A SYNTACTIC ACCOUNT OF MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES IN JAPANESE AND KOREAN

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INTRODUCTION

Morphological causatives in Japanese and Korean:
(1) Hiro ga Haraku-ni hon-o yom-are-ta.
(Hiro-Nom Haraku-Dat book-read-Caus-Pst

(2) Cheli-ka Swuni-eykyu chayk-ul ili-ki-ess-ta.
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. Pylkkänen 2008).

Japanese: TP
Korean: VoiceP
Caus
Caus

... T
 caus
... Voice
caus
... Adjacent
Not adjacent

TARGET predicates: (transitive/unergative/unaccusative) verbs, adjectives
When it takes an adjectival -ja in Japanese requires an evidential marker -gar (Harley 2008), whereas -gi in Korean does not.
(3) a. tyo-gar-ase (hateful-Gar-Caus) ‘bother’
(4) Evidential markers appear very high in the structure, mostly after a tense marker.
John-Nom eat-Caus-Pst-Decl
(Korean)
‘I was told that John ate rice.’

(6) b. Wiki-caxa-k-pid.
(Wakah; Speas 2010)
‘It looks like bad weather.’

Evidential markers appear very high in the structure, mostly after a tense marker.

Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat eat-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘Cheli made Swuni eat rice hurriedly.’

b. Even if the two stems may have the same form of Caus (e.g., mek-i ‘die-Caus’ and mek-i/*wu-ess-ta.

CAUSATIVE and its stem do not interact
(10) a. Cheli-ka Swuni-to Pwuni-to os-ul ip-kena sinpat-al
Cheli-Nom Swuni-also Pwuni-also clothes-ACC wear-shoes-ACC sinpat-al put-on-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘Cheli made Swuni and Pwuni [wear clothes or put on shoes].’

b. Cheli-ka Swuni-to Pwuni-to os-ul
Cheli-Nom Swuni-also Pwuni-also clothes-ACC
‘Cheli made Swuni wear clothes.’

COORDINATION

In Korean, the form of Caus is determined according to the stem predicate.

Uysa-Nom home-Caus.Pst TP1
‘The doctor saved the patient.’

Cheli-Nom paper.Acc burn-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘Cheli burned the paper.’

Morphological operations are sensitive to linear order.

(12) Japanese (Horváth and Siloni 2011)
Cheli-ka Swuni-Dat rice-eat-Caus-Pst-Decl
‘Cheli made Swuni eat rice hurriedly.’

PST

Korean: VoiceP
Caus
Caus

... T
 caus
... Voice
caus
... Adjacent
Not adjacent

Note: Even if the two stems may have the same form of Caus (e.g., cweoki ‘die-Caus’ and mek-i/*wu-ess-ta.

In Japanese the form of Caus is invariably -ja: Caus and its stem do not interact morphologically; hence, the possibility of coordination below Caus.

(11) Japanese (modified from Kuroda 2003)
Hamako-ka Masao-also Takaki-mo uo-oo sociuuru-ka hey-dai-o
Hamako-Top Masao-also Takaki-also house-ACC clean-or room-rent-ACC
hamaru-asu kotonii-si-ta.
pay-Caus that do-Pst
‘Hamako decided to make Masao and Takaki clean the house or pay room rent.’

In Japanese, it follows that the complement of -T

... V
voice
... Voice
voice
... -T

ENGLISH

Adverbials

Assumption: Subject-oriented adverbials target arguments that are “agentive enough” (Horváth and Siloni 2011; Pylkkänen 2008). We interpret this to be “true subjects” in Spec-Tp with the Agent R-role.

Japanese: Subject-oriented adverbials may modify either Causer or Causee.

(12) Japanese (Horváth and Siloni 2011)
Sono bengogi-wa tuyouchonou John-ni kirekyo-ko ni tain t-saxe-ta.
Sono-bengogi-Top 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-eykyu pap-ul ilpwa mek-i-ess-ta.
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat rice-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 kudakeh ‘hurriedly’ is used.

(14) Cheli-ka Swuni-eykyu pap-ul kudakeh mek-i-ess-ta.
Cheli-Nom Swuni-Dat rice-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 relative to 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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank Dr. Benjamin Bruening and Dr. Satoshi Tomioka for feedback and suggestions. We also thank the audience of the Syntax-Semantics Lab at University of Delaware for questions and discussion of our data.

REFERENCES


We gratefully acknowledge the University of Delaware Libraries for support in the preparation of this manuscript.