

Notes on the Syntactic Causative in Korean

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1 Introduction

The syntactic causative construction exemplified by (1) has received much attention in the literature on Korean syntax (see Shibatani 1973; Choe 1988; J.-S. Lee 1992 among many others).¹ The aim of this paper is to investigate the mechanism of Case marking of the causee in the relevant construction. As shown in (1), the causee *Mary* in (1) can be marked with nominative Case as well as accusative Case.² In contrast, the so-called Japanese syntactic causative such as (2) is more limited: The causee *Mary* cannot be marked with nominative Case.³

- (1) John-i Mary-ka/lul hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka-key ha-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Nom/Acc school-to-Acc go-KEY do-past-Dec
'John caused Mary to go to school.' (J.-S. Lee 1992: 88)
- (2) John-ga Mary-*ga/o gakkoo-ni ik-ase-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Nom/Acc school-to go-cause-Past
'John made Mary go to school.'

Under the standard approach to Case in the minimalist program, Case valuation is obtained as a by-product of ϕ -feature agreement (Chomsky 2000). However, it is controversial whether this Agree-based approach is plausible for languages that do not exhibit ϕ -feature agreement such as Japanese. The literature on Japanese syntax posits an alternative approach to Case given in (3).

- (3) A nominal is assigned Case based on its structural position without appealing to agreement.
(Kuroda 1978; Saito 1982; Fukui 1986; Zushi 2016 among others)

This paper pursues the approach given in (3) and extends it to Korean, which does not have ϕ -feature agreement either. Along the lines of (3), Zushi (2016) recently proposed the following mechanism, which is adopted in this paper.

- (4) a. When a nominal is merged with a lexical head, its Case feature is valued as accusative.
b. When a nominal is merged with a phase head (*v* or *n*), its Case feature is valued as nominative or genitive.
c. Otherwise, the Case feature of a nominal is valued as dative. (Zushi 2016: 48)

Relevant to the discussion here is (4b), where the existence of *v* is responsible for nominative Case valuation. The

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¹ The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows. Dec = declarative, Nom = nominative, Acc = accusative, Dat = dative, Gen = genitive, Top = topic, Nmz = nominalizer, Neg = negation, Loc = locative, Hon = honorific. Also, this paper leaves open the theoretical status of the morpheme *key*, which is glossed as KEY throughout the paper.

² Dative Case is also available to *Mary* in (1).

³ The following construction in Japanese exhibits a similar Case alternation to the Korean example in (1). Detailed investigation of (i) is left for future research.

- (i) Taroo-wa kono pasokon-ga/o seejyoo-ni ugoku yooni si-ta.
Taroo-Top this PC-Nom/Acc normally work so.that do-past
Lit. 'Taroo did so that this PC could work normally.'

availability of nominative Case in (1) indicates that when *Mary* is marked with nominative Case, (1) involves the structure given in (5a), where *Mary* receives nominative Case at the edge of the ν P.⁴ On the other hand, the unavailability of nominative Case with the causee in the Japanese syntactic causative is simply due to the absence of a ν -layer with the embedded predicate. Thus, (2) has the structure in (5b), where the verbal phrase selected by the causative verb is VP and the causee *Mary* is directly taken by the causative predicate.⁵

- (5) a. John-i [ν P Mary-ka hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka]-key ha-ess-ta.
 b. John-ga [ν P Mary-o [[ν P gakkoo-ni ik]-ase]]-ta.

The next section provides an independent argument for the analysis given in (5) based on Negative Concord Items (NCIs).

As shown in (1), the Korean syntactic causative allows the causee to undergo Case alternation, whose mechanism will be also investigated in this paper. In Section 3, it will be argued that the accusative causee is base-generated as the subject of the embedded clause like the nominative causee and then moves to the matrix clause. Section 4 then proposes that the movement in question is scrambling, along the lines of Fukui & Nishigauchi (1992), Fukui (1995), and Kasai (2018). Section 5 concludes the paper.

