Implicit argument as a free variable: Evidence from pronoun licensing

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1 Introduction

Sason Arabic (SA) has an indirect causative construction (IC) embedded under the verb ‘make/do’.

(1) a. *iya i sa-tte karu₂ odav mşa rouk / roeu₂. she made-3f write-INF homework for himself / themselves

b. aya₁ sa bayu₂ tirab-u₂/k -(?)-a₂/v/k. village.lord made.3M sell-INF land-his/ her

‘The village lord made (someone) write the homework for himself / themselves.’

The puzzle. The null embedded agent may not license anaphors/depictives, (2a), but can license pronouns, (2a).

(2) a. *iya i sa-tte karu₂ odav mşa rouk / roeu₂. she made-3f write-INF homework for himself / themselves

b. aya₁ sa bayu₂ tirab-u₂/k -(?)-a₂/v/k. village.lord made.3M sell-INF land-his/ her

‘The village lord made (someone) write the homework for himself / themselves.’

Proposal

- Syntax: ‘make’ causatives embed an agentive VoiceP, with active-passive alternation.
- Semantics: The null embedded agent is introduced as a free variable on Voice⁰ (à la Heim 1982).

Roadmap

§2 The size of the embedded clause
§3 VoiceP with active-passive alternation
§4 Licensing properties of the embedded agent
§5 embedded agent as a free variable
§6 Conclusion

2 The size of the embedded clause

A variety of diagnostics demonstrate that ‘make’ does not embed AspP or higher projections.

→ The tests are summarized in Table 1 (see Appendix for the examples).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complementizer</th>
<th>AspP</th>
<th>Syntax</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no CLLD to the right of ‘make’, no complementizers</td>
<td>→ *CP</td>
<td>neither the finite complementizer le nor the subjunctive te/ta are possible.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no negation on the infinitive</td>
<td>→ *NegP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no distinct temporal modification or auxiliaries</td>
<td>→ *TP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no agreement or portmanteau Aspect+Voice morphology</td>
<td>→ *AspP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent-oriented adverbs, comitatives, agentive by-phrases</td>
<td>→ ✓ VoiceP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no stative predicates or unaccusatives</td>
<td>→ ✓ VP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: size of the ‘make’ ICs

- **Complementizer**: Neither the finite complementizer le nor the subjunctive te/ta are possible.

(3) *ams dade sa-tte le/te hazd hasiş. yesterday mom made-3f that/to cut grass

*Intended*: ‘Yesterday mom made (someone) cuts the grass.’

OR ‘Yesterday mom made that (someone) cut. {sbjv} the grass.’

- **AspP**: In SA, the passive prefix is sensitive to aspect, (4), and realizes the combination of Aspect+Voice heads.

(4) a. potad in-xusl-o kil-lom clothes PASS.IMPF-wash.IMPF-3PL every-day ‘Clothes are washed every day.’

b. potad in-xasal-o ams clothes PASS.PVF-wash.PVF-3PL yesterday ‘Clothes were washed yesterday.’

1 Many thanks are due to Julie Anne Legate, David Embick, Florian Schwarz and Kyle Johnson for invaluable comments and discussions. I would also like to thank Hamid Ouali, Usama Soltan, Abbas Bennamoun, Karlos Arregi, Jason Merchant, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, Matt Barros, Jim Wood, Hadas Kotek, Milena Šereikaitė, Alison Biggs and the audiences at ASAL 33, CLS 55, GLOW 42, NYU - Syntax Brown Bag, FMART for feedback and discussions on parts of this work. Usual disclaimers apply.
The passive prefix is disallowed on the infinitivals.

(5) beaqıl ye i-si *in-/*m-addil musluq mı unwise cop.3sg 3m-make PASS.IMPF/PASS.PFV-repair.INF tap by tamirci-ma hêdi. repairman-a slow
'It would be unwise to make the tap repaired by a slow repairman.'

• VoiceP
→ Instrumentals are diagnostics for an external argument layer (i.e. Voice) (Bruening 2013; Alexiadou et al. 2015, also Fillmore 1968).

