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Causative Construction in Hail Arabic: A Minimalist Account

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ABSTRACT

Natural language marks causation by variable means which fall into three categories: (i) periphrastic, (ii) lexical, and (iii) morphological. In this study, the researcher utilizes Minimalist Program (MP) to analyze causative construction in Hail Arabic (HA), a spoken dialect in Saudi Arabia. According to our findings, HA exhibits the three types of causation: morphological, lexical, and periphrastic. I propose that causative constructions project a CAUSE head below the tense node (T), which gives rise to a causative meaning. Also, I assume that the CAUSE head is not always overtly realized in HA due to the various strategies for forming causative. In lexical causative, for instance, I assume that there is a null causative feature on the CAUSE, the head of the Cause Phrase (CauseP), which provides the sentence with a causative interpretation. On the other hand, in periphrastic and morphological causatives, I show that the CAUSE head is filled with the causative particle *xalla* 'made' or with a causal affix. I demonstrate that the three types of causation require an additional argument (i.e., a causer) in addition to an internal argument (a causee). I claim that there is a Voice Phrase (VoiceP) beneath the CauseP that is responsible for introducing the internal argument (the causee). Additionally, I assume that the external argument (i.e., the causer) is base generated in the specifier (Spec) position of the Cause Phrase (Spec, CauseP) before it raises to Spec, TP to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature.

Keywords: Hail Arabic; Morphological Causative; Periphrastic Causative; Lexical Causative; Gemination

1. Introduction

Over the past three decades, linguists have focused a great deal of attention on causal constructions[1–6]. The significance of causatives stems from the fact that it involves the interaction of various components such as semantics, syntax and morphology[7]. All languages express causation but the means vary cross-linguistically. For example, languages such as Dutch, French, Japanese, Portuguese, Persian and English use periphrasis, in which control verbs such as make, cause or let, are used. This type of causative is referred to in the literature as periphrastic causative[8, 9]. Consider the following examples from English and Persian.

(1) a. The students left.   (English)

b. We made/let the students leave.

(2) a. Hassan   matlab-râ   fahmi-d   (Persian[4])
   Hassan.NOM   topic-ACC   understand-PAST-3SG
   'Hassan understood the topic.'

b. man bâʔes šodam ke   Hassan   matlab-râ
   I   cause   COMP Hassan   topic-ACC
   be-fahm-ad
   INFL-understand-PST-3SG
   'I caused Hassan to understand the topic.'

(1b) shows that the subject of the main clause in (1a), *the students*, has been demoted, while a new subject, *we*, is introduced into the causative proposition. The Persian case in (2) patterns with English, albeit being two different languages. In this strategy, a functional verb merges above the lexical verb, requiring an external augment, which represents the causer of the proposition.

On the other hand, other languages employ morphological devices such as reduplication and affixation to mark causativity[1, 10–12]. A typical example of this strategy is shown in (3) (causative affix is glossed in boldface font).

(3) mtsikana   a-na-u-gw-**ets**-a   (Chichewa)
    girl   SBJ-PST-OBJ-fall-CAUS-ASP
    'The girl made the waterpot fall.' [13]

In Arabic (Standard and dialectal), most of the literary research focuses primarily on morphological causatives. The high frequency of morphological causatives in Arabic varieties, compared to lexical and periphrastic causatives, may explain why morphological causatives have received more attention than other causatives. Benmamoun[14], for instance, explores morphological causatives in Moroccan Arabic. He argues that the morphological causative in Mo-

roccan Arabic is formed by inserting a causative affix to the verb in the form of gemination of the second consonant of the root verb. Causative via gemination is also evidenced in the Standard Arabic context (see[15–17] for more discussion). Furthermore, Taha et al.,[18] explore causative constructions in Sudanese Arabic, arguing that causatives in Sudanese Arabic are obtained morphologically by the gemination of a second consonant. On the other hand, Manfredi & Sara[19] explore the periphrastic causative in Juba Arabic, basing their theory on the fact that Juba allows for the merger of the causative verb *ámulu* 'make/do' in a position c-commanding the lexical verb. Recently, Alotaibi[20] investigates causative constructions in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). He shows that MSA has three types of causatives, namely morphological, lexical, and periphrastic. Although Alotaibi's study is innovative in that it shows that the three common types of causatives are attested in MSA, his analysis was based on Lexical Functional Grammar, a non-transformational approach. To my knowledge, causative constructions have never been discussed in HA; hence the current study aims to fill this research gap by providing a comprehensive overview of causal constructions in this variety. The current study is significant for two reasons. First, it shows that HA manifests three types of causatives: morphological, lexical, and periphrastic, lending further support to the universality of Comrie[7] classification of causatives. Second, it uses the recent advances of Chomsky's Minimalist Program[21] to capture the facts regarding causativity in HA.