2 An argument based on Negative Concord Items (NCIs)

As discussed in Section 1, this paper pursues the following hypothesis.

- (6) In the Korean syntactic causative, the causative verb takes ν P, while in the Japanese syntactic causative the embedded predicate phrase selected by the causative verb is VP.

The aim of this section is to provide independent support for (6) based on NCIs. To set the stage, basic properties of Japanese NCIs are introduced. One of the examples of Japanese NCIs is given in (7a), where the NCI consists of the *wh*-phrase *dare* and the focus particle *mo*.⁶ As shown in (7b), NCIs require negation, and (7c) shows that NCIs should be in the same clause as the negation.

- (7) a. Taroo-wa darenimo awa-nakat-ta.
 Taroo-Top anyone see-not-past
 ‘Taroo did not see anyone.’
 b. *Taroo-wa darenimo at-ta.
 Taroo-Top anyone see-past
 Lit. ‘Taroo saw anyone.’
 c. *Taroo-wa [Hanako-ga darenimo au to] iwa-nakat-ta.
 Taroo-Top Hanako-Nom anyone see that say-not-past
 ‘Taroo did not say that Hanako saw anyone.’

Korean has a similar item that requires negation in the same clause, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. John-i [Mary-ka amwukesto an mek-ess-ta-ko] malha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Nom anything not eat-past-Dec-that say-past-Dec
 ‘John said that Mary did not eat anything.’

⁴ The availability of nominative Case in (1) does not exclude the possibility that there is larger projection than ν P in the embedded clause. However, as Choe (1988: 347) points out, tense elements cannot appear in the relevant embedded clause. Furthermore, the mood marker *ta* cannot either, as shown in (i).

(i) John-i Mary-ka/lul ka(*-ess)(*-ta)-key ha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Nom/Acc go-past-Dec-KEY do-past-Dec
 ‘John caused Mary to go.’ (J.-S. Lee 1992: 111)

Thus, this paper continues to assume that the embedded clause in question involves neither TP nor CP.

⁵ The analysis presented in (5b) departs from the so-called bi-clausal analysis of the Japanese syntactic causative (see Kuno 1973: 294; Shibatani 1976 among others, for several arguments for the bi-clausal approach). Reexamining their arguments is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁶ The Japanese NCI is sometimes called a “negative polarity item” in the literature, but following Watanabe (2004), this paper calls the item “NCI.”

- b. *John-i [Mary-ka amwukesto mek-ess-ta-ko] malha-ci ani.ha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Nom anything eat-past-Dec-that say-CI not.do-past-Dec
 ‘John did not say that Mary ate anything.’ (J.-S. Lee 1992: 96)

This paper adopts the licensing mechanism based on the notion of phases pursued by Yamashita (2003) and Maeda (2004). Under the assumption that NCIs undergo Agree with negation, they propose that licensing a NCI is subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) formulated in (9), where “H” is a phase head and “ZP” is a next higher phase.

- (9) The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations. (Chomsky 2001: 14)

Under the definition of the PIC in (9), the next higher phase head (i.e., “Z”) cannot probe into YP but the non-phase head X is allowed to probe into the domain of H (i.e., YP), as illustrated in (10), contrary to Chomsky’s (2000) version of the PIC.

- (10) $[_{ZP(\text{Phase } 2)} Z [_{XP} X [_{HP(\text{Phase } 1)} H YP]]]$
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The definition given in (10) is supported by the nominative object construction in Icelandic such as (11). “X” in (10) is T in (11), where the nominative object agrees with T.

- (11) Henni leiddust strakarnir
 her.dat bored boys.the.nom
 ‘She found the boys boring.’ (Sigurðsson 2002: 692)

In (7a), whose derivation is schematically illustrated in (12a), the NCI within VP is accessible to negation, which is a non-phase head, like T in the Icelandic nominative object construction. On the other hand, in the derivation of (7c), whose structure is given in (12b), when negation is introduced into the derivation, the embedded VP has already been rendered inaccessible, which leads to the failure to license the NCI.

