

# What can causatives teach us about the semantic denotations and morphology of passives?

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# 1. The role of morphology in Passive

*“The verbal morphology associated with a passive construction is an essential part of the construction whose properties are worthy of study in their own right.” (Haspelmath 1990:26)*

*“If a language has monoclausal passives, they are morphologically marked. No language marks passive and active verbs alike.” (Kiparsky 2013:8)*

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*“The passive morpheme (-en) is an argument.” (Baker et al. 1989:1)*

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- Syntax of passives should be dissociated from the passive morphology (e.g., Wurmbrand 2001; Pitteroff 2014).
- **Today:** two case studies, which further support the independence of passive syntax from the morphology:
  - Periphrastic causatives in Sason Arabic
  - Affixal causatives in Turkish

## 2. Two Denotations of Passive

Proposal:

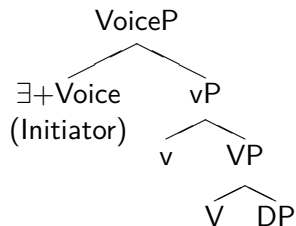
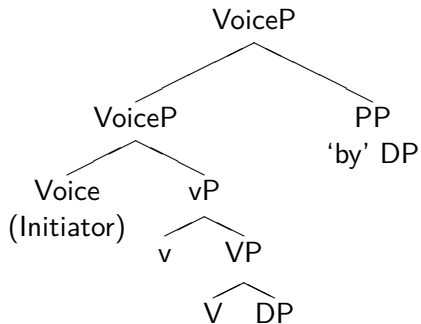
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- a 'by'-phrase semantically saturates the initiator  $\theta$ -role, when present;  
OR
- an existential quantifier merges to  $\text{Voice}^0$  at LF to existentially close the initiator  $\theta$ -role (Bruening 2013; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Legate et al. 2020; Akkuş 2021a).

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	<b>Passive</b>	
	∃	'by'-phrase
Canonical	✓	✓
<i>'make' causatives in Sason Arabic</i>	*	✓
Icelandic 'caused experiencer'		
<i>Turkish causatives</i>	✓	*
Hiaki passives		

Table 1: Passive typology

# Today's Goals/Take-away Points

- Morphology of Passive:
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- Morphology of Passive:
  - Both Sason Arabic and Turkish have passive constructions without any morphological reflex.
- Denotations of Passive:
  - The passive in 'make'-causatives of Sason Arabic allows only the denotation with 'by'-phrase.
  - The passive in Turkish causatives allows only the denotation with existential closure.

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- Causatives teach us that neither morphology nor 'by'-phrases are reliable indicators of the presence or absence of a passive syntax.

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- Causatives teach us that neither morphology nor 'by'-phrases are reliable indicators of the presence or absence of a passive syntax.
  - Non-reliability of morphology is not that surprising given *u*-syncretism (Embick 2004), in which passives can be syncretic with unaccusatives, reflexives, (and even impersonals (Legate et al. 2020)).

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- Active & passive VoiceP

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- Size of the embedded structure: VoiceP
- Overt Causee
- Null Causee
- Active & passive VoiceP

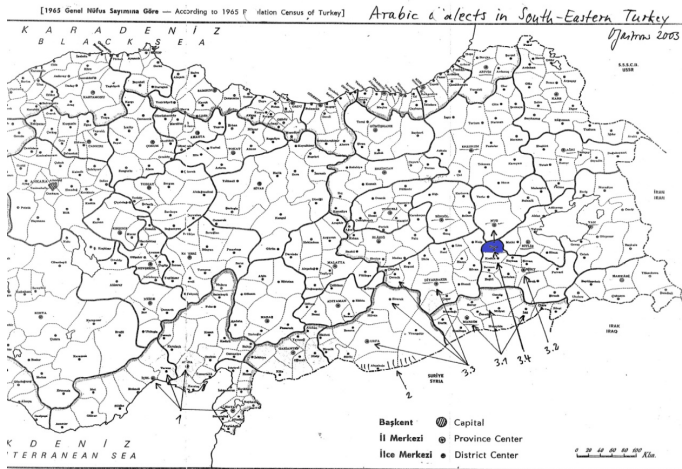
## 3 Appendix



# SASON ARABIC

# Sason Arabic

SA is an endangered Arabic variety spoken in south-eastern Turkey (Jastrow 1978; Akkuş 2017; Akkuş and Benmamoun 2018).<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup>The map is from Jastrow (2006). Highlight mine, with permission of Otto Jastrow.

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## Some languages with a similar construction

Swedish (Lundin, 2003), Hiaki (Harley, 2013), Hindi (Ramchand, 2006), Italian (Folli and Harley, 2007), Icelandic (Wood, 2011; Wood and Á. Sigurðsson, 2014).

# Questions about the MC

- What is the status of the *implicit argument*, i.e. the semantically understood, but missing nominal element, in (1a)?  
[not discussed today]

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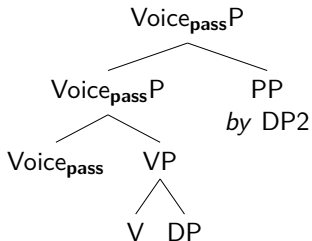
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cf. (1b) *Lit*: Mom made clean the wall by someone tall
- embedded *passive Voice* both in (2a) and (2b) (e.g. Bjorkman and Cowper 2013), with an optional 'by'-phrase.
  - the null agent in (2a) is interpreted *existentially*, i.e. like a missing 'by'-phrase (e.g. Bach 1980; Keenan 1985; Williams 1987; Bruening 2013; Legate 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Legate and Akkuş 2017; Legate et al. 2020).

## My claim

- The MC embeds an agentive VoiceP, with active-passive alternation, despite the absence of morphological reflex.
- Particularly, in (1a), the embedded structure is active Voice, whereas it is passive Voice in (1b).

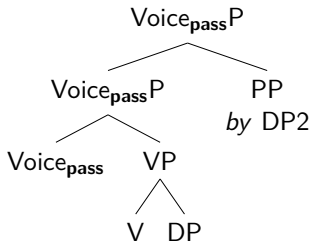
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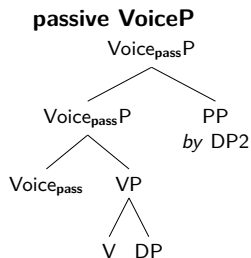
## Generalization

embedded structure with a *by*-phrase = passive

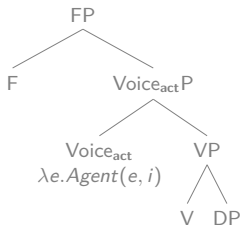
embedded structure without a *by*-phrase = active

# The structures

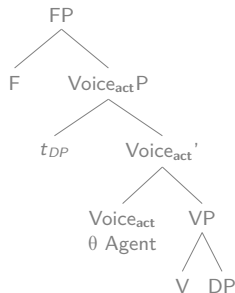
The MC in Sason Arabic can embed three structures:



**active VoiceP**  
(variable agent)



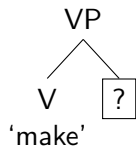
**active VoiceP**  
(full DP agent)<sup>2</sup>



<sup>2</sup>I leave aside the the discussion of the active structures. See Akkuş (2021b, 2022a).

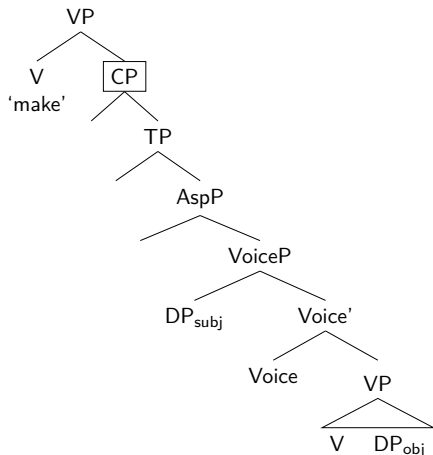
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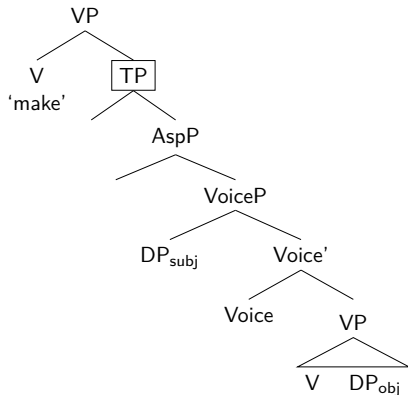
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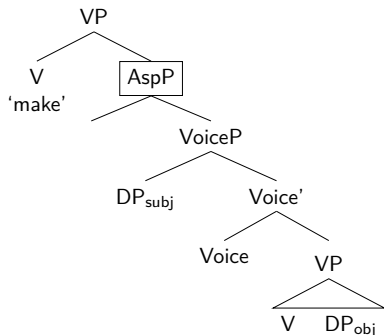
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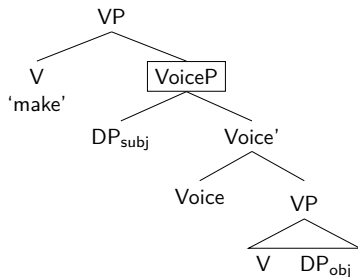
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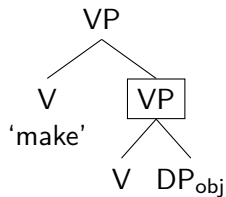
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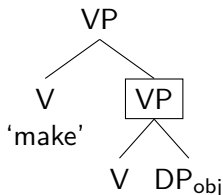
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## A commonly-suggested structure: a bare VP