(6) a. bina m-faşş-e mi işçiyad wara çakuçad apartment PASS.PFV-demolished-3F by employees with hammers
'The apartment was demolished by the employees with hammers.'

b. *bina m-qalab-e mi rua wara çakuçad apartment NACT-fell.over-3F by itself with hammers
'The apartment fell over by itself with hammers.'

They are also grammatical in SA ICs, and can modify the embedded agent, (7).

(7) a. si-to ayet şu rvan waraibre made-2pl sew.INF pants with needles
'You had someone [sew the pants with needles].'

b. kemal sa buq sir ghmboz-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].'

→ Agentive by-phrases are also grammatical with some restrictions on their acceptability.

- Most felicitous examples are when DP embedded under by is indefinite, (8a).
- Definite by-phrases lead to ungrammaticality, (8b).

(8) a. (?)kemal sa xassil potad mı mara-ma pir-e. kemal made.3M wash.INF clothes by woman-a old-F
'Kemal had the clothes washed by some old woman.'

b. si-tu addil beyt (*m ust) made-1sg build.INF house (*by the.builder)
'I had the house built by the builder.'

- Indefinite by-phrases further improve when they are “heavy” (heaviness reminiscent of ‘heavy-NP shift’), (9).

(9) irr-mni a-si addil beyt mı usta ma ande (le) y-are want-me 1sg-make build.INF house by builder-a who (that) 3M-know şne y-addel what 3sg-do
'I want to have the house built by a builder who knows what they are doing.'

- The best examples are with instances in which an impersonal or generic interpretation is available. Consider (10).

(10) beaqıl ye i-si addil musluq mı tamirci-ma hêdi. repairman-a slow
unwise cop.3sg 3m-make repair.INF tap by repairman-a slow
'It would be unwise to have the tap repaired by a slow repairman.'

The possibility of by-phrases as in (8-10) suggests that there is a Voice layer, introducing an agent role that can be modified/identified by the by-phrases.

3 VoiceP with active-passive alternation

• The embedded VoiceP manifests an active-passive alternation despite the absence of a morphological reflex.

- (i) the (im)possibility of A-moving the embedded object when the matrix ‘make’ is passivized, (ii) sluicing, (iii) nonpassivizable idioms.

3.1. (Impersonal) Passive

• An embedded clause with by-phrase behaves like a canonical passive:2

- The embedded verb does not license the object, instead behaves as licensed by the matrix ‘make’.

- Therefore, when ‘make’ is passivized, the embedded theme raises to grammatical subject position and shows verbal agreement, (11a-11b).

- Raising is not possible without a by-phrase, (11c).

2 cf. garden-variety passives, (i).

(i) ala cam (mi kemal) m-qaraf ba-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)
(11) a. kemal sa xassil potad mi mara-ma pir-e.
    kemal made.3M wash.INF clothes by woman-a old-F
    ‘Kemal had the clothes washed by some old woman.’

b. potad m-so xassil mi 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.’

c. *potad m-so xassil clothes PASS.PFV-made.3PL wash.INF
    Intended: ‘Clothes were made to be washed.’

• (11b) can be represented as (12).

(12) TP
    T'
    VoiceP
    vP
    VP
    VoiceP
    v
    V
    ‘make’
    VoiceP
    V
    ‘wash’
    (DP1)
    ‘the clothes’

• 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.

• Passivization of ‘make’, when the embedded clause lacks a by-phrase, results in an impersonal passive, (13).
  – no argument is associated with the grammatical subject position, as such ‘make’ is realized with the default third masculine agreement.

(13) m-sa addil bina.
    PASS.PFV-made.3M build.INF building.F
    ‘Someone made (someone) build the building.’

Aside: SA does indeed independently allow impersonal passives, (14).

(14) lora m-sa dans (m misafir-ad).
    then PASS.PFV-made dance (by guest-PL)
    ‘Then it was danced (by the guests).’

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

3.2. Sluicing

• While VP ellipsis may allow voice mismatching, sluicing does not (Merchant 2013); also true in SA.

(15) a. kemal kul çax i-xsel potad ta bad ma kmno.
    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-fıde m ande le irıllu.
    this.M computer can PASS-open by who that wants
    ‘This computer can be turned on by anyone who wants to.’

