

Causative recursion and the realization of intermediary arguments:

*The view from Turkish**

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1 Introduction

- Productive causative formation typically affects both argument and event structure by introducing a causing event and a causer argument (Shibatani 1976; Dixon 2000; a.o.).
- Turkish allows productive affixal causatives, which have two forms (*-Dir* and *-t*), the use of which is determined by the morpho-phonological properties of the base verb that they attach to (e.g. ending in a consonant or a vowel).
- The transitive verb *oku-* ‘read’ can be causativized by adding *-t*, as illustrated in (1)¹, where the embedded agent *öğrenci* becomes the causee and receives the dative case, and a new agent *öğretmen* (as the causer of the causing event) is realized as the surface subject (Aissen 1974; Comrie 1974; Zimmer 1976; Kornfilt 1997; Göksel & Kerslake 2005; Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019).

- (1) a. Öğrenci_{AGENT} kitab-₁_{THEME} oku-du.
student book-ACC read-PST
‘The student read the book.’
- b. Öğretmen_{CAUSER} öğrenci’ye_{CAUSEE} kitab-₁_{THEME} oku-t-tu.
teacher student-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PST
‘The teacher made the student read the book.’

- Adopting a decompositional approach to event and argument structure within DM (Kratzer 1996; Alexiadou et al. 2015), I assume that causative semantics is introduced by a flavor of *v*, namely *v*_{CAUS}, which takes a thematic active VoiceP as a complement, introducing the causee as an embedded agent (Akkuş 2021; Nie 2022; Yıldız 2024).

- (2) [VoiceP DP_{CAUSER} [Voice’ **Voice** [_{vP} *v*_{CAUS} [VoiceP DP_{CAUSEE} [Voice’ **Voice** [_{vP} *v* DP_{THEME}]]]]]]]

- Turkish allows recursive application of productive causatives, as shown in (3).
- Predicting a monoclausal case alignment and rejecting multiple dative marking for intermediary arguments based on Richards (2001)’s distinctness condition, I show that the causer must either be realized by a postpositional *tarafından* ‘by’-phrase, as in (3a), or be left implicit, as in (3b).

- (3) a. Müdür_{INIT} öğretmen tarafından_{CAUSER} öğrenci-ye_{CAUSEE} kitab-₁_{THEME} 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.’
- b. Müdür_{INIT} öğrenci-ye_{CAUSEE} kitab-₁_{THEME} 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.’

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¹List of abbreviations: ACC ‘accusative’; CAUS ‘causative’; DAT ‘dative’; INST ‘instrumental’; NOM ‘nominative’; PASS ‘passive’; PST ‘past’; PL ‘plural’; POSS ‘possessive’; SG ‘singular’.

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

Outline:

1. Introduction
2. Argument realization in Turkish causatives
3. The size of the embedded constituent
4. Causatives of ditransitives and the distinctness condition
5. Causative recursion in Turkish
6. Alternative strategies and interspeaker variation
7. Conclusion

2 Argument realization in Turkish causatives

2.1 Typological background

- Turkish (the southwestern branch of the Turkic family of languages) covers a vast geographic area and is spoken, primarily in the Republic of Türkiye, by around 90 Million speakers.
- Turkish is a nominative/accusative language and has a strict SOV word order with unmarked constituents, and a flexible word order with marked ones.

(4) a. [Baba-m]_S [çocuklar-a]_{IO} [para-yı]_{DO} [dün]_{ADV} [ver-di]_V.
 father.1SG.POSS children-DAT money-ACC yesterday give-PST
 ‘My father gave the money to the children yesterday.’ (Göksel 1993: 20–21)

- b. i. Çocuklara parayı babam verdi dün. (IO, DO, S, V, ADV)
 ii. Verdi parayı dün çocuklara babam. (V, DO, ADV, IO, S)
 iii. Dün parayı verdi babam çocuklara. (ADV, DO, S, V, IO)

- Turkish encodes two structurally different types of indefinite expressions: bare Ns, as in (5a), and *bir* NP ±ACC, as in (6). As Turkish lacks a definite article, the accusative case on bare Ns renders them as definite, as in (5b).

(5) a. (Ben) kitap oku-du-m.
 (I) book read-PST-1SG
 ‘I did some book-reading.’
 b. (Ben) kitab-ı oku-du-m.
 (I) book-ACC read-PST-1SG
 ‘I read the book.’

- The differential case marking of the direct object—generally referred to as Differential Object Marking (DOM), as illustrated in (6)—contributes to flexible word order variations: e.g. the direct object (always) precedes the verb unless it is marked.

(6) a. (Ben) bir kitap oku-du-m.
 (I) a book read-PST-1SG
 ‘I read a book.’
 b. (Ben) bir kitab-ı oku-du-m.
 (I) a book-ACC read-PST-1SG
 ‘I read a (certain) book.’
 (von Heusinger & Kornfilt 2005: 8)

- In ditransitive contexts, Turkish shows a NOM/DAT/ACC case alignment, as shown in (7).

