Double causatives are real

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Overview. Theories of affixal causatives in which causative (sub)events are explicitly represented in the syntax differ in whether they allow embedding of one category within another category of the same type. In Ramchand (2008), for example, causatives consist of a fixed hierarchy of distinct heads [Init [Process [Result]]], while causatives in Harley (1995, 2008), by contrast, involve one little v head which selects another vP. As Key (2013) points out, allowing one vP to embed another vP opens the door to the possible recursion of causatives and predicts the existence of "double causatives", which involve two causing events in addition to the caused event. Based on data primarily from Turkish and Japanese, Key claims that no language with affixal causative morphology ever encodes more than two events in a causative (one causing event and one caused event); that is, true double causatives are unattested. Using eventhood diagnostics, I show that double causatives are indeed real and available in Turkish and Hokkaido Japanese. Thus we have a new desideratum for theories of affixal causatives: they must allow causative recursion.

Key 2013. Key argues that there is no one-to-one mapping between the number of causative affixes and causing events in Turkish. As shown in (1), double causative marking on the verb does not always convey two causing events. Key thus proposes that double causative marking in Turkish is the result of (semantically vacuous) morphological reduplication of a single syntactic head.

(1) Saç-ım-ı kes-**tir**-di-m / kes-**tir-t**-ti-m.
 hair-1SG-ACC cut-**CAUS**-PST-1SG / cut-**CAUS-CAUS**-PST-1SG

 'I had my hair cut.' (Göksel & Kerslake 2005)

Key extends his argument to all languages, suggesting that true double causatives are unattested and that there are never more than two events in a causative (one causing event and one caused event), despite not using any eventhood diagnostics to support his claim. Key proposes instead that affixal causatives obey the fixed universal functional hierarchy in (2) where a dedicated Caus head associated with a causing event selects for a vP associated with the caused event. Because there is no category recursion in this approach, there is no causative recursion either.

(2) [$_\text{VoiceP}$ CAUSER [Voice [$_\text{CausP}$ CAUSEE [Caus [$_{v\text{P}}$ v THEME]]]]]

Turkish double causatives. While reduplication may be an appropriate analysis for some doubly-marked causatives, I show that Turkish does have true double causatives with two causing events. The negated single causative in (3) is ambiguous between two interpretations, one where negation scopes over only the caused event, and another where negation scopes over the causing event (or the whole clause). Scope of negation thus diagnoses the presence of two events in single causatives.

(3) Mehmet Ayşe-yi çalış-**tır-ma**-dı.
 Mehmet Ayşe-ACC work-**CAUS-NEG**-PST

 'Mehmet didn't make Ayşe work.' / 'Mehmet made Ayşe not work.' (Key 2013: 177)

Applying the scope of negation test to double causatives crucially diagnoses three events. The negated double causative in (4) has three possible interpretations, where negation scopes over the caused event, the higher causing event, or the intermediate causing event.

(4) Doktor bana Ayşe-yi uyu-**t-tır-ma**-dı.
 doctor me.DAT Ayşe-ACC sleep-**CAUS-CAUS-NEG**-PST.3SG

 'The doctor did not make me make Ayşe sleep.' /

'The doctor made me not make Ayşe sleep.' /
'The doctor made me make Ayşe not sleep.'

Modification using temporal adverbials (to be shown, see also Japanese) similarly indicates three events in double causatives, confirming that causative recursion is indeed possible in Turkish.

Hokkaido Japanese double causatives. It is noted in Kuroda (1993) that some Japanese speakers accept singly-marked causatives with two causees, as in (5). Kuroda suggests that, despite their lack of double causative marking, these are true double causatives that have undergone haplology.

(5)   George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o   suw-**ase**-ru.
        George-NOM   Naomi-DAT   Ken-DAT   cigarette-ACC   smoke-**CAUS**-PRS
        'George will make Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.'   (Kuroda 1993: 10)

Using eventhood diagnostics, I show that Kuroda's hypothesis that these are true double causatives is borne out, at least in Hokkaido Japanese. Scope of negation, for instance, diagnoses the presence of three events in (6), despite there being only one causative marker on the verb.

(6)   George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o   suw-**ase**-**nakat**-ta.
        George-NOM   Naomi-DAT   Ken-DAT   cigarette-ACC   smoke-**CAUS**-**NEG**-PST
        'George did not make Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
        'George made Naomi not make Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
        'George made Naomi make Ken not smoke a cigarette.'

As shown in (7), it is also possible to independently modify each of the three events in a double causative with a temporal adverbial. In affirmative contexts, some speakers of Hokkaido Japanese equally accept single and double marking on the verb.

(7)   George-ga   getsuyoubi-ni   Naomi-ni   kayoubi-ni   Ken-ni   suiyoubi-ni
        George-NOM   Monday-DAT   Naomi-DAT   Tuesday-DAT   Ken-DAT   Wednesday-DAT
        tabako-o   suw-(**ase**-)**sase**-ta.
        cigarette-ACC   smoke-(**CAUS**-)**CAUS**-PST
        'George on Monday made Naomi make Ken on Tuesday smoke a cigarette on Wednesday.'

Finally, constructions with the causative marker *-(s)ase* often allow a permissive reading. In (8), we find that a permissive reading is available for either of the two higher events, again indicating that there are two causing events in the syntax, in addition to the caused event.

(8)   George-ga   Naomi-ni   Ken-ni   tabako-o   suw-(**ase**-)**ase**-ta.
        George-NOM   Naomi-DAT   Ken-DAT   cigarette-ACC   smoke-(**CAUS**-)**CAUS**-PST
        'George made Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
        'George let Naomi make Ken smoke a cigarette.' /
        'George made Naomi let Ken smoke a cigarette.'

Implications. True double causatives therefore are attested cross-linguistically, contra Key (2013) (also Svenonius 2005). This result is important because it indicates that affixal causatives in at least some languages involve true category recursion and cannot be captured using a fixed functional hierarchy. All approaches to affixal causatives must therefore be able to accommodate causative recursion, as in the vP embedding view of causatives (Harley 1995, 2008) and its successors.

Select references. KEY 2013 The morphosyntax of the Turkish causative construction, UArizona PhD thesis. KURODA 1993 Lexical and productive causatives in Japanese, *Japanese Linguistics*.