Double causatives are real

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1.   Introduction

Goal: Present a new desideratum for theories of productive affixal causatives

Affixal causatives can recurse, as in Hokkaido Japanese

(1)   George-ga   Ken-ni   tabako-o   suw-**ase**-ta.
       George-NOM Ken-DAT cigarette-ACC smoke-CAUS-PST
       'George made Ken smoke a cigarette.'

(2)   George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o
       George-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-DAT cigarette-ACC
       suw-**as-ase**-ta.
       smoke-CAUS-CAUS-PST
       'George made Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.'

Theories of affixal causatives must therefore allow causative recursion

- Contra Key (2013), who claims that causative recursion is unattested

"Causative recursion": [CAUSE ... [CAUSE [Predicate]]]

- A structure containing a causing event or relation can embed another structure containing a causing event or relation

- Favours approaches which involve iterative embedding of event-related heads, e.g. flavours of little v (Harley, 1995; Folli & Harley, 2005)

- Disfavours approaches which involve a fixed functional hierarchy of event-related heads (Ramchand, 2008; Key, 2013)

Roadmap

1. Introduction
2. Key (2013) and causative recursion
3. Japanese double causatives
4. Turkish double causatives
5. Restrictions on double causatives (Tagalog, French)
6. Conclusion

2.   Key (2013) and causative recursion

Productive causatives: Causatives involve an additional (sub)event of causation

(3)   a.   Kodomo-wa sara-o   arat-ta.
           child-TOP   dish-ACC wash-PST
           'The child washed the dishes.'

      b.   Hanako-wa   kodomo-ni sara-o   araw-ase-ta.
           Hanako-TOP child-DAT   dish-ACC wash-CAUS-PST
           'Hanako made the child wash the dishes.'   (Japanese)

(4)   a.   [child EVENT [wash dishes]]

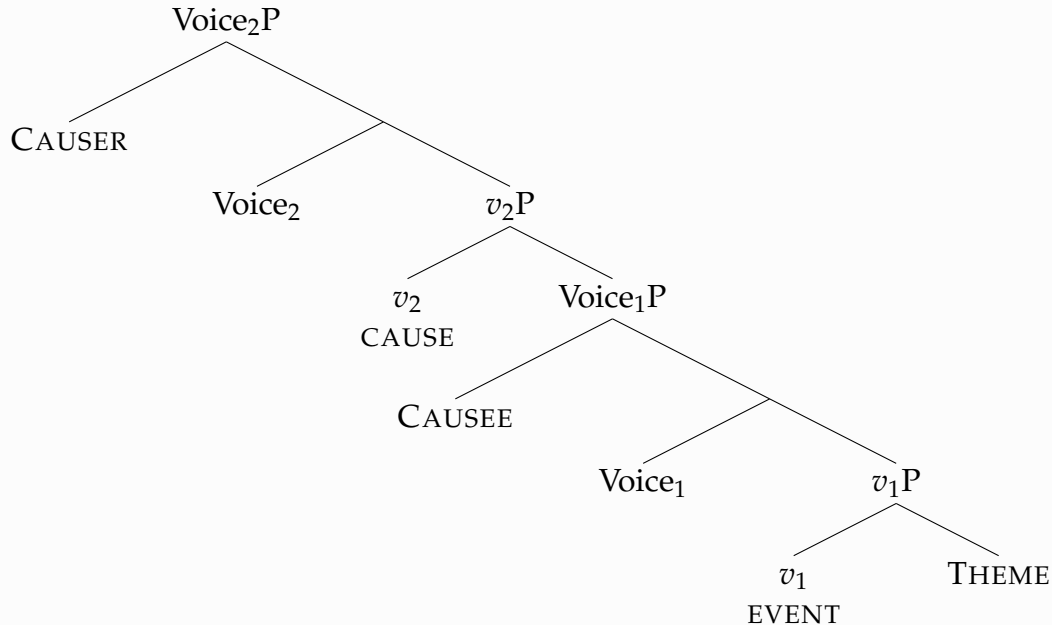   b.   [Hanako CAUSE [child EVENT [wash dishes]]]

Productive causatives: Causatives that can be formed on most predicates in the language, including unergative and transitive predicates

