Causative invitations and types of causation: evidence from Haitian

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Three causative auxiliaries in Haitian

- Different types of causative relations
  - ▶ factitive (*make* X VP),
  - ▶ permissive (*let* X VP)
  - ▶ negative causation (*prevent* X from VP)
  - ▶ enabling causation (*enable* X to VP)

  (Shibatani (2002); Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002); Wolff et al. (2002))

- Haitian has several causative constructions
  - ▶ the *fè* 'make' causative (factitive)
  - ▶ the *bay* 'give' causative (cognate of Fr. *bailler*) => ?
  - ▶ the *kite* 'abandon; to let, permit, allow' causative (permissive)

- Antoine (2022) discusses *bay* 'give' and *voye* 'send' as causative constructions in Haitian => aux status for *voye* seems unclear

Causatives in Haitian

(1)   *fè* 'make' causative

Manman mwen **fè**   Rito fouye [twou a].   (Haitian)
mother 1SG MAKE R. dig   hole DET
'My mother made Rito dig a hole.' (Govain, 2022, 38,ex4b)

(2)   *bay* 'give' causative

Jan **bay** Mari koupe [sak la].
Jean GIVE Marie cut   bag DET
'J. made M. cut the bag.' (Glaude, 2012, 169, ex.21b)

(3)   *kite* 'abandon; to let, permit, allow' causative

M **kite** [timoun nan] jwe ak   [chat la].
1SG LET child   DET play with cat   DET
'I let the child play with the cat.'

Claims

1. The three causative constructions contrast with respect to the causative relationships allowed
   - **fè** is the causative covering obligation and trigger readings
   - **bay** expresses an instruction/ an invitation (to an animate causee) to perform an action,
   - **kite** expresses general permissive:
     - ★ permission to a human agent causee
     - ★ non-intervention (animate "*not oppose*" or inanimate causee "*not be an obstacle to*")

2. Differences with respect to
   - implicativity
   - type of causer
   - type of causee
   - type of predicate
   - possibility of embedded negation

Outline

1. Haitian

2. Causatives

3. Fè 'make' causatives in Haitian

4. Ba(y) 'give' causatives in Haitian

5. Kite 'let' causatives in Haitian

6. Conclusion

Haitian

- Haitian - Background
  - French lexifier creole, Atlantic Creole
  - emerged in the context of large scale slavery (plantation)
  - spoken in Haiti on the island of Hispaniola
  - 10 million speakers, main language in Haiti

Haitian

- Grammatical properties
    - ▸ DP-final determiner
    - ▸ O/w head initial:
        - ★ post-nominal genitive, post-nominal relative clauses
        - ★ preverbal TAM marking, preverbal Negation
        - ★ Head-complement order for V + complement

(5) mwen suiv [**konsèy**   [**dokte** [**lazil**   **la**]]].
    1SG   follow recommendation doctor retirement-home DET
    'I followed [the recommendation [of the doctor [of the retirement home]]].' (A. Camus *L'étranger*, Haitian translation by F. Gourdet)

(6) Li kouri. / Li **ap**   kouri. / Li **pa** kouri. / Li **vle**   kouri.
    3SG run   / 3SG IMPFV run / 3SG NEG run   / 3SG WANT run
    'S/he ran / is running / didn't run / wants to run.'

Causatives: implicativity

- Causatives in the strict sense are **implicative**: they entail the occurrence of a result (see Shibatani 2002, 4)
- For an implicative causative the perfective past form implies that an event corresponding to the embedded predication
  - ▶ has taken place for positive causation (7)
  - ▶ hasn't taken place for negative causation (8)

(7) **Implicative causation**
John **made** Bill read. => Bill read.

(8) **Negative implicative causation**
John **prevented** Bill from reading. => Bill didn't read.

Causatives

- Periphrastic causatives $\neq$ interpersonal verbs
- Interpersonal verbs
  - do not entail the occurrence of a result
  - are often the historical source for the development of causatives.(Shibatani 2002, 4)

(9)   Causation John **made** Bill read. $\Rightarrow$ Bill read.