Swedish (Lundin, 2003)

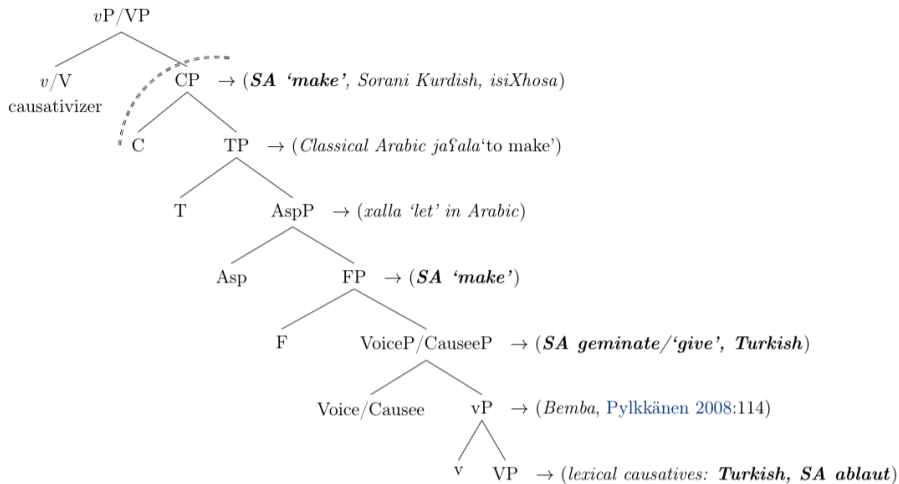
Hiaki (Harley, 2013)

Hindi (Ramchand, 2006)

Icelandic (Wood, 2011; Wood and Á. Sigurðsson, 2014)

Bare VP indicates the presence of a second, embedded event, but no information about the causee (the embedded agent acted upon).

# Crosslinguistic variation in embedding



## Reduced structure under 'make'

# Reduced structure under 'make' in SA

- A variety of diagnostics demonstrate that 'make' does not embed AspP or higher projections. (cf. *restructuring* (Wurmbrand, 2001, et seq))

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

Table 2: size of the MC complement



# No full CP

- Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) demonstrates that 'make' does not embed a full CP.

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

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

‘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-**it.F**

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

(4) [CP **CLLD-ed NP<sub>i</sub>** [TP ... **Clitic<sub>i</sub>** ] ]

# No Full CP

- No CLLD-ed NP to the right of 'make'

- (5) a. \*ams dāde sa-tte **haşiş** hazd-u.  
 yesterday mom made-3F **grass.M** cut-**it.M**  
 'Yesterday mom made the grass (someone) cut it.'
- b. cf. **haşiş** ams dāde sa-tte hazd-u.  
**grass.M** yesterday mom made-3F cut-**it.M**  
 'Yesterday mom made the grass (someone) cut it.'

# No Full CP

- No finite complementizer *le* or the subjunctive complementizer *te/ta*

(6) \*ams dāde sa-tte le/te hazd haşış.  
 yesterday mom made-3F that/to cut.INF grass

Intended: 'Yesterday mom made that (someone) cuts the grass.'  
 OR 'Yesterday mom made that (someone) cut.<sub>{sbjv}</sub> the grass.'

# No AspP

- As a Semitic trait, aspect is morphologically encoded by the position and phonological realization of the agreement marking on the verb.<sup>3</sup>
- In SA the passive prefix is sensitive to aspect, (7), and is the portmanteau realization of Aspect+Voice heads

- (7) a. potad *in*-xɪsl-o kil-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.’

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<sup>3</sup>e.g. Benmamoun (2000) for MSA and Moroccan Arabic; Kramer (2014) for Amharic.

# No AspP

- The passive prefix cannot occur on the infinitivals.

(8) beaqıl ye        isi        \**in-*/\**in-*addil        musluq  
 unwise cop.3SG make PASS.IMPF/PASS.PFV-repair.INF tap  
 mı tamirci-ma    hēdi.  
 by repairman-a slow  
 ‘It would be unwise to make the tap repaired by a slow repairman.’

# Reduced Structure: Interim summary

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

## VP

- The clause is bi-eventive in SA, thus a VP (or a vP layer, cf. Pylkkänen (2008)) is available in the complement.
- Independent manner adverbs, each modifying a different event.

(9) aya xifef sa hazd haşış hēdi.  
 village.lord quickly made cut.INF grass slowly  
 ‘The village lord quickly made (someone) cut the grass slowly.’



# VoiceP

(i) **Instrumentals** as a test for Voice (Fillmore, 1968; Bruening, 2013; Alexiadou et al., 2015).

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bina            in-faşş-e            mı işçiyad        wara çakuçad.  
 apartment PASS-demolish-3F by employees with hammers  
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 'The apartment was demolished by the employees with hammers.'

b. unaccusative/anticausative

\*bina            in-qalab-e                    mı rua        wara çakuçad.  
 apartment NACT-fall.over-3F by itself with hammers  
 'The apartment fell over by itself with hammers.'

## VoiceP

- Instrumentals are also grammatical in the MC, and can modify the embedded agent.

- (11) a. si-to        ayet        şurvan wara ibre  
 made-2PL sew.INF pants with needles  
 ‘You had someone [sew the pants with needles].’
- b. kemal sa        buay sir        glimboz-e wara sope.  
 Kemal made.3M paint do.INF turtle-F with stick  
 ‘Kemal, with the stick, had [someone paint the turtle].’  
 ‘Kemal had [someone paint the turtle with the stick].’

## VoiceP

- (ii) **Agent-oriented adverbs** can also modify the action of the embedded agent in the MC (Ernst 2001; Matsuoka 2013, i.a.)

- (12) a. halq iril-lu le başbaqan i-si [farg  
 public want-him that prime minister 3M-make handle.INF  
 eqonomī wara şavk].  
 economy with enthusiasm  
 ‘The public wants that the prime minister makes (someone)  
 handle the economy enthusiastically.’
- b. aya sa hazd haşış bı sabır.  
 village.lord made cut.INF grass with patience  
 ‘The village lord made [(someone) cut the grass patiently].’  
 ‘The village lord, patiently, made [(someone) cut the grass].’

## VoiceP

(iii) **By-phrases**

- Indefinite DPs embedded under *by* are felicitous, while definite *by*-phrases lead to ungrammaticality.

- (13) kemal sa xassil potad {✓m<sub>1</sub> recel-ma pir /\*m<sub>1</sub> recel pir }.  
 kemal made wash.INF clothes {✓by man-a old /\*by man old }  
 'Kemal had the clothes washed by some old man / \*by the old man.'

# Reduced structure

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no negation on the infinitive	→	*NegP
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no stative predicates or unaccusatives		
independent manner adverbs	→	✓VP

Table 3: size of the MC complement

## Active & passive VoiceP



# VoiceP with active-passive alternation

- The embedded VoiceP manifests an active-passive alternation despite the absence of a morphological reflex. (Wurmbrand 2001, also Harley 2017, Pitteroff 2015).

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<sup>4</sup> cf. Pitteroff 2015 for German; Bhatt and Embick 2004/2017 for Hindi-Urdu.

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- What is the status of the null element in (14a)?
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  - No!

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# VoiceP with active-passive alternation

## Generalization

embedded clause with a *by*-phrase = passive

embedded clause without a *by*-phrase = active

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## Generalization

embedded clause with a *by*-phrase = passive

embedded clause without a *by*-phrase = active

- (im)possibility of A-moving/raising the embedded object when the matrix 'make' is passivized
- sluicing
- (non)-passivizable idioms

## i. (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'.



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- When 'make' is passivized, the embedded theme raises to grammatical subject position and shows verbal agreement, (15).

---

<sup>5</sup> Cf. German 'let'-middles which also lack a passive morphology. However, German does not allow 'let' to passivize, whereas the passivization of 'make' is possible in SA; therefore 'make' is a lexical verb in SA, rather than a functional verb as has been argued for German (Pitteroff 2015, 120).