(16) sadqe le boş samaq m-qafal-o, hama m-arafe *(m)
    believed.3F that many fish PASS-caught-3PL, but NEG-knew.3F *(by) ande
    who
    ‘She believes many fish to have been caught, but she didn’t know *(by) who.’

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

(17) mafya sa qadal mara-du, hama m-ore *(m) ande
    mafia made murder.INF wife-his but NEG-knew.1SG *(by) who
    ‘The mafia leader made (someone) murder his wife, but I don’t know *(by) who’

(18) a. m-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. m-sa addil beyt, hama m-ore m 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’
YES: who made somebody build the house
NOT: who built the house

• When a ‘by’-phrase is present, the embedded verb now patterns as passive for sluicing.

(19) kemal sa xassil potad m mara-ma pir-e, hama m-ore
Kemal made wash clothes by woman-a old-f, but NEG-know.1sg
tam *(mi) ande.
exactly *(by) who
‘Kemal made the clothes be washed by an old woman, but I don’t know exactly *(by) who.’

(20) potad (mi imm-i) m-so xassil m nes-ma, hama
clothes by mother-my) PASS-made.3pl wash.inf by person-a but
m-ore *(mi) 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 behavior of idioms is summarized in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>embedded clause</th>
<th>with by-phrase</th>
<th>without by-phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-passivizable idioms</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passivizable idioms</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: active-passive embedded VoiceP

3.3. Theme as the grammatical object

The embedded theme is licensed in the embedded clause, thus behaves as a grammatical object independently of whether ‘make’ is active or passive.

– (i) Definiteness effect, (ii) Clitic Left-Dislocation (CLLD), and (iii) agreement asymmetry compel us to reach this conclusion.

• CLLD

Direct or indirect objects in Arabic may normally be CLLD-ed to the CP domain, be it matrix or embedded CP, (Benmamoun 2000; Aoun et al. 2010), as in (21).

(21) a. gaste AMS qari-tu-a
newspaper.F yesterday read-1sg-3f
‘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-3f
‘He doesn’t accept that the newspaper, I read it yesterday.’

The subject cannot be CLLD-ed. True for both the thematic subjects, (22a), as well as the underlying objects raised to become the grammatical subject, (22b).

(22) a. kemal qara-(*u) gaste.
Kemal.M read-3m newspaper.F
‘Kemal, he read the newspaper.’

b. kemal in-qıdel-(*u).
Kemal.M pass.ipfv-kill-3m
‘Kemal, he is killed.’

The embedded theme in ‘make’ causatives can undergo CLLD.

(23) haşiş AMS aya sa hazd-u.
grass yesterday village.lord made cut-3m
‘The grass, yesterday the village lord made (someone) cut it.’

When the matrix verb is passive, and there is a ‘by’-phrase associated with the embedded verb, the theme cannot undergo CLLD.

(24) gaste m-satt-e-(a) qaru-(a) m nes-ma tawwil.
newspaper.F PASS.PFV-made-3f-3f read-INF-3f by person-a tall
‘The newspaper, it was made [read by a tall person].’

(25) potad (mi imm-i) m-sa-o-(*en) xassil-(*en) m nes-ma
clothes by mother-my) PASS-made.3pl-pl wash.inf-pl by person-a
‘Clothes were made (by my mother) washed by a person.’
Interim Summary

- ‘make’ embeds an agentive VoiceP, but lacks CP, TP, NegP and AspP.
  - The embedded VoiceP exhibits an active-passive alternation.
- The theme in the ‘make’ ICs lacks properties of a derived theme, but it exhibits properties of a grammatical object of a transitive.

