

Interpersonal causation

Causal constructions express causal relationships of different types: e.g. factitive (*make X V*), permissive (*let X V*) among others. This study examines 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. (Haitian)
 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/ prompted Mari to drive the car.' (Glaude 2012:170, ex 21b)

It is well-known that 'make' and 'let' causatives have two readings: coercion and trigger for 'make' and permission and non-interference for 'let'.

Causer readings for 'make' causatives and permission readings for 'let' causatives are interpersonal readings in which (i) the causer interacts with a causee and (ii) the causee is in control of the caused event. These readings share their selectional properties with interpersonal verbs like *to force* (for *fè* 'make'), *to give permission* for *kite* 'let, allow' (1b) and *to prompt/to invite* for *ba(y)* 'give'.

Interpersonal verbs such as *tell*, *send* are cross-linguistically common sources of causative markers (Shibatani 2002, 4), even though these verbs are not implicative (cf. felicitous continuation in (2)).

- (2) a. John **told** Bill to read. ^{ok}But Bill didn't read because he didn't have his glasses.
 b. John sent Bill to buy bread. ^{ok}But Bill didn't buy bread (because he forgot the money).

Of the three causative auxiliaries in Haitian, *bay* only has interpersonal readings. *Fè* 'make' and *kite* 'let' causatives have other readings that are the *Elsewhere* (in the sense of Kiparsky 1973 going back to Panini) to the interpersonal reading, in which one or both of the conditions of interpersonal readings fail (3), illustrated for *fè* 'make' in (4):

- (3) Elsewhere of the interpersonal reading
 (i) the causer **doesn't** interact with a causee AND/OR
 (ii) the causee is **not** in control of the caused event.
- (4) Triggers are the Elsewhere of Coercion:
 a. the causer need not cause intentionally (inanimate causer (17a - *the film*))
 b. the event is not under the control of the causee (17a/b - *laugh, love literature*)
- (5) a. Fim nan **fè** Mari ri. (Haitian)
 film det make M. laugh 'The film made M. laugh.'
 b. Pwofesè **fè** timoun yo renmen literati.
 professor make child det.pl love literature. 'The professor makes the children love literature.'

Claims Interpersonal causation is a distinct type of causation. Interpersonal causation may fail to be implicative. The failure of implicativity for the interpersonal reading shows parallels to non-culminating accomplishments.

Interpersonal causation *Bay* 'give' causatives only have an interpersonal causation reading: (i) events not under the control of the causee are excluded (6a) and (ii) the causer has to be capable of interaction, natural forces (6b) are excluded, but interactional machines are acceptable (6c):

- (6) a. #M ap **bay** [sè mwen an] ri / tonbe. (Haitian)
 1sg asp give sister 1sg det laugh / fall.
 #I invite my sister to laugh/fall.'

- b. [Van an] #bay [mi an] tonbe.
wind DET let /give wall DET fall
- c. [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.'

Implicativity The causative auxiliaries differ with respect to implicativity. *Fè* 'make' is implicative (7a): according to our informants in the perfective past the result of the event cannot be denied. In contrast, both *kite* 'let, allow' (7b) and *ba(y)* 'give' (7c) allow denial of the result.

- (7) a. Mari *fè* Jan lave rad yo. #Men li pa lave rad yo. (Haitian)
b. Mari *kite* Jan lave rad yo. ^{ok}Men li pa lave rad yo.
c. Mari *bay* Jan lave rad yo. ^{ok}Men li pa lave rad yo.
M. make/let/give J. wash clothes det.pl but 3sg neg wash clothes det.pl
'Mari made Jan wash the clothes.' (# but he didn't wash them)

Lack of implicativity is only observed in interpersonal contexts. *Bay* 'give' causatives only allow interpersonal contexts. For *kite* 'let' the contexts that do not have interpersonal readings are implicative (8).

- (8) Jann kite Mari mouri/tonbe. => Mari fell/ died.
'Jeanne let Mari die / fall.'

Note that this contrast also appears for causative uses of *send* in English with a predicate under the causee's control the result cannot be denied:

- (9) a. Jeanne sent Marie to Paris. ^{ok}But M. didn't go to Paris.
b. The kick sent the ball over the wall. #But the ball didn't go over the wall.

Interpersonal causation and non-culminating accomplishments The ambiguity between the interpersonal and the pure causative reading of causative *kite* 'let' shows parallels with conditions on non-culminating accomplishments (in particular defeasible causatives like *offer*, *teach*, cf Martin 2017 and references cited there and sensitivity to the control of the agent Demirdache & Martin 2015). In languages allowing non-culminating accomplishments a verb like *repair* that involves a manner (fixing steps) and a result (the Theme of repair is fixed) - non-culminating readings (in which the result does not obtain) the scope of the perfective interpersonal causation involves a manner (interpersonal interaction) and a result (causee carries out the event under their control leading to the result). Non-culminating readings target the manner to the exclusion of the result.

Drawing a parallel with non-culminating accomplishments Interactional causation is more complex than simple causation combining a manner of interpersonal interaction and a result.

- (10) a. defeasible causative: repair = manner of repair + result
fixing steps Theme is fixed
b. interpersonal causative: = manner of causation + result
interpersonal interaction caused result

For *kite* 'let' and *bay* 'give' causation the interpersonal causation is salient in the appropriate contexts and causation can be limited to manner of causation being executed without the caused result being obtained. This bipartite structure can be persistence of a lexical meaning (for *let*) or grammaticalisation (for *give*, not interpersonal). For the most grammaticalised causative *fè* 'make' manner of causation is semantically bleached and no longer accessible for partial causation readings.

References: Demirdache & Martin 2015. Agent control over non-culminating events. In E. Barrajón López et al. Verb Classes and Aspect. John Benjamins. 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. Martin 2017. Non-culminating accomplishments. *Language and Linguistics Compass*. 13. 10.1111/Inc3.12346.