

## On the Syntactic Structure of Japanese Accusative Causatives\*

Yuji Takano

### 1. Introduction

This paper focuses on accusative causatives in Japanese exemplified in (1).

(1) John-ga Mary-o hatarak-ase-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc work-cause-Past

'John made Mary work.'

In accusative causatives the causee is marked with accusative case. As is well known, Japanese has another type of causative where the causee is marked with dative case. I will exclude it from consideration here.

There are a number of properties characteristic of Japanese accusative causatives. First, it has been well known since Shibatani's (1976) extensive discussion on the Japanese causatives that the causee in accusative causatives can be an antecedent of *zibun*, which shows the property of "subject-orientation":

(2) John<sub>i</sub>-ga Mary<sub>j</sub>-o zibun<sub>i/j</sub>-no niwa-de hatarak-ase-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc self-Gen garden-in work-cause-Past

'John made Mary work in his/her garden.'

Second, as Oka (1988) observes, when the accusative causee is a quantified phrase, it can take both narrow and wide scope relative to the causative verb. Consider (3).

(3) John-ga dareka-o hatarak-ase-ta.

John-Nom someone-Acc work-cause-Past

'John made someone work.'

The QP *dareka* 'someone' in (3) can take scope both under and over the causative verb.

Third, as discussed by Harada (1973), Shibatani (1973), Kuroda (1978), and Poser (1981), among others, the accusative causative is ungrammatical when the embedded verb is transitive and has an accusative object:

(4) \*John-ga Mary-o hon-o yom-ase-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-cause-Past

'John made Mary read a book.'

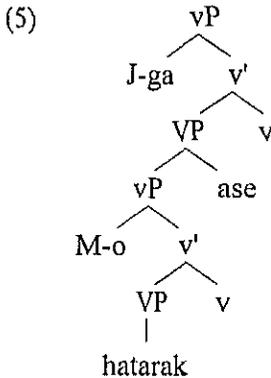
I will refer to this phenomenon as a double accusative effect.

One influential approach to Japanese accusative causatives proposed within the principles-and-parameters framework claims that they involve an ECM structure

---

\* Thanks to Hiroto Hoshi for comments on an earlier version of this paper.

(Oka (1988), Terada (1990), Harley (1995), Koizumi (1995)).<sup>1</sup> Following this basic idea, suppose that the accusative causative in (1) has the structure in (5).



Adopting Chomsky's (1995:chap. 4) analysis of clause structure, let us assume that the light verb *v* takes VP as its complement and assigns an agent  $\theta$ -role to its Spec and that its maximal projection vP constitutes a core proposition and hence a minimal clause. In (5) the causee *Mary-o* appears in Spec,v and so there is no  $\theta$ -relation between the causee and the matrix verb. The causee is  $\theta$ -marked within the embedded clause and its accusative case is assigned in an ECM fashion.

Under this analysis the fact that the accusative causee can antecede *zibun* follows straightforwardly, given that the causee appears in Spec,v, a  $\theta$ -position for subject.

The scope fact in (3) also follows. The causee in (5) is base-generated in the embedded clause and hence can take a narrow scope. At the same time, given that it is the subject of the ECM structure, it can also take wide scope by means of whatever mechanisms are responsible for the wide scope interpretation of the ECM subject in such English cases as (6) (see Johnson (2000) for recent discussion).

(6) Someone believes everyone to be kind.

The claim that the matrix verb assigns case to the causee has played an important role in accounting for the double accusative effect seen in (4). This restriction is often accounted for in terms of the so-called Double-*o* Constraint, which prohibits more than one occurrence of NP marked with *o* in the same sentence (see the references cited above). The sentence in (4), having two NPs with *o*, violates this constraint.

It is also well known that this constraint applies even when one of the *o*-marked NPs is phonetically null, as in (7), where the embedded object is topicalized.

<sup>1</sup> Nakau (1973), Inoue (1976), and Tonoike (1978) argued for an analysis with the same basic properties within an earlier framework.

- (7) \*Kono hon-wa John-ga Mary-o yom-ase-ta.  
 this book-Top John-Nom Mary-Acc read-cause-Past  
 'This book, John made Mary read.'

