Abstract: This paper discusses the typology of causatives focusing on the different strategies of deriving "morphologi-
cal causatives" (Comrie 1989) in Hungarian, Japanese, and Korean. The causatives in these languages are all formed productively (to some extent) with regular morphology, and yet they show non-uniform properties with respect to the tar-
gget predicates, the possibility of existential reading, the possible positions of the negation marker, the binding condition B effect, and the coordination facts, among others. The paper suggests that the causalizing affixes, -t in Hungarian, -tsai in Japanese, and -s in Korean, are all morphological realizations of a functional head  \( \text{Caus} \) (see Pykkänen 2008), and that the different patterns between the languages arise because  \( \text{Caus} \) in each language selects phrases of different size and type: active Voice\( ^{1} \) in Hungarian, TP in Japanese, and either active or non-active Voice\( ^{2} \) in Korean. Based on the proposal, it is concluded that a purely syntactic approach to causalization is more preferable in terms of both economy and empirical accuracy than the split-lexicalist approach of Horváth and Siloni (2011).

Introduction

Morphological causatives in Hungarian, Japanese, and Korean

(1) János el olvas-tat-ta a könyv-et Mari-val. (Hungarian)
János PRT read-CAUS-3SG.PST the book-ACC Mari-INS
‘János made Mari read the book.’

(2) Hiro-nom Hanaku-ni hom-o yom-e-er-ta. (Japanese)
Hiro-NOM Hanaku-ACC book-READCAUS-PST
‘Hiro made Hanaku read the book.’

(3) Cheli-ka Swuni-eykey chaky-ul ikki-ee-ssa-ta. (Korean)
Cheli-ACC Swuni-CAUS-ACC book-READCAUS-PST-DECL
‘Cheli made Swuni read the book.’

Goals:

• To provide an analysis of morphological causatives from a purely syntactic perspective
• To show that the split-lexicalist approach (Horváth and Siloni 2011; H&S henceforth) is not a proper way to account for the typology of the causative

Proposal: Syntax and Semantics of Morphological Causatives

Background

Pykkänen (2008). Causatives involve a functional head  \( \text{Caus} \), and the typology of causatives is attributed to the phrases of different size that it selects in each language.

Syntax

The size and type of the complement of Caus in Hungarian, Japanese, and Korean:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hungarian: Active Voice( ^{1} )</th>
<th>Japanese: TP</th>
<th>Korean: Voice( ^{1} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voice( ^{1} )</td>
<td>Caus</td>
<td>Voice( ^{1} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Voice( ^{1} )</td>
<td>TP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| VP | Voice\( ^{1} \) | ... | Voice\( ^{1} \) | ...

When it takes an adjectival, -tsai requires an evidential marker -gor (Harley 2008), which generally appears very high in the structure.

(4) a. vör-gor-akar (uhatlő-GAR-CAUS) ‘bother’
   (Japanese)  
   (Korean)

b. nope (high-GAR) ‘raise’

Semantics

\([\text{Caus}] = [\text{Morph} \cdot \text{CAUS} \cdot \text{CAUS}: \text{FOC}(\text{CAUS}) \text{& Caus}(\text{CAUS}) ]\)

Hungarian: Active Voice\( ^{1} \)

(5) Targets

(6) Hungarian

   János PRT read-CAUS-3SG.PST the book-ACC Mari-INS  
   ‘János made Mari read the book.’

b. Az edző urgrál-tat-ta Mari-t.  
   The coach makes Mari jump.  
   Unergative verb

(7) Japanese

   Hanako-ACC Yosi-ACC food-ACC eat-CAUS-PST  
   ‘Hanako made Yosi eat rice.’

b. Hanako-wa Yosi-o ikki-ee-ta.  
   Hanako-ACC Yosi-ACC like-CAUS-PST  
   ‘Hanako made Yosi like this.’

(8) Korean

   Cheli-ACC marry-CAUS-DECL  
   ‘Cheli made his marriage.’

   Cheli-ACC how-much-CAUS-DECL give-CAUS-DECL  
   ‘Cheli made his tall friend hold him.’

Existential reading

(8) János fel olvás-tat-ta a könyv-et 3x, de nem tud-om ki-vel.  
   János PRT read-CAUS-3SG.PST the book-ACC 3times, but I don’t know whom.  
   (Hungarian)

   Swuni-ACC 3times instead-eat-CAUS-PST-DECL  
   ‘Swuni made (someone) hold a pacifier in the mouth.’

   Cheli-ACC put-CAUS-DECL  
   ‘Cheli bit (something).’

Positions of the negation marker

Hungarian, Korean: [np \( ^{1} \) Voice-Caus-Neg-T ]..."  

Japanese: [np \( ^{1} \) Neg-T, 3Caus-T ]..."  

