

# ON THE DETERMINATION OF A CAUSATIVE VERB AND A CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTION\*

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In this paper we attempt to show that, contrary to the general opinion that one may call "causative" any construction which contains as its main predicate a "morphologically defined causative" verb, the complex parameters intervene in the determination of a causative verb and a causative construction. It will be shown that a morphologically defined "causative" verb happens to be used in fact as causative with some distributions of  $N_0$  and  $N_1$ , and as non-causative with another distribution. So, the study of any syntactic relation should be made on a sentence-level, not on a morphological word-level.

0. The causative construction has been the subject of many studies in Korean as well as in many other languages, particularly in parallel with the development of grammatical theories. Some of the prominent issues discussed in the literature are 1) lexical relations, 2) entailment relations, 3) synonymy or paraphrase relations and 4) the status of deep structure, among others.

In most previous studies confined to these issues, it seems to have been accepted, explicitly or implicitly, that one may call "causative" any construction which contains as its main predicate a "morphologically defined causative" verb. For example, in Korean, *palk-hi-ta* and *nok-i-ta*<sup>1</sup> are called "causative" of *palk-ta* and *nok-ta* respectively: they contain *-hi* and *-i*, "causative" suffixes. And, the sentence (1) where *palk-hi-ta* is used as the main verb is regarded as "causative," and so is (2) with *nok-i-ta*:

(1) *tingpul-i pang-il palk-hi-nta*<sup>2</sup>  
lamp-SM room-OM bright-CS-Dec  
'The lamp lights the room.'

(2) *Suni-ka nun-il nok-i-nta*  
Suni-SM snow-OM melt-CS-Dec  
'Suni melts the snow.'

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, the lexical items are represented in the form of dictionary entry, that is, a radical plus *-ta*: e.g., *palk-ta*.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviations. *Comp*: complementizer, *CS*: causative suffix, *Dec*: declarative sentence ending, *GM*: genitive marker, *Neg*: negation marker, *OM*: object marker, *Part*: particle, *Past*: past tense, *Pcomp*: complement sentence, *SCM*: specific case marker, *Sf*: suffix, *SM*: subject marker, *TM*: topic marker, *Vi*: intransitive verb, *VP*: verb phrase, *Vt*: transitive verb, *Vtcaus*: transitive verb containing a causative suffix.

We will not mark the acceptability or the unacceptability to the English translation.

In this paper, we attempt, first of all, to question the legitimacy of this assumption so-far accepted without great objection. We think that this question is a previous observation indispensable in order to explore the properties of a causative construction. Secondly, we will attempt to show how, contrary to the general opinion, the complex parameters intervene in the determination of a causative verb and a causative construction. Briefly, we attempt to show the methodological procedures to define a "real causative" verb and "real causative" construction. It will be made clear finally that in order to study such and such a syntactic relation of a certain verb (causative relation for example), one should above all investigate minutely all the construction types where this verb in question can appear. Next, the distributional properties of each of these constructions should be established. It is only at the following stage that one may test the syntactic relation under examination for the given verb, and this test should be done always with a close relation to a sentence. Any syntactic relation should be discussed on the sentence-level, in connection with a given structure.

1. Roughly speaking, in Korean, the causative construction has two forms: one can be referred to as the 'short-form' causative and the other as the 'long-form' causative. By the long-form causative, we mean the causative construction which contains a *VP* complement accompanied by *-ke*, a complementizer, and the causative auxiliary verb *ha-ta* (for short, *-ke ha-ta*). By the short-form causative, we mean the causative verb which contains the causative suffix (e.g., *-i*, *-u*, *-ki*, *-hi*, etc). This short-form causative verb is also called the 'lexical causative' verb. The 'lexical causative' verb is necessarily transitive verb, but the inverse is not always true.

So as to facilitate the exposition of the essential problems, this paper is confined to those constructions which contain a lexical causative verb, related to an intransitive verb.<sup>3</sup>

The causative relation may be defined as a syntactic relation which exists between two sentences represented as follows:

$$(3) (A): N_0\text{-}ka Vi \longleftrightarrow (B): N_0\text{-}ka N_{1i}\text{-}lil Vt\text{caus}^4$$

<sup>3</sup> We make no distinction between intransitive verbs and adjectives.

<sup>4</sup> We adopt the notational system employed in the studies of LADL (Laboratoire d'Automatique Documentaire et Linguistique). Essential abbreviations used in this paper are:

*N*: noun phrase. The number attached to the *N* indicates its place in the construction

\*: unacceptable sentence

↔: all the relations between sentences.

(. . + ..): the parenthesis which contains several elements separated by the sign + indicates a possibility of the choice among these elements.

*Npc*: noun phrase of a semantic class "parts of body."

*Nnr*: it represents a syntactic position where any kind of noun phrase can appear.

