

# Looking at Japanese Causatives from a French Perspective

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## Causative Constructions

### Example

(1) **Naomi-ga** **hon-o** yon-da.

Naomi-NOM book-ACC read-PAST

*'Naomi read a book.'*

(2) **S** **S** **DO** **V-(s)ase**  
NOM DAT ACC

Causative construction

(3) Ken-ga **Naomi-ni** **hon-o** yom-**ase**-ta.

Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST

*'Ken **made/let** Naomi read a book.'*

## Goals

- Downsize the theory of causative constructions in Japanese.
- Pave the way for a unified analysis of causative constructions across languages.
- Establish that the **argument structure of the verb** stem determines the **Case** on the Causee in Japanese (i.e., Dative vs. Accusative).
- Establish that **Dative** Causees only appear with **transitive** verbs; the objects of the transitive verbs co-occurring with Dative Causees can be silent and if they are, they must be **specific**.

# Roadmap

- 1 The Received View
- 2 Typology
  - Type I: Obligatory Accusative Causee
  - Type II: Obligatory Dative Causee
  - Type III: Alternating Case
- 3 French & Japanese: Dativization and Animacy
- 4 Proposed Analysis
- 5 Conclusion

## The Received View

- For **intransitive** stems, the two possible cases of the Causee-DP, **Dat** and **Acc**, map onto two different interpretations of (s)ase, namely **'let'** and **'make'**.
- There are thus **two homophonous** (s)ase morphemes (Miyagawa 1999, Kuroda 1965, 1978, Kuno 1973, Shibatani 1973, Harley 1995, 2005).

(4) John-ga Naomi-**{ni/o}** tabe-**sase**-ta.  
John-NOM Naomi-**DAT/ACC** eat-CAUS-PAST  
'John **let/made** Naomi eat.'

## The Received View

- When the stem is **transitive** (i.e. has an overt Acc object), the Causee is obligatorily Dative-marked.
- The Causee of the 'let' (*s*)*ase* remains Dative, while the Causee of the 'make' (*s*)*ase* becomes Dative, in accordance with the **Double-O Constraint**.

- **Double-O Constraint**

Two occurrences of the Accusative *o* in a simplex clause are prohibited in Japanese (Harada 1973).

- (5) Ken-ga Naomi-**{ni/\*o}** hon-o yom-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-**DAT/ACC** book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken **made/let** Naomi read a book.'

# The Received View

According to the Received View:

- For intransitive verbs, there is a bijective relation between the two interpretations and the two cases on the Causee;
- For transitive verbs, there are **two** sources of the Dative: the 'let' interpretation, and a ban on double Accusatives (the so-called **Double-O Constraint**).

# The Received View

	'Let' (s)ase		'Make' (s)ase	
	Causee-DP	DO	Causee-DP	DO
Intransitive	<b>Dative</b>	—	<b>Accusative</b>	—
Transitive	<b>Dative</b>	Accusative	<del>Accusative</del> <b>Dative</b>	Accusative

Table: How the Received View Cuts the Causative Pie



## Predictions of the Received View

- **Prediction 1:** The availability of Dative Causees is not contingent on the presence of an Accusative object;
- **Prediction 2:** Accusative Causees are incompatible with a '*let*' interpretation.

◇ We're going to argue against the Received View by falsifying these two predictions.

# Proposal

	'Let' (s)ase		'Make' (s)ase	
	Causee-DP	DO	Causee-DP	DO
Intransitive	<b>Dative</b>	—	<b>Accusative</b>	—
Transitive	<b>Dative</b>	Accusative	<b>Accusative</b> <b>Dative</b>	Accusative

Table: How the Received View Cuts the Causative Pie

⇒

	'Cause' (s)ase	
	Causee-DP	DO
Intransitive	<b>Accusative</b>	—
Transitive	<b>Accusative</b> <b>Dative</b>	Accusative