(7) Müdür Hasan’a mektub-u göster-di.
 director Hasan-DAT letter-ACC show-PST
 ‘The director showed the letter to Hasan.’ (adapted from Comrie 1974: 6)

⇒ **How does causativization affect the case alignment of the embedded verb?**

2.2 Causativization and case alignment

- Causativization differs crosslinguistically in productivity—whether it applies broadly or to a limited set—by adding a causing event and a causer argument (Shibatani 1976; Dixon 2000; a.o.).
- Causativization in Turkish can apply to all types of predicates, including unaccusatives, unergatives, and transitives, by attaching the causative morpheme to a base verb.
- The causative morpheme in Turkish has a variety of regular and irregular forms:
 - The regular suffixes are *-Dir* and *-t*, as in *koş-tur-* ‘make run’, *gez-dir-* ‘make travel’, as in *izle-t-* ‘make watch’, and *yıka-t-* ‘make wash’, which mostly attach to unergatives and transitives, with predictable rules determined by the morpho-phonological properties of the base verb.
 - The irregular suffixes include, for instance, *-Ir*, as in *düş-ür-* ‘drop’, and *-Ar*, as in *çık-ar-* ‘extract’, which have no predictable rules but mostly attach to unaccusatives (see Göksel & Kerslake 2005 and Key 2013 for root-conditioned causatives).

2.2.1 Lexical causatives (and anticausatives)

- Causativizing an unaccusative verb, results in a simple transitive structure, i.e. lexical causatives, where the embedded subject receives the accusative case, as in (8b).

(8) a. Anahtar düş-tü. key fall-PST ‘The key fell.’	b. Ece anahtar-ı düş-ür-dü. Ece key-ACC fall-CAUS-PST ‘Ece dropped the key.’
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- Lexical causatives (i.e. transitive result verbs, e.g. *drop*, *break*) are those that are either morphologically marked (derived from unaccusatives), as in (9a), or unmarked, as in (9b).

(9) a. Ece yemeğ-i piş-ir-di. Ece meal-ACC COOK-CAUS-PST ‘Ece cooked the meal.’	b. Ece vazo-yu kır-dı. Ece vase-ACC break-PST ‘Ece broke the vase.’
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- Both types of lexical causatives involve in (anti)causative alternation (e.g. Schäfer 2008):
 - *düş-* ‘fall’, *düş-ür-* ‘drop’, *piş-* ‘cook (intr.)’, *piş-ir-* ‘cook’, i.e. unaccusative-causative alternation;
 - *aç-* ‘open’, *aç-ıl-* ‘open (intr.)’, *kır-* ‘break’, *kır-ıl-* ‘break (intr.)’, i.e. transitive-anticausative alternation (see Key 2013, 2021, 2024; Gündoğdu 2017).
- Table 1 is adapted from Sebüktekin (1971) and Key (2021).

Lexical Causatives		Anticausatives	
marked	unmarked	marked	unmarked
<i>bat-ır-</i> ‘sink’	<i>aç-</i> ‘open’	<i>aç-ıl-</i> ‘open’	<i>bat-</i> ‘sink’
<i>bit-ir-</i> ‘finish’	<i>ayır-</i> ‘separate’	<i>ayr-ıl-</i> ‘separate’	<i>bit-</i> ‘finish’
<i>büyü-t-</i> ‘grow’	<i>boz-</i> ‘spoil’	<i>boz-ul-</i> ‘spoil’	<i>büyü-</i> ‘grow’
<i>dol-dur-</i> ‘fill’	<i>devir-</i> ‘topple’	<i>devr-il-</i> ‘topple’	<i>dol-</i> ‘fill’
<i>dur-dur-</i> ‘stop’	<i>burk-</i> ‘sprain’	<i>burk-ul-</i> ‘sprain’	<i>dur-</i> ‘stop’
<i>düş-ür-</i> ‘drop’	<i>dök-</i> ‘spill’	<i>dök-ül-</i> ‘spill’	<i>düş-</i> ‘drop’
<i>eri-t-</i> ‘melt’	<i>kır-</i> ‘break’	<i>kır-ıl-</i> ‘break’	<i>eri-</i> ‘melt’
<i>geç-ir-</i> ‘pass’	<i>soy-</i> ‘peel’	<i>soy-ul-</i> ‘peel’	<i>geç-</i> ‘pass’
<i>uç-ur-</i> ‘fly’	<i>yay-</i> ‘spread’	<i>yay-ıl-</i> ‘spread’	<i>uç-</i> ‘fly’
<i>piş-ir-</i> ‘cook’	<i>yırt-</i> ‘rip’	<i>yırt-ıl-</i> ‘rip’	<i>piş-</i> ‘cook’

Table 1: Lexical causatives and anticausatives in Turkish

2.2.2 Productive causatives

- Causativizing unergatives results in simple transitive structures, where the embedded agent, i.e. the causee, receives the accusative case, as in (10b).

