

Causees are not agents

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1. The issue.

The structure of causative constructions has received serious attention in the generative tradition. Causative predicates can be composed analytically (e.g. English) and morphologically (e.g. Turkish) across languages, and a considerable body of research has addressed the question whether both types have the same underlying structure. Among several central questions, the issue of *the subject of the embedded predicate* has been of paramount interest. Its syntactic status seems clear in analytic causatives, whereas in morphological causatives the properties of causees are less straightforward.

2. Romance languages: FI and FP causatives.

Romance languages present causative constructions that can be situated midway between analytic and morphological causatives, which has led researchers to view the causative verb *faire* as a morphological affix. (Zubizarreta 1985 a.o.).

The subject of embedded unaccusative and unergative verbs has properties of the direct object in *faire* causative constructions (1a-b), but the subject of embedded transitive verbs can either surface as *à-PP* akin to an indirect object in ditransitives (1c), or as an optional adjunct comparable to the *by*-phrase in passives, *par-PP* (1d).

- (1) a. *Paul a fait tomber **une chaise***
 ‘Paul made a chair fall’
 b. *Paul a fait travailler **le jardinier***
 ‘Paul made the gardener work’
 c. *Paul a fait écrire **une lettre à Marie***
 ‘Paul made Mary write a letter’
 d. *Paul a fait traduire **ce document par un spécialiste***
 ‘Paul made a specialist translate this document’

The same holds for morphological causatives of transitives in Chichewa: the subject of an embedded verb (henceforth, *causee*) surfaces either as a compulsory object (2a) or as a prepositional adjunct (2b).

- (2) a. *Nungu i-na-phik-its-a **kadzidzi** maungu*
 9 porcupine 9 S-PS-cook-CST-FV 1a owl 6 pumpkins
 ‘The porcupine made the owl cook the pumpkins.’
 b. *Niungu i-na-phik-its-a maungu **kwa kadzidzi***
 9 porcupine 9 S-PS-cook-CST-FV 6 pumpkins to 1a owl
 ‘The porcupine had the pumpkins cooked by the owl.’

[Alsina 1992:518]

Kayne (1975), and subsequently Burzio (1986), Guasti (1996) a.o. — two causatives of transitive verbs (henceforth, COTs) in (1c-d), respectively *faire-infinitif* FI and *faire-par* FP, have different properties. Importantly, FI is the only option for many types of embedded transitive verbs.

(3) FPs are illicit: (cf. Folli & Harley 2007).

- a) when the embedded transitive verb is a nonpassivizable idiom: *casser la croûte* – “lit. break the crust, eat”
 b) when the embedded direct object is non-alienably linked to the embedded subject: *lever la main* – “raise one’s hand”

- c) when the embedded direct object contains a bound variable pronoun: *chaque_i garçon repare son_i jouet* — “each boy repairs his toy”
- d) when the embedded direct object is not affected (is not the argument of a change of state verb). Alsina (1992), Guasti (1996): perception verbs, achievements, etc.
- e) when the transitive verbs cannot passivize: *quitter la maison* — “leave the house”
- f) when the causer is non-animate (pure cause): *la famine a fait voler les poules aux villagois/*par les villagois* - “the famine made the countrymen steal chickens”.

How to account for asymmetries between FI and FPs?

Kayne (1975): FPs involve an embedded transitive predicate with a removed external argument, comparable to passives. Yet, differences exist between passives and the embedded clause in FP, e.g. agent-oriented adverbs are illicit in FPs.

Zubizarreta (1985): FPs prevent the syntactic realisation of the external argument, FIs involve the internalization of the agent into an indirect object.

Ippolito’s (2000) analysis of FIs is similar to Zubizarreta’s: in FIs, the causee is introduced by Appl and is comparable to benefactives. (cf. also Schäfer 2008).

Guasti (1996): FPs involve bare VPs and FIs contain small clause VPs where the agent of the embedded verb also receives a benefactive theta role from the causative verb.

Folli & Harley (2007): FIs contain a regular agentive vP with the causee projected in the right hand specifier of v, and FPs are built from nominalization of lower VPs lacking v and the agent argument.

These analyses fail to address the following questions:

- 1) if FP and FI embed different projections of the transitive verb, why is it not morphologically reflected by the predicate? (cf. Harley (2017) on Hiaki where two affixes exist for each type)
- 2) why is FP limited to configurations which contain embedded core transitive accomplishments with two maximally independent event participants (cf. Haspelmath 1993, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995 on externally caused accomplishments)? Why do less “agentive” or less “external” agents impose the projection of fully articulated verb phrases in COTs?

3. Preview of analysis.

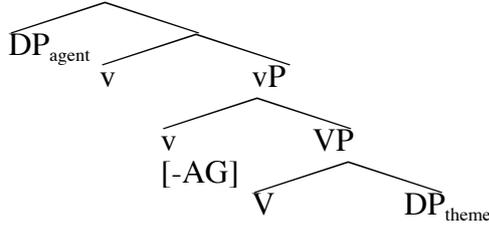
The talk focuses on the above two questions. If a language has one morphosyntactic strategy of building COTs and, more importantly, one marking option of the causee, will it be of FI type or of FP type? If it is of FI-type, the causee must be obligatorily projected (*-sase* causatives in Japanese, Miyagawa 2001), and if it is of FP-type, the causee should be an adjunct or altogether banned (*-tevo* causatives in Hiaki, Harley 2017).

Morphological causative constructions in Georgian provide interesting evidence involving the syntactic behaviour of the causee *and* the morphological makeup of the causative predicate that can help us gain deeper understanding of the syntax of causativisation cross-linguistically.

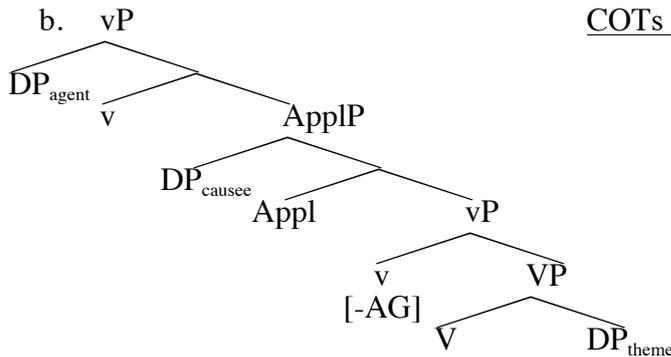
- 1) There is evidence that embedded core transitives in COTs are de-agentivised, i.e. represent non-active clauses in the Middle Voice (Doron 2013). As a consequence, the dative causee in COTs is not an embedded agent, syntactically. When it surfaces in the causative construction, it is introduced via an applicative head that selects a deagentivized vP, and is interpreted as an event participant controlled by the causer akin to the instrument or *associate* argument (cf. Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002 on sociative causatives). But when no discourse, binding or lexical constraints in the clause impose its presence, the applicative head is not projected in the structure.

COTs of accomplishments in Georgian start as FPs (4a) that can “grow” into FIs (4b).