Focus on languages with affixal causative morphology

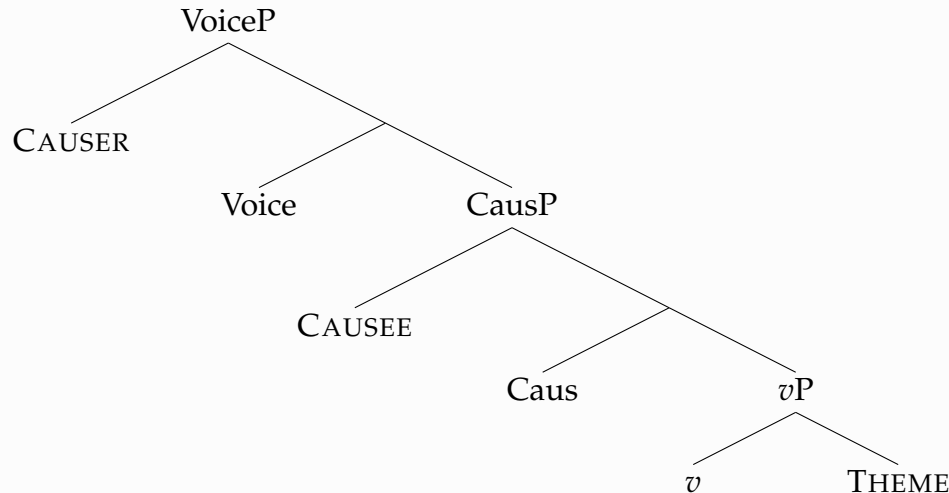Two major approaches to the representation of CAUSE (causing event or relation)

1. Flavours of little v (Harley, 1995; Cuervo, 2003; Folli & Harley, 2005; Pylkkä-nen, 2008; Legate, 2014)

   - An event-introducing v can embed another v of any flavour

```
              Voice₂P
             /      \
        CAUSER       \
                 Voice₂    v₂P
                          /    \
                        v₂     Voice₁P
                      CAUSE    /      \
                          CAUSEE       \
                                  Voice₁    v₁P
                                          /    \
                                        v₁    THEME
                                      EVENT
```

2. Fixed functional hierarchy (Ramchand, 2008; Key, 2013)

- Causative event or relation is introduced as part of a fixed functional sequence of heads
- Ramchand (2008): [Init [Process [Result]]]
- Key (2013):

```
            VoiceP
           /      \
     CAUSER        \
              /      \
           Voice      CausP
                     /      \
                 CAUSEE       \
                          /      \
                       Caus       vP
                                  /   \
                                 v     THEME
```

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The two approaches make different predictions as to the availability of causative recursion (Key, 2013)

1. Flavours of little v

   - Causative v can embed other instances of v, including itself
   - Predicts that causative recursion should be possible

2. Fixed functional hierarchy

   - Dedicated Caus/Init head selects for another category (vP, ProcP), cannot select for itself
   - Predicts that causative recursion should be impossible

Key (2013): There is no such thing as true causative recursion, i.e. recursion of causing events or relations

- Apparent "double causatives" are morphological illusions

Turkish, along with several other languages, allows multiple causative marking without an additional causing event

(5) Saç-ım-ı   kes-**tir**-di-m   / kes-**tir-t**-ti-m.
     hair-1SG-ACC cut-**CAUS**-PST-1SG / cut-**CAUS-CAUS**-PST-1SG
     'I had my hair cut.'   (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005)

(6) Yemeğ-i   yap-**tır-t-tır**-dı-m.
     food-ACC make-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PST-1SG
     'I had the food made.'   (Key, 2013, 240)

Key (2013): Multiple causative marking is always morphological reduplication, never true causative recursion

- If true, this would be evidence against the flavours of v approach and in favour of the fixed functional hierarchy

Using eventhood diagnostics, I show that true causative recursion is indeed attested, in Hokkaido Japanese and in Turkish

3. Japanese double causatives

Kuroda (1993): In some varieties of Japanese, double causees are possible, even without double causative marking on the verb

(7) George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-o   oki-**sase**-ru.
     George-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-ACC get.up-CAUS-PRS
     'George will make Naomi make Ken get up.'