- (10) 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.' (Akkuş 2021: 215)

- Causativized transitives display a monoclausal case alignment, in which the causee receives the dative case², as in (11b)—just like the recipient of ditransitives.

- (11) a. Bütün misafir-ler araba-yı temizle-di(-ler).
all guest-PL car-ACC clean-PST (-3PL)
'All the guests cleaned the car.'
- b. Bütün *misafir-ler-i / misafir-ler-e araba-yı temizle-t-ti-m.
all *guest-PL-ACC / guest-PL-DAT car-ACC clean-CAUS-PST-1SG
'I made all the guests clean the car.' (adapted from Akkuş 2021: 215)

- After passivization, it is the theme argument that is promoted to the subject position, as in (12a), not the causee, as in (12b)³.

- (12) a. Araba bütün misafir-ler-e temizle-t-il-di.
car all guest-PL-DAT clean-CAUS-PASS-PST
'The car was made to be cleaned by all the guests.'
- b. *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.' (Akkuş 2021: 215)

2.3 Interim summary

- Turkish productive causatives show a monoclausal case alignment.
- The case of the causee in Turkish causatives is determined by the properties of the embedded verb, i.e. accusative with causativized unergatives and dative with causativized transitives.

²See (1b) below.

³Akkuş (2021: 272) argues that the same case pattern holds, when the transitive verb has a pseudo-incorporated object.

- (1) a. Bütün misafir-ler araba temizle-di(-ler).
all guest-PL car clean-PST (-3PL)
'All the guests did some car-cleaning.'
- b. Bütün [?]misafir-ler-i / misafir-ler-e araba temizle-t-ti-m.
all [?]guest-PL-ACC / guest-PL-DAT car clean-CAUS-PST-1SG
'I made all the guests clean the car.' (adapted from Akkuş 2021: 272)

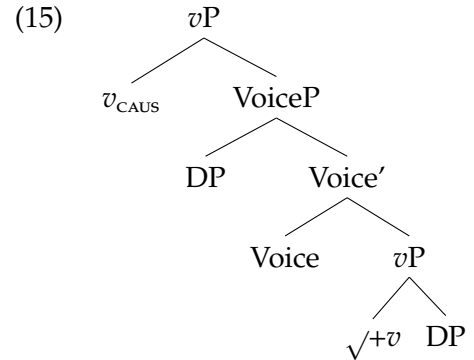
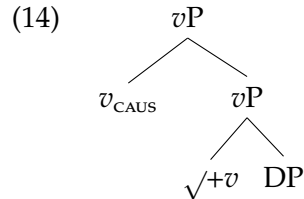
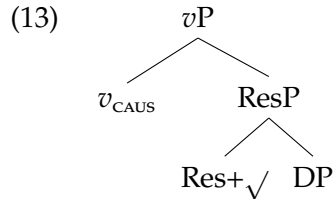
Although Akkuş (2021) does not mention passivization, I argue that if the theme is a pseudo-incorporated NP, then the causee promotes to the subject position, not the theme—similar to Japanese (see Harley 2008, 2017).

- (2) Bütün misafir-ler araba temizle-t-il-di(-ler).
all guest-PL car clean-CAUS-PASS-PST-(3PL)
'All the guests were made to do some car-cleaning.'

3 The size of the embedded verb

3.1 A decompositional approach

- Adopting a decompositional approach to argument and event structure (Kratzer 1996; Folli & Harley 2005; Alexiadou et al. 2015), I assume that v introduces a dynamic event, while agentive semantics is contributed by an additional Voice projection.
- Causative semantics is introduced by a flavor of v , namely v_{CAUS} , which can take complements of different sizes: (i) ResP-selecting (13), (ii) $v\text{P}$ -selecting (14), and (iii) VoiceP-selecting (15) (Pylkkänen 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Harley 2017).

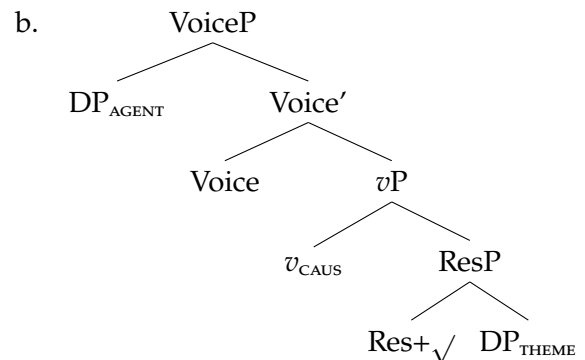
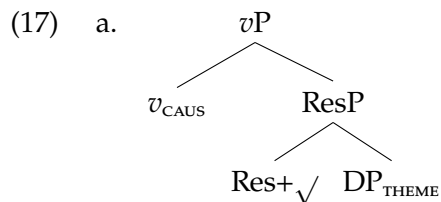


3.2 Lexical causatives are ResP-selecting

- Morphologically-marked lexical causatives (or derived transitive result verbs) exhibit a case of Voice alternation (Schäfer 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; a.o.), where the unaccusative variant simply lacks a Voice projection.