- (12) a. [[[$_{vP}$ NP [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$ NCI V] $_{v}$]]]Neg]T]
 b. [[[$_{VP}$ [$_{CP}$ [[$_{vP}$ NP [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP}$ NCI V] $_{v}$]]]T]C]V] v]Neg]

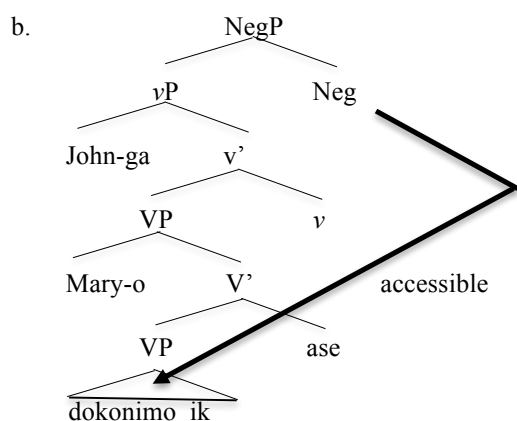
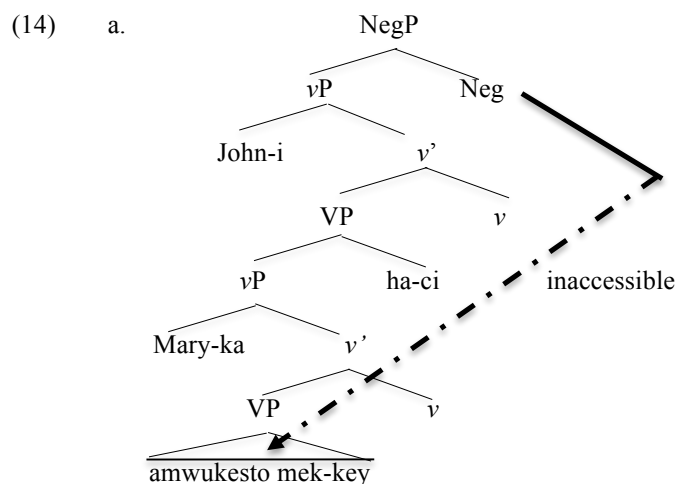
Yamashita (2003) and Maeda (2004) successfully reduce the clause-mate restriction to the PIC. Their attempts are plausible in the sense that under the current minimalist program, the notion of phases is important in syntactic computation. It is desirable to reduce the clause-mate requirement to the PIC.

Now let us turn to the ungrammaticality of (13a). As observed by J.-S. Lee (1992), the NCI within the embedded VP cannot be licensed by the matrix negation. In contrast, as shown in (13b), licensing of the NCI is possible in Japanese.⁷

- (13) a. *John-i Mary-ka amwukesto mek-key ha-ci ani.ha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Nom anything eat-KEY do-CI not.do-past-Dec
 ‘John did not cause Mary to eat anything.’ (J.-S. Lee 1992: 97)
 b. John-ga Mary-o dokonimo ik-ase-nakat-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc anywhere go-cause-not-past
 ‘John did not make Mary go anywhere.’

Let us first consider the derivation of the Korean example in (13a). Given (9), the VP including the NCI becomes inaccessible to the higher phase level (i.e., the matrix vP -phase level). Because negation is higher than the vP , the former cannot have access to the NCI, as illustrated in (14a). On the other hand, in (14b), the VP including the NCI is accessible until the matrix C is introduced into the derivation. Thus negation can undergo Agree with the NCI in (14b).

⁷ J.-S. Lee (1992: 97) observes that even if *Mary* is marked with accusative Case, the example is still ungrammatical, which suggests that when the causee is marked with accusative Case, the embedded clause has a v -layer, in contrast to the Japanese syntactic causative with the accusative causee as in (2).



The *pakkey*-phrase in Korean and the *sika*-phrase in Japanese also require negation in the same clause, as shown below.

