Ā-movement feeds licensing: Evidence from Indirect Causatives in Sason Arabic

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1 Introduction

SA has several causative constructions: (i) ablaut, (1), (ii) gemination, (iii) 'give' causatives, and (iv) 'make' causatives.

(1) *ablaut*

   a. lāke tal-e
       stain came.out-3F

       'The stain came out.'

   b. tel-tu   lāke
       came.out.CAUS-1SG stain

       'I got the stain out.'

- Gemination allows the causee to be expressed either as a DP or a PP headed by *(mɪ)şa* 'for, to', as in (2).

(2) *gemination*

   a. kemal ku   i-qri   lala   kitab
       kemal be.3M 3M-read.IPFV this.M book

       'Kemal is reading this book.'

   b. oretman ki   tɪ-qar<u>ri</u>   kemal lala   kitab
       teacher   be.3F 3F-cause.read kemal this.M book

       'The teacher is making Kemal read this book.'   (Yakut 2013:33a)

   c. oretman ki   tɪ-qar<u>ri</u>   lala   kitab mɪşa kemal
       teacher   be.3F 3F-cause.read this.M book to   kemal

       'The teacher is making Kemal read this book.'   (Yakut 2013:33b)

- In contrast, in 'give' causatives, the causee is introduced only as a PP.

(3) *'give' causatives*

   ɪmm-a   mɪşa fatma şi   *adɪd*-u addil
   mother-her to   Fatma food gave-it fix.INF

   'Her mother had Fatma cook the food.'

   (Lit: The food, her mother gave it to Fatma to fixing) (Erguvanlı-Taylan 2017:221:30)

- This strategy is a result of contact with Kurdish (Akkuş 2017; Akkuş and Benmamoun 2018; Erguvanlı-Taylan 2017).

- SA also has an indirect causative embedded under the verb 'make/do'.

(4) *'make' causatives*

   a. doxtor mɪşa ali ku   *i-si*   f-iyu   (le y-addel) sipor
       doctor to   Ali be.3M 3M-make in-him (that 3M-do) sports

       'The doctor is making Ali do sports.'   (Erguvanlı-Taylan 2017:221)

   b. aɣa   *sa*   addil   beyt-ma
       village.lord made.3M build.INF house-a

       'The village lord had a house built.' (Akkuş forthcoming:13)

- Today's focus is on (4b).

  - It is a construction with an overt embedded theme argument, but no overt embedded agent. The verb appears in infinitival form.

  - It maintains an agentive reading where the agent is interpreted as indefinite, non-specific 'someone' or 'some people'.

- In this construction, the agent is obligatorily null unless Ā-moved.

(5) a. kemal sa   (*nes-ma) faqz.
          Kemal made person-a   run.INF

          'Kemal made someone run.'

    b. * kemal sa   ande faqz?
          Kemal made who run.INF

          'Who did Kemal make run?'

    c. ande kemal sa   faqz?
          who Kemal made run.INF

          'Who did Kemal make run?'

Proposal
- 'make' causatives embed an agentive VoiceP, in which the embedded agent may not remain in-situ, and needs to Ā-move.
- I develop a phase-based account to explain this restriction, which provides evidence for Ā-movement feeding licensing relations.

Roadmap

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2 The size of the embedded clause

A variety of diagnostics demonstrate that 'make' embeds a thematic VoiceP, but no higher projections.

⤳ The tests are summarized in Table 1 (see Appendix for the examples).

no CLLD to the right of 'make', no complementizers	→	*CP
no negation on the infinitive	→	*NegP
no distinct temporal modification	→	*TP
no agreement or portmanteau Aspect+Voice morphology	→	*AspP
agent-oriented adverbs, comitatives, agentive *by*-phrases no stative predicates or unaccusatives	→	✓VoiceP
independent manner adverbs	→	✓VP

Table 1: size of the 'make' ICs

- *Negation*: The negative morpheme is disallowed on the infinitive, (6).

(6) iyen (mı)-i-s-o   (*mı)-ɣanni
     they NEG-3-make-PL NEG-sing.INF
     'They don't make anyone sing.'

- *VoiceP*: Instrumentals are diagnostics for an external argument layer (i.e. Voice) (Bruening 2013; Alexiadou et al. 2015, also Fillmore 1968).

