) Snyder, Hyams and Crisma (1994):

Italian (Calambrone 1992) **French** (Suppes, Smith & Leveille 1973)

Diana (1;8-2;6) Philippe (2;1-3;3)
 Guglielmo (2;2-2;11)
 Martina (1;7-2;7)

(28) Method: Run a computer search for any child utterance containing a clitic, and hand-code the results.

	Diana		Guglielmo		Martina		Philippe	
	HAVE BE		HAVE BE		HAVE BE		HAVE BE	
NREF	10	1	12	0	3	0	27	2
REFL	0	23	0	35	0	4	0	104
	$(p < .001)$		$(p < .001)$		$(p = .143 \text{ NS})$		$(p < .001)$	

[P-values are for two-tailed Fisher Exact Test, except for Philippe (X^2).]

(30) New subjects from CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000):

French **Italian**
 Max (1;9-3;2, York) Elisa (1;5-2;1, Tonelli)
 Léa (2;8-3;5, York) Raffaello (1;7-2;11, Calambrone)

	Max		Léa		Elisa		Raffaello	
	HAVE BE		HAVE BE		HAVE BE		HAVE BE	
NREF	17	0	45	0	15	0	10	0
REFL	2	4	2	13	0	4	0	2
	$(p = .002)$		$(p < .001)$		$(p < .001)$		$(p = .015)$	

[P-values are for two-tailed Fisher Exact Test.]

(32) Examples: Elisa

Mi sono bagnata myself am bathed '(I) bathed myself'	(2;1)	L'ho mangiata it have eaten '(I) have eaten it' (la pappa = the food)	(1;11)
Si e' sporcata himself e dirtied '(He) dirtied himself'	(2;1)	L'ho buttata li' dentro it have thrown there inside '(I) threw it inside'	(2;1)

(33) This success cannot be attributed to associating particular verbs or clitics with BE. Depending on the subject, and hence the (non-)reflexivity, the same verbs and (in the case of first/second person) the same clitics can take HAVE or BE.

(34) The children's level of success would be extremely unlikely if they lacked the adult grammar for reflexive clitics.

3.4 What's Different?

(35) On Lidz's (2003) analysis of reflexive-clitic constructions, an external theta-role of Agent/Cause is implicit, but not assigned syntactically. If the underlying object is animate, it can be interpreted as Agent, but an impersonal or mediopassive interpretation is also possible.

(36) Therefore, in contrast to the verbal passive, the logical subject is not grammatically represented.

Supporting evidence from French:

(37) *Jean s' est blessé pour toucher l'assurance.
 John REFL is injured to collect the insurance
 'John injured himself [PRO to collect the insurance].'

(38) Jean s' est blessé pendant la guerre.
 John REFL is injured during the war
 'John was injured during the war.'

- (39) * Jean s' est blessé par l' ennemi.
John REFL is injured by the enemy
'John was injured by the enemy.'

4. Evidence for a Crucial Role of Discourse Features

- (61) O'Brien, Grolla, and Lillo-Martin (2006, 'OGL') report that three-year-old children succeed on a comprehension test of English passives, even with non-actional verbs, *provided* the experimental materials satisfy certain "felicity conditions" for having a *by*-phrase.

- (62) Specifically, a *by*-phrase is felicitous only if there is at least one alternative person who *could* have been the agent / experiencer, but was not.

- (62) Moreover, OGL show that the same children who succeed when the felicity conditions are satisfied, fail when the felicity conditions are not satisfied.

- (63) Story *without* felicity (OGL 2006:447)

EXP: In this story we have Santa and a naughty elf. The elf took a plate of goodies left for Santa and hid behind a wall so Santa would not see him.

ELF: Hee, hee. Santa won't see me behind this wall, and I can have these treats all for myself.

EXP: What the elf forgot, though, is that Santa has super vision. That's how he can see who is naughty and who is nice. He can see through anything, even a wall. So, right away, Santa saw the elf.

SANTA: Aha! I see you elf. I see you!!

EXP: Gobu, can you tell me something about that story?

GOBU: Well, let's see. In that story, the elf was seen by Santa.

- (64) Story *with* felicity (OGL 2006:447)

EXP: Oscar is very grouchy. He doesn't like anybody. I wonder if someone likes him, though? Here's a Fancy Lady and a parrot. I wonder if the Fancy Lady likes Oscar?

FANCY LADY: Ew! Oscar stinks. I don't like him because he lives in a garbage can.

EXP: Well, I wonder if the parrot likes him?

PARROT: Oh, yes, I like you Oscar. I don't mind that he lives in a garbage can. I like you, Oscar.

EXP: Gobu, can you tell me something about that story?

GOBU: Well, let's see. Oscar was liked by the parrot.

- (65) a. Children were at chance in Condition 1, but significantly above chance in Condition 2 (even with nonactional verbs, and regardless of whether the *by*-phrase was included or omitted).
b. Similar results have recently been obtained in Takahashi's (2008) study of Japanese children, where the felicity condition was also satisfied.
c. OGL's interpretation: "Children's poor performance [in previous studies] may be in due in part to a failure to satisfy conditions on felicitous use of the *by*-phrase in long passives." [from BUCLD handout]

- (66) **Problem:** OGL's manipulation also led to significantly improved performance on SHORT passives, where no *by*-phrase was present!

5. Proposal

- (67) Passives are difficult for young children because:

- (i) they require the child to relate the surface subject to an underlying direct-object position, and
- (ii) there's another argument (the demoted logical subject) intervening between the two.

- (68) The adult *can* keep track of the logical subject versus the logical object in the passive because they have different types of case features. The demoted subject bears inherent case features (e.g. prepositional or dative), while the logical object bears structural case features (nominative).

- (69) For the child, structural and inherent case features are not yet "distinctive," for purposes of keeping track of the arguments in a sentence.

- (70) However, even for the young child, arguments with interrogative, focus, or topic features are distinctive (cf. Rizzi 2004).

- (71) Therefore:

- i. The reflexive-clitic construction is unproblematic because there's no demoted subject intervening between the surface-subject position and the underlying direct-object position.
- ii. The passive becomes unproblematic in OGL's felicity condition because the surface subject bears a **[+Topic]** feature, and/or because the demoted subject (whether pronounced or not) bears a **[+Focus]** feature (cf. 64).

- (72) Note that the locus of the problem could be construed as part of the grammar proper, or as part of the processing system.

- (73) Either way, as the child matures we expect her to become better at distinguishing the raised logical object (bearing structural case features) from the demoted subject (bearing inherent case features).

- (74) The *older* child (and adult) will be able to relate the structural-case argument to its underlying position, despite the inherent-case argument that intervenes.

6. Concluding Remarks

(75) In order to handle children's success on mismatch items in OGL's felicity condition, we may need the discourse features to be established independently of the test sentence:

- a. [+Topic] = Topic of Discussion
- b. [+Focus] = Possible answer to Question Under Discussion

(76) **Predictions:**

- a. Improvement when test item is a wh-question (cf. Crain et al. 1987)
- b. Difficulties, and discourse-features will help, in:
 - i. Raising Past Experiencer (cf. Hirsch et al. 2007)
 - ii. A-scrambling across another NP in Japanese (cf. Sugisaki 1997)

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