

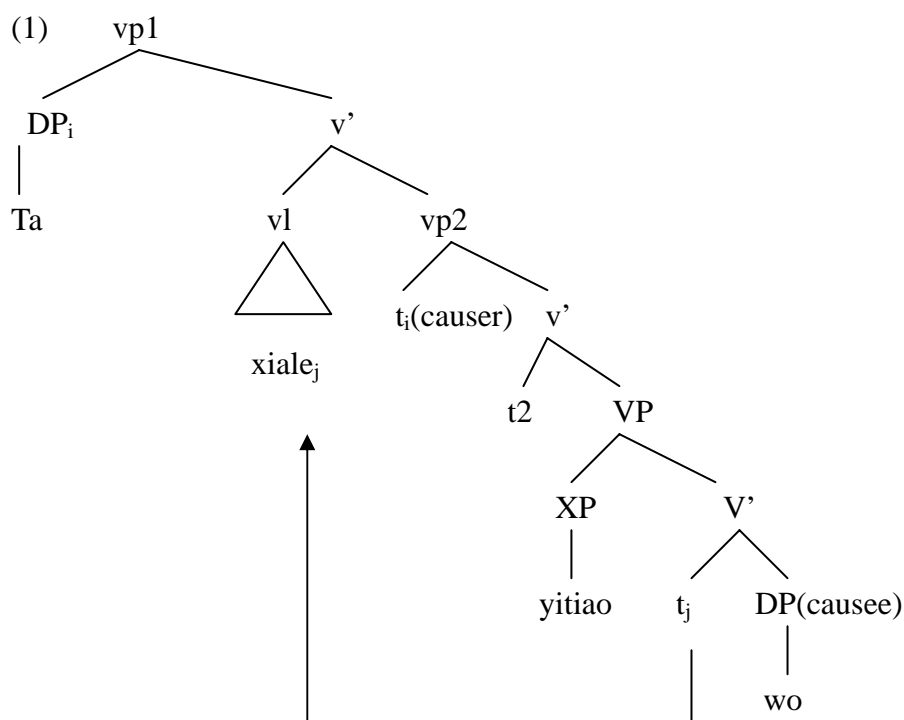
Chapter V

Discussion

It was demonstrated in the previous chapter that causativity varies from sentence to sentence. However, there is still a tendency that high causativity is occupied by lexical causatives while low causativity is engaged with periphrastic causatives. The implications of the results are discussed in this chapter. Firstly, the results of the study as supportive evidence for the lexicalist view of causativity are presented in 5.1. Next, in Section 5.2, it is demonstrated that Mandarin causatives conform to the principle of iconicity. Last, Section 5.3 presents how three models—directness, force-dynamics and transitivity—work successfully.

5.1 Inspection of derivational view and lexicalist view toward causativity

It has been mentioned that this study aims to investigate the variation of causativity. Questions about causativity appear when the derivational account differs from the lexicalist account. The introduction of the two viewpoints is repeated here again. Huang (1988) proposes that the causative “DE” is derived through syntactic movement. Moreover, Wang and He (2002) apply the split-VP hypothesis and covert light verbs for all Mandarin causatives. Their basic idea is summarized through the following tree diagram.



(Wang and He 2002:107)

In (1), v1 is a position of a lexical light verb, and it could be realized by causative morphemes such as *shi* (使), *rang* (讓), *jiao₁* (叫), *jiao₂* (教), *ling* (令) and so on. If the position is not occupied by such morphemes, a verb can move in and acquire the causative meaning or causativity. In other words, all “so-called” resultative or causative verbs under this framework carry no causativity until they move into the causative position and then turn the whole sentences into causatives. This explanation has two consequences: One is that no lexical causatives exist, and the other is that the causativity of all causatives should be identical except for their linear order.

The lexicalist view (Cheng & Huang 1994, Li 1995, Her 2004, 2007) challenges this point of view. They regard in the case that causativity is an integral

part of lexical formation. Specifically, Cheng and Huang observe that not all resultative compounds with the same linear order indicate causatives. Take the following two sentences as examples: 張三騎累了這匹馬 *Zhangsan qilei le zhepi ma* “*Zhangsan* rode this horse and made it tired” and 張三騎厭了這匹馬 *Zhangsan qiyan le zhepi ma* “*Zhangsan* became bored with riding this horse.” The reason for it may be due to their different argument structures. Li and Her, on the other hand, focus on the mismatch data of Mandarin causatives. This type of sentences attracts attention because their ambiguity allow for an interpretation which does not follow formal thematic hierarchy such as (2).