Table: Our Proposal

# Proposal

## There is only one (s)ase...

- The meaning/case correlation does not hold
- Dative Causees only co-occur with transitive stems
- Apparent intransitive verbs with Dative Causees are in fact used transitively

## ...so the table should be

	'Cause' (s)ase	
	Causee-DP	DO
Intransitive	Accusative	—
Transitive	Accusative Dative	Accusative

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# Case Patterns

Case	Extension	Examples
I. *Dat/Acc	Pure Intransitive	<i>hatarak-u</i> 'work', <i>nak-u</i> 'cry', <i>aw-u</i> 'meet', <i>komar-u</i> 'be.annoyed' <i>sin-u</i> 'die', <i>sak-u</i> 'bloom'
II. Dat/*Acc	Pure Transitive	<i>ake-ru</i> 'open', <i>ka-u</i> 'buy', <i>home-ru</i> 'praise', <i>kak-u</i> 'write' <i>yom-u</i> 'read', <i>ara-u</i> 'wash'
III. Dat/Acc	Mixed (optional object)	<i>tabe-ru</i> 'eat', <i>oyog-u</i> 'swim', <i>nobor-u</i> 'climb', <i>hashir-u</i> 'run', <i>aruk-u</i> 'walk', <i>odor-u</i> 'dance'

Table: **Typology**

## Type I: Obligatory Accusative Causee

- (6) Ken-ga Naomi-{\*ni/o} nak-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC cry-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to cry.'*
- (7) Ken-ga Naomi-{\*ni/o} tat-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC stand-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to stand up.'*
- **All Unergatives** pattern this way: they are **incompatible** with a Dative Causee.

## Type I: Obligatory Accusative Causee

- (8) Ken-ga Naomi-{\*ni/o} sin-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC die-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to die.'*
- (9) Ken-ga Naomi-{\*ni/o} komar-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC be.annoyed-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to be annoyed.'*

- **All Unaccusatives** pattern this way: they are **incompatible** with a Dative Causee.
- **Generalization:** Verbs that do not assign Accusative are incompatible with a Dative Causee.

## Previous Accounts of the Obligatory Accusative Causee

Drawing on the following examples (N.B.: these are **unaccusative verbs**), **Shibatani** (1973) proposes that the **Permissive interpretation (i.e., Dat Causee)** requires a verb whose subject is a **volitional entity**:

- (10) Naomi-ga **hana**-{o/\*ni} migoto-ni  
Naomi-NOM flower-ACC/DAT beautifully  
sak-**ase**-ta.  
bloom-CAUS-PAST  
*'Naomi caused the flowers to bloom beautifully.'*
- (11) Kuuhuku/Ken-ga **Naomi**-{o/\*ni} kizetsu-**sase**-ta.  
Hunger/Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC/DAT faint-CAUS-PAST  
*'Hunger/Ken caused Naomi to faint.'*

◇ However, the requirement of the volitional argument is insufficient to account for all the data.



## Type I: Obligatory Accusative Causee

- Verbs such as *hatarak-u* 'work' and *aw-u* 'meet', are also incompatible with a Dative Causee.
- However, these verbs select **volitional arguments**.

(12) Ken-ga Naomi-{\*ni/o} hatarak-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC work-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken caused Naomi to work.'

(13) Ken-ga Naomi-{\*ni/o} Mary-to aw-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC Mary-COM meet-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken caused Naomi to meet with Mary.'

## Type I: Generalization

- **Generalization:** Verbs that do not assign Accusative are incompatible with a Dative Causee.
- Compare with *yom-u* 'read' in (14).

(14) Ken-ga Naomi-ni hon-o yom-ase-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken made/let Naomi read a book.'

- **Prediction 1:** The availability of Dative Causees is not contingent on the presence of an Accusative object.

⇒ Prediction 1 is **falsified**.