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 kemal made.3M [wash.INF clothes by woman-a old-F ]  
 'Kemal had the clothes washed by some old woman.'
- b. potad in-so [xassil \_ m1 mara-ma pir-e ].  
 clothes PASS.PFV-made.3PL [wash.INF \_ by woman-a old-F ]  
 'Clothes were made to be washed by some old woman.'<sup>5</sup>

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- b. potad in-so [xassil \_\_ m1 mara-ma pir-e ].  
 clothes PASS.PFV-made.3PL [wash.INF \_\_ by woman-a old-F ]  
 'Clothes were made to be washed by some old woman.'<sup>5</sup>

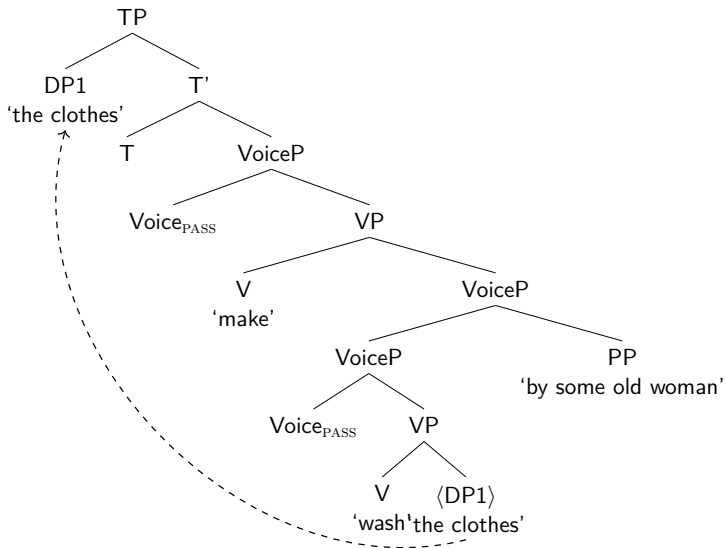
- Raising is not possible without a *by*-phrase.

- (16) \*potad in-so [xassil \_\_ ]  
 clothes PASS.PFV-made.3PL [wash.INF \_\_ ]  
*Intended*: 'Clothes were made to be washed.'

<sup>5</sup> Cf. German 'let'-middles which also lack a passive morphology. However, German does not allow 'let' to passivize, whereas the passivization of 'make' is possible in SA; therefore 'make' is a lexical verb in SA, rather than a functional verb as has been argued for German (Pitteroff 2015, 120).

## i. (Impersonal) Passive

(17)



## i. (Impersonal) Passive

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.

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- Passivization of 'make', when the embedded clause lacks a *by*-phrase, results in an impersonal passive.

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- Passivization of ‘make’, when the embedded clause lacks a *by*-phrase, results in an impersonal passive.
  - 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, (18).

(18) in-sa                            [addil        bina        ].  
 PASS.PFV-made.3M [build.INF building.F ]  
 ‘Someone<sub>i</sub> made someone<sub>k</sub> build the building.’

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

Aside: SA does indeed independently allow impersonal passives.

(19) *lora in-sa* *raqs* (*mī misafir-ad*).  
 then PASS.PFV-made.3M dance (by guest-PL)  
 ‘Then it was danced (by the guests).’



## ii. Sluicing

- While VP ellipsis may allow voice mismatching, sluicing does not (Merchant, 2013).

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### (21) Sluicing

- a. \*Joe was murdered, but we don't know who ~~murdered him~~.
- b. \*Someone murdered Joe, but we don't know by who ~~he was murdered~~. (adapted from Merchant 2013)

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- Expected, if VP ellipsis targets the VP, whereas sluicing elides at least the VoiceP.

## ii. Sluicing

- Merchant's generalization holds in SA as well.

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### (22) VP ellipsis

- a. kemal kul çax i-xsel potad ta bad ma kinno.  
 Kemal every time 3M-wash clothes if yet not are  
 'Kemal washes the clothes every time if they are not already.'
- b. ala bilgisayar itix in-fide mı ande le irillu.  
 this.M computer can PASS-open by who that wants  
 'This computer can be turned on by anyone who wants to.'

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 'Kemal washes the clothes every time if they are not already.'
- b. ala bilgisayar itix in-fide m1 ande le irillu.  
 this.M computer can PASS-open by who that wants  
 'This computer can be turned on by anyone who wants to.'

### (23) sluicing

sadqe le boş samaq in-qafal-o, hama m1-arafe  
 believed.3F that many fish PASS-caught-3PL, but NEG-knew.3F  
 \*(m1) ande  
 \*(by) who

'She believes many fish to have been caught, but she didn't know \*(by) who.'

## ii. Sluicing

The embedded verb patterns as active for sluicing without a 'by'-phrase.



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The embedded verb patterns as active for sluicing without a 'by'-phrase.

- (24) sa            qadıl    hasm-u,    hama m-ore            (\*mı) ande  
 made.3M murder enemy-his but    NEG-know.1SG (\*by) who  
 'He made (sb.) murder his enemy, but I don't know (\*by) who.'

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The embedded verb patterns as active for sluicing without a 'by'-phrase.

(24) sa            qadil    hasm-u,    hama m-ore                    (\*m<sub>1</sub>) ande  
 made.3M murder enemy-his but    NEG-know.1SG (\*by) who  
 'He made (sb.) murder his enemy, but I don't know (\*by) who.'

(25) a. in-sa            addil        beyt,    hama m-ore                    ande  
 PASS-made build.INF house but    NEG-know.1SG who  
 'It was made (sb.) build the house, but I don't know who'  
 YES: who built the house  
 NOT: who made somebody build the house

b. in-sa            addil        beyt,    hama m-ore                    m<sub>1</sub> ande  
 PASS-made build.INF house but    NEG-know.1SG by who  
 'It was made (sb.) build the house, but I don't know by who'  
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With a 'by'-phrase present, the embedded verb patterns as passive for sluicing.

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- (26) kemal sa xassil potad m1 mara-ma pir-e, hama m-ore  
 Kemal made wash clothes by woman-a old-F, but NEG-know.1SG  
 tam \*(m1) ande.  
 exactly \*(by) who  
 'Kemal made the clothes be washed by an old woman, but I don't know exactly \*(by) who.'
- (27) potad (m1 imm-i) in-so xassil m1 nes-ma, hama  
 clothes (by mother-my) PASS-made.3PL wash.INF by person-a but  
 m-ore \*(m1) ande  
 NEG-know.1SG \*(by) who  
 'Clothes were made (by my mother) to be washed by a person, but I don't know \*(by) who.'

- The diagnostics for the active-passive alternation are summarized in Table 4.

	<b>embedded clause</b>	
	with <i>by</i> -phrase	without <i>by</i> -phrase
theme raising under matrix passive		
non-passivizable idioms		
passivizable idioms		
sluicing remnant		

Table 4: active-passive embedded VoiceP

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	<b>embedded clause</b>	
	with <i>by</i> -phrase	without <i>by</i> -phrase
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passivizable idioms	✓	✓
sluicing remnant		

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theme raising under matrix passive	✓	*
non-passivizable idioms	*	✓
passivizable idioms	✓	✓
sluicing remnant	by whom	who

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# Summary

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# Summary

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- The embedded VoiceP exhibits an active-passive alternation, despite no morphological reflex.
  - Presumably, the passive morphology is absent since the embedded structure lacks Asp layer, which is needed for the passive prefix (portmanteau realization of Aspect+Voice heads).
- It is a type of passive that requires a 'by'-phrase.

# Obligatoriness of *by*-phrases

The obligatoriness of ‘*by*’-phrases contrasts with garden-variety clausal passives in which *by*-phrases are optional, (28).

- (28) ala cam (mī kemal) in-qaraf                      bī-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)

## Obligatoriness of *by*-phrases: Icelandic

Another instance the obligatoriness of a *by*-phrase is reported by Ingason (2016) for Icelandic, where in the **caused-experiencer construction**, the causing event can be expressed as a *by*-phrase adjunct, but this adjunct cannot be omitted, (29).

- (29) Stelpunum var skemmtun \*(af dansinum).  
 girls.the.DAT was entertainment.NOM \*(by dance.the)  
 ‘The girls were entertained by the dancing.’ (Ingason, 2016, (145))

Again in Icelandic, *by*-phrases in short passives are not obligatory, (30).

- (30) Stelpunum var skemmt (af Jóni).  
 girls.the.DAT was entertained (by John)  
 ‘The girls were entertained by John.’ (Ingason, 2016, (147))

# Table of Contents

## 1 Sason Arabic

- Size of the embedded structure: VoiceP
- Active & passive VoiceP

## 2 Turkish

- Size of the embedded structure: VoiceP
- Overt Causee
- Null Causee
- Active & passive VoiceP

## 3 Appendix



# Passive in Turkish Causatives

## Quick background on Turkish causatives

- Turkish has the following causative allomorphs: *Dlr, t, Ir, Ar, It, Art*.<sup>6</sup>
- With intransitive verbs, the sole argument carries accusative.

- (31) a. Sporcu koş-tu.  
 athlete run-PST  
 'The athlete ran.'
- b. Antrenör {sporcu-yu / \*sporcu-ya} koş-tur-du.  
 trainer {athlete-ACC / \*athlete-DAT} run-CAUS-PST  
 'The trainer made the athlete run.'

---

<sup>6</sup>See Key (2013) for a thorough discussion of the (Root-conditioned) causative allomorphs.