Like MSA, HA exhibits three types of causatives: (i) morphological, (ii) lexical and (iii) periphrastic. The three types of causation are exemplified in (4a), (4b), (4c), respectively.

(4) a. Sarah   ʃarrab-t   ʔal-walad ħali:b
    Sarah.F   drink.PST.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy milk
    'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

b. Sarah   ʔatˤʕam-at   ʔal-walad
   Sarah.F feed.PST.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy
   'Sarah fed the boy.'

c. Sarah   xalla-at   ʔal-walad ja-ʃrab ħali:b
   Sarah.F Lex.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy 3SG.M-drink.PRS   milk
   'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

The present paper attempts to provide a unified analysis that accounts for the three types of causation indicated in

(4a–c) utilizing Chomsky's Minimalist Program [21–24].[1]

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 outlines the mechanisms involved in deriving causation in natural language. I consider two approaches to deriving causative constructions: morphological-based analysis and syntactic analysis. In Section 3, I provide an overview of causative types in HA. In this section, I demonstrate that HA manifests three types of causatives: morphological, lexical and periphrastic. Section 4 contains the discussion and analysis, which is followed by a conclusion in Section 5.

2. Cross-Linguistic View on Causativity-Phenomenon

Two assumptions have been put forth to account for the syntax of causativity based on data from a variety of languages. One is based on the assumption that causativity is derived by merging certain morphologically expressive items to the lexical verb. Typical examples of this pattern are given in (5) and (6) (Causative morpheme is glossed in boldface font).

(5) disçi   mektub-u   müdür-e   imzala-**t**-ti   Turkish
    Dentist-NOM   letter-ACC   director-DAT
    sign-CAUS-PST

    'The dentist made the director sign the letter.' [13]

(6) ryooshin ga Taroo o konsaato e ik-**ase**-ta Japanese
    Parents NOM Taroo ACC concert to go-CAUS-PST
    'His parents made Taroo go to a concert.' [5]

The scenario in (5) and (6), akin to the Chichewa (3) above, shows that Turkish and Japanese mark causativity by morphological means, i.e., by merging the morpheme, *-t* in the former and *-ase* in the latter, which has causativity information as its semantic import, in the root spine of the lexical verb, resulting in causativity interpretation being associated with the lexical verb. Hence, the relevant affix is deemed morphological device expressing causativity at the interpretive system/ interface.

Another strategy in which a natural language marks causativity is syntactic, which is carried out by deriving a biclausal construction. In this mechanism, causativity interpretation takes place in the syntactic context where a lexical verb with the interpretive property of 'making', *fait* in (7), is merged above the lexical verb in the structure, as in the

French case (7) and the Icelandic case (8) (Causative verbs are glossed in boldface font).

(7) Nous avons **fait** lire ce livre à Jean
    We have.1PL make.PST.PTCP read.INF this
    book to Jean
    'We made Jean read this book.' (French, [13])

(8) Þeir **létu** mig drekka lýsi
    They.NOM let me.ACC drink cod.liver.oil.ACC
    'They made me drink cod liver oil.' (Icelandic [25])

After discussing the phenomenon of causativity cross-linguistically, the next section sets the stage in the case of causativization in HA, the issue of the paper. It will be shown that HA displays not only morphological and periphrastic strategies, but also another strategy, which is called lexical, a phenomenon yet unexplored.

3. Setting the Stage: Causativization in Hail Arabic

3.1. Morphological Strategy

HA marks causation morphologically via gemination; it duplicates the middle consonant of the root verb. Consider the base (non-causative) sentence in (9a) and its causative counterpart in (9b).

