SASE BIZARRE: THE STRUCTURE OF JAPANESE CAUSATIVES

Heidi Harley, MIT
June 5, 1995

In this paper, I present a unified treatment of the three different types of Japanese causatives, the *-ni* causative, the *-o* causative and the lexical causative, which relies on a notion of "Late Insertion" of lexical items, as proposed in Halle and Marantz (1993). Crucially, all three are claimed to contain a "CAUSE" morpheme which is spelled out as *sase-* at PF. This morpheme is the reflex of a light verbal head which delimits the eventiveness of a verb, and is hence termed "EventP". Causers, as initiators of events, are base-generated in Spec-EventP. The lexical causative differs from the two types of syntactic/analytic causative in containing only one "EventP", while analytic causatives contain two EventPs and hence two events. The many syntactic differences between the two types of analytic causatives are seen to result from the *-ni-* causative controlling an embedded PRO in the embedded subject position, while the *-o-* causative is a true ECM structure, with the embedded subject raising to the matrix EventP for case-checking.

1 Three Kinds of Causative

The causative morpheme *-sase-* in Japanese forms a phonological word with the verb to which it is attached. As mentioned above, the V+*sase* combination appears in three different types of constructions. In 1j) you can see the "lexical" causative: a V+*sase* combination that speakers of Japanese have a strong intuition in some sense forms a "word", and the arguments of a lexical V+*sase* combination behave like members of a single clause. In these instances, the addition of *-sase-* to the verb is comparable to a transitive/inchoative alternation like "break" or "melt" in English. In Japanese, this type of alternation is often marked with some morphology, although it can be zero-derived, as in English. Some of the other morphemes realizing "lexical" causatives can be seen in 1a)-i) (there are around 18 classes of non-*sase* lexical causatives in all).The meaning of a lexical V+*sase* combination is often idiosyncratic, rather than strictly compositional, as we will see extensively below.

1. *Lexical Causative* (Jacobsen (1992))

	Intransitive	Transitive
a)	-ar- (ag-ar-u *rise*)	-e- (ag-e-ru *raise*)
b)	-re- (hazu-re-ru *come off*)	-s- (hasu-s-u *take off*)
c)	-ri- (ta-ri-ru *suffice*)	-s- (ta-s-u *supplement*)
d).	-e- (kog-e-ru *become scorched*)	-as- (kog-as-u *scorch*)
e)	-i- (ok-i-ru *get up* (intr))	-os- (ok-os-u *get up* (tr))
f)	-Ø- (nar-Ø-u *ring* (intr))	-as- (nar-as-u *ring*(tr))
g)	-Ø- (ak-Ø-u *open* (intr))	-e- (ak-e-ru *open* (tr))
h)	-e- (kir-e-ru *be cut*)	-Ø- (kir-Ø-u *cut*)
i)	-ar- (matag-ar-u *sit astride*)	-Ø- (matag-Ø-u *straddle*)
j)	-Ø- (niow *smell*)	-(s)ase- (niow-ase *hint*)

The other two types of causative construction can be seen in 2). Most of the literature on Japanese causatives focuses on these constructions. These V+*sase* combinations behave as if the *-sase-* and the V are two heads of two separate clauses, and do not trigger a "single-word" intuition among Japanese speakers; their

meaning is always compositional, as in English biclausal constructions with “force” or “let”. I'll therefore refer to them as “analytic” causatives.

The two types of analytic causative are seen in 2) and 3). The first type is often referred to as the *-o-* causative, or the “make” causative. In the “make” causative, the embedded subject of an intransitive clause (in 2a)) is marked with accusative case (realized as *-o-*). When the embedded clause is transitive, however, the embedded subject is marked with dative case (*-ni-*), while the embedded object receives accusative[1].