4 The implicit embedded agent and licensing

- Now we deal with the question of whether the implicit argument is syntactically projected or not in the active complement of ‘make’, where the agent is null.
- The diagnostics in section 2 identify the presence of a thematic Voice, but do not necessarily entail the syntactic projection of such arguments.
  - For instance, Bhatt and Pancheva (2006, 2017) conclude that in some cases implicit arguments seem to be syntactically active, but that there is no good evidence to suggest that they are syntactically projected.\(^3\)
- I investigate (i) anaphor binding, (ii) depictive licensing and (iii) scope in ‘make’-causatives regarding their implications for the status of the embedded agent.
  \(\rightarrow\) Reflexives

Reflexives need a projected binder; not licensed in passives

(26) a. zi\(\ddot{y}\)ar\(\ddot{i}\) adl-o odav (m\(\ddot{u}\)sa roen\(\ddot{i}\)).
    children did-3PL homework.M for themselves
    ‘The children did the homework (for themselves).’

b. odav in-\(\ddot{a}\)d\(\ddot{a}\)l (*m\(\ddot{u}\)sa roen/rou).
    homework PASS.PFV-did.3M *for themselves/himself
    ‘The homework was done (*for themselves/himself).’

Not licensed by the embedded agent

(27) * iya\(\ddot{s}\) sat-te addi\(\ddot{\imath}\)l\(\ddot{k}\) odav \(\ddot{m}\)\(\ddot{u}\)sa rou\(\ddot{k}\) / roen\(\ddot{k}\).
    she made-3F do.INF homework for himself / themselves
    ‘She\(\ddot{s}\) made (some person\(\ddot{k}\)/people\(\ddot{k}\)) do the homework for himselfk/theremselvesk.’

\(\rightarrow\) Reciprocals

Reciprocals need a projected binder; not licensed in passives

(28) a. calabma insan-ad bas-o baz-en
    some human-PL kissed-3PL each other-3PL
    ‘Some people kissed each other.’

b. * baz-en in-bas-(o)
    each other-3PL PASS-kissed-(3PL)
    ‘Each other were kissed.’

Not licensed by the embedded agent

(29) * iya satte b\(\ddot{a}\)s baz-en.
    she made kiss.INF each other-3PL
    ‘She made (some people) kiss each other.’

\(\rightarrow\) Depictives

Depictives require projection in SA: not allowed in passives

(30) a. nes-ma\(\ddot{a}\) amal araba (sarxo\(\ddot{s}\)\(\ddot{h}\))
    person-a drove car drunk
    ‘Someone\(\ddot{a}\) drove the car (drunk\(\ddot{a}\)).’

b. araba in-amal-e (??sarxo\(\ddot{s}\))
    car.F PASS-drove-F (??drunk)
    ‘The car was driven (??drunk).’

(31) a. kemal\(\ddot{\imath}\) kar-a xanni (sarxo\(\ddot{s}\)\(\ddot{h}\))
    Kemal wrote-3M song (drunk)
    ‘Kemal composed the song drunk.’

b. xanni in-kara (??sarxo\(\ddot{s}\))
    song.M PASS-wrote.M (??drunk)
    ‘The song was written drunk.’

Not licensed by embedded agent

(32) a. nana\(\ddot{\imath}\) mu-ni-si am\(\ddot{u}\)l\(\ddot{k}\) araba (sarxo\(\ddot{s}\)\(\ddot{h}\)\(\ddot{h}\)\(\ddot{d}\)/\(\ddot{k}\))
    we NEG-1PL-make drive car (drunk)
    ‘We\(\ddot{s}\) don’t let (anyone\(\ddot{k}\)) drive the car drunk\(\ddot{i}/\(\ddot{k}\).’
b. nana, si-nna karuₙ xanni (sarxoṣ₁/₁k)
we made-1PL write.INF song (drunk)

'We made (someone₁k) compose the song drunk₁/₁k.'

⇝ Scope

Scope patterns as expected; but since the negation has to be on the matrix verb, the pattern is perhaps less striking.

(33) nana mı-nı-si xanni
we NEG-1PL make sing

'We don’t make sing.'

YES: We don’t make anyone sing.
NO: We don’t make a certain person sing.

neg > some, *some > neg

(34) sıma-tu le mı-i-si xanni fi dawe, # hama heard-1SG that NEG-3SG make sing.INF in wedding but
m-ore ande.
NEG-1SG know who

'I have heard that he won’t make anyone sing in the wedding, # but I don’t know who.'

