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Case checking in Japanese causative constructions

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Case checking in Japanese causative constructions

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1. Case marking in Japanese causative constructions

This paper deals with the case marking of the causee subject in Japanese causative constructions[1]. The causee may surface with either dative (*-ni*) or accusative case (*-o*). However, this case alternation is available only if the causativized verb is underlyingly intransitive[2]. Thus both (1a) and (1b) are acceptable since the verb *aruk-* 'walk' is intransitive. On the other hand, the verb in (2), *tabe-* 'eat' is transitive and therefore the causee can only be marked by dative:

(1)   a. Isya-wa   kanzya-ni   aruk-ase-ta.
              doctor-Top patient-Dat   walk-Cause-Past
              'The doctor caused the patient to walk.'

        b. Isya-wa   kanzya-o   aruk-ase-ta.
              doctor-Top patient-Acc   walk-Cause-Past
              'The doctor caused the patient to walk.'

(2)   a. Isya-wa   kanzya-ni   hoorensoo-o tabe-sase-ta.
              doctor-Top patient-Dat   spinach-Acc   eat-Cause-Past
              'The doctor caused the patient to eat spinach.'

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[1] As will be made explicit in Section 3, Japanese has syntactic as well as lexical causatives. This is of course also the case in for example English, where lexical causatives often take the form of conversion, such as *break – break*, *fold – fold*, with a few exceptions like *lie – lay*, *rise – raise* etc.

[2] However, the intransitivity of a verb is not a sufficient condition for this alternation, since some intransitive verbs do not allow it:

(i) a Isya-wa   kanzya-o   sin-ase-ta
          doctor-Top patient-Acc die-Cause-Past
          'The doctor caused the patient to die.'

     b. *Isya-wa   kanzya-ni sin-ase-ta
          doctor-Top patient-Dat die-Cause-Past
          'The doctor caused the patient to die.'

b. *Isya-wa   kanzya-o   hoorensoo-o tabe-sase-ta.
    doctor-Top patient-Acc   spinach-Acc   eat-Cause-Past
    'The doctor caused the patient to eat spinach.'

Shibatani 1976, among others, notes that the choice of case marker in (1a) and (b) yields a semantic difference. If the causee is marked by *-ni*, as in (1a), then the sentence has a coercive reading, corresponding to English *make*. On the other hand, if the case marker is *-o* as in the (b) example, the reading may be non-coercive, corresponding to English *have* or *let*. However, although case alternation is not available when the underlying verb is transitive, *ni*-marked transitive causative sentences are also ambiguous between the coercive and non-coercive readings. Whatever the source of these ambiguities may be, it is pretty clear that case marking *per se* is not relevant to the reading.

Some scholars have suggested that the difference in readings as well as the case alternation stem from different D-structure representations. Inoue 1976 takes the causee in (1a) to be a constituent of the subordinate clause, whereas, she argues, the *o*-marked causee in (1b) is a constituent of the matrix clause, with subsequent application of equi-NP deletion. The data in (2a) and (2b) are accounted for by a rule which prohibits the consecutive occurrence of two *o*-marked DPs. Other scholars, e.g. Baker 1988, reduce the semantic difference to a matter of the lexicon, and thus the causee is always base-generated as the subject of the subordinate clause irrespective of case marking. This is also the position we will take in this paper.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 briefly mentions some arguments that have occurred in the generative literature for and against a biclausal approach to causatives. In section 3 we consider some empirical data in favor of an analysis involving sentential complementation. Section 4 introduces the theoretical framework for the paper, the Minimalist Theory, as outlined in Chomsky's 1993 *A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory* (*MPLT*). Within this theory, we also give an analysis of Japanese causatives with transitive complements. Section 5 continues in the same vein, treating the case alternation that optionally occurs when the complement clause contains an intransitive verb. Here we are extending a proposal by Branigan & Collins 1993, which involves case features related to intransitive verbs. In section 6, we summarize the analysis given.

2. Are Japanese causatives derived lexically or transformationally?

In contrast to non-agglutinative languages, causativization in Japanese is a matter of affixation[3]; in particular, the causative formative takes the shape of a suffix. In a language like English, on the other hand, the causative formative constitutes an independent 'word', e.g. the verb *make*. The English causative verb *make* takes a clausal complement and hence surfaces biclausally, as seen in (3). In Japanese, on the other hand, the items corresponding to the two verbs *make* and *read* in (4) surface as one phonological word:

(3) a. John made Mary read a book.
     b.
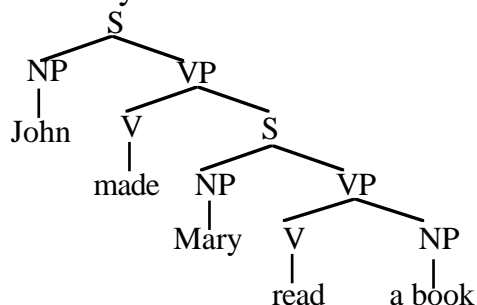
(4) John-wa   Mary ni   hon-o   yom-ase-ta[4].
        -Top   -Dat book-Acc read-Cause-Past
     'John made Mary read a book.'