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- Skipping unaccusative bases since their causativization essentially results in a simple transitive verb phrase.
  - At least some unergatives, e.g. *uyu-* 'to sleep', *otur-* 'to sit', behave like unaccusatives (see Neu 2024).

---

<sup>6</sup>See Key (2013) for a thorough discussion of the (Root-conditioned) causative allomorphs.

# Quick background on Turkish causatives

- With transitive bases, the causee is marked with dative.

(32) Bütün misafir-ler araba-yı temizle-di-ler.

all guest-PL car-ACC clean-PST-3PL

'All the guests cleaned the car.'

(33) *pro* bütün { \**misafir-ler-i* / *misafir-ler-e* } araba-yı temizle-t-ti.

all { \**guest-PL-ACC* / *guest-PL-DAT* } car-ACC clean-CAUS-PST

'(S/he) made all the guests clean the car.'

# Early claims about Turkish causatives

Zimmer 1976

Zimmer (1976) treats the causative with an overt [dative] causee, (34), like a ditransitive, in which “the original subject becomes a *surface indirect object* ...” (p., 400).

- (34) *pro* [adam-a kapı-yı aç]-tır-dı-k.  
 [man-DAT door-ACC open]-CAUS-PST-1PL  
 ‘We made the man open the door.’ (Zimmer 1976:(4))

# Early claims about Turkish causatives

Zimmer 1976

For causatives with null causee, (35): “the passive analysis would have to be constrained so that only agentless passives ... could be embedded under CAUSE...” (Zimmer 1976:407).

- (35) Hasan [kutu-yu aç]-tır-dı.  
 Hasan [box-ACC open]-CAUS-PST  
 ‘Hasan had the box opened.’ (Zimmer 1976:(32))

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- (35) Hasan [kutu-yu aç]-tır-dı.  
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 ‘Hasan had the box opened.’ (Zimmer 1976:(32))

- Effectively, this is a passive that disallows ‘by’-phrases.

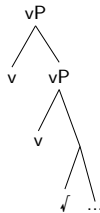
# Background to Causatives

**Size of the embedded structure** (Pylkkänen's (2008) classification):

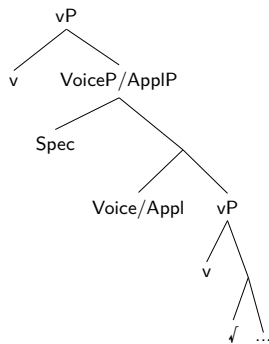
(36) *Root selecting*



(37) a. *Verb selecting*



b. *Phase selecting*





# More recent claims about Turkish causatives

Key 2013, Harley 2017a, Nie 2020, Mitchley 2023

On the basis of comparison between Japanese and Turkish:

## 1. **The size of the embedded structure**

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- Japanese productive causatives are **phase-selecting** (i.e., dominated by a *Voice* projection),
- whereas Turkish causatives are **verb selecting** (more precisely *vP*). They lack an embedded *VoiceP* that would introduce a Causee

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↪ Nie (2020)

- Turkish causatives do embed a *VoiceP*, but this *VoiceP* is non-active, found in anticausatives/unaccusatives, i.e. does not introduce an argument in its specifier.

# More recent claims about Turkish causatives

Key 2013, Harley 2017a, Nie 2020, Mitchley 2023

## 2. The status of the Causee:

# More recent claims about Turkish causatives

Key 2013, Harley 2017a, Nie 2020, Mitchley 2023

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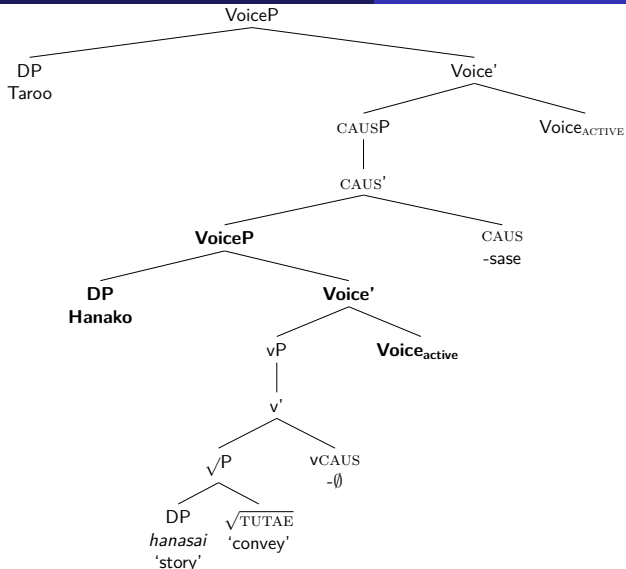
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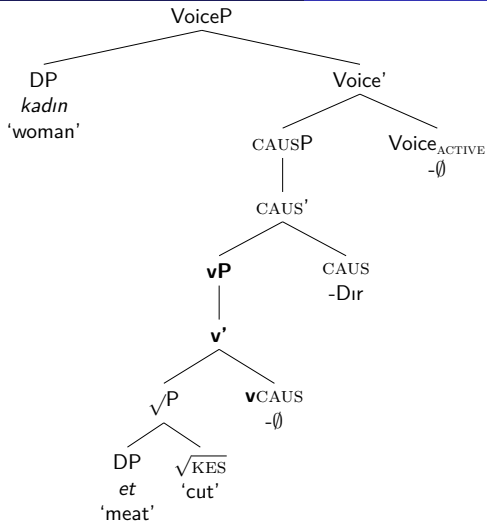
↪ Nie (2020)

- The overt dative causee is an *adjunct* to non-thematic VoiceP.



- (38) Taroo-wa Hanako-ni hanasi-o tutae-sase-ta.  
 Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT story-ACC convey-CAUS-PST  
 'Taroo made Hanako convey a story.' (Japanese; Key 2013: 183)

(39) a.



- b. Kadın et-i kes-∅-tir-di.  
 woman meat-ACC cut-v.CAUS-CAUS-PST

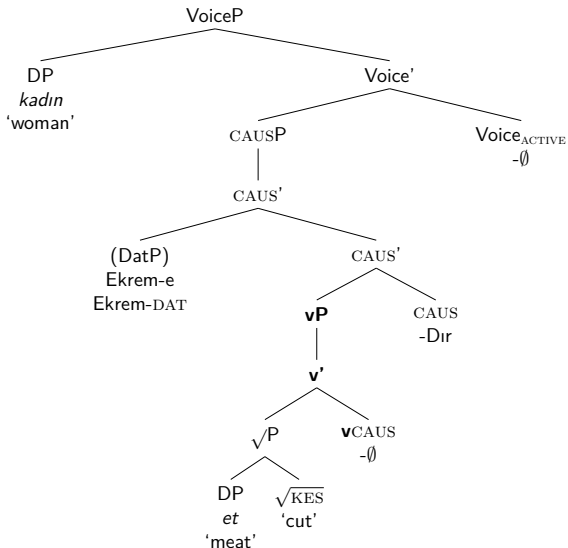
'The woman had the meat cut/had (someone) cut the meat.' (Key 2013: 184, original glossing maintained)



## Position/status of the overt Causee

Given that the embedded VoiceP is missing, another important property is that the Causee is introduced as an adjunct to Caus', rather than as an argument in Spec,CausP.

(40) a.

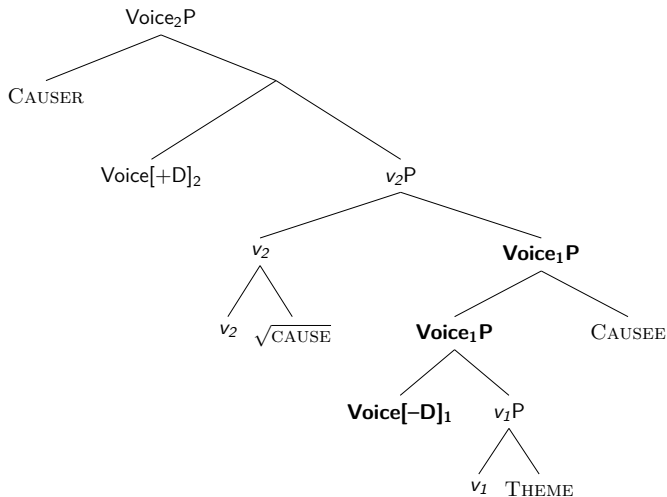


- b. Kadın Ekrem-e et-i kes- $\emptyset$ -tir-di.  
 woman Ekrem-DAT meat-ACC cut-v.CAUS-CAUS-PST

'The woman had the meat cut/had Ekrem cut the meat.' (Key 2013: 185)

## Nie's (2020) proposal for Turkish causatives (p. 137)

(41)



- The causing  $v$  embeds a non-thematic Voice (indicated via [-D]), and the Causee is an adjunct to this lower expletive VoiceP.

