JAPANESE AND KOREAN CAUSATIVES REVISITED*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Controversies over Japanese and Korean causatives have centered on two major issues. On the Japanese side, there has been a continuing debate between Miyagawa(1980, 1989) and Kuroda (1981, 1990) whether productive *sase* causative derivation is best treated as a syntactic phenomenon or as a case of lexical word formation. On the Korean side, the controversy has centered on the semantics of the two types of causative form, the lexically restricted *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms and the productive periphrastic *–key ha-ta* forms. The issue here has been whether these two types of causative form can be considered synonymous or not. Another way to put this question is whether Korean lexical causatives ever express the so-called indirect (or directive) causation, which is typically expressed by the periphrastic forms (see Song 1988 for a summary of the controversy).

This paper directly addresses the issues relating to the controversy on the Korean side, but the analysis proposed applies equally to Japanese, as we will see; as a consequence it has important implications for the proper interpretation of the phenomena relevant to the general treatment of Japanese causatives.

2. DIRECT VS. INDIRECT CAUSATION

Shibatani (1973b) distinguished two principal types of causative situation. Manipulative causation involves an agentive causer and a patient causee; the causer typically has to bring about the caused event by physically manipulating the causee. Directive causation, on the other hand, involves two agents, both causer and causee being agentive. Here, the causer typically gives an oral instruction to the causee, who acts accordingly. Other popular contrasting terms such as 'direct' vs. 'indirect' causation and 'contact' vs. 'distant' causation were avoided by Shibatani (1973b) because these terms had been used rather loosely and ambiguously by other linguists. Nevertheless, we may still use the popular terms 'direct causation' and 'indirect causation' by unambiguously defining them in terms of the nature of the causee involved in a causative situation, as we have done above. That is, the term 'direct causation' can be used in reference to a situation where an agentive causer and a patient causee are involved, and the term 'indirect causation' in reference to a situation involving an agentive causer and an agentive causee. If we define direct and indirect

causation in this way, which is consistent with many other linguists' usage of these and related terms,[1] then what is implied by the terms 'manipulative' and 'directive' causation and 'contact' and 'distant' causation follows.

Physical manipulation, hence contact between the causer and the causee undergoing a change of state, is typically called for in realizing a caused event if the causee is merely a patient. On the other hand, simple direction-giving suffices when an agentive causee is involved. When there are two agents involved, who act on their own accord, there can be a time lag and a possible difference in location between the causing event (direction-giving) and the caused event. The notion of 'distant' causation arises from the involvement of two independent agents whose activities in a causal relationship need not overlap spatio-temporally.[2]

One of the major points made by Shibatani (1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1976) was that in both Japanese and Korean, lexical causatives convey direct (i.e., manipulative) causation, whereas the productive *sase*-forms in Japanese and the periphrastic *-key ha-ta* forms in Korean express indirect (i.e., directive) causation. This generalization obtains true to a large extent, as indicated by the following contrastive pairs of examples and their English translations:

(1) a. Hahaoya-ga kodomo-ni huku-o kise-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT clothes-ACC put on-PAST
'Mother put the clothes on the child.'
b. Hahaoya-ga kodomo-ni huku-o kisa-se-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT clothes-ACC wear-CAUS-PAST
'Mother made the child wear the clothes.'

(2) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT clothes-ACC wear-CAUS-PAST-IND
'Mother put the clothes on the child.'
b. emeni-ka ai-eykey os-ul ip-key ha-yess-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT clothes-ACC wear-COMP do-PAST-IND
'Mother made the child wear the clothes.'

Evidence of this kind was the basis for Shibatani's (1973c) argument against Yang's (1972) claim that Korean lexical causatives (Yang's short-form causatives) and periphrastic causatives (Yang's long-form causatives) are synonymous and that both forms are accordingly to be derived from the same embedding underlying structure. Although presumably no one seriously accepts Yang's synonymy hypothesis anymore (see Song's (1988) summary of various opinions on this issue), Shibatani's original framework based on the manipulative-directive (or the direct-indirect) contrast is insufficient in explicating the nature of the following kind of Korean expressions, where lexical causatives express situations clearly involving two agents.

(3) a. emeni-ka ai-lul kel-li-ess-ta.
mother-NOM child-ACC walk-CAUS-PAST-IND
'Mother made the child walk.'
b. emeni-ka ai-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST-IND
'Mother made the child read the book.'

These examples unambiguously show that the equation of 'lexical causatives = direct (or manipulative) causation' breaks down.[3] It is on the basis of these examples that Yang (1974, 1976) and Song (1988) make a claim that Korean lexical causatives do express indirect causation (hence they are synonymous to the periphrastic counterparts according to Yang). In this paper we will argue that these expressions are in fact not a case of indirect causation, and that they represent another category of causative situation that is intermediate between direct and indirect causative situations.

3. SOCIATIVE CAUSATION

The examples given in (3) depict situations in which the causer agent participates in or attends to the activity of the causee agent in a more direct way than in indirect causative situations. The typical situation (3a) represents is the one where the mother takes the child's hand and walks with him, as indicated by the following example amplified by the typical context in which the form *kel-li-ta* 'make walk' is most appropriately used.

(4) emeni-ka khun ai-lul kel-li-ko cakun ai-nun
mogther-NOM big child-ACC walk-CAUS-CONJ small child-TOP
tung-ey ep-ko cang-ey ka-ss-ta.
back-LOC carry-CONJ market-LOC go-PAST
'Mother went to the market making the big child walk and carrying the younger child on her back.'

By the same token, example (3b) is most appropriate when the mother sits next to the child and makes the child read under her supervision, as indicated in the following example:

(5) emeni-ka ai-eykey kulca-lul hanahana ciphe-ka-mye
mother-NOM child-DAT letter-ACC one-by-one point-go-while
chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST
'Mother made the child read the book by pointing to the letters one-by-one.'

These situations differ from typical indirect causative situations in that the causer actively participates in the execution of the caused events. The contrast being discussed here is more clearly seen in the following pair of lexical and periphrastic causative sentences.

(6) a. sensayngnim-i haksayngtul-ul yek-kkaci kel-li-ess-ta.
teacher.HON-NOM students-ACC station-to walk-CAUS-PAST-IND
'The teacher walked (marched) the students to the station.'
b. sensayngnim-i haksayngtul-ul yek-kkaci ket-key ha-yess-ta.
teacher.HON-NOM students-ACC station-to walk-COMP do-PAST-IND
'The teacher made the students walk to the station.'

The situation most aptly described by (6a) is the one where the teacher actually leads the students all the way to the station. Even if the teacher does not walk himself, he is

still likely to be accompanying the students on a bicycle or in a car with a watchful eye on them. In the case of (6b), on the other hand, the teacher only needs to make sure that the students walk to the station; he may stay at school after giving the instructions to the students.

Although some Korean *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms do express situations involving an agentive causer and an agentive causee, they depict well-definable situations that are distinct from the typical indirect causative situation, in which the causing event and the caused event need not show spatio-temporal overlap. The causative situations under discussion are both similar to and distinct from direct and indirect causation. They are similar to indirect causation in that they involve two agents—an agentive causer and an agentive causee—but are distinct from it in that the causer actively participates in the execution of the caused event. They are similar to direct causation in that the causing event and the caused event show spatio-temporal overlap, but are distinct from it in involving two agents.