Throughout the years, various accounts of the Japanese causative construction have been given. The debate has mainly consisted of a controversy between transformationalists (e.g. Kuroda 1978 and Kuno 1973) and lexicalists (e.g. Farmer 1980, Kitagawa 1986, Miyagawa 1989), where the

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[3]As mentioned in footnote 1, Japanese also makes use of gradation to form lexical causative verbs. For example, *agar-u* 'rise', *age-ru* 'raise'; *sagar-u* 'lower', *sage-ru* 'lower (caus.)'; *hirogar-u* 'widen', *hiroge-ru* 'widen (caus.)'; etc. Similar types of such pairs are: *oki-ru* 'get up', *okos-u* 'wake up'; *mi-ru* 'see', *mise-ru* 'show', etc. The latter types are formed by alternating *-ru* and *-s-u* endings along with slight modifications of the themes of the verbs. Compare the examples in (8).

[4]The syntactic causative form of a Japanese verb is derived in the following manner. The causative (bound) morpheme *-sase* affixes to the verb stem, forming a constituent [verb+*sase*]. This is seen in (i). When the verb stem ends in a consonant, *-sase* reduces to -*ase*, as in (ia). On the other hand, the first consonant of the causative formative remains if the stem of the verb ends in a vowel, (ib).

(i) a. yom + sase → yomase
         read   Cause Cause to read

     b. tabe + sase → tabesase
         eat   Cause   Cause to eat

See for example Vance 1987 or McCawley 1968.

central problem is whether the Japanese causative form of a verb is derived in the syntax or in the lexicon.

(5)   a.   Transformationalist Approach   b. Lexicalist Approach

```
        S                                          S
      /   \                                      /   \
    NP     VP                                  NP     VP
    |     /  \                                 |     / | \
  John-wa S    V                            John-wa NP NP   V
         / \    |                                   |   |    |
       NP   VP  -(s)ase                          Mary-ni hon-o yom-(s)ase
       |   /  \
     Mary-ni NP  V
            |    |
          hon-o yom-
```
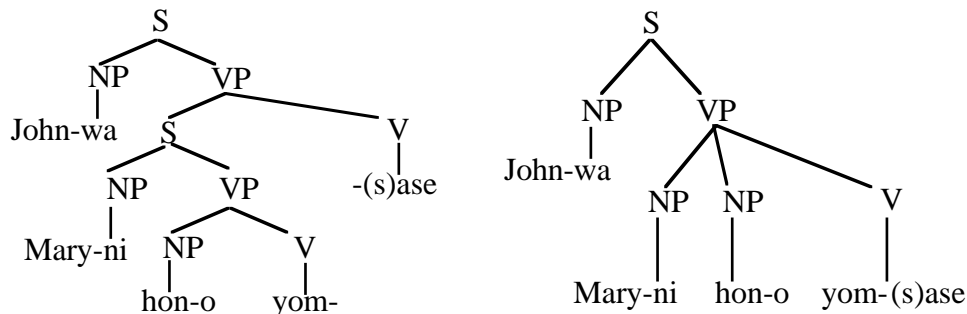
Miyagawa 1989:113 notes that "the fact that a causative verb forms a 'word' is almost accidental" under the transformational approaches, most of which are based on the Standard Theory. However, developments in syntactic theory, in particular its implications for morphology, provide an alternative to the above-mentioned approaches. Baker 1988, for example, proposes a mechanism where morphological, thus in a sense lexical, properties can trigger syntactic movement of X^0s (incorporation). Therefore the fact that the embedded verb and the causative formative form one 'word' in agglutinative languages can no longer be considered as accidental[5]. We will assume this to be true and assume that the causative formative in Japanese is like its English counterpart, i.e. it is a predicate heading a VP that takes a clausal complement.

3. Japanese causatives and syntactic configurations

This section is intended to lend some support to the claim that Japanese causatives of the kind treated in this paper indeed are syntactic and involve sentential complementation. Compelling indications are provided by facts concerning binding of the reflexive *zibun* 'self' and ambiguities in adverbial scope, which are not expected under a purely lexical approach.

3.1 Reflexive binding

A well-known configurationality test is the binding possibilities of the reflexive element *zibun*, which can only take a c-commanding **subject** as its antecedent. Although it cannot be considered a fool-proof test, it does give us valuable indications that Japanese causative constructions involve sentential complementation.

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[5]See Baker 1988, Ch 4.

(6)   a. Taroo$_i$-ga [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] Hanako$_j$-ni hon-o   yom-ase-ta.
         -Nom self-Gen   room-Loc   -Dat book-Acc read-Cause-Past
       'Taroo made Hanako read a book in his/*her room.'

      b. Taroo$_i$-ga [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] Hanako$_j$-ni benkyoo s-ase-ta.
         -Nom self-Gen   room-Loc   -Dat study   do-Cause-Past
       'Taroo made Hanako study in his/*her room.'

      c. Taroo$_i$-ga [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no kuruma-de] Hanako$_j$-o Tookyoo-ni ik-ase-ta.
         -Nom self-Gen   car-Instr   -Acc -Goal go-Cause-Past
       'Taroo made Hanako go to Tokyo in his/*her car.'

The only possible antecedent of *zibun* is the DP marked by *-ga*, which is the matrix subject. In contrast to (6), consider the examples in (7) where the adverbial phrase containing the reflexive occurs to the right of the causee:

(7)   a. Taroo$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni [zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de] hon-o   yom-ase-ta.
         -Nom   -Dat self-Gen   room-Loc book-Acc read-Cause-Past
       'Taroo made Hanako read a book in his/her room.'

      b. Taroo$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni [zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de] benkyoo s-ase-ta.
         -Nom   -Dat self-Gen   room-Loc study   do-Cause-Past
       'Taroo made Hanako study in his/her room'.

      c. Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-ni [zibun$_{i/j}$-no kuruma-de] Tookyoo-ni ik-ase-ta.
         -Nom   -Dat self-Gen   car-Loc   -Goal go-Cause-Past
       'Taroo made Hanako go to Tokyo in his/her car.'