Saito (1982, 1985) observes that this fact has led to the claim that the relevant restriction should be interpreted as a condition on abstract Case assignment, as in (8).

(8) A verb can assign objective Case to at most one NP. (Saito (1982, 1985))  
 Suppose that in (5) the embedded verb raises to the causative verb, forming a complex predicate. This complex predicate can be considered a single verb for the purpose of Case assignment. Then the ungrammaticality of (4) and (7) follows, given that the complex verb in these cases assigns two objective (accusative) Cases, in violation of (8).

In what follows, I will take issue with the ECM analysis of Japanese accusative causatives shown in (5), on the basis of facts related to double accusative effects and quantifier float, and propose a new analysis of them, relying on the idea of Saito and Hoshi (1998) that complex predicates can be formed by directly merging two verbal heads in syntax.

## 2. Unexpected Facts

### 2.1. Double Accusative Effects

Let us begin by considering double accusative effects in more detail. As noted above, Japanese accusative causatives exhibit double accusative effects when the embedded clause has an accusative object:

- (9) \*John-ga Mary-o hon-o yom-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-cause-Past (=4)

It has been noted in the traditional literature that there is an exception to this generalization. Consider (10).

- (10) ??John-ga Mary-o hasi-o water-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc bridge-Acc cross-cause-Past  
 'John made Mary cross the bridge.'

While a little awkward, the sentence in (10) is significantly better than the sentence in (9). The contrast becomes clearer when the accusative object of the embedded verb is topicalized:

- (11) a. \*Kono hon-wa John-ga Mary-o yom-ase-ta.  
 this book-Top John-Nom Mary-Acc read-cause-Past (=7)

- b. Kono hasi-wa John-ga Mary-o water-ase-ta.  
 this bridge-Top John-Nom Mary-Acc cross-cause-Past  
 'This bridge, John made Mary cross.'

We can thus conclude that the awkwardness of (10) is due to a surface constraint prohibiting multiple occurrences of *o*, rather than the constraint on abstract Case in (8) (see Saito and Hoshi (2000) and references cited there for relevant discussion). Following Saito and Hoshi (2000), we might claim that the marker *o* is ambiguous between an accusative case marker and an adverbial locative postposition and that the embedded clause in (10) involves the latter.

In the case of (10), we might invoke the ambiguous nature of the marker *o*, as just seen, and so the example does not constitute a serious problem for the Case-theoretic approach to double accusative effects. However, there are cases that present a serious challenge to the Case-theoretic approach. Let us consider the following:<sup>2</sup>

- (12) a. \*John-ga Mary-o zibun-no kazoku-nituite syaber-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc self-Gen family-about speak-cause-Past  
 'John made Mary speak about her family.'
- b. \*John-ga Mary-o Bill-ni kare-no kazoku-nituite tazune-sase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc Bill-Dat he-Gen family-about ask-cause-Past  
 'John made Mary ask Bill about his family.'
- c. \*John-ga Mary-o Bill-ga tensai da to iw-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc Bill-Nom genius is that say-cause-Past  
 'John made Mary say that Bill is a genius.'
- d. \*John-ga Mary-o Bill-ni raisyuu kuru yooni  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc Bill-Dat next-week come that  
 tanom-ase-ta/meezi-sase-ta.  
 ask-cause-Past/order-cause-Past  
 'John made Mary ask/order Bill to come next week.'

In the examples in (12a-d) there is no accusative phrase other than the causee. Nevertheless, the examples are all bad, having the status of (9). The Case-theoretic approach does not say anything about these cases, given that there is only one accusative object in each case.

One might argue that the ungrammatical cases in (12) in fact all have an accusative object in the embedded clauses but that the object's accusative case is

---

<sup>2</sup> Cases like (12c) were originally discussed by Sells (1990).

morphologically unrealized. The argument may have some force, given that the embedded verbs in (12) can take an accusative NP in other contexts:

- (13) a. kotoba-o syaberu  
word-Acc speak  
b. miti-o tazuneru  
way-Acc ask  
c. monku-o iu  
complaint-Acc say  
d. sigoto-o tanomu/meeziru  
job-Acc ask/order

Note, however, that the argument rests on the assumption that the embedded verbs in (12) *must* assign accusative case to their non-NP objects, which seems too strong, given that (i) there is no theoretical reason to assume so, especially in light of Chomsky's (2000, 2001a, b) view of Case, where Case is a property of noun phrases and crucially not a property of verbs (i.e., verbs do not have Case features), and (ii) as Koizumi (1998:note 18) points out, many unergative verbs can take accusative objects but need not do so. Moreover, the argument does not extend to the cases in (14), where the embedded verbs never take an accusative NP, as shown in (15).