2. *“Make” reading*

a) Intransitive embedded clause

Calvin-ga	Hobbes-o	ik-ase-ta
Calvin-N	*Hobbes-A*	*go-cause-past*

“Calvin made Hobbes go.”

b) Transitive embedded clause:

Calvin-ga	Hobbes-ni	piza-o	tabe-sase-ta
Calvin-N	*Hobbes-D*	*pizza-A*	*eat-cause-past*

“Calvin made Hobbes eat pizza.”

The second type of analytic causative is in 3). On this reading, the embedded subject of an intransitive clause is marked with the dative *-ni-* particle (in 3a)), rather than accusative *-o-* as in 2a) above. In the transitive, the embedded subject again receives dative case; the surface string is thus identical to the “make” causative with a transitive embedded clause.

3. *“Let” reading*

a) Intransitive embedded clause:

Calvin-ga	Hobbes-ni	ik-ase-ta
Calvin-N	*Hobbes-D*	*go-cause-past*

“Calvin let Hobbes go.”

b) Transitive embedded clause:

Calvin-ga	Hobbes-ni	piza-o	tabe-sase-ta
Calvin-N	*Hobbes-D*	*pizza-A*	*eat-cause-past*

“Calvin let Hobbes eat pizza.”

One difference between the “make” and “let” causatives is in the force of causation implied (hence the terms “make” and “let). The embedded subject in the *“let”* causative must consent to perform the action of the embedded clause, and hence must be agentive—unaccusative verbs cannot be the complement of a *“let”* causative[2]. No such restriction on the subject of the “make” causative exists; a physically forced interpretation is available, and the embedded verb may be unaccusative. In addition to the interpretive and case-marking differences between the “make” and “let” causative there are many other syntactic distinctions between the two, which will be discussed at length in section 4. First, however, let us deal with the difference between the two types of analytic causative and the lexical causative.

---

[1]This is pattern similar to that of many Romance causative constructions

[2]This restriction is perhaps comparable to the judgement English speakers that the embedded subject of causative "have" must be agentive and consent to perform the caused action:

i) Calvin had Hobbes trick Susie.

ii) *Calvin had Hobbes trip on the stairs.

2 *-sase-* as an "Elsewhere" causative: Late Insertion

Miyagawa (1994), Halle and Marantz (1994)

As far as most theories of the Japanese causative are concerned, the lexical causative is a separate phenomenon, something to be dealt with and listed in the lexicon, rather than the syntax, and treated separately from the analytic causative. Miyagawa in much work from 1981 to 1989, however, has argued that some type of post-lexical operation must be at work in the formation of the lexical *-sase-* causative, as the formation of *-sase-* lexical is 'blocked' by the existence of lexical causatives formed using affixes (zero or otherwise) other than *-sase-*. For instance, in 4b) below, the existence of *koyas* 'enrich', a lexical causative of intransitive *koe* 'become rich', blocks the formation of a lexical causative *koe-sase* 'become rich'. In 4a), however, there is no transitive causative formed with an affix other than *-sase-*, and so the formation of the lexical causative *niow-ase* 'hint' (lit. 'cause to smell') is not blocked. Miyagawa proposed a level of "Paradigmatic Structure" between the lexicon and the syntax proper at which this blocking effect could take place, where a verb and its arguments occupy slots in a grid, corresponding to their grammatical relations, before entering the syntax proper. On his account *-sase-* was a "transitivizer", filling in an argument in the grid of a verb. If an intransitive verb had a lexically formed transitive counterpart (as in the case of *koe/koyas*), the transitive 'slot' in Paradigmatic Structure would be filled, and formation of a lexical causative from *-sase-* was blocked. If no such transitive counterpart existed in the lexicon, formation of a lexical causative from *sase* could occur, filling the transitive slot. A sample representation of two blocks in Paradigmatic Structure can be seen in 4):

4. Blocking and Paradigmatic Structure

	Intransitive	Transitive
a)	niow *smell*	niow-ase *hint*
b)	koe *become rich*	koyas *enrich* (*koe-sase *enrich*)

