\section{Introduction}

A number of languages have constructions in which an argument cannot remain in its base-generated position, and needs to move to be ‘rescued’. e.g. English \textit{wager}-class verbs, Romance ECM, (1), or Austronesian applicatives.

\begin{itemize}
\item (1) a. *Je croyais \textit{le garçon} être arrivé. I believe the boy \textit{to have} arrived. *R-to-O, (Rochette 1988:332:5a)
\item b. Qui croyais-tu \_ aimer Anne? Who believe-you \_ to-love Anne Q-operator, (Bošković 1997:129:103a)
\item c. \textit{Le garçon} que je croyais \_ être arrivé. The boy that I believed \_ to have arrived. Rel-operator, (Rochette 1988:332:5a)
\end{itemize}

Previous proposals include

(i) those that revolve around \textit{locality restrictions}, be it either CP as a barrier/phase, or extra silent projections (e.g. Postal 1974; Kayne 1975, 1984; Pesetsky 1991; Bošković 1997; Rezac 2013),

(ii) an Exfoliation approach, in which projections are deleted from a full clause (Pesetsky 2019),

(iii) a PF-based constraint, mainly for \textit{wager}-verbs in English (Ito 2014).

An indirect causative construction from Sason Arabic (SA, eastern Turkey), embedded under the verb ‘make’ (MC) supports a locality-based analysis.

It is a construction with an \textit{overt embedded theme} argument, but \textit{no overt embedded agent}, as in (2a). The verb appears in \textit{infinitival} form.

It maintains an agentive reading where the agent is interpreted as indefinite, non-specific ‘someone’ or ‘some people’.

\footnote{Many thanks to Julie Anne Legate, David Embick, David Pesetsky, Martin Salzmann and Florian Schwarz for invaluable comments and discussions. I would also like to thank Abbas Benmamoun, Kyle Johnson, Hamid Ouali, Usama Soltan, Gary Thombs, Jim Wood, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, Matt Barros, Hadis Kotek, Alison Biggs and the audiences at ASAL 33, GLOW 42, NELS 50, NYU - Syntax Brown Bag, FMART for feedback and discussions. Usual disclaimers apply.}

\footnote{See Akkuş (2019, accepted) for the arguments that the null embedded agent in (2a) is available as a free variable on Voice head without a specifier position.}

\textbf{Crucially, the embedded agent is obligatorily null, (2b).}\footnote{See Akkuş (2019, accepted) for the arguments that the null embedded agent in (2a) is available as a free variable on Voice head without a specifier position.}

\begin{itemize}
\item a. mafya sa qadıl hasm-u mafia made murder-INF enemy-his ‘The mafia leader made someone murder his enemy.’
\item b. *mafya sa \textit{nes-ma gbir / nes-ma qadıl hasm-u} mafia made person-a big / person-a murder-INF enemy-his ‘The mafia leader made a big person / someone murder his enemy.’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{The puzzle.} \textit{A}-movement (\textit{wh}-question, relativization, focus) licenses the overt realization of the embedded agent, (3).

\begin{itemize}
\item (3) a. \textit{ande} mafya sa qadıl hasm-u? who mafia made murder-INF enemy-his ‘Who did the mafia leader make murder his enemy?’
\item b. \textit{sıma-tu} mu \textit{nes-ma gbir} le mafya sa qadıl hasm-u heard-1sg by person-a big that mafia made murder-INF enemy-his ‘I’ve heard about some big person that the mafia leader made murder his enemy.’
\item c. \textit{nes-ma gbir} mafya sa qadıl hasm-u \textit{(nes-ma ıstudi lâ)} person-a big mafia made murder enemy-his (person-a small no) ‘A big person, the mafia made murder his enemy (not a small one).’
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Proposal}\footnote{See Akkuş (2019, accepted) for the arguments that the null embedded agent in (2a) is available as a free variable on Voice head without a specifier position.}

\begin{itemize}
\item The MC embeds an agentive \textit{VoiceP}, with active-passive alternation, despite the absence of morphological reflex.
\item \textit{A}-movement brings the embedded agent into a local configuration with its licenser, the matrix \textit{Voice}, from which it is otherwise separated by a phase domain, as in (4).
\end{itemize}
2 Size of the embedded constituent