(10)   Interpersonal verbs
  a.   John **told** Bill to read. $\nRightarrow$ Bill read.
     ᵒᵏ*But Bill didn't read because he didn't have his glasses.*
  b.   John **sent** Bill to buy bread. $\nRightarrow$ Bill bought bread.
     ᵒᵏ*But Bill didn't buy bread because the bakery was closed.*

Causatives

- In some languages the **auxiliary** in permissive *let*-type causatives has an interpretation similar to the **lexical verb** *allow* "give permission"

- In the lexical reading "give permission" is not implicative.

(11) Permissive (implicative in English?)
   a. John **let** Bill read. (?)$\Rightarrow$ Bill read.
   b. John **gave permission** for Bill to read. $\nRightarrow$ Bill read.

- $\Rightarrow$ Problem: telling apart the grammatical auxiliary use and the lexical verb use for semantic tests.

Causatives

- Periphrastic causatives are **one-way implicative**: they entail the occurrence of a result but their negation does not imply the non-occurrence of a result

- Periphrastic causatives $\neq$ *manage* (see Nadathur 2023)

(12) Causation (one-way implicative)
   a. John **made** Bill read. $\Rightarrow$ Bill read.
   b. John **didn't make** Bill read. $\nRightarrow$ Bill didn't read.

(13) Two-way implicative
   a. John **managed** to buy bread. $\Rightarrow$ J did buy bread.
   b. John **didn't manage** to buy bread. $\Rightarrow$ J didn't buy bread.

Causatives: different types of causers

- Types of causers
  - Animate [dynamic / (potentially) volitional]
  - Natural force [dynamic(force) / not volitional]
  - Inanimate [not dynamic / not volitional]
- In this set-up, generalisations can group together
  - volitional vs. non-volitional
  - dynamic/ non-dynamic

(14) Causers
   a. **John** made Bill read.
   b. **The sun** made the ice melt.
   c. **The glass roof** let the light shine through.

Different causation relations

- Causative verbs can express different causation relations (e.g. Wolff et al. (2002) following Talmy 1988)

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
CAUSE	N	Y	Y
PREVENT	Y	Y	N
ENABLE	Y	N	Y

(Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

Fè 'make' causatives are implicative

- *Fè* 'make' causatives are implicative.
- Diagnostic: In the perfective past the event in the complement of the *fè* 'make' causative cannot be denied.

(15)   Mari fè   Jan lave [rad   yo].   (Haitian)
           Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL

           # Men li   pa   lave [rad   yo].
              but   3SG NEG wash clothes DET.PL

           'M. made J. wash the clothes.
           # But he didn't wash the clothes.'

Fè 'make' causatives: causative relationships

- The *fè* 'make' causative is used for **coercion** and for **triggers**
- **Coercion**: an animate causer intentionally forces an animate causee to carry out an action under the control of the causee
  - ▶ an animate causer
  - ▶ intentional causation
  - ▶ action under the control of the causee (*wash clothes*)

(16)   Mari fè   Jan lave [rad   yo]   (Haitian)
      Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL
      'M. made J. wash the clothes.'

Fè 'make' causatives: causative relationships

- The *fè* 'make' causative is used for coercion and triggers.
- **Trigger**:
  - ▶ the causer need not cause intentionally (**inanimate causer** (17)-c)
  - ▶ the event is not under the control of the causee
    - ★ due to the nature of the **predicate** (*laugh, love literature* (17)-a/b)
    - ★ due to the nature of the **causee** (inanimate causee (17)-c)

(17)   a.   [Fim nan] fè   Mari ri.
            film DET MAKE M.   laugh
            '**The film** made M. **laugh**.'

       b.   [Pwofesè a] fè   [timoun yo]   renmen literati.
            professor DET MAKE children DET.PL love   literature
            'The professor makes the children **love literature**.'

       c.   [Van an] fè   [mi an] tonbe.
            wind DET MAKE wall DET fall   'Le vent a fait tomber le mur.'
            '**The wind** made **the wall** come down.' (Govain 2022:40,ex 10b)

Fè causatives 'make' can embed negation

- The *fè* 'make' causative allows **negation** in the complement

(18) [Pwofesè a] fè [timoun yo] **pa** renmen literati
      professor DET MAKE children DET.PL NEG love   literature
      'The professor makes the children **not** love literature.'