(7) a. bina   ın-faşş-e   mı işçiyad   wara çakuçad
         apartment PASS-demolish-3F by employees with hammers
         'The apartment was demolished by the employees with hammers.'

     b. *bina   ın-qalab-e   mı rua   wara çakuçad
         apartment PASS-fall.over-3F by itself with hammers
         'The apartment fell over by itself with hammers.'

They are also grammatical in SA ICs, and can modify the embedded agent, (8).

(8) a. si-to   aɣet   şurvan wara ibre
         made-2PL sew.INF pants   with needles
         'You had someone [sew the pants with needles].'

     b. kemal sa   buaɣ sir   beyt wara sope.
         Kemal made.3M paint do.INF house with stick
         'Kemal, with the stick, had [someone paint the house].'
         'Kemal had [someone paint the house with the stick].'

2.1 FP: A low focus position

- 'make' causatives have a low focus position, identical to the root clauses.

(9) a. (ŞURVAN-I) ki   (ŞURVAN-I) t-ıxsel   (*ŞURVAN-I) (qaway-i lā).
         pants-my   be.3F pants-my   3F-wash pants-my   shirt-my no
         'She is washing my pants, (not my shirt).'[2]

     b. (ŞURVAN-I) sa-tte   (ŞURVAN-I) xassil   (*ŞURVAN-I) (qaway-i lā).
         pants-my   made-3F pants-my   wash.INF pants-my   shirt-my no
         'She made (someone) wash my pants, (not my shirt).'

- As such, a focussed constituent may raise to a position between 'make' and 'infinitive', FP, besides the default sentence initial position, (9b).

- Thus, no adjacency requirement or complex predicate relationship between 'make' and the infinitive.

3 VoiceP with active-passive alternation

- The embedded VoiceP manifests an active-passive alternation despite the absence of a morphological reflex.

  - (i) the (im)possibility of A-moving the embedded object when the matrix 'make' is passivized, (ii) sluicing, (iii) nonpassivizable idioms.

⤳ *(Impersonal) Passive*

- An embedded clause with *by*-phrase behaves like a canonical passive:[3]

  - The embedded verb does not license the object, instead behaves as licensed by the matrix 'make'.

  - Therefore, when 'make' is passivized, the embedded theme raises to grammatical subject position and shows verbal agreement, (10a-10b).

  - Raising is not possible without a *by*-phrase, (10c).

(10) a. kemal sa   xassil   potad mı mara-ma pir-e.
          kemal made.3M wash.INF clothes by woman-a old-F
          'Kemal had the clothes washed by some old woman.'

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[2]In Standard and Lebanese Arabic, an in-situ focussed phrase functions as new information focus (see e.g. Moutaouakil 2014, Ouhalla 1994, Aoun et al. 2010:202). See also Ouwayda and Shlonsky 2016 for a low focus position in Lebanese Arabic.

[3]cf. garden-variety passives, (i).

(i) ala cam (mı kemal) ın-qaraf   bı-l-qasti.
     this glass (by Kemal) PASS-broke.3M with-the-intention
     'This glass was broken (by Kemal) deliberately.' (Yakut 2013:7; with slight modifications)

b. potad ın-so xassil mı mara-ma pir-e
clothes PASS-made.3PL wash.INF by woman-a old-F

'Clothes were made to be washed by some old woman.'

c. *potad ın-so xassil
clothes PASS-made.3PL wash.INF

Intended: 'Clothes were made to be washed.'

- (10b) can be represented as (11).