# My claims

1. **Size of the embedded structure:** Turkish causatives embed a VoiceP, i.e. a larger structure than vP (contra Key 2013; Harley 2017a; Çetinoğlu et al. 2008), which crucially is also thematic (contra Nie 2020).
2. **Status of the Causee:** The overt causee in Turkish is an argument introduced in Spec,VoiceP, and not an adjunct.
  - Thus, neither of the recent conclusions regarding Turkish causatives (Key 2013; Harley 2017a; Nie 2020) are tenable.

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2. **Status of the Causee:** The overt causee in Turkish is an argument introduced in Spec,VoiceP, and not an adjunct.
  - Thus, neither of the recent conclusions regarding Turkish causatives (Key 2013; Harley 2017a; Nie 2020) are tenable.
  - Zimmer (1976) was essentially correct, at least regarding the structure involving null causee: it is a type of *only agentless passive embedded under CAUSE*.

## In relation to today's main points ...

- Turkish causatives illustrate another case study with passive that lacks any morphological reflex.
- Moreover, it makes available only one denotation of passives, in which the implicit agent is existentially closed, and disallows 'by'-phrases.

## Reduced structure with thematic VoiceP

# The size of the embedded constituent

- Causatives are bi-eventive (i.e. two  $v$  layers), as evidenced by two distinct manner adverbs.

(42) Patron sinirli bir şekilde işçi-ler-e buzdolabı-nı  
 boss angry a manner-LOC employee-PL-DAT fridge-ACC  
 yavaşça taşı-t-tı.  
 slowly carry-CAUS-PST  
 'The boss, angrily, made [the workers carry the fridge slowly].'



# Thematic VoiceP

- We can apply the following diagnostics:
  - 'by'-phrases
  - Agent-oriented adverbs
  - Instrument phrases
  - Comitatives
  - Transitivity under the causing event (based on Key 2024)
  - High Appl - Voice generalization (based on Pykkänen 2008)

## i. 'By'-phrases

- The passive morphology is not allowed to the left of the causative suffix.

(43) \*Kadın et-i (kasap tarafından) kes-il-t-ti.  
 woman meat-ACC butcher by cut-PASS-CAUS-PST  
 'The woman had the meat be cut by the butcher.'  
 (adapted from Aissen and Hankamer 1980:239)

- 'By'-phrases used to introduce the external arguments are also disallowed, even without a passive morpheme.

(44) \*Kadın et-i kasap tarafından kes-tir-di.  
 woman meat-ACC butcher by cut-CAUS-PST  
 'The woman had the meat be cut by the butcher.'

## ii. Agent-oriented adverbs (revisited)

- This is the most commonly used test.<sup>7</sup>
- Such adverbs are reported to pick out the causing agent, and not the embedded agent in Turkish.

(45) anne çocuğ-a kitab-ı isteksizce oku-t-tu.  
 mother child-DAT book-ACC reluctantly read-CAUS-PST

YES: 'The mother reluctantly made [the child read the book].'

NOT: 'The mother made [the child read the book reluctantly].'

(Çetinoğlu et al., 2008, 8)

(46) Tarkan<sub>i</sub> Hakan-a<sub>j</sub> Mehmet-i bil-erek<sub>i/\*j</sub> döv-dür-dü.  
 Tarkan Hakan-DAT Mehmet-ACC on.purpose beat-CAUS-PST

YES: 'Tarkan, on purpose, made Hakan beat Mehmet.'

NO: 'Tarkan made [Hakan beat Mehmet on purpose].' (Harley, 2017a, 29)

---

<sup>7</sup>This goes back to at least Kayne 1975. See also Pylkkänen 2008; Legate 2014; Harley 2017a; Nash 2020, a.o.

## ii. Agent-oriented adverbs

- It turns out, once saliency and pragmatic factors are controlled for, such adverbs *can* be associated with the embedded agent in Turkish.

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- It turns out, once saliency and pragmatic factors are controlled for, such adverbs *can* be associated with the embedded agent in Turkish.
- More importantly, in some contexts, e.g., with matrix inanimate subjects, the embedded agent is the only available target for such adverbs, (47).

- (47) Orman yangınları, köy-ler-in-i çok sev-en ama başka  
 forest fires village-PL-POSS-ACC much love-REL but other  
 seçenek-ler-i kal-ma-yan köy halkı-na ev-ler-in-i  
 choice-PL-POSS remain-NEG-REL village folk-DAT house-PL-POSS-ACC  
 { *isteksizce* / *zoraki* / *istemeyerek* } boşalt-tır-dı.  
 {reluctantly / forcedly / unwillingly } evacuate-CAUS-PST  
 ‘The wildfires made the villagers, who love their villages, but were left with  
 no choice, evacuate their homes {reluctantly / forcedly / unwillingly}.’

### iii. Instrument Phrases

- Instrumentals can also can pick out the embedded agent.

(48) Buralar-ı çamaşır suyu ile temizle-t-ti-m.  
 here-ACC bleach with clean-CAUS-PST-1SG  
 'I had all these places cleaned with bleach.'<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup><https://www.birgun.net/haber/>

## iv. High Applicative-Thematic Voice correlation

*Pylkkänen's (2008) Generalization* (p. 116):

- Causativization treats arguments of Voice and arguments of high Appl on a par; neither can be embedded under a verb-selecting causative head. If a language has one, it has the other one too.

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- Causativization treats arguments of Voice and arguments of high Appl on a par; neither can be embedded under a verb-selecting causative head. If a language has one, it has the other one too.
- As such, if Turkish lacked embedded VoiceP, it would also disallow high Appl arguments of embedded constituent.
  - This is not correct, (49): a high applied argument (with stative transitive 'hold') is possible.

- (49) Yaşlı kadın-a      şemşiye-yi      oğl-u-na  
 old woman-DAT umbrella-ACC son-3SG.POSS-DAT  
 tut-tur-du-m.  
 hold-CAUS-PST-1SG  
 'I made her son hold the umbrella for the old woman.'



## Interim Summary: Thematic VoiceP

- All six diagnostics (except for the 'by'-phrase) strongly establish the presence of a thematic VoiceP associated with the embedded agent in Turkish.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>See Nash 2020 for the view that the Causee in Georgian morphological causatives is not introduced by agentive Voice.

## Interim Summary: Thematic VoiceP

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## Interim Summary: Thematic VoiceP

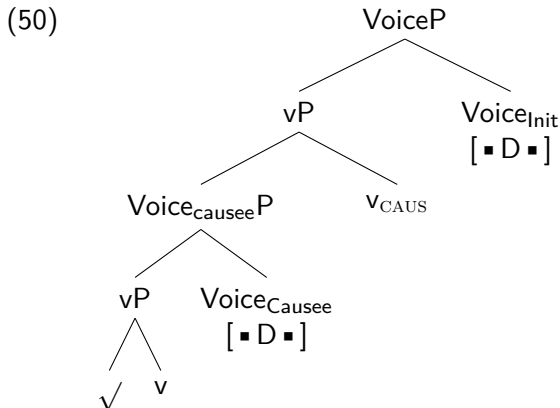
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- Regarding 'by'-phrases, one possibility is that Turkish only embeds an active VoiceP, but not passive VoiceP.
- Next, we can show that Turkish causatives embed a VoiceP that exhibits active-passive alternation.

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# The syntax of the embedded constituent

- As an initial pass, we can posit the structure in (50), in which the Causee is introduced in Voice<sub>CAUSEE</sub>P (to be elaborated on).



## The status of the overt (dative) Causee

# Overt causee

## 2. *Recap of prior claims on the status of the Causee*

The causee being an adjunct to CausP (Key 2013; Harley 2017a) or to expletive VoiceP (Nie 2020), but an argument (in Spec, VoiceP) in Japanese explains two differences.

### (i) Optionality of Causee

- In Turkish, the Causee may be omitted,
- while in Japanese it may not.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>The characterization of Japanese may not be correct.

# Japanese versus Turkish causee

- (51) a. Japanese (based on Key 2013: 183, Harley 2017a)

\*Taroo-wa hanasi-o tutae-sase-ta.

Taroo-TOP story-ACC convey-CAUS-PST

'Taroo had a story conveyed/Taroo made (someone) convey a story.'<sup>11</sup>

- b. Turkish

Hasan hikaye-yi anlat-tır-dı.

Hasan story-ACC convey-CAUS-PST

'Hasan had the story conveyed/Hasan made (someone) convey a story.'

- This difference is taken to mean that Turkish causee is an optional adjunct, whereas the Japanese causee is an argument, thus obligatory.

<sup>11</sup>Example due to Yosho Miyata and Satoru Ozaki; it is ok in a *pro*-drop context.

# Japanese versus Turkish causee

## (ii) Passivization asymmetries:

- In Japanese the Causee is promoted in a passive and the embedded object cannot be (Harley 2017a:20).
- In standard Turkish, the Causee is immune to passivization. Only the embedded object can become the matrix subject.



