



A SYNTACTIC ACCOUNT OF MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES IN JAPANESE AND KOREAN

Jinwoo Jo (jojinw@udel.edu) and Mai Ha Vu (maiha@udel.edu)

Department of Linguistics and Cognitive Science, University of Delaware



INTRODUCTION

Morphological causatives in Japanese and Korean:

- (1) *Hiro-ga Haruka-ni hon-o yom-ase-ta.* (Japanese)
Hiro-Nom Haruka-Dat book-Acc read-Caus-Pst
- (2) *Cheli-ka Swuni-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.* (Korean)
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat book-Acc read-Caus-Pst-Decl

PROPOSAL

The causative morphemes are morphological realizations of a head *Caus(e)*, and *Caus* in each language selects the phrases of different size (cf. Pyllkänen 2008).



- ▶ **Target predicates:** {transitive/unergative/unaccusative} verbs, adjectives
- ▶ When it takes an adjectival, *-(s)ase* in Japanese requires an evidential marker *-gar* (Harley 2008), whereas *-Ci* in Korean does not.

(3) a. *iya-gar-sase* (hateful-Gar-Caus) ‘bother’ (Japanese)
b. *nop-i* (high-Caus) ‘raise’ (Korean)
- ▶ Evidential markers appear very high in the structure, mostly after a tense marker.

(4) a. *John-i pap-ul mek-ess-tay.* (Korean)
‘(I was told that) John ate rice.’
b. *Wiki-caxa-k-pid.* (Makah; Speas 2010)
‘It looks like bad weather.’
c. *Wañu-nqa-paq-shi.* (Quechua; ibid.)
‘(I was told that) it will rain.’
- ▶ If *-gar* is assumed to attach to T^0 in Japanese, it follows that the complement of *-(s)ase* is TP.

NEGATION

- ▶ **Japanese:** Sentential negation may intervene between *Caus* and its stem predicate
[TP₂ [TP₁ ...-Neg-T₁]-Caus-T₂]
[TP₂ [TP₁ ...-T₁]-Caus-Neg-T₂]
 - ▶ **Korean:** Sentential negation may not intervene between *Caus* and its stem predicate
[TP ...-Voice-Caus-Neg-T]
- (5) Japanese (Horváth and Siloni 2011)
- 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.’
- (6) Korean
- 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.’

BINDING CONDITION B

- ▶ **Assumption:** The Binding Domain is TP, because Spec-TP contains the relevant SUBJECT (Chomsky 1981).
 - ▶ **Japanese:** A pronomial object may be bound by Causer.
[TP₂ NP_i ... [TP₁ NP_j ... Pronoun_{i/rj} ...]-Caus ...]
 - ▶ **Korean:** A pronomial object cannot be bound by Causer.
[TP NP_i ... NP_j ... Pronoun_{i/rj} ...]
- (7) Japanese (Horváth and Siloni 2011)
Toru-i-wa Kitahara-j-ni kare-i/sj-o syookai s-ase-ta.
Toru-Top Kitahara-Dat he-Acc introduction do-Caus-Pst
‘Toru made Kitahara introduce him.’
- (8) Korean
Cheli-ka khikun chinkwu-j-eykey ku-sj/lul an-ki-ess-ta.
Cheli-Nom tall friend-Dat he-Acc hold-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘Cheli made his tall friend hold him.’

COORDINATION

- ▶ In Korean, the form of *Caus* is determined according to the stem predicate.
→ *Caus* and the stem predicate must morphologically interact with each other.
- (9) a. *Uysa-ka hwanca-lul sal-{li/*wu}-ess-ta.*
doctor-Nom patient-Acc live-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘The doctor saved the patient.’
b. *Cheli-ka cong-i-lul thay-{wu/*li}-ess-ta.*
Cheli-Nom paper-Acc burn-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘Cheli burned the paper.’
- ▶ Morphological operations are sensitive to linear order.
 - ▶ Coordinating VoiceP under *CausP* is ruled out for morphological reasons.
- (10) Korean
- a. **Cheli-ka Swuni-to Pwuni-to os-ul ip-kena sinpal-ul*
Cheli-NOM Swuni-also Pwuni-also clothes-ACC wear-or shoes-ACC
sin-ki-ess-ta.
put.on-CAUS-PST-DECL
Int. ‘Cheli made Swuni and Pwuni [wear clothes or put on shoes].’
- b.
- ```

 graph TD
 CausP --> VoiceP1[VoiceP]
 CausP --> ki[ki/*hi]
 VoiceP1 --> VoiceP2[VoiceP]
 VoiceP1 --> VoiceP3[VoiceP]
 VoiceP2 --> ip[...ip]
 VoiceP3 --> sin[...sin]
 ip --- Adj[ADJACENT]
 sin --- NotAdj[NOT ADJACENT]

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- ▶ **Note:** Even if the two stems may have the same form of *Caus* (e.g., *cwuk-i* ‘die-Caus’ and *mek-i* ‘eat-Caus’), the fact remains that the preceding one cannot interact with *Caus*.
  - ▶ In Japanese the form of *Caus* is invariably *-(s)ase*. → *Caus* and its stem do not interact morphologically; hence, the possibility of coordination below *Caus*.
- (11) Japanese (modified from Kuroda 2003)  
*Hanako-wa Masao-mo Takaki-mo uti-o soozisuru-ka heya-dai-o*  
Hanako-TOP Masao-also Takaki-also house-ACC clean-or room-rent-ACC  
*haraw-aseru kotoni si-ta.*  
pay-CAUS that do-PST  
‘Hanako decided to make Masao and Takaki clean the house or pay room rent.’

## ADVERBIALS

- ▶ **Assumption:** Subject-oriented adverbials target arguments that are “agentive enough” (Horváth and Siloni 2011; Pyllkänen 2008). We interpret this to be “true subjects” in Spec-TP with the Agent  $\theta$ -role.
  - ▶ **Japanese:** Subject-oriented adverbials may modify either Causer or Causee.
  - ▶ **Korean:** Subject-oriented adverbials can only modify the Causer.
- (12) Japanese (Horváth and Siloni 2011)  
*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.’
- (13) Korean  
*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].’
- ▶ Korean causatives display the ambiguity if a manner adverb like *kuphakey* ‘hurriedly’ is used.
- (14) *Cheli-ka Swuni-eykey pap-ul kuphakey mek-i-ess-ta.* (Korean)  
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat rice-Acc hurriedly eat-Caus-Pst-Decl  
‘Cheli made Swuni eat rice hurriedly.’

## CONCLUSION

We have argued that Japanese and Korean morphological causatives can be accounted for from a purely syntactic perspective. We have suggested that the causative morpheme, the morphological realization of a head *Caus*, selects a complement of different sizes: *Caus* in Japanese selects TP and that in Korean selects VoiceP. The differences between Japanese and Korean causatives were shown to follow from the different selectional requirements of *Caus*: Japanese, but not Korean, causatives can have sentential negation between the causative morpheme and stem predicate, contain two binding domains, and have two subject positions that can be targeted with subject-oriented adverbials. We attributed coordination facts to the different properties of *Caus* in Japanese and Korean: *Caus* in Korean interacts with the stem, but *Caus* in Japanese does not.

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