(8) George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o   suw-**ase**-ru.
     George-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-DAT cigarette-ACC smoke-CAUS-PRS
     'George will make Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.'   (Kuroda, 1993, 9–10)

Double causative marking on the verb can trigger haplology (Kuroda, 1993), though some Hokkaido Japanese speakers allow overt double marking

Eventhood diagnostics demonstrate that such examples are real double causatives, i.e. they have two causing events or relations

3.1 Scope of negation

Single causative

(9) Toru-wa   Yoko-o   ik-**ase-nakat**-ta.
     Toru-TOP Yoko-ACC go-CAUS-NEG-PST
     'Toru did not make Yoko go.'

(10) Toru-wa   Yoko-o   ik-**anaku-sase**-ta.
      Toru-TOP Yoko-ACC go-NEG-CAUS-PST
      'Toru made Yoko not go.'   (cited in Key, 2013, 171)

Double causative

(11) George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o
      George-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-DAT cigarette-ACC
      suw-**ase-nakat**-ta.
      smoke-CAUS-NEG-PST
      'George did not make Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
      'George made Naomi not make Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
      'George made Naomi make Ken not smoke a cigarette.'

3.2 Temporal adverbials

Single causative

(12) George-ga   **getsuyoubi-ni** Ken-ni   **suiyoubi-ni**   tabako-o
      George-NOM Monday-DAT   Ken-DAT   Wednesday-DAT cigarette-ACC
      suw-**ase**-ta.
      smoke-CAUS-PST
      'George on Monday made Ken smoke a cigarette on Wednesday.'

Double causative

(13) George-ga   **getsuyoubi-ni** Naomi-ni   **kayoubi-ni**   Ken-ni
      George-NOM Monday-DAT   Naomi-DAT Tuesday-DAT Ken-DAT
      suiyoubi-ni   tabako-o   suw-**ase(-ase)**-ta.
      Wednesday-DAT cigarette-ACC smoke-CAUS(-CAUS)-PST
      'George on Monday made Naomi on Tuesday make Ken smoke a cigarette
      on Wednesday.'

3.3 Permission readings

Single causative

(14) George-ga   Ken-o   oki-**sase**-ta.
      George-NOM Ken-ACC get.up-CAUS-PST
      'George **made/let** Ken get up.'

Double causative

(15) George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-o   oki-**sase(-ase)**-ta.
      George-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-ACC get.up-CAUS(-CAUS)-PST
      'George made Naomi make/let Ken get up.' /
      'George let Naomi make Ken get up.'

(16) George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o
      George-NOM Naomi-DAT Ken-DAT cigarette-ACC
      suw-**ase(-ase)**-ta.
      smoke-CAUS(-CAUS)-PST
      'George made Naomi make/let Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
      'George let Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.'

4. Turkish double causatives

Turkish also has true double causatives (contra Key, 2013)

4.1 Scope of negation

Single causative

(17) Mehmet Ayşe-yi   çalış-**tır-ma**-dı.
      Mehmet Ayşe-ACC work-CAUS-NEG-PST
      'Mehmet did not make Ayşe work.' /
      'Mehmet made Ayşe not work.'   (Key, 2013, 177)

(18) Öğretmen Mary-i   koş-**tur-ma**-di.
      teacher   Mary-ACC run-CAUS-NEG-PST
      'The teacher did not make Mary run.' /
      'The teacher made Mary not run.'

Double causative

(19) Baba-sı   öğretmen-e Mary-i   koş-**t-tur-ma**-di.
      Father-3SG.POSS teacher-DAT Mary-ACC run-CAUS-CAUS-NEG-PST
      'Father did not make the teacher make Mary run.' /
      'Father made the teacher not make Mary run.' /
      'Father made the teacher make Mary not run.'

(20) Doktor bana   sigara-yı   anne-m-e
      doctor   me.DAT cigarette-ACC mother-1SG.POSS-DAT
      iç-**ir-t-me**-di.
      drink-CAUS-CAUS-NEG-PST.3SG
      'The doctor did not make me make my mother smoke the cigarette.' /
      'The doctor made me not make my mother smoke the cigarette.' /
      'The doctor made me make my mother not smoke the cigarette.'