This intermediate causative situation was first recognized by Pardeshi (1999) and was christened 'sociative causation' by Shibatani and Pardeshi (to appear), where the three types of causative situation (direct, sociative, and indirect causation) were given theoretical status as the three focal points along the continuum of the directness dimension in the conceptual structure of causation. The paper also demonstrated the importance of the category of sociative causatives in the pivotal role it plays in the development of polysemy between the causative and the applicative construction observed in a fair number of languages (e.g., Malay/Indonesian, Yidiny, Kinyarwanda, Hualapai).

In this paper we attempt to establish the significance of this intermediate causative type in the description of Japanese and Korean causatives. Particularly important is the bearing it has on the adverbial modification pattern and on the antecedent-reflexive construal pattern, phenomena that have played an important role in the description of causative constructions. Before going into detail, let us distinguish the three types of sociative causative below, which can be recognized in Korean as well.

(7) Hahaoya-ga kodomo-o asoba-se-te i-ru. (Joint-action)
mother-NOM child-ACC play-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is making the child play.'

(8) Hahaoya-ga kodomo-ni osikko-o sa-se-te iru. (Assistive)
mother-NOM child-DAT pee-ACC do-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is making the child pee.'

(9) Hahaoya-ga kodomo-ni hon-o yoma-se-te i-ru. (Supervision)
mother-NOM child-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is making the child read a book.'

In (7), it is most likely that the mother is also playing with the child, though the supervision reading is also possible. (8) depicts a situation where the mother is helping the child to pee by pulling the pants down or by holding the child, when it is still small. (9) conveys a situation where the mother is supervising the child, who is reading. Although the mother is not as physically involved in the execution of the caused event as in the case of the joint-action and the assistive sociative, she is most likely physically

close to the child reading a book. There is, however, a possibility that supervision is done from some distance. For example, in (9) the mother could be sitting at the door outside the room. Consider the following comparable Korean form:

(10) emeni-ka ai-ekey nayng pang-eyse chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.
mother-NOM child-DAT cold room-in book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST
'Mother made the child read a book in a cold room.'

This example is likely to be interpreted as depicting a situation where the mother sent the child to a cold room to read a book there as a punishment. The mother herself is not in the cold room, but in all likelihood she is keeping a watchful eye on the child and sees to it that it remains in the cold room reading. This is a case of long-distance supervision and is distinct from a regular indirect causative situation conveyed by the *–key ha-ta* counterpart, which does not convey the sense of supervision. Thus, although the case of long-distance supervision allows a sociative causative to involve ostensible distant causation, the causer still attends to the execution of the caused event.

As the discussion above makes clear, sociative causatives themselves form a continuum along the directness dimension of the causative semantics. The joint-action sociative is closer to direct causation in that the causer is totally involved in the execution of the caused event. The assistive causative entails partial involvement of the causer in the achievement of the caused event. On the other hand, the supervision sociative is closer in meaning to indirect causation in that here the causer plays a more detached role in the execution of the caused event. Sociative causatives, thus, provide a gradual transition from direct causation to indirect causation.

Notice that in Japanese it is the productive *sase*-causatives that express sociative causation, whereas in Korean it is the *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms that are used in the expression of sociative causation. The discrepancy between Korean and Japanese can be more clearly seen in the following semantic map, which maps out the domains occupied by different types of causative of these two language

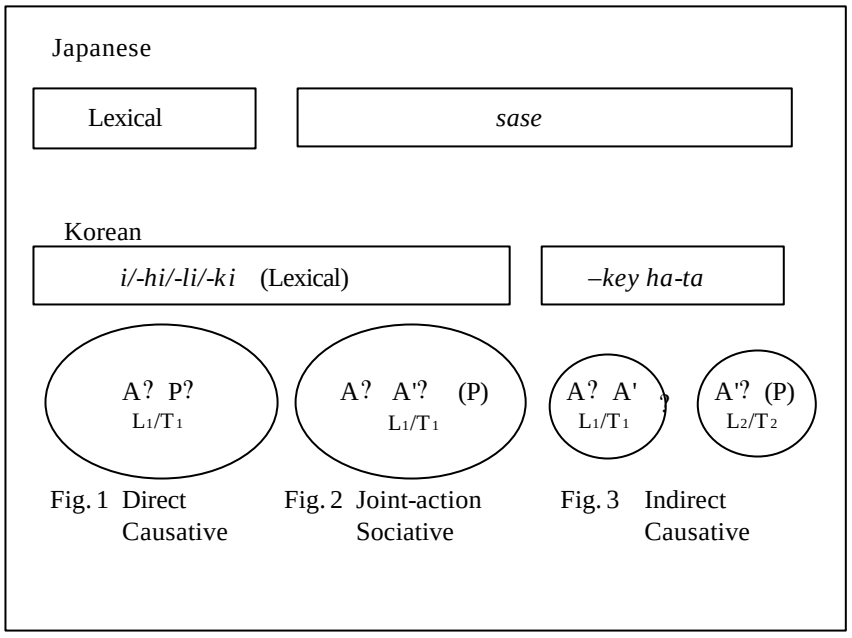


Fig. 1 Direct Causative Fig. 2 Joint-action Sociative Fig. 3 Indirect Causative

Table 1 Semantic map of Japanese and Korean causatives[4]

The distribution of causative forms on the semantic map is one major difference between Japanese and Korean. Though the reason for this difference is not entirely clear to us at the moment, we might offer two possible clues here. One is the fact that the Korean *–key ha-ta* expressions are not implicative (i.e., the caused events need not be entailed). That this construction has not firmly established itself as a true causative construction may have the effect of allowing a larger semantic space for the Korean *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms. The other is the possibility that the lexicalization of the *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms is more recent in history than the Japanese lexical causatives, thereby occupying an area closer to the side of indirect causation. It is generally believed that the *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms were more productive well into the Middle Korean period (15th century), as evidenced by forms such as *mwul-ul kil-i-ta* 'make someone draw water,' *sal-i-ta* 'make someone live,' *tung-ul kulk-hi-ta* 'make someone scratch the back' attested in Middle Korean. These are no longer usable in Modern Korean and their meanings must be expressed by the use of the *–key ha-ta* construction, which came to be used more widely after the 16th century.[5]

3. ASPECTUAL CORRELATES

Though the productive *sase*-forms are used in Japanese for both sociative and indirect causation, the sociative/indirect distinction manifests clearly when the *–te iru* progressive form is used. The forms in (7)-(9) are unambiguously interpreted as sociatives. The *ni*-causative in (11a) below is likely to be interpreted as a case of indirect causation (see next section on the relevance of case marking). Converting it to the progressive form results in an odd sentence if interpreted as a normal indirect causative sentence, as seen in (11b).

(11) a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni kooen-de asoba-se-ta.
mother-TOP child-DAT park-at play-CAUS-PAST
'Mother had the child play in the park.'

b. ??Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni kooen-de asoba-se-te iru.
mother-TOP child-DAT park-at play-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is having the child play in the park.'

It the case of sociative causation, it is possible and natural for a causer to be engaged for a prolonged time in the causing activity, e.g. undertaking the caused event jointly or supervising the causee. Notice here that the causee is simultaneously executing the caused event, and thus a causative situation obtains as the causer performs the causing activity. For example, in (7) when the mother is making the child play by playing with it, the causal relation is already in effect between the mother's playing with the child and the child's playing.