(19) [Papa m] fè m **pa** manje.
      father 1SG make 1SG **NEG** eat
      'My father made me **not** eat.'

Fè causatives: embedding *vle* 'want'

- *Fè* causatives can embed *vle* 'want'.
- Possibility of *fè* 'make' + *vle* 'want' depends on the predicate.

(20)   a.   ^{ok}Sa a fè m **vle** kouri.
               DEM DET MAKE 1SG want run
               'That makes me want to run (away).'

        b.   ^{ok}Sa a fè m **vle** etidye lengwistik.
               DEM DET MAKE 1SG want study linguistics
               'That makes me want to study linguistics.'

(21)   a.   Group A: # Sa a fè m **vle** ri
               Group B: ok Sa a fè m **vle** ri
                          DEM DET make 1SG **want** laugh

        b.   Sa a fè m **anvi** ri.
               DEM DET make 1SG desire laugh
               'That makes me want (lit "have the desire") to laugh.'

Fè causatives summary

	FÈ
Implicativity	yes
Complement	
Negation	yes
Modals	yes
Causers	
Animate	yes
Inanimate stative	yes
Natural force	yes
Predicates	
Involuntary	yes
Voluntary	yes
Causative	Coercion
relationships	Trigger

Bay causatives are not implicative

- The event in the complement of the *bay* 'give' causative is implied, but not entailed.
- In the absence of evidence to the contrary, the event is assumed to have taken place.
- But: in the perfective past the event in the complement of the *bay* 'give' causative can be denied.

(22) Mari bay   Jan lave [rad   yo].   (Haitian)
      Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL

    ^{ok} Men li   pa lave rad   yo.
       but 3SG NEG wash clothes DET.PL

    'M. invited J. to wash the clothes.
    ^{ok} But he didn't wash the clothes.'

Ba(y) 'give' causatives - causers

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitation to an action
- **Invitation**: a typically **animate causer** invites/ instructs an animate causee to carry out an action under the control of the causee
    - ▶ an animate causer
    - ▶ invitation, authorisation or instruction
    - ▶ the causee has to be **in control** of the event

(23)   a.   **Mari** bay   Jan lave [rad   yo].   (Haitian)
            Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL
            '**Mari** made J. **wash the clothes**.'

   b.   **M** ap   ba   ou benyen avan nou sòti
            1SG ASP GIVE 2SG take.bath before 1PL go.out
            ' **I** let you **have a bath before we go out**.'

Ba(y) causatives - interactional causers

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- Invitations are possible from **interactional machines**.
- **Invitations**:
  - ▸ the causer can be **animate** (24)-a
  - ▸ the causer can be **inanimate** (24)-b, if **capable of interaction**
  - ▸ the causee has to be **in control** of the event

(24) a. Jann ap bay sè   mwen an chwazi [mizik la].
          Jan ASP give sister 1SG DET choose music DET
          '**Jeanne** invites [lit. give] my sister to **choose the music**.'
      b. [Òdinatè a] ba w met [modpas la].
          computer DET give 2SG enter password DET
          '**The computer** invited you to **enter the password**.'

Ba(y) causatives - no natural forces as causers

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- **Invitations**:
  - *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate dynamic causers/ natural forces** *van an* in (25)
- Donazzan et al. (2020): natural forces # in *laisser*-causatives in Fr

(25)   # [Van an] / # [Lapli a]   bay   Mari kouri.
         wind DET / rain   DET GIVE M.   run
         '#**The wind / The rain** made M. run (for cover).'