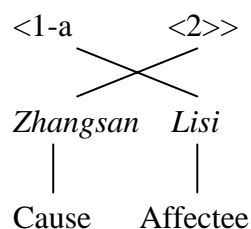
(2) 張三追累了李四。

Zhangsan zhuilei le Lisi.

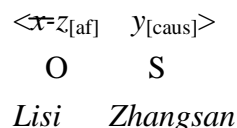
Zhangsan chase tired *Lisi*.

Lisi chased *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* got tired.

(3) *Lisi* chased *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* got tired. (Li 1995: 270)



(4) *Lisi* chased *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* got tired. (Her 2007: 241)



Li (1995) proposes a causative hierarchy –two more roles, Cause and Affectee— which can override the formal thematic hierarchy to explain it. Therefore this

interpretation exists because *Zhangsan* is ascribed a Cause role and *Lisi* an Affectee role. The causative role explains this interpretation as for (3); however, the movement-based account fails. Later Her (2007) suggests that (2) can be explained as (4) without formulating new rules, but can work well under the formal argument function model by suppression. In (4), the subject role x of 追 *zhui* “chase” is suppressed and the realized roles $-z$ and y —are patient/theme type of roles, so the causativity functions to assign y as cause. The theory of argument structure holds a belief that the semantic component within a verb can predict the correct grammatical relations and it does work well with the data (2). Generally, the lexicalist account is of the regard that causativity is incorporated into the lexicon but that it is not originated from features of the syntactic structures.

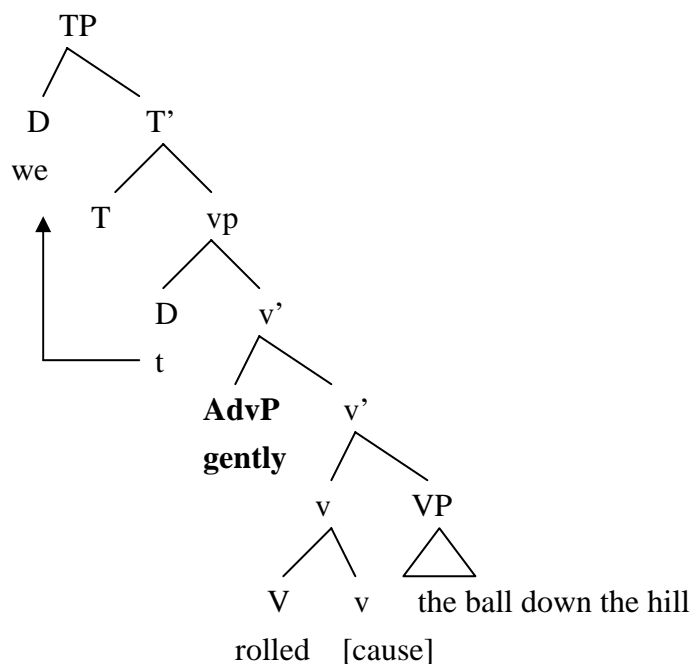
Since the statements of the movement-based and lexicalist views have been clearly presented, the results of this study are in favor of the lexicalist account because the causativity of lexical and periphrastic causatives displays a variation. Importantly, there is a tendency for lexical causatives to appear at the end of the continuum which represents that the causatives are high in causativity and for periphrastic causatives to appear at the end which represents that the causatives are low in causativity. The reason for this is that when the lexical and periphrastic causative counterparts appear, the periphrastic causative allows for an indirect

reading while a lexical causative does not. Wolff (2003) also attains a similar conclusion via a contextual experiment. It demonstrates that native speakers tend to use lexical causatives to express direct causation and periphrastic causatives to describe the indirect causation. Therefore, 張三絆倒了李四 *Zhangsan bandao le Lisi* “Zhangsan banged into Lisi” has a stronger degree of causativity than 李四使張三絆倒 *Zhangsan shi Lisi bandao le* “Zhang made Lisi stumble.”

