Introduction

Sasan Arabic (SA) has a causative construction embedded under the verb ‘make’, (MC).

1. a. mafya sa qadil hasun-m.
   - The mafia leader made someone wash the pants.
   - Self-agency: the embedded agent is not distinguished from the matrix agent.
   - The embedded agent cannot be questioned when the matrix verb is passive, whereas the matrix agent can be questioned.
   - This construction in SA is part of a larger crosslinguistic pattern.

2. b. potad hadda, xasal man-wa xasa-l ma-ra-mara pi-r-e.
   - ‘The clothes were washed by someone old woman.
   - The embedded agent cannot be questioned when the matrix verb is passive, whereas the matrix agent can be questioned.

3. a. mafya sa neka-ma qadil hasun-m.
   - The mafia leader made someone wash the pants, (8a).
   - The embedded agent may not remain in-situ, but no intervening clause, independently of whether the matrix ‘make’ is active or passive.
   - This construction in SA is part of a larger crosslinguistic pattern.

The puzzle. -A-movement licenses the overt realization of the embedded agent, (2) vs (3).

Sason Arabic (SA) has a causative construction embedded under the verb ‘make’, (MC). (see Akkuş (accepted) for details).

- S. Akkuş, ‘The embedded agent may not remain in-situ, but no intervening clause, independently of whether the matrix ‘make’ is active or passive.
- As predicted, Spec.FP can also host the contrastively-focused agent, (12).
- No intervening clause, independently of whether the matrix ‘make’ is active or passive.

Analysis: -A-extraction of the embedded constituent

A line of analysis for similar phenomena receive around locality restrictions (e.g. Kayne 1984, Posnette 1991, Bošković 1997, Rene 2013).

1. a. mafya sa cinar-ma faqis.
   - Kemal made neighbor run.
   - ‘Kemal made a neighbor run.
   - Being a phasal domain, FP separates its licenser from the embedded agent by the matrix Voice.

Conclusions

- ‘make’ causative embed an agentive VoiceP, with an active-passive alternation.
- The embedded agent may not remain in-situ, and needs to undergo -A-movement.
- This construction in SA is part of a larger crosslinguistic pattern.