

# Causatives with GIVE in LSF and Haitian

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## 1. Grammatical uses of GIVE

- Different grammatical uses of GIVE
  - GIVE as **V<sub>1</sub>: Causative constructions (1)**
  - GIVE as **V<sub>2</sub>: Introducing recipients and/or beneficiaries or source (2)/(3)**

(1) Pierre GIVE<sub>1</sub> LAUGH (LSF)  
'P. makes me laugh.'

(2) SISTER EGG-CAKE BUY<sub>0</sub>GIVE<sub>3</sub> <sup>head nod/blink</sup> MOTHER (Hong Kong SL)  
'Lit. The sister bought a birthday cake (and) gave (it) to mother.' (Lau 2012:174, ex 49)  
'~ for mother (recipient)'

(3) INDEX2 BUY<sub>1</sub>GIVE<sub>2</sub> (NGT)  
gekocht van mij  
'You bought (it) from me (source).' Lit.: 'You buy (it) I give you.'  
(de Bos 2016: 245, ex 7)

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## Outline

### Grammatical uses of GIVE

Serial verb construction: recipients and/or beneficiaries  
Causative constructions with GIVE

### Causative GIVE in LSF

Predicates allowed with the GIVE causative in LSF  
The subjects of the GIVE causative in LSF  
The causative relation in the GIVE causative in LSF

### Causative GIVE in Haitian Creole

Three causative constructions in Haitian  
Predicates allowed with the GIVE causative in Haitian  
The causative relation in the GIVE causative in Haitian  
The subjects of the GIVE causative in Haitian

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## 2. Causative constructions with V<sub>1</sub> GIVE

- LSF does **not** have V<sub>2</sub> GIVE introducing a recipient or a source ≠ HKSL/NGT.
- LSF has V<sub>1</sub> GIVE with causative semantics

(4) a. Pierre GIVE<sub>1</sub> ADVANCE (LSF)  
b. Pierre IX<sub>a</sub> livre IX<sub>a</sub> aDONNER(livre)<sub>1</sub> (main verb give)

- Haitian has V<sub>1</sub> GIVE with causative semantics

(5) a. Jan bay Mari kondui vwati a (Haitian)  
Jean GIVE Mari drive car DET  
'Jean a fait conduire la voiture à Mari'. (Glaude 2012)  
[angl] 'Jean made Mari drive the car.'  
b. Jean bay Mari yon liv.  
GIVE one book (main verb give)

- To examine the restrictions on causative GIVE constructions contrast LSF / Haitian

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### 3. GIVE-Causatives: contrasts LSF / Haitian

- Show: GIVE-causatives in LSF and in Haitian contrast wrt
  - Predicates allowed as complement to the GIVE causative
  - Semantics of the causer subject
  - Semantics of the causing relationship
- Near-complementary distribution LSF / Haitian
- The cases of seemingly parallel behaviour are due to the particular semantics of the Haitian GIVE-causatives
- Haitian has three causative constructions with different semantics
  - the *fè* 'make' causative
  - the *bay* 'give' causative
  - the *kite* 'abandon; to let, permit, allow' causative

### 3. GIVE-Causatives: contrasts LSF / Haitian

- Haitian GIVE causatives allow **volitional agentive predicates** as complements
- (6) Mari bay Jean lave rad (Haitian)  
 Mari GIVE J wash clothes  
 'Mari made Jan wash clothes.' (Antoine 2022)
- GIVE causatives in LSF do not allow **volitional agentive predicates** as complements
- (7) \* Mari GIVE J CLOTHES WASH (LSF)
- Haitian and LSF GIVE causatives are clearly different.
  - Examine GIVE causative in LSF and GIVE causative in Haitian separately.

### 3. GIVE-Causatives: contrasts LSF / Haitian

GIVE causatives	LSF	Haitian
Predicates		
psych predicates ( <i>make laugh</i> )	yes	No
<b>intransitive non-agentive (<i>make me/the vase fall</i>)</b>	no	<b>no</b>
intransitive locus of change ( <i>make melt<sub>intr</sub></i> )	yes	<b>no</b>
transitive agentive ( <i>make X wash clothes</i> )	no	yes
Causees		
Animate intentional agentive subject ( <i>make X wash clothes</i> )	no	yes
<b>Animate non-intentional cause subject (<i>make X drop the vase by pushing X</i>)</b>	<b>no</b>	<b>no</b>
Inanimate subject ( <i>water makes metal rust</i> )	yes	<b>no</b>
Causers		
Animate agentive – obligation ( <i>X make sb do something</i> )	no	yes
Animate non-agentive – trigger ( <i>X make sb laugh</i> )	yes	no
Inanimate dynamic – trigger ( <i>earthquake makes me afraid</i> )	yes	<b>no</b>