- (15) a. John-un Bill-i hakkyo-ey-pakkey an-ka-ess-ta-ko malha-ess-ta.
 John-Top Bill-Nom school-Dat-except not-go-past-Dec-that say-past-Dec
 ‘John said that Bill went only to school.’
 b. *John-un Bill-i hakkyo-ey-pakkey ka-ess-ta-ko malha-ci ani.ha-ess-ta.
 John-Top Bill-Nom school-Dat-except go-past-Dec-that say-CI not.do-past-Dec
 ‘John said that Bill went only to school.’
- (16) a. John-wa Mary-ga tosyokan-ni-sika ik-anakat-ta to itta.
 John-Top Mary-Nom library-to-except go-not-past that said
 ‘John said that Mary went only to the library.’
 b. *John-wa Mary-ga tosyokan-ni-sika it-ta to iwa-nakat-ta.
 John-Top Mary-Nom library-to-except go-past that say-not-past
 ‘John said that Mary went only to the library.’

My informants find (17a) degraded while (17b) is completely grammatical, like the contrast in (13).

- (17) a. *John-i Mary-ka sakwa-pakkey mek-key ha-ci ani.ha-ess-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Nom apple-only eat-KEY do-CI not.do-past-Dec
 ‘John caused Mary to eat only an apple.’
 b. John-ga Mary-o tosyokan-ni-sika ik-ase-nakat-ta.
 John-Nom Mary-Acc library-to-only go-cause-not-past
 ‘John did not make Mary go only to the library.’

If the locality constraint on the *pakkey*-phrase and the *sika*-phrase is also captured in terms of the PIC, the contrast

given in (17) is another piece of evidence for the proposal in (6).⁸

In this section, it has been argued that the size difference in the causative structure between Korean and Japanese in (6) is independently supported by the behavior of the items to be licensed by negation under the phase-based approach.⁹

3 On the causee marked with accusative Case

Before investigating how the causee undergoes nominative/accusative Case alternation in the Korean syntactic causative, let us first determine the syntactic structure where the causee is marked with accusative Case. One prevalent approach to the accusative causee is to postulate a bi-clausal structure where the accusative causee is base-generated as the subject of the embedded clause, like nominative causees. For example, J.-S. Lee (1992) proposes that the embedded subject moves to [Spec, CP] within the embedded clause and receives accusative Case from the matrix verb, as shown in (18).

(18) John-i [_{CP} Mary-lul_i t₁ hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka-key] ha-ess-ta.

It is still controversial whether the accusative causee can stay in the embedded clause or moves out of the embedded clause. Yeo (2006) provides evidence for the latter view, based on the distribution of the adverb *honcase*. Let us consider (19) first.

(19) John-i [Mary-ka honcase ka-ess-ta ko] malha-ess-ta.
John-Nom Mary-Nom alone go-past-Dec that say-past-Dec
'John said that Mary alone went.'
(Yeo 2006: 237)

(19) shows that *honcase* and the predicate that it modifies should be in the same clause. In (19), *honcase* modifies the embedded predicate, not the matrix predicate. Bearing this in mind, let us consider (20a).

(20) a. ?*John-kwa Bill-i honcase Mary-lul ka-key ha-ess-ta.
John-and Bill-Nom alone Mary-Acc go-KEY do-past-Dec
'John and Bill caused Mary to go alone.'
(Yeo 2006: 237)
b. John-kwa Bill-i [honcase Mary-lul ka-key] ha-ess-ta.

In (20a), *honcase* is forced to modify the embedded predicate because the subject of the matrix predicate is a plural NP. If *Mary* could stay in the embedded clause, it would be possible to analyze (20a) as (20b), where *honcase* is located in the embedded clause in a way similar to (21b). (21a) can have the interpretation where *honcase* modifies the embedded predicate. Such an interpretation is captured by the structure in (21b).

(21) a. John-i honcase Mary-ka ka-ess-ta ko malha-ess-ta.
John-Nom alone Mary-Nom go-past-Dec that say-past-Dec
'John said that Mary alone went.'
(Yeo 2006: 236)
b. John-i [honcase Mary-ka ka-ess-ta ko] malha-ess-ta.