(16) a. Unaccusative causative
 Anahtar düş-tü.
 key fall-PST
 'The key fell.'

b. Lexical causative
 Ece anahtar-ı düş-ür-dü.
 Ece key-ACC fall-CAUS-PST
 'Ece dropped the key.'



3.3 Productive causatives are VoiceP-selecting

- The felicity of instrumental phrases, as in (18), and agent-oriented adverbs, as in (19), reveals the presence of thematic active VoiceP layers (Akkuş 2021; Yıldız 2024).

(18) a. Buralar-ı Ali'ye çamaşır suyu ile temizle-t-ti-m.
 here-ACC Ali-DAT bleach with clean-CAUS-PST-1SG
 'I made Ali clean all these places with bleach.' (adapted from Akkuş 2021: 230)

b. **Sadece bir el hareketi-yle** ona bir şarkı söyle-t-ti-m.
 just a hand motion-INST him.DAT a song tell-CAUS-PST-1SG
 ‘With just one hand gesture, I made him sing a song.’

(19) a. Antrenör sporcu-yu **süratle** koş-tur-du.
 trainer athlete-ACC swiftly run-CAUS-PST
 (i) ‘The trainer made the athlete swiftly run.’
 (ii) ‘The trainer swiftly made the athlete run.’

b. Aşçı garson-a bulaşık-lar-ı **gönüllüce** yıka-t-tı.
 chef waiter-DAT dish-PL-ACC willingly wash-CAUS-PST
 (i) ‘The chef made the waiter willingly wash the dishes.’
 (ii) ‘The chef willingly made the waiter wash the dishes.’

- Moreover, Akkuş (2021: 227) demonstrates that the embedded constituent shows an active/passive alternation, in which case the covert causee receives an existential interpretation, as in (20b).

(20) a. Kadın kasab-a et-i kes-tir-di.
 woman butcher-DAT meat-ACC cut-CAUS-PST
 ‘The woman had the butcher cut the meat.’ (Key 2013: 185)

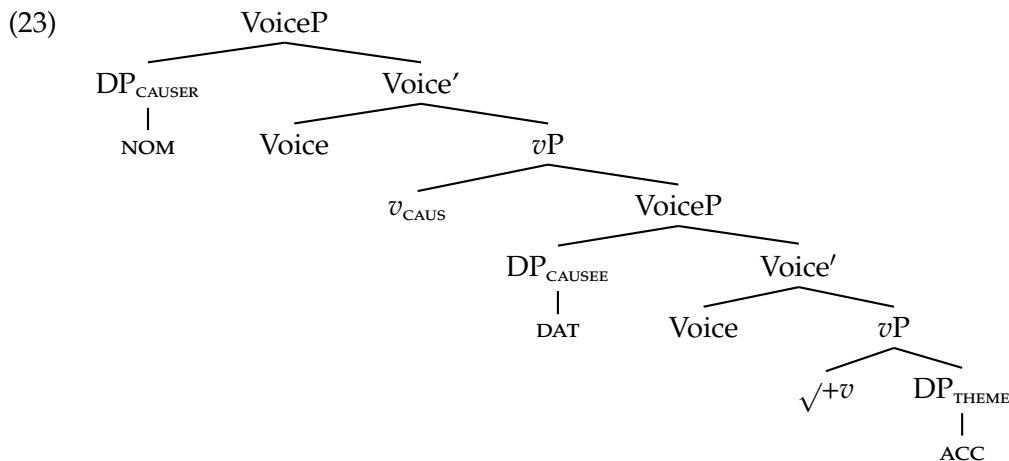
b. Kadın et-i kes-tir-di.
 woman meat-ACC cut-CAUS-PST
 ‘The woman had the meat cut.’ (Özkaragöz 1986)

- In contrast, the embedded verb does not include a TP layer; thus, nominative case for the causee, as in (21), and separate temporal modification, as in (22), are unavailable (but see Nie 2022).

(21) *Aşçı **garson** bulaşık-lar-ı yıka-t-tı.
 chef.NOM waiter.NOM dish-PL-ACC wash-CAUS-PST
 Intended: ‘The chef made the waiter wash the dishes.’

(22) *Patron **dün** işçi-ler-e buzdolab-in-ı **bugün** taşı-t-tı.
 boss yesterday employee-PL-DAT fridge-3SG-ACC today carry-CAUS-PST
 ‘The boss, yesterday, made [the workers carry the fridge today].’ (Akkuş 2021: 230)

- Turkish productive causatives are VoiceP-selecting since they are sensitive to agent-oriented modification such as instrumental phrases and agent-oriented adverbs.
- Therefore, I analyze causatives of transitives as instances of VoiceP-selecting causatives (cf. Nie 2020, 2022; Akkuş 2021), where v_{CAUS} combines with a full VoiceP.