In the case of indirect causation, the caused event typically takes place after the causing event of direction-giving is completed. One can imagine a situation where a causer is giving long directions to a causee to get something done. In such a case, the causer is in a prolonged state of executing the causing event and this state of affairs can conceivably be characterized by the progressive aspect. But it is not possible to construe such a situation as causative, because the caused event has not been realized at

the time of direction giving. This prevents the causative progressive expression *–sase-te iru* from conveying indirect causation.

The only possible interpretation of the *–te i-ru* form as expressing indirect causation is a generic one, where the causation takes place as a routine over a certain period of time. Under this interpretation (11b) sounds natural, especially together with an adverb like *saikin* 'recently' in sentence initial position. In other words, while the *–te i-ru* form allows both progressive and generic interpretations when sociative causation is involved, it allows only the generic reading when indirect causation is expressed.

A similar pattern appears to obtain in Korean, as indicated by the following contrast:

(12) a. emeni-ka ai-lul/-ekey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ko iss-ta.
mother-NOM child-ACC/DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-CONJ be-IND
'Mother is making the child read the book.'

b. ??emeni-ka ai-lul/ekey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ko iss-ta.
mother-NOM child-ACC/DAT book-ACC read-COMP do-CONJ be-IND
'Mother is having the child read the book.'

4. CASE MARKING OF THE CAUSEE NOMINAL

Traditionally differential case marking of the causee nominal in terms of the dative and the accusative case was analyzed in relation to the nature of the causee. According to Kuroda (1965) and Shibatani (1973a), if the causee was willing to execute the caused event, the dative case was used to mark the causee, whereas if the causee was resistant and if the causer had to resort to coercion in getting the caused event into effect, then the accusative case marks the causee nominal. Yet, it is clear from the following pairs of sentences that the *o/ni* distinction in Japanese correlates significantly with the sociative/indirect distinction.

(13) a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-o kooen-de asoba-se-ta. (Sociative)
mother-TOP child-ACC park-in play-CAUS-PAST
'Mother made the child play in the park.'

b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni kooen-de asoba-se-ta. (Indirect)
mother-TOP child-DAT park-in play-CAUS-PAST
'Mother had the child play in the park.'

(14) a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-o kooen-de aruka-se-ta. (Sociative)
mother-TOP child-ACC park-in walk-CAUS-PAST
'Mother made the child walk in the park.'

b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni kooen-de aruka-se-ta. (Indirect)
mother-TOP child-DAT park-in walk-CAUS-PAST
'Mother had the child walk in the park.'

The fact that the *–te iru* progressive form requires the *o*-causative also corroborates our finding here (cf. (7) and (11b)). Korean also seems to reflect the distinction in point, as indicated below, where the sociative versions prefer the

accusative marking, but both dative and accusative marking are equally natural in the case of indirect causation.[6]

(15) a. emeni-ka ai-lul/??-eykey kongwuen-eyse kel-li-ess-ta.
motherNOM child-ACC/-DAT park-in walk-CAUSE-PAST-IND
'Mother made the child walk in the park.' (Sociative)
b. emeni-ka ai-lul/-eykey kongwuen-eyse ket-key ha-yess-ta.
mother-NOM child-ACC/-DAT park-in walk-COMP do-PAST-IND
'Mother had the child walk in the park.' (Indirect)

(16) a. sensayngnim-i haksayngtul-ul-/??-eykey yek-kkaci kel-li-ess-ta.
teacher.HON-NOM students-ACC/-DAT station-to walk-CAUSE-PAST-IND
'The teacher made the students walk to the station.' (Sociative)
b. sensayngnim-i haksayngtul-ul/-eykey yek-kkaci ket-key ha-yess-ta.
teacher.HON-NOM students-ACC/-DAT station-to walk-COMP do-PAST-IND
'The teacher had the students walk to the station.' (Indirect)

5. ADVERBIAL MODIFICATION

The pattern of adverbial modification was important in Shibatani's (1973a, 1973b, 1973c, 1976) arguments against deriving lexical causatives from a complex embedding underlying structure and for deriving the *sase-* and *-key ha-ta* causatives from an embedding underlying structure. The argument was based on a contrast similar to the one observed in the following and the parallel Korean examples:

(17) Manner adverbs
a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni yukkuri huku-o kise-ta. (Direct)
mother-TOP child-DAT slowly clothes-ACC put on-PAST
'The mother put the clothes on the child slowly.'
b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni yukkuri huku-o ki-sase-ta. (Indirect)
mother-TOP child-DAT slowly clothes-ACC put on-CAUS-PAST
'Mother made the child put on the clothes slowly.'

(18) Place adverbs
a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-o nikai-de nekase-ta. (Direct)
mother-TOP child-ACC upstairs-at put to sleep-PAST
'Mother put the child to sleep upstairs.'
b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni nikai-de ne-sase-ta. (Indirect)
mother-TOP child-DAT upstairs-at sleep-CAUS-PAST
'Mother had the child sleep upstairs.'

(19) Time adverbs
a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-o rokuzi-ni okosi-ta. (Direct)
mother-TOP child-ACC 6 o'clock-at wake up-PAST
'Mother woke up the child at 6 o'clock.'
b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni rokuzi-ni oki-sase-ta. (Indirect)

mother-TOP child-DAT 6 o'clock-at wake up-CAUS-PAST
'Mother had the child wake up at 6 o'clock.'

(20) Frequentive adverbs

a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-o yonaka-ni san-kai okosi-ta. (Direct)
mother-TOP child-ACC night-at three-times wake up-PAST
'Mother woke up the child three times at night.'

b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni yonaka-ni san-kai oki-sase-ta. (Indirect)
mother-TOP child-DAT night-at three-times wake up-CAUS-PAST
'Mother had the child wake up three times at night.'

The (b) indirect versions allow adverbs to modify either both the causing event and the caused event or just the caused event, whereas the (a) direct versions are not ambiguous. In (20a), for example, the mother had to wake up of the child three times. (20b), on the other hand, allows either the reading in which both the mother's waking up the child and the child's waking up took place three times, or the one in which only the child's waking up took place three times—the mother could have instructed the child (just once) to wake up three times at night. If an embedding underlying structure were posited for the *sase*-indirect form, it would be easy to explain this ambiguity, as such a structure would allow association of the relevant adverb with either the matrix clause or the embedded clause in the manner shown below:

(21) a. [hahaoya-ga yonaka-ni san-kai [kodomo-ga oki-] sase-ta] [7]
b. [hahaoya-ga [kodomo-ga yonaka-ni san-kai oki-] sase-ta]

If a simplex structure were assumed for the lexical, direct causative form, we would not expect the ambiguous interpretation of adverbial modification to obtain. But, as it turns out, it is not always the case that *sase*-causatives permit ambiguous readings. For example, both joint-action and assistive sociatives necessarily require place and time adverbs to specify that the causing and the caused event both take place in the same location and at the same time. The normal supervision sociative also exhibits the same pattern of modification, and a long-distance supervision sociative permits a place adverb to modify only the caused events as in the following example.

(22) Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni attino heya-de hon-o
mother-TOP child-DAT over.there room-in book-ACC
yoma-se-te i-ru.
read-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is making the child read the book in the room over there.'

Here it can be the case that only the child is in the room in question while the mother, away from the room, is making sure that the child reads the book in the designated room.

