Causative constructions in Haitian Creole

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The present study compares the semantics of three constructions in Haitian: (i) the *fè* `make' causative (1a), (ii) the *bay* `give' causative (1b), (iii) the *kite* `abandon; to let, permit, allow' causative (1c) (for causative uses of *voye* 'send' that seem less grammaticalized, see Antoine 2022). The discussion uses the terms in (2):

(1) a. Manman mwen **fè**   Rito   fouye   twou a   (Haitian)
mother   1sg   **make** R.   dig   hole det (Govain 2022:38, ex 4b)
'My mother made Rito dig the hole.'

 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.'

 c. M **kite** timoun nan   jwe   ak   chat la
1sg **let** child   det   play   with cat det
'I let the child play with the cat.'

(2) **Causer**   **causal verb**   **Causee**   **embedded predicate**
Manman mwen   fè   Rito   fouye twou a
My mother   make   R.   dig   the hole

Claim: The causative constructions show multiple contrast with respect to the causative relationships allowed regarding the type of causer, type of causee and the type of predicate. *Fè* is the neutral causative covering obligation and trigger, *bay* expresses an invitation (to an animate causee) to perform an action, while *kite* is general permission either by express permission to a human or non-intervention.

Causatives in Haitian. Here distinguish coercion contexts from trigger contexts.

In **coercion** contexts the embedded predicate is under the control of the causee (*dig a hole*).

In **trigger** contexts, the embedded predicate is not under the control of the causee either because of the nature of the predicate (*love literature, laugh*) or because the nature of the causee with inanimate causees (*wall*).

Haitian *fè* causatives The Haitian *fè* `make' causative is used for **coercion** (3) but also for **triggers** with predicates that do not imply control *love literature, laugh* (4a/b) or an inanimate causee (*wall falling* 4c)

(3) **Coercion**
Manman mwen **fè**   Rito   fouye   twou a   (Haitian)
mother   1sg   **make** R.   dig   hole det (Govain 2022:38, ex 4b)
'My mother makes Rito dig a hole.' (*forces R*)

(4) **Triggers**   (Haitian)
 a. pwofesè a **fè**   timoun yo   renmen literati
professor det make children det.pl love   literature
'The professor makes the children love literature.'

 b. Jann   **fè**   Mari   ri
J.   make M.   laugh

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

Haitian *bay* Causatives In the Haitian *bay* `give' causative differs from the coercive **fè**-causative: the subject invites or authorises the causee to perform an action, but does not

force them. The **action has to be under the causee's control** (intransitive 5a/ transitive 5b); *bay* does not allow involuntary actions (*laugh* 5c) or inanimate causees (*wall fall down* 5d).

(5) a. M   ap   **ba**   ou benyen   avan nou sòti   (Haitian)
      1sg   asp   give   2sg take.bath   before 1pl go.out
      'Have a bath before we go out. / Je te laisse prendre une douche avant qu'on sorte.'

  b. M   ap   **bay** sè   mwen an   chwazi mizik la
      1sg   asp   give sister 1sg det   choose music det
      'I let my sister choose the music.'

  c. #M   ap   **bay**   sè   mwen an ri.
      1sg   asp   give   sister 1sg det laugh
      #'I invite my sister to laugh.'

  d. #Van an   **bay**   mi an   tonbe.
      wind def   give   wall def   fall

For BAY-causatives, the causer has to be animate or representing a request by an animate causer: *Òdinatè a ba w met modpas la* 'The computer invites you to enter the password.'
Haitian *kite* causatives *Kite* `let, allow' is used when the causer allows the embedded action either (i) by **giving permission** (**before** the action takes place) or (ii) by **not opposing/n stopping** it (**while** the action is **already** taking place). The causee need not be in control of the action (*mouri* in 6c), but the causer cannot be inanimate cf. *van an* in 6d vs. 6e.

(6) a. M ap **kite** ou benyen   avan nou sòti   (Haitian)
      1sg asp let 2sg take.bath   before 1pl go.out
      'I let you have a bath before we go out.'

  b. 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.' (permission/ non-interference).'

  c. Jean kite Mari mouri.
      `J. let M. die.'

  d Van an   *__***kite** /[Ok]fè   mi an tonbe.
      wind def   let   make wall def fall Not: `The wind caused the wall to fall.'

  e. Jean   kite mi an tombe.
      Jean let wall det fall `J. let the wall fall down (i.e. did nothing to prevent it happening).'

causatives	Fè `make'	*Bay* `give'	Kite `let, allow'
Predicates			
predicates not under control of cause (psychological predicates/ involuntary CAUSATIVE *laugh*; intransitive non-agentive (CAUSATIVE *me/the vase fall*), Intransitive non-agentive locus of change (*melt*)	yes	No (Causee has to control the action)	yes
transitive agentive (*wash clothes*)	yes	yes	yes
Causees			
Animate intentional agentive subject (human: CAUSATIVE **X** *wash clothes* /inanimate: CAUSATIVE *cat play with mouse*)	yes	yes	yes
Animate non-intentional causee (CAUSATIVE **X** *drop the vase by pushing them* / CAUSATIVE **X** *die*)	yes	No (causee has to control the action)	yes
Inanimate causee (*X* CAUSATIVE **wall** *fall down*)	yes	no	yes
Causers			
Animate (**my mother** *make sb dig a hole*)	yes	yes	yes
Inanimate dynamic (**earthquake makes the house collapse**)	yes	no	no

References: **Antoine 2022.** Les séries verbales en créole haïtien : Analyse syntactico – sémantique des séries causatives. Mémoire Licence. U. EHaïti. **Glaude 2012**. *Aspects de la syntaxe de l'haïtien*. Paris: Editions Anibwé. **Govain 2022**. *La question linguistique haïtienne : histoire, usages et description*. Mémoire HDR, U. Paris 8.