(4) a. COTs without a causee

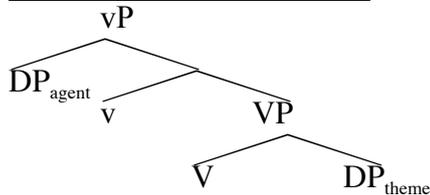


COTs with a causee

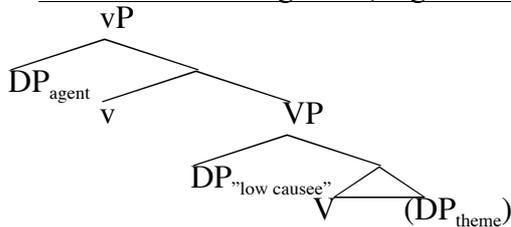


2) There is evidence that causatives of unaccusatives, unergatives and a class of ingestive transitive verbs do not involve the deagentivisation of the embedded predicate because the embedded predicate is structured as a smaller projection, VP. VP corresponds to the lower subevent in complex eventualities, standardly referred to as a result subevent. In Georgian, VP can contain a theme in change-of-state predicates (5a), and a subject in other types of (in)transitives (5b). (L&RH 1995).

(5) a. Causatives of unaccusatives



b. Causatives of unergatives, ingestives and psych verbs with “low causees”



4. Basic facts on Georgian causatives.

4.1. Morphological causatives are built by two partially overlapping strategies: **a-**, **a-...in-**.

- **a-**: Causatives of unergatives (*work*); unaccusatives: monovalent (*fall*) and bivalent psychological with dative experiencers (*like, detest*); transitive ingestive (*taste, swallow, read*), and perception (*see, hear*).

(6) a. *keti-m gogo a-cek'v-a*
 Keti-ERG girl,NOM caus-dance-AOR,3sg
 “Keti made the girl dance”

- b. *keti-m botl-i ga=a-civ-a*
Keti-ERG bottle-NOM prev=caus-cold-AOR,3sg
“Keti cooled the bottle”
- c. *keti-m gogo-s lud-i še=a-q’var-a*
Keti-ERG girl-DAT beer-NOM prev=caus-love-AOR,3sg
“Keti made the girl love the beer”
- d. *keti-m gogo-s ludi ga=a-sinj-a*
Keti-ERG girl-DAT beer-NOM prev=caus-taste-AOR,3sg
“Keti made the girl taste the beer”

– **a...-in**: other COTs

- (7) *keti-m gogo-s botl-i da=a-xat’-in-a*
Keti-ERG girl-DAT bottle-NOM prev=caus-draw-caus-AOR,3sg
“Keti made the girl draw a bottle”

Most COTs involve an extra morpheme **-in-**. A similar situation exists in Japanese [-*ase* vs. -*sase*] and in Hindi/Urdu [-*aa* vs. -*vaa*, cf. Ramchand 2014]. I will show that while *a-* signals the presence of the agent participant in a decomposable single causative event, the affix *-in-* signals the de-agentivisation of the embedded transitive verb, turning it into a monovalent predicate. This function of *-in-* is typical of Middle voice: the agent is suppressed but the event-structure of the predicate is preserved.

4.2. Georgian COTs with *-in-* are monoeventive. Agent-oriented adverbs may only modify the causing eventuality: the dative causee in (8) cannot control the adverbs *with pleasure*, *intentionally*. Georgian causatives share this property with Turkish and Hungarian and differ from Japanese, where the causee controls this type of adverbs. (Harley 2017).

- (8) *keti-m gogo-s leks-i siamovnebit/ganzrax gada=a-targmn-in-a*
Keti-ERG girl-DAT poem-NOM pleasure-with/ intentionally prev=caus-translate-causAOR,3sg
“Keti made the girl translate the poem with pleasure/intentionally”
Keti did this with pleasure/intentionally
≠the girl did this with pleasure/intentionally

4.3. The causee in COTs can only be dative in Georgian. However, it is obligatory exactly in those contexts which only allow FI (cf. (3)) and optional in contexts which allow the FP type. Georgian is a pro-drop language and allows omission of discourse salient agents, direct objects and indirect objects; in such cases they are interpreted as pronouns. In FI-only scenarios, in (9), the dropping of the dative causee has the same effect as dropping of an indirect object—the missing causee is interpreted as discourse-specific and pronominal. In FP scenarios, in (10), the missing causee, in addition to being interpreted as pronominal, *can also be* interpreted vaguely/existentially. These are the only contexts in Georgian when a missing dative argument does not have to be interpreted as pronominal.

- (9) a. IDIOMS
keti-m kva ga=a-xetk-in-a
Keti-ERG stone,NOM prev=caus-explode-caus-AOR,3sg
“Keti made *him/them* explode a stone”
=Keti made him do the impossible (to achieve something)
- b. INALIENABLE OBJECTS
keti-m xeli a=a-c’ev-in-a
Keti-ERG hand-NOM prev=caus-rise-caus-AOR,3sg
“Keti made *him/them* raise a hand”
- c. ACHIEVEMENTS
keti-m tamaš-i mo=a-geb-in-a
Keti-ERG game-NOM prev=caus-win-caus-AOR,3sg
“Keti made him/them win a game”

e. BOUND PRONOUNS

keti-m tavis i pankari ga=a-tlev-in-a
 Keti-ERG self,GEN pencil-NOM prev=caus-sharpen-caus-AOR,3sg
 “Keti made him/them sharpen his/their own pencil”

f. INANIMATE CAUSER

sircxvil-ma iat'ak'-i ga=a-c'mend-in-a
 shame-ERG floor-NOM prev=caus-clean-caus-AOR,3sg
 “Shame made him/them clean the floor”

- (10) a. *keti-m iat'ak'i ga=a-c'mend-in-a*
 keti-ERG floor-NOM prev=caus-clean-caus-AOR,3sg
 “Keti had the floor cleaned”
 b. *keti-m pankar-i ga=a-tlev-in-a*
 Keti-ERG pencil-NOM prev=caus-sharpen-caus-AOR,3sg
 “Keti had the pencil sharpened”
 c. *keti-m roman-i gada=a-targmn-in-a*
 Keti-ERG novel-NOM prev=caus-translate-caus-AOR,3sg
 “Keti had the novel translated”
 d. *keti-m mankana ga=a-recx-in-a*
 Keti-ERG car,NOM prev=caus-wash-caus-AOR,3sg
 “Keti had the car washed”

—> If there is no argument actually *missing* in (10), the causative morphemes *a-* and *-in-* do not function as introducers of the causee.

4.4. Benefactives in causatives.

Transitive (and certain unaccusative) clauses can contain a benefactive/possessive dative argument in Georgian. Its presence in the structure is reflected by the verbal prefix *u-*.