As for manner adverbs, joint-action sociatives behave differently from the assistive and the supervision sociatives. In the former, the causer and the causee are

engaged in a joint action, and accordingly a manner adverb cannot modify the causing event and the caused event separately. In (23a) both the mother and the child were walking quickly. The adverb in the assistive form in (23b) is most likely to be interpreted as modifying the manner of the causer, whereas the one in the supervision sociative form in (23c) modifies the caused event.

(23) a. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-o hayaku aruka-se-te i-ru. (Joint-action)
mother-TOP child-ACC quickly walk-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is making the child walk quickly.'

b. Hahaoya-wa kodomo-ni kagande kutu-o
mother-TOP child-DAT while squatting shoes-ACC
haka-se-te i-ru. (Assistive)
put.on-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'Mother is making the child put on the shoes while squatting.'

c. Sensei-ga kodomotati-o massuguni aruka-se-te i-ru.
teacher-NOM children-ACC straight walk-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'The teacher is making the children walk straight.' (Supervision)

Frequentive adverbs also show different readings depending on the type of sociative causative. They modify both the causing and the caused event in both joint-action and assistive sociative types, whereas in the supervision type they may modify either both the causing event and the caused event or only the caused event, as in (24b).

(24) a. Hahaoya-wa mainiti kodomo-o kooen-de asa-yuu
mother-TOP every day child-ACC park-LOC morning-evening
ni-kai asoba-se-ru.
two-times play-CAUS-PRES
'Mother makes the child play in the park two times in the morning
and evening.' (Joint-action)

b. Sensei-wa kodomotati-ni uta-o san-kai utawa-se-ta.
teacher-TOP children-DAT song-ACC three-times
sing-CUAS-PAST
'The teacher made the children sing the song three times.' (Supervision)

The discussion above shows that the pattern of adverbial modification is not uniform throughout all the *sase*-causative forms. This by itself is not a problem for the embedding analysis of these forms. One only needs to stipulate that the adverbial modification works differently depending on the type of causation expressed and that the existence of an embedded clause does not automatically guarantee that an adverb can modify that clause separately from the main clause. The argument goes through only if an embedded clause is made available when a reading obtains in which an adverb singularly modifies that clause. The situation is quite problematic in Korean, however, where the lexical causatives express sociative causation.

The standard arguments, as advanced by Shibatani (1973c) for example, have it that while periphrastic *–key ha-ta* forms allow the reading in which the relevant adverbs modify either both the causing and the caused event or only the caused event, lexical

–i/-hi/-li/-ki forms do not allow the interpretation where the adverbs modify only the caused event, for in the latter there is claimed to be no embedded clause for the adverbs to be uniquely associated with. This contrast obtains in the standard direct and indirect causatives, as shown by the English translations of the following examples, where the direct form in (25a) does not allow the interpretation in which the place adverb modifies only the caused event of the child's getting clothed.

(25) a. emeni-ka ai-eykey pang-eyse os-ul ip-hi-ess-ta. (Direct)
mother-NOM child-DAT room-in clothes-ACC put on-CAUS-PAST-IND
'Mother put the clothes on the child in the room.'
b. emeni-ka ai-eykey pang-eyse os-ul ip-key
mother-NOM child-DAT room-in clothes put on-COMP
ha-yess-ta. (Indirect)
do-PAST-IND
'Mother made the child put on the clothes in the room.'

As pointed out by Song (1988), however, there are lexical causatives that allow the interpretation where an adverb modifies only the caused event. Song (1988: 195, 197) gives the following examples, among others.[8]

(26) a. ku i-ka halwu-ey ney pen ssik yak-ul
that person-NOM one day-in four times each medicine-ACC
mek-i-ess-ta.
take-CAUS-PAST-IND
'He/She made [the patient] take the medicine four times a day.'
b. emeni-ka ai-lul kilka-eyse ocwum-ul nwu-i-ess-ta.
mother-NOM child-ACC road side-at urine-ACC pee-CAUS-PAST-IND
'Mother made the child urinate at the roadside.'

As for (26a), Song tells us that if *ku i* 'that person' is understood as a nurse, it is likely that she helps the patient take the medicine four times a day. But if *ku i* 'that person' is understood to be a physician, the most likely interpretation is that the adverb modifies only the caused event of the patient's taking the medicine. (26b) also allows similar interpretations—both the mother and the child could be at the roadside, or only the child. Rather than interpreting these expressions as a case of indirect causation, as Song (1988) does, we would interpret these as cases of sociative causation. When a nurse is understood to be involved in (26a), it is a case of assistive sociative, and we expect the frequentive adverb to modify both the causing event and the caused event. On the other hand, when a doctor's involvement is stipulated, we have a case of long-distance supervision sociative, which allows an adverb to modify only the caused event, as we saw earlier with Japanese examples. (26b) is similar. It can be read either as an assistive sociative or as a long-distance supervision sociative, and in the latter interpretation the adverb may be understood to modify only the caused event.

Although our interpretation of the fact differs from Song's (1988) and although we maintain that lexical *–i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms do not express the normal indirect causation, the fact that these lexical causatives do allow an adverb to modify the caused event is a serious challenge to the analysis of the adverbial modification pattern in terms of

simplex vs. embedding structure. That is, it undermines the arguments for the embedding analysis of *sase*-causatives and *–key ha-ta* causatives based on the adverbial modification pattern. The upshot is that the forms of the causatives do not correlate with the pattern of adverbial modification straightforwardly and that what is crucial is the types of causative situation different forms express. A similar conclusion can be drawn from the construal pattern of the reflexives.

6. CONSTRUAL OF THE REFLEXIVES

In the history of generative study, the pattern of antecedent-reflexive relations has played a significant role in the analysis of Japanese and Korean as well as in a large number of other languages including English. This phenomenon also figured prominently in the arguments of Shibatani (1972, 1973c) for analyzing lexical causatives and productive *sase*- and *–key ha-ta* causatives differently. As in the case of the adverbial modification pattern, the phenomenon is straightforward when a maximum distinction between direct and indirect causation obtains, as in the following examples.

(27) a. Ai-ga Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de huku-o kise-ta. (Direct)
Ai-NOM Hana-DAT self-of room-at clothes-ACC put on-PAST
'Ai_i put the clothes on $Hana_j$ in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'
b. Ai-ga Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de huku-o ki-sase-ta. (Indir.)
Ai-NOM Hana-DAT self-of room-at clothes-ACC put on-CAUS-PAST
'Ai_i made $Hana_j$ put on the clothes in self's$_{i/j}$ room.'

With the understanding that only a grammatical subject antecedes the reflexive *zibun* 'self' in Japanese, the facts observed in (27) are accountable straightforwardly if we posit the following structures for the respective sentences.

(28) a. [Ai-ga Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de huku-o kise-ta] (27a)
b. [Ai-ga [Hana-ga zibun-no heya-de huku-o ki-]sase-ta] (27b)

In (28a) there is only one grammatical subject that can antecede *zibun*. The structure for the *sase*-form in (28b), on the other hand, contains two subjects, one in the main clause and the other in the embedded clause, both of which can antecede *zibun*, allowing an ambiguous interpretation indicated in the translation for (27b).

Again, sociative causatives present situations where *sase*-forms do not align with indirect causatives in a straightforward manner, despite the fact the same morphology is involved. Observe the contrast between the indirect causative and the joint-action sociative form below:

(29) a. Ai-ga Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de asoba-se-ta. (Indirect)
Ai-NOM Hana-DAT self-of room-at play-CAUS-PAST
'Ai_i made $Hana_j$ play in self's$_{i/j}$ room.' (Ai told Hana to go play.)
b. Ai-ga Hana-o zibun-no heya-de asoba-se-te

Ai-NOM Hana-ACC self-of room-at play-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru. (Joint-action)
be-PRES
'Ai_i is making $Hana_j$ play in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.' (Ai is playing with Hana.)