4 Causatives of ditransitives and the distinctness condition

- Causativization of ditransitives in Turkish affects the case alignment, as two (adjacent) dative arguments are strongly dispreferred (e.g. Öztürk 2005; Akkuş 2021; but see Göksel 1993).

- (24) a. Müdür Hasan'a mektub-u göster-di.
 director Hasan-DAT letter-ACC show-PST
 'The director showed the letter to Hasan.' (Comrie 1974: 6)
- b. *Dişçi müdür'e Hasan'a mektub-u göster-t-ti.
 dentist director-DAT Hasan-DAT letter-ACC show-CAUS-PST
 'The dentist made the director show the letter to Hasan.' (Comrie 1974: 7)

- The dispreference of two datives reflects a more general constraint against a multiple assignment of the same case in monoclausal environments (Zimmer 1976; Kural 1996; Öztürk 2005).

- (25) *Ali Ece'ye Hasan'a hediye-yi gönder-di.
 Ali Ece-DAT Hasan-DAT gift-ACC send-PST
 'Ali sent a gift to Hasan for Ece.'

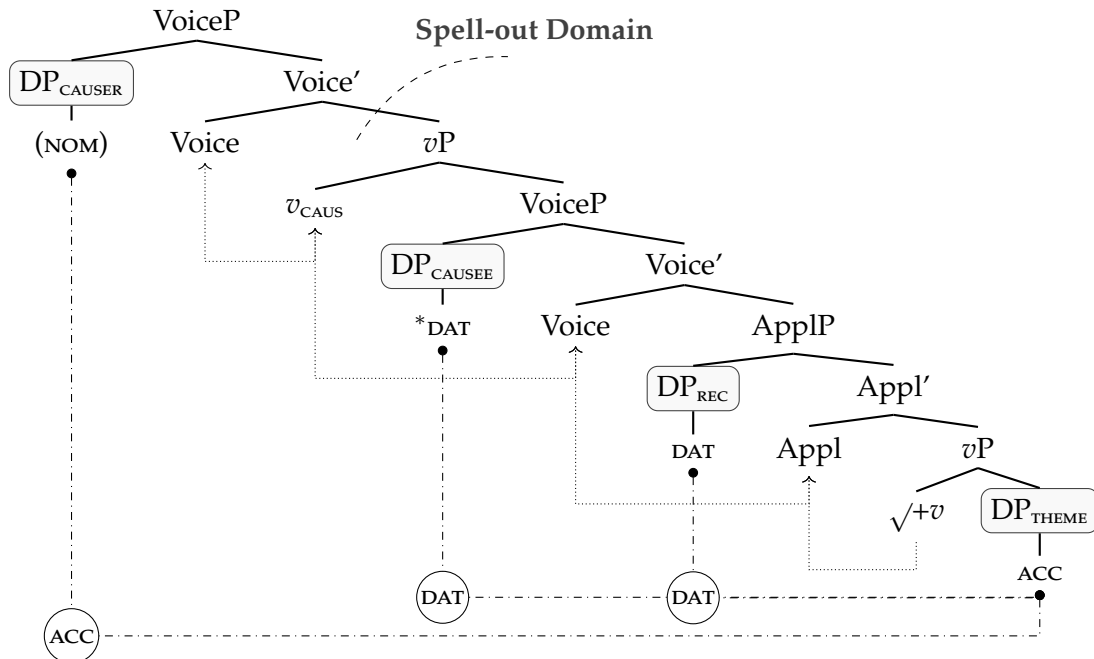
- Hopperdietzel & Yıldız (2025), adopting a phase-based dependent case approach (Harley 1995; Baker 2015), suggest that the dispreference for two dependent datives in a single spell-out domain follows from Richards (2010)'s distinctness condition, which constraints linearization at PF.

(26) Distinctness

Linearization statements of the form $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$ are uninterpretable (Richards 2010: 5).

- Assuming that linearization occurs at the spell-out of each phase, multiple identical elements within the spell-out domain of the same phase violate the distinctness condition.
- Therefore, the structure cannot be linearized, due to two DPs being marked with identical morphological case in the same phase.

- (27) Double datives violate the distinctness condition in causatives of ditransitives (Hopperdietzel & Yıldız 2025)



(28) Linearization statement of the DPs in the root phase after dependent case assignment:
 $\langle DP_{DAT}, DP_{DAT} \rangle, \langle DP_{DAT}, DP \rangle, \langle DP_{DAT}, DP \rangle$ (Hopperdietzel & Yıldız 2025)

- Instead, speakers have alternative strategies to satisfy the distinctness condition by realizing the causee within a postpositional *tarafından* 'by'-phrase (Comrie 1974; Kural 1996); a strategy also observed outside of causatives, e.g. (30); see Section 6 for more on these strategies.