(11)
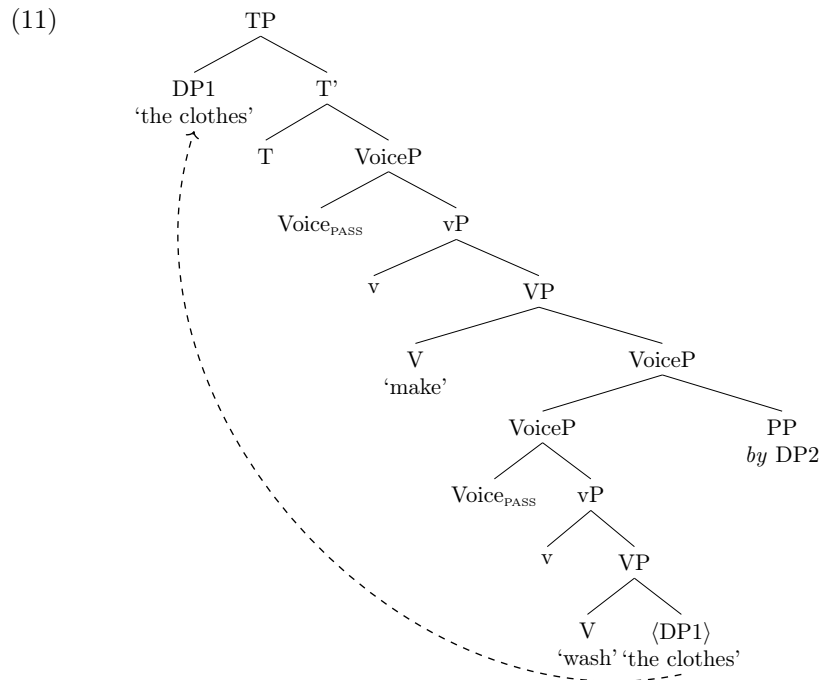
- Without a *by*-phrase, the embedded clause behaves like a canonical active:
  - The embedded object behaves as though licensed by embedded verb.
  - As such, it remains a grammatical object even when 'make' is passivized.
- Passivization of 'make', when the embedded clause lacks a *by*-phrase, results in an impersonal passive, (12).
  - The embedded theme does not raise to the subject position,
  - no argument is associated with the grammatical subject position, as such 'make' is realized with the default third masculine agreement.

(12) ın-sa addil bina.
PASS-made.3M build.INF building.F

'Someone made (someone) build the building.'

Aside: SA does indeed independently allow impersonal passives, (13).

(13) lora ın-sa dans (mı misafir-ad).
then PASS-made dance (by guest-PL)

'Then it was danced (by the guests).'

- Crucially, under the active embedded analysis, this is expected.

- The behaviors of the other two diagnostics are summarized in Table 2.

	embedded clause	
	with *by*-phrase	without *by*-phrase
non-passivizable idioms	*	✓
passivizable idioms	✓	✓
sluicing remnant	by whom	who

Table 2: active-passive embedded VoiceP

3.1 Theme as the grammatical object

The embedded theme is licensed in the embedded clause, thus behaves as a grammatical object independently of whether 'make' is active or passive.

- (i) Definiteness effect, (ii) Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD), and (iii) agreement asymmetry compel us to reach this conclusion.

- CLLD

Direct or indirect objects in Arabic may normally be CLLD-ed to the CP domain, be it matrix or embedded CP, (Benmamoun 2000; Aoun et al. 2010), as in (14).

(14) a. *gaste* ams qari-tu-*a*
newspaper.F yesterday read-1SG-3F

'The newspaper, I read it yesterday.'

b. m-i-qbel le *gaste* ams qari-tu-*a*
NEG-3M-accept that newspaper.F yesterday read-1SG-3F

'He doesn't accept that the newspaper, I read it yesterday.'

The subject cannot be CLLD-ed. True for both the thematic subjects, (15a), as well as the underlying objects raised to become the grammatical subject, (15b).

(15) a. *kemal*   qara-(*u) gaste.
        Kemal.M read-3M   newspaper.F

        'Kemal, he read the newspaper.'

    b. *kemal*   in-qıdel-(*u).
        Kemal.M PASS-kill-3M

        'Kemal, he is killed.'

When the matrix verb is passive, and there is a 'by'-phrase associated with the embedded verb, the theme cannot undergo CLLD.

(16) gaste   ın-satt-e-(*a)   qaru-(*a)   mı nes-ma   tawwil.
     newsaper.F PASS-make-3F-3F read.INF-3F by person-a tall

     'The newspaper, it was made [read by a tall person].'

(17) pot-ad   (mı ımm-i)   ın-sa-o-(*en)   xassil-(*en) mı nes-ma
     clothes-PL (by mother-my) PASS-make-3PL-PL wash.INF-PL by person-a

     'Clothes were made (by my mother) washed by a person.'

