

## The Voice/v distinction is configurational: Evidence from Georgian causatives

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Georgian causatives provide a new source of evidence for Wood and Marantz's (2017) proposal that the syntactic/semantic properties of the functional heads in a verb phrase are largely configurationally determined, rather than lexically specified.

Georgian causatives are marked on the verb, via either a prefix (*a-*), a suffix (*-in*), or both. Unlike English root-selecting ("lexical") causatives (Pylkkänen 2008), Georgian causatives can combine with either intransitive or transitive verbs. There is evidence that they combine with a *vP*, not merely a projection of a category-neutral root. For example, the causative suffix *-in* follows a root-conditioned thematic suffix that appears only on verbs. Moreover, both the causing event and the caused event can be modified by *vP*-adverbs.

Nevertheless, Georgian causatives demonstrate a set of surprising syntactic restrictions. These can be captured on three assumptions. First, transitive verbs involve two *vP* projections, while intransitive verbs generally involve one. Secondly, a causative functions as a *v* head when it combines with a single *vP*, as in an intransitive clause, but as a Voice head when it combines with a *vP* above *vP*, as in a transitive clause. In other words, *v* and Voice are lexically identical (what Wood and Marantz call *i\**); their syntactic functions depend on their position in the clausal spine. Thirdly, certain heads can merge outside *vP*, but not outside VoiceP.

This analysis accounts for the distribution of Georgian causatives in nominalizations (*masdars*). While both intransitive and transitive verbs can appear in the *masdar*, speakers generally reject *masdars* like (1), which are based on a causative of a transitive verb. On the other hand, *masdars* can be based on a causative of an intransitive verb. This distinction can be captured if the *masdar*-forming head selects *vP*, but not VoiceP.

- (1) \* Ceril-is            gamokveqnebineba  
      letter-GEN        publish.CAUS.N  
      'the causing of the letter to be published'

Another restriction occurs in multiple causatives. While Georgian allows multiple causatives (2), it does so only when the embedded verb root is intransitive, like *c'ven-* 'lie' (Comrie 1976, Harris 1981, cf. Burgess 1995). By contrast, Georgian speakers generally reject multiple causatives based on transitive verbs, like *Cer-* 'write' (3). Again, the restriction is correctly predicted if the Georgian causative head selects *vP*, but not VoiceP.

- (2)    bebia                            mamas            ac'veninebs                            gelas            t'axt'ze.  
      grandmother.NOM    father.DAT    lie.CAUS.CAUS                            Gela.ACC    couch.on  
      'The grandmother makes the father let Gela lie on the couch.'
- (3) \* upros-ma    daaCerinebina                            Ceril-i.  
      boss-ERG    write.CAUS.CAUS.AOR.3sg            letter-NOM  
      'The boss made [someone have [someone write a letter]].'

Finally, while periphrastic passives in Georgian can be based on causatives, they cannot be based on causatives of transitives (4) (Harris 1981). Again, this suggests that the Georgian passive can combine with a transitive *vP*, but not with a VoiceP.

- (4) \* Ceril-i            iqo            daCerinebuli.  
      letter.NOM    be.AOR.3sg    write.CAUS.PERF  
      'The letter was caused to be written.'

I will show that the proposed analysis also accounts for restrictions on Japanese multiple causatives (Harley 2008) and on idioms in causatives and passives (Marantz 1997).

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