(9) a. ʔal-walad ʃarab   ħali:b
       DEF-boy drink.PST.3SGM   milk
       'The boy drank milk.'
    b. Sarah   ʃarrab-t   ʔal-walad ħali:b
       Sarah.F drink.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy milk
       'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

Note that the causative construction in (9b) is formed by duplicating the consonant *-r-* in the root verb in (9a). Also, it should be noted that the causative construction in (9b) requires a new, agentive argument (i.e., a causer), *Sarah*. This has the consequence that the subject of the basic verb, *ʔal-wald*, is demoted to be the object (i.e., a causee) of the causative verb. It is worth noting that the causative affix can also be added to an imperfective verb, as shown in (10).

(10) Sarah   t-ʃarrib   ʔal-walad ħali:b
     Sarah.F 3SGF-drink.PRS.CAUS DEF-boy milk
     'Sarah makes the boy drink milk.'

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[1]For more discussion and information on the Minimalist Program, see [21–24], among others.

3.2. Lexical Strategy

Lexical causative refers to a mechanism of causativizing certain types of verbs covertly. To put it differently, there is a set of verbs where the notion of causativity is part of their semantic meaning. Let us take the verb *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed' as an example. In the Logical Form (LF), we assume that the verb *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed' is decomposed of the root verb *ʔakal* 'eat' and a null causal feature. When the root verb *ʔakal* 'eat' merges with a null causal feature, this results in the lexical causative verb *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed' as (11) shows.

(11) Sarah   ʔatˤʕam-at   ʔal-walad
     Sarah.F   feed.PST.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy
     'Sarah fed the boy.'

It is worth noting that the root verb *ʔakal* 'eat' can be causativized morphologically (i.e.via gemination) as in (12).

(12) Sarah   wakkal-at   ʔal-walad
     Sarah.F   eat.PST.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy
     'Sarah made the boy eat.'

Based on the facts in (11) and (12), it can be postulated that the root verb *ʔakal* 'eat' has two realizations, depending on the feature on the CAUSE head. It surfaces as *ʔatˤʕam* 'fed' when it merges with a null cause feature (11) and as *wakkal* 'made eat' when it merges with a causal affix (12). One piece of evidence in support of this assumption comes from the fact that causativizing the verb *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed' morphologically via gemination is not permissible as the ungrammaticality in (13) shows.

(13) *Sarah   ʔatˤʕam-at   ʔal-walad
     Sarah.F   feed.PST.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy
     'Sarah made the boy eat.'

The ungrammaticality in (13) clearly shows that the activation of the lexical causativization strategy represented by (the null CAUS feature- the root verb= *ʔatˤʕam*) and the morphological strategy seem to be in complementary distribution. This indicates that causativity is inherent to *ʔatˤʕam*, in part with the verb-gemination (causal affix) releasing the morphological strategy. Hence, redundancy of morphological causativization strategy arises.

3.3. Periphrastic Strategy[2,3]

Periphrastic causative construction refers to the mechanism in which the lexical item, *xalla*, with the meaning of 'force to do/make', merges in a syntactic position above the lexical verb of the embedded clause under the condition that the former precedes/c-commands the latter. See (14a,b).

(14) a. Sarah   xalla-at   ʔal-walad   ja-ʃrab   ħali:b
        Sarah.F Lex.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy
        3SG.M-drink.PRS   milk
        'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

     b. ʔal-ʕjaal xalla-u   Sarah   t-ʃrab   ħali:b
        DEF-boys   Lex.CAUS-3PLM   Sarah
        3SG.F-drink.PRS   milk
        'The boys made Sarah drink milk.'

Notice that the functional verb *xalla* agrees in φ-features (person, number and gender) with the Agentive subject.

Similar to (10), the CAUS-verb *xalla* is compatible with clauses that contain T-information and whose proposition is expressed by an imperfective verb, as shown in (15a,b).