- (11) a. *keti-m ga=recx-a mankana*
 Keti-ERG prev=wash-AOR,3sg car,NOM
 “Keti washed the car”
 b. *keti-m ga=u-recxa vano-s mankana*
 Keti-ERG prev=BEN-wash-AOR,3sg car,NOM

Two dative arguments are not tolerated in Georgian. Therefore, a benefactive argument cannot be added to a ditransitive verb, (12a). Dropping one of the two datives does not improve the sentence (12b-c)

- (12) a. **keti-m ga=u-cno mezobel-s ekim-i vano-s*
 Keti-ERG prev=BEN-present-AOR,3sg neighbour-DAT doctor-NOM Vano-DAT
 “Keti presented Vano the doctor for the neighbour”
 b. **keti-m ga=u-cno mezobel-s ekim-i*
 c. **keti-m ga=u-cno vano-s ekim-i*

A benefactive argument can be added to *a-...-in* causatives, but only in FP-contexts (13a). The dative causee may not surface in the structure, only the dative benefactive does. In FI-only contexts (cf. 9), the benefactive cannot be added, (13b). This implies that the presence of the dative causee is obligatory in these sentences, just as the presence of the indirect object is obligatory in ditransitive constructions, and cannot be “replaced” by a benefactive dative.

- (13) a. *keti-m ga=u-recx-in-a vano-s mankana*
 Keti-ERG prev=BEN-wash-caus-AOR,3sg car,NOM
 “Keti made someone wash the car for Vano’s benefit”
 b. **ketim mo-u-geb-in-a vano-s tamaš-i*
 Keti-ERG prev=BEN-win-caus-AOR,3sg Vano-DAT game-NOM
 “Ketim made someone win the game for Vano’s benefit”

—> The dative causee can be structurally absent in COTs, which is a necessary condition for the introduction of another dative argument, the benefactive.

4.5. “Low” causees.

Dative causees can also surface in *a-* causatives of bivalent psychological, perception and ingestive predicates.

- (14) a. *keti-m mo=a-c'on-a gogo-s c'ign-i*
 Ket-i-ERG prev=caus-like-AOR,3sg girl-DAT book-NOM
 “Keti made the girl like the book”
- b. *keti-m ga=a-gon-a gogo-s xmaur-i*
 Ket-i-ERG prev=caus-hear-AOR,3sg girl-DAT noise-NOM
 “Keti made the girl hear the noise”
- c. *keti-m c'a=a-k'itx-a gogo-s c'ign-i*
 Ket-i-ERG prev=caus-read-AOR,3sg girl-DAT book-NOM
 “Keti made the girl read the book”

In such cases, the dative argument syntactically behaves as an obligatory argument. Its omission does not give rise to an existential interpretation. When it is “replaced” by the benefactive dative, the causative reading of the construction disappears.

- (15) a. *keti-m mo=u-c'on-a gogo-s c'ign-i*
 Ket-i-ERG prev=BEN-like-AOR,3sg girl-DAT book-NOM
 “Keti approved (“liked” on Facebook) the book to the girl”
- c. *keti-m c'a=u-k'itx-a gogo-s c'ign-i*
 Ket-i-ERG prev=BEN-read-AOR,3sg girl-DAT book-NOM
 “Keti read the book to/for the girl”

Although some properties of causees in *a-...-in* causatives in FI-only contexts and in *a-causatives* coincide, like the obligatory presence, parallelism in behaviour is motivated by different factors in two cases. In FI-only contexts, the causee is obligatory due to binding requirements imposed by other arguments, and sometimes by the Aktionsart properties of the embedded predicate. In *a-causatives*, the presence of the dative is imposed *only* by the Aktionsart of the embedded predicate.

In the next section, I propose a detailed analysis of each of the two morphemes, *a-* and *-in-*, partaking in the causativisation in Georgian, and show that that the dative causee in *a-...-in-causatives* is introduced via Appl on top of the embedded transitive predicate, vP, (cf. 4b). In *a-causatives*, the dative causee is introduced as a subject of VP, like an indirect object in simple ditransitive sentences.

5. The affix *a-*

The preradical prefix *a-*, known as *neutral versionizer* by traditional grammarians, can only appear on finite verbs. It cannot be stacked, nor combined with other preradical affix which function as voice/modality/aspect modifiers. [the affix *u-* is defined as a benefactive versionizer]

Causatives of unergative and unaccusative verbs are formed by the affixation of the preradical affix *a-* to the stem.

5.1. Causatives of unaccusatives.

Strictly speaking, *a-* is not added to unaccusative verbs. Rather (anti)causative alternation in Georgian is to a very large degree *equipollent*: the less valent and the more valent forms are both derived by different morphological means. Unaccusative verbs are either overtly marked

by the suffix *-d-*, which I will gloss as an INCH(oative) verbalizer, or by the mediopassive-reflexive versionizer prefix *i-*, glossed as MR. (*i-* can be compared to Romance *se*).

- (16) a. *saxl-i a=šen-d-a*
house-NOM prev=build-INCH-AOR,3sg
“The house got built”
b. *nino-m saxl-i a=a-šen-a*
Nino-ERG house-NOM prev=caus-build-AOR,3sg
“Nino built the house”
- (17) a. *potol-i ga=c’itl-d-a*
leaf-NOM prev=red-INCH-AOR,3sg
“The leaf reddened”
b. *nino-m potol-i ga=a-c’itl-a*
Nino-ERG leaf-NOM prev=caus-red-AOR,3sg
“Nino reddened the leaf”
- (18) a. *gogo c’a=i-kc-a*
girl,NOM prev=NACT-fall-AOR,3sg
“The girl fell”
b. *nino-m gogo c’a=a-kci-a*
Nino-ERG girl,NOM prev=caus-fall-AOR,3sg
“Nino made the girl fall”
- (19) a. *k’ar-i ga=i-ğ-o*
door-NOM prev=RM-open-AOR,3sg
“The door opened”
b. *nino-m k’ar-i ga=a-ğ-o*
Nino-ERG door-NOM prev=caus-open-AOR,3sg
“Nino opened the door”

There are rare cases of causatives formed from bare unaccusatives:

- (20) a. *burt-i ga=kr-a*
ball-NOM prev=disappear-AOR,3sg
“The ball disappeared”
b. *nino-m burt-i ga=a-kr-o*
Nino-ERG ball-NOM prev=caus-disappear-AOR,3sg
“Nino made the ball disappear”
- (21) a. *saxl-i ga=tb-a*
house-NOM prev=warm-AOR,3sg
“The house warmed up”
b. *nino-m saxl-i ga=a-tb-o*
Nino-ERG house-NOM prev=caus-warm-AOR,3sg
“Nino warmed the house up”

Any nominal/adjectival root can form causative-anticausative pairs. The causative variant involves the prefix *a-*, and the anticausative variant, the suffix *-d-*.

- (22) a. *evrop’a ga=amerik’-d-a*
Europe,NOM prev=America-INCH-AOR,3sg
“Europe’s become Americanized”
b. *serialeb-ma ga=a-amerik’-a evrop’a*
TV-series-ERG prev=caus-America-AOR,3sg Europe,NOM
“TV-series Americanized Europe”

The affix *a-* can be defined as a transitivizer and as a verbalizer, simultaneously. The morpheme signals a complex eventuality that involves two event participants.