> **Interim Summary**
> - 'make' embeds an agentive VoiceP, but lacks CP, TP, NegP and AspP.
>   - The embedded VoiceP exhibits an active-passive alternation.
> - The theme in the 'make' ICs lacks properties of a derived theme, but it exhibits properties of a grammatical object of a transitive.
> - no embedded projection to license the embedded agent.

4   Ā-extraction of embedded agent and phase-edge

(i) Reflexives, (ii) reciprocals, and (iii) depictives are licensed in the active, but not in the passive clause.

- Reflexives

Reflexives need a projected binder; not licensed in passives

(18) a. zıɣar$_i$ adlo   odav   (mışa roen$_i$).
        children did.3PL homework.M for   themselves

        'The children did the homework (for themselves).'

b. odav   ın-adal   (*mışa roen/rou).
   homework PASS-did.3M *for   themselves/himself

   'The homework was done (*for themselves/himself).'

Not licensed by the embedded agent

(19) * iya$_i$ sat-te   addil$_k$ odav   mışa rou$_k$ / roen$_k$.
       she made-3F do.INF homework for   himself / themselves

     'She$_i$ made (some   person$_k$/people$_k$) do   the   homework   for himself$_k$/themselves$_k$.'

- Pronunciation

The agent is obligatorily null, unless A'-moved (see also (5).

(20) * mafya sa   nes-ma gbir qadıl   mara-du
       mafia made person-a big murder.INF wife-his

     'The mafia leader made a big person murder his wife.'

(21) sıma-tu   le nes-ma gbir ye le mafya sa   qadıl
     heard-1SG that person-a big COP.3 that mafia made murder.INF
     mara-du
     wife-his

     'I've heard that it is a big person that the mafia made murder his wife.'

Notably, when the agent is A'-moved, reflexive binding, reciprocal binding, and depictives become possible:

(22) a. ande$_k$ iya$_i$ sat-te   addil odav   (mışa roen$_k$).
        who   she made-3F do.INF homework for   themselves

        'Who$_k$ did she make do the homework for themselves$_k$.'

    b. ande$_k$ si-t   karu xanni (sarxoş$_k$)?
        who   made-2SG write song (drunk)

        'Who$_k$ did you make compose the song drunk$_k$?'

- Thus, SA resembles the embedded infinitives in French (or Italian), where raising-to-object (R-to-O) from infinitives can be rescued by a subset of the English *wager*-class rescuers (Moulton 2009).

(23) a. *Je croyais le garçon être   arrivé.
        I   believe the boy   (to) have arrived.

        *R-to-O, (Rochette 1988:332:5a)

b. Qui croyais-tu aimer Anne?
    Who believe-you to-love Anne
    Q-operator, (Bošković 1997:129:103a)

c. Le garçon que je croyais être   arrivé.
    The boy   that I believed (to) have arrived.
    Rel-operator, (Rochette 1988:332:5a)   (Moulton 2009)

Like the embedded agent in Romance infinitives, (24), SA embedded agents are only licensed by Ā-movement, thus the ungrammaticality of (25).
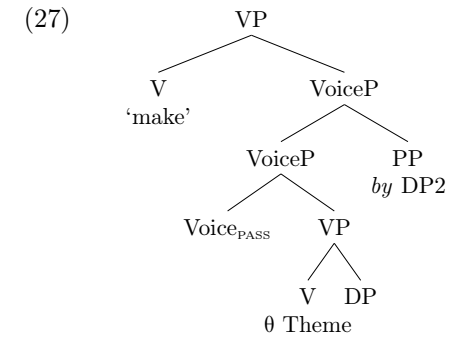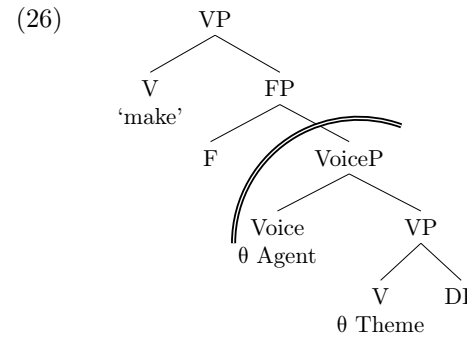
(24) *Pierre était cru   aimer Anne.
      Pierre was believed to-love Anne.
      *Passive Raising, (Bošković 1997:130:105)

(25) *calabma rıcel ın-so   xassil   potad.
      some   men PASS-made.3PL wash.INF clothes
      'Some men were made wash the clothes.'