⁸ I thank Myung-Kwan Park (p.c.) for pointing out to me that the ungrammatical status of (13a) is not uncontroversial. In fact, Choe (1988) judges a similar example in (i) as an acceptable sentence (see also Bratt 1996: 84–86 for relevant discussion).

(i) Chelswu-ka Yenghi-ka amwuto manna-key ha-ci an-ass-ta.
Chelswu-Nom Yenghi-Nom anybody meet-KEY do-CI not-past-Dec
'Chelswu caused Yenghi not to meet anybody.'
(Choe 1988: 350)

Investigation of the source of the relevant speaker variation is left for future research.

⁹ As mentioned in Note 3, the Japanese example in (i) in Note 3 seems to resemble the Korean syntactic causative as in (1). The construction behaves like (17a) in that the matrix negation cannot license the *sika*-phrase in the embedded clause, as shown in the following contrast.

(i) a. Taroo-wa kono pasokon-ga san-jikan-sika ugoka-nai yooni si-ta.
Taroo-Top this PC-Nom three-hour-except work-not so.that do-past
Lit. 'Taroo did so that this PC could work normally only for three hours.'
b. *Taroo-wa kono pasokon-ga san-jikan-sika ugoku yooni si-nakat-ta.
Taroo-Top this PC-Nom three-hour-except work so.that do-not-past
Lit. 'Taroo did so that this PC could work normally only for three hours.'

Given that there is nothing wrong with the structure in (20b), it is difficult to give an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (20a). On the other hand, under the analysis where the accusative causee is in the matrix clause, *honcase* is supposed to be in the matrix clause as well as *Mary-lul* in (20a), which forces *honcase* to modify the matrix predicate. However, this interpretation is incompatible with the plural subject, as mentioned above. The ungrammaticality of (20a) is correctly captured.

Adopting an analysis where the dative causee is base-generated as an object of the causative verb *ha*, Yeo (2006) postulates the same syntactic structure for the accusative causee. In other words, the causative verb *ha* takes a nominal causee and a clausal argument to which *key* is attached, whether the causee is marked with accusative Case or dative Case. However, Yeo's (2006) proposal is difficult to maintain because it is not clear how its analysis captures the semantic difference between the accusative causee and the dative one. It is widely observed that dative causees must be in control of the event described in the embedded clause while accusative causees do not exhibit such a constraint, as shown in (22).

- (22) a. *John-i pi-ey(key) o-key hay-ss-ta.
 John-Nom rain-Dat come-KEY do-past-Dec
 'John made it rain.' (O'Grady 1991: 183)
- b. John-i pi-lul o-key hay-ss-ta.
 John-Nom rain-Acc come-KEY do-past-Dec
 'John made it rain.' (O'Grady 1991: 184)

It is plausible to assume that the relevant constraint on dative causees is imposed by the matrix causative verb *ha* while accusative causees are base-generated in the embedded clause without any selectional relation with the matrix verb *ha*, which correctly captures the observation that the accusative causee does not exhibit the semantic constraint that the dative causee obeys in (22). Thus this paper adopts the analysis whereby the accusative causee is base-generated in the embedded clause and then moves to the matrix clause.

The next question is what kind of movement the accusative causee undergoes. One might say that the movement in question is the so-called A-movement, such as "raising to subject" in English exemplified by (23). However, this view is not maintainable. As shown in (23), idiom chunks can undergo A-movement. In contrast, as observed in (24), the accusative causee cannot be an idiom chunk.

- (23) The cat seems to be out of the bag.
- (24) Inswu-ka phathi-eyse kim-i/*ul say-key ha-yess-ta.
 Insu-Nom party-Loc stream-Nom/*Acc break-KEY do-past-Dec
 'Insu made the mood of the party dreamy.' (S. Lee 2001: 585)

Alternatively, this paper pursues the possibility that the relevant movement is scrambling, which will be discussed in the next section in more detail.