(15) a. Sarah   t-xalli   ʔal-walad   ja-ʃrab   ħali:b
        Sarah.F 3SGF-Lex.CAUS DEF-boy
        3SG.M-drink.PRS   milk
        'Sarah makes the boy drink milk.'

     b. ʔal-walad j-xalli   Sarah   t-ʃrab   ħali:b
        DEF-boy   3SG.M-Lex.CAUS   Sarah
        3SG.F-drink.PRS   milk
        'The boy makes Sarah drink milk.'

The data in (15a,b) show that periphrastic causatives are bi-clausal, which means they have two clauses: matrix and embedded. The former is known as a caused event, whereas the latter is known as a causing event. The transitive verb in the embedded clause expresses the action that causes the main event to occur. Interestingly, HA has two causative verbs; the main clause contains a periphrastic causative verb, while the embedded contains either morphological (16a) or lexical causative (16b).

(16) a. Sarah   xalla-t   Mariam
        Sarah.F   Lex.CAUSE-3SGF   Mariam.F
        t-wakkil   ʔal-walad

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[2]According to Hail Arabic informants, this type of causation is quite rare. We attribute this observation to the fact that HA has a rich derivational system, which enables it to derive all sorts of verbs (passives, causatives, active participles etc.).

[3]Also referred to in the literature as syntactic or analytic causative.

eat.PST.CAUSE   DEF-boy

'Sarah made Mariam made the boy eat.'

b. Sarah   xalla-t   Mariam

Sarah.F   Lex.CAUSE-3SGF   Mariam.F

t-tˤʕim   ʔal-walad

3SGF-feed.PST.CAUSE   DEF-boy

'Sarah made Mariam fed the boy.'

Having outlined the mechanisms of marking causativity in HA, the next section will be an analysis of the derivation of the mechanism per se, formalizing the findings in terms of the theory of syntactic features articulated in Chomsky[24], along with agreement and movement being central to the syntax of causativization. Following the techniques assumed in this theory, we will argue that a functional projection is rooted in the HA structure. Within interface considerations, we will assume that causativity, as a value, is encoded in the head of this functional projection. The value of causativity on the Functional head (F-head), we assume, is a feature [CAUS] being materialized overtly by two strategies, morphological spelled out as a geminating marker and analytic, spelled out as a functional CAUS-verb, *xalla* 'made'. We will show that the functional head (F-head) can also contain a null feature [CAUS]. The lexical causative strategy, for instance, involves merging a root verb with the null [CAUS] in the Logical Form component (LF). The resulting lexical causative verb, spelled out in the Phonetic Form (PF), has a completely different pronunciation than its root form. Follows from this, as we will explicate shortly, is the assumption that there is a functional CAUS-head, being the locus of causativity value, which provides the proposition with causativity interpretation. The following section is devoted to a proposed analysis that encompasses the three strategies discussed above.

4. Analysis

Based on Pylkkänen[2, 3], this section provides a unified analysis that accounts for the causative constructions attested in HA. Recall that HA manifests three types of causatives: morphological (9b), lexical (11), and periphrastic (14a), repeated below as (17a), (17b), (17c), respectively.

(17) a. Sarah   ʃarrab-t   ʔal-walad   ħali:b

      Sarah.F drink.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy milk

'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

b. Sarah   ʔatˤʕam-at   ʔal-walad

Sarah.F   feed.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy

'Sarah fed the boy.'

c. Sarah xalla-at   ʔal-walad ja-ʃrab ħali:b

Sarah.F   Lex.CAUS-3SGF   DEF-boy

3SGM-drink.PRS milk

'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

Note that the three types of causation require an external argument (i.e., a causer), *Sarah* and an internal argument (i.e., a causee), *ʔal-wald* 'the boy'. Based on this fact, I make two crucial assumptions. First, I assume that there is a functional projection below the tense head (T), called Cause Phrase (CauseP), whose head provides the proposition with a causal meaning. One piece of evidence that supports my assumption comes from the position of the causativized verbs with respect to the tense marker *kaan* 'was'.[4] The causativized verbs *ʃarrab-t* 'made drink' and *ʔatˤʕam-at* 'fed', and even the cause particle *xalla* 'made' must follow the tense marker *kaan* 'was', as shown in (18a–c).