• Analyses revolve around locality restrictions, which mainly concerns the presence of an extra layer or projection (e.g. Kayne 1984; Pesetsky 1991; Rochette 1988; Bošković 1997, 2002; Rezac 2013).

  – e.g. Bošković (1997, 2002): an additonal VP layer
    Rezac (2013:313-315): a silent N^0

• Rochette (1988:335): French (and Italian) 'propositional' infinitives are CPs, as such "act as a barrier with respect to government of the embedded subject position by the matrix verb...".

  – In modern terms, the barrier corresponds to phases, and Moulton (2009) adopts this approach for French *wager*-class verbs.

• In the spirit of previous analyses, let's identify the extra projection as the FP, whose head F is a phase-head and hosts Ā-features.[4]

• Specifically, the embedded active, but not passive, VoiceP is dominated by this projection. Compare (26) and (27).

• This contrast will be crucial in explaining why the embedded VoiceP cannot have an embedded DP in its specifier.

(26)

(27)

• FP was introduced in section 2.1 (with examples were in active voice).

• (28) shows an illustration with passive voice, which crucially are not possible.

(28) a. kınna   n-adi   kemal kitab-ma.
          be.PRS.1PL 1PL-give Kemal book-a
          'We are giving Kemal a book.'

     b. kemal ku   in-y-adi   kitab-ma.
         Kemal be.PRS.3M PASS-3M-give book-a
         'Kemal is being given a book.'

     c. (KITAB-MA) kemal ku   (*KITAB-MA) in-y-adi.
         book-a   Kemal be.PRS.3M   PASS-3M-give
         'Kemal is being given A BOOK.'

• Given that FP is not projected with an embedded passive Voice, we correctly predict that this position should be unavailable, (29).

(29) *kemal sa   POTAD xassil   mı mara-ma pir-e, (balgife la).
      Kemal made.3M clothes wash.INF by woman-a old-F pillow no
      'Kemal had the clothes (not the pillow) washed by some old woman.'

• Logically and empirically, we have four possible configurations:
  (i) active > passive,
  (ii) passive > passive,
  (iii) active > active,
  (iv) passive > active.

  Let's start with embedded passive VoiceP, which lacks FP.

⤳ (i) active > passive

Since it is not phasal, when the matrix verb is active, the matrix verb can license the embedded object, e.g. (30a-30b).

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[4]See Kahnemuyipour and Megerdoomian (2011) who argue that the head of the low focus position, F, is a phase head in Armenian.

(30)　a.　kemal sa　　　[xassil　　potad　mı mara-ma pir-e].
　　　　　kemal made.3M [wash.INF clothes by woman-a old-F]
　　　　　'Kemal had the clothes washed by some old woman.'

