

Case domains in double causatives: Morphological vs. analytical causatives

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Overview. Causative formation can be recursive, resulting in double causatives with tri-transitive argument structures (Dixon 2000). Presenting novel data from German and Turkish, we demonstrate that while both periphrastic and morphological double causatives exist, they differ in their case alignments: German analytical double *lassen*-causatives show triple accusative case (2) but Turkish morphological double *tir*-causatives a mono-clausal alignment (4). Adopting a dependent case approach (Baker 2015), we argue that this contrast follows from phase extension due to verb incorporation in morphological causatives but not in analytical causatives (cf. Pitteroff & Campanini 2013 on analytical causatives in German and French).

Analytical causatives. In German, transitive verbs can appear in analytical *lassen*-causatives, with the *causee* marked by accusative (1b) (Pitteroff & Campini 2013, Gunkel 1999).

- (1) *Der Lehrer ließ den Schüler einen Roman lesen.*
the.NOM teacher let.PST the.ACC student a.ACC novel read.INF
'The teacher let the student read a novel.'

In double *lassen*-causatives (2), a *higher causer* is added with both the *intermediary causer*, the *causee*, and the *patient* being marked by accusative case, resulting triple accusative marking (cf. Zifonun et al. 1997: 725).

- (2) *Der Schulleiter ließ den Lehrer den Schüler einen Roman lesen lassen.*
the.NOM principle let.PST the.ACC teacher the.ACC Schüler a.ACC novel read.INF let.INF
'The principle let the teacher let the student read a novel.'

Morphological causatives. In Turkish, transitive verbs can be causativized by the suffix *-tir* (Nie 2022, Akkuş 2021, Kural 1996). Unlike German, the *causee* does not receive accusative but structural dative case (3) (as diagnosed by accusative case on unergative causees).

- (3) *Öğretmen {öğrenci-ye / *öğrenci-yi} bir kitab-ı oku-t-tu*
teacher student-DAT student-ACC a book-ACC read-CAUS-PST
'The teacher made student read a book.'

While double *-tir*-causatives are allowed, there is no multiple assignment of dative or accusative case. Instead, double causative constructions exhibit a monoclausal case alignment. Therefore, one argument must be realized by an oblique PP, e.g. the *intermediary causer* in (4), or omitted.

- (4) *Müdür {(öğretmen tarafından) / *öğretmen-e} öğrenci-ye bir kitab-ı oku-t-tur-du.*
principal teacher by teacher-DAT student-DAT a book-ACC read-CAUS-CAUS-PST
'The principal had the teacher make the student read a book.'

Dependent case. To account for this contrast, we adopt a phase-based dependent case approach, according to which structural dependent case is assigned to competing DPs that are visible to each other, i.e. where an additional DP is present in the same phase or at the phase edge (cf. Pitteroff & Campanini 2013, Wood 2011; cf. Baker 2015, Harley 1995, Marantz 1991). We assume the following to assignment rules for dependent accusative (5a) in transitive and dependent dative and accusative case in ditransitive constructions (5b).

(5) Distribution of dependent case(s)

- If there are two DPs α and β , such that α c-commands β and α is visible to β , β surfaces as accusative case unless α or β are already marked for case.
- If there are three DPs α , β , and γ , such that α c-commands β and β c-commands γ , and α , β and γ are visible to each other, β surfaces with dative case and γ with accusative case, unless α , β , or γ are already marked for case.

As diagnostics, including agent-oriented adverbs, indicate that both types of causatives share their underlying configuration, i.e. embedding a phasal VoiceP (Fig.1/2) (cf. Pylkkänen 2008), why do analytical and morphological causatives not pattern alike?

Phase extension. We argue that in Turkish double causatives, successive head movement to the highest Voice head results in phase extension (Fig.2) (cf. Pitteroff & Campanini 2013, den Dikken 2007). Therefore, dependent accusative and dative case can only be assigned once, as all

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