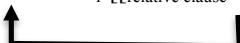
4 Case valuation after scrambling

It has been generally assumed that a scrambled NP retains its case marker assigned before scrambling. This is shown in (25), where the accusative Case marker should be kept at the landing site of scrambling.

- (25) Kono-hon-o/*ga Taroo-ga yonda.
 this-book-Acc/Nom Taroo-Nom read
 'Taroo read this book.'

Contrary to this general assumption, Fukui & Nishigauchi (1992) and Fukui (1995) have pursued the hypothesis that nominals can be assigned Case at the landing site of scrambling based on nominative/genitive conversion such as (26).

- (26) a. Taroo-ga katta hon
 Taroo-Nom bought book
 'the book Taroo bought'
- b. Taroo-no katta hon
 Taroo-Gen bought book
 'the book Taroo bought'

c. [Taroo-no₁ [[relative clause t₁ katta] hon]]
 Scrambling

It is widely observed that the nominative Case marker *ga* can alternate with the genitive Case marker *no* in several syntactic contexts such as relative clauses and noun complements. As shown in (26c), the converted form in (26b) is derived by scrambling the subject of the relative clause (i.e., *Taroo*) into the nominal projection, where it receives genitive Case. Kasai (2018) extends this type of approach to the derivation of the nominative object construction in Japanese.

Along these lines of research, it is proposed in this paper that the embedded subject in the relevant Korean causative construction undergoes scrambling to the matrix clause, where it gets accusative Case. Let us take (1) as an example. *Mary* is base-generated in the embedded clause, as shown in (27a). If scrambling does not take place, *Mary* stays in situ and is assigned nominative Case because nominals can be assigned nominative Case at the edge of *vP* under (4b). If *Mary* undergoes scrambling and gets merged with the matrix VP as shown in (27b), it receives accusative Case because nominals can receive accusative Case within VP under (4a).¹⁰ Under the proposed analysis, the Case alternation in question hinges on the application of scrambling and the optionality of Case alternation is captured in terms of the optionality of scrambling.

- (27) a. John-i [_{VP} Mary-ka hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka]-key ha-ess-ta.
 b. John-i [_{VP} Mary₁-lul [_{VP} [_{VP} t₁ hakkyo(-ey)-lul ka]-key ha]]-ess-ta.

As argued in the last section, the A-movement approach cannot capture the ungrammaticality of (24) with accusative Case. Under the proposed approach, on the other hand, the relevant idiom chunk must undergo scrambling to the matrix clause in order to receive accusative Case. However, as shown in (28), idiom chunks cannot undergo scrambling. (28a), which involves the accusative-dative order, is ambiguous: It has a literal reading and an idiomatic reading. In (28b), where the dative phrase *sonakwi-ey* precedes the accusative phrase, the idiomatic reading becomes unavailable. Suppose that the dative-accusative order in (28b) is obtained via the scrambling of the dative phrase. If idiom chunks could undergo scrambling, the idiomatic reading would be obtained through the scrambling of the dative phrase in (28b) as well.

- (28) (Sanghwang-ul cengli-ha-ki wihay) (situation-Acc complete-do-Nmz in.order),
 a. ku-nun ku salam-ul sonakwi-ey cwi-eya-hay-ssta.
 he-Top that person-Acc hand-Dat grasp-must-past-Dec
 Literal: 'He must grasp that person.'
 Idiomatic: 'He must have power over that person.' (available)
 b. ku-nun sonakwi-ey ku salam-ul cwi-eya-hay-ssta.
 he-Top hand-Dat that person-Acc grasp-must-past-Dec
 Literal: 'He must grasp that person.'
 Idiomatic: 'He must have power over that person.' (not available)
 (J.-E. Lee 2017: 86, originally due to Hwang 2015)

One might ask why scrambling does not affect Case marking in standard cases like (25). In (29), which is the derivation of (25), the scrambled phrase cannot be given nominative Case, although it moves to the edge of *vP*.