Ba(y) causatives - no inanimate stative causers

- **Invitations**:
  - ▸ *bay* causatives do not allow inanimate **dynamic** causers/ natural forces *van an* in (25)
  - ▸ *bay* causatives do not allow inanimate **stative** causers (27)
- *kite* causatives + **inanimate stative causers**: literary texts (26)

(26) [...] [**pòt louvri a**] te **kite** sant lannwit ak flè **rantre**.
[...] door open DET PST GIVE smell night and flower enter
'**The open door** let a smell of night and flowers come in.'
(*Yon nèg apa*, p. 24, translation by F. Gourdet of *L'Étranger*, A. Camus

- Parallel examples with *bay* are not acceptable (27)

(27) #[**pòt louvri a**] te **bay** sant lannwit ak flè **rantre**.
door open DET PST GIVE smell night and flower enter

Ba(y) causatives - predicates

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer to perform an action.
- **Invitations**:
  - ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **involuntary actions** (28)

(28)   a.   #Jann bay   Mari ri
                 J.   GIVE M.   laugh
                 #'J. made [lit *gave*] M. **laugh**.'
        b.   #Jan bay   Mari tonbe.
                 J.   GIVE M.   fall
                 'J. made M. **fall down**.'

Ba(y) causatives - types of causees

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer to perform an action.
- **Invitations**:
    - *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate causees** (29)
- However, we have already seen in (28) that *bay* causatives do not allow **involuntary actions**

(29)   a.   #Jann bay dlo bouyi.
              J.   GIVE water boil
              #'J. made [lit *gave*] **the water boil**.'
        b.   #Jan bay [mi an] tonbe.
              Jan give wall DEF fall
              'Jan made/allowed **the wall fall down**.'

Ba(y) causatives - negation in complement

- All speakers agree that the *ba(y)* 'give' causative does not allow **negation** in the complement (30)-a.
- $\neq$ *fè* causatives
- The speakers proposed the alternatives in (31).

(30) #Maman m ba m **pa** ale [lekòl la].
     mother 1SG give 1SG NEG go school DET
     Not 'My mother invites me **not** to go to school.'

(31)   a. Manman m **di** m **pa** ale [lekòl la].
         mother 1SG **tell** 1SG NEG go school DET
    b. Manman m **konseye** m **pa** ale lekòl la.
         mother 1SG **recommends** 1SG NEG go school DET

Ba(y) causatives - aspect marking in complement

- *ba(y)* 'give' causative does not allow **aspect marking** in the complement (32).

(32)   a.   Jann **ap** bay [Mari   chwazi [mizik la]].
            J.   IPFV GIVE Mari   choose music DET.
            'J. will invite Mari to choose the music.'
       b.   Jann   bay [Mari #**ap** chwazi mizik la].

(33)   ok: Jann bay Mari   chante.
       #: Jann bay Mari **ap** chante.
          J.   GIVE M.   IPFV sing
       ' J. invited Mari to sing.'

Ba(y) causatives - restrictions on predicates

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- However, *bay* causatives do not allow all **voluntary actions** (34)
- Speaker variability: *vini* 'come' is problematic for many (but not all) speakers
- Not clear why - maybe a clash between centrifugal *give* and centripetal *come*

(34)   # Jan bay Mari **vini   lekòl** [la].
       J. GIVE M. come school
       #'J. made [lit *gave*] M. **come to school**.'
       (Antoine, 2022, 13,ex 8)

(35)   Jan bay Mari pote liv.
       J. GIVE M. take book
       'Jean a fait apporter des livres à Marie'. (Glaude, 2012, 169)

Ba(y) causatives - restrictions on predicates I

- Speakers that reject *vini* 'come' with *bay* causatives accept a wide range of other movement verbs

(36) a. Jan bay Mari ale / pase.
    J. GIVE M. go / go.past
    'J. made [lit *gave*] M. leave/ go past.'

  b. Ou ba m pote [liv la].
    2SG GIVE 1SG carry book DET
    'You invited/ asked me to bring the book.'

  c. Manman m ba m rimèt [lajan an].
    mother 1SG give 1SG give.back money DET
    'My mother instructed me to give back the money.'