• So far, it seems that Sason Arabic exhibits an active existential construction embedded under the causative verb ‘make’ (cf. Šereikaitė 2018).

• The voice is active, the theme remains a grammatical object, and yet the embedded agent is not projected.

(35) Active Existential, (Lithuanian)

Valiuₙ kvieč-ia j dekanatą
Valius.invite-PRS.3 to dean’s.office.ACC

'Someone is inviting Valius to the dean’s office.'

(Kibort and Maskaliumienė 2016:251, cited in Šereikaitė 2018)

• Šereikaitė (2018) proposes that the embedded agent is not projected, but existentially closed at the Voice level, thus the label active existential.

• In the next section, however, we will see a reason to posit a free variable, rather than existential closure (Spoiler Alert: pronouns can be licensed by the null embedded agent.)

5 A semantic analysis: embedded agent as a free variable

• Pronouns cannot be anchored to the implicit agent of passives, thus the disjoint-reference interpretation in (36).

(36) aya m-ada turab-en.
village.lord PASS-given land-their

'The village lord was given their lands' (not by the owners of the land)

• Implicit arguments of passives cannot antecede pronouns occurring subsequently in the clause or in a subsequent clause (see e.g. Koenig and Mauner 2000).

• Thus, the implicit agents of passives in (37) (e.g. by a builder in (37a) or by a mother in (37b)) are not licit antecedents.

(37) a. kul mara beyt le ande m-addel e₃ ad-i-lu₁ₙ j drem.
every woman house of who PASS-built gave-3F him money

'Every woman whose house was built e₃ gave him money.'

b. #ta ibm-ma in-cib fi danye e₃ fi şart-ad kotti-yin,
if baby.boy-a PASS-brought in world in condition-PL bad-PL
doctor-pl yardım do-3PL-her so that good 3F-become

'If a baby boy is delivered in unsafe conditions e₃, the doctors help her heal quickly'

Pronouns corresponding to the embedded agent, however, are possible in the ‘make’-causative, (38).

(38) a. ammo sa sen mazgun-u.
uncle made sharpen-INF sickle-his

'Uncle made (someone) sharpen his sickle.'

b. gzbe-ye le kemal ma-sa xasu₁ qamis-a fi saqe.
lie-3.COP that Kemal NEG-made wash-INF skirt-her in river

'It is a lie that Kemal didn’t let anyone wash her skirt in the river.'

c. aya sa bayu turab-u/-(?).a.
village.lord made sell-INF land-his/-her

'The village lord made (someone) sell his/her land.'

Unless this is achieved via the accommodation process through the use of the indefinite they (e.g. Lewis 1979; Koenig and Mauner 2000).
The patterns are summarized in (39).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>anaphors &amp; depictives</th>
<th>pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make active complement</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- A potential analysis along the lines of Šereikaitė (2018), in which the embedded agent is existentially closed, like in the passive, cannot carry over to SA since that analysis would rule out the licensing of pronouns as well.

**Proposal:** The embedded agent is present as a free variable, \( x_i \), generated in the Voice head itself, and bound by discourse-level Existential Closure (Heim 1982)

- With no quantificational force of its own, the indefinite gets bound in one of two ways:
  - either by being under the scope of an unselective quantifier in the sentence, e.g. if-clauses, adverbs,
  - or in their absence by an operation of existential closure, which puts an implicit unselective \( \exists \) on texts.

- This view has been suggested to account for instances of e.g. (40) as well as ‘cross-sentential anaphora’ and ‘donkey sentences’, (41) and (42), respectively.

(40) boş karrad, ta aya i-si hazı quş, i-hażed.
most times if cat-a 3M-fall from roof still alive 3M-remain

‘Usually, if a cat falls from the roof, it still survives.’
Paraphrase: ‘Most cats survive if they fall from the roof.’ (adapted from Heim 1982:123)

(41) mara-ma daxal-e cu-a. lora pro qad-e fo kursi-ma.
woman-a entered-3F inside then sat-3F on chair-a

‘A woman entered. She sat on a chair.’

(42) kul çiftçi ande le y-axez hamar-ma i-habb-u
Every farmer who that 3M-buy donkey-a 3M-love-M.CL

‘Every farmer who buys [a donkey], loves it.’