As shown above, the causative relation should be taken into consideration always in connection with a pair of sentences. The construction with a *Vtcaus* will be regarded as causative if and only if this construction has its corresponding intransitive construction and iff these two constructions turn out to be in a causative relation. As a consequence, the *Vtcaus* will be regarded as causative only when it is used as the main verb in a so-proved causative construction.

From this point of view, we will investigate the eventual causative relation between intransitive verb construction and its related "transitive-causative" verb construction. To begin with, we have checked the verbs registered in the dictionary as causative.<sup>5</sup> We have next investigated from a synchronic point of view the eventual causative relation between a so-chosen causative verb construction and its corresponding intransitive verb construction.

## 2. Methodological Procedures

### 2.1. Selectional Restriction

In order to examine the causative relation between (A) and (B), where *Vtcaus* in (B) is morphologically related to *Vi*, provided with a "causative" suffix, we can proceed in two ways: on the one hand, starting from an acceptable intransitive sentence, we observe if this sentence can have a corresponding transitive sentence with  $N_0$  of the intransitive construction (henceforth *IC*) as  $N_1$ , object of the transitive construction (henceforth *TC*). On the other hand, we can start from an acceptable transitive sentence (which might be causative), and verify whether this sentence can have its corresponding intransitive counterpart with  $N_1$  of *TC* as  $N_0$ , subject.

Suppose we adopt the former direction, that is from (A) to (B). In this way, we can eliminate from consideration without difficulty (5) for which we cannot find any corresponding transitive sentence. Compare (4) and (5):

- (4) a. *kamca-ka ik-ninta*  
 potato-SM ripe-Dec  
 'The potatoes ripen.'
- b. *Suni-ka kamca-lil ik-hi-nta*  
 Suni-SM potato-OM ripe-CS-Dec  
 'Suni ripens the potatoes.'
- (5) a. *kihoi-ka (chungpunhi) ik-əss-ta*  
 occasion-SM sufficiently ripe-Past-Dec  
 'The occasion ripened sufficiently.'

<sup>5</sup> We have consulted two dictionaries; *Hanmi taisacən* and *Tonga sinkhonsaisi kukəsaçən*. For more detailed discussions of the problems concerning the dictionary entries, refer to Han (1984).

- b. \**Suni-ka kihoi-lil (chungpunhi) ik-hi-əss-ta*  
 Suni-SM occasion-OM sufficiently ripe-CS-Past-Dec  
 ‘Suni ripened the occasion sufficiently.’

However, we are not able to eliminate (6):

- (6) a. *phali-ka na-nta*  
 fly-SM fly-Dec  
 ‘The fly flies.’
- b. *Suni-nin phali-man nal-li-nta*  
 Suni-TM fly-SCM fly-CS-Dec  
 ‘Suni’s business does not go well.’

In (6), the intransitive and transitive sentences are perfectly acceptable. They satisfy therefore formally the relation presented above in (3), nevertheless without entering in a causative relation.

On the other hand, if we proceed in the inverse direction, that is from (B) to (A), a similar situation will occur. Consider the following pairs of sentences:

- (7) a. *Suni-ka sinpun-il palk-hi-nta*  
 Suni-SM identity-OM bright-Sf-Dec  
 ‘Suni discloses her identity.’
- b. \**sinpun-i palk-ta*  
 identity-SM bright-Dec
- (8) a. *Suni-ka kito-lil ol-li-nta*  
 Suni-SM prayer-OM climb-Sf-Dec  
 ‘Suni prays.’
- b. \**kito-ka oli-nta*  
 prayer-SM climb-Dec

By the definition of a causative relation mentioned above, we can exclude (7) and (8): consequently, (7a) and (8a) cannot be referred to as causative.<sup>6</sup> But, we are not able to exclude (9):

- (9) a. *Suni-ka Chəlsu-lil nol-li-nta*  
 Suni-SM Chəlsu-OM make fun of-Dec  
 ‘Suni makes fun of Chəlsu.’

<sup>6</sup> It holds also in the case of the long-form causatives. Ruwet (1983) presents many examples in (*faire + laisser*) *Vinf* which do not have their corresponding intransitive constructions: for example, *faire chier, laisser tomber, faire suer*. He calls these expressions indifferently ‘causatives,’ because of, it seems to us, the presence of *faire* or *laisser*, which are generally accepted as causative auxiliary verbs. However, according to our syntactic definition of a causative relation, these expressions cannot be regarded as causative.

- b. *Chəlsu-ka no-nta*  
 Chəlsu-SM play-Dec  
 'Chəlsu plays.'

If we follow the distributional principle to an extreme, without appeal to semantic synonymy or difference of the meaning, (6b) and (9a) should be considered as causative exactly in the same way as (10b) and (11b):

- (10) a. *yən-i na-nta*  
 kite-SM fly-Dec  
 'The kite flies.'
- b. *Suni-ka yən-il nal-li-nta*  
 Suni-SM kite-OM fly-CS-Dec  
 'Suni flies the kite.'
- (11) a. *Suni-ka no-nta*  
 Suni-SM play-Dec  
 'Suni plays.'
- b. *sənsaing-i Suni-lil nol-li-nta*  
 teacher-SM Suni-OM play-CS-Dec  
 'The teacher leaves Suni to play.'