Bay causatives - forces

- The causative auxiliaries express different causation relations

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
FÈ	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes (entailed)
BAY	(?)	(?)	Yes (implied)
KITE	Yes	No	Yes (implied)

adapted from (Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

- so far: *bay* exs with causee willing or in principle disposed to act
- Q: does *bay* allow contexts (37) with
  - ▶ causee **unwilling** to act and
  - ▶ **no plausible presumption** that the causee may be **willing to act**?

Bay causatives - forces

- The causative auxiliaries express different causation relations

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
FÈ	No/Yes	Yes/No	Yes (entailed)
BAY	Yes/ (No)	No / (Yes)	Yes (implied)
KITE	Yes	No	Yes (implied)

adapted from (Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

- some speakers allow unwilling/ coerced causee with *bay* (37)
  - ▶ speaker 2: difference in recognised authority (mother, police vs. bandit)?

(37) Bandi a bay Jan remèt [lajan an].
bandit DET GIVE J. hand-over money 3SG
'The bandit made J. hand over the money.'
ok speaker 1 / # speaker 2

Bay causatives summary

		FÈ	BAY
Implicativity		yes	no
Complement	Negation	yes	no
	Modals	yes	no
	Aspect	–	no
Causers	Animate	yes	yes
	Inanimate stative	yes	no
	Natural force	yes	no
	Interactional machine	yes	yes
Causees	Animate	yes	yes
	Inanimate	no	no
Predicates	Involuntary	yes	no
	Voluntary	yes	yes
Causative relationships		Coercion Trigger	Invitation

Bay causatives summary

- The causative expresses an invitation.
- This is not typical mind-to-mind causation: the range of choices for a machine like a ticket machine is limited $\neq$volition
- Invitation is a two-step causation type like *enable*:
  (i) cause the wish to do sth and (ii) allow it to be done
- Invite has causative-like uses in other languages: causation of a desire to do sth.

(38)   Kunst im   Parlament lädt   zum Nachdenken über
       art   in-the parliament invites to-the reflect.INF   about
       Demokratie ein. (German)
       democracy PRT
       'Art in parliament invites reflecting about democracy.'

(38)   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.

Kite causatives are not implicative

- In the perfective past the event in the complement of the *kite* 'let' causative can be denied.

(39) Mari kite Jan lave rad   yo.   (Haitian)
     Mari LET Jan wash clothes DET.PL

     ^{ok} Men li   pa lave rad   yo.
       but 3SG NEG wash clothes DET.PL

     'M. let J. wash the clothes. ^{ok} But he didn't wash the clothes.'

Kite 'let' causatives: causal relationships

- The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is used when the causer allows the embedded action either
  - ▶ by giving permission (**before** the action takes place) or
  - ▶ by not opposing/not stopping it (**while** the action is already taking place).

(40)   M   ap   kite [timoun nan] jwe avèk [chat la]
        1SG ASP LET child   DET play with cat   DET
        'I let the child play with the cat.'
        (i) permission before the event
        (ii) non-interference while the action takes place.

Kite causatives: animate or inanimate causees

- The causee of a *kite* causative need not be in control of the action (**involuntary actions** (41)).
- The causee of a *kite* causative can be **inanimate** (41)-b.

(41)   a.   Jann kite Mari mouri.
             J.   let M.   die.
             'J. let M. **die**.'
       b.   Jann kite [mi an] tonbe.
             J.   let wall DEF fall
             'J. let **the wall fall down** (did nothing to prevent it falling down).'
       c.   Ou kite [dlo a]   bouyi.
             2SG let water DET boil
             'You let **the water boil** (from a recipe)'

Kite causatives: causers - natural forces

- The causer of a *kite* causative can be **inanimate**.