(43) - (45) demonstrate that the same considerations apply to ‘make’ causatives.

(43) boş karrad, ta aya i-si hazı quş, i-hażed.
mot times if village.lord 3M-makes cut-INF grass 3M-cut
‘Usually, if the village lord makes (someone) cut the grass, he cuts it.’
Paraphrase: ‘Most people cut the grass if the village lord makes them (do so).’

(44) ta le aya i-si addil beyt-ma, lazım-ye le
if that village.lord 3M-makes build house-a necessary-COP.3SG that
3-finish-PL-M.CL quickly
‘If the village lord makes (some people) build a house, it is necessary that they finish it quickly.’ (i.e. cross-clausally)

(45) aya sa addil beyt. Boş bacarıklı kan, şa gże
village.lord made 3M build-INF house much talented was.3M therefore
beyt koys ye sa
house beautiful be.3M now
‘The village lord made build the house. He was very talented, thus the house is beautiful now.’ (i.e. at the level of discourse)

- The embedded agent in ‘make’ causatives patterns like an overt indefinite, thus semantically equivalent to it.\(^5\)
  - They both can be under the scope of an unselective quantifier, behave identically for discourse anaphora and ‘donkey sentences’.
- The two, however, differ in terms of anaphor licensing: whereas an overt indefinite can bind an anaphor (or license a secondary predicate), the embedded agent of ‘make’ causatives may not, (46).

(46) a. recel-ma qadal rou
man-a killed himself
‘A/some man killed himself.’

b. aya sa qahlı rou \( i/k \)
village.lord made kill himself
‘The village lord made somebody kill himself.’

\(^5\)Indeed, the indefiniteness restriction on the by-phrases supports this view.
The implicit embedded agent is present not as a DP, but as a free variable, $x_i$, on the Voice head, \((47)\), and bound by discourse-level Existential Closure.\(^6\)

\[(47)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VoiceP} \\
\text{DP} \\
\text{Voice} \\
\theta \text{Agent}, \{\bullet \text{D} \bullet\} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{\textquotesingle make\textquotesingle} \\
\text{Voice} \\
\lambda e. \text{Agent}(e, i) \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{DP} \\
\theta \text{Theme}
\end{array}
\]

The semantic derivation is provided in \((48)\).

\[(48)\]

\[
\lambda e. \text{wash}(e) \& \text{AG}(e, i) \& \text{TH}(\text{clothes}, e)
\]

\[
\text{VoiceP}_{<s,t>} \\
\lambda e. \text{AG}(e, i) \\
\text{Voice}_{<s,t>} \\
\lambda e. \text{wash}(e) \& \text{TH}(e, \text{clothes}) \\
\text{vP}_{<s,t>} \\
\lambda x. \lambda e. \text{wash}(e) \& \text{TH}(e, x) \\
\text{DP}_e \\
\text{\textquotesingle wash\textquotesingle} \\
\text{\textquotesingle the.clothes\textquotesingle}
\]

- Pronouns (more precisely the variable they introduce) can be licensed by virtue of being co-indexed with another variable (in this case, the agent variable on Voice head) and being bound by the same operator, roughly sketched as \((49)\), based on Heim (1982).

\[(49)\]

\[
\exists \text{ VoiceP} \\
\text{Voice persone} (x_i) \\
\text{vP} \\
\lambda e. \text{AG}(e, i) \\
\lambda x. \lambda e. \text{wash}(e) \& \text{TH}(e, x) \\
\text{DP}_e \\
\lambda e. \text{wash}(e) \& \text{AG}(e, i) \& \text{TH}(\text{clothes}, e)
\]

- Anaphors (and depictives) are subject to a further restriction. They require a projected licensor.

- Short passive clauses involve saturation by the ‘by’-phrase or existential quantification over the unexpressed initiator (e.g. Bach 1980; Keenan 1985; Williams 1987; Parsons 1990; Bruening 2013; Reed 2018), \((50)\).