These examples demonstrate that the distributional criterion and semantic 'intuition' should be in a complementary relation in order that they may be real criteria of the detection of a causative relation between two sentences. Besides, in the examples (4)-(5), (6)-(10) and (9)-(11), we perceive that the causative relation cannot be discussed on a morphological word level but on a sentence-level.

## 2.2. Several Entries for one Word<sup>7</sup>

The examples (9) and (11) do not cause much of a problem as regards the determination of a causative relation. It may seem even trivial, because we are certain that it concerns the homonyms: *nolli-ta<sub>1</sub>* 'make fun of' and *nol-li-ta<sub>2</sub>* 'make play.' And these homonyms are given in a dictionary as independent distinct entries.

More significant problems appear when we study so-called polysemic verbs. Consider:

- (12) a. *əlinai-nin ttaktakhan imsik-il cal mos sak-i-nta*  
 baby-TM solid food-OM well Neg digest-Dec  
 'Babies do not digest well solid food.'
- b. *ttaktakhan imsik-in cal an sak-ninta*  
 solid food-TM well Neg digest-Dec  
 'Solid food does not digest well.'

<sup>7</sup> For more detailed discussion, see Han (1984).

- (13) a. *Chəlsu-ii sənmul-i Suni-ii hwa-lil sak-i-nta*  
 Chəlsu-Gen present-SM Suni-Gen anger-OM calm-CS-Dec  
 ‘Chəlsu’s present appeases Suni’s anger.’
- b. *Suni-ii hwa-ka sak-ninta*  
 Suni-Gen anger-SM calm-Dec  
 ‘Suni’s anger cools down.’

It is clear that (12) and (13) concern two uses of *sak-i-ta*: one has the meaning ‘digest something to eat’ (in (12)), the other has the meaning ‘appease the anger’ (in (13)). The former may be referred to as literal, basic meaning, the latter as figurative metaphorical meaning. A word may have several uses: in a literal meaning, in a figurative meaning or in an idiomatic expression.<sup>8</sup> The figurative meaning concerns the extension of the literal meaning of a word which intervenes in a somewhat irregular way in the interpretation of a sentence. In general, this change of use is accompanied by the change in the distributional properties of the argument phrases attached to the verb and/or a change of structure. Consider:

- (14) a. *Max a truffé la dinde de truffes du Pakistan.*  
 ‘Max stuffed the turkey with Pakistan truffles.’
- b. *Max a truffé son discours de plaisanteries.*  
 ‘Max stuffed his speech with jokes.’

In these examples, we can see that it is the change of the distribution of  $N_1$  that modifies the meaning of the sentence: in (14a), the literal meaning of *truffer* ‘to stuff,’ in the place of  $N_1$  can appear all noun phrases designating “food” whereas in (14b), the figurative meaning of *truffer*,  $N_1$  may be all terms of written or oral production like *ses mots* ‘his words.’

In the case of *sak-i-ta* also, the difference of meaning (of uses) corresponds to the difference in syntactic distributional properties of  $N_0$  and  $N_1$ . In (12a),  $N_0$  is always human: *Nhum*, and  $N_1$  is non human: *N-hum* concrete (‘food’) whereas in (13a),  $N_0$  is *Nnr*<sup>9</sup> and  $N_1$  is a *N-hum* abstract which can be described in terms of “anger.” At this stage of analysis, it seems reasonable to question if there is any interest in putting in one same entry these two uses of *sak-i-ta* which are so different semantically and syntactically. We propose now to separate these uses as independent distinct entries, even though they may be related diachronically and, as a consequence, morphologically. This separation of entries is supported by the fact that although the pairs (12) and (13) of intransitive and transitive sentences are acceptable, it is only (13a) that may be regarded as causative; in (12a), *əlinai* ‘baby’ cannot be interpreted as an inter-

<sup>8</sup> For more details, see Gross (1981a), (1981b).

<sup>9</sup> *Nhum* includes animals. For the definition of *Nhum*, *Nnr*, *N-hum*, refer to Gross (1973), (1975).

posed agent or cause of the action represented by the verb *sak-i-ta*.<sup>10</sup>

This argument for the separation of entries holds also in the case of idiomatic expressions<sup>11</sup> like (6b). *nal-li-ta* in (6b) should not be considered “causative” whereas *nal-li-ta* in (10b) is causative, which cannot be explained in a plausible way if we do not suppose *nalli-ta<sub>1</sub>* and *nal-li-ta<sub>2</sub>*.

