Extraction asymmetries in Tsou causative applicatives: 
A Phase-Based Account
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Abstract
This paper investigates the A/A’-movements in Tsou causative applicatives in light of the Phase theory (Chomsky 2000, 2001, and 2008). Two types of extraction asymmetries are distinguished: Type A attracts the lower object, not the higher one, whereas Type B raises the higher object, not the lower one. As predicted by McGinnis (2001, 2008), the extraction asymmetries correlate closely to the high-low applicative distinction in the language—Type A is attested exclusively in the high applicatives, but Type B only in the low applicatives. Meanwhile, a number of deviations from McGinnis’ analysis are found, namely, (i) Tsou high applicatives are of two types (thematic vs. raising) and only the raising type allows the extraction of a lower object; (ii) a raising high applicative does not constitute a phase by itself; what serves as an escape hatch and motivates the leapfrogging of a lower object over a higher one is a transitive vP merged below the ApplHP; (iii) a similar vP-internal phase is also attested in the low applicatives. Of particular interest is that the successive-cyclic movements in both types are morphologically encoded in Tsou, giving rise to multiple transitive/applicative affixes on a verb.

Keywords: extraction asymmetry, A/A’-movement, high-low applicative distinction, raising high applicative, multiple transitives/applicatives, vP-internal phase, Tsou, ergative.