Many accomplishments, without *a-*, have the same semantics as verbs with *a-*.

Georgian has two verbs for *open* (23), and two verbs for *break*, (24). Only one in each pair is marked with *a-*.

- (23) a. *ga=xsn-a* open₁ a box, a business
 b. *ga=a-ġ-o* open₂ a door, a window

- (24) a. *ga=t'ex-a* break₁ a heart, an egg
 b. *da=a-mt'vri-a* break₂ (into pieces)

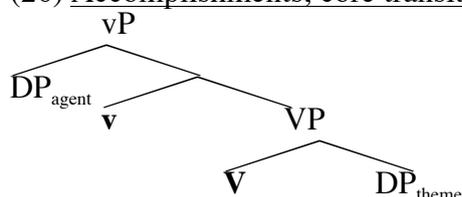
The stem in (23b) is adjectival *ġia* “open”, and in (24b) nominal *mt'vri* “dust”.

There is evidence that two subevents are involved in each pair, non-withstanding the presence of *a-*: adverb modification.

- (25) *keti-m meorejer/ isev ga=t'ex-a/ da=a-mt'vri-a*
 Keti-ERG secondtime/again prev=break-AOR,3sg/ prev=caus-break-AOR,3sg
satamašo
 toy,NOM
 “Keti broke₁/broke₂ the toy for the second time/again”
 =The toy has been broken once [restitutive meaning]
 =Keti acted again/for the second time [repetitive meaning]

Following much recent research, I contend that the structure of accomplishments involves two subevents: the activity/initiation subevent which leads to the result subevent; each subevent introduces an argument, the agent in the former and the theme in the latter, (26). [Notice that unlike many standard analyses of the decomposition of accomplishments I represent the theme as the complement of the lower subevent to highlight the fact that the theme undergoes a dynamic change leading to the result and is not the subject of the result.]

(26) Accomplishments; core transitives



Accomplishments without *a-* have verb stems which denote both subevents, while accomplishments with *a-* have stems which only denote the result reached at the end of the *lower subevent*. Nominal and deadjectival roots expressing properties are of the latter type.

- verbal stems lexicalize *v* in “verbal” accomplishments.
- *a-* spells out *v* in denominal/deadjectival accomplishments.

A similar situation is found in Karachai (Lyutikova & Tatevosov 2014): some accomplishments carry the ‘causative’ affix and others do not. This does not mean that their syntactic event structures are different. All accomplishments have a double event structure that involve two event participants.

a- *positively* signals the presence of a double subevent structure.

Ramchand (2014): structures where the initiator and the result are not identified by the same root are configurations of *direct causation*.

5.2. Causatives of bivalent unaccusatives.

Many psych-verbs in Georgian are structured as bivalent unaccusatives: the experiencer is marked with dative and the theme with nominative. Their causative variants are built as *a-*

accomplishments, the experiencer keeps its dative case, licensed by dative mediopassive versionizer *e-* (DM), and the theme is treated as a standard direct object.

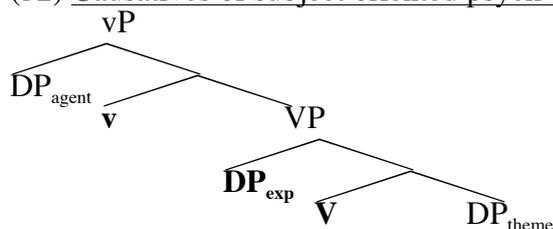
- (28) a. *vano-s mo=e-c'on-a lud-i*
 Vano-DAT prev=DM-like-AOR,3sg beer-NOM
 “Vano liked the beer”
 b. *keti-m vano-s mo=a-c'on-a lud-i*
 Keti-ERG Vano-DAT prev=caus-like-AOR,3sg beer-NOM
 “Keti made Vano like the beer”
- (29) a. *vano-s še-e-zizg-a lud-i*
 Vano-DAT prev=DM-disgust-AOR,3sg beer-NOM
 “Vano hated the beer”
 b. *keti-m vano-s še=a-zizg-a lud-i*
 Keti-ERG Vano-DAT prev=caus-disgust-AOR,3sg beer-NOM
 “Keti made Vano hate the beer”

The causative variants in (28-29) are trivalent, where the dative experiencer conserves its case and its hierarchical order with respect to the theme.

- (30) a. *gogoeb-s mo=e-c'on-at ertmanet-i*
 girls-DAT prev=DM-like-AOR,3pl each-other-NOM
 b. **gogoeb-i mo=e-c'on-en ertmanet-s*
 girls-NOM prev=DM-like-AOR,3pl each-other-DAT
 “Girls liked each other”
- (31) a. *nino-m gogoeb-s mo=a-c'on-a ertmanet-i*
 Nino-ERG girls-DAT prev=caus-like-AOR,3sg each-other-NOM
 b. **nino-m gogoeb-i mo=a-c'on-a ertmanet-s*
 Nino-ERG girls-NOM prev=caus-like-AOR,3sg each-other-DAT
 “Nino made the girls like each other”

The dative experiencer is licensed in both variants in the same position, it is the experiencer subject of the lower subevent.

(32) Causatives of subject oriented psych verbs.



5.3. Causatives of unergatives.

Causatives of unergative verbs do not look differently from causatives of unaccusatives, both involve the affix *a-*. However, semantically the former are not accomplishments. As a result of external causation, the process does not lead to a result—causatives of unergatives are atelic as unergatives themselves.

- (33) a. *keti-m gogo a-varjiš-a*
 Keti-ERG girl,NOM caus-exercise-AOR,3sg
 “Keti made the girl exercise”
 b. *keti-m gogo a-cek'v-a*
 Keti-ERG girl,NOM caus-dance-AOR,3sg
 “Keti made the girl dance”

- c. *keti-m gogo a-cur-a*
 Keti-ERG girl,NOM caus-swim-AOR,3sg
 “Keti made the girl swim”

All accomplishments in Georgian must include a perfective preverb indicating reaching the telos and resultativity. Causatives of unergatives may not involve such preverbs. And when they do, the predicate functions as an accomplishment and not as a causative of unergative.

- (34) a. *keti-m titeb-i a=a-varjiša-a*
 Keti-ERG fingers-NOM prev=caus-exercise-AOR,3sg
 “Keti exercised(moved) her fingers”
 b. *keti-m gem-i ga=a-cur-a*
 Keti-ERG boat-NOM prev=caus-swim-AOR,3sg
 “Keti swam the boat off (made it float away)”

Causatives of unergatives do not contain an embedded theme, but accomplishments do.

Manner modifiers can target both subevents separately.

- (35) *keti-m gogo nazad a-cek'v-a dges*
 Keti-ERG girl,NOM gently caus-dance-AOR,3sg today
 “Keti made the girl dance gently”
 =Keti’s manner is delicate
 =The girl’s dancing is delicate.