In his most recent paper on the topic, however, Miyagawa suggests that in fact, no such extra level need be posited, if lexical insertion does not take place until *after* the syntax. This approach to lexical realization is termed "Late Insertion" by its progenitors, Halle and Marantz in their 1994 paper "Distributed Morphology". The syntax operates on "primitives"; light verbs and elements marked simply with categorial information as Ns, As and Ps. Lexical realization occurs on the way to PF; for instance, the phonological difference between "dog" and "cat" is not represented in the syntax at all. On such a view, all causatives will contain an abstract CAUSE head, which has no phonological realization in the syntax. Miyagawa suggests that given such an approach, the conditions under which the formation of a lexical V+*sase* causative is legitimate can be assimilated to the morphophonological "Elsewhere" principle, without making any appeal to a separate level of lexical/syntactic structure at all. There will be a set of possible realizations for the syntactic CAUSE head available for insertion at PF, of which *-sase-* will be the Elsewhere case, and others will be inserted in order of priority according to the Paninian principle of most specific to least specific. If a verb has a class membership such that CAUSE in the environment of that verb is realized as one of the non-*sase* affixes in 1) above, the rule spelling out CAUSE for that verb class will apply, and *-sase-* will not be affixed to the verb. If the verb has no such

specific class membership, an abstract CAUSE head affixed to it will be realized as the Elsewhere causative -*sase*-. Crucially, this will apply to the analytic causatives as well.

5. Realizations of -*sase*-:
(subscript letters refer to verb classes in 1); see Miyagawa (1995) for details)

CAUSE → -*os*- / $V_{e)}$ _____
-*e*- / $V_{a),g)}$ _____
-*as*- / $V_{d),f)}$ _____
-*Ø*- / $V_{h), i)}$ _____
-*s*- / $V_{b), c)}$ _____

-*(s)ase elsewhere*

3 Unifying l-syntax and clausal syntax

Given this approach, there is not necessarily an easy explanation for the lexical-causative/analytic causative split. Both are merely CAUSE heads affixed to verbs. The two have significantly different properties, however, in addition to the "intuition" that one V+*sase* combination is a word and one isn't. Here we will present a syntactic account of the distinction between the lexical and analytic causatives which rests on the notion of eventiveness. I also argue that the distinction between l-syntax and clausal syntax (Hale and Keyser (1993)) can be defined with respect to this same notion, and that separate levels of representation distinguishing the two are not necessary (in line with the lexiconless, Late-Insertion approach argued for earlier).

As noted in Miyagawa (1989), the lexical *sase* can bear an idiomatic, non-compositional reading. Some examples appear in 6):

6. Lexical -*sase* can bear an idiomatic reading: (Miyagawa (1989):125)

	Intransitive	Idiomatic causative reading	
a)	aw	tikara-o	aw-ase
	become together	*power-A*	*together -cause*
		"pull together"	
b)	hara-ga her	hara-o	her-ase
	stomach-N lesson	*stomach-A*	*lesson-cause*
	"get hungry"	"wait for a meal"	
c)	me-ga kagayak	me-o kagayak-ase	
	eyes-N shine	*eyes-A shine-cause*	
	"look excited"	"keep a watchful eye on"	
d)	haba-ga kik	haba-o kik-ase	
	width-N be effective	*width-A*	*be effective-cause*
	"have influence with"	"influence"	

Idiomatic readings are never available on analytic V+*sase*- combinations. Consider the form in 7). The only possible interpretation for *koe-sase* is as an analytic causative, as the lexical causative is formed with the idiosyncratic class affix -*as*- preventing the application of the "Elsewhere" rule and the formation of a lexical causative*koe-sase*.. The idiomatic reading of "line one's own nest", available with lexical *koe-as*- is not available with analytic *koe-sase*; rather, only the compositional reading is available.