The joint-action sociative form in (b) above does not permit the interpretation in which *zibun* 'self' refers to the causee Hana.

Joint-action and assistive sociatives pattern alike in not allowing the causee nominal to antecede the reflexive.

(30) Joint-action sociatives

a. Hana-wa Ken-o zibun-no otooto-to issyoni asoba-se-te
Hana-TOP Ken-ACC self-of brother-with together play-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru.
be-PRES
'$Hana_i$ is making Ken_j play together with self's$_{i/*j}$ younger brother.'

b. Hana-wa Ken-o zibun-no omotya-de asoba-se-te i-ru.
Hana-NOM Ken-ACC self-of toy-with play-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'$Hana_i$ is making Ken_j play with self's$_{i/*j}$ toy.

c. Hana-wa Ken-o zibun-no ie-kara kooen-made aruka-se-te
Hana-TOP Ken-ACC self-of house-from park-to walk-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru.
be-PRES
'$Hana_i$ is making Ken_j walk from self's$_{i/*j}$ house to the park.'

(31) Assistive sociatives

a. Hana-wa Ken-o zibun-no beddo-kara okiagara-se-ta.
Hana-TOP Ken-ACC self-of bed-from lift oneself up-CAUS-PAST
'$Hana_i$ made Ken_j lift himself up from self's$_{i/*j}$ bed.'

b. Hana-wa Ken-ni zibun-no kutu-o haka-se-te i-ru.
Hana-TOP Ken-DAT self-of shoes-ACC put on-CAUS-CONJ be-PRES
'$Hana_i$ is making Ken_j put on self's$_{i/*j}$ shoes.

c. Hana-wa Ken-ni zibun-no heya-de gohan-o tebe-sase-te
Hana-TOP Ken-DAT self-of room-in meal-ACC eat-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru.
be-PRES
'$Hana_i$ is making Ken_j eat the meal in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

One must take care in interpreting the assistive sociatives above, because they are also construable as supervision sociatives. For the assistive interpretation, one must imagine a situation where the causer is manually helping the causee to execute the caused event. In (31a), for example, one must picture a situation in which Hana was physically helping Ken to lift himself up from the bed. Under such an interpretation, the causer nominal is the only one that can antecede *zibun*. But if the sentences in (31) are understood as supervision sociatives, either the causer or the causee nominal can antecede the reflexive. For this interpretation, one needs to picture a situation where the

causer just stood at the scene and saw to it that the causee executed the caused event on its own. Imagine a scene where Hana, having given the instruction, simply watched Ken lift himself up on his own. Under this understanding (31a) yields an ambiguous reading, because either the causer Hana or the causee Ken can antecede the reflexive.

Clearer supervision sociatives are given below, where, unlike joint-action and assistive sociatives, either the causer or the causee nominal can control the reflexive.

(32) Supervision sociatives

a. Hana-wa Ken-ni zibun-no asi-o teineini arawa-se-te
Hana-TOP Ken-DAT self-of foot-ACC meticulously wash-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru.
be-PRES
'Hana$_i$ is making Ken$_j$ wash self's$_{i/j}$ feet meticulously.'

b. Hana-wa Ken-ni zibun-no heya-de hon-o yoma-se-te
Hana-TOP Ken-DAT self-of room-in book-ACC read-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru.
be-PRES
'Hana$_i$ is making Ken$_j$ read a book in self's$_{i/j}$ room.'

c. Hana-wa Ken-ni zibun-no namae-o zyukkai kaka-se-te
Hana-TOP Ken-DAT self-of name-ACC ten times write-CAUS-CONJ
i-ru.
be-PRES
'Hana$_i$ is making Ken$_j$ write self's$_{i/j}$ name ten times.'

The data above align direct causatives, joint-action sociatives, and assistive sociatives on the one hand, and indirect causatives and supervision sociatives on the other. What is interesting and problematic for morphologically-based analysis of Japanese causatives is the fact that this alignment crosses the lexical/*sase*-causative boundary. The division here harkens back to our earlier discussion on the continuum in the directness dimension of the causative semantics. Joint-action and assistive sociatives, though they both involve the *sase*-form, are similar to direct causation, expressed by lexical causatives, in that they all entail direct physical involvement of the causer in the execution of the caused event. The caused event here is not an autonomous event free of the direct involvement of the causer. Supervision sociatives, on the other hand, are like indirect causation in that they both entail an autonomous caused event free of physical intervention by the causer. The distinction drawn here can be seen more clearly in the following event structure diagrams.

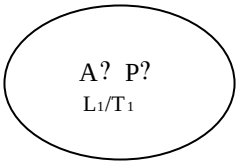


Fig. 4 Direct causation

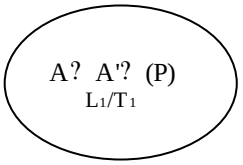
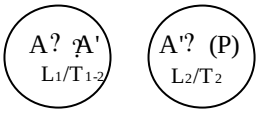


Fig.5 Joint-action/assistive sociatives



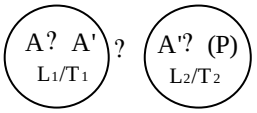


Fig. 6 Supervision sociatives Fig. 7 Indirect causation

An arrow in the diagrams above represents an event segment, which is a potential unit for an autonomous event to be encoded by a verb. Representation A? A'? P indicates a transitive action chain, such that A's action carries over to the event segment involving A' and P. This is in fact what happens when A engages himself in direct causation or joint-action or assistive sociative causation. For example, if A kills P (A? P?), A's causing action carries over to P's dying event (P?). Similarly, if A assists A' to act on P in an assistive situation, A's causing action (A? A') carries over to the caused event by A' (A'? P). This spatio-temporal overlap between the causing and the caused event is indicated by the L_1/T_1 specification shared by the relevant event segments.

In the case of supervision causation, it is typically the case that the causer is in the causee's proximity (unless it is long-distance supervision). Despite this physical proximity between the causer and the causee, the caused event is accorded its own spatial specification, as there is a physical separation between the causing and the caused event. There is, however, a partial temporal overlap between the two events here. In indirect causation the causing and the caused event are accorded with their own temporal and spatial specifications, though it is possible that they overlap spatially.

In this paper we propose to analyze the reflexive phenomenon in terms of the event structures associated with different types of causation. In doing so, we must define possible protagonists that can control the reflexive. All event participants such as A (agent) and P (patient) are potential reflexive-controlling protagonists. But there is a dominance relation such that when A and P co-occur in an event segment, the former outranks the latter. In a simple active transitive event structure including A and P (see Fig. 4), A always controls the reflexive. When two A's are involved as in the first segments in Figs. 6 and 7, the initial A is dominant. Although the second segments in Figs. 4 and 5 have potential protagonists P and A', they are dominated by the initial A, as it is also involved in these segments because of the transitivity of A's actions. On the other hand, the second event segments in Figs. 6 and 7 are autonomous in the sense that they are not dominated by the initial A; hence the A' participant in these event segments functions as a protagonist capable of controlling the reflexive. In other words, whereas there is only one reflexive-controlling protagonist in Figs. 4 and 5, there are two such protagonists in Figs. 6 and 7.