## Against the meaning/case correlation (Kitagawa 1974)

- (15) Omoi-yari-ga aru isya-ga kurusin-deiru  
considerate-NOM have doctor-NOM suffer-ASP

**byoonin**-{\*ni/o} sin-**ase**-ta.

patient-DAT/ACC die-CAUS-PAST

**Context (i): The doctor deliberately injected an overdose of morphine.**

*'The sympathetic doctor **made** the suffering patient die.'*

**Context (ii): The doctor decided not to give useless medicine any further.**

*'The sympathetic doctor **let** the suffering patient die.'*

**Context (iii): The doctor inadvertently gave the wrong medicine.**

*'The sympathetic doctor **made** the suffering patient die.'*

- The **Accusative** Causee is **compatible** with both a 'let' and a 'make' interpretation.

## Against the meaning/case correlation (Kitagawa 1974)

- The **Accusative** Causee is **compatible** with both a *'let'* and a *'make'* interpretation.
- **Prediction 2:** Accusative Causees are incompatible with a *'let'* interpretation.

⇒ Prediction 2 is **falsified**.

## Summary

- The Accusative Causee does not require a *'make'* interpretation: the meaning/case correlation does not hold (cf. Wierzbicka 1988, Kitagawa 1974).
- Verbs that do not assign Accusative (i.e. pure unergative and unaccusative verbs) are incompatible with a Dative Causee.
- We're going to verify that when Dative Causees co-occur with verbs that do not take overt Accusative objects, the objects are in fact covertly present (and specific).
- Our claim: Dative Causees are only possible in the presence of an Accusative object, **which need not be overt.**

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## Type II: Obligatory Dative Causee

- Some verbs never accept **Accusative** Causees: these verbs are transitives which do not allow the silent unspecified object alternation (they are 'pure transitives').

- (16) Ken-ga muriyari Naomi-**{ni/\*o}** hako-o  
Ken-NOM forcefully Naomi-**{DAT/ACC}** box-ACC  
ake-**sase**-ta.  
open-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken forcefully caused Naomi to open the box.'*
- (17) Ken-ga muriyari Naomi-**{ni/\*o}** ake-**sase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM forcefully Naomi-**{DAT/ACC}** open-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken forcefully caused Naomi to open it.'*

## Type II: Obligatory Dative Causee

- (18) Ken-ga muriyari Naomi-**{ni/\*o}** hon-o  
Ken-NOM forcefully Naomi-**{DAT/ACC}** book-ACC  
kaw-**ase**-ta.  
buy-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken forcefully caused Naomi to buy a book.'*
- (19) Ken-ga muriyari Naomi-**{ni/\*o}** kaw-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM forcefully Naomi-**{DAT/ACC}** buy-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken forcefully caused Naomi to buy it.'*

⇒ **Generalization:** The Causee of Pure Transitive stems must be Dative regardless of interpretation.

- The **silent** object has to be **specific** in these cases.



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## Type III: Alternating Case

- Some verbs are compatible with an Acc. or a Dat. Causee.
- 'Quit' offers a clear example of an alternation in **argument structure and meaning**.
- The meaning shift is thus a reliable indication of a change in argument structure.
- The Causee is Dative-marked iff the stem means 'quit something', i.e. has an object, which **need not be overt**.

- (20) Ken-ga kaseihu-{\*ni/o} yame-sase-ta.  
Ken-NOM housekeeper-{DAT/ACC} quit-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken let the housekeeper leave/fired the housekeeper.'
- (21) Ken-ga kaseihu-{ni/\*o} yame-sase-ta.  
Ken-NOM housekeeper-{DAT/ACC} quit-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken caused the housekeeper to quit it (e.g. smoking, stealing, etc).'

## Type III: Alternating Case

- The same alternation is seen with *odoru* 'dance'.

(22) (*Context: Naomi wanted to dance, so John let her dance.*)

John-ga **Naomi**-{\*ni/o} odor-**ase**-ta. Acc. Causee

John-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC dance-CAUS-PAST

'John caused Naomi to dance.'