The binding facts observed here strongly suggest that the causee is indeed a subject. If a causative verb were a purely lexical construct, and the causee were consequently the object, it would not be able to serve as a proper antecedent. This is easily observed and verified if we consider some indisputably lexical causative verbs.

(8)   a. Taroo$_i$-ga [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] Hanako$_j$-o okosi-ta.
         -Nom self-Gen   room-Loc   -Acc wake.up-Past
       'Taroo woke up Hanako in his/*her room.'

      b. Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-o [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] okosi-ta.
         -Nom   -Acc self-Gen   room-Loc wake.up-Past
       'Taroo woke up Hanako in his/*her room.'

      c. Taroo$_i$-ga [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no syasin-o] Hanako$_j$-ni mise-ta.
         -Nom self-Gen   photo-Acc   -Dat show-Past
       'Taroo showed Hanako a picture of himself/*herself.'

  d. Taroo$_i$-ga   Hanako$_j$-ni [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no syasin-o] mise-ta.
       -Nom   -Dat self-Gen   photo-Acc show-Past
     'Taroo showed Hanako a picture of himself/*herself.'

3.2 Adverbial scope

Shibatani 1976 points out that syntactic causatives and lexical causatives also display some important differences with respect to adverbial scope, which are on a par with the differences in the binding possibilities of *zibun*. A manner adverb in a syntactic causative may relate to either the causative formative or the embedded verb. Thus (9) may be interpreted in two ways, according to Shibatani 1976:245. In one interpretation, it is Taroo who was silent when he carried out the act of causing Hanako to enter the room, and in the second, it is Hanako who was silent when she entered the room:

(9)   Taroo-wa   Hanako-o   heya-ni   [damatte] hair-ase-ta.
           -Top   -Acc   room-Goal silently   enter-Cause-Past
         'Taroo made Hanako come into the room silently.'
         (from Shibatani 1976:245)

   The examples in (10), which also are taken from Shibatani 1976:245, illustrate the same point.

(10) a. Taroo-wa   Ziroo-o [te-de]   ki-ni   agar-ase-ta.
             -Top   -Acc hand-Instr tree-Goal raise-Cause-Past
         'Taroo made Jiroo go up the tree with his hands.'

    b. Taroo-wa   Ziroo-o [6-zi-ni]   oki-sase-ta.
             -Top   -Acc 6-o'clock-Temp get.up-Cause-Past
         'Taroo made Jiroo get up at 6 o'clock.'

   The second interpretation is not available if the adverb precedes or immediately follows the matrix subject:

(11) a. [Damatte] Taroo-wa   Hanako-o heya-ni   hair-ase-ta.
           silently   -Top   -Acc room-Goal enter-Cause-Past
         'Silently, Taroo made Hanako come into the room .'

    b. Taroo-wa   [damatte] Hanako-o heya-ni   hair-ase-ta.
             -Top silently   -Acc room-Goal enter-Cause-Past
         'Taroo silently made Hanako come into the room .'

   If the verb is a lexical causative, only one interpretation is possible, irrespective of where the adverb occurs in the sentence. This is seen in (12), where "the adverb modifies only Taro's activity" (Shibatani 1976:246):

(12) a. Taroo-wa Hanako-o heya-ni   [damatte] ire-ta.
              -Top   -Acc room-Goal silently   put-Past
          'Taroo put Hanako into the room silently.'

      b. Taroo-wa Ziroo-o [te-de]   ki-ni   age-ta.
              -Top   -Acc hand-Instr tree-Goal lift-Past
          'Taroo lifted Jiroo up the tree with the hands.'

      c. Taroo-wa Ziroo-o [6-zi-ni]   okos-i-ta.
              -Top   -Acc 6-o'clock-Temp wake-up-Past
          'Taro got Jiroo up at 6 o'clock.'

3.3 Summary

In this section we have provided some data that motivate a distinction between syntactically and lexically derived causatives. We saw that in a syntactic causative sentence, the causee, irrespective of whether it is marked by dative or accusative case, may function as a subject and can serve as the antecedent of a reflexive, whereas the counterpart of a lexical causative lacks this property. Furthermore we observed that syntactic causatives may display ambiguities with respect to adverbial scope, a phenomenon that cannot be detected in lexical causatives. These observations motivate a distinction between syntactic biclausal causatives and lexical monoclausal ones.

4. Case checking, licensing and transitive complements

This section will consider how the case theoretic properties of the causee can be accommodated in an Agr based framework like the one outlined in Chomsky 1993 and related works. In the preceding section we made it clear that the causative formative *-sase* should be analyzed as a predicate that takes a sentential complement. In this section we will go one step further to argue that *-sase* is an ECM predicate. This implies that we treat the postnominal element *-ni* as a case particle rather than a postposition. This is not entirely uncontroversial, but, as we conceive it, not an untenable approach[6].

4.1 Basic clause structure

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[6]In fact, *-ni* displays properties both of a postposition and a case particle. In order to get a clear picture of *-ni* it is necessary to carefully consider what structural positions it occurs in. See for example Hoji 1985 and Takezawa 1987 for arguments in favor of a postpositional analysis of *-ni*, Baker 1988 for arguments in favor of analyzing *-ni* as a case particle, and Miyagawa 1993 for a statement that *-ni* may be a case particle or a postposition. *-ni* may be treated as a gradient constituent between a case particle and a postposition, but in this paper we leave this possibility open.