(18) a. Sarah   kaan-t   t-ʃarrib

      Sarah.F   was-3SGF   3SGF-drink.PST.CAUS

ʔal-walad   ħali:b

DEF-boy   milk

'Sarah was making the boy drink milk.'

b. Sarah   kaan-t   t-tˤʕim   ʔal-walad

Sarah.F   was-3SGF   3SGF-feed.PST.CAUS

DEF-boy

'Sarah was feeding the boy.'

c. Sarah   kaan-t   t-xalli   ʔal-walad

Sarah.F   was-3SGF   3SGF-Lex.CAUS DEF-boy

ja-ʃrab   ħali:b

3SG.M-drink.PRS milk

'Sarah was making the boy drink milk.'

When the causativized verbs are placed before the tense marker *kaan* 'was', ill-formed constructions emerge, as the ungrammaticality in (19a–c) shows.

(19) a. *Sarah   t-ʃarrib   kaan-t

      Sarah.F   3SGF-drink.PST.CAUS was-3SGF

ʔal-walad   ħali:b

DEF-boy   milk

'Sarah was making the boy drink milk.'

b. *Sarah   t-tˤʕimkaan-t   ʔal-walad

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[4]The tense marker kaan 'was' is located in the tense head [T°]. See [26, 27] for more discussion.

Sarah.F 3SGF-feed.PST.CAUS was-3SGF
DEF-boy
 'Sarah was feeding the boy.'

c. *Sarah t-xalli kaan-t Ɂal-walad
 Sarah.F 3SGF-Lex.CAUS was-3SGF
 DEF-boy ja-ʃrab ħali:b
 3SG.M- drink.PRS milk
 'Sarah was making the boy drink milk.'

Second, I assume that there is a Voice Phrase located below the Cause Phrase. I show that the Voice Phrase is responsible for introducing the internal argument (i.e., the causee), whereas the external argument (i.e., the causer) is assumed to be base generated in the specifier (Spec) position of the Cause Phrase.[5] Our unified proposal is illustrated along the lines in (20).

(20)
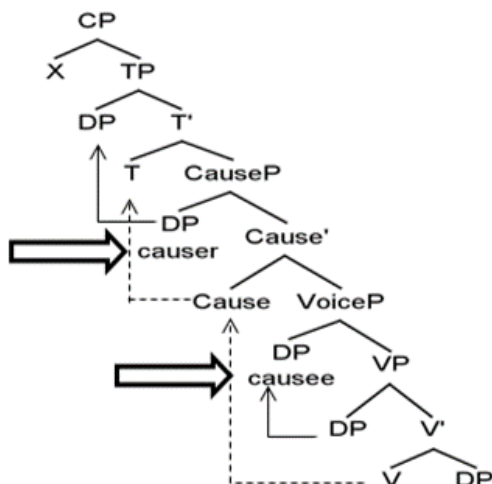
Based on (20) above, it is obvious that the three types of causatives (17a–c) are derived in the same way. To illustrate, the derivation proceeds as follows. First, the causer, *Sarah*, is externally merged in Spec, CauseP, before it moves to Spec, TP to satisfy the EPP feature on T°.[6] Second, the causee, *Ɂal-wald* 'the boy' moves from its position in Spec, VP to Spec, VoiceP. The verb, in turn, head-moves to the cause head.[7] Since there are three possible ways for forming causativity, the CAUSE head is realized differently. In the

following subsections, we will look at how the morphological causative, lexical causative, and periphrastic causative are derived.

4.1. The Derivation of Morphological Causative

Let us begin with morphological causative, which obtains causation through gemination. Consider (9b), repeated as (21) for clarity, and its derivation in (22).[8]

(21) Sarah ʃarrab-t Ɂal-walad ħali:b
   Sarah.F drink.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy milk
   'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