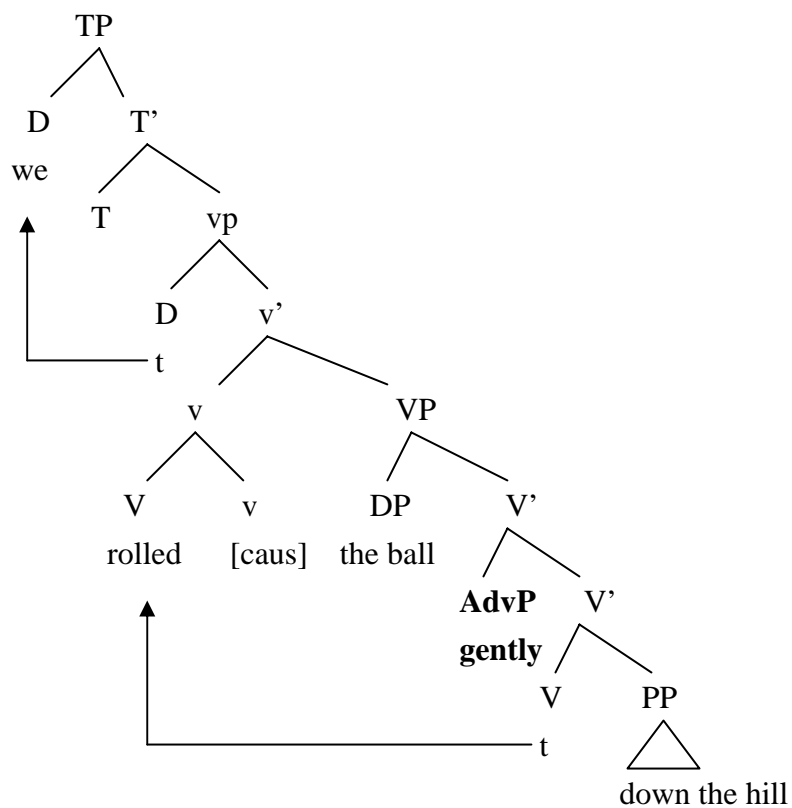
Nevertheless, variation does not exist in the movement-based framework.

It has been shown that our results are semantically incompatible with derivational accounts. However, because this controversy is basically a debate about syntax, the feedback from syntax is optimal. Based on the derivational account of causativity, it is observed that the movement-based view becomes problematic with adverbs. Firstly, the motivation for the VP shell analysis which Wang and He adopted is introduced here. This hypothesis is proposed to explain the behavior of adverbs such as “gently” when the meaning of the adverb becomes different due to the different placement of the adverb, as see in the following examples.

(5) a. We gently rolled the ball down the hill.



b. We rolled the ball gently down the hill.



In (5a), the adverb modifies the following v', which is headed by the causative

light verb, so this sentence means that the manner of the causative verb “roll” is gently. However, in (5b), the adverb modifies the following V’, which is only a verb phrase. Based on this analysis, the adverb insertion is grammatical at these two positions but it is not the case in Mandarin. Take the following sentences as examples:

- (6) a. 張三騎累了那匹馬
Zhangsan qileile napima
Zhangsan ride-tire ASP that horse.
*Zhangsan rode the horse and make it **tired**.*
- b. *張三騎[很快]累了那匹馬
Zhangsan qi henkuai leile napima
Zhangsan ride fast tire that horse
- c. *張三騎累了那匹馬[很快]
Zhangsan qileile napima henkuai
Zhangsan ride tire that horse fast

The verb 騎 *qi* ‘ride’ is the head of VP and 累了 *leile* ‘tire’ is the head of the vp (a little v), but the adverbial insertion of (6b) and (6c) are ungrammatical. Therefore, the derivational account does not correctly explain the syntax of causatives.

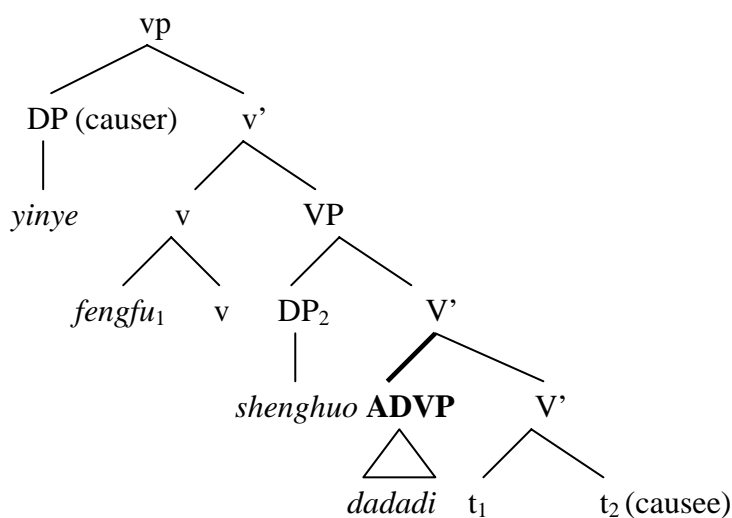
Secondly, the derivational accounts are able to predict ungrammatical sentences such as the following.

