

The Semantics of the Causee in the Periphrastic Causative Construction^{*}, ^{**}

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Lee, Heechul. 2008. **The Semantics of the Causee in the Periphrastic Causative Construction.** *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 16(3), 213-232. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the influence which the case of causee NP has on the meanings expressed by the Korean periphrastic causative sentences. Lee (2008) provides the schematic representation of the concepts of causing, letting, and permitting, which he claims are expressed by causative sentences. Lee (2007) shows that the concept of causing is conveyed by the juncture-nexus type of nuclear cosubordination, the strongest Interclausal Syntactic Relation, as predicted by the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy of the Role and Reference Grammar, and that other concepts are represented by core coordination. Therefore, it is a legitimate question what influence the causee has on the meanings of the causative sentences.

Key Words: causative, case of causee NP, caused event, force interaction

1. Introduction

It is shown schematically by Lee (2008) that Korean periphrastic causative sentences convey the concepts of causing, letting, and permitting, among others. He employs Talmy's (1988, 2003) force dynamics of causation, which helps to clarify those concepts. With regard to the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy, Lee (2007) claims that the concept of causing is expressed by nuclear cosubordination while

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the concepts of letting, permitting, and weak jussive are represented by the juncture-nexus type of core coordination.

This paper, in turn, will study the influence that three types of cases (i.e. nominative, dative, and accusative cases) of causee NP has on the meanings of the periphrastic causative sentences. In Korean, the causee NP can take the nominative, dative, or accusative case. The different cases of the causee NP contribute to different meanings of the periphrastic causatives. This paper examines how the three different cases which the causee NP can take have an influence on the meaning of Korean periphrastic causative sentences. To do this research, section 2 will deal with the semantics of the cases of causee NP, section 3 with the concepts of causing, letting, and permitting, section 4 with the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy, and section 5 will conclude this study.

2. The Semantics of the Cases of Causee NP

This section will consider the cases of causee NP and their relationship with the meanings of causative sentences.

2.1. NOM-NOM vs. NOM-DAT and NOM-ACC Patterns

Let us consider the periphrastic causatives, as follows:

- (1) a. emeni-ka atul-i chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-NOM book-ACC read-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The mother caused her son to read the book.'
- b. emeni-ka atul-eykey chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-DAT book-ACC read-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The mother made her son read the book.'
- c. emeni-ka atul-ul chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-ACC book-ACC read-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The mother made her son read the book.'

The above sentences show that the causee NP can take the nominative,

dative, or accusative case. Let us compare these sentences with those containing the morphological causatives, shown below:

- (2) a. emeni-ka atul-eykey chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PST-DEC
 'The mother made her son read the book.'
- b. emeni-ka atul-ul chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-ACC book-ACC read-CAUS-PST-DEC
 'The mother made her son read the book.'
- c. * emeni-ka atul-i chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-NOM book-ACC read-CAUS-PST-DEC

The above sentences show that not the nominative case, but the dative or accusative case can occur for the causee NP in the morphological causatives. It can be said that the NOM-DAT and NOM-ACC patterns of periphrastic causatives are the instances of stronger Interclausal Syntactic Relation and express closer Interclausal Semantic Relation than the NOM-NOM pattern. This position is held by Sohn (1973), Patterson (1974), J.-J. Song (1988), S.-C. Song (1988), O'Grady (1991). Bratt (1996) gives the same syntactic and semantic analysis to the morphological causative on the one hand, and the NOM-ACC and NOM-DAT patterns of periphrastic causatives on the other.

2.2. NOM-DAT vs. NOM-ACC Patterns

Many accounts of the Korean periphrastic causatives describe semantic differences between the sentences having the dative causee NP and those containing the accusative one (Patterson, 1974; S.-C. Song, 1988; O'Grady, 1991). The dative causee is construed as having more control over the caused event than the accusative causee. The accusative causee is construed as participating involuntarily in the caused event. Some accounts further distinguish sentences having the nominative causee from the ones containing the dative causee. The nominative causee is interpreted as having more independence and

freedom than the dative causee. Lee (1985) takes some examples and show their semantic differences, as follows:

- (3) a. *apeci-nun ai-lul matang-eyse nol-key ha-ess-ta*
 father-TOP child-ACC yard-LOC play-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The father forced/commanded the child to play in the yard.'
- b. *apeci-nun ai-eykey matang-eyse nol-key ha-ess-ta*
 father-TOP child-DAT yard-LOC play-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The father told/asked the child to play in the yard.'
- c. *apeci-nun ai-ka matang-eyse nol-key ha-ess-ta*
 father-TOP child-NOM yard-LOC play-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The father arranged for/permitted the child to play in the yard.'

As seen in the above examples, the different cases of the causee NP contribute to different meanings of the periphrastic causatives. Lee (1985) claims that the variation in the case marking for the causee results in different meanings and, that the accusative, dative, and nominative cases of the causee express the semantic scale of enforcement/command > weak jussive/asking > permission/arrangement, respectively. Yang (1994, 1998) argues that the NOM-DAT pattern expresses directive causation while the NOM-ACC pattern expresses direct causation. It seems that his directive causation is equivalent to Park's (1993) jussive meaning.

It has been observed by Patterson (1974), J.-J. Song (1988), and O'Grady (1991) that the NOM-ACC pattern of periphrastic causative construction expresses a higher degree of structural and semantic cohesion than its corresponding NOM-DAT or NOM-NOM pattern. Park (1995) distinguishes the NOM-DAT from the NOM-ACC pattern in terms of the degree of the likelihood of the caused event on the one hand, and of the control exerted on the causee's part on the other hand. The accusative causee gives a sentence higher likelihood of the caused event happening while the dative causee gives lower likelihood. The accusative causee has less causee control than the dative one. The more control the causee has, the less likely the caused event is.

In contrast, Yang (1972) argues that the dative and accusative causee NP's do not make any difference in the meaning of the sentences. He bases his claim on the sentences in which *ekcilo* 'against one's will' co-occurs with the dative causee NP or with the accusative causee NP, as follows:

- (4) a. John-i Mary-eykey ekcilo uws-key ha-ess-ta
 J.-NOM M.-DAT against one's will smile-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'John caused Mary to smile against her will./John made Mary smile.'
 b. John-i Mary-lul ekcilo uws-key ha-ess-ta
 J.-NOM M.-ACC against one's will smile-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'John caused Mary to smile against her will./John made Mary smile.'

As seen above, the degree of coerciveness expressed by the sentences does not change regardless of whether the case of the causee NP is dative or accusative. This position is also held by Lee (1998, 2007, 2008). Bratt (1996) also treats both the NOM-DAT and NOM-ACC patterns the same. There may be difference in the degree of causee's control between the dative and accusative cases. The dative and accusative cases which the causee NP takes cause a slight difference, if there is any difference, not categorical one, on the continuum of control on the part of the causee.

2.3. Factors Determining the Case of Causee NP

The causatives of many languages, such as French (Kayne, 1975), have options for how to case mark the causee NP, depending upon the transitivity of the first nucleus. In Korean, there are four leading views regarding the case which the causee NP can take in periphrastic causatives. Two positions claim that the case marking of the causee NP depends on the transitivity of the first nucleus. According to Position 1, the causee NP takes the accusative case when the first nucleus is intransitive. When it is transitive, the causee NP takes the dative case. Baek (1984) takes this position in providing a general, descriptive grammar of Korean. Park (1986) also takes this position for morphological

causatives. However, Patterson (1974) and Lee (1988) criticize this view. Position 2 states that when the first nucleus is transitive, the causee NP takes the dative or accusative case, and that when the lower verb is intransitive, the causee NP takes the accusative case.

According to Position 3, the causee NP takes the accusative case when the first nucleus is unaccusative; otherwise, the causee NP takes either the dative or accusative case. This position is taken by Park (1995). The following examples, in which the causee NP takes only the accusative case, lend support to this position (O'Grady, 1991):

- (5) a. John-un Mary-lul kicelha-key ha-ess-ta
 J.-TOP M.-ACC faint-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'John made Mary faint.'
 b. * John-un Mary-eykey kicelha-key ha-ess-ta
 J.-TOP M.-DAT faint-CLM do-PST-DEC

Park (1995) follows O'Grady's (1991) observation that there is no case alternation between the dative and accusative cases for the causee NP when the lower verb is unaccusative.

Position 4 posits no relation between the transitivity of the first nucleus and the case of the causee NP. The causee NP can take the dative or accusative case regardless of whether the first nucleus is transitive or intransitive. This position is held by Yang (1972), Patterson (1974), Kang (1984), Lee (1985), Gerdts (1986, 1990), Cho (1987), and Lee (1988). Many of those who take the last position agree that the dative causee NP only occurs when it has control over the caused event. Otherwise, it yields ungrammatical sentences as Patterson (1974) shows in the following examples:

- (6) a. kwahakca-ka pi-lul o-key ha-ess-ta
 scientist-NOM rain-ACC come-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The scientist made the rain come./The scientist made it rain.'
 b. * kwahakca-ka pi-ey¹⁾ o-key ha-ess-ta
 scientist-NOM rain-DAT come-CLM do-PST-DEC

The above examples show that only the causee with control over the caused event can take the dative case. Another way of looking at it is, as in Bratt (1996), that in Korean an accusative case marker can occur regardless of whether the causee is animate or inanimate. Both animate and inanimate causees can take the accusative case marker. The animate causee can also take the dative case and is interpreted as having control over the caused event by its animacy.

2.4. Direct vs. Indirect Causation

In terms of direct and indirect causation, Park (1972), Shibatani (1973), and Patterson (1974) all argue that the morphological causatives express direct causation while the periphrastic causatives express indirect causation. Yang (1976) argues, however, that the periphrastic causatives are the paraphrase of the morphological causatives. Yang (1994, 1998) schematizes the strongest causation as direct causation and the weakest causation as permission.

The verb *make* is a typical verb which expresses the concept of causing in English while the verb *let* is a typical one which expresses the concept of letting. The verb *have* expresses indirect causation either without intermediate volitional entity, as in *I had the logs roll down the south slope*, or, as is usual, with such an entity, as in *I had the boy roll the log along*. Talmy (1988, 2003) seems to group the concepts of causing and letting as direct causation and to treat *have* as indirect causation. Yang's (1994, 1998) directive causation and permission can also be categorized as indirect causation. Lee's (2007, 2008) concepts of causing and letting can be grouped as direct causation, and his concepts of permitting and weak jussive as indirect causation.

The concept of direct causation is only possible by definition when the temporal or locational domain is the same both for the causing action and for the caused event. Lee (2007) claims that the sentences

1) Dative case marker *-eykey* is only used with animate beings while *-ey* is only used with inanimate beings.

containing two, different temporal or locational adverbs do not express direct causation, by showing the ungrammaticality of their corresponding morphological causative sentences, as follows:

- (7) a. ecey emeni-ka atul-eykey onul chayk-ul
 yesterday mother-NOM son-DAT today book-ACC
 ilk-key ha-ess-ta
 read-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'Yesterday the mother told her son [to read a book today].'
 b. * ecey emeni-ka atul-eykey onul chayk-ul
 yesterday mother-NOM son-DAT today book-ACC
 ilk-hi-ess-ta
 read-CAUS-PST-DEC
- (8) a. pwuek-eyse emeni-ka atul-eykey pang-eyse
 kitchen-LOC mother-NOM son-DAT room-LOC
 chayk-ul ilk-key ha-ess-ta
 book-ACC read-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'In the kitchen, mother told her son [to (go) read a book in the room].'
 b. * pwuek-eyse emeni-ka atul-eykey pang-eyse
 kitchen-LOC mother-NOM son-DAT room-LOC
 chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta
 book-ACC read-CAUS-PST-DEC

As seen above, periphrastic causative sentences containing two different temporal or locational adverbs express the concept of weak jussive, not direct causation.

3. The Concepts of Causing, Letting, and Permitting

This section will introduce Talmy's (1988, 2003) concept of force dynamics of causation to help distinguish such meanings as the concepts of causing, letting, and permitting, among others. Subsequently, it will show that the Korean periphrastic causative sentences express

those meanings.

3.1. Force Dynamics of Causation

Utilizing Talmy's (1988, 2003) force dynamics of causation, Lee (2008) shows how the periphrastic causative sentences express the concepts of causing, letting, and permitting; he assigns different schematic representations to their meanings. Talmy (1988, 2003) calls the focal force entity the agonist²⁾ and the force element that opposes it the antagonist. They are indicated as shown below:

(9) Force entities

Agonist :



Antagonist :



As language treats the concept of force dynamics of causation, an entity is taken to exert its force by virtue of having an intrinsic tendency toward manifesting it. The force tendency is a two-way distinction, towards either action or rest. The force tendency is represented as follows:

(10) Intrinsic force tendency

Toward action: >

Toward rest: ●



The entity with stronger force between the two opposing entities is

²⁾ I would prefer the term *protagonist*.

represented with + and the one with weaker force with -, as follows:

- (11) Balance of strength
 - the stronger entity: +
 - the weaker entity: -

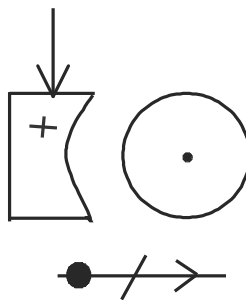
The result of the force interaction is the same as the force tendency of the entity with stronger force. It is represented on a line, as seen below:

- (12) Result of the force interaction
 - Action: 
 - rest: 

3.2. Causing, Letting, and Permitting

Lee (2008) distinguishes the concepts of causing, letting, and permitting, using Talmy's (1988, 2003) force dynamics and shows that Korean periphrastic causative sentences can express all of them, among others. Let us consider the following diagram, which represents the prototypical concept of causing- onset causing of action:

- (13)

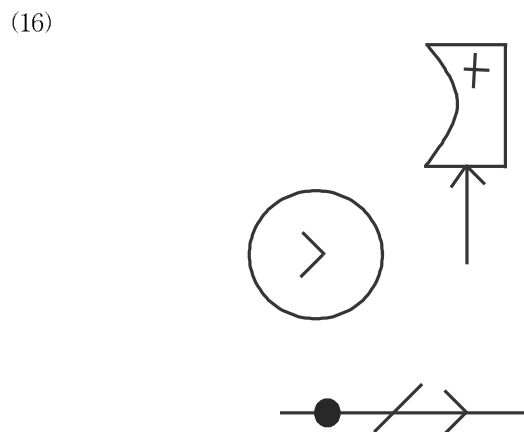


The above diagram involves a stronger antagonist that comes into the position against an agonist with an intrinsic tendency toward rest, and thus causes it to change from a state of rest to one of action. The agonist's resultant state of activity is the opposite of its intrinsic tendency toward rest. It is indicated with the shorthand conventions of an arrow for the antagonist's motion into impingement, and a slash (/) on the resultant line separating the before and after state of activity.

The concept represented by pattern (13) is expressed by the following sentences:

- (14) a. The added soap got the crust to come off.
 b. The ball's hitting it made the lamp topple from the table.
 (Talmy, 1988, 2003)
- (15) emeni-ka atul-eykey/ul kongpwuha-key ha-ess-ta
 mother-NOM son-DAT/ACC study-CLM do-PST-DEC
 'The mother made the son study.'

Let us consider a diagram representing the prototypical concept of letting- onset letting of motion- as follows:



The above diagram shows that a stronger antagonist has been blocking an agonist with tendency toward motion and now disengages and releases the agonist to manifest its tendency. This is the typical concept of letting, onset letting of motion, and expressed by the following sentences:

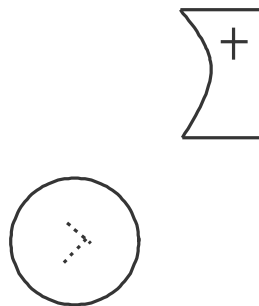
(17) The plug's coming loose let the water flow from the tank. (Talmy, 1988, 2003)

(18) emeni-ka ttal-eykey/ul sathang-ul mek-ko.iss-key
 mother-NOM daughter-DAT/ACC candy-ACC eat-CONT-CLM
 ha-ess-ta
 do-PST-DEC

'The mother let her daughter eat candies./Mother let her daughter continue to eat candies.'

Let us consider a diagram which represents the concept of permitting, as follows:

(19)



The above diagram shows that the antagonist who has greater force than the agonist is out of the agonist's way. Thus if the agonist wants to do something, as expressed by the VP, s/he can/may VP. It is up to the agonist to decide. The decisional behavior is indicated in the diagram with a dotted marking of force tendency. The concept of

permitting is expressed by the following sentences (Talmy, 1988, 2003):

- (20) a. I permit you to go to the playground.
b. You may go to the playground.

The proposition of the sentences in (20) does not imply that the addressee necessarily goes to the playground. Talmy's (1988, 2003) concept of permitting is equivalent to Givón's (1984) positive, attempted manipulation or positive, non-implicative manipulation. It is the characteristic by which the concept of permitting is different from that of letting. A corresponding Korean example is as follows:

- (21) apeci-ka atul-eykey/ul nol-swuiss-key ha-ess-ta
father-NOM son-DAT/ACC play-ABLE-CLM do-PST-DEC
'The father permitted his son to play.'

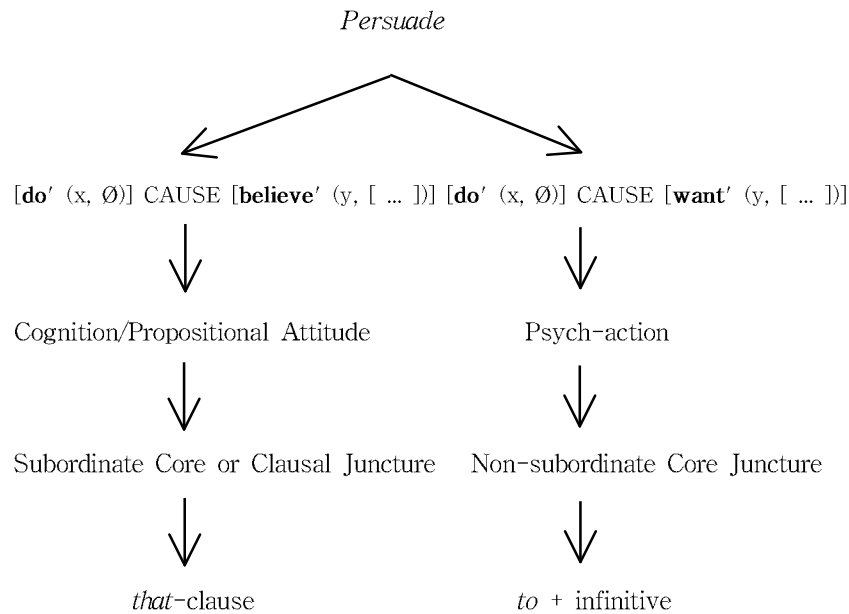
4. Interclausal Relations Hierarchy

Verbs like English *persuade* express more than one semantic category depending upon their juncture-nexus type. For example, *persuade* has two senses, roughly, 'cause to want' and 'cause to believe,' as follows:

- (22) a. Bill persuaded Monica to kiss him. (Psych-action)
b. Leonard persuaded David that the theoretical trend in semantics will change soon. (Propositional Attitude)

Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) and Van Valin (2005) show how the relevant construction is determined, given the IRH and the semantic representations of *persuade*, as follows:

(23)



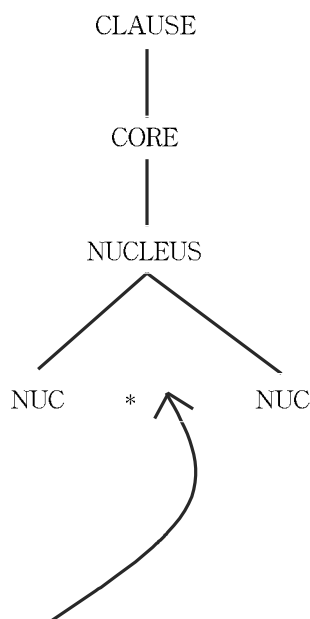
The above figure shows that given the semantic representations of a predicate, the juncture-nexus type of the sentence in which the predicate occurs is predicted. Accordingly, the complement form which the predicate takes is also predicted. *Persuade* in its psych-action sense takes the same complement form as other psych-action verbs such as *want*: it takes the non-subordinate core juncture realized by an infinitive construction (*to + infinitive*). Likewise, in its propositional attitude/cognition sense it takes the same complement form as other propositional attitude verbs such as *believe*: it takes the juncture-nexus type of clausal subordination realized by a *that-clause*; the content of belief is a proposition, and the canonical realization of a proposition is a clause. In summary, the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy makes it possible to determine the correct sentence form from the semantic representation of the predicate.

Lee (2007, 2008) manifests that simple sentences, as in (15) above, of

the Korean periphrastic causative construction is semantically neutral in terms of whether they express the concept of causing, letting, permitting, or weak jussive. Consequently, they are also syntactically neutral in terms of whether they are of nuclear cosubordination or core coordination. Once their meaning is determined by added aspect, modality, temporal adverbs, or locational adverbs, their syntactic structures are, in turn, determined, as is the case for English verb *persuade*. Even though sentence (15) is semantically neutral, for example, it can possibly express the concept of causing. Its juncture-nexus type is of nuclear cosubordination, then.

In nuclear cosubordination, nothing can intervene between two nuclei. The complex nuclei have one set of core arguments. Bratt (1996) also claims that the content verb or lower verb is not separated from the causative verb or higher verb. The inseparability of the first nucleus and the causative nucleus is shown as follows:

(24)



The layered structure of clause above shows that nothing can intervene between the lower and higher verbs in the juncture-nexus type of nuclear cosubordination, which is predicted from the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. The corresponding English examples having the same interclausal syntactic relation are as follows:

- (25) a. Alex seemed busy.
 b. Howard pushed open the door.

Lee (2007) shows that sentence (18) and sentence (21) have core coordination as its juncture-nexus type. He claims that the Korean periphrastic causative sentences containing temporal or locational adverbs, those like (7) and (8), express the concept of weak jussive and also have the juncture-nexus type of core coordination. The English examples of core coordination are as follows:

- (26) a. Stan told Tom to close the window.
 b. Robert saw Claudia leave the room.

5. Conclusion

This paper examines how the three different cases which the causee NP can take have an influence on the meaning of Korean periphrastic causative sentences. In general, there are more differences between the NOM-NOM on the one hand and the NOM-DAT and NOM-ACC patterns on the other than between the NOM-DAT and NOM-ACC patterns semantically, let alone syntactically. There are gradual differences of meaning between the NOM-DAT and NOM-ACC patterns. The differences are shades of meaning, not categorical distinctions. Such attributes of the lower verb as transitivity and unaccusativity seem to play a role in determining the case of causee NP. Whether the causee has control over the caused event also seems to determine the case which the causee NP can take.

Aspect and modality added to the lower nucleus determine the

interclausal semantic relations of the Korean periphrastic causative construction. At the same time, they play a part in determining the juncture-nexus type, given the Korean Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (Yang, 1994, 1998) and the scope of Korean operators (Yang, 1994, 1999). In all, the meaning of the Korean periphrastic causative construction is the function of the case of causee NP on the one hand, and the operators and adverbs on the other. The next step is a matter of course to make a finer-grained analysis of some verbs from Givón's (1984) and Talmy's (1988, 2003) perspectives by making comparison and contrast.

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