- (14) a. \*John-ga Mary-o Bill-no teian-ga kageki da to  
John-Nom Mary-Acc Bill-Gen proposal-Nom radical is that  
hantais-ase-ta.  
object-cause-Past  
'John made Mary object that Bill's proposal was radical.'  
b. \*John-ga Mary-o sono syutyoo-ni-wamondai-ga aru to  
John-Nom Mary-Acc that claim-Dat-Top problem-Nom have that  
hanrons-ase-ta.  
argue.against-cause-Past  
'John made Mary argue that the claim is problematic.'  
c. \*John-ga Mary-o sono kettei-ga hutoo da to  
John-Nom Mary-Acc that decision-Nom unfair is that  
koogi-sase-ta.  
protest-cause-Past  
'John made Mary protest that the decision was unfair.'
- (15) a. teian-ni/\*o hantaisuru  
proposal-Dat/Acc object  
b. syutyoo-ni/\*o hanronsuru.  
claim-Dat/Acc argue.against

- c. *sabetu-ni/\*o koogisuru*  
 discrimination-Dat/Acc protest

The examples in (14) thus suggest that the so-called double accusative effects should be considered part of a larger generalization. All the examples in (9), (12), and (14) receive a unified treatment if we abandon the Case-theoretic approach and instead appeal to  $\theta$ -Theory (cf. Williams (1981)). Sells (1990) claims that what is wrong with cases like these is the fact that a (complex) verb has two (direct) objects. Note that in all the bad cases the embedded clauses have what have traditionally been called theme/patient arguments. Given this, we might interpret the relevant restriction in  $\theta$ -theoretic terms, in such a way that the accusative causative does not allow its embedded verb to have a theme/patient argument. But then there is no obvious way to derive this generalization under the ECM analysis of the accusative causatives shown in (5).

## 2.2. *Quantifier Float*

Another fact unexpected under the ECM analysis of accusative causatives has to do with the phenomenon of quantifier float. In Japanese numeral quantifiers can appear outside the NPs they modify, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. *Gakusei-ga sannin Mary-ni atta.*  
 student-Nom three Mary-Dat met  
 'Three students met Mary.'  
 b. *Kodomo-ga hutari Mary-ni kiskusita.*  
 child-Nom two Mary-Dat kissed  
 'Two children kissed Mary.'  
 c. *Mary-ga gakusei-o sannin syootaisita.*  
 Mary-Nom student-Acc three invited  
 'Mary invited three students.'

This phenomenon of quantifier float is subject to several restrictions. One of them is that the floating quantifier must be "close enough" to the NP it modifies. Thus, cases like (17) are degraded, in contrast to cases like (16).

- (17) a. *\*Gakusei-ga Mary-ni sannin atta.*  
 student-Nom Mary-Dat three met  
 'Three students met Mary.'  
 b. *\*Kodomo-ga Mary-ni hutari kiskusita.*  
 child-Nom Mary-Dat two kissed  
 'Two children kissed Mary.'

How the notion of "closeness" relevant here should be defined is a matter of much debate (see Miyagawa (1989) and references cited there for various proposals). For

present purposes, it is sufficient to assume that no argument may intervene between a floating quantifier and the NP it modifies. On this assumption, cases like (18) can be accounted for by looking at the relation between the floating quantifier and the trace of the NP it modifies (in (18) the object NP has undergone scrambling). Compare (18) with (16c).

- (18) Gakusei-o<sub>j</sub> Mary-ga t<sub>j</sub> sannin syootaisita.  
 student-Acc Mary-Nom three invited  
 'Mary invited three students.'