### 2.3. Complex Parameters

It appears therefore that the causative relation between IC and TC, as well as these constructions themselves, depend on complex constraints which bear not only upon the nature of a verb, but also, for a verb, given at the morphological level, on the nature of  $N_0$  and  $N_1$ , its subject and object. In short, it is the whole distribution of a sentence that one should investigate. In this regard, let us cite Boons, Guillet and Leclère (1976):<sup>12</sup>

In general, a syntactic structure  $S$  can be considered to be a function of a syntactic construction  $K$  (a syntactic frame) and “distributional” conditions  $D$ , so that one may have

$$S = f(K, D)$$

Let us suppose two syntactic structures  $S_A$  and  $S_B$ , such that between them there seems to exist a relation  $R$  of a certain theoretical importance; this may then be represented as follows:

$$S_A \xleftrightarrow{R} S_B$$

(...) Let  $D_A$  and  $D_B$  be the constraints which are associated independently to each of these constructions. It may possibly be that the constraints are the same for these two constructions. In this case, one may have  $D_A = D_B$  and

$$f(K_A, D_A) \xleftrightarrow{R} f(K_B, D_B)$$

But we do not find any syntactic relation dependent on a verb which submits to such a definition. (...) So, it may be the general case that a syntactic relation under study is defined by the conditions  $D$ , which would constitute the intersection of  $D_A$  and  $D_B$ . (...) Given that we have

<sup>10</sup> The causative transformation can be characterized, above all, by the introduction of a causative subject  $N_0$ . This  $N_0$  is interpreted as an agent or cause of the action represented by the causative verb. In this regard, see 2.4. and Han (1984).

<sup>11</sup> In idiomatic expressions, the combination of a verb and its arguments in specific or almost unique. For example, the French expression *casser sa pipe* ‘to die’ does not admit any variations of  $N_1$  or  $V$ :

*Pierre a (cassé + \*brisé) sa pipe*  
break + break  
*Pierre a cassé sa (pipe + \*bouffarde)*  
pipe + pipe

The sentences *Pierre a brisé sa pipe* and *Pierre a cassé sa bouffarde* do not have the meaning ‘Pierre died’. For more details, see Gross (1981b).

<sup>12</sup> The original French text is translated by us.

a syntactic relation  $R$  supposed to be interesting to study between two constructions  $K_A$  and  $K_B$ , and that a certain verb appears at least in one of these constructions, the examination of the conditions  $D$  on the good formation of syntactic structures will be made, in general, in such a way that  $R$  may be decomposed in three disjointed relations; one of these three relations connects two well-formed structures, and two others connect a well-formed structure to an ill-formed structure:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & R_a & \\ f(K_A, D_a) & \longleftrightarrow & *f(K_B, D_a) \\ & R_r & \\ f(K_A, D_r) & \longleftrightarrow & f(K_B, D_r) \\ & R_b & \\ *f(K_A, D_b) & \longleftrightarrow & f(K_B, D_b) \end{array}$$

As stated here, there is no “pure” syntactic relation. Any syntactic relation depends upon the distributional constraints. For example, in French and English, the passive transformation is subject to these constraints. Consider:

- (15) a. Tout le monde connaît la date de la bataille de Marignan.  
 $\longleftrightarrow$   
 passive b. La date de la bataille de Marignan est connue (de + par) tout le monde.

- (16) a. Ce projet connaît de nombreuses vicissitudes.  
 $\longleftrightarrow$   
 passive b. \*De nombreuses vicissitudes sont connues par ce projet.

- (17) a. Bob met Eva at the station.  
 $\longleftrightarrow$   
 passive b. Eva was met by Bob at the station.

- (18) a. This project met numerous difficulties.  
 $\longleftrightarrow$   
 passive b. \*Numerous difficulties were met by this project.

For the verbs *connaître* and *meet* which accept the passive transformation, there exists a distribution that makes the passivization impossible. It holds also in the case of the ‘neutrality relation’<sup>13</sup> in French:

- (19) a. *Pierre baisse le niveau du canal.*  
 ‘Pierre lowers the level of a canal.’  
 b. *Le niveau du canal baisse.*  
 ‘The level of a canal lowers.’

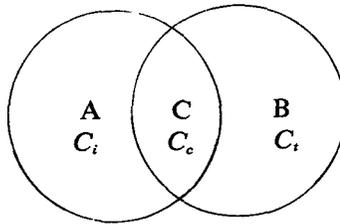
<sup>13</sup> In short, by the neutrality relation, we mean the syntactic relation which exists between two sentences

(A)  $N_0 \quad V \quad N_1 \longleftrightarrow$  (B)  $N_1 \quad V$

For more details, see Boons, Guillet and Leclère (1976).

- (20) a. *Pierre baisse l'abat-jour.*  
 'Pierre lowers the lamp-shade.'  
 b. \**L'abat-jour baisse.*  
 'The lamp-shade lowers.'
- (21) a. \*(*Pierre + ceci*) *baisse Marie de jour en jour.*  
 '(Pierre + this) weakens Marie day by day.'  
 b. *Marie baisse de jour en jour.*  
 'Marie weakens day by day.'

