

Causal constructions express causal relationships between two events. Causal connections can be of different types, including factitive (*make X V*), permissive (*let X V*) among others (see Nadathur & Lauer 2020 for references and discussion). The present study contrasts three causative auxiliaries from Haitian Creole *fè* 'make' (1a), *kite* 'let, allow' (1b) and *ba(y)* 'give' (1c).

- (1) a. Manman mwen **fè** Rito fouye twou a.
mother 1SG **make** R. dig hole DET
'My mother made Rito dig the hole.' (Govain 2022:38, ex 4b)
- b. M **kite** timoun nan jwe ak chat la.
1SG **let** child DET play with cat DET
'I let the child play with the cat.'
- c. Jan **bay** Mari kondwi vwati a.
Jean give Marie drive car DET
'Jean invited Mari to drive the car.' (Glaude 2012:170, ex 21b)

Claim The causative with *bay* 'give' expresses a relationship of *causative invitations* contrasting with both factitive *fè* 'make' and permissive *kite* 'let, allow' causatives. In causative invitations two conditions have to be fulfilled: (i) the embedded predicate has to describe an action under the causee's control and (ii) the action of the causee is part of an interaction with the causer. The causative invitation reading is translated here by *invite*. Of the Haitian causative auxiliaries only *fè* 'make' is implicative, *bay* 'give' and *kite* 'let' causatives imply that the embedded event is caused but do not entail it.

Causee controls the action Both factitive *fè* 'make' causatives (1) and *kite* 'let' permissives (2) allow caused events that are not under the control of the causee. In contrast, causatives with *bay* 'give' are infelicitous with actions that are not under the causees control (3).

- (2) a. Pwofesè a **fè** [timoun yo] renmen literati.
professor DET make children DET.PL love literature
'The professor makes the children love literature.'
- b. Jann **fè** Mari ri.
J. make M. laugh
'J. made Mari laugh'
- (3) a. Jann **kite** Mari mouri.
J. let M. die.'
- b. Jean **kite** [mi an] tonbe.
Jean let wall DET fall
'J. let the wall fall down (i.e. did nothing to prevent it happening).'
- (4) a. #M ap **bay** [sè mwen an] ri.
1SG ASP give sister 1SG DET laugh
'#I invite my sister to laugh.'
- b. #Jan **bay** [mi an] tonbe.
Jan give wall DET fall
'#J. invites the wall to fall.'

Interaction with the causer *fè* 'make' allows a natural force like *van an* 'the wind' as a causer (5a), *kite* 'let' and *bay* 'give' are infelicitous in this type of context (5b/c)

- (5) a. Van an **fè** mi an tonbe.
wind DET make wall DET fall
'The wind made the wall come down.' (Govain 2022:40, ex 10b)
- b. [Van an] **#kite** [mi an] tonbe.
- c. [Van an] **#bay** [mi an] tonbe.
wind DET let/give wall DET fall

#'The wind let the wall fall/invited the wall to fall.'

The causee of BAY-causatives has to be capable of interaction: either animate (6a/b) or an interactive machine (7a/b) (e.g. a computer, ticket machine, automatic door).

(6) a. M **ba** li benyen avan nou sòti
1SG give 3SG take.bath before 1PL go.out
'I invited him/her to take a bath before we went out.'

b. M **bay** [sè mwen an] chwazi [mizik la]
1SG give sister 1SG DET choose music DET
'I invited my sister choose the music.'

(7) a. [Òdinatè a] **ba** w met modpas la.
computer DET give 2SG enter password DET
'The ticket machine invites you to enter your password.'

b. [Machin nan] **ba** w chwazi [kantite tikè w vle a]
machine DET give 2SG choose number tickets 2SG want DET
'The ticket machine invites you to choose the number of tickets you want.'

The examples (6) and (7) are also grammatical with *kite* 'let' as a causative. However, the *bay* and *kite* causatives differ in their interpretation. Permissive *kite* 'let' has permission readings (allowing the causee to perform an action) or non-interference readings (where the causer does not stop the causee from performing an action) – in either case the causee has the intention of performing the action independently of the causer. In contrast, in *bay*-causatives the causer causes the intention of the causee to perform the action as well as the action itself. With *bay*-causatives the caused action is performed in a reaction to the causer.

Analysis *Bay*-causatives allow invitation by humans and interactional causation with an interactive machine. This interpretation of *bay* doesn't correspond to an intermediate enabling condition for direct causation (as in Wolff 2003). In *bay*-causatives we have two layers of causation: (i) causation between the causing event and the caused event and (ii) causation of the intention of the causee to carry out the event.

(8) e1 = causing event / e2 = caused event

BAY-causative CAUSE(e1,e2) & CAUSE(e1, intention(CAUSEE,e2))

The causing event e1 causes the event e2 & the intention of the causee to carry out e2

The three types of causatives differ with respect to the second layer of causation. The double causation of an event and an intention in *bay*-causatives contrasts with factitive and permissive causatives. Factitive causatives like *fè* 'make' do not impose any conditions on the intentions of the causee wrt to the event e2, while in permissive readings of causatives like *kite* the intention of the causee to carry out e2 (intention(CAUSEE,e2)) pre-exists the permission relation and in non-interference readings the causer refrains from initiating an event e1 that could stop e2 whether it is intentional (*play with the cat* in 1b) or non-intentional (*die* 3a). Future work has to show whether causees can be inanimate in examples like "The phone GIVES the computer connect to the hotspot" and whether *intention* as postulated here has to be generalised to also cover a *reaction* from an interactional machine. This analysis including a separate causation of intention is supported by the fact that *invite* can grammaticalize as an auxiliary or an adjective expressing causation of intention:

(9) a. Kunst im Parlament lädt zum Nachdenken über Demokratie ein. (German)

art in-the parliament invites to-the reflect.INF about democracy PRT

'Art in parliament invites reflecting about democracy.'

b. an inviting prospect / The room is very inviting

inviting: attractive in a way that makes you want to do something, go somewhere, be near someone, etc. <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/inviting>

References: Glaude 2012. *Aspects de la syntaxe de l'haïtien*. Editions Anibwé. Govain 2022. *La question linguistique haïtienne : histoire, usages et description*. Mémoire HDR, U. Paris 8. Nadathur & Lauer 2020. "Causal necessity, causal sufficiency, and the implications of causative verbs", *Glossa* 5(1): 49. Wolff 2003. "Direct causation in the linguistic coding and individuation of causal events". *Cognition* 88 : 1–48.