# Japanese versus Turkish causee

## Passivization pattern in standard Turkish

- (52) a. *pro* [bütün misafir-ler-e araba-yı temizle]-t-ti.  
 all guest-PL-DAT car-ACC clean-CAUS-PST  
 ‘(S/he) made all the guests clean the car.’
- b. araba [bütün misafir-ler-e \_\_ temizle]-t-il-di.  
 car all guest-PL-DAT clean-CAUS-PASS-PST  
 ‘The car was made (by him/her) to be cleaned by all the guests.’
- c. \*bütün misafir-ler [\_\_ araba-yı temizle]-t-il-di.  
 all guest-PL car-ACC clean-CAUS-PASS-PST  
 ‘All the guests were made to clean the car.’

# Overt causee is an **argument**, not adjunct

- Several diagnostics suggest that the overt causee is an argument:
  - Clefting
  - Passivization in non-standard Turkish
  - Long-distance scrambling
  - Island constraints

# Clefting

- Many languages allow argument pivots, but not adjunct pivots in cleft constructions.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>e.g. Uzbek (Gribanova 2013); Egyptian Arabic (Soltan 2019); Sason Arabic (Akkuş 2022b).

## i. Clefting

- In Turkish as well, cleft constructions can target arguments, (53).

- (53) a. [Çocuğ-um-un dün öv-düğ-ü] ben i-di-m.  
 child-POSS.1SG-GEN yesterday praise-PTCP-POSS I be-PST-1SG  
 'It was me that my son praised \_\_ yesterday.'
- b. [Çocuğ-u öv-en] ben i-di-m.  
 child-ACC praise-PTCP I be-PST-1SG  
 'It was me that \_\_ praised the child.'
- c. [Kitab-ı gönder-diğ-i] ben i-di-m.  
 book-ACC send-PTCP-POSS I be-PST-1SG  
 'It was me that s/he sent \_\_ the book.'

## i. Clefting

- But adjuncts cannot be cleft pivots, (54).

- (54) a. \*[Çocuğ-um-un        ben-i öv-düğ-ü]        dün        i-di.  
 child-POSS.1SG-GEN I-ACC praise-PTCP-POSS yesterday be-PST  
 'It was yesterday that my son praised me.'<sup>13</sup>
- b. \*[Anne-m-in        öv-ül-düğ-ü]        ben-im tarafımdan  
 mother-POSS.1SG-GEN praise-PASS-PTCP-POSS I-GEN by  
 i-di.  
 be-PST  
 'It was by me that my mother was praised.'

<sup>13</sup>A couple speakers noted a contrast with and without the head noun in (54a), where with the head noun, it is good for them. Most speakers don't have this contrast.

## i. Clefting

- The causee patterns like an argument, and not an adjunct in terms of clefting.
- The causee of causativized predicates can be clefted, whether it is marked with dative, (55),

- (55) a. Ban-a kitab-ı oku-t-tu.  
 I-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PST  
 'S/he made me read the book.'
- b. [Kitab-ı oku-t-tuğ-u] ben i-di-m.  
 book-ACC read-CAUS-PTCP-POSS I be-PST-1SG  
 'It was me that s/he made read the book.'

## i. Clefting

- or accusative case.

- (56) a. Ben-i koş-tur-du-lar.  
 I-ACC run-CAUS-PST-3PL  
 ‘They made me run.’
- b. [Koş-tur-duk-lar-ı]                    ben i-di-m.  
 run-CAUS-PTCP-PL-3.POSS I    be-PST-1SG  
 ‘It was me that they made run.’

## i. Clefting

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 'It was me that they made run.'

- Thus, the causee patterns like an argument, and not an adjunct in terms of clefting.



## ii. Passivization

- The second argument comes from *passivization in non-standard Turkish varieties*.
- Recall that Key (2013) and Harley (2017a) take the fact that the causee cannot be targeted by passivization to mean that it must be an adjunct (to CausP).

## ii. Passivization

- The second argument comes from *passivization in non-standard Turkish varieties*.
- Recall that Key (2013) and Harley (2017a) take the fact that the causee cannot be targeted by passivization to mean that it must be an adjunct (to CausP).
- The explanation however lies in the **Case** of the causee.
  - In Standard Turkish, *dative* usually behaves as non-structural, as such cannot be targeted by movement. It behaves as *inert* (in the sense of McGinnis 2001) in the presence of an accusative embedded object.
  - The causee is just another instance of this pattern.

## ii. Passivization

- In non-standard varieties of Turkish, dative behaves as structural rather than inert.

## ii. Passivization

- In non-standard varieties of Turkish, dative behaves as structural rather than inert.
- For some speakers a clause containing an oblique transitive verb may also undergo canonical passivization (Özkaragöz 1979; Knecht 1986; Çetinoğlu and Butt 2007; Akkuş 2021a); as such becomes the grammatical subject, (57).

- (57) a. Ben san-a/\*sen-i            tap-tı-m.  
 I     you-DAT/\*you-ACC worship-PST-1SG  
 'I worshipped you.'
- b. San-a     tap-ıl-dı.  
 you-DAT worship-PASS-PST  
 'There was worshipping to you.'
- c. % Sen        tap-ıl-dı-n.  
 you.NOM worship-PASS-PST-2SG  
 'You were worshipped.'

(Knecht 1986:111)

## ii. Passivization

(58) *-den nefret et* 'to hate'

%Büyük kitleler tarafından sev-il-di-ler      daha büyük-ler-i  
 big      masses by      like-PASS-PST-PL more big-PL-POSS  
 tarafından nefret ed-il-di-ler.  
 by      hate do-PASS-PST-PL

'They were liked by large masses, but hated by even bigger masses.'<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup><https://medium.com/radyoytu/punka-ne-oldu-2e38ffc53f1c>

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'They were liked by large masses, but hated by even bigger masses.'<sup>14</sup>

(59) *-yle alay et-* 'to mock'

a. ben-le / \*ben-i alay et-ti-ler.

I-INST / \*I-ACC mock do-PST-PL

'They mocked me.'

b. % farklı düşün-en-ler ... alay ed-il-iyor-lar.

different think-REL-PL mock do-PASS-PROG-PL

'Those who think differently are mocked.'

(Twitter; @ikarus\_deadalus, 8/3/20)

- An argument bearing any type of Case can be passivized on in this variety.

<sup>14</sup><https://medium.com/radyoytu/punka-ne-oldu-2e38ffc53f1c>

- Crucially, for the same group of speakers, raising of the causee to the grammatical subject is also possible.

- (60) a. Biz-e 10 dakika müzik dinle-t-ti-ler.  
 we-DAT ten minute music listen-CAUS-PST-3PL  
 'They made us listen to music for ten minutes.'
- b. %Müşteri hizmetleri-ni ara-dı-m ve *pro* her zamanki gibi  
 customer services-ACC call-PST-1SG and every time like  
 10 dakika müzik **dinle-t-il-di-k**.  
 ten minute music listen-CAUS-PASS-PST-1PL  
 'I called the customer services, and as always we were made to listen to music for 10 minutes.'<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup><https://www.sikayetvar.com/telefon/720p>. Accessed on March 14, 2021.

- (61) %Çocuk-lar araba temizle-t-il-di-ler.  
 child-PL car clean-CAUS-PASS-PST-3PL  
 ‘The children were made to clean car(s).’
- (62) %Sebep-siz yer-e *pro* sürekli temizlik yap-tır-ıl-dı-lar.  
 reason-less place-DAT always cleaning do-CAUS-PASS-PST-3PL  
 ‘For no reason, they were made to do cleaning all the time.’



# Passivization

- Examples from non-standard varieties of Turkish demonstrate that non-raising of the causee in standard Turkish does not warrant its treatment as an adjunct.
  - In standard Turkish, dative is nonstructural (or inert), as such is immune to passivization.
  - In contrast, for nonstandard varieties, the dative is structural, thus can be the target of passivization.

### iii. Long distance scrambling

- Turkish also exhibits argument-adjunct asymmetry in terms of long distance scrambling (Çakır 2020).

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<sup>16</sup>similar to other adjuncts, e.g., *dün* 'yesterday', *hiddetle* 'violently' (Çakır 2020).

### iii. Long distance scrambling

- Turkish also exhibits argument-adjunct asymmetry in terms of long distance scrambling (Çakır 2020).
- Arguments, (63), but not adjuncts, (64), can be scrambled.<sup>16</sup>

(63) Masa-yı, Mustafa [Leyla-nın \_\_ kır-dığ-ı]-nı bil-iyor.  
 table-ACC Mustafa [Leyla-GEN break-PTCP-POSS]-ACC know-PROG  
 'The table, Mustafa knows that Leyla broke \_\_.' (3, 4, 4, 3, 5, 4; **3.83**)

(64) \*Leyla tarafından, Mustafa [masa-nın \_\_ kır-ıl-dığ-ı]-nı  
 Leyla by Mustafa [table-GEN break-PASS-PTCP-POSS]-ACC  
 bil-iyor.  
 know-PROG  
 'By Leyla, Mustafa knows that the table was broken \_\_.'  
 (2, 3, 2, 3, 1, 1; **2**)

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 'By Leyla, Mustafa knows that the table was broken \_\_.'  
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- Altınok (2024) confirms this contrast for rightward scrambling/extraction as well in a large-scale judgment task.

