

## A syntactic account of morphological causatives in Japanese and Korean

Jinwoo Jo and Mai Ha Vu

University of Delaware

This poster discusses morphological causatives in Japanese and Korean, which are formed productively (at least to some extent) with regular morphology, *-(s)ase* or *-Ci*, respectively. We attempt to give a purely syntactic analysis of the relevant phenomena contra Horváth and Siloni (2011). Specifically, we suggest that (i) *-(s)ase* and *-Ci* are morphological realizations of the head, *Caus(e)* (Pylkkänen, 2008), and that (ii) the similarities and differences between Japanese and Korean arise due mainly to their different selectional properties of *Caus*. If *Caus* in Japanese and Korean selects TP and VoiceP, respectively, then the patterns shown in the two languages will follow straightforwardly.

First, Japanese allows the negation marker to come between the verb and the causative morpheme as in (1a–b); but in Korean, the negation marker can appear only after the causative morpheme as in (2a–b). Under the proposed approach, this follows from the common view that Japanese and Korean do not have constituent negation and that NegP occupies a position below TP: the causative in Japanese, but not in Korean, provides a position for Neg below CausP. Another difference between the two languages involves the scopes of subject-oriented adverbials. In Japanese (3), the adverbial for ‘without hesitation’ may modify either the causer or the causee; but in Korean (4), the adverbial for ‘deliberately’ can modify only the causer. If subject-oriented adverbials modify an entity in Spec,TP, as its name suggests, then the difference follows: the causative in Japanese involves two TPs where each of the causer and causee occupies higher and lower Spec,TP, respectively; whereas, the causative in Korean involves only one TP, whose specifier position is occupied by the causer, not by the causee. As for the Binding Condition B effects, in Japanese, the pronominal object may be bound by the causer though not by the causee as in (5); in Korean, it can be bound by neither the causer nor the causee as in (6). If the binding domain is TP, then the causer in Japanese, but not in Korean, belongs to the binding domain distinct from the one to which the pronominal object belongs. Therefore, only the causative in Japanese allows the pronominal object to be bound by the causer. Lastly, the contrasting coordination facts under the scope of *Caus* shown in (7–8) can be attributed to the different morphological properties of *Caus*. In Korean, *Caus* is part of the domain where the allomorphic conditioning takes place in that the form of *Caus* is determined by the stem verb (e.g. *mek-i-* ‘eat-Caus-’ vs. *kkay-wu-* ‘wake-Caus-’). What this implies is that in order for *Caus* to have a morphological form, it must be adjacent to the stem verb. Coordinating VoiceP under the scope of CausP in Korean, therefore, will be ruled out for morphological reasons as illustrated in (9a–b). In Japanese, the form of *Caus* is invariably *-(s)ase*, which means *Caus* is not part of the allomorphic domain of any sort. Therefore, coordination is possible under the scope of *Caus*.

**Note:** Japanese examples (1a–b), (3), and (5) are from Horváth and Siloni (2011); and example (7) is modified from Kuroda (2003). The rest are Korean examples.

- (1) a. Toru-wa Yoko-o ik-ase-nakat-ta.  
Toru-Top Yoko-Acc go-Caus-Neg-Pst  
'Toru did not make Yoko go.'
- b. Toru-wa Yoko-o ik-anaku-sase-ta.  
Toru-Top Yoko-Acc go-Neg-Caus-Pst  
'Toru made Yoko not go.'
- (2) a. Swuni-ka aki-eykey yak-ul mek-i-ci anh-ass-ta.  
Swuni-Nom baby-Dat medicine-Acc eat-Caus-CI Neg-Pst-Decl  
'Swuni did not make the baby take medicine.'
- b. \*Swuni-ka aki-eykey yak-ul mek-ci anh-i-ess-ta.  
Swuni-Nom baby-Dat medicine-Acc eat-Ci Neg-Caus-Pst-Decl  
*Int.* 'Swuni made the baby not take medicine.'
- (3) Sono bengosi-wa tyuuchonaku John-ni keiyakusyo-ni sain s-ase-ta.  
the lawyer-Top without.hesitation John-Dat contract-Dat sign do-Caus-Pst  
'The lawyer made John sign the contract without hesitation.'
- (4) Cheli-ka Swuni-eykey pap-ul ilpwule mek-i-ess-ta.  
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat rice-Acc deliberately eat-Caus-Pst-Decl  
'Cheli deliberately made [Swuni eat rice].'  
*Impossible.* 'Cheli made [Swuni deliberately eat rice].'
- (5) Toru<sub>i</sub>-wa Kitahara<sub>j</sub>-ni kare<sub>i/\*j</sub>-o syookai s-ase-ta.  
Toru-TOP Kitahara-DAT he-ACC introduction do-CAUS-PST  
'Toru made Kitahara introduce him.'
- (6) Cheli<sub>i</sub>-ka khikun chinkwu<sub>j</sub>-eykey ku<sub>\*i/\*j</sub>-lul an-ki-ess-ta.  
Cheli-NOM tall friend-DAT he-ACC hold-CAUS-PST-DECL  
'Cheli made his tall friend hold him.'
- (7) Hanako-wa Masao-mo Takaki-mo uti-o soozisuru-ka heya-dai-o haraw-aseru  
Hanako-Top Masao-also Takaki-also house-Acc clean-or room-rent-Acc pay-Caus  
kotoni si-ta.  
that do-Pst  
'Hanako decided to make Masao and Takaki clean the house or pay room rent.'
- (8) \*Cheli-ka Swuni-to Pwuni-to os-ul ip-kena sinpal-ul sin-ki-ess-ta.  
Cheli-Nom Swuni-also Pwuni-also clothes-Acc wear-or shoes-Acc put.on-Caus-Pst-Decl  
*Int.* 'Cheli made Swuni and Pwuni [wear clothes or put on shoes].'
- (9) a. Cheli-ka Swuni-eykey [[pap-ul **mek-i**]-ko [os-ul **ip-hi**]]-ess-ta.  
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat rice-Acc eat-Caus-and clothes-Acc dress-Caus-Pst-Decl  
'Cheli made Swuni [eat rice and put on clothes].'
- b. \*Cheli-ka Swuni-eykey [[pap-ul **mek**]-ko [os-ul **ip**]]-hi-ess-ta.  
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat rice-Acc eat-Caus-and clothes-Acc dress-Caus-Pst-Decl

**References** Horváth, J. and T. Siloni (2011). Causatives across components. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29(3), 657–704. • Kuroda, S.-Y. (2003). Complex predicates and predicate raising. *Lingua* 113, 447–480. • Pyllkänen, L. (2008). *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.