Likewise, as we could notice from the examples presented above, the causative relation in Korean complies with such a tripartition of the conditions. The situation can be illustrated as follows:



We are concerned with a pair of verbs: one is *Vi*, and the other is *Vtcaus* morphologically and/or semantically associated with this *Vi*, provided with a causative suffix. The A part represents the conditions for the intransitive uses of a *Vi*, intrinsic or autonomous relatively to the causative relation. The B part represents the conditions of transitive uses of the related *Vtcaus*, intrinsic or autonomous relatively to a causative relation.<sup>14</sup> The C part represents the conditions of the causative relation itself: to each sentence *N<sub>0</sub>-ka N<sub>1</sub>-lil Vtcaus* corresponds a sentence *N<sub>1</sub>-ka Vi*, and *N<sub>0</sub>* then can be interpreted as an interposed agent or cause. These conditions may be distributional and/or structural. In general, a certain verb may enter in a subset of these three parts. So theoretically we can imagine 8 possible situations:

<sup>14</sup> Let (A) be an intransitive construction *N<sub>0</sub>-ka Vi*. When (A) does not have any corresponding transitive-causative construction (B) *N<sub>0</sub>-ka N<sub>1</sub>-lil Vtcaus*, we say that *Vi* is intransitive, intrinsic relatively to the causative relation. On the other hand, when (A) has (B), but when (A) and (B) are not in a causative relation, we say that *Vi* is intransitive, autonomous relatively to the causative relation. Likewise, given that we have a transitive construction (B') *N<sub>0</sub>-ka N<sub>1</sub>-lil Vtcaus*, when (B') does not have any corresponding intransitive construction (A') *N<sub>0</sub>-ka Vi*, we say that *Vtcaus* is transitive, intrinsic relatively to the causative relation. On the other hand, when (B') has (A') and when (A') and (B') are not in a causative relation, we say that *Vtcaus* is transitive, autonomous relatively to a causative relation.

A	B	C	
+	+	-	....(a)
-	+	-	....(b)
+	-	-	....(c)
-	-	-	....(d)
+	-	+	....(e)
-	+	+	....(f)
-	-	+	....(g)
+	+	+	....(h)

Table I

According to our observations, (h) is the general case.

The uses in the part C, as well as in the parts A and B, can be literal meaning, figurative meaning or idiomatic expression. That is to say, the interdiction of the part C is not related to a given use. For example, the expressions *sok-il thai-u-ta* 'to worry someone' and *chemyən-il se-u-ta* 'to save one's face' can be regarded as causative whereas the expression *nunsiul-il cək-si-ta* 'to weep' is not causative. Consider also the following table:

*palk-ta* ← → *palk-hi-ta*

$C_i$		$C_c$		$C_t$	
i)	$N_0$ -ka Vi $N_0$ = : <i>N-hum abs</i>	v)	$N_0$ -ka $N_1$ -lil Vtcaus $N_0$ = : <i>N±hum</i> $N_1$ = : <i>N-hum</i>	vi)	$N_0$ -ka $N_1$ -lil Vt $N_0$ = : <i>Nhum</i> $N_1$ = : <i>N±hum, Pcomp</i>
ii)	$N_0$ -ka $N_1$ -e Vi $N_0$ = : <i>Nhum</i> $N_1$ = : <i>N-hum, Pcomp</i>			vii)	$N_0$ -ka $N_1$ -lil ( $N_2$ -eke) Vt $N_0$ = : <i>Nhum</i> $N_1$ = : <i>N-hum abs</i> <i>Pcomp</i> $N_2$ = : <i>Nhum</i>
iii)	$N_0$ -ka Vi $N_0$ = : <i>nun</i>				
iv)	$N_0$ -ka Vi $N_0$ = : <i>kwi</i>				

Table II <sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> This table may be subject to modification.

## Examples:

- $C_i$ : i) *Suni sɔngkyək-i palk-ta*  
 Suni character-SM bright-Dec  
 ‘Suni is merry.’
- ii) *Suni-nin imak-e palk-ta*  
 Suni-TM music-at bright-Dec  
 ‘Suni is keen on music.’
- iii) *Suni nun-i palk-ta*  
 Suni eye-SM bright-Dec  
 ‘Suni has sharp eyes.’
- iv) *Suni kwi-ka palk-ta*  
 Suni ear-SM bright-Dec  
 ‘Suni has a good ear.’
- $C_c$ : v) *tingpul-i pang-il palk-hi-nta*  
 lamp-SM room-OM bright-CS-Dec  
 ‘The lamp lightens the room.’
- $C_i$ : vi) *Suni-nin ton-il palk-hi-nta*  
 Suni-TM money-OM like too much-Dec  
 ‘Suni likes money too much.’
- vii) *Suni-nin ki sasil-il Chəlsu-əke palk-hi-nta*  
 Suni-TM that fact-OM Chəlsu-to reveal-Dec  
 ‘Suni reveals that fact to Chəlsu.’