Let us now consider quantifier float in accusative causatives:

- (19) a. John-ga gakusei-o Mary-ni sannin aw-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom student-Acc Mary-Dat three meet-cause-Past  
 'John made three students meet Mary.'  
 b. John-ga kodomo-o Mary-ni hutari kisu-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom child-Acc Mary-Dat two kiss-cause-Past  
 'John made two children kiss Mary.'

In each of the sentences in (19) there is a numeral quantifier separated from the NP it modifies (the causee) by an argument of the embedded verb (*Mary-ni*). Nevertheless, the examples improve on their noncausative counterparts in (17).

As seen above, the ungrammaticality of the examples in (17) falls under the generalization assumed here that no argument may intervene between a floating quantifier and the NP it modifies. It is the grammaticality of the examples in (19) that calls for explanation. It seems reasonable to assimilate (19) to (18). Specifically, we might imagine that in (19) the causee has moved past the dative argument, leaving a trace that is close enough to the floating quantifier. This in turn suggests that the causee of the accusative causative is base-generated in the complement of the embedded verb. However, there is no way to implement this in the ECM analysis.

### 3. Complex Predicate Formation by External Head-Head Merger

The results of the previous section are summarized below:

- (20) a. The accusative causative does not allow its embedded verb to have a theme/patient argument (a generalization accommodating double accusative effects).  
 b. The causee of the accusative causative is base-generated in the complement of the embedded verb.

I will show that these properties fall into place if we adopt a completely new view of causative formation based on a proposal by Saito and Hoshi (1998).

Let us begin by clarifying our position regarding  $\theta$ -marking. Following Baker (1996), let us assume that each  $\theta$ -role is associated with a particular syntactic position. To implement this general idea about  $\theta$ -marking, let us imagine that UG has the following principles on the associations between  $\theta$ -roles of a verb and syntactic positions related to the verb:

- (21) Theme/patient appears within V' (an immediate projection of V).  
 Other internal  $\theta$ -roles (goal, location, benefactive, etc.) appear in VP.<sup>3</sup>  
 An external  $\theta$ -role (e.g., agent) appears in Spec,v.

The "theme/patient" argument includes clausal arguments expressing events or propositions.

Now consider the accusative causative in (1), repeated in (22):

- (22) John-ga Mary-o hatarak-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc work-cause-Past

The sentence has two verbs, one of which is a causative verb. In the ECM approach to Japanese accusative causatives, the causative verb is claimed to take two arguments, an agent (*John*) and an event clause (containing the base verb *hatarak* 'work'), and *Mary* is regarded as an agent argument of the base verb. However, I follow Kuroda's (1965b) original claim that *Mary* is an argument of the causative verb as well. Kuroda observed that the accusative causee is interpreted as a person directly affected by the forcing action of the causer and proposed that this interpretive property should be represented structurally in such a way that the causee is a direct object of the causative verb.<sup>4</sup> Note that the causee is marked with accusative case and that in Japanese the theme/patient argument, if it is an NP, is very often marked with accusative. Let us thus adopt the position that the accusative causee is a theme/patient argument of the causative verb, interpreted as a person directly affected by the forcing action. Given (21), however, the claim that the

<sup>3</sup> For the claim that theme/patient is generated/interpreted lower than other internal arguments, see Hoji (1985), Grimshaw and Mester (1988), Takano (1998), and Saito and Hoshi (2000), among others. See Baker (1996) for a different view.

<sup>4</sup> See also Kuno (1973) and Shibatani (1976). In proposing an alternative to Baker's (1988) and Li's (1990) analyses of causatives in Chichewa, Alsina (1992) also argues that the causative morpheme is a three-place predicate, taking a patient in addition to a causer and a caused event. Kuroda (1965a) posited a biclausal structure for accusative causatives in which the causative verb takes two direct objects (complements), the causee and the event clause. The event clause also contains in its subject the same NP as the causee and this NP is eventually deleted. Here I assume that syntactic structures are strictly binary.

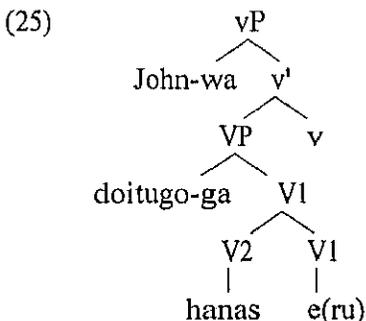
causee of the Japanese accusative causatives is a theme/patient argument of the causative verb immediately runs into trouble: *Mary* and the event clause compete for the same position and hence the sentence cannot have the proper structure.