  - In such a configuration, $\exists$ is necessarily internal to Voice\(^0\), thus cannot bind elements outside Voice.

\[(50)\]

\[
\lambda e. \exists x. \text{AGENT}(x, e)
\]

- In the passive complements of “make” in SA, on the other hand, the initiator is saturated by the ‘by’-phrase (see e.g. Bruening 2013; Legate and Akkuş 2017).

6 Conclusions

- The ‘make’ causatives in SA embed an agentive VoiceP, which exhibits an active-passive alternation.

- The embedded agent is not syntactically projected, but is introduced on the Voice head.

  - Thus, it is present only as a free variable (à la Heim 1982), and differs from the implicit passive agent.

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Appendix

- no full CP

(51) a. *gaste ams qari-tu-a newspaper yesterday read-1SG-3F
   'The newspaper, I read it yesterday.'

   yesterday mom made-3F newspaper read-3F
   'Yesterday mom made the newspaper (someone) read it.'

- no NegP: Negation is also disallowed on the infinitive.(52)

(52) iyen (mı)-i-s-o (*mı)-yanni
   they NEG-3-make-PL NEG-sing.INF
   'They don’t make anyone sing.'

- no full TP

(53) *ams aya sa hazd haşiş lone.
   yesterday village.lord made cut.INF grass today
   'Yesterday the village lord made (someone) cut the grass today.'

- VoiceP: lack of unaccusatives

(54) *kemal sa hamil mase wara hasan
   Kemal make carry.INF table with Hasan
   'Kemal made (someone) carry the table with Hasan.'

(Hasan helped carry the table)

b. aya sa hazd haşiş wara cinarad.
   village.lord made cut.INF grass with neighbors
   'The village lord made [(someone) cut the grass with the neighbors].'

   'The village lord, with the neighbors, made [(someone) cut the grass].'

- VP is available

(58) a. bazu isi adu qararad kotti-n mı calabma insanad
   fear 3M make give.INF decisions bad-PL by some people
   'Fear makes bad decisions made by some people.'

b. bazu isi adu qararad kotti-n mı calabma insanad
   fear 3M make give.INF decisions bad-PL by some people
   'Fear makes bad decisions made by some people.'

- An alternative hypothesis: nominal complement

~ Folli and Harley (2007:19) argue that if a \( \text{v} \) takes a nominal complement (including for \( \text{faire infinitif vs faire par} \) (Kayne 1975)), it requires an agent external argument - thus disallows causers.

- (59) shows that ‘make’ does not take a nominal complement in SA.

(59) a. zelzele sa-tte maş buyud-en
   earthquake made-3F leave.INF houses-their
   'The earthquake made (some people) leave their houses.'

b. xasıl *(le) potad in-yaddel fi sake mu ricel
   wash.GRND of clothes PASS-DO in lake by men
   'Washing of clothes is done in the lake by men.'

(60) a. xasıl *(le) potad in-yaddel fi sake mu ricel
   wash.GRND of clothes PASS-DO in lake by men
   'Washing of clothes is done in the lake by men.'

b. aya sa xasıl / *xasıl *(le) potad
   village.lord made wash.INF / wash.GRND of clothes
   'The village lord made (someone) wash the clothes.'

Agent-oriented adverbs

(57) a. kemal sa hamil mase wara hasan
   Kemal make carry.INF table with Hasan
   'Kemal made (someone) carry the table with Hasan.'

(Hasan helped carry the table)

b. aya sa hazd haşiş wara cinarad.
   village.lord made cut.INF grass with neighbors
   'The village lord made [(someone) cut the grass with the neighbors].'

   'The village lord, with the neighbors, made [(someone) cut the grass].'

Agent-oriented comitatives

- These comitatives tend to pattern with instrument phrases and agent-oriented adverbs in picking out a Voice layer (Bruening 2013; Alexiadou et al. 2015).

(55) cf: ams yesterday cinar-i neighbor-my sa made qaz faqz run.
   inf imbala without sabap reason
   'Yesterday my neighbor made (someone) run for no reason.'

(56) bolum ti-si mez smavad le qabul wara diqqat.
   department 3F-make look.INF tests of acceptance with care
   'The department makes (someone) check acceptance tests carefully.'