- (7) a. 音樂使生活豐富。
Yinye shi shenghuo fengfu
Music make life colorful
 ‘Music makes life colorful.’
- b. 音樂豐富生活。
Yinye fengfu shenghuo
Music make life colorful
 ‘Music makes life colorful.’

- c. 音樂使生活大大地豐富。
Yinye shi shenghuo daidaidi fengfu
 Music make life colorful
 ‘Music makes life very colorful.

- d. *音樂豐富生活大大地
Yinye fengfu shenghuo daidaidi

- e. The syntactic tree of (7d)



(Wang and He 2002:114)

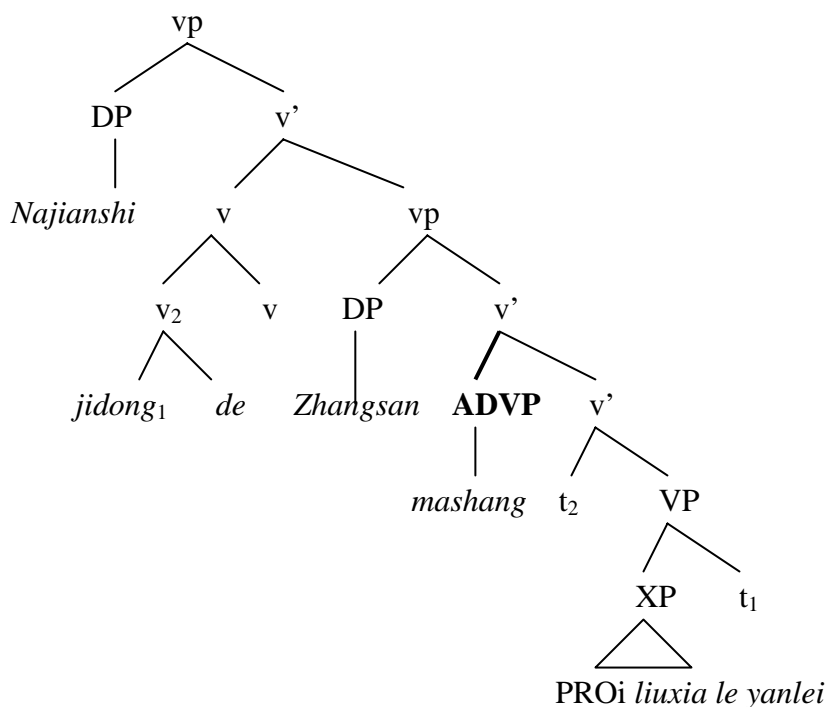
(7a) and (7b) are grammatical and conform to a derivational view of causativity.

An adverb is inserted in (7c) before the verb and it is well-formed. However, when the derivational rule is applied to (7d) and the verb *fengfu* moves to the matrix V, the adverb becomes the end of the sentence because the following verb is phonetically empty. Nonetheless, this is ungrammatical. In the tree diagram (7e), it is obvious that the movement-based account predicts the incorrect sentence.

Moreover, another situation can happen as in the next example.

- (8) a. 那件事使張三激動得流下了眼淚。
Najianshi shi Zhangsan jidongde liuxia le yanlei
 That event make *Zhangsan* excited shed ASP tears
 ‘That event made *Zhangsan* so excited that he started to shed tears.’
- b. 那件事激動得張三流下了眼淚。
Najianshi jidongde Zhangsan liuxia le yanlei
 That event excite *Zhangsan* shed ASP tears
 ‘That event made *Zhangsan* so excited that he started to shed tears.’
- c. 那件事使張三馬上激動得流下了眼淚。
Najianshi shi Zhangsan mashang jidongde liuxia le yanlei
 That event make *Zhangsan* immediately excited shed ASP tears
 ‘That event made *Zhangsan* so excited immediately that he started to shed tears.’
- d. 那件事激動得張三馬上流下了眼淚。
Najianshi Jidongde Zhangsan mashang liuxia le yanlei
 That event excite *Zhangsan* immediately shed ASP tears
 ‘That event made *Zhangsan* so excited that he immediately started to shed tears.’