I claim that an analysis of complex predicates proposed by Saito and Hoshi (1998) resolves the problem. Saito and Hoshi discuss peculiar properties of Japanese complex predicate constructions having nominative objects and argue that they can be accounted for if we allow complex predicates to be formed in such a way that two predicates are directly merged in syntax. By way of illustration, consider (23) and (24).

- (23) John-wa doitugo-o/\*ga zyoozuni hanasu.  
 John-Top German-Acc well speak  
 'John speaks German well.'
- (24) John-wa doitugo-o/ga zyoozuni hanas-e-ru.  
 John-Top German-Acc/Nom well speak-can-Pres  
 'John can speak German well.'

The example in (23) shows that the Japanese verb *hanas* 'speak' takes only an accusative object in a simple clause. On the other hand, the example in (24) shows that if *hanas* is combined with the stative verb *e* meaning 'can,' its object can be nominative as well as accusative. It is reasonable to assume that the nominative case of the object in (24) is licensed by the stative verb, not by *hanas*, which does not license nominative case, as (23) shows. However, a puzzle arises if we further assume that the nominative object is  $\theta$ -marked by *hanas*: if the object is  $\theta$ -marked by *hanas*, how can it be nominative, which is assumed to be licensed by the stative verb?

Saito and Hoshi (1998) propose that the puzzling situation can be resolved if the complex predicate in the nominative object variant of (24) involves directly merging the two predicates in syntax, yielding the structure in (25).

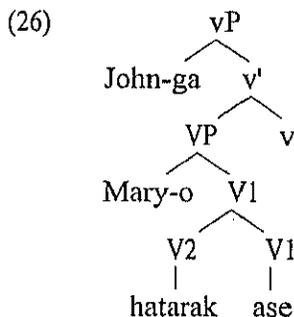


Here V2 is adjoined to V1 but this merger is claimed to take place in syntax rather than in the lexicon. Let us call this process of complex predicate formation *external*

*head-head merger* (see Chomsky (2001b) for the terms external/internal Merge; see also Haider (2003) for a similar proposal made to account for verb clustering phenomena in German and Dutch). Unlike complex predicates derived by head movement, which applies to biclausal structures (we might call it internal head-head merger), complex predicates derived by external head-head merger project monoclausal structures. On the other hand, unlike lexically derived complex predicates, each of the predicates that have undergone external head-head merger retains its properties related to  $\theta$ -marking and case. We might say that V1 and V2 in (25) share the same VP structure and that V1 and V2  $\theta$ -mark and case-mark within this same VP. Saito and Hoshi claim that the theme role of V2 is assigned to *doitugo-ga*. This is possible since *doitugo-ga* counts as a complement of V2, due to external head-head merger. Similarly, the nominative case on *doitugo-ga* is licensed by virtue of being in the domain of the stative verb V1.

In effect, the structure in (25) is monoclausal but has elements associated with two different verbs (V1 and V2), a situation made possible by external head-head merger. *John-wa* receives (via *v*) an external  $\theta$ -role of V1. V1 assigns its internal  $\theta$ -role to V2, which also counts as a complement of V1 (Hoshi (2000)). Regarding the agent  $\theta$ -role of V2, Saito and Hoshi claim that it is identified with the external  $\theta$ -role of V1 under an obligatory control relation between the external  $\theta$ -roles of V1 and V2 (subject control) and is thus "absorbed" and not projected syntactically.

Suppose that we extend this analysis of complex predicate formation to the Japanese accusative causatives. If the Japanese accusative causatives involve external head-head merger, the example in (22) will be analyzed as in (26).