As we can see from this table, the determination to which one of these three parts a given use belongs and, finally, the determination of a causative relation rely largely upon the study of distributional and structural properties of a sentence. (i), (ii) and (iv) are intransitive sentences, intrinsic relatively to a causative relation: for each sentence  $N_{o_i}$ -ka *palk-ta*, we do not have any transitive sentence  $N_o$ -ka  $N_{i_i}$ -lil *palk-hi-ta*. (iii) is an intransitive sentence, autonomous relatively to the causative relation. It has a corresponding transitive sentence in *palk-hi-ta*, e.g.,

*Suni-ka (ki yaiki-lil titko) nun-il palk-hi-əss-ta*  
 Suni-SM (that story-OM listen) eye-OM bright-CS-Past-Dec  
 ‘After listening that, Suni appeared much interested.’

but this transitive sentence and (iii) are not in a causative relation. On the other hand, (vi) and (vii) are transitive sentences, intrinsic relatively to a causative relation: for each sentence  $N_o$ -ka  $N_{i_i}$ -lil *palk-hi-ta*, we do not have any intransitive sentence  $N_{o_i}$ -ka *palk-ta*. So only (v) can be regarded as causative.

#### 2.4. Semantic Criterion

It has been made clear that the condition that the distribution of  $N_1$  of TC equals the distribution of  $N_0$  of IC is at least necessary for a causative relation. Remember that even if the distributional conditions are identical in IC and TC, we have excluded (6b) and (9a) by means of semantic 'intuition.' By the way, this semantic 'intuition' of a causative relation is not always so clear. Let us take the following examples:

(22) a. *Suni-ka uyu-lil kkilh-i-nta*  
 Suni-SM milk-OM boil-CS-Dec  
 'Suni boils the milk.'

b. *uyu-ka kkilh-ninta*  
 milk-SM boil-Dec  
 'The milk boils.'

(23) a. *Suni-ka kuk-il kkilh-i-nta*  
 Suni-SM soup-OM prepare-Dec  
 'Suni prepares the soup.'

b. *kuk-i kkilh-ninta*  
 soup-SM boil-Dec  
 'The soup boils.'

In these examples, we can notice that the necessary distributional conditions are satisfied. But the relation between (22a, b) does not seem to us the same as that between (23a, b). More precisely, *kkilh-i-ta* is ambiguous: it means 'prepare something to eat (generally watery food),' or 'make boil.' It is only in the latter meaning that *kkilh-i-ta* is regarded as causative.

In order to discriminate a causative use, we propose to use as a semantic criterion the relative synonymy between TC and its corresponding long-form factitive construction. In other words, there exists a causative relation between IC and TC only when we can have the factitive construction  $N_0$ -ka  $N_1$ -Part *Vi-ke hata* and at the same time when this factitive and TC can be considered "relatively synonymous."<sup>16</sup> This semantic criterion permits us to cut out the non-causative use. Consider:

(24) a. *\*əlinai-nin ttakttakhən imsik-il cal sak-ke ha-nta*  
 baby-TM solid food-Part well digest-Comp make-Dec

b. *Suni-nin phali-man nal-ke ha-nta*  
 Suni-TM fly-SCM fly-Comp make-Dec  
 'Suni makes the fly fly.'

<sup>16</sup> As regards the synonymy of two forms of the causative constructions, refer to Boons, Guillet and Leclère (1976) and Han (1984).

- c. *Suni-nin kuk-il kkih-ke ha-nta*  
 Suni-TM soup-Part boil-Comp make-Dec  
 'Suni makes the soup boil.'

The paraphrase in *-ke hata* is simply unacceptable (cf. (24a)), or of different meaning (cf. (24b,c)). By means of this semantic criterion, the sentence

- (25) *Suni-ka kyehoik-il se-u-əss-ta*  
 Suni-SM plan-OM build-CS-Past-Dec  
 'Suni had a plan.'

is not considered causative because its corresponding factitive (26) is unacceptable:

- (26) \**Suni-ka kyehoik-i sə-ke hai-ss-ta*  
 Suni-SM plan-Part build-Comp make-Past-Dec

whereas (27a) is causative:

- (27) a. *Suni-ka hakkyo chemyən-il se-u-əss-ta*  
 Suni-SM school face-OM build-CS-Past-Dec  
 'Suni saved the face of our school.'
- b. *Suni-ka hakkyo chemyən-i sə-ke hai-ss-ta*  
 Suni-SM school face-Part build-Comp make-Past-Dec

By the same token, (28a) is not causative:

- (28) a. *Suni-ka pam-il sai-u-nta*  
 Suni-SM night-OM break-CS-Dec  
 'Suni stays up all night.'
- b. \**Suni-ka pam-i sai-ke ha-nta*  
 Suni-SM night-Part break-Comp make-Dec

All things considered, for the determination of a causative relation, the semantic criterion—relative synonymy between TC and the factitive form—is as important as the syntactic distributional and structural criteria. We find the same arguments in Boons, Guillet and Leclère (1976), concerning the determination of a 'neutrality relation' in French:

- (29) a. *Pierre sent les fleurs.*  
 'Pierre smells flowers.'
- b. *Les fleurs sentent.*  
 'Flowers smell (nice).'
- c. *Pierre fait sentir les fleurs.*  
 'Pierre makes flowers smell (nice).'