7. Non-lexical (that is, analytic) *-sase-* cannot bear an idiomatic reading

koe	sihuku-o	koy-as
become rich	*my stomach-A become-rich-cause*	
	"line one's own nest"	
	sihuko-o	koe-sase
	my stomach-A become-rich-cause	
	*"line one's own nest"	
	"cause my stomach to become rich"	

Now, this seems clearly to be a function of the "lexicalness" of the lexical causative; word-level items' meanings are generally not compositional, and can undergo semantic drift easily. What, then, distinguishes lexical *V+sase* combinations from analytic ones?

There is an interesting generalization that can be made about the intransitive verb stems which form lexical V+*sase* causatives, apparently unnoticed in the previous literature: it appears to always be unaccusative. No combination of an unergative verb+*sase* is ever given as an example of a lexical causative in Japanese. This would seem not to be a coincidence, although it is possible that it is. To discover whether it is possible for an unergative intransitive verb with *-sase-* attached to it be a lexical causative, we test the combination of the unergative verb *waraw* 'laugh' and *-sase-*,below.

First, we can see that it is clear that "laugh" is unergative, given the facts in 8a) and b). In Japanese, a numeral quantifier associated with the subject of an unaccusative or passive verb can appear adjacent to the trace of the subject, in its base-generated, object position (8a) (Miyagawa (1989:86). A numeral quantifier associated with the subject of "laugh", however, cannot appear adjacent to any such object position within the VP (8b), demonstrating that the subject of "laugh" is base-generated in an external argument position.

8. a) **Doa-ga** [VP kono kagi-de **2-tu** aita]
door-N this key-by 2-CL opened
"Two doors opened with this key"

b) ***Gakusei-ga** [VP tosyokan-de **2-ri** waraw-sita]
students-N library-at 2-CL laugh-did
"Two students laughed at the library"

Given that *waraw* is an unergative, intransitive verb, we can discover if *waraw-ase* can ever be a lexical causative. Another property which distinguishes lexical causatives from analytic causatives is the possibility of having an "adversity" reading associated with them, where the subject is interpreted as being adversely affected by action of the embedded predicate, rather than the causer of it (Oehrle & Nishio (1981)). This adversity reading can be seen for a zero-derived lexical causative in 9a) and for a lexical V+*sase-* causative in 9b). The adversity reading is crucially unavailable in 9c), where *-sase-* is affixed to the unergative intransitive *waraw* 'laugh'.

9. a) Ø-derived lexical causative
Taroo-ga hune-o sizume-Ø-ta
Taro-N boat-A sink-cause-past
"Taro sank the boat"
"The boat sank on Taro"

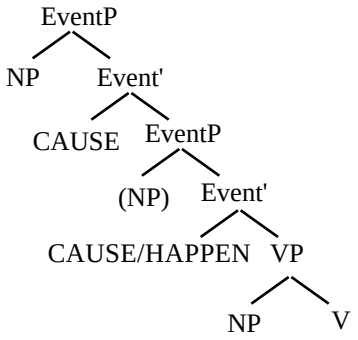
b) -*sase*- derived lexical causative
Taroo-ga yasai-okusar-ase-ta
Taro-N *vegetable-A* *rot-cause-past*
"Taro caused the vegetable to rot"
"The vegetable rotted on Taro"

c) -*sase*- on an unergative verb: only the analytic reading available
Doroboo-ga Yakko-o waraw-ase-ta
a thief-N *Yakko-A* *laugh-cause-past*
"A thief made Yakko laugh."
*"A thief had Yakko laugh on him" (e.g., revealing his presence).

The possibility of receiving a lexical causative interpretation, then, seems to be crucially related to whether the verb to which -*sase*- is attaching has an underlying agent or not (and not related, for instance, to how many arguments the verb has, as Miyagawa's term "transitivizer" implies).

I argue, then, that an attractive approach to the question of when a lexical reading vs. an analytic reading is available for a given V+*sase* combination would be to say that *all* underlying agents are introduced by an abstract CAUSE head. Sometimes this head is overtly realized in Japanese, as -*sase*- or one of the other lexical causative markers in 1), and sometimes it is null, as in the case of "laugh". I notate the phrasal projection which this head projects in 9) as "EventP" (for further discussion of the significance of "EventP" see Harley (1995), Travis (1994)). "Lexical" causative readings of a given V+*sase* combination, then, will only be possible when the verb to which -*sase*- is affixed has no CAUSE head of its own in its underlying representation—that is, when the verb is unaccusative. When the verb already has an EventP CAUSE head, projecting an agent, no lexical causative is possible. Analytic readings, then, result when a CAUSE Event head is added to an already-existing Event head. Stacking of EventPs gives a biclausal interpretation, and the analytic causative. A tree of the type of structure which produces an analytic causative is seen in 10).

10.



Analytic causative readings are possible when an unaccusative V has -*sase*- affixed to it, of course; for instance, *me-o kagayak-ase*, lit 'eyes shine-cause', translated as the idiomatic 'keep a watchful eye on' in (6) above, can also mean "cause the eyes to shine", of course. This entails that there is an Event head which does not mean CAUSE as well; I propose that this Event head (HAPPEN, above) is identical in all respects to the CAUSE event head with the exception that it does not project a specifier—there is no agent of the event. Stacking of EventPs, then, is what crucially gives the analytic reading; the V+*sase* combination involves an event of causing and a caused event in the analytic causative, while there is only one event

involved in the lexical causative. EventP, then, is the level at which idiomatic readings are defined (if there is a stacking of EventPs, no idiomatic interpretation is possible) and marks the distinction between l-syntax and clausal syntax.

4 Analytic causative: "make" and "let" readings

So, now we know when you get an analytic reading and when you get a lexical reading of a given *-sase-*.. Let us now turn to a consideration of the difference between the two readings of the analytic causative.

The most obvious difference is in the case facts of the two constructions, which are summarized again in 11). On the "make" causative, the case on the embedded subject varies according to the transitivity of the embedded clause; when the embedded clause is intransitive, the embedded subject receives accusative case; when the embedded clause is transitive, the embedded subject receives dative case. In the "let" reading, the embedded subject is marked with dative no matter what the transitivity of the embedded clause.

11.

Reading of *sase*	Arguments of the embedded clause	
	Intransitive	Transitive
make	Subj-ACC	Subj-DAT Obj-ACC
let	Subj-DAT	Subj-DAT Obj-ACC

The similarity in case-marking of the embedded subject between the transitive-clause "make" reading and both the intransitive and transitive-clause "let" reading might lead one to assume that the transitive "make" reading is in some way structurally similar to the "let" reading. (one of these things is not like the others...) This, however, is not the case, as first argued by Kuroda (1965); there are significant structural differences between the two.

The "make" reading allows a passive of the embedded subject, while the "let" reading does not, as seen in 13); this is true even of the dative-marked embedded subject in an embedded transitive clause.

13. a) Hobbes-ga (Calvin-ni) ik-ase-rare-ta
Hobbes-N Calvin-D) go-cause-pass-pst
"Hobbes was made to go (by Calvin)"
*"Hobbes was allowed to go (by Calvin)"

b) Hobbes-ga piza-o tabe-sase-rare-ta
Hobbes-N pizza-A eat-cause-pass-pst
"Hobbes was made to eat pizza"
*"Hobbes was allowed to eat pizza"

As noted in Terada (1991), the "make" reading allows the embedded subject to be construed with "agent-oriented" adverbs situated between the matrix and embedded subjects, while the "let" reading does permit such construal (14b).

14. a) Calvin-ga hitori-de Hobbes-o ik-ase-ta
Calvin-N alone Hobbes-A go-make-pst
"Calvin made Hobbes go alone" (Hobbes is alone, not Calvin)

b) *Calvin-ga hitori-de Hobbes-ni ik-ase-ta
Calvin-N alone Hobbes-D go-make-pst
"Calvin allowed Hobbes to go alone" (again, with Hobbes alone)

Also from Terada (1991), the "make" reading allows both a matrix and an embedded scope interpretation of an *only* in the embedded subject, while the "let" reading allows only a matrix scope reading.

15. a) Calvin-ga Hobbes-dake-ni piza-o tabe-sase-ta
Calvin-N Hobbes-only-D pizza-A eat-make-PST
"Calvin made/let only Hobbes eat pizza"

b) "make"
i) make >> only
ii) only >> make

c) "let"
i) *let >> only
ii) only >> let

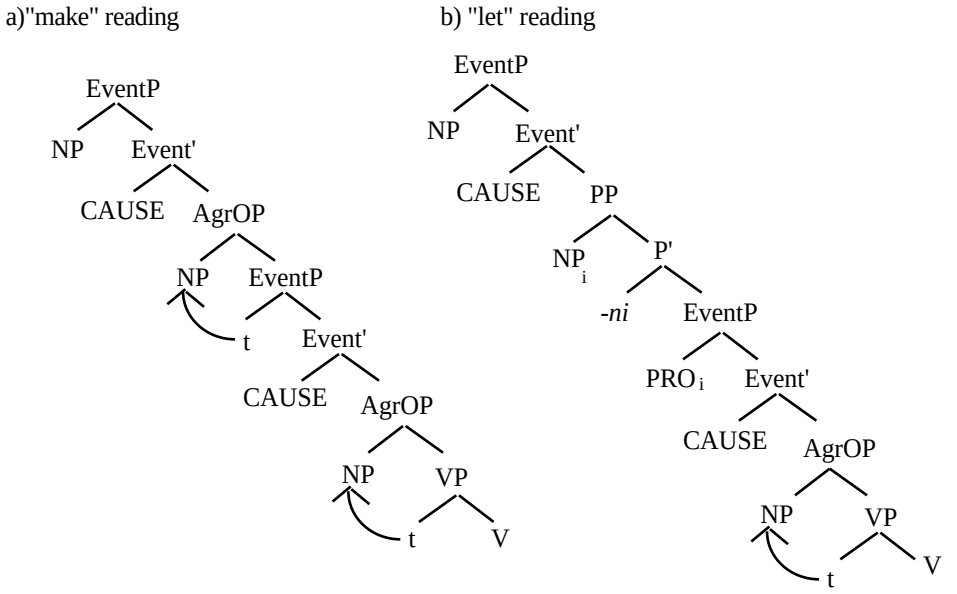
Finally, a numeral quantifier can be floated off (that is, appear to the right of) the *-ni* -marked embedded subject on the "make" reading but not on the "let" reading.

16. a) Yakko-ga [2-ri-no otokonoko-ni] piza-o tabe-sase-ta
Yakko-N [2-CL-G boys-D] pizza-A eat-cause-past
"Yakko made two boys eat pizza"
"Yakko let two boys eat pizza"

b) Yakko-ga **otokonoko-ni2-ri** piza-o tabe-sase-ta
Yakko-N boys-D 2-CL pizza-A eat-cause-past
"Yakko made two boys eat pizza"
??"Yakko let two boys eat pizza"

This last difference gives us the first clue about the possible source of the above differences. In Japanese, there are two varies of *ni*-marker; a true case-marker and a preposition, as outlined extensively in Sadakane and Koizumi (1995). The test in 16) distinguishes between the two, indicating that the *ni* on the "make" causative is a true case-marker, which allows numeral quantifier float, while the *ni* on the "let" causative is a preposition, blocking quantifier float. I conclude that the embedded subject of the "make" causative is case-marked by the matrix CAUSE head, while the embedded subject of the "let" causative is case-marked by a preposition, in a prepositional phrase introduced by the matrix CAUSE head. This prepositional *ni* phrase controls a PRO in the embedded clause that is in fact the true embedded subject. The proposed structure can be seen in 17) on the handout.

17.



Note that I am following Johnson (1991), Travis (1991), Koizumi (1993) in assuming a "split-VP" structure with respect to case-checking; the AgrOP for the matrix *-sase-* is below the EventP, rather than above it; the EventP corresponds to the top VP in a split-VP structure.

The crucial differences between the structures are described in 17) below:

17. a) Embedded subject on "make" reading is a "raising-to-object" structure
    b) Embedded subject on "let" reading is PRO, controlled by a PP in the matrix clause (cf. Terada (1991))

Let us examine how the proposed structures account for the facts in 12)-16).

In 12), we saw that both the embedded subject and the matrix subject in both causatives can antecede a subject-oriented reflexive *zibun*. On the "make" reading, the embedded subject in the CAUSE head in (17a) will be an (agent) subject, as will the PRO that is coindexed with the matrix PP in (17b). Either will then be able to corefer with the subject-oriented anaphor *zibun*. The appearance of coreference with the matrix prepositional *ni*-phrase in the "let" reading is forced due to the control relationship between the two.

In 13), we saw that a passive of the "make" causative was possible, while a passive of the "let" causative was not. The embedded subject raises to the matrix AgrO to check abstract accusative in (17a) (whether said accusative is realized as *-ni* or *-o*, see the account of case-marking below); in this respect, the embedded subject is acting like a matrix direct object, in a fashion completely parallel to English ECM (in which passive is equally possible: Mary *was believed to have left*.). On the other hand, on the "let" reading, the *-ni* phrase in (17b) is a prepositional phrase, not a direct object of *-sase-* and hence cannot passivize (**The table was put a book on)*.

In 14) we examined a contrast between the possibility of construing a subject-oriented adverb positioned between the matrix and embedded subject with the embedded subject. In Japanese, raising of NPs for case-checking happens at LF only (cf. Koizumi (1995)), hence the embedded subject in the structure of the "make" reading (17a) is in its base-generated position in the embedded clause at Spell-Out. Agent-oriented adverbials are licensed by adjunction to EventP (with a CAUSE head). When an agent-oriented adverbial occurs between the matrix and embedded

subject in (17a), it can be adjoined to the lower EventP and hence construed with the embedded subject (18):

18. Yakko-ga [$_{EventP}$ hitori-de [$_{EventP}$ Dot-o [$_{VP}$ ik-ase-ta]]
Yakko-N *alone* *Dot-A* *go-cause-past*
"Yakko made Dot go alone"

When it occurs between the matrix and the embedded subject in the "let" causative (17b), however, it cannot be adjoined to the lower EventP, as the *ni*-marked NP is in the matrix clause. In order for an agent-oriented adverbial to be construed with the embedded subject in 17b), it must occur to the right of the *ni*-marked NP (19):

19. Yakko-ga Dot-ni$_i$ [$_{EventP}$ hitori-de [$_{EventP}$ PRO$_i$ [$_{VP}$ ik-ase-ta]
Yakko-N *Dot-D* *alone* *go-cause-past*
"Yakko let Dot go alone."

It should be noted that construal with the matrix subject is always possible. It is possible that the adverbial can be construed with the agent of any EventP that c-commands it, in addition to the one that it is adjoined to; the other possibility is that the adverbial must be adjoined to the EventP of the agent that it is associated with, and other orders are derived via scrambling.

With respect to the facts about the scope of "only" discussed in 15), we can see that both the matrix and embedded reading are allowed on the "make" causative because in the (17a) structure the embedded subject starts out in the embedded clause and moves to the matrix clause. Only the matrix reading is possible on the "let" reading in (17b) because the *ni*-phrase is base-generated in the matrix clause, hence only a matrix interpretation is available for the *"only"*. (Controlled elements do not endow their controllers with local scope possibilities, unlike the situation with raising verbs, which have the scope possibilities of both the base-generated and final positions; compare the scope possibilities in English below:

19. a) Raising - 2 scopes
[A journalist]$_i$ seemed [t$_i$ to slander every senator].
b) Control - 1 scope
[A journalist]$_i$ wanted [PRO$_i$ to slander every senator].)