　　　b.

```
            VoiceP
           /      \
       Voice       VP
              /        \
             V          VoiceP
          'make'       /      \
                  VoiceP       PP
                 /      \      by DP2
           Voice_PASS    VP
                        /  \
                       V   DP
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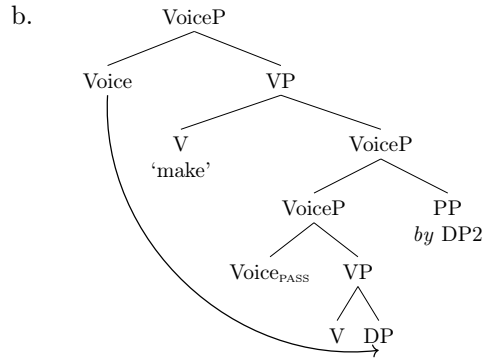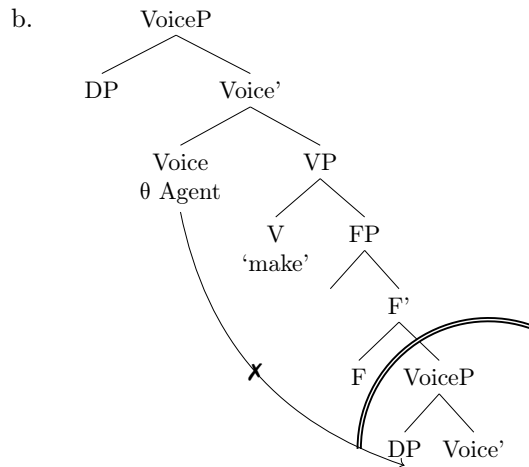
⤳ (ii) passive > passive

　　－ The embedded object is licensed by matrix NOM, as such it raises to grammatical subject and manifests subject-verb agreement. See (11).

⤳ (iii) active > active, (iv) passive > active

　　－ FP is projected on top of the embedded active Voice, which explains why there cannot be a DP in embedded Spec,VoiceP, (31a).

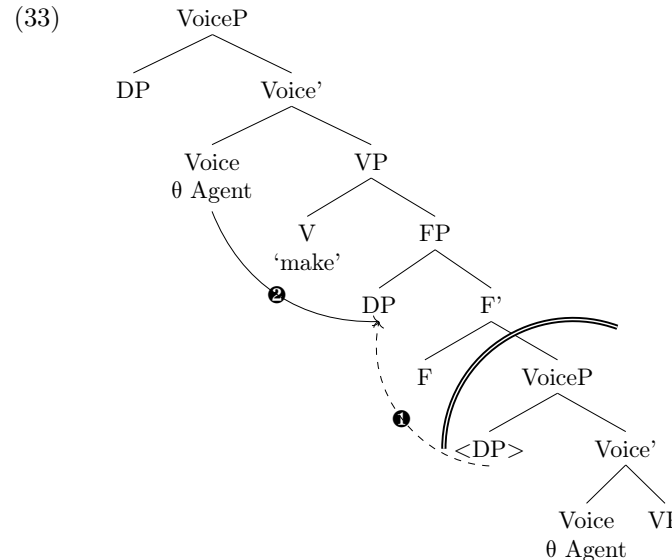　　－ Being a phasal domain, FP intervenes in the licensing of the embedded agent by the matrix 'make', (31b).

(31)　a.　*mafya sa　　　nes-ma　gbir qadıl　　mara-du
　　　　　mafia　made person-a big　murder.INF wife-his
　　　　　'The mafia leader made a big person murder his wife.'

　　　b.

```
               VoiceP
              /      \
            DP        Voice'
                     /      \
                 Voice       VP
                 θ Agent    /   \
                           V     FP
                        'make'   /
                                F'
                               /  \
                              F    VoiceP
                                  /      \
                                DP        Voice'
```

- Ā-movement makes the licensing possible (cf. Kayne 1984; Bošković 1997; Rezac 2013).[5]

- F can host Ā-features, and the embedded agent can raise to its edge. As such, the agent can be licensed by 'make' in a local configuration (cf. Rezac 2013).

- The specifier of FP in SA can also host pronounced material: it is the alternative landing site for the focus constituent.

- As predicted, Spec,FP can also host the embedded agent when it is contrastively-focussed, (32).

(32)　a.　*kemal sa　　cinar-ma　faqz
　　　　　Kemal　made neighbor-a run.INF
　　　　　'Kemal made a neighbor run.'

　　　b.　CINAR-MA kemal sa　　faqz,　　(mara-ma pir-e la)
　　　　　neighbor-a Kemal made run.INF (woman-a old-F no)
　　　　　'Kemal made A NEIGHBOR run (not an old woman).'

　　　c.　kemal sa　　CINAR-MA faqz,　　(mara-ma pir-e la)
　　　　　Kemal made neighbor-a run.INF (woman-a old-F no)
　　　　　'Kemal made A NEIGHBOR run (not an old woman).'

- (32c) is illustrated in (33):

(33)