(42) Li   te fè   bon, kafe a   te chofe kò m   e   [**pòt**
      EXPL PST make good, coffee DET PST heat up **door open DET**
      louvri a] te   kite sant lannwit ak flè rantre.
      let   smell night and flower enter
      '**The open door** let a smell of night and flowers come in.'
      (*Yon nèg apa*, p. 24, translation by F. Gourdet of *L'Étranger*, a. Camus)

(43) [Cheve blan l   yo] te yon ti   jan fen, yo te kite w   we
      hair   white 3SG PL PST a   litte bit fine 3PL let 2SG see ears
      zorèy dwòl anpil li yo,   mal   bòde, wouj san
      funny a.lot 3SG PL badly rimmed red   blood
      '**His white hairs** were a bit thin, they let you see his very funny
      ears with a bad rim, blood red.' (*Yon nèg apa*, p. 38, translation by F.
      Gourdet of *L'Étranger*, a. Camus)

Kite causatives: causers - natural forces

- The causer of a *kite* causative
- cannot be a **natural force**.
  - ▸ natural forces cannot give permission
  - ▸ natural forces cannot refrain from interference

(44) a. [Van an] *kite [mi an] tonbe.
         wind DEF let   wall DEF fall
         Not: '**The wind** caused the wall to fall.'
         Ok: Van an **fè** mi an tonbe.

      b. Solèy la *kite [glason yo]   fonn.
         sun DET let ice-cube DET.PL melt
         Not: '**The sun** caused the ice cubes to melt.'
         Ok: Solèy la **fè** glason yo fonn.

Kite causatives: causers - interactional machines

- The causer of a *kite* causative with a permission reading
- can be a **machine capable of interaction** (computer, ticket-machine)
  - ▶ machines capable of interaction can give permission (for some speakers)

(45) [Òdinatè a] kite w chwazi [modpas la].
       computer DEF let 2SG choose password DET
       '**The computer** let me choose a password.'
       % Certain speakers prefer an animate in this context.

Kite causatives

- **Negation** in the complement of *kite* is possible.
- But Q: Is the *kite* that allows negation the full verb 'allow'?
- => need to establish diagnostics to distinguish causative auxiliary *kite* vs. full verb *kite*

(46)   a.   Maman m   kite m **pa**   ale lekol.
                 mother 1SG let   1SG **NEG** go school
                 'My mother lets me not go to school.'
                 '(Elle permet que je n'y aille pas / elle ne me force pas d'y aller).'
    b.   maman m   kite m **pa**   pran travay sa   a.
                 mother 1SG let   1SG **NEG** take work DEM DET
                 'My mother lets me not take that job.'
                 '(Elle permet que je ne le prenne pas).'

Kite causatives summary

		FÈ make	BAY give	KITE let, allow
Implicativity		yes	no	no
Complement	Negation	yes	no	yes?
	Modals	yes	no	-
	Aspect	-/-	no	-/-
Causers	Animate	yes	yes	yes
	Inanimate stative	yes	no	(yes - literary)
	Natural force	yes	no	no
	Interactional machine	yes	yes	(yes)
Causees	Animate	yes	yes	yes
	Inanimate	no	no	yes
Predicates	Involuntary	yes	no	yes
	Voluntary	yes	yes	yes
Causative relationships		Coercion Trigger	Invitation	Permission Non-intervention

Conclusion

- The three causatives differ with respect to their syntax.
  - ▶ The *bay* causative bars negation in the complement
    ⇒ monoclausal profile
  - ▶ *fè* and *kite* allow negation in the complement
    ⇒ biclausal profile
- The three causatives differ with respect to their semantics.
  - ▶ Differences wrt the types of predicates
  - ▶ Differences wrt the types of causers
  - ▶ Differences wrt the types of causees

Conclusion

- The causative auxiliaries express different causation relations

	Tendency of Affectee to Act	Opposition between Affector / Affectee	Result to Affectee Action
FÈ	No/Yes	Yes/No	Yes (entailed)
BAY	Yes(/No?)	No/(yes?)	Yes (implied)
KITE	Yes	No	Yes (implied)

adapted from (Wolff et al., 2002, Table 2)

Acknowledgements

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