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### iii. Long distance scrambling

- Causee can be long-scrambled.

(65) Kemal-e, Mustafa [Leyla-nın masa-yı \_\_  
 Kemal-DAT Mustafa [Leyla-GEN table-ACC \_\_  
 kır-dır-dıĝ-ı]-nı bil-iyor.  
 break-CAUS-PTCP-POSS]-ACC know-PROG

'Mustafa knows that Leyla made Kemal broke the table.'

(3, 4, 3, 3, 4, 3; **3.33**)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Judgments by Songül Gündoğdu, Dursun Altınok, Yılmaz Köylü, Hülya Akkuş, Turan Akkuş, Kemal Gürler (similar judgments by Duygu Göksu and Özge Bakay).

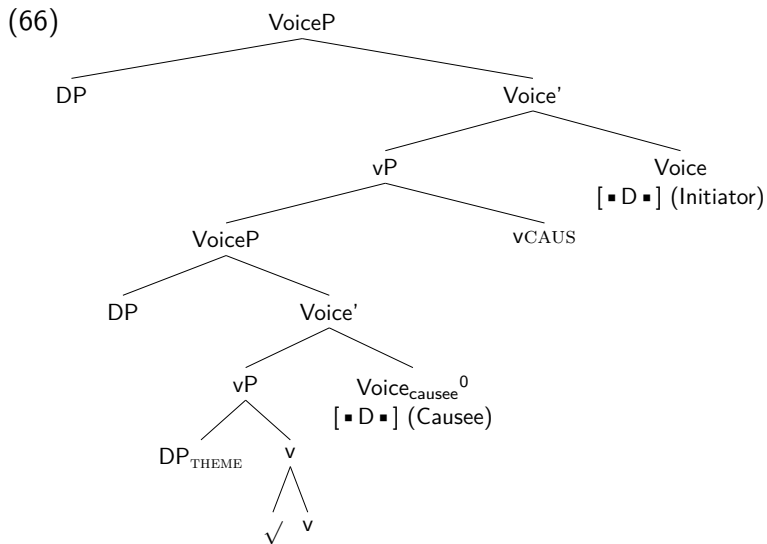
# Putting diagnostics together

- The overt causee behaves like an argument, and not an adjunct for various diagnostics.

	Arguments	Adjuncts	Causee
Clefting	✓	*	✓
Passivization	✓	*	✓
Long-distance scrambling	✓	*	✓
Interpretation within islands	✓	*	✓

Table 5: Status of overt dative Causee

## The structure with overt causee



# Interim Summary

- Turkish causatives embed a VoiceP (or Voice<sub>causee</sub>P).
- The overt causee is an argument introduced in Spec, VoiceP (or Spec, CauseeP), and not an adjunct



## The status of null Causee

# Null causee is not *pro*-drop

- The null causee is not a case of *pro*-drop.
  - A *pro*-dropped argument in Turkish requires an established discourse topic with which the dropped argument co-refers (also see Key 2013).

(67) Kapı-yı anahtar-la aç-tı.  
 door-ACC key-with open-PST

‘(S/he) opened the door with a key.’ ← *requires established topic*

# (Someone/ some people) opened the door with a key.

# The door was opened with a key.

# Null causee is existentially interpreted

- The null causee is interpreted as existential (like a missing 'by'-phrase), similar to 'someone' or 'some people', rather than pronominal (like a *pro*-dropped argument), (68).

(68) a. Hasan araba-yı yıka-t-tı.

Hasan car-ACC wash-CAUS-PST

YES: 'Hasan made *someone/some people* wash the car.'

NO: 'Hasan made *him/her/them* wash the car.'

b. Kadın et-i kes-tir-di.

woman meat-ACC cut-CAUS-PST

YES: 'She made *someone/some people* cut the meat.'

NO: 'She made *him/her/them* cut the meat.' (based on Özkaragöz 1986:118)

# The interpretation of null causee

- Secondly, whereas an implicit agent of passive can license sluicing, (69a), a null pronoun (*pro*-dropped argument) may not, (69b).

- (69) a. Kapı aç-ıl-dı, ama kim \*(tarafından) bil-mi-yor-um.  
 door open-PASS-PST but who \*(by) know-NEG-PROG-1SG  
 'The door was opened, but I don't know \*(by) whom.'
- b. Kapı-yı anahtar-la aç-tı, #ama kim bil-mi-yor-um.  
 door-ACC key-with open-PST but who know-NEG-PROG-1SG  
 '(S/he) opened the door with a key, #but I don't know who.'

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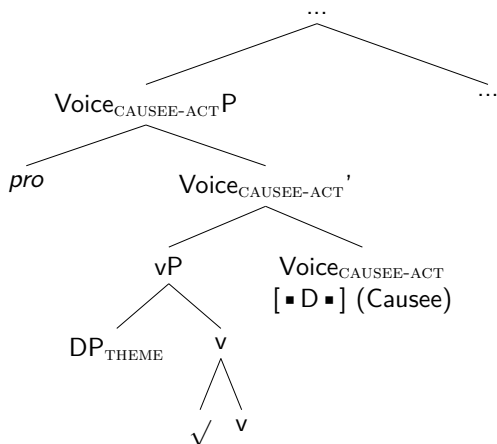
Other diagnostics regarding the projection of the null causee include

- anaphor binding
- depictives

# The interpretation of null causee

- These diagnostics show that the null causee is not projected, thus the structure in (70) doesn't work.

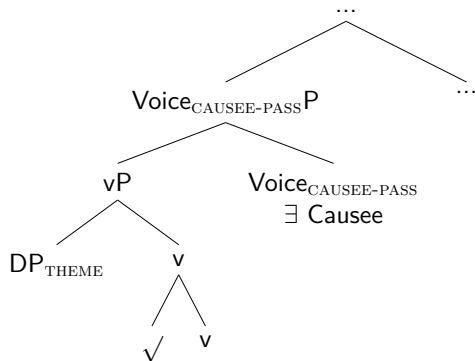
(70) \*



# The structure of null causee

- Instead, it is only semantically available on the passive Voice head:

(71) Passive Voice<sub>CAUSEE</sub>P



## Active-passive alternation



# Active-passive alternation

- Causatives with overt causee = active Voice<sub>CAUSEE</sub>P
  - Causatives with null causee = passive Voice<sub>CAUSEE</sub>P
- 
- The arguments include:
    - Nonpassivizable idioms
    - Anaphor binding
    - Depictives
    - Sluicing (only partially)

# Anaphor binding

Reflexives and reciprocals require a projected binder. (72) shows that both an overt causee or the matrix causer are potential binder for the reflexive.

- (72) a. Ali<sub>i</sub> Arda<sub>j</sub>-ya kendi<sub>i/j</sub>-ni savun-dur-du.  
 Ali Arda-DAT him(self)-ACC defend-CAUS-PST  
 YES: 'Ali made Arda<sub>j</sub> defend himself<sub>j</sub>.'  
 YES: 'Ali<sub>i</sub> made Arda defend him<sub>i</sub>.'<sup>18</sup> (Çetinoğlu et al., 2008, 6a)
- b. Ali<sub>i</sub> misafir-ler-e kendi<sub>i</sub>-ni savun-dur-du.  
 Ali guest-PL-DAT him(self)-ACC praise-CAUS-PST  
 'Ali<sub>i</sub> made the guests praise him<sub>i</sub>.'

<sup>18</sup>I modified the presentation of the translation.

# Anaphor binding

- A null causee cannot bind the reflexive, indicating that it is not projected.

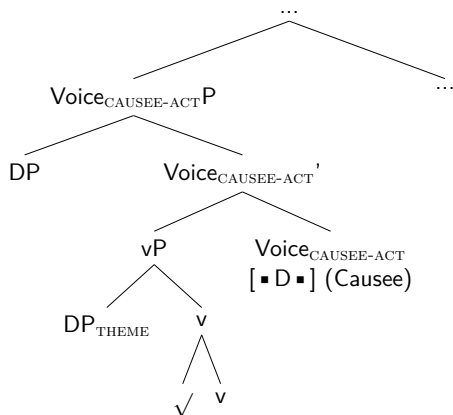
(73) Ali<sub>i</sub> kendi<sub>i/\*j</sub>-ni savun-dur-du.  
 Ali him(self)-ACC defend-CAUS-PST  
 YES: 'Ali<sub>i</sub> made himself<sub>i</sub> defended.'  
 NO: 'Ali made someone<sub>j</sub> defend himself<sub>j</sub>.'

The contrasts so far illustrate that an overt causee may enter a binding relation, whereas a null causee may not.

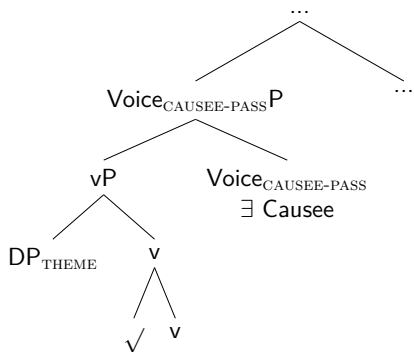
# Active-passive alternation

- Various diagnostics (non-passivizable idioms, binding, depictives, sluicing) indicate that a causative structure with an overt causee is active, whereas with a null causee is passive.