4.2 Temporal adverbials

Double causative

(21) **Pazartesi** baba-sı   öğretmen-e **gelecek hafta** Mary-i
      Monday   Father-3SG.POSS teacher-DAT next week   Mary-ACC
      koş-**t-tur**-acak.
      run-CAUS-CAUS-FUT
      'Father on Monday will make the teacher next week make Mary run.' /
      'Father on Monday will make the teacher make Mary run next week.'

4.3 Permission readings

Double causative

(22) Baba-sı   öğretmen-e Mary-i   koş-**t-tur**-di.
      Father-3SG.POSS teacher-DAT Mary-ACC run-CAUS-CAUS-PST
      'Father made the teacher make/let Mary run.' /
      'Father let the teacher make/let Mary run.'

4.4 Summary

True double causatives are attested cross-linguistically

- Supports approaches which involve iterative embedding of event-related heads, e.g. flavours of little v (Harley, 1995; Folli & Harley, 2005)

- Does not support approaches which involve a fixed functional hierarchy of event-related heads (Ramchand, 2008; Key, 2013)

However, not every language allows double causatives

5.   Restrictions on double causatives

Tagalog: No double causatives, restricted by eventhood (Nie, 2020a)
French: Double causatives restricted by case/licensing

5.1 Tagalog

Single causative

(23)   P<in>a-takbo-∅   ni   Kiko ang bata.
       <PFV>CAUS-run-PV GEN.PN Kiko NOM child
       'Kiko made the child run.'

No double causatives

(24)   *P<in>a-(pa-)takbo-∅   ni   Luz si   Kiko ng   bata.
       <PFV>CAUS-CAUS-run-PV GEN.PN Luz NOM.PN Kiko GEN child
       Intended: 'Luz made Kiko make a child run.'

(25)   *I-p<in>a-(pa-)kanta   ako   ni   Luz kay   Kiko.
       CV-<PFV>CAUS-CAUS-sing 1SG.NOM GEN.PN Luz OBL.PN Kiko
       Intended: 'Luz made Kiko make me sing.'

Productive causatives in Tagalog do not have two events (Nie, 2020b)

Scope of negation

(26) Hindi ko   p<in>a-takbo-∅   si   Kiko.
      NEG   1SG.GEN <PFV>CAUS-run-PV NOM.PN Kiko
      'I did not make Kiko run.' /
      # 'I made Kiko not run.'

(27) Hindi ko   p<in>a-salita-∅   si   Kiko.
      NEG   1SG.GEN <PFV>CAUS-speak-PV NOM.PN Kiko
      'I did not make Kiko talk.' /
      # 'I made Kiko not talk.'

Temporal adverbials

(28) P<in>a-iyak-∅   ko   si   Kiko noong Lunes
      <PFV>CAUS-cry-PV 1SG.GEN NOM.PN Kiko P   Monday
      (*sa pang-iinsulto ko   sa kanya   noong Linggo).
       P   ADV-insulting 1SG.GEN P 3SG.OBL P   Sunday
      'I made Kiko cry on Monday (*by insulting him on Sunday).'

Manner adverbials

(29) P<in>a-takbo-∅   ko   si   Kiko nang mabilis.
      <PFV>CAUS-run-PV 1SG.GEN NOM.PN Kiko ADV   quick
      'I made Kiko run quickly.' /
      # 'I quickly made Kiko run.'

(30) P<in>a-salita-∅   ko   si   Kiko nang tahimik.
      <PFV>CAUS-speak-PV 1SG.GEN NOM.PN Kiko ADV   quiet
      'I made Kiko talk quietly.' /
      # 'I quietly made Kiko talk.'

Eventhood properties restrict the availability of causative recursion

• Causatives which do not encode an independent causing event or relation
  cannot recurse

5.2 French

Single causatives: Transitive causee is licensed as an oblique (Kayne, 1975, 2004)

(31) Marie a   fait   chanter Paul.
      Marie has done to.sing   Paul
      'Marie made Paul sing.'

(32) Marie (lui)   a   fait   manger la   tarte (à/par Paul).
      Marie 3SG.DAT has done to.eat   the pie   to/by   Paul
      'Marie made him/Paul eat the pie.'