(22)
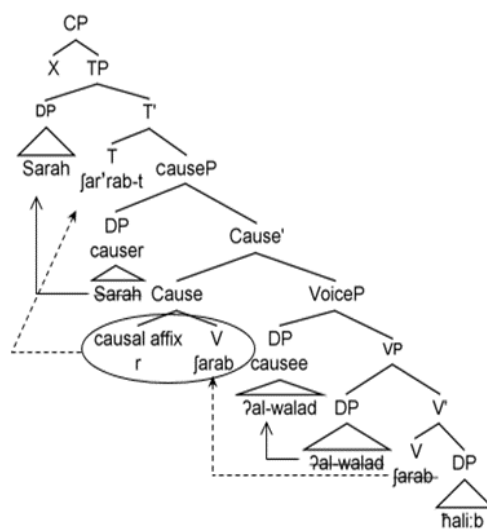
The tree diagram in (22) shows that the root verb *ʃarab* 'drink' merges with the causal affix_ *r* _in the CAUSE head, forming the geminated causative form *ʃarrab* 'made drink'. The causative verb *ʃarrab* 'made drink' raises to T, the head of TP to value the past tense on it.

4.2. The Derivation of Lexical Causative

The second strategy of causation is called lexical causative, which is given in (11), and reproduced below

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[5] I differ from Pylkkänen[2, 3] in two respects. First, I assume, for simplicity and economy reasons, that the causer is base generated in the specifier position of the CAUSE head. Second, I assume that the Voice Phrase is not located above the CAUSE head, but below it. Given this assumption, the causee is hosted by the specifier of the Voice Phrase.

[6] The EPP feature stands for Extended Projection Principle, which requires T, the head of TP to host a subject in its specifier position[28].

[7] Unlike morphological and analytic causative, the verb xalla 'made' in periphrastic causative is base-generated in the CAUSE head. See the tree in (26).

[8] The dotted lines in the tree in (22) represent verb movement.

as (23).

(23) Sarah ʔatˤʕam-at   ʔal-walad

Sarah.F feed.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy

'Sarah fed the boy.'

Unlike other types of causativity, lexical causative formation in HA is unique in that the notion of causativity is not overtly expressed by a causal particle, nor is it explicitly achieved by a morphological process (i.e., gemination). Based on these two observations, I contend that the concept of causativity is covertly (implicitly) formed but overtly expressed. To elaborate, I suggest that there is a null causative feature on the CAUSE head, which provides the sentence with a causative interpretation. Accordingly, (23) above will have the derivation in (24).

(24)
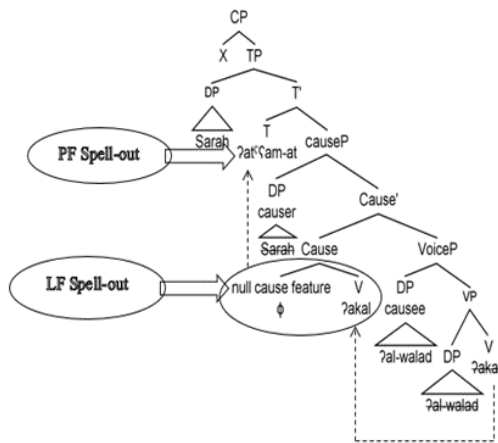
In the Logical Form (LF), as (24) shows, the root verb *ʔakal* 'eat' merges with a null cause feature on the CAUSE head. After the merging takes place, the causative verb is spelled-out in the Phonetic Form (PF) as *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed'. One piece of evidence supporting this assumption is the fact that HA prohibits geminating the root verb *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed', which has, according to our assumption, already been causativized by the null cause feature, whereas geminating the root verb *akal* 'eat' is permitted, as shown in (25a) and (25b) respectively.

(25) a. *Sarah ʔatˤʕʕam-at ʔal-walad

Sarah.F feed.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy

'Sarah made the boy eat.'

b. Sarah wakkal-at   ʔal-walad

Sarah.F eat.PST.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy

'Sarah made the boy eat.'

The contrast in (25a) and (25b) clearly indicates that our assumption correctly predicts that there is a null causative feature that causativizes the lexical causative verb *ʔatˤʕam* 'feed', thereby disallowing it to be morphologically causativized via gemination as the ungrammaticality in (25a) ensues.

4.3. The Derivation of Periphrastic Causative

The last strategy involved in causative formation is called periphrastic causative. This type of causation utilizes the lexical causative particle *xalla* 'made'. Consider (14a), repeated here as (26), for ease of exposition.

(26) Sarah xalla-at   ʔal-walad ja-ʃrab ħali:b

Sarah.F Lex.CAUS-3SGF DEF-boy 3SG.M-drink.PRS milk

'Sarah made the boy drink milk.'