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no CLLD, wh-phrase or complementizers to the right of ‘make’</td>
<td>*CP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no negation on the infinitive</td>
<td>*NegP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no direct temporal modification or auxiliaries</td>
<td>*TP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no agreement or portmanteau Aspect+Voice morphology</td>
<td>*AspP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent-oriented adverbs, comitatives, instruments, by-phrases</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no stative predicates or unaccusatives</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: size of the MC complement

- no full TP

(5) *ams aya sa hazd haşş lome.
  yesterday landlord made cut-INF grass today
  ‘Yesterday the landlord made (someone) cut the grass today.’

- 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-faş-e m işçiyad wara çakuçad
  building-F PASS.PFV-demolished-3f by employees with hammers
  ‘The building was demolished by the employees with hammers.’

b. *bina m-qalab-e m rua wara çakuçad
  building-F NACT-fell.over-3f by itself with hammers
  ‘The building fell over by itself with hammers.’

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

(7) kemal sa buaç sir glimboz-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].’

2.1 FP: A low focus position

- SA has a low focus position, FP, between the auxiliary and the participle, with active, (8), but not passive Voice, (9). Focusing in-situ is disallowed.

(8) active voice
  (ŞURVAN) kemal (*ŞURVAN) ku [ŞURVAN] i-xsel (*ŞURVAN).
  pants kemal pants be.3m pants 3m-wash pants
  ‘Kemal is washing the pants, (not the shirt).’

(9) passive voice
  (KITAB) kemal (*KITAB) ku (*KITAB) in-y-adi (*KITAB).
  book Kemal book be.3m book PASS-3M-give book
  ‘Kemal is being given the book, (not the magazine).’

- The contrast between active versus passive VoiceP regarding the availability of FP holds in the MC as well.

(10) MC embeds active voice
  (ŞURVAN) kemal (*ŞURVAN) ku (ŞURVAN) i-si (ŞURVAN).
  pants Kemal pants be.3m pants 3m-make pants
  wash.INF (*ŞURVAN).
  pants
  ‘Kemal is making someone wash the pants, (not the shirt).’

(11) MC embeds passive voice
  (ŞURVAN) kemal (*ŞURVAN) ku (ŞURVAN) i-si (*ŞURVAN).
  pants Kemal pants be.3m pants 3m-make pants
  wash.INF (*ŞURVAN).
  pants
  ‘Kemal had the pants (not the pillow) washed by some old man.’

- As such, the embedded active, but not passive, VoiceP is dominated by FP.

3 VoiceP with active-passive alternation

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

Generalization: An embedded clause with by-phrase behaves like a canonical passive, whereas without a by-phrase, the embedded clause behaves like a canonical active.4

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

4cf. garden-variety passives, (i).

(i) ala cam (m kemal) m-qaraf bu-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)
3.1. (Impersonal) Passive

- An embedded clause with by-phrase behaves like a canonical passive:
  - 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, (12a-12b).\(^5\)
  - Raising is not possible without a by-phrase, (12c).

(12) a. kemal sa xassil potad m mara-ma pier-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 m mara-ma pier-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.’

- 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).
  - The embedded theme does not raise to the subject position,
  - 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 (mi 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.

\(^5\)Cf. German ‘let’-middles which also lack a passive morphology. However, German does not allow ‘let’ to passivize, whereas the passivization of ‘make’ is possible in SA; therefore ‘make’ is a lexical verb in SA, rather than a functional verb as has been argued for German (Pitteroff 2015:120).

3.2. Sluicing

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

(17) a. kemal kul çax i-xsel potad ta bad ma kmeno.
   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-fide m ande le inullu.
   this.M computer can PASS-open by who wants
   ‘This computer can be turned on by anyone who wants to.’