- (30) a. *Pierre fume la cigarette.*  
 ‘Pierre smokes cigarettes.’  
 b. *La cigarette fume.*  
 ‘Cigarettes smoke.’  
 c. *Pierre fait fumer la cigarette.*  
 ‘Pierre makes cigarettes smoke.’
- (31) a. *Pierre croque la pomme.*  
 ‘Pierre crunches the apple.’  
 b. *La pomme croque.*  
 ‘The apple is crunchy.’  
 c. *Pierre fait croquer la pomme.*  
 ‘Pierre makes the apple crunchy.’
- (32) a. *Pierre vole l’avion.*  
 ‘Pierre flies the plane.’  
 b. *L’avion vole.*  
 ‘The plane flies.’  
 c. *Pierre fait voler l’avion.*  
 ‘Pierre makes the plane fly.’

The couples (a)-(b) of (29)-(32) cannot be regarded as entering into a ‘neutrality relation,’ because there is no synonymy between (a) and (c).

## 2.5 Non-coreference Constraint<sup>17</sup>

Consider the following examples:

- (33) a. *Suni-ka yəl-oll-ass-ta*  
 Suni-SM heat-climb-Past-Dec  
 ‘Suni is irritated.’
- b. *Chəlsu-ka Suni-lil yəl-ol-li-əss-ta*  
 Chəlsu-SM Suni-OM heat-climb-CS-Past-Dec  
 ‘Chəlsu irritated Suni.’
- c. *Suni-ka yəl-ol-li-əss-ta*  
 Suni-SM heat-climb-CS-Past-Dec  
 ‘Suni is irritated.’

<sup>17</sup> For more details, see Han (1984).

As shown in these examples, *yəl-ol-li-ta* may have a  $N_1$  distinct from  $N_0$  (cf. (33b)): the sentence in *yəl-ol-li-ta* then is considered causative. More precisely, the sentence in *yəl-ol-li-ta* is causative only when it has  $N_1$  non-coreferential with  $N_0$ . Note that (33c) without such an  $N_1$  is not causative:

- d. \**Suni-ka yəl-ol-i-ke hai-ss-ta*  
 Suni-SM heat-climb-Comp make-Past-Dec

This constraint of non-coreference is particularly observed with some  $N_1$ 's of a certain semantic class:

- (34) a. *(nai) sinkyäng-i kontusə-nta*  
 my nerve-SM erect-Dec  
 'I am irritated.'
- b. *ki il-i (nai) sinkyäng-il kontuse-u-nta*  
 that affair-SM my nerve-OM erect-CS-Dec  
 'That affair gets on my nerves.'
- c. *na<sub>i</sub>-n<sub>i</sub>n sinkyäng<sub>i</sub>-il kontuse-u-nta*  
 I-TM nerve-OM erect-Sf-Dec  
 'I am irritated.'

(34c) where  $N_1$  is coreferential with  $N_0$  should not be considered causative: it does not have its corresponding factitive form:

- d. \**na<sub>i</sub>-n<sub>i</sub>n sinkyäng<sub>i</sub>-il kontusə-ke ha-nta*  
 I-TM nerve-Part erect-Comp make-Dec

It is interesting to note that the nouns relevant to this non-coreference constraint are in general *N-hum abstract* 'psychological state' or *Npc*:

- (35) a. *əmma aikancang-i tha-nta*  
 mother intestines-SM burn-Dec  
 'Mother worries.'
- b. *Suni-ka əmma aikancang-il thai-u-nta*  
 Suni-SM mother intestines-OM burn-CS-Dec  
 'Suni worries mother.'
- c. *əmma<sub>i</sub>-ka aikancang<sub>i</sub>-il thai-u-nta*  
 mother-SM intestines-OM burn-CS-Dec  
 'Mother worries.'

