# Causative invitations and types of causation: evidence from Haitian Creole

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# Three causative auxiliaries in Haitian

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

    (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
    - Not clear that causative *voye* 'send' $\neq$ *send sb to do sth*

## 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 neutral 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 or inanimate causee)

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
  - 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 + Negation
    - ★ Head-complement order for V + complement

(5)  mwen suiv [konsèy        dokte lazil              la]. (Haitian)
     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 Frantz 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**
   a. John made Bill read. => Bill read.
   b. John let 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 (Shibatani 2002, 4)

(9) Causation
  a. John made Bill read. $\Rightarrow$ Bill read.
  b. John let Bill read. $\Rightarrow$ Bill read.

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

## 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*

(11) Causation
   a. John made Bill read. $\Rightarrow$ Bill read.
   b. John didn't make Bill read. $\nRightarrow$ Bill didn't read.

(12) 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.

# 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: word order

- The *fè* 'make' causative contrasts with the *faire* 'make' causatives in French wrt **word order** (Govain 2022).
- In Haitian *fè* 'make' causatives the causee has to separate *fè* and the embedded predicate

(13)   i. Mari **fè**      Jan **li**.     (Haitian)
       ii. *Mari **fè**         **li**   Jan.
           Mari   MAKE Jan read Jan
           'M. made J. read.'

- French *faire* 'make' causatives do not allow an argument to intervene between *faire* and the verb (Abeillé et al., 1997, 62)

(14)   i. *Marie **fait**    Jean **lire**    (French)
       ii. Marie **fait**         **lire** Jean.
           Mari   MAKE Jean read Jean
           'M. mades J. read.'

## *Fè* 'make' causatives are implicative

- 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 **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

(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 is not a serial verb construction.
- **Negation** in the complement is possible

(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.' (ex. Michelet Michel)

## *Fè* causatives: embedding *vle* 'want'

- The speakers I consulted fall into two groups for ex (20)-a
  - ▶ Group A disallows modal *vle* 'want' under the *fè* 'make' causative.
  - ▶ Group B allows modal *vle* 'want' under the *fè* 'make' causative.
- All speakers agree that the natural expression of volition/ desire under *fè* is with *anvi* 'desire' (20)-b
- Note that CH contrasts with the English **make**-causative (21).

(20)    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 to laugh.'

(21)    That makes me want to laugh.

## *Fè* causatives: embedding *vle* 'want'

- In ex (20): *ri* 'laugh'
- Possibility of *fè* 'make' embedding *vle* 'want' depends on the type of predicate.
- *fè* > *vle* better with volitional predicates (predicates under the control of the subject)

(22)    a.    <sup>ok</sup>Sa a  fè    m  **vle**  kouri.
               DEM DET MAKE 1SG want run
               'That makes me want to run(away).'

        b.    <sup>ok</sup>Sa a  fè    m  **vle**  etidye lengwistik.
               DEM DET MAKE 1SG want study  linguistics
               'That makes me want to study linguistics.'

## *Fè* causatives summary

|  | FÈ |
|---|---|
| Implicativity | yes |
| 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.

(23)  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 contexts of 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
  - ▶ action under the control of the causee

(24)  a.  Mari bay   Jan lave rad    yo.     (Haitian)
          Mari MAKE Jan wash clothes DET.PL
          'M. 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** (25)-a
  - ▶ the causer can be **inanimate** (25)-b, if able of interaction
  - ▶ the causee has to be **in control** of the event

(25)    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** (and she chooses 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 causees/ natural forces** *van an* in (26)
- Donazzan et al. (2020): natural forces # in *laisser*-causatives in Fr

(26)  # 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 causees/ natural forces** *van an* in (26)
  - ▶ *bay* causatives do not allow **inanimate stative causees** (28)
- *kite* causatives + **inanimate stative causees**: literary texts (27)

(27) [...] **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 (28)

(28) #**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** (29)

(29)  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** (30)

(30)  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 - restrictions on predicates

- The *ba(y)* 'give' causative is used for invitations from the causer.
- However, *bay* causatives do not allow all **voluntary actions** (31)
- Speaker variability: *vini* 'come' is problematic for many (but not all) speakers
- Not clear why - maybe a clash between centrifugal *give* and centripetal *come*

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

(32)  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

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

  b.  M  ba  w  al depose sa  a.
      1SG give 2SG go hand.in DEM DET

  c.  Ou ba  m  pote liv  la.
      2SG GIVE 1SG carry book DET
      'You invited/ asked me to bring the book.' JPEF: ok

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

## *Ba(y)* causatives - negation in complement

- All speakers agree that the *ba(y)* 'give' causative does not allow **negation** in the complement (34)-a.
- $\neq$ *fè* causatives
- The speakers proposed the alternatives in (35).