Double causatives: Only one causee may be licensed as an oblique

(33) Jean (?lui)   a   fait   faire chanter Paul (?à/par Marie).
      Jean 3SG.DAT has done to.do to.sing   Paul to/by   Marie
      'Jean made her make Paul sing.'

(34) Jean (*lui)   a   fait   faire manger la   tarte à   Paul (*à/par
      Jean 3SG.DAT has done to.do to.eat   the pie   to Paul to/by
      Marie).
      Marie

'Jean had Paul eat the pie.'

6.   Conclusion

Double causatives are real

- Hokkaido Japanese and Turkish have true double causatives, as shown using eventhood diagnostics

Theories of causatives must allow causative recursion

- Supports iterative approaches like flavours of little v

Some languages have restrictions on double causatives (Nie, 2020a)

- Eventhood
- Case/licensing

Binding

Japanese

(35) Hanako-ga   Jiro-ni   [**jibun**-no hon-o]   yom-ase-ta.
     Hanako-NOM Jiro-DAT self-GEN   book-ACC read-CAUS-PST
     'Hanako made Jiro read Hanako's/Jiro's book.'

(36) Taro-wa   Hanako-ni   Jiro-ni   [**jibun**-no hon-o]   yom-ase-ta.
     Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT Jiro-DAT self-GEN   book-ACC read-CAUS-PST
     'Taro made Hanako let Jiro read Taro's/Hanako's/Jiro's book.'

Turkish

(37) Ayşe Hakan-a   [**kitab-ı-nı**]   oku-t-tu.
     Ayşe Hakan-DAT book-3POSS-ACC read-CAUS-PST
     'Ayşe made Hakan read Ayşe's/Hakan's book.'

(38) Baba-sı   Ayşe-ye Hakan-a   [**kitab-ı-nı**]   oku-t-tu.
     Father-3SG.PS Ayşe-DAT Hakan-DAT book-3POSS-ACC read-CAUS-PST
     'Father made Ayşe let Hakan read Father's/Ayşe's/Hakan's book.'

Tagalog

(39) I-p<in>a-basa   ni   Luz kay   Kiko [ang **sarili**
      CV-<PFV>CAUS-read GEN.PN Luz OBL.PN Kiko NOM self
      niya=ng   libro].
      3SG.GEN=LK book
      'Luz made Kiko read Luz's/Kiko's book.'

Agentivity of the causee

Japanese causees are agentive

(40) Taroo-wa   arui-te   Hanako-O   ik-ase-ita.
      Taroo-TOP walk-TE   Hanako-ACC   go-CAUS-PST
      'Taroo, walking, made Hanako go.' /
      'Taroo made Hanako go, walking.'   (Harley, 2008, 30)

(41) Hanako-ga   wazato   Jiro-o   nak-ase-ta.
      Hanako-NOM   deliberately Jiro-ACC   cry-CAUS-PST
      'Hanako deliberately made Jiro cry.' /
      'Hanako made Jiro cry deliberately.'

Tagalog causees are agentive

(42) P<in>a-iyak-∅   ko   si   Kiko nang sinasadya.
      <PFV>CAUS-cry-PV   1SG.GEN   NOM.PN   Kiko ADV   deliberately
      'I deliberately made Kiko cry.' /
      'I made Kiko cry deliberately.'   (Nie, 2020b, 114)

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Turkish causees are not agentive

(43) Tarkan Hasan-a   Mehmet-i   bil-erek   döv-dür-dü.
      Tarkan Hasan-DAT Mehmet-ACC know-PART beat-CAUS-PST
      'Tarkan, on purpose, made Hasan beat Mehmet.' /
      # 'Tarkan made Hasan, on purpose, beat Mehmet.'   (Key, 2013, 175)

(44) Ayşe çocuğ-u   sabırla   masa-ya   otur-t-tu.
      Ayşe child-ACC patiently table-DAT sit-CAUS-PST
      'Ayşe patiently made the child sit on the table.' /
      # 'Ayşe made the child sit patiently on the table.'

Non-agentive causees are also found in Korean (Kim, 2011a,b) and Acehnese
(Legate, 2014)

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