We adopt the articulated structure of IP as presented in Chomsky 1993 and the suggestion that abstract case is the manifestation of agreement between a functional head and its specifier. Therefore, a subject raises to [Spec, AgrSP], where its case is checked, and an object raises to [Spec, AgrOP]. This means that the paths created by movement are crossing, rather than nested, which follows from the notion of equidistance, i.e. relativized minimality as formulated in Chomsky 1993:17:

(13)   If α, β are in the same minimal domain, they are equidistant from γ.

This is by now quite familiar. As for Japanese, we will follow Miyagawa 1993 and assume that A-movement is overt, in contrast to A-bar movement. This is illustrated in (14), which also shows the basic structure of Japanese under the theoretical assumptions made here, which imply that the specifier of T is necessarily generated[7].

(14)
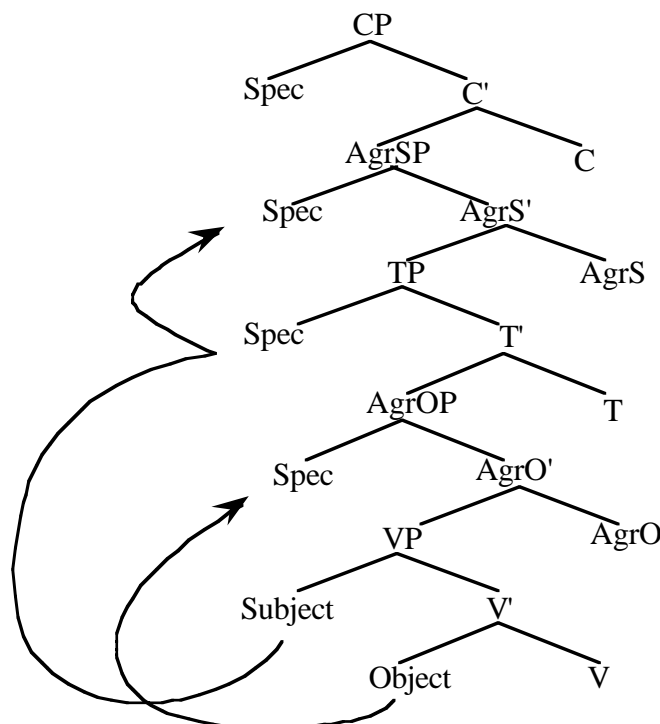
4.2 The causative formative as an ECM predicate
A crucial point in this paper is the fact that the structural case associated with the verb is checked in AgrOP, which naturally is also the situation in structures that involve Exceptional Case Marking (ECM). The fact that ECM subjects behave in some respects like matrix objects has been pointed out in

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[7]See Jonas & Bobaljik 1993 for a thorough discussion about the status of [Spec, TP] and its licensing.

the literature numerous times, e.g. Postal 1974. This was something GB-based analyses failed to give a satisfactory account of. (15) presents some relevant English examples:

(15) a. I have *recently* found Bob to be morose.
      b. I have found Bob *recently* to be morose.
      c. I have *recently* found that Bob is morose.
      d. *I have found Bob *recently* that is morose.

In (15a) the subordinate subject is found where GB theory predicts it should be, namely [Spec, IP] which is governed by the matrix verb. (15b) poses a problem, since the ECM subject is separated from its clause by a matrix adverbial. This is not expected under a GB treatment. An Agr-based theory handles this more straightforwardly, although some problems specific to English remain to be explained. If we consider (15b) as an instance of object shift[8], then the intuitive idea is that the subordinate subject raises to the specifier of the matrix AgrO projection, whereupon the verb raises to some higher position. If the complement clause is finite, as in (15c) and (d), then the subject of that clause cannot be raised to the matrix environment, (15d).

In the previous section, we saw some examples that are parallel to (15a) and (b), e.g. (6a) and (7a), repeated here as (16a) and (16b), respectively:

(16) a. Taroo$_i$-ga   [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] Hanako$_j$-ni hon-o   yom-ase-ta.
           -Nom self-Gen   room-Loc   -Dat book-Acc read-Cause-Past
         'Taroo made Hanako read a book in his/*her room.'

      b. Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-ni [zibun$_{i/j}$-no heya-de] hon-o   yom-ase-ta.
           -Nom   -Dat self-Gen   room-Loc book-Acc read-Cause-Past
         'Taroo made Hanako read a book in his/her room.'

We will propose that the causee in a Japanese causative sentence is case checked in the matrix [Spec, AgrOP], irrespective of what its surface case may be. Consider (16b) with the reading that the reflexive is coindexed with the matrix subject. This configuration ought to be identical to (15b), where the subordinate subject is case marked in the matrix context, but yet outside the scope of the adverb. This is not implausible, especially if we recall that, in Japanese, only a subject can bind the reflexive *zibun*:

(17)   Taroo$_i$-ga Hanako$_j$-o [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] okos-i-ta.
            -Nom   -Acc self-Gen   room-Loc wake.up-Past

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[8]The problem specific to English is the fact that (overt) object shift is not found in this language, at least according to the most widespread assumptions. See, however, Koizumi 1993 for an alternative approach. This problem disappears if we consider a language where objects do or may shift overtly, such as Icelandic, Japanese, etc.

'Taroo woke up Hanako in his/*her room.'