**Yellow:** predicted value from present evidence – specific examples not yet tested

### 4. GIVE causative in LSF: Predicates

- GIVE causatives in LSF appear with psychological predicates (Gutman 2010)
  - Two types of predicates
    - **activities** that are linked to a psychological state
    - **stative** predicates
- (8) **Activities linked to psychological/cognitive state** (LSF)
- Pierre GIVE<sub>1</sub> LAUGH / CRY
  - SAM GIVE<sub>1</sub> BLUSH (FR *rougir*)
  - Sam GIVE<sub>1</sub> SLEEP (activity as a result of a state: *bores me, calms me*)
  - GIVE+1 LEARN STH (en parlant d'une formation, attesté)
- (9) **Stative predicates** (LSF)
- TISANE GIVE<sub>1</sub> NERVOUS / CALM
  - Pierre GIVE<sub>1</sub> SAD / HAPPY
  - DOG GIVE<sub>1</sub> FEAR / AFRAID
  - RUNNING GIVE<sub>1</sub> HUNGER / THIRST

## 4.1. GIVE causative in LSF: Predicates

- GIVE causatives in LSF **not** limited to psychological predicates (pace Gutman 2010)
- Causative GIVE in LSF allows **non-agentive activities linked to internal change** (no psychological states)

(10) a. SMOKE GIVE<sub>1</sub> COUGH / SNEEZE (LSF)  
b. ONIONS GIVE<sub>1</sub> CRY

- Causative GIVE in LSF **allows other non-agentive stative/inchoative intransitives**

(11) a. MEDICATION GIVE GOOD-HEALTH (attested) (LSF)  
b. SUN GIVE ICE-CUBE MELT  
c. WATER GIVE METAL RUSTY  
d. SALT GIVE TREES DAMAGE (FR *le sel donne arbres abîmer*)  
e. SKIING GIVE<sub>1</sub> COLD  
f. MIDDAY SUN GIVE 1 HOT

### 4.1.1 Types of verbs with causatives (Shibatani 2002)

- **Shibatani 2002 identifies 4 types of verbs with causatives**
  1. Inactive intransitives (*fall, slip, burn, break, sleep?, laugh*)
  2. Middle/ingestive verbs (*sit down, ascend/ put on clothes, eat, learn*)
  3. Active intransitives (*work, run*)
  4. Transitive (*read the book, paint the house*)
- Causative GIVE in LSF does not allow Types 2/3/4:
  - Intentional/agentive verbs are impossible
- Causative GIVE in LSF does not allow **non-intentional dynamic** verbs:

(14) \*PATRICA GIVE<sub>1</sub> VASE BREAK.

Not: Patricia made me break the vase (by startling/pushing me)

## 4.1 GIVE causative in LSF: Predicates

- GIVE causatives in LSF allow **dynamic** (*cry*) or **stative** predicates (*sad, calm, nervous*)

(12)a. ONIONS GIVE<sub>1</sub> CRY /\*SAD (LSF)  
b. UNHAPPY LOVE STORIES GIVE<sub>1</sub> CRY/ SAD

(13)a. HERBAL\_TEA GIVE<sub>1</sub> CALM (LSF)  
b. COFFEE GIVE<sub>1</sub> NERVOUS  
(modeled on LIS in Santoro & Aristodemo 2021)

- LIS has two GIVE predicates (Santoro & Aristodemo 2021); LSF only has one

Santoro, Mirko & Aristodemo Valentina (2021). A preliminary study on causatives in Italian Sign Language. FEAST 4: 139-149. <https://doi.org/10.31009/FEAST.4.11> <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/FEAST>

### 4.1.1 Types of verbs with causatives (Shibatani 2002)

- Only a **subset of Type 1 verbs (inactive intransitives)** are used with causative GIVE in LSF
- Internally caused changes of state
  - **psychological predicates** (stative: *happy/ calm/ nervous*)
  - **non-agentive dynamic predicates** potentially linked to psych state: *cry, laugh/ advance, run, sleep*
  - **internally caused inactive intransitive** (*cough, sneeze*)
  - **internally caused changes of state** (*rust, melt, crumble*)

(15) a. TISANE GIVE<sub>1</sub> CALM / SLEEP (LSF)  
b. SMOKE GIVE<sub>1</sub> COUGH  
c. WATER GIVE METAL RUST