(23) (*Context: John is putting on a show, which contains a variety of ballroom dances, and has to decide which dance is going to be danced by who. Q: 'What did he decide about the waltz?'*)

John-ga **Naomi**-{ni/\*o} odor-**ase**-ta. Dative Causee

John-NOM Naomi-DAT/ACC dance-CAUS-PAST

'John caused Naomi to dance it.'

⇒ The Dative Causee is not compatible with non specific silent objects.

## Interim Summary

- The choice of the case on the Causee is not associated with the *'let'* and *'make'* interpretational difference: it depends on whether the verb stem assigns Accusative.
- Verbs that are compatible with both Dative and Accusative Causees allow optional objects, which can remain silent; if the Causee is Dative, the silent object is specific.

Coming next:

- Silent objects that trigger dativization in causatives are not unique to Japanese.

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## French: Templates of Causatives

(24) **faire** V **S** *Faire infinitive, intrans. V*  
ACC/\*DAT

(25) **faire** V **DO** **S** *Faire infinitive, trans. V*  
ACC \*ACC/DAT

(26) Jean **fait** rire **(\*à) Marie. V S**  
Jean makes laugh to Marie *Faire infinitive*  
'Jean makes Marie laugh.'

(27) Jean **fait** examiner le livre **(\*à) Marie. V DO S**  
Jean makes examine the book to Marie *Faire infinitive*  
'Jean makes Marie examine the book.'

## French: Dativization and Silent Objects

- French allows very rare cases of silent arguments.
- Objects can be dropped, provided they are specific and contextually salient.
- A silent specific object triggers **obligatory dativization**.

(28) (*Pierre has gone blind, but a doctor can treat him. Pierre's wife begs the doctor.*)

Faites \*lui/le voir à nouveau, docteur !  
Make him-DAT/ACC see again , doctor  
'Make him see again, doctor!'

(29) (*The doctor has a new hat; Pierre will be very interested to see it.*)

Faites lui/\*le voir, docteur !  
Make him-DAT/ACC see, doctor  
'Make him see, doctor!'

## French: Animacy

- In French, all Dative Causees have to be **animate** (Homer & Sportiche 2009).

- (30) Une bombe/les soldats a/ont détruit l' église.  
A bomb/the soldiers have destroyed the church  
'A bomb/the soldiers destroyed the church.'
- (31) Le général a fait détruire l' église **à ses soldats/\*à**  
The general has made destroy the church to his soldiers/to  
**une bombe.**  
a bomb  
'The general had his soldiers/a bomb destroy the church.'
- (32) Le général a fait sauter **une bombe.**  
The general has made blow-up a bomb  
'The general made a bomb explode.'



## Japanese: Animacy Effects on the Dative Causee

- A **Dative** Causee must be **animate**.

- (33)
- a. Densya-ga hashit-ta.  
train-NOM run-PAST  
'The train ran.'
  - b. Ken-ga Naomi/densya-o hashir-ase-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi/train-ACC run-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken caused Naomi/the train to run.'
  - c. Ken-ga Naomi/\*densya-ni (senro-o)  
Ken-NOM Naomi/train-DAT railway-ACC  
hashir-ase-ta.  
run-CAUS-PAST  
'Ken caused Naomi/the train to run the railway.'

- A thematic restriction bears on **all Dative Causees**.

# Roadmap

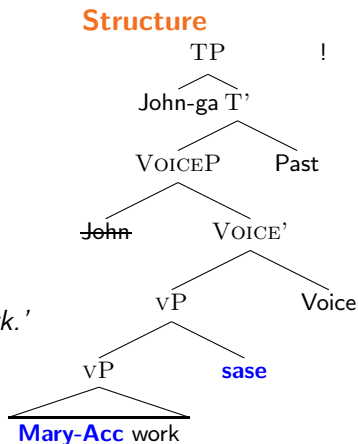
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## Towards the Derivation

- 1 (s)ase assigns Accusative to the subjects of Intransitive verbs (Agree, no EPP feature).
- 2 This Accusative Case assigned by (s)ase goes to the object of a transitive stem.
- 3 Crucially, we assume that the stem doesn't assign Accusative.
- 4 The Dative Case and the Animacy restrictions are properties associated with the presence of (s)ase.
- 5 Merge an applicative head in the (s)ase shell; its argument controls a PRO, subject of the stem.