Thus it is not sufficient for a DP to occupy [Spec, AgrOP] in order to serve as an appropriate antecedent[9]. But if so, what about the interpretation of (16b) where the causee may indeed function as the antecedent of *zibun*? In this case, there is reason to believe that the adverbial is adjoined to the VP of the subordinate clause, rather than the matrix clause. We mentioned in the previous section that some adverbials are ambiguous in their scope when they occur in causative sentences. They may relate to either the causative formative or the verb to which it is suffixed:

(18)   Taroo-wa   Hanako-o heya-ni   [damatte] hair-ase-ta.
              -Top   -Acc   room-Goal silently   enter-Cause-Past
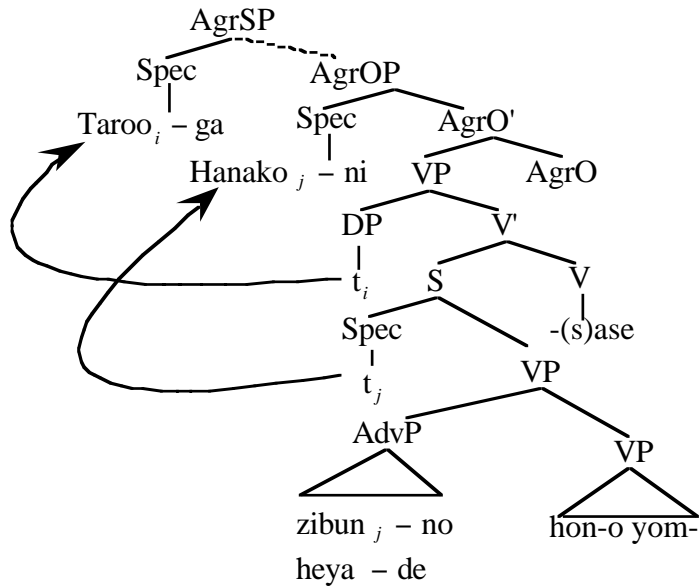   'Taroo made Hanako come into the room silently.'

Based on coindexing possibilities and the ambiguity seen in (18), we assume that the two readings of (16b) correspond to two different syntactic structures, roughly illustrated in (19a) and (19b), where details irrelevant for present purposes are ignored:

(19)   a.
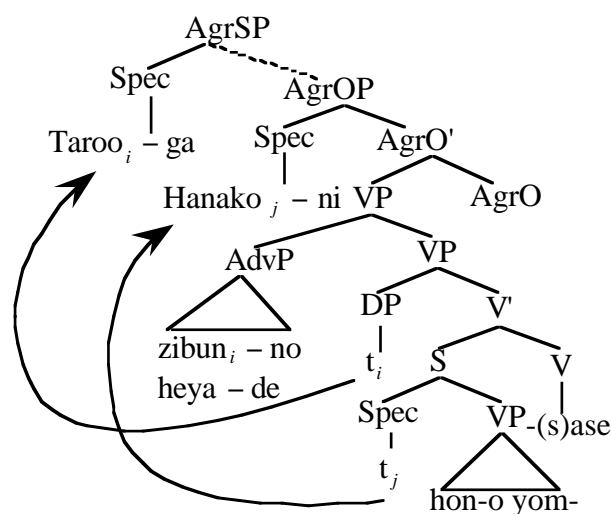
b.

As we saw in (6a) and (11b), repeated below as (20a) and (20b), the adverbial takes only matrix scope if the causee occurs to the right of it.

(20) a. Taroo$_i$-ga [zibun$_{i/*j}$-no heya-de] Hanako$_j$-ni hon-o   yom-ase-ta.
     -Nom self-Gen   room-Loc   -Dat book-Acc read-Cause-Past
    'Taroo made Hanako read a book in his/*her room.'

b. Taroo-wa [damatte] Hanako-o heya-ni   hair-ase-ta.
     -Top silently   -Acc room-Goal enter-Cause-Past
    'Taroo silently made Hanako come into the room .'

We leave the questions open as to whether the adverb is adjoined to AgrOP and whether the causee raises covertly to [Spec, AgrOP]. In any case, however, it is clear that the adverb is not a constituent of the subordinate clause.

4.3 Transitive complements

What is the categorial status of the clausal complement of -*sase*? It can not be a CP, because of the ECM phenomenon[10] in combination with the unavailability of complementizers. The minimal assumption is that the complement is an AgrOP, since the embedded verb can take an object which

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[10]ECM alone is not a sufficient condition for CP status, because some Japanese verbs seem to be able to trigger subject to object raising in spite of the existence of a CP:

(i) a. Watasi-wa Taroo-ga baka-da   to   omotte-iru.
       I-Top   -Nom stupid-be Comp believe-Prog-Pres
      'I believe that Taroo is stupid.'

  b. Watasi-wa Taroo-o   baka-da   to   omotte-iru.
       I-Top   -Acc stupid-be Comp believe-Prog-Pres
      'I believe that Taroo is stupid.'

is to be case checked in the subordinate clause, as in (20a). This is illustrated in the following simplified structure:

(21)
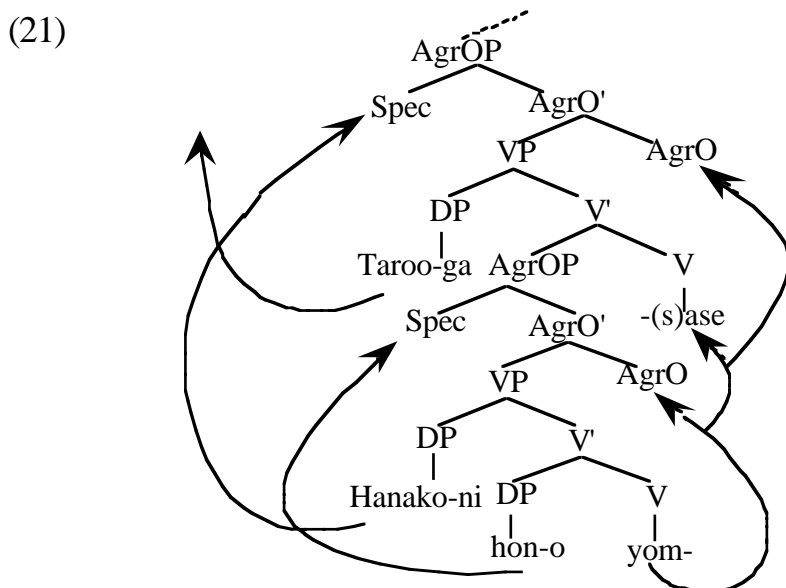
However, (21) is illicit, since the movement of [*Hanako-ni*] violates relativized minimality, the matrix [Spec, AgrOP] being too far away. The only way for the causee to reach the higher [Spec, AgrOP] is through the specifier of the lower AgrOP. But then [*hon-o*] fails to get its features checked and thus the derivation crashes in any case.

Ura 1993 suggests that sentential complements of ECM predicates in English are TPs. Similarly we will assume that the causative formative in Japanese (minimally) takes a TP complement. This view is supported by both theory internal considerations and empirical data.

Consider the simplified structure in (22). The causee can move to [Spec,TP] when [$_{AgrO}$[V, AgrO]] has raised and adjoined to T, because these operations make [Spec,TP] and [Spec,AgrOP] equidistant from [$_{DP}$ *Hanako-ni*]. Assume that the movement to [Spec,TP] is independently motivated by the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which in the MPLT-framework involves the checking of N-features of T[11]. However, since T is [-finite], [Spec,TP] is not an appropriate checking position for case features. Hence the derivation must proceed. Head movement continues cyclically to the matrix AgrO. Now the matrix [Spec,AgrOP] and [Spec,VP] are equidistant from [Spec,TP], so [$_{DP}$ *Hanako-ni*] can move to the matrix [Spec,AgrOP] without violating any principle of the grammar.

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[11]See Chomsky 1993:31.

(22)
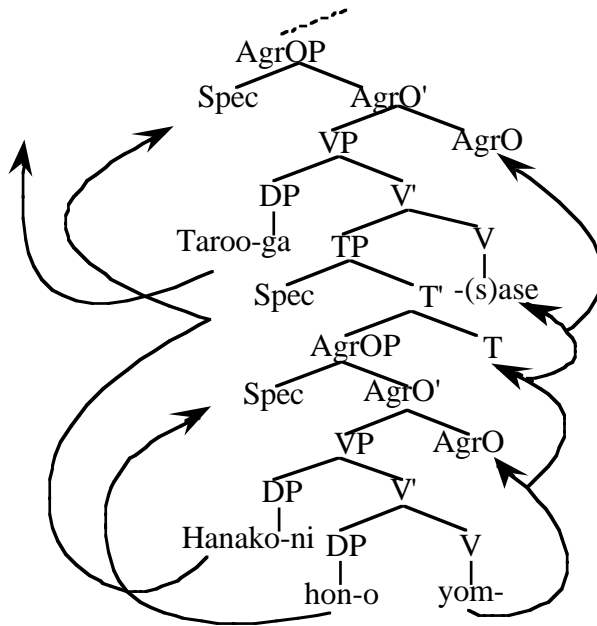
As for an empirical motivation for TP in the subordinate clause, recall (10), repeated here as (23):

(23)   Taroo-wa
         Ziroo-o   [6-zi-ni]   oki-sase-ta.
                 -Top   -Acc   6-o'clock-Temp   get.up-Cause-Past
         'Taroo made Jiroo get up at 6 o'clock.'

In (23) the time adverbial [*6-zi-ni*] can take either matrix or subordinate scope, as mentioned earlier. If time adverbials are adjoined to, or, in some other way, related to TP, then it follows that the complement of *-sase* indeed contains a TP.

5. Case checking and intransitive complements

5.1. Checking of the intransitive case feature

Let us now consider intransitive constructions. Recall (1a) and (1b), repeated as (24):

(24) a. Isya-wa   kanzya-ni   aruk-ase-ta.
         doctor-Top patient-Dat   walk-Cause-Past
         'The doctor caused the patient to walk.'

     b. Isya-wa   kanzya-o   aruk-ase-ta.
         doctor-Top patient-Acc   walk-Cause-Past
         'The doctor caused the patient to walk.'

The question to be considered is why this case alternation can occur in intransitive causativized verbs, while it is excluded with transitives. To begin with, we have assumed that the causative predicate *-sase* is responsible for the licensing of the dative case on the causee. This would then also be true in (24a), where the causee raises to the matrix [Spec, AgrOP] in the manner described above. As for (24b), an intuitively appealing idea is that the intransitive verb of the embedded clause plays some role in licensing an *o*-marked causee. This means, of course, that we have to consider an intransitive

verb as a potential case licenser. We will in fact go one step further and suggest that an intransitive verb must obligatorily check a case feature. Following a proposal made by Branigan & Collins 1993, who suggest for English that an intransitive verb "has a Case feature that can only be checked off against an empty Spec AGRo." (p. 4). This is so because short verb movement can occur in English if the verbs lacks a direct object:

(25) a. Bill frequently saw the movie.
      b. *Bill saw frequently the movie.