(29) *Dişçi müdür tarafından* Hasan'a mektub-u göster-t-ti.
dentist director by Hasan-DAT letter-ACC show-CAUS-PST
'The dentist made the director show the letter to Hasan.' (adapted from Comrie 1974: 7)

(30) *Ali Ece için* Hasan'a hediye-yi gönder-di.
Ali Ece for Hasan-DAT gift-ACC send-PST
'Ali sent a gift to Hasan for Ece.'

5 Causative recursion in Turkish

- Turkish allows recursive embedding in productive causatives, in which a causative layer embeds an already causativized unergative and transitive verbs (Akkuş 2021; Nie 2022; Yıldız 2024).
- Double causatives of unergatives show the expected ditransitive NOM/DAT/ACC alignment with the causer being marked by the dative case, if overtly expressed.

(31) *Baba-sı (öğretmen-e)* Mary-yi koş-tur-t-tu.
father-3SG.POSS teacher-DAT Mary-ACC run-CAUS-CAUS-PST
'Her father made (the teacher/someone make) Mary run.' (adapted from Nie 2022: 5)

- *again*-modification diagnoses the presence of three vP layers; see Nie (2022) for other eventhood diagnostics for double causatives of unergatives.

(32) *Baba-sı öğretmen-e* Mary-yi *yine* koş-tur-t-tu.
father-3SG.POSS teacher-DAT Mary-ACC again run-CAUS-CAUS-PST
'Her father made the teacher make Mary run again.' (Nie 2022: 5)

- $\text{again CAUS}_2 > \text{CAUS}_1 > V$
- $\text{CAUS}_2 > \text{again CAUS}_1 > V$
- $\text{CAUS}_2 > \text{CAUS}_1 > \text{again } V$

- Agent-oriented adverb *isteksizce* 'reluctantly' diagnoses the presence of three VoiceP layers.

(33) *Müdür memur-a görevli-yi isteksizce* çalış-tır-t-tı.
supervisor officer-DAT attendant-ACC reluctantly work-CAUS-CAUS-PST
'The supervisor had the officer make the attendant work reluctantly.'

- $\text{reluctantly CAUS}_2 > \text{CAUS}_1 > V$
The supervisor reluctantly instructed the officer to make the attendant work, showing little desire to be involved. Despite this, the officer efficiently carried out the order without any signs of reluctance.
- $\text{CAUS}_2 > \text{reluctantly CAUS}_1 > V$
The supervisor ordered the officer to make the attendant work, but the officer hesitated and carried out the supervisor's orders reluctantly. The attendant worked without any issues.
- $\text{CAUS}_2 > \text{CAUS}_1 > \text{reluctantly } V$
The supervisor ordered the officer to instruct the attendant to start working. However, the attendant seemed unwilling and worked reluctantly.

- Due to the distinctness condition, double causatives of transitives disallow the causer to be realized as a dative-marked DP, given that both the causer and the causee are located in the same spell-out domain (Hopperdietzel & Yıldız 2025).

(34) *Ece **Ayşe-ye Ali-ye** soğanlar-ı doğra-t-tır-dı.
 Ece Ayşe-DAT Ali-DAT onions-ACC chop-CAUS-CAUS-PST.

‘Ece had Ayşe make Ali chop the onions.’ (adapted from Kural 1996: 95)

- Instead, the causer must be realized by a postpositional *tarafından* ‘by’-phrase, as in (35), or be left implicit, as in (36), to rescue the derivation; see Section 6 for alternative strategies and variation.

(35) Ece **Ayşe tarafından** Ali-ye soğanlar-ı doğra-t-tır-dı.
 Ece Ayşe by Ali-DAT onions-ACC chop-CAUS-CAUS-PST

‘Ece had Ayşe make Ali chop the onions.’ (adapted from Kural 1996: 95)

