\textbf{A\text{-}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. l\'a̱ke tal-e
  l\'a̱ke
  
  came.out-3f
  stain
  
  ‘The stain came out.’

b. tel-tu
came.out.CAUS-1SG
l\'a̱ke
stain
  ‘I got the stain out.’

• Gemination allows the causee to be expressed either as a DP or a PP headed by (mı)şa ‘for, to’, as in (2).

(2) gemination
a. kemal
dsemester
  kemal
  ku
  be.3m
  i-qri
  3m
  -read.ipfv
  lala
  this.m
  kitab
  book
  ‘Kemal is reading this book.’

b. oretman
tvillage.
lala
  teacher
  ki
  be.3f
  tı-qarr
  i
  3f
  -cause.read
  kemal
  kemal
  lala
  this.m
  kitab
  book
  m\ısa
to
  kemal
  kemal
  ‘The teacher is making Kemal read this book.’ (Yakut 2013:33a)

c. oretman
tvillage.
lala
  teacher
  ki
  be.3f
  tı-qarr
  i
  3f
  -cause.read
  kemal
  kemal
  m\ısa
to
  kemal
  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
imm-a
  mother-her
  m\ısa
  Fatma
  şi
  adud-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) (Erguvanl-Taylan 2017:221:30)

(4) ‘make’ causatives
a. doxtor
  doctor
  m\ısa
  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.’ (Erguvanl-Taylan 2017:221)

b. aya
  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 A-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?’

\textbf{Proposal}

• ‘make’ causatives embed an agentive VoiceP, in which the embedded agent may not remain in-situ, and needs to A-move.

• I develop a phase-based account to explain this restriction, which provides evidence for A-movement feeding licensing relations.

\textbf{Roadmap}

§2 The size of the embedded clause
§3 VoiceP with active-passive alternation
§4 A\text{-}extraction of embedded agent and phase-edge
§5 Conclusion

¹Many thanks are due to Julie Anne Legate, David Embick and Florian Schwarz for invaluable comments and discussions. I would also like to thank Hamid Ouali, Alison Biggs, Usama Soltan, Einar Efeyr Sigurðsson, Matt Barros, Jim Wood, Hadas Kotek, Milena Šereikaitė, and the audiences at ASAL33, NYU, FMART for feedback and discussions. Usual disclaimers apply.
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).

Table 1: size of the ‘make’ ICs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no CLLD to the right of ‘make’, no complementizers</td>
<td>→ *CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no negation on the infinitive</td>
<td>→ *NegP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no distinct temporal modification</td>
<td>→ *TP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no agreement or portmanteau Aspect+Voice morphology</td>
<td>→ *AspP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent-oriented adverbs, comitatives, agentive by-phrases</td>
<td>→ ✓VoiceP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| no stative predicates or unaccusatives          | no stative predicates or unaccusatives | → ✓VP

Table 2.1 FP: A low focus position

• ‘make’ causatives have a low focus position, identical to the root clauses.

(9) a. (şûrvan-i) ki (şûrvan-i) t-ixsel (*şûrvan-i) (qaway-i lâ). pants-my be.3F pants-my 3F-wash pants-my shirt-my no ‘She is washing my pants, (not my shirt).’

b. (şûrvan-i) sa-t-te (şûrvan-i) xassil (*şûrvan-i) (qaway-i lâ). 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:

– 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.’
b. potad m-so xassil m 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 m-so xassil clothes PASS-made.3PL wash.INF
   Intended: ‘Clothes were made to be washed.’
   • (10b) can be represented as (11).

   (11) TP
       DP1 ‘the clothes’
       T’
       VoiceP
       Voice PASS vP
       v
       VP
       V ‘make’
       VoiceP
       PP by DP2
       v
       VP
   V ‘wash’ ‘the clothes’

• 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) m-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 m-sa dans (mü 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>with by-phrase</th>
<th>without by-phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-passivizable idioms</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passivizable idioms</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sluicing remnant</td>
<td>by whom</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).
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(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 in-satt-e-(*a) qaru-(*a) mı
    newspaper.F PASS-make-3F-3F read-INF-3F by person-a
    ‘The newspaper, it was made [read by a tall person].’

(17) pot-ad mı (mı (ımm-i) mother-my)
    clothes-PL (mı (by myself)
    in-sa-o-(*en) xassil-(*en) mı
    wash-INF-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 Á-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. zıyarı adlo odav (mısa roen).
    children did.3PL homework.M for themselves
    ‘The children did the homework (for themselves).’
b. odav in-adal (*mısa roen/roen).
    homework PASS-did.3M *for themselves/himself
    ‘The homework was done (*for themselves/himself).’

Not licensed by the embedded agent

(19) *iya sat-te addilıødav mısa rou_k / roen_k.
    she made-3F do.INF homework for himself / themselves
    ‘She made (some person_k/people_k) do the homework for himself_k/theirsevles_k.’

- Pronunciation

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

(20) *mafa 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-tı le nes-ma gbir ye le mafya sa qadıl
    heard-1SG that person-a big COP.3 that mafia made murder.INF
    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 sat-te addilıødav (mısa 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-tı 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)

(24) *Pierre était cru aimer Anne.
Pierre was believed to-love Anne.
*Passive Raising, (Bošković 1997:130:105)

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

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 be. prs.1pl 1pl-give Kemal book-a
'Ve 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.
$\leadsto$ (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).
(30) a. kemal sa [xassil potad mi 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. 

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

(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).’

(33) 

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The ‘saving’ effect of A-movement has been discussed more widely in the literature. For instance, Kayne (1984) and Pesetsky (1991) propose that A-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 A-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), 1.a).
- A phase-based account both explains this restriction, and provides evidence for A-movement feeding licensing relations.

References


Dikken, Marcel den. 2009. On the nature and distribution of successive cyclicity. Ms, CUNY Graduate Center.


6 Appendix

- no full CP

(34) a. gaste ams qari-tu-a
   newspaper yesterday read-1SG-3F
   ‘The newspaper, I read it yesterday.’

   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 ‘Yesterday mom made that (someone) cut the grass.’

- no full TP

(36) *ams aya 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 combination of Aspect+Voice heads.

(37) a. potad in-xısl-o kil-lom
    clothes PASS.IMPF-wash.IMPF-3PL every-day
    ‘Clothes are washed every day.’

b. potad m-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-/*m-addil musluq m 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 mbala 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) aya 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 (including 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 mı
    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 ricel
    wash.GRND of clothes PASS-DO in lake by men
    ‘Washing of clothes is done in the lake by men.’

b. aya sa xassil / *xasıl *(le) potad
    village.lord made wash.INF / wash.GRND of clothes
    ‘The village lord made (someone) wash the clothes.’