However, an agent-oriented adverb can only modify the causer

- (36) *keti-m gogo gangeb a-cek'v-a*
 Keti-ERG girl,NOM intentionally caus-dance-AOR,3sg
 =Keti acts on purpose
 ≠the girl dances on purpose

—> Causatives of unergatives do not contain an embedded agent.

5.3.1. Structure of unergatives.

In order to understand how causatives of unergatives are built, it is important to look how unergatives are derived in Georgian. In non-imperfective tenses, unergative verbs are morphologically complex. They contain the reflexive-mediopassive (RM) marker *i-*.

- (37) a. *vano-m i-rbin-a*
 Vano-ERG RM-run-AOR,3sg
 “Vano ran”
 b. *vano-m i-cek'v-a*
 Vano-ERG RM-dance-AOR,3sg
 “Vano danced”
 c. *vano-m i-mogzaur-a*
 Vano-ERG RM-travel-AOR,3sg
 “Vano travelled”

i- and Romance *se/si* have similar functions: both morphemes express middle/non-active voice, and both signal the coreference between the agent and another event participant.

- (38) a. *vano-m otax-i ga=a-tb-o*
 Vano-ERG room-NOM prev=caus-warm-AOR,3sg
 “Vano warmed the room”
 b. *vano-m otax-i ga=i-tbo*
 Vano-ERG room-NOM prev=RM-warm-AOR,3sg

“Vano warmed the room for himself”

Many transitive verbs must contain *i-*: achievements (39c-d), perception verbs (39e-f), ingestive verbs (39g-h)

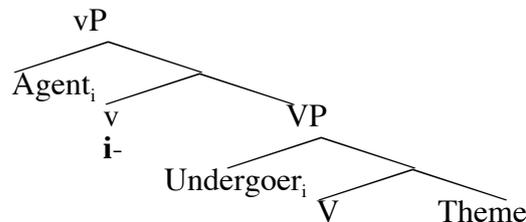
- (39)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. <i>mo=i-t'an-a</i>
prev=RM-carry-AOR,3sg
“He brought it”</p> | <p>b. <i>ga=i-meor-a</i>
prev=RM-second-AOR,3sg
“He repeated it”</p> |
| <p>c. <i>i-p'ov(n)-a</i>
RM-find-AOR,3sg
“He found it”</p> | <p>d. <i>i-q'id-a</i>
RP-M-buy-AOR,3sg
“He bought it”</p> |
| <p>e. <i>ga=i-gon-a</i>
prev=RM-hear-AOR,3sg
“He heard it”</p> | <p>f. <i>c'a=i-k'itx-a</i>
prev=RM-read-AOR,3sg
“He read it”</p> |
| <p>g. <i>da=i-nax-a</i>
prev=RM-see-AOR,3sg
“He saw it”</p> | <p>h. <i>i-sc'avl-a</i>
RM-learn-AOR,3sg
“He learned it”</p> |

In these structures *i-* signals that the initiator-controller of the event, the agent, is physically or psychologically involved in the event at all the stages of its unfolding. (cf. Ramchand’s (2008) undergoer). The undergoer is typically present in ingestive verbs and in verbs of perception.

In the bieventive system adopted in this work, *v* introduces the initiator and *i-* shows that the initiator is coindexed with the event participant that is affected by the caused change. The little *v* introduces the initiator and *V* introduces the undergoer.

- (40) *vano-m i-sc'avl-a kartul-i*
Vano-ERG RM-learn-AOR,3sg Georgian-NOM
“Vano learned Georgian”

Ingestive transitives



In unergative predicates in Georgian, *i-* signals the same coindexation of two event participants as in verbs in (39). Unergative predicates are formally bi-valent in non-imperfective tenses. The agent initiates and controls the activity but it also undergoes the process. However, the undergoer in unergatives is not the argument of the resulting subevent, but rather of an process/state, which provides the atelic interpretation to the unergative predicate (Nash 2016). Ramchand (2008) analyses unergatives in the same terms, considering the external argument to hold two event roles, initiator and undergoer.

- (41) Unergatives
-
- ```

graph TD
 vP --> Agent_i[Agenti]
 vP --> VP
 Agent_i --- v_small[v]
 Agent_i --- i_minus[i-]
 VP --> Undergoer_i[Undergoeri]
 VP --> STATE
 Undergoer_i --- V_small[V]

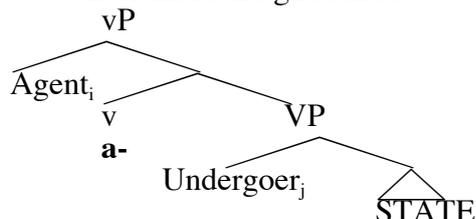
```

*keti-m i-cek'v-a*  
 Keti-ERG RM-dance-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti danced”

### 5.3.2. Causatives of unergatives contain disjoint agent and undergoer.

Causatives of unergatives minimally differ from the non-causative variant. The initiator of the event and the undergoer of the atelic process are *disjoint*.

(42) *keti-m a-cek'v-a gogo*  
 Keti-ERG caus-dance-AOR,3sg girl,NOM  
 “Keti made the girl dance”

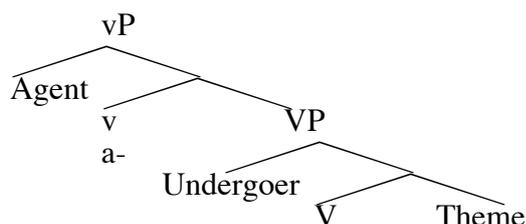


Causative-unergative alternation can be considered the other way round—the unergative predicates are the reflexive versions of causatives that denote an externally caused *process*, (rather than an externally caused *change of state*). The difference between accomplishments and causatives of unergatives consists in the structural representation of the lower subevent. In accomplishments, what is caused is a process leading to a result. In causatives of unergatives, what is caused is a state/atelic process.

Causatives of unergatives do not involve an embedded *agent*, rather they involve an embedded subject of the state/process predicate.

When an unergative verb contains a cognate object, the “causee” is marked with dative and the cognate object with accusative.

(43) *keti-m a-cek'v-a gogo-s t'ango*  
 Keti-ERG caus-dance-AOR,3sg girl-DAT tango,NOM  
 “Keti made the girl dance a tango”



### 5.4. Causatives of ingestives.

Perception verbs and ingestives in (39e-h) are marked with *i-*: the agent is also the undergoer of the process. Their causative versions are similar to triadic causatives of unergative verbs with a cognate object, (43).

As the undergoer and the agent are referentially disjoint, *i-* is switched to *a-* and the undergoer surfaces in dative.