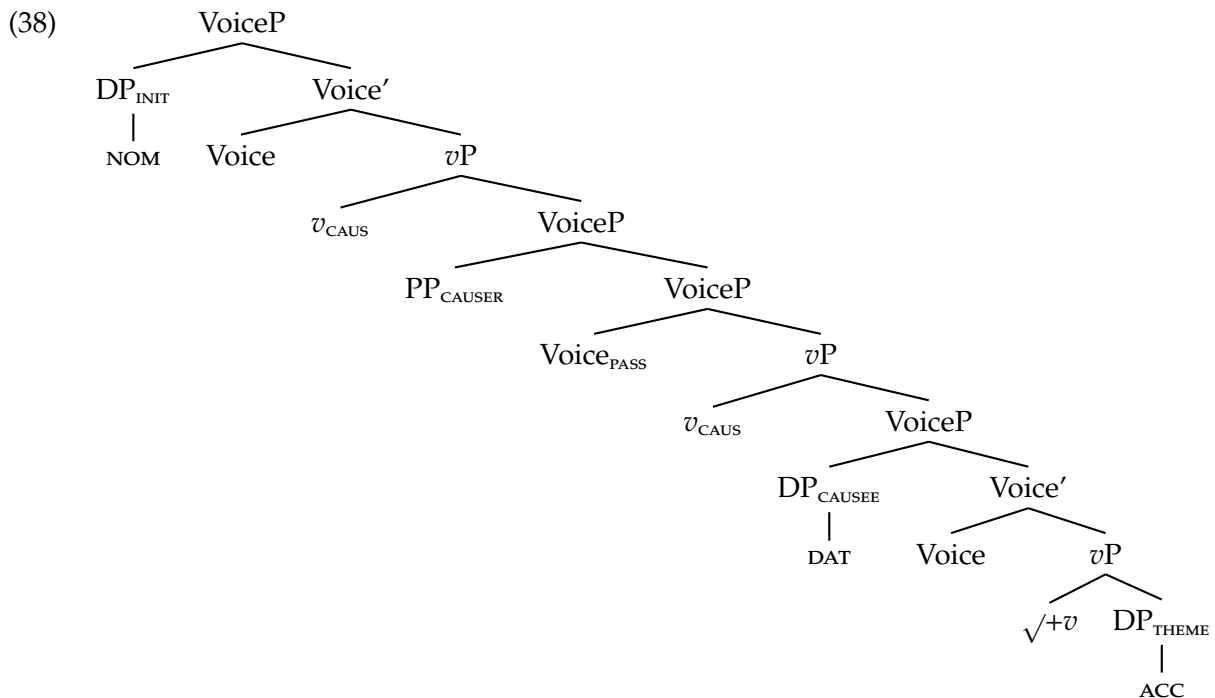
(36) Çocuk köpeğ-e kedi-yi kovala-t-tır-dı.
 child dog-DAT cat-ACC chase-CAUS-CAUS-PST

(i) ‘The child made someone make the dog chase the cat.’

(ii) ‘The child made the dog make someone chase the cat.’ (Çetinoğlu 2009: 84)

- The multiple assignment of the dative case for intermediary arguments are disallowed in Turkish double causatives of transitives (Comrie 1974; Zimmer 1976; Kural 1996; Akkuş 2021; Yıldız 2024).
- I analyze recursive causatives as instances of *vP*-recursion, where each causative layer introduces a causing event and selects for Voice to introduce/license external arguments (cf. Nie 2022).
- The thematic active vs. non-active Voice distinction (i.e. Alexiadou et al. 2015) captures the structural difference between the causee and the causer, respectively.

(37) Ada_{INIT} (avukat-ı tarafından_{CAUSER}) Ali-ye_{CAUSEE} konut kredi-sin-i öde-t-tır-di.
 Ada lawyer-3SG by Ali-DAT residence credit-3SG-ACC pay-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘Ada had (her lawyer/someone make) Ali pay the mortgage.’



6 Alternative strategies and interspeaker variation

- In the literature, at least three different strategies have been identified to satisfy the distinctness condition in both causatives of ditransitives and double causatives of transitives.

6.1 Strategy A

- Speakers of this strategy allows double datives, but only if one of the datives is extracted from its base position, e.g. via left dislocation, right dislocation, or scrambling (Knecht 1986; Göksel 1993; Nie 2022).
- Most examples used in this strategy places the theme argument in between the causee and the recipient or the beneficiary⁴, as in (39b) and (40b).

- (39) a. Biz mektub-u Hasan'a göster-di-k.
we letter-ACC Hasan-DAT show-PST-1PL
'We showed the letter to Hasan.'
- b. Biz-e mektub-u Hasan'a göster-t-ti-ler.
we-DAT letter-ACC Hasan-DAT show-CAUS-PST-3PL
'They made us show the letter to Hasan.' (Zimmer 1976: 411, fn. 12)
- (40) a. Ali kız-a et-i kes-ti.
Ali girl-DAT meat-ACC cut-PST
'Ali cut the meat for the girl.'
- b. Kız-a et-i Ali'ye kes-tir-di-m.
girl-DAT meat-ACC Ali-DAT cut-CAUS-PST-1SG
'I made Ali cut the meat for the girl.' (Knecht 1986: 110)

- Moreover, both Sebüktekin (1971: 82) and Göksel (1993: 216) argue that the linear placement of the two dative-marked objects matters, in that the causee precedes the indirect object of the base verb, as in (41)—compare with (40b).
- Göksel (1993: 216) shows two adjacent dative objects, where the causee precedes the indirect object, as in (42a), and argues that if one of the dative objects is dislocated, ambiguities arise, as in (42b), due to flexible word order and scrambling.