The hierarchy determining the dominance relation reflects different degrees of cognitive salience different event participants have. The initial agent of an action chain is most salient since it is responsible for the occurrence of the entire event. An agent of an event segment is more salient than a patient because the former also holds the key to the realization of that sub-event. Thus P is least salient among these event participants. With these understandings, we can now formulate the rule of reflexive construal.

(33) Reflexive construal rule (first approximation)
A protagonist controls the reflexive unless it is dominated by a more salient protagonist.

(•Protagonist salience hierarchy: Initial A > A > P[9]
•A protagonist is dominated by a more salient protagonist when both occur in the same event segment.)

In direct causative and joint-action sociative as well as assistive causative expressions, there is only one controller of the reflexive, namely the initial agent of the entire action chain corresponding to the causer; hence in these expressions, the reflexive form is uniquely controlled by the causer nominal (see (30) and (31)). In supervision and indirect causative expressions, on the other hand, there are two protagonist candidates for the controller of the reflexive; hence the possibility of an ambiguous reading arises in these expressions (see (32)).

One of the most interesting aspects of the reflexive phenomenon is concerned with the notion of autonomous event segment. The basic distinction between Figs. 4 and 5 on the one hand, and Figs. 6 and 7 on the other is that in the latter the caused events are autonomous in the sense that they are free of a more dominant protagonist (namely the initial A), whereas the caused events in the former, being dominated by the initial agent, are non-autonomous. A dominant protagonist of an autonomous event segment can control the reflexive, but that of a non-autonomous event segment cannot.

In both supervision and indirect causation, the caused event is normally autonomous in the sense that it is free from the most dominant protagonist, the initial agent; and thus its protagonist (the causee) controls the reflexive, as in (29a) and (32). Nevertheless, it is possible that a dominant protagonist (the causer) involves himself in the caused event, when, for example, he stays in a specific location where the caused event takes place. Under such circumstances, the caused event is not free of a dominant protagonist, and accordingly it ceases to be an autonomous event segment. As predicted, the protagonist (the causee) of such an event segment fails to control the reflexive. Observe the following sentence:

(34) Ken-ga Ai-ni zibun-no heya-de piano-o hika-se-ta.
Ken-NOM Ai-DAT self-of room-in piano-ACC play-CAUS-PAST
'Ken made Ai play the piano in self's room.'

Understood either as describing a normal indirect causative or as a long-distance supervision causative situation, the sentence above is ambiguous, as the possibility of interpreting the reflexive antecedent could be either Ken or Ai. The ambiguous interpretation is typically associated with a situation where Ken and Ai are both away from either party's room, and Ken told Ai to go play the piano in either Ken's or Ai's room. It is also possible to imagine a situation where Ken told Ai to play the piano in Ken's own room, and sentence (34), with the understanding that *zibun* refers to Ken, allows to express such a situation. Now imagine that Ken was in Ai's room and made her play the piano there. If Ken had told Ai to go play the piano in his room, then (34) would go through with the interpretation that the reflexive refers to Ken. But had both Ken and Ai been in Ai's room where Ai was to play the piano, then (34) would not describe such a situation. Diagrammatically, this situation looks:

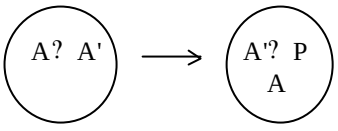


Fig. 8 Where a caused event is not free of a dominant protagonist

The situation depicted in Fig. 8 represents a case where the caused event is not free of a dominant protagonist rendering it a non-autonomous event segment. The rule of the reflexive construal given in (33) disallows the causee nominal of such a non-autonomous event segment from controlling the reflexive.[10]

In other circumstances where a dominant protagonist is 'automatically' involved in the caused event, rendering it non-autonomous. Most easily imaginable situations are those involving body parts. Observe the following:

(35) a. Ken-wa Ai-ni zibun-no heya-de hige-o sora-se-ta.
Ken-TOP Ai-DAT self-of room-in beard-ACC shave-CAUS-PAST
'Ken$_i$ made Ai$_j$ shave his beard in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

b. Ken-wa Ai-ni zibun-no heya-de kata-o moma-se-ta.
Ken-TOP Ai-DAT self-of room-in shoulder-ACC massage-CAUS-PAST
'Ken$_i$ made Ai$_j$ massage his shoulders in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

c. Ken-wa Ai-ni zibun-no heya-de kami-o kira-se-ta.
Ken-TOP Ai-DAT self-of room-in hair-ACC cut-CAUS-PAST
'Ken made Ai cut the hair in self's room.'

Normally sentence (35a) forces the reading where the beard belongs to Ken. When Ai is to shave Ken's beard in her room, Ken would necessarily be in her room. This is similar to the situation depicted in Fig. 8, where the caused event is not autonomous, as it is not free of a dominant protagonist. Sentence (35c) allows the interpretation that the causee Ai controls the reflexive only if we understand that the hair in question was hers and that Ken was not present in her room. If we understand the hair to belong to Ken, then *zibun* unambiguously refers to the causer Ken, because under such a circumstance Ken would be involved in the caused event; the latter accordingly is not free of a dominant protagonist.

We must ascertain the nature of a dominant protagonist in our account more thoroughly, as we do in the next section, but for now let us take stock of the implications of our discussion of the reflexive phenomenon so far. The problem of the reflexive interpretation discussed here has serious implications to the analysis that posits embedding structure for *sase*-causatives and that refers for the grammatical subject as a possible candidate for anteceding the reflexive. Such an analysis cannot account for the fact that sentences (27a), (29b), (30), and (31) do not show ambiguity in the interpretation of the reflexive form; i.e., the subject of the embedded clauses cannot antecede the reflexive in these sentences. A further problem for such an analysis is the fact that lexical causatives in Korean allow a non-subject nominal to antecede the reflexive *caki* 'self'. If lexical causatives are analyzed as having a simplex structure, and if it is assumed that only a grammatical subject can antecede the reflexive, then there is no way of accounting for the fact that in the following example the causee nominal *hwanca* 'patient' can antecede the reflexive form.

(36) kanhosa-ka hwanca-eykey caki chimtay wuy-eyse yak-ul

nurse-NOM patient-DAT self bed top-on medicine
mek-i-ko iss-ta.
eat-CAUS-CONJ be-IND
'The nurse is making the patient take the medicine on self's bed.'

This sentence can represent two distinct causative situations. In one, the nurse is assisting the patient to take the medicine on the bed. Under this assistive causative interpretation, the reflexive *caki* refers uniquely to the nurse. But the sentence is also construable as representing a supervision causative situation, where the nurse does not herself get physically involved in the execution of the caused event. Under this interpretation, the sentence is ambiguous because *caki* can be controlled by either the causer nominal and the causee nominal.

Our account above indicates that it does not matter whether we have productive (i.e., non-lexical) causatives as in the Japanese case, or lexical causatives as in the Korean case above. Reflexive construal operates in terms of the event structure according to the rule in (33). This predicts that Korean periphrastic *–ke ha-ta* constructions also show the relevant facts about the reflexive *caki.* That is, whereas this construction normally expresses indirect causation in which the caused event constitutes an autonomous event segment free of a dominant protagonist, there can be situations in which the caused event is rendered non-autonomous because of the involvement of the causer. Again, situations involving body parts present themselves as a test case.