(18) sadqe le boş samaq m-qafal-o, hama m-arafe *(mi)
   believed.3F that many fish PASS-caught-3PL, but NEG-know.3F *(by)
   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.

(19) mafya sa qadil hasm-u, hama m-ore *(mi) ande
   mafia made murder.INF enemy-his but NEG-know.1SG *(by)
   who
   ‘The mafia boss made (sb.) murder his enemy, but I don’t know *(by) who’

(20) 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-anı đạo
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
• With a ‘by’-phrase present, the embedded verb patterns as passive for sluicing.

(21) kemal sa xassil potad mi mama-ma piye, hama m-ore tam kemal made wash clothes by woman-a old-f, but NEG-know.1SG exactly
*m(1) by mara-ma, old-f,

beyt, house
hama but m-ore neg
-m know.
1sg mı by ande 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

(22) potad (m im-i) m-so xassil m-nes-ma, hama m-ore
m-ore
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>‘make’ complement</th>
<th>with by-phrase</th>
<th>without by-phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>non-passivable idioms</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passivable idioms</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Idioms in the MC

• The embedded active, (23), but not passive, (24), VoiceP is dominated by FP.

(23) active embedded VoiceP

(24) passive embedded VoiceP

4 A-extraction of embedded agent and phase-edge

The agent is obligatorily null, unless A-moved (see also (3)).

(25) * mafya sa nes-ma gbir qadı̇l hasm-u
mafia made person-a big murder.INF enemy-his

‘The mafia leader made a big person murder his enemy.’

(26) sıma-tu le nes-ma gbir ye le mafya sa qadı̇l hasm-u
heard-1SG that person-a big cop that mafia made murder.INF enemy-his

‘I’ve heard that it is a big person that the mafia made murder his enemy.’

• A line of analyses revolves around locality restrictions, which mainly concerns
the presence of an extra layer or projection (e.g. Kayne 1984; Pesetsky 1991;
  – e.g. Bošković (1997, 2002): an additional VP layer
    Rezac (2013:313-315): a silent N0
  – Rochette (1988:335): 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 verb…”.
  – In modern terms, the barrier corresponds to phases, and Moulton (2009)
    adopts this approach for French wager-class verbs.

• In the spirit of these analyses, let’s identify the extra projection as the FP, whose
head F embedded under ‘make’ is a phase-head and hosts A-features.

• Specifically, the embedded active, but not passive, VoiceP is dominated by this
projection. Compare (23) and (24).

• It is FP that causes the locality problem, and prevents the embedded agent from
remaining in-situ in Spec, VoiceP.

6See Kahnemuyipour and Megerdoomian (2011, 2017) who argue that the head of the low focus
position, F, is a phase head in Armenian (more explicitly in their latter work).
• Logically and empirically, we have four possible configurations: 
  (i) PASS > PASS, (ii) ACT > PASS, (iii) ACT > ACT, (iv) PASS > ACT
  → (i) passive > passive
    – The embedded object is licensed by matrix NOM, as such it raises to grammatical subject and manifests subject-verb agreement. See (27).

  (27) a. potad m-so xassil m recel-ma pir clothes PASS.PFV-made.3PL wash.INF by man-a old.M
    ‘Clothes were made to be [washed by some old man].’
  b. [Diagram of sentence structure with TP, VoiceP, VP, PP, etc.]

  → (ii) active > passive

No intervening phase; the active matrix verb can license the embedded object.

  (28) a. kemal sa xassil potad m 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. [Diagram of sentence structure with VoiceP, DP, VP, PP, etc.]

  → (iii) active > active

FP is projected on top of the embedded active Voice, which explains why there cannot be a DP in embedded Spec,VoiceP, (29a).

  – Being a phasal domain, FP intervenes in the licensing of the embedded agent by the matrix Voice/’make’, (29b).

