Introduction

Today's Goal: to provide a comparative investigation of the periphrastic causative formed with 'give' in Northern Kurdish (i.e., Kurnamji, NK) and Sason Arabic (SA).

- In NK, indirect causatives are formed with the 'give' plus the infinitival verb.

(1) Min xani da avakirin.
1sg.on.house.3sg.GEN build
'I had the house built.' (NK, Cîwan 1992:56)

- SA also can form indirect causatives with 'give' and a infinitival verb.

(2) ame ad-ı-d-ı adili.
yesterday gave-1sg.shelf-pl-3sg.my fix.inf
'Yesterday I had my shelves fixed.' (SA)

Our assumption:

→ Given that 'give'-causatives are unknown to Arabic, this construction in SA is calqued on the Kurdish periphrastic causative (Akkuş & Benmamoun 2018).

1. Properties of 'give' in NK and SA

1.1 Predicate types under 'give'

- Unaccusatives are disallowed in both languages.

(3) a. Ev min di-d-in ketin.
3pl дер. 1sg.on.prog-give-pres-pl fall
'int: They made me fall' (NK)

b. *ada-su xao su mardvan-ad.
gave-3pl-me fall.inf
'int: They made me fall from the stairs.' (SA)

- Transitive causatives are allowed in NK with a DP causee, (5), but disallowed in SA (6), (irrespective of the Causee being a DP or PP).

(5) Ev min di-d-in xebîbîn.
3pl.DER. 1sg.on.prog-give-pres-pl work
'They made me work.' (NK)

(6) a. *ada-su naxn.
*gave-3pl-run.inf
'They made me run.' (SA)

b. 'Give'-causatives can be passivized, with the causee realized as a PP, headed – by 'with' in NK, (7).

(7) Ev bi mim ketab-a di-d-a xwandin.
3pl.DER. 1sg.on.book-prog-give-pres-pl read
'They make/are making me read the book.' (NK)

- Transitive causatives can be causativized, with the causee realized as a PP, headed – by the preposition to/for, to in SA, (8).

(8) Ev e bi mim xalat-a di-d-a xwandin.
3pl.DER. 1sg.on.adl-prog-give-pres-pl read
'They make/are making me read the book.' (NK)

- Comitative causatives can be associated with the embedded agent, whereas this is not the case for SA, (15).

(9) ame washer... -give.
'Her mother had Fatma cook.' (SA)

(10) man-om.ad-sash-ı adil hedi.
without care gave-1sg.shell-pl-3sg.my fix.inf
'She caredlessly had my shelves fixed slowly.' (SA)

- Sa also can form indirect causatives with 'give' and a infinitival verb.

(11) Amı ni dei dol o da avadan.
instrumental causee
'Yesterday I had my shelves fixed.' (NK)

1.2 Size of the embedded structure

Both NK and SA are bi-evanescent, (9)-(10), and embed a second VoiceP layer.

(12) *ımm-a
instrumental
'gave-3plprs-plp
(20) a. *l-laham. xalla
book.imp (by them)
'meat'

b. *si-şi xél-ëkan.
gave-3sgprs-plp
'seeds'

1.3 Interpretation of the Null Causee

- The causee is optional, and the null causee is interpreted as existential (like a missing 'by'-phrase) rather than nominal (like a pro-drop argument) in both NK, (1), and SA, (2).

(13) Min zevi da rakirin e, *Ew zevi geke xilas kir
1sg.on.field.3sg.GEN plough.3sg.GEN very fast finish did.3sg
'I had the field ploughed.' (NK)

b. *N-i-ı ad-o ni dei xalat-a xwandin.
instrumental causee
'Yesterday the shelves were made (by me) to be repaired by the repairman.'

'Yesterday I had my shelves fixed by the repairman.' (SA)

2. Agentive Diagnostics

- Despite the presence of VoiceP in both NK and SA causatives, agentive diagnostics (e.g., Bruening 2013, Legate 2014, Alexiadou et al 2015) demonstrate that NK 'give' can be passivized in other Arabic varieties, whereas it cannot be passivized in SA.

(20) a. Hiji Hası Arabî.
*Hiji Hası b-taall-a y-ak-ta l-laham.
the-boys pass-let-3pl 3sg-eat.plp meat

'b. Sason Arabic:
sahibad b-taall-a y-ak-ta l-laham.
the-boys pass-let-3pl 3sg-eat.plp meat

Difference #1:

- Though in both languages, the null causee behaves like the implicit agent of a passive, only in NK, instrument phrases, (15a), and comitative causatives can be associated with the embedded agent, whereas this is not the case for SA, (15b).

(15) Instrumental

hunter.imp rabbit-obl-3sg.GEN prog-give-pres-3sg kill
The hunter makes someone kill the rabbit with a shotgun.' (NK)

b. *N-i-ı ad-o ni dei xalat-a xwandin.
instrumental causee
'Yesterday I had my shelves fixed by the repairman.'

'Her mother had made the clothes with a big brush.' (SA)

YES: His mother used the brush.
NO: Hası used the brush.

Conclusions

- 'Give'-causatives calqued in SA from NK show commonalities as well as divergences: (i) despite the null causee interpretation, SA doesn't show agentive properties (hası, canonical Voice in NK, and Causee in SA).

- 'Give' can be passivized in SA, but not NK (thus a main verb in SA, and a light verb in NK, cf. Pitteroff 2015). "The field was made to be ploughed by them." (SA)

'Yesterday the books were made (by them) to be read.'

This hypothesis is compatible with other language-internal properties of SA.

- The passive suffix 'let'-causatives cannot be passivized in other Arabic varieties (Sadik 1982, e.g. Hijazi, whereas they can be passivized in SA.

(21) a. *l-laham. xalla
book.imp (by them)
'meat'

b. *l-awlaad xalla
'let'-causatives cannot be passivized in other Arabic varieties (Sadik 1982, e.g. Hijazi, whereas they can be passivized in SA.

(20) a. Hiji Hası Arabî.
*Hiji Hası b-taall-a y-ak-ta l-laham.
the-boys pass-let-3pl 3sg-eat.plp meat

'b. Sason Arabic:
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the-boys pass-let-3pl 3sg-eat.plp meat

The boys were let out the meat.'

(16) SA

(17) NK

(18) Kurnamji (Northern Kurdish)

(19) Sason Arabic

VoiceP

VoiceP

VoiceP

PassiveP

PassiveP

PassiveP

The boys were let out the meat.'

Selected References: