

## **P a r t    III**

**Reports on the Twelfth Annual Meeting  
of the Tsukuba English Linguistic Society**

A Unified Conception of Causative *Have*  
and Experiencer *Have*

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It has often been discussed in the literature that the causative use of *have* must be distinguished from experiencer uses. In this joint research, however, we claim that these two uses of the verb *have* can be captured from a unified view point. The examples are as follows:

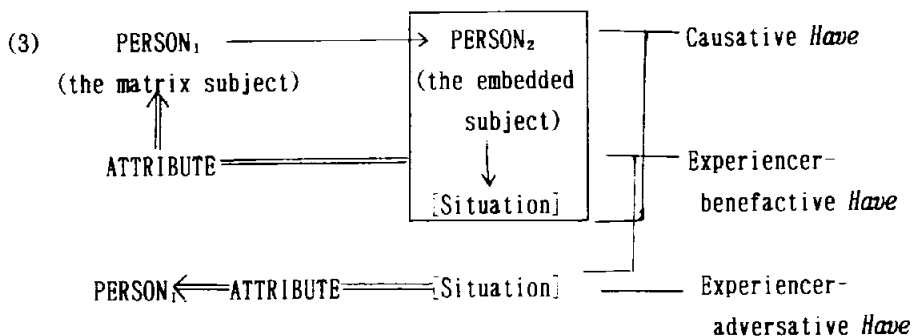
- (1) John had Mary shine his shoes. (Causatives/Experiencer benefactive)
- (2) John had his shoes shined. (Experiencer benefactive/  
Experiencer adversative)

Causative *have* describes a situation in which the causer (the matrix subject) causes the causee (the embedded subject) to do something according to the causer's wish. On the other hand, Experiencer *have*'s, which can be divided into two types of readings (i.e. *benefactive* and *adversative*), are used in cases where the matrix subject can be considered to be an Experiencer of a situation described in the embedded clause. The above example in (1) can be interpreted either as a causative reading or as an experiencer benefactive one. The example in (2) can be taken to be either an experiencer benefactive reading or an experiencer adversative one.

We mainly argue that the three uses (or readings) of the verb *have* depict "ATTRIBUTIVE RELATION", which is the relation between a situation described in the embedded clause and the subject of the main clause. In (1) as a causative use, the caused situation *Mary shine his shoes* can be considered to be brought about by the causer's wish. In this respect we can say that the caused situation is attributable to the causer. As for experiencer uses shown in (1) and (2), the situation described in the embedded clause can be taken to be attributed to the matrix subject in the sense that the matrix subject experiences the situation in a beneficial or an adversative way. Thus the causative use and experiencer uses of the verb *have* can be unified in terms of the notion "ATTRIBUTE".

The second point we claim is that there are differences in the way the three readings of *have* indicate attributive relations, based on which each interpretation of *have*'s (i.e. causative, benefactive or adversative) can be defined. Recall example (1), which can be interpreted either as a causative reading or an experiencer benefactive one. What has to be noticed is that the embedded clause is an active form. That is, it can be safely said that the embedded subject is a person who can accept the matrix subject's will. Thus we can say that, irrespective of the difference between a causative reading or an experiencer benefactive one, *have* in (1) depicts an attributive relation where there is someone by whom the matrix subject's will can be accepted. On the other hand, the embedded clause is a passive form in example (2), which can be considered to be either an experiencer benefactive reading or an adversative one. This indicates that the main description of the embedded clause is the change of the state of *his shoes*. If so, *have* in (2) serves to depict an attributive relation in which a certain change of the state of the embedded subject and the matrix subject can be related.

The facts we have pointed out above can be represented as follows:



(here, [Situation] represents a situation or an event described in the embedded clause)

(3) shows that causative *have* and the two types of experiencer *have*'s should not be differentiated from each other, but be related in terms of the notion "ATTRIBUTE". In addition, it can be made clear from (3) that each interpretation (i.e. causative reading, experiencer benefactive reading, and experiencer adversative reading) is defined by the attributive relation each use of *have* have.