## 4.2 GIVE causative in LSF: Causees

- Causee subject of causative GIVE in LSF
  - **Undergoer of an internal non-voluntary change of state/ a state not controlled by the causee**
- **Human causee subject** of causative GIVE in LSF
 

(16) a. Pierre GIVE<sub>1</sub> ADVANCE (LSF)  
       `Pierre makes **me** progress.’

b. ONIONS GIVE<sub>1</sub> CRY  
       `Onions make **me** cry.’
- **Inanimate causee subject** of causative GIVE in LSF
 

(17) a. WATER GIVE METAL RUSTY (LSF)  
       `Water makes **metal** rust.’

b. SUN GIVE ICE-CUBE MELT  
       `The sun makes the **ice-cubes** melt.’

## 4.3 GIVE causative in LSF: Causers

- Causer subject of causative GIVE in LSF
  - **trigger** for an **internal non-voluntary change of state**
  - can be **human** or **inanimate**
- **Human causer subject**

(18) PIERRE GIVE<sub>1</sub> ADVANCE (LSF)  
       `Pierre makes me progress.’
- **Inanimate causer subject**

(19) a. ONIONS GIVE<sub>1</sub> CRY (LSF)  
       `Onions make me cry.’

b. SUN GIVE ICE-CUBE MELT  
       `The sun makes the ice-cubes melt.’

c. SUN GIVE<sub>1</sub> MOOD POSITIVE

## 4.4. Other causatives in LSF: transfer constructions

- In LSF the GIVE causative can alternate with a **transfer construction** expressing causation
 

(20) a.                                   transfer\_\_\_\_\_ (LSF)  
       EARTHQUAKE           HOUSE+DESTROYED

b.    transfer\_\_\_\_\_

      ROCK / HOUSE+DESTROYED
- This resembles verbs in spoken lgs that can express change of state in their simple form: *destroy / melt / break* (tr.) (lexical causatives)
- Intuition: An aspectual difference
  - Transfer construction:       **process and result**
  - GIVE causative:               insists more on the **result**

### 4.4.1 Transfer constructions in LSF

- **Transfer constructions in LSF**
  - **Non-discrete** constructions which cannot be analyzed in the terms of lexical signs (units) (Garcia & Sallandre 2020).
  - These structures are “highly iconic” and “arise from the deliberate intent to show, illustrate and demonstrate while telling” (Cuxac & Sallandre 2013).
- Insofar as the intent of transfer structures is to illustrate, it is consistent that **they show both the process and the result of an event.**

#### 4.4.1 Intuition: An aspectual difference GIVE causative vs. transfer constructions

- Transfer constructions (21a/b): process is depicted by facial mimics and the time of realization of the predicate
- GIVE causative (22a/b): insists more on the result

(21) a. SUN LIGHT IX1 RADIATE HORMONE HAPPINESS DEVELOPMENT (LSF)  
‘Sunlight stimulates the development of the happiness hormone.’

b. EXPOSURE LONGTIME CORNEAL INFLAMMATION  
‘Continuous UV-B exposure causes corneal inflammation.’

(22)a. SUN GIVE<sub>1</sub> MOOD POSITIVE (LSF)  
‘The sun is good for morale.’

b. ENDORPHINS GIVE<sub>1</sub> FEEL GOOD  
‘Endorphins make us feel good.’

#### 4.4.2 Other causatives in LSF: PROVOKE

- In LSF also have causatives with PROVOKE
- Difference in LSF between GIVE and PROVOKE:
  - PROVOKE is used when the **cause produces a sudden effect**.

(23) EARTHQUAKE PROVOKE HOUSE DESTROYED (LSF)  
‘The earthquake destroyed the house.’

- Many Give causatives in LSF designate **gradual changes of state – but see COUGH, CRY**.

### 5. Causative GIVE in Haitian: different causatives

- Haitian has **several causative constructions** (*voye* ‘send’ Antoine 2022)
  - the *fè* ‘make’ causative
  - the *bay* ‘give’ causative
  - the *kite* ‘abandon; to let, permit, allow’ causative

(24) a. Manman mwen **fè** Rito fouye twou a (Haitian)  
mother 1SG MAKE R. dig hole DET (Govain 2022:38, ex 4b)  
‘My mother makes Rito dig a hole.’

b. M ap **ba** ou benyen avan nou sòti  
1SG ASP GIVE 2SG take.bath before 1PL go.out.  
‘I let you have a bath before we go out.’

c. M **kite** timoun nan jwe ak chat la  
1SG LET child DET play with cat DET  
‘I let the child play with the cat.’