(44) a. *vano-m a-scavl-a nino-s kartul-i*  
 Vano-ERG caus-learn-AOR,3sg Nino-DAT Georgian-NOM  
 “Vano taught Nino Georgian”

- b. *vano-m*      *c'a=a-k'itx-a*      *nino-s*      *cign-i*  
 Vano-ERG    prev=caus-read-AOR,3sg    Nino-DAT    book-NOM  
 “Vano made Nino read the book”
- c. *vano-m*      *da=a-nax-a*      *nino-s*      *saxl-i*  
 Vano-ERG    prev=caus-see-AOR,3sg    Nino-DAT    house-NOM  
 “Vano showed/made-see Nino a house”
- d. *vano-m*      *ga=a-gon-a*      *nino-s*      *xmaur-i*  
 Vano-ERG    prev=caus-hear-AOR,3sg    Nino-DAT    noise-NOM  
 “Vano made Nino hear the noise”

Not all ingestive verbs have *i-*. Yet, their causative forms are built with *a-*.

(45)

- a. *ketim*      *gada=q'lap'-a/*      *še=č'am-a/*      *ga=sinj-a*      *nuš-i*  
 Ketim-ERG    prev=swallow-AOR,3sg/    prev=eat-AOR,3sg/    prev=taste-AOR,3sg    almond  
 “Ketim swallowed/ate/tasted an almond”
- b. *deda-m*      *keti-s*      *gada=a-q'lap'a/*      *še=a-č'am-a/*  
 Mother-ERG    Ketim-DAT    prev=caus-swallow-AOR,3sg/    prev=caus-eat-AOR,3sg/  
*ga=a-sinj-a*      *nuš-i*  
 prev=caus-taste-AOR,3sg    almond-NOM  
 “Mother made Ketim swallow/eat/taste an almond”

In spite of the absence of *i-* in the non-causative variant in (45a), the lower subevent of ingestive verbs introduces the undergoer of the process due of the lexical meaning of the stem. Ramchand (2014), Bhatt & Embick (2003) treat causatives of ingestives as ditransitives.

—> Causatives of inaccusative verbs, bivalent subject-oriented psych verbs, ingestive verbs, perception verbs and unergative verbs constitute complex eventualities where an external causer is added to a VP expressing either a dynamic change or an atelic process/state.

### 5.5. Ditransitives with *a-*.

The underlying structure of *a-* causatives containing a lower bivalent VP is the same as that of bona fide ditransitives. Many core ditransitives come with *a-*.

- (46) a. *da=a-nax-a*      b. *a-čuk-a*      c. *a-čven-a*  
 prev=caus-see-AOR,3sg    caus-gift-AOR,3sg    caus-vision-AOR,3sg  
 “He showed Y X”      “He gifted Y with X”      “He showed Y X”

The present tense form of the highly irregular verb “give” is also built with the prefix *a-*, *a-dz'l-avs*, ‘lit. cause+power’, ‘empower’.

All types of triadic verbs with *a-* share two properties.

- the dative argument is obligatory, (cf. Section 4.5.)
- the dative argument does not have a benefactive/possessive reading, only the “low” causee reading: undergoer of the process or holder of a state caused by an external causer.

### Conclusion

*a-* causatives describe a complex eventuality which is *externally caused*. The prefix *a-* introduces the external causer.

A complex event can be

- a caused process that leads to the change of state of the theme (object of V)  
 —>causatives of unaccusatives (*make X soften*)
- a caused (a)telic process that involves an undergoer (subject of VP)—>causative of unergatives (*make X work*), causatives of ingestives

- a caused state that involves an experiencer (subject of VP)—>*causatives of psych-predicates (make X like Y)*

—> Verbs with *a-* describe events where the agent is external to the process or state it causes.

## 6. Causatives of transitives with *-in-*.

In addition to the prefix **a-**, COTs come with suffix *-in-*.

- (47) a. *keti-m gogo-s k'ar-i da=a-k'et'-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG girl-DAT door-NOM prev=caus-close-caus-AOR,3sg
- b. *keti-m st'udent'-s leks-i gada=a-targmn-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG student-DAT poem-NOM prev=caus-translate-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti made the student translate a poem”
- c. *keti-m ert kal-s at'am-i da=a-č'r-ev-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG one woman-DAT peach-NOM prev=caus-cut-TS-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti made one woman cut the peach”
- d. *keti-m mezobel-s otax-i da=a-lag-eb-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG neighbour-DAT room-NOM prev=caus-tidy-TS-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti made the neighbour tidy up the room”

In (47c-d) we observe an extra suffix between the verb stem and *-in-* glossed as TS [thematic suffix]. It is a categorial marker of verbs in non-finite contexts, and signals that the preceding root is verbalized. (cf. Nash 2017, McGinnis 2016). When the embedded verb in COTs is an accomplishment without *a-*, such markers are more or less systematic. However, when an *a-* accomplishment (denominal/deadjectival) is embedded in COTs, the thematic suffix *-eb-* is obligatory (47d).

### 6.1. *-in-* is not a causative predicate.

The morpheme *-in-* has been analysed as a causative predicate that selects a non-finite VP, à la Romance *faire*. (Nash 1994, McGinnis 2016).

Problem: if *-in-* is dedicated to the introduction of a causer, it is difficult to justify the presence of *a-* in such constructions. *a-* always occurs in configurations where the causer and the result are spelled out by different stems. In Georgian, stems that are inherently agentive do not need *a-*, (48). Nash (1994), to overcome this problem, proposes that *-in-* is a causative noun, rather than a causative verb, and hence needs the verbal support of *a-*.

- (48) agentive verbs without *a-* (cf. also 23-24) [in AOR,3sg]

*targmna* translate  
*c'era* write  
*xia* tear  
*xoca* slaughter  
*toxa* plough  
*č'ra* cut

While *a-* shows the presence of the external causer, *-in-* signals that the caused eventuality is not directly initiated by the causer himself. *-in-* is the sign of the indirect causation. (Ramchand 2014, on *-vaa* in Hindi).

In indirect causatives subevents are less tightly connected, their running times can be distinct, the upper subevent needn't be the immediate cause of the lower subevent. There is no incremental relation or temporal co-extensivity between subevents.

Claim: *-in-* signals the existence of an intermediary eventuality whose initiator is suppressed. If *v-V* is the core of direct causation, the structure of indirect causation is [*v-[v-V]*]. Importantly, *the intermediary v does not introduce an argument.*

The reason for this argument suppression is not the same as for passives. The Passive voice does not reduce the valency of the predicate, it just prevents that a referential expression carry the external argument role. (Doron 2013)

With *-in-*, an event denoted by the lexical stem is initiated but the initiator is not structurally realised (Cf. Pyllkänen 1999 on causative predicates without a causer).

—> In this sense, *-in-* has the same function as the Middle voice.

If *-in-* is analysed as a Middle voice morpheme, differences between the passive and embedded causatives in FP (Kayne 1975) are accounted for. Passives allow agent-oriented adverbs, but middle constructions and the embedded clause in FP do not.