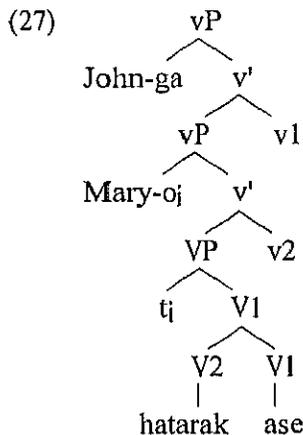


In (26) V1 and V2 are directly merged in overt syntax, so that the structure is monoclausal. Given that the structure formed by external head-head merger has the properties of both predicates, we might say that VP in (26) is a projection of both V1 and V2. Thus, *Mary-o* counts as a complement of V2, while *John-ga* is considered an agent argument of V1. These two arguments thus meet the conditions on  $\theta$ -marking in (21): *John* appears in Spec,v and *Mary* in V' (=VP in the case of (26)).

What about the event argument, V2 in (26)? Here we follow Hoshi (2000) in assuming that a position adjoined to a verb counts as a complement of the verb. This has the effect of allowing a complex verb to have two complement positions, one for a theme/patient argument and the other for an event argument, without violating (21).

Another question arises as to the agent role of V2. One possibility is to adopt Saito and Hoshi's (1998) proposal that a  $\theta$ -role can be "absorbed" under an obligatory control relation. Assuming that the causative verb is an obligatory (object) control verb, we might claim that the agent  $\theta$ -role of V2 is identified with the theme/patient role of V1 (object control), so that it is "absorbed." This ensures that *Mary* is interpreted as the agent of V2, as well as the theme/patient of V1.

Another possibility, which I assume here, is that there are two light verbs, one associated with V1 (causative verb) and the other V2 (base verb), and that the causee moves to the Spec of v associated with V2, which I assume to be lower than v associated with V1, to receive the agent role of V2. This will yield the structure in (27).



This kind of movement to a  $\theta$ -position was banned (by the  $\theta$ -Criterion and the Projection Principle) in the earlier frameworks but is allowed in the Minimalist Program (see Hornstein (1998, 1999) for relevant discussion).

This analysis of Japanese accusative causatives can accommodate the data pointed out in section 2. Let us consider the ungrammaticality of (9), repeated in (28), in light of this analysis.

(28) \*John-ga Mary-o hon-o yom-ase-ta.

John-Nom Mary-Acc book-Acc read-cause-Past

Recall that the discussion in section 2.1 has led us to the conclusion that the so-called double accusative effects should be seen as part of a generalization related to

$\theta$ -marking, more specifically, that the accusative causative does not allow its embedded verb to have a theme/patient argument (=20a). Now we can derive this generalization in the following way. Note that in (28) *Mary-o* 'Mary-Acc' is (now assumed to be) a theme/patient argument of the causative verb and that *hon-o* 'book-Acc' is a theme/patient argument of the noncausative verb *yom* 'read.' Given the analysis in (27) and the conditions in (21), it is clear that there is only one position for theme/patient in the accusative causative, namely the complement of the complex verb. In (28) *Mary-o* and *hon-o* compete for this single complement position. As a result, either one of the two cannot be interpreted properly at LF, and hence the example is bad.

The facts in (12) and (14) of section 2.1, which were problematic for the Case-theoretic approach to double accusative effects, receive the same treatment under the assumption that the base verbs there all have theme/patient arguments. Thus, the generalization in (20a) follows on this analysis.

This analysis also ensures that the base verb of an accusative causative can have a dative argument, as in (29).

- (29) John-ga Mary-o Bill-ni aw-ase-ta/kisus-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc Bill-Dat meet-cause-Past/kiss-cause-Past  
 John made Mary meet/kiss Bill.

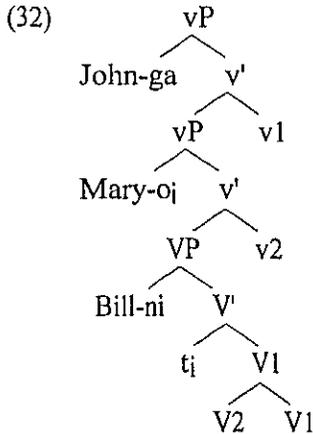
In Japanese dative typically marks an argument with a  $\theta$ -role that is not theme/patient (i.e., goal, location, benefactive, etc.), as illustrated in (30).