- (41) Bana para-yı Mehmet'e ver-dir-di.
1SG.DAT money-ACC Mehmet-DAT give-CAUS-PST
'He had me give the money to Mehmet.' (Sebüktekin 1971: 82)
- (42) a. Baba-m-a çocuklar-a masal anlat-tır-dı-m.
father-1SG.POSS-DAT children-DAT story tell-CAUS-PST-1SG
(i) 'I had my father tell stories to the children.'
(ii) *'I had the children tell stories to my father.'
- b. Çocuklar-a masal anlat-tır-dı-m baba-m-a.
children-DAT story tell-CAUS-PST-1SG father-1SG.POSS-DAT
(i) 'I had my father tell stories to the children.'
(ii) 'I had the children tell stories to my father.' (Göksel 1993: 216)

⁴Zimmer (1976) notes that the possibility of two dative-marked DPs occurring in a single clause strongly relies on a constraint against "two derived datives [...] as opposed to a combination of an original and a derived dative" (Zimmer 1976: 411, fn. 12; Knecht 1986: 110).

- As for double causatives of transitives, speakers of this strategy, relying on the linear order of arguments, allow double datives for the causer and the causee, as in (43)⁵.

(43) Anne-si Ayşe-ye kitab-ı Hakan-a oku-t-tur-du.
 mother-3SG.POSS Ayşe-DAT book-ACC Hakan-DAT read-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘Her mother made Ayşe make Hakan read the book.’ (Nie 2022: 4, fn. 3)

6.2 Strategy B

- Speakers of this strategy disregard two overtly realized dative-marked DPs in a single clause (Öztürk 2005; Akkuş 2021), a dispreference also observed outside of causatives, as in (44).

(44) Hediye-yi Tokay için / *Tokay-a hoca-ya ver-di-m.
 present-ACC Tokay for / *Tokay-DAT teacher-DAT give-PST-1SG
 ‘I gave the present to the teacher for Tokay.’ (Knecht 1986: 104)

- Instead, speakers of this strategy either replace one of the dative arguments with postpositional phrases (Comrie 1974; Zimmer 1976; Kural 1996; Yıldız 2024)
- or drop one of the dative arguments (Çetinoğlu 2009; Akkuş 2021).

(45) a. *Ali Hasan-a Ece’ye kapı-yı aç-tır-t-tı.
 Ali Hasan-DAT Ece-DAT door-ACC open-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘Ali made Hasan make Ece open the door.’

b. Ali Hasan tarafından Ece’ye kapı-yı aç-tır-t-tı.
 Ali Hasan by Ece-DAT door-ACC open-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘Ali had Hasan make Ece open the door.’

(46) a. *Ben arkadaş-ım-a fotokopici-ye fotokopi çek-tir-di-m.
 I friend-1SG.POSS-DAT copy.shop-DAT photocopy pull-CAUS-PST-1SG
 (i) ‘I made the copy shopper xerox papers for my friend.’
 (ii) ‘I made my friend xerox papers for the copy shopper.’ (Akkuş 2021: 262)

b. Ben arkadaş-ım için fotokopici-ye fotokopi çek-tir-di-m.
 I friend-1SG.POSS for copy.shop-DAT photocopy pull-CAUS-PST-1SG
 ‘I made the copy shopper xerox papers for my friend.’ (Akkuş 2021: 263)

(47) a. *Ben arkadaş-ım-a fotokopici-ye fotokopi çek-tir-t-ti-m.
 I friend-1SG.POSS-DAT copy.shop-DAT photocopy pull-CAUS-CAUS-PST-1SG
 (i) *‘I had my friend make the copy shopper xerox papers.’
 (ii) *‘I had the copy shopper make my friend xerox papers.’ (Akkuş 2021: 262)

b. Ben arkadaş-ım için fotokopici-ye fotokopi çek-tir-t-ti-m.
 I friend-1SG.POSS for copy.shop-DAT photocopy pull-CAUS-CAUS-PST-1SG
 (i) ‘I made the copy shopper make someone xerox papers for my friend.’
 (ii) ‘I made someone make the copy shopper xerox papers for my friend.’
 (iii) *‘I made my friend xerox papers for the copy shopper.’
 (iv) *‘I made my friend make the copy shopper xerox papers.’ (Akkuş 2021: 263)

⁵Possible interpretations for this example include:

(i) Her mother had (someone make) Hakan read the book to Ayşe;
 (ii) Her mother had (someone make) Ayşe read the book to Hakan.

7 Conclusion

- Productive causatives (i.e. causatives of unergatives and transitives) are VoiceP-selecting (diagnosed by agent-oriented modification such as instrumental phrases and agent-oriented adverbs).
- Two (adjacent) dative-marked DPs are strongly dispreferred, both in causatives of ditransitives and double causatives of transitives due to the distinctness condition.
- Instead, speakers have alternative strategies, e.g. realizing one of the dative-marked arguments within a postpositional phrase (the causer as a *by*-phrase or the beneficiary as a *for*-phrase); dislocating or dropping one of the dative-marked arguments.
- These data point to substantial interspeaker variation in how the distinctness condition is resolved, with certain strategies being dispreferred or entirely rejected by some speakers (cf. Akkuş 2021 on restrictions against *by*-phrases in Turkish causatives; Kural 1996 on the unacceptability of double datives in causatives regardless of their linear order).

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