  (29) a. *mafya sa nes-ma gbir qadil hasm-u mafia made person-a big murder.INF enemy-his
    ‘The mafia leader made a big person murder his enemy.’
  b. [Diagram of sentence structure with VoiceP, DP, VP, FP, etc.]

  • Ā-movement makes the licensing possible (cf. Kayne 1984; Bošković 1997; Rezac 2013).7

  – F can host Ā-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).
  – The specifier of FP in SA can also host pronounced material: it is the alternative landing site for the focus constituent.
  – As predicted, Spec,FP can also host the embedded agent when it is contrastively-focussed, (30).

  (30) a. *kemal sa cinar-ma faqz
     Kemal made neighbor-a run.INF
     ‘Kemal made a neighbor run.’
  b. (cinar-ma) kemal sa (cinar-ma) faqz, (recel-ma pir lā)
     neighbor-a Kemal made neighbor-a run (man-a old no)
     ‘Kemal made a neighbor run (not an old man).’

  • The low focus position of (30b) is illustrated in (31):

  7The ‘saving’ effect of Ā-movement has been discussed more widely in the literature. For instance, Kayne (1984) and Pesetsky (1991) propose that Ā-movement allows Case licensing by establishing new Case relations. See also Dikken (2009) for Hungarian.
In this ‘impersonal passive’ configuration, we predict the availability of its edge for a focus constituent, given that FP is available, as in (33).

(32) ın-sa wash) pass-made clothes 'It was made (by somebody) someone wash the clothes.'

(33) ın-sa wash) pass-made clothes (balgife pillow) no 'It was made (by somebody) someone wash the clothes, not the pillow.'

5 Conclusions

• The ‘make’ causatives in SA embed an agentive VoiceP, which exhibits an active-passive alternation without any morphological reflex.
• ‘make’ does not embed AspP or higher projections. It selects either a passive VoiceP or an FP, which dominates an active VoiceP.
• The embedded agent may not remain in-situ in Spec, VoiceP, and needs to be rescued by A-movement.
  - Thus, this construction in SA is part of a larger crosslinguistic pattern (Tagalog, Richards (2001), Rackowski and Richards (2005); Malagasy, Pearson (2001); French, Kayne (1975), i.a).
• A phase-based account both explains this restriction, and provides evidence for A-movement feeding licensing relations.

6 Appendix I: Alternative accounts

6.1 Exfoliation

• This hypothesis requires a transformation from an underlying full clause to an infinitive, which is possible only when movement has taken place from an embedded subject or subject-like position (Pesetsky 2019).
  - e.g. In English believe-verbs alternate with full finite CP, (34).

(34) a. Sue believes Mary to have solved the problem.
   b. Sue believes that Mary has solved the problem.

• The licensing and Exfoliation approaches differ in their prediction regarding the necessity of a licenser in the higher clausal domain.
  - Licensing approach: the absence of a higher licenser should lead to a difference for the embedded subject, but not embedded object.
  - Exfoliation: no difference since the embedded argument is licensed in the lower clause prior to Exfoliation.
• This can be tested by making the matrix verb passive, e.g. (35) and (36).

(35) Questioning the embedded object
   a. ış which book vector made wash inf clothes
      'Which book did the village lord make someone read?'
   b. ış which book (potad) vector wash inf clothes pillow no
      'Which book was someone made to read?'

(36) Questioning the embedded subject
   a. ande who vector made murder inf hasm-u?
      who mafia leader made murder his enemy
      'Who did the mafia leader make murder his enemy?'
   b. *ande who vector potad-na?
      who pass-made wash inf clothes-our
      'Who was to make wash our clothes?'

• The current approach also correctly predicts the unavailability of an embedded, focused agent with a passive matrix clause and active embedded clause, as in (37) (cf. 33 for the contrast).

(37) ın-sa wash) pass-made clothes (recel-ma tall) no
     'It was made some neighbors wash the clothes, not some tall man.'
Exfoliation would also predict a full clause counterpart of the infinitive, as in (34) in English.

SA indeed does have a full clause causative construction embedded under ‘make’, (38), call it FC.