- (30) a. John-ga Mary-ni hana-o okutta/katta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Dat flower-Acc sent/bought  
 'John sent/bought flowers to Mary.'  
 b. John-ga kabe-ni syasin-o hatta.  
 John-Nom wall-Dat picture-Acc put  
 'John put a picture on the wall.'

Given this, it is reasonable to assume that the dative-marked argument receives a  $\theta$ -role that is not theme/patient, even in cases where there is no theme/patient in the sentence, as in (31).

- (31) John-ga Mary-ni atta/kisusita.  
 John-Nom Mary-Dat met/kissed  
 'John met/kissed Mary.'

Under this assumption, the example in (29) is assigned the structure in (32), where V1 is a causative verb and V2 a base verb.



The acceptability of (29) follows: *Bill-ni*, not being theme/patient, does not have to appear in V' and hence meets (21) without competing with *Mary-o*.

The facts related to quantifier float discussed in 2.2 also follow straightforwardly under this analysis. Recall that those facts point to the conclusion that the causee of the accusative causative is base-generated in the complement of the embedded verb (=20b)). The structure in (32) ensures the desired result: since the accusative causatives are formed by external head-head merger, the accusative causee is necessarily generated in the complement of the complex predicate to receive a theme/patient role from the causative verb. Thus, in the relevant examples in (19) there is a trace of the causee in the complement of the complex predicate and hence the floating quantifier can be construed with the causee through its relation to this trace, in a way parallel to the licensing of the floating quantifier in (18).

Finally, let us consider the other facts discussed in section 1. Recall that both *John* and *Mary* in (27) can antecede subject-oriented *zibun* 'self' (cf. (2)). This fact is a natural consequence of the proposed analysis, since both *John* and *Mary* occupy Spec,v, a position to which subjecthood can reasonably be attributed.

Incidentally, cases like (33), originally discussed by Shibatani (1976), can also be accounted for.

- (33) John-ga Mary-o damatte hatarak-ase-ta.  
 John-Nom Mary-Acc silently work-cause-Past  
 'John made Mary work silently.'

The adjunct *damatte* 'silently' can be interpreted as modifying either the causative verb or the main verb. This can be captured by claiming that an adjunct appearing in VP in (27) can be interpreted in relation to either of V1 and V2, by virtue of the fact that VP is a projection of the two verbs.

Recall also that if the accusative causee is a QP, it can take both wide and narrow scope with respect to the causative verb (cf. (3)). To derive this effect, I suggest that the scope of a quantifier in accusative causatives is determined by its relation to V1 or v1. All arguments of V2, including the causee, c-command V1 and are c-commanded by v1. Given the assumption that the causative verb is made up of V1 and v1, this situation can be taken to mean that the arguments of V2 c-command the causative verb and at the same time are c-commanded by it. As a result, they are interpreted as taking scope both over and under the causative verb.

Thus, this analysis of Japanese accusative causatives can account for the generalizations in (20) as well as the facts accounted for by the ECM analysis, and hence is empirically more desirable than the latter.

#### 4. Conclusion

This paper has shown that the traditional ECM analysis of Japanese accusative causatives is empirically inadequate and has proposed an alternative analysis according to which those constructions involve a monoclausal structure formed by external head-head merger, a new way of forming complex predicates in syntax originally proposed by Saito and Hoshi (1998). Coupled with a particular conception of the relation between  $\theta$ -role and syntactic structure, this analysis allows us to claim that the causee is a theme/patient argument of the causative verb, base-generated in its complement, and to provide a satisfactory account of the facts problematic for the ECM analysis. To the extent that this move is convincing, we have an additional argument for the syntactic operation of external head-head merger as an option for complex predicate formation made available by UG.