- (29) [_{TP} [_{vP} kono-hon-o/*ga₁ [_{vP} Taroo-ga [_{VP} t₁ yon]]]-da].
 this-book-Acc /Nom Taroo-Nom read-past
 'Taroo read this book.'

¹⁰ Under the proposed analysis, the accusative causee must move out of the embedded *vP*. The following example is potentially problematic to the proposed analysis because it appears that the accusative causees remain within the two coordinated *vPs*.

- (i) Sensayngnim-kkeyse [Hana-lul naka]-ko [Nara-lul tuleo]-key ha-si-ess-ta.
 Teacher-Nom(Hon) Gana-Acc go.out-and Nana-Acc come.in-KEY do-Hon-past-Dec
 'The teacher made Hana go out and Nara come in.' (Chai 2000: 198)

One possible solution is that (i) involves coordination of the matrix VPs, together with ellipsis, as shown in (ii), where *key-ha* is elided in the first conjunct.

- (ii) Sensayngnim-kkeyse [Hana-lul naka-key-ha]-ko [Nara-lul tuleo-key ha]-si-ess-ta.

Let us assume that once an unvalued feature is assigned a value, it cannot undergo another process of valuation with the same feature. If the Case feature of a scrambled phrase is valued at the base-position, the Case feature cannot be valued at the landing site. In order for the scrambled phrase to undergo Case valuation at the landing site of scrambling, its Case feature needs to be unvalued at the base-position. However, when Transfer applies at the ν P-phase level, the unvalued Case feature within VP is sent to the interfaces, which makes the derivation illegitimate.

Why is the causee allowed to undergo Case valuation after scrambling in (27b)? This paper pursues the hypothesis in (30), which was originally proposed by Kasai (2018).

(30) The interfaces check whether a Case feature is valued or not in each transferred domain.

In (27b), *Sue* stays at the edge of the embedded ν P before scrambling and the landing site of the scrambling is an adjoined position to the matrix VP. These positions are transferred simultaneously when Transfer applies at the matrix ν P-phase level. The interfaces obtain the information that the Case feature of the scrambled phrase has been valued, even if it was not valued at the base-position. Thus, there is nothing wrong with the derivation in terms of (30). On the other hand, in (29), the base-position of the scrambled phrase and its landing site are in different transferred domains: The former is included within VP and the latter is at the edge of ν P. When the interfaces check whether the Case feature of the scrambled phrase is valued or not, the Case feature is found to be unvalued, even though it was valued in a different transferred domain.¹¹

5 Conclusion

This paper has addressed two issues about the Korean syntactic causative. One is concerned with the question as to why the causee can be marked with nominative Case in the Korean syntactic causative, unlike the Japanese syntactic causative. This paper proposes that the former involves ν P while the latter involves VP, lacking a ν -layer. It has been shown that this difference is independently supported by the behavior of the items to be licensed by negation in the languages. The other issue is how the causee can undergo nominative/accusative Case alternation. Along the lines of Fukui & Nishigauchi (1992) and Fukui (1995), it has been proposed that if the causee stays in the embedded clause, it is marked with nominative Case. On the other hand, if it moves into the matrix clause via scrambling, it is marked with accusative Case. Under the proposed analysis, the optionality of the Case alternation in the relevant construction is due to the optionality of scrambling.

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¹¹ The nominative/accusative alternation in the construction mentioned in Note 3 may receive the same treatment as in the Korean syntactic causative. The relevant example is repeated below.

- (i) Taroo-wa kono pasokon-ga/o seejyoo-ni ugoku yooni si-ta.
 Taroo-Top this PC-Nom/Acc normally work so.that do-past
 Lit. 'Taroo did so that this PC could work normally.'

When *kono pasokon* is marked with accusative Case, it undergoes scrambling and adjoins to the matrix VP, where it receives accusative Case. It is important that the analysis hinges on the assumption that the embedded clause has no C as a phase head. Otherwise, the base-position and the landing site would be included in different transferred domains and Case valuation at the landing site would be blocked by (30).

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