## Derivation I: Accusative Causee

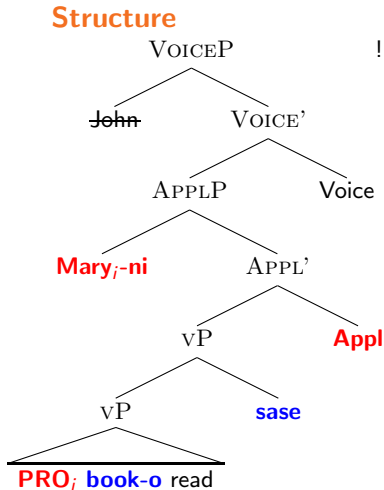
- (34) John-ga Mary-o  
 John-NOM Mary-ACC  
 hatarak-**ase**-ta  
 work-CAUS-PAST  
 'John caused Mary to work.'



Crucially, **-(s)ase-** has **one Accusative case** to assign.

## Derivation II: Dative Causee

- (35) John-ga **Mary-ni**  
 John-NOM Mary-DAT  
 hon-o  
 book-ACC  
 yom-**ase**-ta  
 read-CAUS-PAST  
*'John caused Mary to  
 read the book.'*



## Conclusion

- Japanese has only one causative morpheme **(s)ase**.
- **(S)ase** is always ambiguous between 'let' and 'make'.
- The Dative/Accusative case alternation on the Causee is due to the argument structure of the verb stem.
- Both overt Accusative objects and silent objects which are **specific** need case, and thus trigger Dativization.

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## Effects of the Double-o Constraint

- (36) a. Naomi-ga 5K-(o) hashi-ta.  
Naomi-NOM 5K-ACC run-PAST  
*'Naomi ran 5K.'*
- b. Ken-ga Naomi-{ni/\*o} 5K-o hasir-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT 5K-DAT run-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to run the 5K.'*
- c. Ken-ga Naomi-o 5K-(\*o) hasir-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC 5K-(\*ACC) run-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to run 5K.'*



## Directed Motion Verbs, e.g. *go*

Directed Motion Verbs, (e.g., *go*, *come*, *walk*, and *ascend*), are often compatible with Dative and Accusative Causees.

⇒ They are compatible with “path/locative-type” Accusative arguments (cf. Miyagawa 1999:262).

- (37) Ken-ga **Naomi-ni** (sono-michi-o) eki-made  
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT that-street-ACC station-until  
ik-**ase**-ta.  
walk-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to go up that street to the station.'*

- (38) Ken-ga **Naomi-o** eki-made ik-**ase**-ta.  
Ken-NOM Naomi-ACC station-until go-CAUS-PAST  
*'Ken caused Naomi to go up to the station.'*

## Difference in Height

- *Do-so* substitution cannot strand an Accusative Causee: Accusative Causees are part of the replaced constituent (while Dative Causees aren't).

- (39) Mary-ga warutu-o odot-ta-node, boku-mo  
Mary-NOM waltz-ACC dance-PAST-BECAUSE, I-also  
**Naomi-ni** soo s-**ase**-ta.  
Naomi-DAT so do-CAUS-PAST  
*'Mary danced a waltz, so I caused Naomi to do so too.'*
- (40) \*Mary-ga odot-ta-node, boku-mo **Naomi-o**  
Mary-NOM dance-PAST-BECAUSE, I-also Naomi-ACC  
soo s-**ase**-ta.  
so do-CAUS-PAST  
*'Mary danced, so I caused Naomi to do so too.'*