(26) a. Bill frequently looked at the wall.
      b. Bill looked frequently at the wall.
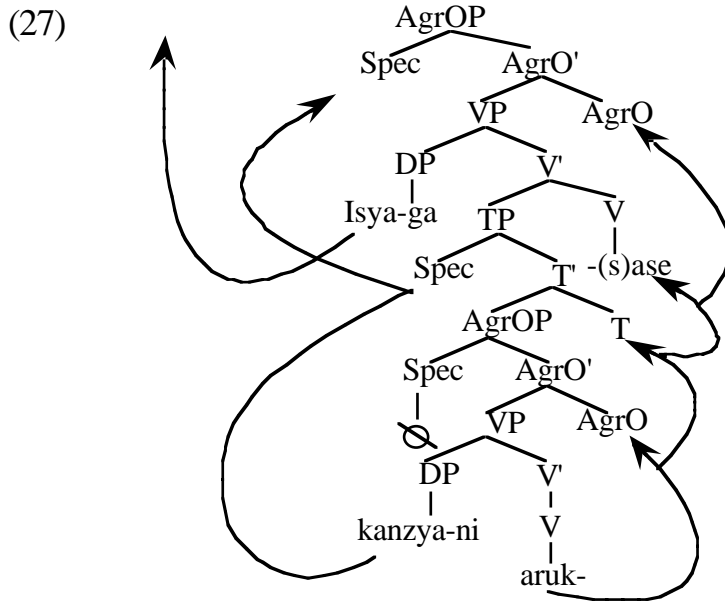   (from Branigan & Collins 1993:1)

Thus Branigan & Collins take the verb movement to target AgrO, as can be seen in (26b). They assume that the N-feature of AgrO is optionally strong in (26). If it is weak, then the feature is checked at LF and the output is (26a). If it is strong, then the verb raises overtly and the derivation results in (26b).

It follows from the assumptions made in this paper that a major difference between English and Japanese is that verb-movement and object-shift in general are overt in Japanese while in English they are preferably covert. Due to the agglutinative character of Japanese verb morphology it is reasonable to posit that an embedded verb, for example, raises all the way up to the matrix verb position and thus incorporates into it, whereupon the verbal complex proceeds upwards in the structure as the derivation progresses for feature checking.

The presence of syntactic incorporation along with the hypothesis that an intransitive verb carries a case feature may prove to be a successful way to tackle the issue of case alternations in Japanese causative sentences. In 5.2. we will consider such an approach.
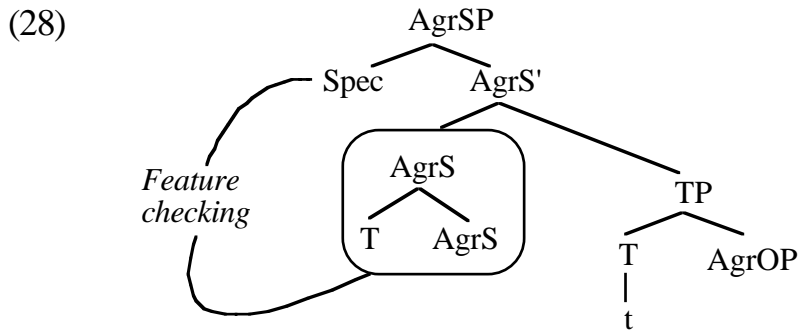

5.2 An extension of Branigan & Collins' analysis of case checking in intransitives

With this in mind, let us return to (24). Following Branigan & Collins, a Case feature is checked in the lower AgrOP against an empty specifier in (24a), where the derivation is almost the same as the one shown in (22). Hence (24a) is derived as illustrated in (27):

(27)

AgrOP
Spec   AgrO'
VP   AgrO
DP   V'
Isya-ga   TP   V
Spec   T'   -(s)ase
AgrOP   T
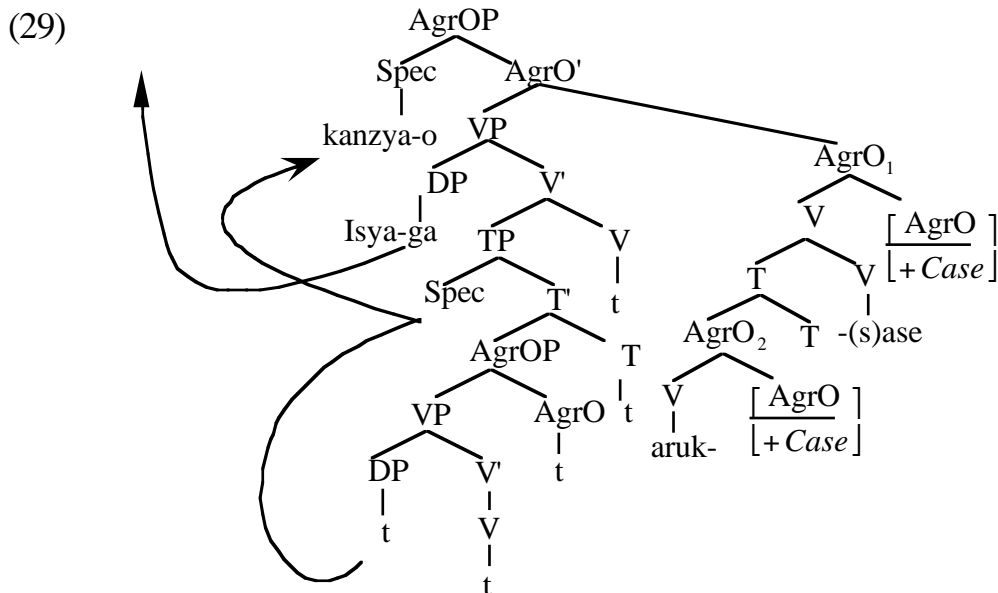Spec   AgrO'
∅   VP   AgrO
DP   V'
kanzya-ni   V
aruk-