(74) **Active**



(75) **Passive**



# Larger Implications-1

## Passive morpheme in Voice<sub>CAUSEE-PASS</sub>

- The proposal that the causatives with a null causee are passive raises the question of why the passive morpheme is not embeddable under causative, (76).

(76) \*Adam et-i            kes-**il**-dir-di.  
 man    meat-ACC cut-PASS-CAUS-PST  
 'The man had the meat be cut.'

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*"The verbal morphology associated with a passive construction is an essential part of the construction whose properties are worthy of study in their own right." (Haspelmath 1990:26)*

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- Syntax of passives should be dissociated from the passive morphology (see e.g., Wurmbrand 2001; Pitteroff 2014; Harley 2017b; Akkuş 2022a).

# Passive morpheme in Voice<sub>CAUSEE-PASS</sub>P

- **Suggestion:** due to the VI specification of the relevant functional head.
- VI realizing the Causee<sup>0</sup> has no morphological exponence.

- (77)
- |    |                              |   |                    |
|----|------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| a. | Voice <sub>CAUSEE-PASS</sub> | ↔ | -∅                 |
| b. | Voice <sub>PASS</sub>        | ↔ | -(l)n/ {l#, V# }__ |
| c. | Voice <sub>PASS</sub>        | ↔ | -(l)l / Elsewhere  |



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| c. | Voice <sub>PASS</sub>        | ↔ | -(I)I / Elsewhere  |

- This might seem a bit ad hoc, but turns out to be a reality in other parts of Turkish grammar as well.

# Lack of morphology in Turkish embedded reflexives

- Turkish verbal reflexives exhibit a similar restriction:
  - The  $-(I)I$  morpheme of TVRs cannot be embedded under causatives, whereas this is possible with the  $-(I)n$  morpheme. Compare (78) with (79).
  - Despite the absence of the  $-(I)I$  morpheme, the reflexive interpretation is still there, so this is just another syntax-morphology mismatch.
  - Note also that this cuts across the figure vs ground-reflexive distinction (see Key 2023, 2024).

# Lack of morphology in Turkish embedded reflexives

- (78) a. Ev-e kapa-n-dı-k.  
 house-DAT close-F.REFL-PST-1PL  
 'We shut ourselves in the house.'
- b. Ali tart-ıl-dı.  
 Ali weigh-F.REFL-PST  
 'Ali weighed himself.'
- (79) a. biz-i ev-e kapa-n-dır-dı.  
 we-ACC house-DAT close-F.REFL-CAUS-PST  
 'It made us shut ourselves in the house.'
- b. Ali-yi tart-(*\*ıl*)-tır-dı.  
 Ali-ACC weigh-F.REFL-CAUS-PST  
 'S/he made Ali weigh himself.'
- There is more going on with the *-(I)l* morpheme, but it is clear that it is disallowed in embedded contexts in Turkish (without a meaning change).

# Acehnese Passives: No passive morphology

(80) *Acehnese* (Legate 2014:47, (89))

a. Active voice

Dokto ka geu-peu-ubat Ibrahim.  
 doctor PFV 3POL-CAUS-medicine Ibrahim

'The doctor has treated Ibrahim.'

b. Passive voice

Ibrahim ka geu-peu-ubat (l'e dokto).  
 Ibrahim PFV 3POL-CAUS-medicine (by doctor)

'Ibrahim was treated (by the doctor).'<sup>19</sup>

c. Object voice

Ibrahim ka dokto peu-ubat.  
 Ibrahim PFV doctor CAUS-medicine

'Ibrahim was treated by the doctor.'

---

<sup>19</sup>Optionality added.

## Larger Implications-2

### 'By'-phrases in Voice<sub>PASS</sub>P

- Recall that 'by'-phrases are also ruled out in Turkish causatives.

(81) \*Adam et-i kasap tarafından kes-tir-di.  
 man meat-ACC butcher by cut-CAUS-PST  
 'The man had the meat be cut by the butcher.'

## Larger Implications-2

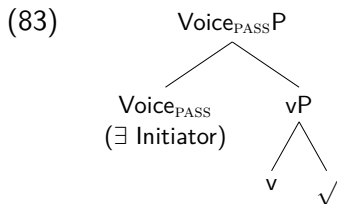
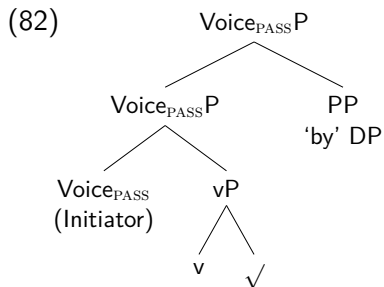
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One possibility is to connect this to the number of available denotations allowed within a language (or even a particular construction).

# Two Denotations of Passive



# 'By'-phrases in Voice<sub>PASS</sub>P

- Referring back to the two semantics denotations of passives:
  - allowing the external  $\theta$ -role to be satisfied by the 'by'-phrase, when present,
  - and to otherwise be interpreted existentially (Bruening 2013).
- Turkish would have only the second denotation.<sup>20</sup>

	<b>Passive</b>	
	$\exists$	'by'-phrase
Canonical	✓	✓
'make' causatives in Sason Arabic Icelandic 'caused experiencer'	*	✓
Turkish causatives Hiaki passives	✓	*

Table 6: Passive typology

<sup>20</sup>Harley (2017b, 11) reports that no 'by'-phrases are available anywhere in Hiaki.



# No 'by'-phrase in Turkish LOM

- Turkish indeed exhibits a similar constraint on 'by'-phrases in Long Object Movement (LOM), which is allowed with various predicates such as *karar ver-* 'decide' or *çalış-* 'try'.
- The former allows the matrix and embedded agents to receive independent reference - even in those contexts, only the higher agent can be expressed with a 'by'-phrase. (see Göksu 2023)

# No by-phrase in Turkish LOM

*Context:* There is a committee who organizes sports events for the charity in town. They had to cancel last years running race due to rain. They decided this years race is not getting cancelled. Tickets are sold to those who would like to run. Anyone with a ticket can participate. The committee members themselves did not buy tickets.

- (84)  $e_i$  Bu yılki yarış [ $e_k$  koş-ul-ma]-ya karar ver-il-di.  
 this year's race.NOM run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit: 'This year's race was decided to be run.' (Göksu 2023: ch. 3, (83))

- (85) (Komite tarafından) bu yılki yarış [ (\*bilet sahipleri tarafından)  
 (committee by) this year's race.NOM ticket holders by  
 koş-ul-ma]-ya karar ver-il-di.  
 run-PASS-INF-DAT decide-PASS-PST

Lit: 'This year's race was decided (by the committee) [to be run (\*by ticket holders)].'

# Conclusions

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Investigation of causatives has turned out to be informative both for their syntax and the morphosyntax/semantics of passives.

- Morphology of Passive:
  - Turkish, Sason Arabic and Acehnese have passive constructions without any morphological reflex.

# Conclusions

Investigation of causatives has turned out to be informative both for their syntax and the morphosyntax/semantics of passives.

- Morphology of Passive:
  - Turkish, Sason Arabic and Acehnese have passive constructions without any morphological reflex.
- Denotations of Passive:
  - The passive in 'make'-causatives of Sason Arabic and Icelandic 'caused experiencer' allows only the denotation with 'by'-phrase.
  - The passive in Turkish causatives and Hiaki allows only the denotation with existential closure.

# THANK YOU!

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# Table of Contents

## 1 Sason Arabic

- Size of the embedded structure: VoiceP
- Active & passive VoiceP

## 2 Turkish

- Size of the embedded structure: VoiceP
- Overt Causee
- Null Causee
- Active & passive VoiceP

## 3 Appendix

# CauseeP is not ApplP

- Examples in (86), show that the causee and the beneficiary can co-occur when the double-dative constraint is controlled for.

- (86) a. Ben Ali-ye et-i kız için kes-tir-di-m.  
 I Ali-DAT meat-ACC girl for cut-CAUS-PST  
 'I made Ali cut the meat for the girl.'
- b. Ben kız-a et-i Ali-ye kes-tir-di-m.  
 I girl-DAT meat-ACC Ali-DAT cut-CAUS-PST  
 i. 'I made Ali cut the meat for the girl.'  
 ii. \*'I made the girl cut the meat for Ali.' (Knecht 1986:104)
- c. Ben kasab-a et-i kız-a kes-tir-di-m.  
 I butcher-DAT meat-ACC girl-DAT cut-CAUS-PST  
 i. 'I made the girl cut the meat for the butcher.'  
 ii. \*'I made the butcher cut the meat for the girl.'

# CauseeP is not ApplP

- Active CauseeP with ApplP (pre-movement due to the potential 'double-dative' constraint)

(87)

