



June 13, 2025, 3pm - 5pm Paris time

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Causative recursion and the realization of intermediary arguments: The view from Turkish

Building on the insights of Nie (2022)'s analysis of unergatives, I argue that productive affixal causatives of transitives can be recursive, too. Adopting a decompositional approach to event and argument structure (Kratzer 1996; Alexiadou et al. 2015), I assume that causative semantics is introduced by v_{CAUS} which combines with a VoiceP, introducing the causee as an external argument. Predicting a monoclausal case alignment supported by the case alignment in causatives of ditransitives and double causatives of transitives (Comrie 1974; Zimmer 1976; Kural 1996; Yıldız 2024) and thereby rejecting multiple dative marking for intermediary arguments based on Richards (2001)'s distinctness condition, I show that the causer can either be realized by a postpositional *tarafından* 'by'-phrase (3) or be left implicit (4), represented by a non-active VoiceP in the model.

- (1) Öğrenci kitab-ı oku-du.
student book-ACC read-PST
'The student read the book.'
- (2) Öğretmen öğrenci-ye kitab-ı oku-t-tu.
teacher student-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PST
'The teacher made the student read the book.'
- (3) Müdür öğretmen tarafından öğrenci-ye kitab-ı oku-t-tur-du.
principal teacher by student-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-CAUS-PST
'The principal had the teacher make the student read the book.'
- (4) Müdür öğrenci-ye kitab-ı oku-t-tur-du.
principal student-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-CAUS-PST
'The principal had (the teacher/someone make) the student read the book.'

In this talk, I present alternative strategies observed in the literature to satisfy the distinctness condition. I illustrate and discuss interspeaker variation for the realization of intermediary arguments in the context of causatives of ditransitives and double causatives of transitives.

Patricia Cabredo Hofherr (SFL)

Three causative auxiliaries in Haitian Creole

I examine three causative auxiliaries from Haitian Creole *fè* 'make' (1a), *kite* 'let, allow' (1b) and *ba(y)* 'give' (1c) with respect to the selectional restrictions they impose on the causer, the causee and the caused predicate.

- (1) a. Manman mwen fè Rito fouye twou a.
mother 1SG make R. dig hole DET
'My mother made Rito dig the hole.' (Govain 2022:38, ex 4b)
- b. M kite timoun nan jwe ak chat la.
1SG let child DET play with cat DET
'I let the child play with the cat.'
- c. Jan bay Mari kondwi vwati a.
Jean give Marie drive car DET
'Jean invited Mari to drive the car.' (Glaude 2012:170, ex 21b)

The restrictions on *bay* causatives differ from the restrictions for both *fè* and *kite* causatives. The causative with *bay* 'give' expresses a relationship of causative invitations contrasting with both factitive *fè* 'make' and permissive *kite* 'let' causatives. Causative *bay* requires two conditions that are not required for *fè* and *kite* causatives : (i) the embedded predicate has to be under the causee's control and (ii) there has to be an interaction between the causee and the causer.