### 5.1 Causatives in Haitian: *fè* causatives

- The causative constructions contrast with respect to the causative relationships allowed.
  - The Haitian *fè* ‘make’ causative is used for **coercion** and for **triggers**
- (25) **Coercion** Manman mwen **fè** Rito fouye twou a (Haitian)  
mother 1SG MAKE R. dig hole DET (Govain 2022:38, ex 4b)
- (26) **Triggers** (Haitian)
- a. pwofesè a **fè** timoun yo renmen literati  
professor DET MAKE children DET.PL love literature  
‘The professor makes the children love literature.’
- b. Van an **fè** mi an tonbe.  
wind DEF MAKE wall DEF fall ‘Le vent a fait tomber le mur.’  
‘The wind made the wall come down.’ (Govain 2022:40, ex 10b)
- c. Jann **fè** Mari ri  
J. MAKE M. laugh

## 5.2 Causative GIVE in Haitian

- The Haitian GIVE causative: the subject invites the causee to an action
- The **action is under the causee's control** (intransitive 22a/ transitive 22b).

- (27)a. M ap **ba** ou benyen avan nou sòti (Haitian)  
 1SG ASP GIVE 2SG take.bath before 1PL go.out  
 'Have a bath before we go out. / Je te laisse prendre une douche avant qu'on sorte.'
- b. M ap **bay** sè mwen an chwazi mizik la  
 1SG ASP GIVE sister 1SG DET choose music DET  
 'I let my sister choose the music.'
- c. #M ap **bay** sè mwen an ri.  
 1SG ASP GIVE sister 1SG DET LAUGH  
 #'I invite my sister to laugh.'

## 6. Causative GIVE elsewhere

- There are other examples of GIVE in causative constructions  
*give/ dar / donner* and *turn/volver (return)/ rendre*

- (29) That **gives** me **the shivers/ pleasure / a headache / fever/ a rash**. (Engl)
- (30) a. Eso **da** gusto / sueño / frío / sed. (Sp)  
 This gives pleasure / sleep (makes sleepy)/ cold / thirst  
 b. Eso lo **volvió** triste/ pensativo/ loco `that makes him sad/pensive/ mad.'  
 c. el ácido lo **vuelve** azul `the acid turns it blue'
- (31) a. **Donner** le vertige, la migraine, des frissons; donner la chair de poule  
 Donner une émotion donner du souci, du chagrin, du tourment, de l'ombrage; donner des inquiétudes, des tracasseries, des regrets, des remords; donner le cafard  
 b. X le **rend** nerveux, furieux, fatigué, heureux, irritable, jaloux, malade, malheureux, odieux, pensif, responsable, sensible, triste.  
<http://stella.atilf.fr/> Trésor de la langue française

## 5.3 Causatives in Haitian: *kite* causatives

- The Haitian GIVE causative contrasts with KITE 'let, allow, abandon'
- KITE is used when the causer allows the embedded action
  - either by permitting it (before the action takes place) or
  - by not opposing/stopping it (while the action is already taking place)

- (28) a. M ap **kite** ou benyen avan nou sòti (Haitian)  
 1SG ASP LET 2SG take.bath before 1PL go.out  
 'I let you have a bath before we go out. / Je te laisse prendre une douche avant qu'on sorte.'
- b. M ap kite timoun nan jwe avèk chat la  
 1SG ASP LET child DET play with cat DET  
 'I **give the child permission** to play with the cat / I **do not stop** the child from playing with the cat. / Je **laisse** l'enfant jouer avec le chat.'

GIVE causatives	LSF	Haitian
<b>Predicates</b>		
psychological predicates ( <i>make laugh</i> )	yes	No
intransitive non-agentive ( <i>make me/the vase fall</i> )	No (internal change)	No (causee controls action)
intransitive locus of change ( <i>melt</i> )	yes	no
transitive agentive ( <i>wash clothes</i> )	no	yes
<b>Causees</b>		
Animate intentional agentive subject ( <i>make X wash clothes</i> )	no	yes
Animate cause subject ( <i>make X drop the vase by pushing them</i> )	No (internal change)	No (causee controls action)
Inanimate subject ( <i>water makes metal rust</i> )	yes	No
<b>Causers</b>		
Animate agentive ( <i>X make sb do something</i> )	no	yes
Animate non-agentive ( <i>X makes me laugh</i> )	yes	no
Inanimate dynamic ( <i>earthquake makes me afraid</i> )	yes	no

Yellow: predicted value from present evidence – specific examples not yet tested

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