(38) a. büşra (muşa) kemal sa-tte f-iyu le pro ya-yez hadiya Büşra (to) Kemal made-3F in-him that 3M-buy present
   ‘Büşra made Kemal buy a present.’ (Yakut 2013:7)

b. ams ayad₁ (muşa) sabiyad₂ so f-innen le yesterday village.lords to boys made.3PL in-them that
   pro*ši/k/sm / innen*ši/k/sm ixsil-o potad lome.
   / they wash-3PL clothes today
   ‘Yesterday the village lords made the boys wash the clothes today.’

   Lit: ‘Yesterday the village lords made the boys in them that they washed the clothes today.’

Properties of the FC:
- The causee is realized in the matrix clause, as a PP or DP (in free variation).
- It is connected to a resumptive pronoun, itself contained inside a PP, i.e. f-iyu ‘in him’ in the matrix clause.
- The causee is realized as pro-dropped argument in the embedded clause, but it can also be realized as a reduced pronoun, (38b).⁹

FC and MC differ in several respects.
- The FC lacks the indefiniteness condition on the causee, unlike the MC.
- Causer such as ‘earthquake, fear’ are allowed as matrix subjects in the MC, but not the FC, (39).

(39) a. *zelzele kemal sa-tte f-iyu le pro m-i-xcel beyt earthquake Kemal made-3F in-him that NEG-3M-enter house
   ‘The earthquake made Kemal not enter home.’

b. zelzele sa-tte maş buyud earthquake made-3F leave.INF houses
   ‘The earthquake made (some people) leave the houses.’

- Furthermore, in case of a truncation, Exfoliation might predict the possibility of (40), contrary to fact.

(40) *ams aya mşa sabiyad sa f-innen inner xassil potad [. yesterday landlord to boys made in-them they wash.INF clothes ]
   ‘Yesterday the landlord made the boys to wash the clothes.’

6.2 A PF-constraint


- When the ECM is a pronoun, it must raise in the syntax in order to cliticize onto the embedding verb at PF.
- As such, it becomes a ‘clause-mate’, leading to a violation of Condition B, (41); hence the Condition B violation also in (42a).

(41) a. *Johni injured himi.

b. *Mary injured himi and Johni did too.

(42) a. *Johni believes himi to be a genius.

b. ?Mary believes himi to be a genius and Johni does too.


- Crucially, under the VP ellipsis, the pronominal ECM subject can remain in the embedded subject position because the concomitant failure to cliticize (a PF violation) can be repaired by the VP ellipsis, as in (42b).
- The primary motivation, i.e. the availability of pronouns as embedded subjects, is not available in the MC.

(43) *mafya sa iyen qadıl hasm-u mafia made.3M them murder.INF enemy-his
   ‘The mafia leader made them murder his enemy.’

- Secondly, a constraint of obligatory PF adjacency between ‘make’ and the ‘infinitive’ cannot be at work.

(44) kemal [sa buay sir ] beyt wara furça-d gbar Kemal [made.3M paint do.INF ] house with brush-PL big.PL
   ‘Kemal had someone paint the house with big paint brushes.’

- The complex predicate analysis is also not tenable, as evinced by instances of contrastive focus throughout.
- The contrast between (58) and (59) in terms of anaphor binding or depictive licensing also suggests that it cannot be a pure PF constraint (see Appendix 2).

- SA is a pro-drop language. If it were just a PF issue, we would expect them to be possible in the complements of ‘make’.

⁹The obligatory co-reference between the embedded subject and the causee in the matrix clause corroborates the causative relationship of this construction.
7 Appendix II: Size of the ‘make’ complement

- no full CP

(45) a. gaste ams qari-tu-a
    newspaper yesterday read-1SG-3F
    ‘The newspaper, I read it yesterday.’

    yesterday mom made-3F newspaper read-1sg-3f
    ‘Yesterday mom made the newspaper (someone) read it.’

Neither the finite complementizer le nor the subjunctive te/ta are possible.