(10) *Énekem-nem-tet-t-em a gyerek-ek-et.  
   sing-NEG-CAUS-PST-1SG the kid-PL-ACC  
   ‘I made the kids not sing.’  
   (Hungarian; see Appendix 1)

(11) a. Toru-wa Yoko-o ikki-ana-kuku-sa-ta.  
   Toru-ACC Yoko-ACC like-see-CAUS-PST  
   ‘Toru made Yoko not to see.’  
   (Japanese)

b. Toru-wa Yoko-o ikki-ase-nakat-ta.  
   Toru-ACC Yoko-ACC like-see-CAUS-PST  
   ‘Toru made Yoko not to see.’  
   (Japanese)

(12) *Swuni-ka aki-eykey yak-ul mek-ci-ani-ha-ee-ssa-ta.  
   Swuni-ACC the child-CAUS-DECL make-CAUS-PST-DECL  
   ‘Swuni made the child take medicine.’  
   (Korean)

Binding Condition B

Hungarian, Korean: [np \( ^{1} \)NP, np \( ^{2} \)NP, Pronom \( ^{1} \) =]..."  

Japanese: [np \( ^{1} \)NP, np \( ^{2} \)NP, Pronom \( ^{1} \) = Caus]..."  

(13) Kati, le-fotóz-tat-ta  
   Kati down-photograph-CAUS-PST she-ACC Mari-INS  
   ‘Kati made Mari photograph here.’

(14) Toru-wa Kitahara-ni kare-ttö-o syooyoi s-ase-ta.  
   Toru-ACC Kitahara-ACC heir-CAUS-PST introduction do-CAUS-PST  
   ‘Toru made Kitahara introduce him.’

(15) Cheli-ka khukum-chinkwu-e eykey ku-ppu-ul-lul an-ki-ee-ssa-ta.  
   Cheli-ACC how-much-CAUS-DECL give-CAUS-DECL  
   ‘Cheli made his tall friend hold him.’  
   (Korean)

Coordination

In Hungarian, bound morphemes in the verbal extended projection cannot select a coordinated structure, and in Korean, the bound morphemes except for a tense marker cannot select a coordinated structure.

(16) *Mari olvás-és/vagy énelkét-tet te az osztilty-t.  
   Mari read/and/or sing-CAUS-PST-DECL the class-ACC  
   ‘Mari made the class read and/or singing.’  
   (Hungarian; H&S 667)

(17) Hanako-ga Masasi-ni uti-o soozisuru-ka heya-dai-o haraw-aveseru  
   Hanako-NOM Masasi-ACC out-CAUS-PST discoursive room-rent-PST pay-CAUS  
   ‘Hanako didn’t make Masasi pay room rent.’

   Swuni-ACC the child-CAUS-DECL wear-and/or shoes-CAUS-PST put-on-CAUS-PST-DECL  
   ‘Swuni made the child wear clothes and/or put on shoes.’  
   (Korean)

Discussion and Conclusion

H&S claim that causativization is parameterized, and that it applies in the lexicon in Hungarian while it applies in the syntax in Japanese. However, the causatives exhibit more than two patterns across languages.

Table 1: Behavior of morphological causatives in Hungarian, Japanese, and Korean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hungarian</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Targets</td>
<td>verbs ( ^{1} ) est. arg.</td>
<td>verbs, adjectives, verbs, adjectives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positions of negation</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition B</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordination</td>
<td>not possible</td>
<td>not possible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References

Acknowledgements: We thank Benjamin Bruning, Satoshi Tomioka, and members of the syntax-semantics reading group at the University of Delaware (SySyL) for comments, suggestions, and discussion.
Appendix 1

(1) A: Swuni-ka ∃x ceckkokci-lul mwul-li-ess-e. (Korean)
    Swuni-NOM pacifier-ACC bite-CAUS-PST-DECL
    ‘Swuni made (someone) hold a pacifier in the mouth.’
B: Nwukwu-eykey?
    Who-DAT
    ‘To whom?’
A: Molla, but Swuni-nun cham sangnyanghan ai-i-ya.
    not.know but Swuni-TOP very caring child-COP-DECL
    ‘I don’t know, but Swuni is a very caring child.’

(2) A: Cheli-ka pro mwul-ess-e. (Korean)
    Cheli-NOM bite-PST-DECL
    ‘Cheli bit (something).’
B: Mwuel?
    what.ACC
    ‘Bit what?’
A: #Molla, but Cheli-nun cham mostoyn ai-i-ya.
    not.know, but Cheli-TOP very bad child-COP-DECL
    ‘I don’t know, but Cheli is a very bad person.’

Appendix 2

(3) a. János Mari-val akarata ellenére ír-at-ta a level-et. (Hungarian)
    János Mari-INS will against write-CAUS-PST the letter-ACC
    ‘John made Mary write the letter against his/her will.’
    János hand-INS write-CAUS-PST PRT Mari-INS the letter-ACC
    ‘John made Mary write the letter with his/her hand.’

Appendix 3

(4) Anna ugrál-tat-ta a kutyá-t, mert a macska is azt csinál-ta. (Hungarian)
    Anna jump-CAUS-PST the dog-ACC because the cat also do-PST
    ‘Anna made the dog jump, because the cat was also jumping.’
    or ‘Anna made the dog jump, because the cat was also making the dog jump.’

Appendix 4

    melt- and sink-TRZ
b. * olva- és süllye-szt-et
    melt- and sink-TRZ-CAUS
c. Janos olva-szt-ja a jeget és szüllye-d.
    John melt-TRZ-3SG the ice and sink-3SG
d. * olvas- és föz-ött
    read and cook-3SG.PST