**Introduction**

Sasanian Arabic (SA) has an indirect causative (IC) construction embedded under the verb 'make':

(1) *a*yā *su* addīl bīt-*ma* (*make* canonicity)

The village lord made.3M build-INF house-a

'Ve did the house."

- overt embedded theme, but no overt embedded agent; but with the verb in infinitival form.
- embedded agent is interpreted as indefinite, non-specific 'someone' or 'some people'.

**The puzzle.** The embedded agent is obligatorily null unless Ł-extracted.

(2) a. kemal *su* (*nes-ma*) faqiz

Kemal made person-a run-INF

*Kemal had someone run-INF.*

b. *kemal* *su* *ände* faqiz

Kemal made who run-INF

*Who did Kemal make run?*

Claim(s)

- 'make' embeds a thematic VoiceP with active-passive alternation.
- The embedded agent is not licensed in-situ, in Spec,VoiceP, and Ł-movements its licensing possible.
- A phase-based account both explains this restriction and provides evidence for Ł-movement feeding relations.

**VoiceP with active-passive alternation**

- 'make' embeds a thematic VoiceP, but no higher projections.

  - no CLILD to the right of 'make', no complementation → CP
  - no negation on the infinitive → N
  - no distinct temporal modification, no auxiliaries → P
  - no agreement or pertinent Aspect-Voice morphology → *Aspl*
  - agent-oriented adverbs, comitatives, agentive phrases → VoiceP
  - independent nominal adverbs → VP

- **FP.** A low focus position (with active VoiceP)

(3) a. *gwaran-i* ku (*gwaran-i*) i-xax ×(*gwaran-i*) (gwaran-i li), pants-my be.3M pants-my 3Mst-wash pants-my shirt-my no

'He is washing my pants, (not my shirt!).'

b. *gwaran-*su sa-ta (*gwaran*) xax (*gwaran* li), pants-my make-3pl pants-my wash pants-my shirt-my no

'She made (me, some people) wash my pants, (not my shirt!).'

⇒ **VoiceP with active-passive alternation.** (i) the (im)possibility of Ł-moving the embedded object when 'make' is passivized, (ii) shushing, (iii) nonpassivizable idioms.

An embedded clause with by-phrase behaves like a canonical passive:

(4) a. *èmes* *su* xassil *sa*sul *mara-ma* pi-e, *èmes* made-3M wash-INF clothes by woman-a old-f

*Kemal had the clothes washed by some old woman.*

b. *potad* *su* xassil *mara-ma* pi-e clothes *pass* wash-INF woman-a old-f

'Clothes were washed by some old woman.'

c. *potad* *su* xassil clothes *pass* wash-INF

*Intended. 'Clothes were made to be washed.'

Without a by-phrase, the embedded clause behaves like a canonical active:

(5) *mara* xassil *èmes* wash-INF

*nees-ma* by-phrase building-f

'Someone made (someone) build the building.'

**Embedded theme as grammatical object**

- non-passivizable theme
- passivable theme
- licensing remain on by whom

⇒ **Embedded theme as the grammatical object.** The theme is licensed in the embedded clause, independently of whether the matrix 'make' is active or passive.

- (i) Definition effect, (ii) CLILD, and (iii) agreement asymmetry are the diagnostics.

(6) a. *gwar* *ans* qari-ta-a b. kemal *su* in-qedl-*a*

newspaper-F pass-INF yesterday read-INF-3F

*The newspaper, I read it yesterday.*

b. *gwar* *sa* *m-a-sut-e-ta-a* qari-*a* *su* *nos-ma* taxwil

newspaper-F pass-INF make-INF-3pl read-INF-3F by person-a tall

*The newspaper, it was made [read by a tall person].'

**Analysis: A-extraction of embedded agent and phase-edge**

**Proposal**

The embedded active, but not passive, VoiceP is dominated by FP, whose head F is a phase-head and has Ł-features, including focus (cf. 3).

(13) V V

V by FP

⇒ The absence of FP with embedded passive Voice perfectly predicts that this position should be unavailable for contrastive focus (15a-15b). (cf. 3) (with active VoiceP).

(15) a. *kiṯar-ma* kemal *ku* (*kiṯar-ma*) in-y-adli book-a Kemal be.PRS.3M book-a pass.INF-3M give

*Kemal is being given a book.*

b. *kemal* *su* *potad* xassil *mara-ma* pi-e (šilâgî la)

Kemal made.3M clothes wash-INF by woman-a old-f pillow no

*Kemal had the clothes (not the pillow) washed by some old woman.'

This analysis explains the four possible configurations, based on the diathesis of matrix and embedded clauses:

- (i) active > passive, (ii) passive > passive, (iii) active > active, (iv) passive > active.

**An illustration: active > active**

- Being a phasal domain, FP intervenes in the licensing of the embedded agent by the matrix 'make'.
- F can host Ł-features, and the embedded agent can raise to its edge.

As such, the agent can be licensed by 'make' in a local configuration (cf. Rezac 2013).

Previous analyses of similar phenomena revolve around locality restrictions (e.g. Kayne 1984, Pesetsky 1991, Bošković 1997, Rezac 2013).

- e.g. Bošković (1997, 2002): as an additional VP, Rezac (2013:314-315) + silent N°
- Rottche (1998:315): French (and Italian) "propositional" infinitives are CPs, as such "act as a barrier with respect to government of the embedded subject position by the matrix V."
- In today’s terms, the barrier corresponds to places (see Mouton (2009) for this approach to French voicing-class verbs).

**Conclusions**

- 'make' causatives embed an agentive VoiceP, with an active-passive alternation.
- The embedded agent may not remain in-situ, and needs to undergo Ł-movement.

- This construction in SA is part of a larger crosslinguistic pattern (Tagalog, Richards 2001; Russian and Richards (2005); Malagasy, Pearse (2001), French, Kayne (1975), i.a. )

- A phrase-based account both explains this restriction, and provides evidence for Ł-movement feeding licensing relations.