#### REFERENCES

- Alsina, A. (1992) "On the Argument Structure of Causatives," *Linguistic Inquiry* 23, 517-555.
- Baker, M. (1988) *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Baker, M. (1996) "On the Structural Positions of Themes and Goals," *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, ed. by J. Rooryck & L. Zaring, 7-34, Kluwer, Dordrecht.
- Chomsky, N. (1995) *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, N. (2000) "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework," *Step by Step*, ed. by R. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka, 89-155, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Chomsky, N. (2001a) "Derivation by Phrase," *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. by M. Kenstowicz, 1-52, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

- Chomsky, N. (2001b) "Beyond Explanatory Adequacy," *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics*, Number 20, 1-28.
- Grimshaw, J. & A. Mester (1988) "Light Verbs and  $\theta$ -Marking," *Linguistic Inquiry* 19, 205-232.
- Haider, H. (2003) "V-Clustering and Clause Union--Causes and Effects," Ms., University of Salzburg.
- Harada, S.-I. (1973) "Counter Equi NP Deletion," *Annual Bulletin* 7, 113-147.
- Harley, H. (1995) "Case Dependency and the Japanese Causative," *Papers on Minimalist Syntax, The MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 27, 121-141.
- Hoji, H. (1985) *Logical Form Constraints and Configurational Structures in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington.
- Hornstein, N. (1998) "Movement and Chains," *Syntax* 1, 99-127.
- Hornstein, N. (1999) "Movement and Control," *Linguistic Inquiry* 30, 69-96.
- Hoshi, H. (2000) "Relations between Thematic Structure and Syntax: A Study on Event Denoting Lexical Items in Japanese," Ms., SOAS, University of London.
- Inoue, K. (1976) *Henkeibunpoo to Nihongo*, Taishukan, Tokyo.
- Johnson, K. (2000) "How Far will Quantifiers Go?," *Step by Step*, ed. by R. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka, 187-210, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Koizumi, M. (1995) *Phrase Structure in Minimalist Syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Koizumi, M. (1998) "Invisible Agr in Japanese," *The Linguistic Review* 15, 1-39.
- Kuno, S. (1973) *The Structure of the Japanese Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (1965a) *Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (1965b) "Causative Forms in Japanese," *Foundations of Language* 1, 30-50.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (1978) "Case-Marking, Canonical Sentence Patterns, and Counter Equi in Japanese," *Problems in Japanese Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by J. Hinds & I. Howard, 30-51, Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
- Li, Y. (1990) "X<sup>0</sup>-Binding and Verb Incorporation," *Linguistic Inquiry* 21, 399-426.
- Miyagawa, S. (1989) *Syntax and Semantics 22: Structure and Case Marking in Japanese*, Academic Press, New York.
- Nakau, M. (1973) *Sentential Complementation in Japanese*, Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
- Oka, T. (1988) "Abstract Case and Empty Pronouns," *Tsukuba English Studies* 7, 187-227.
- Poser, W. (1981) "The 'Double-o Constraint': Evidence for a Direct Object Relation in Japanese?," Ms., MIT.
- Saito, M. (1982) "Case Marking in Japanese: A Preliminary Study," Ms., MIT.
- Saito, M. (1985) *Some Asymmetries in Japanese and Their Theoretical Implications*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.

- Saito, M. & H. Hoshi (1998) "Control in Complex Predicates," *Report of the Special Research Project for the Typological Investigation of Languages and Cultures of the East and West*, 15-46.
- Saito, M. & H. Hoshi (2000) "The Japanese Light Verb Construction and the Minimalist Program," *Step by Step*, ed. by R. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka, 187-210, MIT Press, MA.
- Sells, P. (1990) "Is There Subject-to-Object Raising in Japanese?," *Grammatical Relations: A Cross-theoretical Perspective*, ed. by K. Dziwirek, P. Farrell & E. Mejias-Bikandi, 445-457, CSLI Publications, Stanford.
- Shibatani, M. (1973) "Semantics of Japanese Causativization," *Foundations of Language* 9, 327-373.
- Shibatani, M. (1976) "Causativization," *Syntax and Semantics 5: Japanese Generative Grammar*, ed. by M. Shibatani, 239-294, Academic Press, New York.
- Takano, Y. (1998) "Object Shift and Scrambling," *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 16, 817-889.
- Terada, M. (1990) *Incorporation and Argument Structure in Japanese*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Tonoike, S. (1978) "On the Causative Construction in Japanese," *Problems in Japanese Syntax and Semantics*, ed. by J. Hinds and I. Howard, 3-29, Kaitakusha, Tokyo.
- Williams, E. (1981) "Argument Structure and Morphology," *The Linguistic Review* 1, 81-114.

Department of English  
 Kinjo Gakuin University  
 ytakano@kinjo-u.ac.jp