(37) yengsiki-ka kyenghi-eykey caki pang-eyse meli-lul calu-key
Yengsiki-NOM Kyenghi-DAT self room-in hair-ACC cut-COMP
ha-yess-ta.
do-PAST-IND
'Yengsiki made Kyenghi cut the hair in self's room.'

Just like Japanese example (35c), this sentence is ambiguous only if the hair in question is understood to belong to Kyenghi. If it is understood to belong to Yengsiki, then the sentence is unambiguous, barring the construal of *caki* as the causee Kyenghi.

7. FURTHER CORROBORATION AND THE REVISION OF THE CONSTRUAL RULE

A number of additional constructions support the analysis of the reflexives presented above. The Japanese construction of *–te morau* 'to get something done' is used as an expression of less coercive causation, as in the following example:

(38) Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de piano-o hii-te
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in piano-ACC play-CONJ
morat-ta.
receive-PAST
'Ken$_i$ got Hana$_j$ to play the piano in self's$_{i/j}$ room.'

As indicated in the translation, the sentence is ambiguous as to which nominal, the causer or the causee, is to be taken as the antecedent of the reflexive, indicating that the event of Hana's playing the piano can be an autonomous event segment in this construction. Or this sentence can be construed as representing a situation where Ken was also in Hana's room. Under such a reading, the reflexive is uniquely identified with the dominant protagonist, namely the causer Ken. As in the case of the regular *sase*-causatives, we can easily construct situations where we are forced to assume the involvement of a dominant protagonist in the caused event, rendering it non-autonomous. In such situations the causee cannot control *zibun*, as expected. Observe:

(39) a. Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de hige-o sot-te
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in beard-ACC shave-CONJ
morat-ta.
receive-PAST
'Ken$_i$ got Hana$_j$ to shave his beard in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

b. Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de kata-o mon-de
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in shoulder-ACC massage-CONJ
morat-ta.
receive-PAST
'Ken$_i$ got Hana$_j$ to massage his shoulders in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

c. Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-ni tome-te morat-ta.
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in put up-CONJ receive-PAST
'Ken$_i$ got Hana$_j$ to put him up in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

Another construction in which the interpretation of the reflexive has figured importantly is the passive construction. In a simple active construction the agentive subject nominal controls the reflexive, and in the corresponding passive sentence, the patient subject nominal antecedes it, as below:

(40) a. Hana-wa Ken-o zibun-no heya-de korosi-ta.
Hana-TOP Ken-ACC self-of room-in kill-PAST
'Hana$_i$ killed Ken$_j$ in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.

b. Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de korosa-re-ta.
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in kill-PASS-PAST
'Ken$_i$ was killed by Hana$_j$ in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.'

The passive construction requires us to modify the protagonist salience hierarchy, since in this type of active-passive correspondence, the event structures involved are essentially the same. What differs between them is that in the active the agentive participant is salient (and is accordingly realized as a grammatical subject), whereas in the passive it is defocused and becomes less salient than the patient participant.

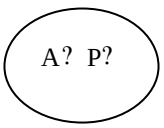


Fig. 9 Active

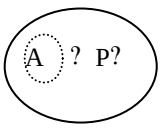


Fig. 10 Passive[11]

The assumption that the most salient protagonist is the (initial) agent of an action (chain) is maintainable as long as active sentences are concerned. The passive construction requires us to modify this assumption, however, because in the passive the agent is defocused and loses its salience. Linking of event participants with different categories of grammatical relations is a manifestation of their salience status. The most salient one is linked to the most prominent grammatical category of subject. In other words, what is known as a grammatical subject represents the most salient protagonist among the various event participants. In the accusative-type language, the (initial) agent of an action (chain) is the most salient protagonist and is realized as a grammatical subject. This is the default linking-pattern. But when discourse and other pragmatic considerations motivate defocusing of the agent (e.g., when its identity is not known, it is too obvious from the context, etc.), the patient takes over the role of the most salient protagonist and gets realized as a grammatical subject. The passive construction results from this marked linking-pattern between the event participants and the grammatical relations. We therefore need to recognize a cognitively prominent category of salient protagonists that has both an unmarked member (an agent) and a marked one (a patient), and that is identifiable by its linking to the grammatical subject. We can derive this category from the protagonist salience hierarchy by ranking a defocused agent below a patient. By incorporating these observations, we arrive at the following revised version of the Reflexive Construal Rule.

(41) The Reflexive Construal Rule (revised version)
A protagonist controls the reflexive unless it is dominated by a more salient protagonist.
(• Protagonist salience hierarchy: Initial A > A > P > Defocused A[12]
• A protagonist is dominated by a more salient protagonist when both occur in the same event segment.)

The indirect passive of Japanese both provides corroboration for our analysis and presents a new challenge to the above formulation of the rule of reflexive construal. By the indirect passive is meant a passive construction in which the subject argument is not part of the argument structure of the verb root. Observe the following and compare it with the direct passive form shown in (40b).

(42) Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de otooto-o sikara-re-ta.
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in brother-ACC scold-PASS-PAST
'Ken$_i$ was adversely affected by Hana's$_j$ scolding the younger brother$_k$ in self's$_{i/j/*k}$ room.'

Here the subject argument is not part of the argument structure of the verb root *sikar-* 'to scold'. The main event described by the verb root in (42) involves only Hana (the scolder) and the younger brother (the scoldee), and this event can take place without involving Ken, the referent of the subject nominal. This contrasts with the subject argument of the direct passive such as (40b), where it is directly involved in the described event—Hana cannot kill Ken without involving the latter. The event structure of (42) is as follows.

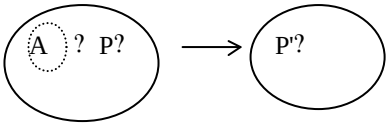


Fig. 11 Indirect passive

Indirect passives are similar to indirect causatives in that they involve two autonomous event segments, but they differ in that the agent in the former is defocused as in direct passives.[13] Indirect passives differ from direct passives in the behavior of the defocused agent. In the direct passive, the defocused agent is outranked in salience by the patient it is acting on, and it never controls the reflexive. In the indirect passive, however, the defocused agent, while outranked by the other patient, outranks the patient it is acting on. As shown in (42), both the subject patient and the defocused agent can control the reflexive, but the patient acted on by the agent cannot. It thus appears to be the case that a defocused agent is outranked by a patient it is acting on only when the latter usurps the role of the most salient participant. When there is another P in the entire event structure that can outrank the defocused A, the defocused A appears to retain its dominance over the P it is acting on.

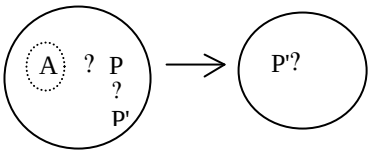
That the 'free' patient in Fig. 11 outranks the defocused A is indicated by the fact that the former is realized as a grammatical subject, and by the fact that when the former co-occurs with the latter in the same event segment, it blocks the reflexive-construal by the latter. This is observed in situations where the referent of the passive subject must necessarily be involved in the main event in which the defocused agent is involved. Observe the following examples.