The derivation of the lexical causative is straightforward. We propose that the causative particle *xalla* 'made' originates in the CAUSE head before it raises to T to check the tense feature. Here, there is a crucial point worth discussing with respect to the causative construction in (27).[9]

(27) Sarah   xalla-t   Mariam

Sarah.F   Lex.CAUSE-3SGF   Mariam.F

t-wakkil   ʔal-walad

3SGF-eat.PST.CAUSE   DEF-boy

'Sarah made Mariam made the boy eat.'

Surprisingly, in (27), there are two causative verbs *xalla-t* 'made' and *t-wakkil* 'made drink' that co-exist in the same sentence, implying that the CAUSE head hosts the two verbs. A natural question arises at this juncture is: how can the proposed analysis account for the existence of two causative verbs in the same sentence as in (27)? In fact, the existence of two causative verbs does not contra-

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[9]It is worth noting that double causative construction is only acceptable if the matrix clause contains the causative particle xalla 'made', whereas the embedded clause may contain either a morphological or a lexical causative verb (the typical order is: periphrastic causative> morphological/lexical causative). If this order is reversed, i.e., if the morphological/lexical causatives occur in the main clause and the periphrastic appears in the embedded clause, the resulting clause is ruled out as shown in (i).

i. * Mariam   t-wakkil   ʔal-walad Sarah xalla-t

Mariam.F   3SGF-eat.PST.CAUSE DEF-boy Sarah.F Lex.CAUSE-3SGF

Intended meaning: 'Sarah made Mariam made the boy eat.'

dict our proposed account. Recall from Section 3.3 above that periphrastic causative contains two clauses (i.e., bi-clausal). Given this, we assume that while the CAUSE head in the matrix clause hosts the lexical verb *xalla* 'made', the CAUSE head in the embedded clause hosts the morphological causative verb *t-wakkil* 'made drink'. Accordingly, the double causative construction in (27) will have the derivation in (28).

(28)
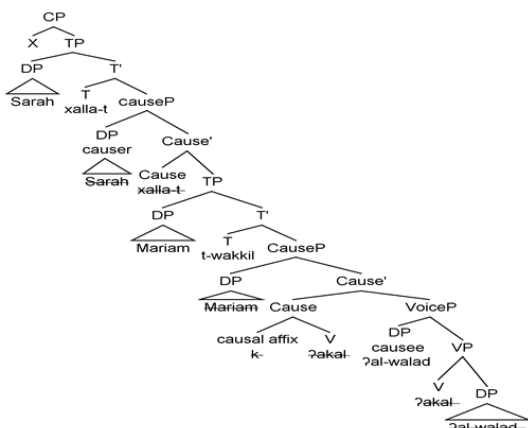
5. Conclusions

In this article, I examined the morphosyntax of causative construction in HA. It is shown that the three strategies of causation are available in HA, namely periphrastic, morphological, and lexical. For each type, a new participant (i.e., a causer) must be added. I assumed that, in causative construction, there must be a functional projection, called Cause Phrase (CauseP), which provides an interpretation of causation. Our unified analysis is influenced by Pylkkönen's [2, 3] proposal. However, I differed from her in two respects. First, I assumed that the external argument (the causer) is merged first in Spec, CauseP. Second, I assumed that the Voice Phrase whose specifier position hosts the causee is located below the CAUSE head. Because HA expresses Causativity in three different ways, it is argued that the CAUSE head in HA is not always overtly realized. In the lexical causative, I assumed that the Cause head is occupied by a null cause feature that provides the root verb with a causative interpretation. On the other hand, both periphrastic and morphological causative fill the CAUSE head explicitly. In periphrastic causative, the verb *xalla* 'made' heads the CauseP, whereas the CAUSE head is filled with a causal affix

in morphological causative, which merges with the root verb, producing a geminated causative meaning. Due to space and time limitations, I leave issues such as case assignment (nominative/accusative), and theta role assignment (agent/patient) of the causee open for further research.

Institutional Review Board Statement

Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement

Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement

Data can be given upon a reasonable request.

Conflict of interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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