```
                  VoiceP
                 /      \
               DP        Voice'
                        /      \
                    Voice       VP
                    θ Agent    /   \
                              V     FP
                           'make'  /  \
                            ❷     DP   F'
                                      /  \
                                     F    VoiceP
                                   ❶    /      \
                                    <DP>        Voice'
                                              /      \
                                           Voice     VP
                                           θ Agent
```

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[5]The 'saving' effect of Ā-movement has been discussed more widely in the literature. For instance, Kayne (1984) and Pesetsky (1991) propose that Ā-movement allows Case licensing by establishing new Case relations. See also Dikken (2009) for Hungarian.

5   Conclusions

- The 'make' causatives in SA embed an agentive VoiceP, which exhibits an active-passive alternation.

- The embedded agent may be introduced in the specifier of VoiceP.

  - However, when projected in Spec,VoiceP, it may not remain *in-situ*, and needs to be rescued by Ā-movement.

  - Thus, this construction in SA is part of a larger crosslinguistic pattern (Tagalog, Richards (2001), Rackowski and Richards (2005); Malagasy, Pearson (2001); French, Kayne (1975), i.a).

- A phase-based account both explains this restriction, and provides evidence for Ā-movement feeding licensing relations.

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6 Appendix

- no full CP

(34) a. *gaste*   ams   qari-tu-*a*
          newspaper yesterday read-1SG-3F

          'The newspaper, I read it yesterday.'

   b. *ams   dāde sa-tte *gaste*   qaru-*a*.
          yesterday mom made-3F newspaper read-3F

          'Yesterday mom made the newspaper (someone) read it.'

(35) *ams   dāde sa-tte   le/te   hazd haşiş.
      yesterday mom made-3F that/to cut   grass

      Intended: 'Yesterday mom made that (someone) cuts the grass.' OR 'Yes-
      terday mom made that (someone) cut.{sbjv} the grass.'

- no full TP

(36) *ams   aγa   sa   hazd   haşiş lome.
      yesterday landlord made cut.INF grass today

      'Yesterday the landlord made (someone) cut the grass today.'

- no AspP

In SA, the passive prefix is sensitive to aspect, as in (37), and realizes the combi-
nation of Aspect+Voice heads.

(37) a. potad *in*-xısl-o   kıl-lom
          clothes PASS.IMPF-wash.IMPF-3PL every-day

          'Clothes are washed every day.'

   b. potad *in*-xasal-o   ams
          clothes PASS.PFV-wash.PFV-3PL yesterday

          'Clothes were washed yesterday.'

The impossibility of the passive prefix on the infinitivals also indicates the lack of
the aspect projection.

(38) beaqıl ye   isi   **in*-/*in-addil   musluq mı
      unwise cop.3SG make PASS.IMPF/PASS.PFV-repair.INF tap   by
      tamirci-ma hēdi.
      repairman-a slow

      'It would be unwise to make the tap repaired by a slow repairman.'

- Another argument for VoiceP: lack of unaccusatives

(39) *kemal sa   var   mı   mardivan-ad
      Kemal made.3M fall.INF from stair-PL

      Intended: 'Kemal made (someone) fall from the stairs.'

(40) cf: ams   cinar-i   sa   faqz   ımbala sabap
          yesterday neighbor-my made run.INF without reason

      'Yesterday my neighbor made (someone) run for no reason.'

expected, given unaccusatives lack thematic VoiceP.

- VP is available

(41) aγa   xıfef   sa   hazd   haşiş hēdi.
      landlord quickly made cut.INF grass slowly

      'The landlord quickly made (someone) cut the grass slowly.'

- **An alternative hypothesis: nominal complement**

⤳ Folli and Harley (2007:19) argue that if a *v* takes a nominal complement (in-
cluding for *faire infinitif* vs *faire par* (Kayne 1975)), it requires an agent
external argument - thus disallows causers.

- (42) shows that 'make' does not take a nominal complement in SA.

(42) a. zelzele   sa-tte   maş   buyud-en
          earthquake made-3F leave.INF houses-their

          'The earthquake made (some people) leave their houses.'

   b. bazu isi   adu   qararad kotti-n mı calabma insanad
          fear 3M.make give.INF decisions bad-PL by some   people

          'Fear makes bad decisions made by some people.'

- Also, note the contrast between (43a) and (43b).

(43) a. xasıl   *(le) potad in-yaddel fı sake mı rıcel
          wash.GRND of   clothes PASS-DO in lake by men

          'Washing of clothes is done in the lake by men.'

   b. aγa   sa   xassil   / *xasıl   (*le) potad
          village.lord made wash.INF / wash.GRND of   clothes

          'The village lord made (someone) wash the clothes.'