(43) a. Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no heya-de kami-o kira-re-ta.
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of room-in hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST
'Ken$_i$ was adversely affected by Hana's$_j$ cutting the hair in self's$_{i/j}$ room.'

b. Ken-wa Hana-ni zibun-no huton-no naka-de hige-o
Ken-TOP Hana-DAT self-of *futon*-of inside-in beard-ACC
hippara-re-ta.
pull-PASS-PAST
'Ken$_i$ was adversely affected by Hana's$_j$ pulling his beard in self's$_{i/*j}$ *futon*.'

c. Hana-wa Ken-ni zibun-no heya-de kutibiru-ni kisusa-re-ta.
Hana-TOP Ken-DAT self-of heya-in lips-to kiss-PASS-PAST
'Hana$_i$ was adversely affected by Ken's$_j$ kissing her lips in self's$_{i/*j}$ room.

Just as it was the case in (35c), if the hair in (43a) is understood to belong to Hana, then the sentence is ambiguous, both the subject nominal and the passive agent being potential controller of the reflexive. But if the hair in question is understood to belong to the referent of the subject nominal, the sentence is no longer ambiguous, the subject nominal being the only possible controller of *zibun*. The two different event structures are shown below:



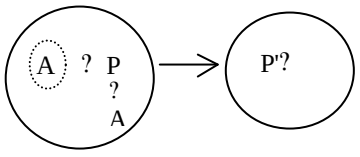


Fig. 12 Where a more salient protagonist (P') dominates the protagonists of the main event

Fig. 13 Where the main event is free from a more salient protagonist (P')

In (43b) and (43c), it is difficult to construe the involved body parts as belonging to the passive agent; hence these sentences are unambiguous. The indirect passive of this type represents a situation expressed in Fig. 12. The final version of the reflexive construal is given below:

(44) The Reflexive Construal Rule (final version)
A protagonist controls the reflexive unless it is dominated by a more salient protagonist.
(•Protagonist salience hierarchy: Initial A > A > P > Defocused A
•A protagonist is dominated by a more salient protagonist when both occur in the same event segment.
•A defocused agent retains its dominance over the P it is acting on when there is another P in the entire event structure that can take the role of the most salient participant.)

In a syntax-based account of the reflexive phenomenon, the grammatical subject figures prominently, as it is normally formulated that the antecedent of *zibun* must be a subject nominal. Such a formulation is partly correct in capturing the salient character of the subject nominal in this phenomenon. But we know from causative and passive sentences that a non-subject nominal can sometimes antecede the reflexive. The syntactic account solved this puzzle by positing the level of syntactic representation, the deep structure level, involving an embedding structure that provided a needed subject. The problem of such an analysis is that there is no uniformity in the behavior of the subject of an embedded clause, as we saw above. In order to distinguish which subject controls the reflexive and which fails to do so, we must consider the event structure and examine how protagonists of the relevant event segments interact, and this information must be built into the syntactic account. Making direct recourse to the event structure, as in the analysis proposed above, however, obviates positing of abstract syntactic structures, which do not provide rich enough information needed to account for the relevant phenomena.

8. CONCLUSION

By examining the causative type intermediate between the direct and the indirect causative type, this paper shows the indeterminacy of morphology in the analysis of causative constructions. Although crossing of form-meaning correspondences between the lexical and the productive causatives was noted by Shibatani (1973a) and others, sociative causatives provide, especially in a Japanese-Korean comparative light, a clear picture in which there is a mismatch of form and meaning. In Japanese the productive

sase-causatives express sociative causation, whereas the lexically restricted *–i/-hi-/-li/-ki* forms convey the sociative meanings in Korean.

We showed that the case-marking pattern, the pattern of adverbial modification, and the construal pattern of the reflexive are all sensitive to the properties of different types of sociative causative, demanding an analysis that has direct recourse to the relevant event structure. We predict that in a coherent framework that directly relates a clause structure to the corresponding event structure, various syntactic explanations hitherto attempted may reduce to straightforward semantic explanations, obviating various abstract syntactic structures posited in order to account for semantic phenomena syntactically.

NOTES

*This is a longer version of the paper of the same title appearing in *Japanese/Korean Linguistics 10* (2001), which lacks Section 7. During this tenth anniversary meeting of the J/K Conference dedicated to James D. McCawley, we learned that Professor In-Soek Yang also passed away this spring. We were deeply saddened by the news, as Professor Yang was one of the pioneer Korean linguists who worked on Korean causatives and other topics in the generative framework, and who inspired our work, especially Shibatani's early work, on Korean. We wish to dedicate this work to the memories of Jim McCawley and In-Seok Yang, to whom we are greatly indebted both professionally and personally. This paper was prepared while the first named author was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, California. We are grateful for the financial support provided by Center general funds.

1. Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij (1969:28-29) do not use terms 'direct causation' and 'indirect causation' but opt for the terms 'distant causation' and 'contact causation,' which are characterized as follows: 'Distant causation presupposes an indirect connection between causing subject and caused state, when a more or less autonomous character of the causing subject bringing about (or canceling) the state Sj is actualized. Often, a certain time span between causing (Si) and caused (Sj) states is emphasized. Permissive causation, therefore, is always distant. Factitive [non-permissive] distant causation can occur with an animate subject of the caused state, cf.: I ordered him to come.These characteristics are not attested in the case of contact causation. Factitive contact causation can occur with both animate (a) and non-animate (b) subjects [of the caused state]: (a) I frightened him; (b) I opened the door. Contact causation is usually attested more often than distant one in typical, repeatedly occurring situations. Distant (unlike contact) causation often actualizes different ways of bringing about the caused state (Sj)'. (Translation by courtesy of Vladimir Plungian)

2. A problem of defining direct and indirect causation as suggested here is that it aligns expressions like *John caused Bill to die* and *John caused the metal to melt* with direct causation, whereas many may want to consider them as instances of indirect causation. We shall soon discover that a dichotomous classification is in fact not adequate in handling various causation types.

3. See Shibatani (1973a, 1976) for other cases in which this equation and the other equation of 'productive causatives = indirect causation' break down.

4. Event structure diagrams Figs. 1-3 will be fully explained in Section 6.

5. See Shibatani and Pardeshi (to appear), who advance a hypothesis that productive causatives gradually change (lexicalize) from the right side of the semantic map to the left side with a concomitant shift in the semantic domains they represent (from the indirect to the direct causative domain).

6. In the case of transitive based *–i/-hi/-li/-ki* forms, the distinction is less clear. In Japanese the *o/ni* contrast does not obtain in transitive-based causatives.

7. Notice that this structure does not allow the reading in which only the causing event took place three times, for it is not possible to construe a situation as causative if the caused event has not been effected according to the specification of the time, place, or frequentive adverb modifying the causing event. For example, one cannot cause a caused event to occur three times without realizing the caused event itself three times.

8. Song (1988) also uses duration adverbs to make his point that lexical causatives allow adverbs to modify the caused states. But this is a well-known fact from the discussion of generative semanticists, who have shown that lexical causatives allow a duration adverb to modify the resulting state with an example such as *The sheriff of Nottingham jailed Robin Hood for three years.*

9. A refers to an agentive protagonist subsuming both A and A'. P, a patient protagonist, likewise subsumes both P and P'.

10. An expression corresponding to Fig. 8 requires a pronominal form, e.g., *kanozyo-no heya* 'her room'.

11. An A encircled by a broken circle indicates a defocused agent.

12. The selection of a grammatical subject can be achieved by linking the most salient participant to the primary grammatical relation.

13. There is evidence pointing to the defocused status of the agent of an indirect passive sentence. For example, under appropriate circumstances such an agent need not be encoded just like the defocused agent of a regular passive sentence. See Shibatani (2000) for details.

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