- (49) a. \**This book translates on purpose*  
 b. *This book was translated on purpose*  
 c. *Marie a fait détruire l'immeuble exprès*  
 “Mary had the building destroyed on purpose”  
 =only Mary acts on purpose  
 ≠Someone destroys on purpose  
 d. *nino-m ganzrax da=a-c'er-in-a leks-i (vano-s)*  
 Nino-ERG intentionally prev=caus-write-caus-AOR,3sg poem-NOM Vano-DAT  
 “Nino made Vano write the poem intentionally”  
 =only Nino acts on purpose  
 ≠ Nino writes on purpose

*-in-* signals the suppression of the embedded agent in COT. It is a marker of the Middle Voice

Middle Voice suppresses the agent-assigning capacity of the complex eventuality.

## 6.2. More evidence that *-in-* is a deagentiviser.

It is worth noting that *-in-* is placed in verb sequences in the same place as *-ul-/il-*, past participle marker employed in periphrastic passives.

- (50) a. *da=a-c'er-in-a* a'. *da=c'er-il-i*  
 prev=caus-write-caus-AOR,3sg prev=write-PRT-NOM  
 b. *ga=a-civ-eb-in-a* b'. *ga=civ-eb-ul-i*  
 prev=caus-cold-TS-caus-AOR,3sg prev=write-TS-PRT-NOM

### 6.2.1 *-in-* in the pluperfect.

Importantly, the affix *-in-* does not occur uniquely in COTs. It appears on certain transitive verbs, namely on *a-* accomplishments, in the pluperfect.

Transitive predicates in the pluperfect are formally “turned” into bivalent inaccusatives. The external argument is marked dative. (cf. Section 5.2. about the dative mediopassive (DM))

- (51) *mindoda rom keti-s da=e-c'er-a leks-i*  
 1,want,past that Ket-DAT prev=DM-write-3sg poem-NOM  
 “I wanted that Ket write a poem”

A transitive or a ditransitive *a-*accomplishment (*build, make, gift*) in the pluperfect optionally carries *-(eb)-in-*. This is a relatively modern but pervasive strategy in Georgian and two pluperfect forms of accomplishment verbs coexist, with *-(eb)in* and  $\emptyset$ .

- (52) *da=a-lag-a* “make tidy”  
 a. *da=e-lag-a* (110 hits on Google)  
 b. *da=e-lag-eb-in-a* (6800 hits on Google)  
 (53) *mindoda rom ketis ga=e-k'et-eb-in-a t'ort'i*  
 1,want,past that Ket-DAT prev=DM-make-TS-“caus”-3sg cake-NOM  
 “I wanted that Ket make the cake”

- (54) *ga=a-k'et-a* ‘make, fabricate’  
 a. *ga=e-k'et-a* (657 hits on Google)  
 b. *ga=e-k'et-eb-in-a* (207000 hits on Google)

The TS *-eb-* denotes the dynamicity of the stem, its verbal categorial feature, and *-in-* shows that the verb in question denotes an externally caused event. The *-in-* prefix in the pluperfect indicates that a bieventive accomplishment is deagentivized.

### 6.2.2. *-in-* in modal contexts “feel like *V-ing*”

Like many Slavic languages, Georgian builds modal contexts with dispositional readings of type “(not) feel like *Ving*”, (cf. Rivero 2009). Most frequently used in progressive tenses, the lexical verb is formally unaccusative, as in Slavic. The agent surfaces as dative, the theme as nominative, and the transitive verb bear the affix *-in-*.

Importantly, all transitive verbs, and not just *a*-accomplishments, are subject to this rule.

- (55) *q'ovel dge botlebs v-q'r-i, dges k'i ar*  
 each day bottles-DAT 1-throw-PRES, today but not  
*m-e-q'r-ev-in-eba*  
 1O-PM-throw-“caus”-TS-PRES  
 “Every day I throw bottles, but today I don’t feel like throwing them”

- (56) a. *vano-s lekseb-i e-c'er-in-eba*  
 Vano-DAT poems-DAT DM-write-“caus”-PRES  
 “Vano feels like writing poems”  
 b. *vano-s didi sakmeeb-i e-ket-eb-in-eba*  
 Vano-DAT big deeds-NOM DM-write-“caus”-PRES  
 “Vano feels like doing big affairs”  
 c. *vano-s sisuleleb-i e-tkm-ev-in-eb-a*  
 Vano-DAT stupidities-NOM DM-say-TS-“caus”-PRES  
 “Vano feels like saying silly things”

The agent is “turned” into a dative experiencer in these contexts, *-in-* marks deagentivisation of the predicate.

### 6.2.3. Deponent verbs.

In deponent verbs, which are semantically agentive but formally unaccusative, the form with *-in-* sometimes coexists with a more common non-active variant. [Tuite 2002]

- (57) a. *nino i-c'er-eb-a rom mova*  
 Nino,NOM RM-write-PRES that will-arrive  
 “Nino is writing that she will arrive”  
 b. *nino i-c'er-in-eb-a rom mova*  
 Nino,NOM RM-write-“caus”-PRES that will-arrive  
 “Nino is writing that she will arrive”  
 c. *p'at'rul-i štrapeb-s i-c'er-in-eba*  
 policeman-NOM fines-DAT RM-write-“caus”-PRES  
 “The policeman keeps on issuing fines”

Even when the same form is used as a true mediopassive, the verb with *-in-* is possible. The phenomenon is still lexically restricted.

- (58) a. *k'od-i i-c'er-eb-a ase*  
 code-NOM RM-write-TS-PRES this way  
 “The code is/should be written this way”

- b. *k'od-i sad i-cer-in-eba?*  
 code-NOM where RM-write-“caus”-PRES  
 “Where is the code to be written?”

The exact analysis of these forms is beyond the scope of the talk but we see that *-in-* pops on transitive verbs in non-causative contexts.

What *-in-* highlights in these non-causative contexts is that the transitive lexical verb that is turned into an unaccusative form is first structured as agentive.

[Same rationale as in French *Paul a été cambriolé-Paul s'est fait cambrioler?* ]

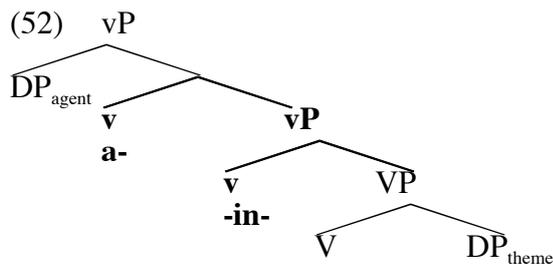
Conclusion: the affix *-in-* signals that the embedded verb is structured as transitive, but incapable to project the external causer.

### 6.3. Dative causees in COTs with *-in-*.

The dative causee is not always projected in COTs (FP-contexts), as we have seen in section 4.3. *exx* (10).