Finally, the *-ni* in the "let" causative is prepositional, while *-ni* in the "make" causative is structural—the "make" causative behaves like a double object construction for case-marking purposes, making the correct prediction with respect to the facts of numeral quantifier float in 16). (The "double-*o* constraint" is in effect. See Harley (1995), (forthcoming), for a discussion of principles of case realization in these instances.) The claim, essentially, is that *-ni* here is a realization of abstract accusative, even though it is realized morphologically as dative. This is the result of a principle of abstract case realization that relies on a notion of dependency among NPs in a clause, rather than a notion of associating a certain case with a certain position, cf. Marantz (1991).

5 Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented a unified treatment of the three different types of Japanese causatives, the *-ni* causative, the *-o* causative and the lexical causative, which relies on a notion of "Late Insertion" of lexical items, as proposed in Halle

and Marantz (1993). Crucially, all three are claimed to contain a "CAUSE" morpheme which is spelled out as *sase-* at PF. This morpheme is the reflex of a light verbal head which delimits the eventiveness of a verb, and is hence termed "EventP". Causers, as initiators of events, are base-generated in Spec-EventP. The lexical causative differs from the two types of syntactic/analytic causative in containing only one "EventP", while analytic causatives contain two EventPs and hence two events. The many syntactic differences between the two types of analytic causatives have been argued to result from the *-ni-* causative controlling an embedded PRO in the embedded subject position, while the *-o-* causative is a true ECM structure, with the embedded subject raising to the matrix EventP for case-checking.

References:

Chomsky, N. (1994) "A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory," in K. Hale & S. J. Keyser, eds., *The View From Building 20*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hale, K. and J. Keyser (1994) "On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations," in Hale and Keyser (1994), eds. *The View from Building 20*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts

Halle, M. and A. Marantz (1994) "Distributed Morphology," in Hale and Keyser (1994), eds. *The View from Building 20*, MIT Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts

Harley, H (forthcoming) "Abstracting Away from Abstract Case," in J. Beckman, ed. *Proceedings of NELS 25*, GLSA: Amherst

Harley, H. (1995) *Subjects , Events and Licensing*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Jacobsen, W.M. (1992) *The Transitive Structure of Events in Japanese* , Kurosio Publishers.

Johnson, K. (1991) "Object Positions," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 9, 577-636

Koizumi, M (1993) "Object Agreement and the Split VP Hypothesis," in Jonathan D. Bobaljik and Colin Phillips, eds, *Papers on Case and Agreement I*, MITWPL Vol. 18, Cambridge: MITWPL

Koizumi, M. (1995) *Phrase Structure in Minimalist Syntax*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

Kratzer, A. (1993) *On External Arguments*, in *Functional Projections*, UMOP 17, GLSA: Amherst

Kuroda, Y. (1965) *Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language*, Doctoral dissertation, MIT

Miyagawa, S. (1989) *Structure and Case Marking in Japanese*, Academic Press

Miyagawa, S. (1994) "*Sase* as an Elsewhere Causative," in the program of *Linguistic Theory and Japanese Language Teaching* , Seventh Symposium on Japanese Language, Tsuda Japanese Language Center

Miyagawa, S. (1995), "Against Optional Scrambling," ms., MIT

Oehrle, R and Nishio, H. (1981) "Adversity," *Coyote Papers* 2, University of Arizona Linguistic Circle: Tuscon Arizona

Sadakane, K. and M. Koizumi (1995) "On the nature of the 'dative' particle *ni* in Japanese," *Linguistics* 33:5-33

Terada, M. (1991) *Incorporation and Argument Structure in Japanese*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Amherst:GLSA

Travis, L. (1994), "Event Phrase and a theory of functional categories," paper presented at the Canadian Linguistics Association meeting, 1994, University of Calgary. (in *Proceedings*...)