(46) *ams yesterday dade sa-tte made-le/te haşiş.
    ‘Yesterday mom made (someone) cuts the grass.’
    OR ‘Yesterday mom made (someone) cut.

- no NegP: Negation is also disallowed on the infinitive,(47).

(47) iyen (mı)-i-s-o (*mı)-G anni neg-3 make-pl
    ‘They don’t make anyone sing.’

- AspP: In SA, the passive prefix is sensitive to aspect, (48), and realizes the combination of Aspect+Voice heads.

(48) potad in-xasl-o / in-xasal-o
    clothes PASS.IMPF-wash.IMPF-3PL / PASS.PFV-wash.PFV-3PL
    ‘Clothes are/were washed.’

The passive prefix is disallowed on the infinitive.

(49) beaqıl ye i-si *in-/*in-addil musluq mı
    fear 3m.make give.INF decisions bad-pl mı
    unwise cop.3SG 3M-make PASS.IMPF/PASS.PFV-repair.INF tap by
    repairman-a slow
    ‘It would be unwise to make the tap repaired by a slow repairman.’

- VoiceP: lack of unaccusatives

(50) *kemal sa var mı mardivan-ad
    Kemal made.3M fall.INF from stair-PL
    Intended: ‘Kemal made (someone) fall from the stairs.’

(51) cf: ams cinar-i sa faqz mbala sabap
    yesterday neighbor-my made run.INF without reason
    ‘Yesterday my neighbor made (someone) run for no reason.’

expected, given unaccusatives lack thematic VoiceP.

(52) Agent-oriented adverbs

bolum ti-si mez snavad le qabul wara diqqat.
    department 3F-make look.INF tests of acceptance with care
    ‘The department makes (someone) [check acceptance tests carefully].’

(53) Agent-oriented comitatives

aya sa haşiş wara cinarad.
    village.lord made cut.INF grass with neighbors
    ‘The village lord [with the neighbors, made [(someone) cut the grass].’

- VP is available

(54) aya xifef sa haşiş hêdi.
    village.lord quickly made cut.INF grass slowly
    ‘The village lord quickly made (someone) cut the grass slowly.’

- An alternative hypothesis: nominal complement

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

(55) bazu isi adu qarárad kotti-n mı calabma insanad
    fear 3M.make give.INF decisions bad-PL mı
    unwise cop.3SG 3M-make PASS.IMPF/PASS.PFV-repair.INF tap by
    tamirici-ma hêdi.
    repairman-a slow
    ‘Fear makes bad decisions made by some people.’

- Also, note the contrast between (56a) and (56b).

(56) a. xasıl *(le) potad in-yaddel fi sake mı 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.’
8 Appendix III: Licensing properties

(i) Reflexives, (ii) reciprocals, and (iii) depictives are licensed in the active, but not in the passive clause.

• Reflexives: Reflexives need a projected binder; not licensed in passives

(57) a. ziwa adl-o odav (muşa roen).
   children did-3PL homework.M for themselves
   ‘The children did the homework (for themselves).’

   b. odav m-adal (*muşa roen/rou).
   homework PASS.PFV-did.3M for themselves/himself
   ‘The homework was done (*for themselves/himself).’

Not licensed by the embedded agent

(58) *iya sat-te addilk odav muşa rouk / roenk.
   she made-3F do.INF homework for himself / themselves
   ‘She, made (some personk/peoplek) do the homework for himself/themselvesk.’

Notably, when the agent is A’-moved, reflexive binding, reciprocal binding, and depictives become possible:

(59) a. andek iya sat-te addil odav (muşa roenk).
   who she made-3F do.INF homework for themselves
   ‘Who did she make do the homework for themselves?’

   b. andek si-t karu xanni (sarxosk)?
   who made-2SG write song (drunk)
   ‘Who did you make compose the song drunk?’

References


Dikken, Marcel den. 2009. On the nature and distribution of successive cyclicity. Ms. CUNY Graduate Center.