(35c) where  $N_1$  (aikancang) is coreferential with  $N_0$  (əmma) does not have a corresponding factitive:

- d. \**əmma<sub>i</sub>-ka aikancang<sub>i</sub>-i tha-ke ha-nta*  
 mother-SM intestines-Part burn-Comp make-Dec

Likewise,

- (36) a. *əmma-ka Suni kokai-lil nəmu suk-i-əss-ta*  
 mother-SM Suni head-OM too much bent-CS-Past-Dec  
 'Mother bent Suni's head too much.'
- b. *Suni<sub>r</sub>-ka kokai<sub>r</sub>-lil nəmu suk-i-əss-ta*  
 Suni-SM head-OM too much bent-CS-Past-Dec  
 'Suni bent her head too much.'
- c. *??Suni<sub>r</sub>-ka kokai<sub>r</sub>-lil nəmu suk-ke hai-ss-ta*  
 Suni-SM head-Part too much bent-Comp make-Past-Dec

(36a) is causative whereas (36b) is not: (36c) is almost unacceptable, not totally excluded.

So far, we have investigated some parameters which intervene in the determination of a causative relation. We have noted that one verb may have several uses. The difference of uses, as a general rule, is corroborated by the difference of distributional and/or structural properties. A morphologically defined "causative" verb happens to be used in fact as causative with some distributions of  $N_0$  and  $N_1$ , and as non-causative with another distribution. On the other hand, the study of a syntactic relation should be done on a sentence-level, not on a morphological word-level. Therefore, we cannot say that *noph-hi-ta* 'to raise' is causative of *noph-ta* 'high' or that the sentence in *noph-hi-ta* is a causative sentence: *tam-il noph-hi-ta* 'to raise the wall' is causative whereas *ənsəng-il noph-hi-ta* 'to shout, to be in anger' is not. What counts in the study of a syntactic relation is a combination of a verb and its arguments with relation to a given structure.

3. Now, we hope to review briefly some examples presented in the articles (e.g., Lee, Kee-Dong (1976) and Shibatani (1975)), confined to the problem of synonymy between two forms of causative construction. In order to speak of the synonymy or the non-synonymy between two causative constructions, these constructions in question should be syntactically defined "real causative."

Lee, Kee-Dong (1976) demonstrates well the possibility of extended metaphorical meaning of a deadjectival causative verb:

- (37) *ki-nin na-eke mal-il nac-chu-əss-ta*  
 he-TM I-to word-OM low-Sf-Past-Dec  
 'He spoke to me in a low style of speech.'

However, he used this unfortunately as an argument against the synonymy between short-form and long-form causatives:

- (38) *ki-nin na-eke mal-il nac-ke hai-ss-ta*  
 he-TM I-to word-Part low-Comp make-Past-Dec  
 'He spoke to me in a low style of speech.'

But, according to our definition of a causative construction presented above, (37) cannot be considered causative. It does not have its corresponding intransitive construction semantically related:

- (39) \**mal-i nac-ta*  
word-SM low-Dec

Shibatani (1975) argued also against the synonymy between two forms of causative construction by the following examples:

- (40) a. *Suni-nin (sənsaɪŋ + cim)-il cihachəl-esə naili-nta*  
Suni-TM (teacher + baggage)-OM subway-from descend-Dec  
'Suni descends from the subway (the teacher + the baggage).'
- b. *Suni-nin (sənsaɪŋ + \*cim)-il cihachəl-esə*  
Suni-TM (teacher + baggage)-Part subway-from  
*naili-ke ha-nta*  
descend-Comp make-Dec

Shibatani claims that the short-form and long-form causatives are not synonymous because there is a difference of selectional restrictions in  $N_1$ . However, according to our definition, the sentence *Suni-nin cim-il cihachəl-esə naili-nta* is not causative, it does not have its corresponding intransitive construction:

- (41) \**cim-i cihachəl-esə naili-nta*  
baggage-SM subway-from descend-Dec

These examples demonstrate that the discussion on the synonymy of the two forms of causative construction should be done with the syntactically defined "real causative."

On the other hand, relying upon the arguments on semantic irregularities in the pairs of adjectives and their corresponding deadjectival causative verbs, Lee, Kee-Dong (1976) further claims that the meanings of the derived deadjectival causative verbs cannot be adequately predicted from synchronic rules. But if we separate as demonstrated above several uses of a verb, that is, if we suppose several entries, we can say that the 'causative' meaning of a given verb is predictable from synchronic rules or syntactic rules; the non-causative meaning may be accounted for in the lexicon as an independent entry.

From a synchronic point of view, the classical opposition polysemy/homonymy can be interpreted in terms of the number of the entries. In fact, between a polysemic approach and a homonymic approach there is no strict opposition: they are, rather, alternatives of each other.

One criterion that linguists apply in coming to the decision between homonymy or polysemy is based on etymological information. However, the criterion of etymological relationship is not as straightforward as it might ap-

pear at first sight. And this information is, in principle, irrelevant to the synchronic analysis of languages. A second criterion for drawing the distinction between homonymy and polysemy is unrelatedness vs. relatedness of meaning. But this relatedness of meaning appears to be a matter of degree. If we choose the polysemic approach in the analysis of language, it means that we assume a certain mechanism capable of explaining the transfer of one meaning to another. In the actual situation where there is no such mechanism, we have come to adopt the homonymic approach.

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