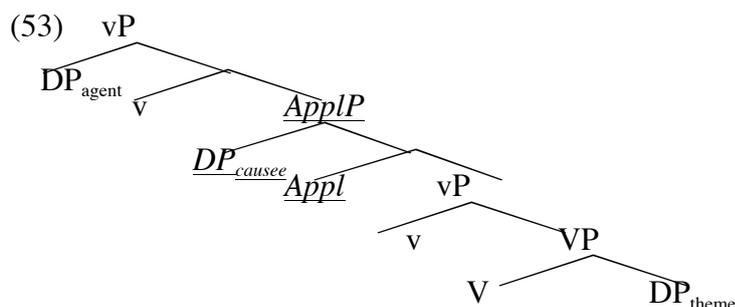
- (51)(=10)a. *keti-m iat'ak'i ga=a-c'mend-in-a*  
 keti-ERG floor-NOM prev=caus-clean-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti had the floor cleaned”  
 b. *keti-m pankar-i ga=a-tlev-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG pencil-NOM prev=caus-sharpen-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti had the pencil sharpened”  
 c. *keti-m roman-i gada=a-targmn-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG novel-NOM prev=caus-translate-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti had the novel translated”  
 d. *keti-m mankana ga=a-recx-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG car,NOM prev=caus-wash-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti had the car washed”

The structure of FP-type COTs involves two initiation sub-eventualities, where the lower one is incapable to project the agent.



Hypothesis: when two initiation subeventualities are adjacent and maximally underspecified, they merge into one unspecified initiation subeventuality (cf. Svenonius 2015 on spanning, Alsina 1992).

The dative causee can be introduced to the structure in (52) by adding ApplP. ApplP is an optional projection, just like applied instruments or benefactives are optional in transitive structures, cross-linguistically.



The applicative introduces an argument interpreted as a second agent, an associate. Indeed, Georgian causative constructions with dative causees can denote events done collectively by two agents. For example, if I have a bicycle to carry up on the fifth floor by stairs I can ask a friend: will you ‘cause me to carry the bicycle’ meaning ‘would you carry the bicycle with me, can you help me in carrying the bicycle?’

Another situation: in ‘Mother caused the girls to bake a cake’, there is a reading whereby the mother and girls bake together.

- (54) a. *velosip'edi amo=m-a-t'an-in-e ra!*  
 bicycle-NOM prev=1O-caus-carry-caus-IMP, please  
 “Help me carry the bicycle up please”  
 b. *deda-m gogoeb-s t'ort'i gamo=a-cx-ob-in-a*  
 mother-ERG girls-DAT cake-NOM prev=caus-bake-TS-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Mother helped the girls bake a cake, by doing it with them”

However, ApplP is obligatory in some contexts in order to provide a binder for dependent indices in the lower subevent. This happens when:

- the lower structure contains an anaphoric expression: body part, anaphoric pronoun, bound variable. The same requirement extends to idiomatic expressions which Burzio (1986) analyses as anaphoric. (cf. exx. in (9) modified in (54))

- (54) a. IDIOMS  
*keti-m gogo-s kva ga=a-xetk-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG girl-DAT stone,NOM prev=caus-explode-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti made the girl explode a stone”  
 =Keti made the girl do the impossible (to achieve something)  
 b. INALIENABLE OBJECTS  
*keti-m gogo-s xeli a=a-c'ev-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG girls-DAT hand-NOM prev=caus-rise-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti made *him/them* raise a hand”  
 c. BOUND PRONOUNS  
*keti-m q'ovel gogo-s<sub>i</sub> tavis<sub>i</sub> pankari ga=a-tlev-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG each girl-DAT self,GEN pencil-NOM prev=caus-sharpen-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Keti made *him/them* sharpen his/their own pencil”

- the lower layer denotes achievements, which do not differentiate the activity and result subeventualities. In Georgian, simple achievements are often marked with the reflexive marker *i-*. (cf. 39c-d). In achievements the agent is physically involved in each stage of the event development: no temporal difference may exist between the initiation and the result. Therefore the deagentivized predicate still bears a coreferential index with the agent on the resultative VP that the dative causee binds.

- (55) a. *ketim mankana mo=i-g-o / i-šovn-a*  
 Keti-ERG car,NOM prev=RM-win-AOR,3sg / RM-find-AOR,3sg  
 b. *keti-m vano-s mankana mo=a-g-eb-in-a / a-šovn-in-a*  
 Keti-ERG Vano-DAT car,NOM prev=caus-win-TS-caus-AOR,3sg /  
 caus-find-caus-AOR,3sg “Keti made Vano win/find a car”

- the lower layer denotes speech acts. Like achievements, the agent is physically involved throughout the entire event.

- (56) a. *vano-m tkv-a simartle*  
 Vano-ERG say-AOR,3sg truth,NOM  
 “Vano said the truth”  
 b. *vano-m a-tkmev-in-a keti-s simartle*  
 Vano-ERG caus-say-caus-AOR,3sg Ket-i-DA truth,NOM  
 “Vano made Ket-i say the truth”

- when the causer is inanimate. In these cases, Aktionsart properties of the lower subevent play no role, neither the binding requirements coming from the lower layer. But the causer does not act independently of the causee, its “action”/force is effective once perceived in the mind of the causee. When we say “Unemployment made Mary sell the house”, the unemployment must be Mary’s or potentially affecting Mary. Likewise “The article made Mary write a book”, the article must be appropriated by Mary(’s mind) to cause her writing the book. I therefore hypothesize that pure causers must directly affect the causee in order to bring about a result.

- (57) *sircxvil-ma vano-s iat’ak’-i ga=a-c’mend-in-a*  
 shame-ERG Vano-DAT floor-NOM prev=caus-clean-caus-AOR,3sg  
 “Shame made him/them clean the floor”

## 7. Summary.

We started with the following question:

- what is the syntactic status of the embedded subject – the causee – in causative constructions?

Georgian evidence shows that

- in causatives of unaccusatives, unergatives, ingestives, the causee is like a high dative argument in a ditransitive construction. It is introduced in VP, below *v*, in Georgian. It is the subject of VP in causatives of unergatives and ingestive verbs, and the object of *V* in causatives of unaccusatives, which are structurally accomplishments.
- in causatives of transitives, the embedded transitive predicate is deagentivized, i.e. the little *v* (or whatever head introduces the agent) is present in the structure but loses the capacity to project the argument. This loss of valency is typical of the Middle voice.
- the causee is introduced in COTs on top of the deagentivized *vP* via the Applicative head. Semantically, it is interpreted as a second actor/associate in the complex causative construction. Its presence becomes necessary to satisfy Aktionsart properties of the embedded predicate (cf. achievements), or anaphoric properties of other main arguments, the “deep” object or the causer.

In many languages, as in Georgian, transitive and intransitive verbs are not causativised by the same morphological strategy. Usually, COTs are more complex morphologically. The extra morpheme, which is not shared by causatives of transitives and intransitives, is the sign of deagentivisation of the embedded transitive predicate.

To build a mono-eventive COT, two operations may be signalled morphologically, *deagentivisation* of the embedded predicate and further *retransitivisation* of the result of the former operation.

Causees are not structural agents of the embedded predicate in mono-eventive causative constructions.

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