(34)  #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.'

(35)  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

## Bay causatives - forces

- The causative auxiliaries express different causation relations

|      | Tendency of<br>Affectee to Act | Opposition between<br>Affector / Affectee | Result to Affectee<br>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
- Open Q: does *bay* allow contexts (36) 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* (36)
  - ▶ speaker 2: difference in recognised authority (mother, police vs. bandit)?

(36) 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 |
| Negation | yes | no |
| Modals | yes | 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** | Coercion | Invitation |
| **relationships** | Trigger | |

## *Kite* 'let' causatives: word order

- The HC *kite* 'let' causative contrasts with the *laisser* 'let' causatives in FR wrt **word order**.
- In HC *kite* causatives the causee has to separate *kite* and the embedded predicate (37)-i.

(37)  i. Mari **kite** Jan **manje** gato a            (HC)
      ii. *Mari **kite**      **manje** gato a    Jan.
          Mari  LET J.   eat    cake DET J
          'M. let J. eat the cake.'

- Fr *laisser* 'let' causatives: two word orders Donazzan et al. (2020)

(38)  i. Marie a **laissé** Pierre **manger** le gâteau.            (French)
      ii. Marie a **laissé**      **manger** le gâteau à Pierre.
          Mari has LET P.   eat    the cake  to P
          'M. let P. eat the cake.' (Donazzan et al., 2020, ex 1b/2b)

## *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 Frantz Gourdet of
      *L'Étranger*, Albert Camus)

(43)  Cheve blan l   yo te   yon ti    jan fen, yo te   kite w   we   ears
      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 xx   red   blood
      'His white hairs was a bit thin, they let you see his very funny
      ears with a bad rim, blood red.' (*Yon nèg apa*, p. 38,
      translation by Frantz Gourdet of *L'Étranger*, Albert 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 *kite glason yo    fonn.
            sun   let   ice-cube DET.PL melt
            Not: '**The sun** caused the ice cubes to melt.'
            Ok: Solèy **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

(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
- Hyp1: The *kite* 'let, allow' causative is not a serial verb construction
- Hyp2: The *kite* that allows negation is the full verb 'allow'
- => need to establish diagnostics to distinguish causative *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 |
| Negation | yes | no | yes |
| Modals | yes | 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
  - Fè and Kite allow negation in the complement
- 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)

# Conclusion

| causatives | Fè 'make' | Bay 'give' | Kite 'let, allow |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Predicates** | | | |
| predicates not under control of causee | | | |
| (psychological predicates/ involuntary CAUSATIVE *laugh*; | | | |
| intransitive non-agentive (CAUSATIVE *me/the vase fall*), | | | |
| Intransitive non-agentive locus of change (*melt*) | + | − | + |
| transitive agentive (*wash clothes*) | + | + | + |
| **Causees** | | | |
| Animate intentional agentive subject | | | |
| (human: CAUSATIVE *X wash clothes* /inanimate: | + | + | + |
| CAUSATIVE *cat play with mouse*) | + | + | + |
| Animate non-intentional causee | | | |
| (CAUSATIVE X *fall* | + | − | + |
| CAUSATIVE X *die*) | + | − | + |
| Inanimate causee (X CAUSATIVE *wall fall down*) | + | − | + |
| **Causers** | | | |
| Animate (*my mother make sb dig a hole*) | + | + | + |
| Inanimate dynamic | | | |
| causee - control (sun CAUSATIVE ice melt) | + | − | − |
| causee + control (sun CAUSATIVE X take out suncream) | + | − | − |
| Inanimate interactional (computer CAUSATIVE X choose password) | + | + | + |

## Acknowledgements

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