Let us now turn to (24b), where the causee is assigned accusative case. We will suggest that the checking of the N-features of the lower AgrO can take place in the matrix AgrOP. This is possible because of the agglutinative nature of Japanese verbal morphology, which requires the lower V to be raised to the higher V. When the complex V has raised to the matrix AgrO, both features can be checked off. The idea that two X^0s can check their features against one specifier is not a new one. Chomsky 1993:31 suggests that this is in fact the realization of the EPP, at least in languages that fail to license [Spec, TP]. In English, for example, the EPP boils down to strong N-features of T. Thus T has to adjoin to AgrS and the N-features of both T and AgrS are checked against the specifier of the complex AgrS. This is illustrated in (28).

Thus in (24b), [$_V$ *aruk*] raises to AgrO. Since the V is intransitive, [$_{AgrO}$[V,AgrO]] may generate a specifier and check off its N-feature, as in (27), or else the derivation must proceed. Assuming the latter, the complex AgrO targets T and raises to T, whereupon [Spec, TP] is generated, a consequence of one realization of the EPP. The embedded subject, i.e. the causee, raises to the specifier of the TP and checks off the N-features of T. At this stage AgrO is in a Spec-head relation with the causee. Can the unchecked features of AgrO be matched with the subject here? The answer is presumably no, due to the character of T, which is [–finite] and hence not a position where the appropriate type of case can be checked. Empirical data strongly suggest that the causee should be case-marked in the matrix environment. Consequently, the complex T raises and adjoins to the matrix V, satisfying the morphological subcategorization properties of the bound morpheme -*sase*. Next, the complex V, which now has the form of   [$_V$[$_T$[$_{AgrO}$[$_V$ *aruk*]AgrO]T]*sase*], raises to the

(28)

```
                        AgrSP
                   Spec        AgrS'
        Feature         AgrS
        checking      T    AgrS        TP
                                    T      AgrOP
                                    |
                                    t
```

matrix AgrO. The causee can now move from the lower [Spec,TP] to [Spec,AgrOP], satisfying equidistance, where it is matched against both AgrOs. This is shown in (29):

(29)

```
                        AgrOP
                   Spec        AgrO'
                    |
                  kanzya-o   VP                        AgrO₁
                          DP      V'                V      [ AgrO  ]
                          |                              V [ +Case ]
                       Isya-ga  TP        V          T
                              Spec   T'   |       AgrO₂  T  -(s)ase
                                        t
                              AgrOP  T   V      [ AgrO  ]
                            VP    AgrO  t  aruk-  [ +Case ]
                          DP    V'    t
                          |     |
                          t     V
                                |
                                t
```

$$\text{AgrO}_1 \quad V \quad \begin{bmatrix} AgrO \\ +Case \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\text{AgrO}_2 \quad V \quad \begin{bmatrix} AgrO \\ +Case \end{bmatrix}$$

Let us assume that the case normally assigned by the causative formative is -*ni*, or dative. This is due to the fact that the dative is the case with which the causee surfaces in the transitive construction, where no case features originating in the subordinate environment can survive beyond the lower AgrOP. If they are not checked there, the direct object fails to be properly licensed and thus the derivation crashes. AgrO_1 contains two case features, as we can see in (29). We may take the presence of the extra case feature contained in AgrO_2 to be a source for neutralizing the morphological dative case to the plain accusative.

6. Conclusion

This paper has presented an analysis of Japanese causative constructions. We reviewed some arguments for analyzing the -*sase*-causative as an independent

predicate in section 2. In section 3 it was proposed that -*sase* is an ECM predicate, taking a sentential TP complement. TP, we argued, is motivated by facts related to locality restrictions on movement, the presence of [Spec,TP], which is also motivated by the extended projection principle, and the fact that some adverbials can relate to the complement clause. Section 4 dealt with case checking in causative structures whose complement clause is intransitive. We appealed to Branigan & Collins' theory that even an intransitive verb hosts a case feature which must be checked off in AgrOP. This enabled us to present two possible derivations for intransitive causative constructions. The first one, proceeding as in transitive constructions, yields a dative marked causee. And in the second derivation, which yields an accusative causee, we drew the conclusion that due to the presence of overt verb movement in Japanese, the case feature of the intransitive verb can be checked in the matrix AgrOP along with the features originating in the matrix context. We derived this possibility from the mechanism of feature checking realized in the form of the EPP in languages that do not license [Spec,TP]. This option is not available in English, since the verb can not overtly raise beyond AgrOP in intransitives.

Although we have referred to *causative constructions* throughout the paper, this serves only a descriptive purpose. Since language and construction specific rules lack any explanatory value whatsoever, it is crucial to consider the consequences of the analysis given in a wider context.

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