e. The syntactic tree of (8c) and (8d)



(Wang and He 2002:114)

The adverb *mashang* ‘immediately’ is inserted in (8c) and (8d). According to (8e), when the verb 激動得 *jidong de* moves to the causative light verb position to attain the causative meaning, the adverb still remains at the same position because this movement is only a head-to-head movement. However, the meaning is not identical with that of (8c) even though phonetically (8d) is still grammatical. The ADVP in (8c) modifies the following verb phrase *jidong de liuxia le yanlei* ‘so excited that (he) started to shed tears’ but in (8d), the adverb only modifies *liuxia le yanlei* ‘shed tears’. If (8c) and (8d) share the same deep structure, then the contrast between them is unexpected. Therefore, following the movement-based account as in (7) and (8), the incorrect predictions are made without a satisfactory explanation.

Moreover, the derivational accounts not only encounter problems in the explanation of the placement of adverbs, but also in the analysis of resultative compounds. The resultative compounds can be divided into two categories according to their transparency. Some resultative compounds are transparent because their meanings can be decomposed based on their elements, such as 追累 *zhui lei* [to chase+ tired]. However, other resultative compounds have been used for a long time so that the meanings have become inseparable or frozen and it is hard to tell which aspect of the meaning is contributed by which element. Some

examples of this type of resultative compound are 說明 *shuo ming* [to say + clear] ‘to explain, clarify,’ or 察覺 *cha jue* [to check+ to feel] ‘to discover’. Therefore, the resultative compounds of the latter type are opaque and lexicalized, or one element of resultative compounds becomes relatively empty and is bounded tightly to the other element such as 涉及 *she ji* [to wide+ to reach] ‘to involve, relate to, touch upon’ (Chung, 2006). As for the resultative compounds, lexicalists propose that every lexical item appears as a whole. In other words, the lexicalized resultative compounds are formed in the lexicon. If the resultative compound has a causative meaning then its formation is also accomplished in the lexicon.

However, the derivational accounts suggest that the formation of the resultative compounds is via the combination of the two elements. Nevertheless, this process is insufficient to explain the formation of lexicalized resultative compounds. As a result, the derivational account has two methods to produce resultative compounds compared to the lexicalist view where resultative compounds are formed only in the lexicon. Therefore, the derivational account is less economical.

In short, this study provides a semantic analysis and proves that causativity is not identical between lexical and periphrastic causatives. Moreover, two examples offer syntactic observation to illustrate the false predictions which can be derived from the movement-based view. In addition, the derivational accounts of the

formation of resultative compounds are less economical than those of the lexical accounts. Consequently, two conclusions can be drawn within this discussion.

They are firstly, that the result of this study supports the lexicalist point of view and secondly, that the lexicalist account is a finer framework than a derivational one.

5.2 Universality: Iconicity

Iconicity is an important point of view which concerns the point that language may be defined in one way as non-arbitrary and non-autonomous and that it corresponds to human conception of the external world. Tai (1993) proposes that a great number of Mandarin syntactic structures are iconically motivated. Five categories are mentioned and identified in Mandarin: order motivation, distance motivation, separateness motivation, juxtaposition motivation, and reduplication motivation. One of the motivations relating to this study is the distance principle.

The definition given by Haiman (1983: 783) is that

The linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them.

In other words, the shorter the linguistic form, the more intimate the two elements are. Moreover Haiman (1985) illustrates the relationship with “X+Y,” which are less close than a single morpheme. This notion is called “conceptual distance,” for a single morpheme implies that people conceive of the event as a whole situation

(Haiman 1985: 102).

In this present study, the results have indicated that lexical causatives tend to be of a higher degree of causativity and that periphrastic causatives are associated with a lower degree of causativity. This observation conforms to the concept of conceptual distance because lexical causatives entail a close relationship between causers and the causees. However, the periphrastic causatives suggest a looser connection between causers and the causees. Take the following sentence as examples. When the causer and the causee have physical contact, (3a) is preferred, but, if the causer uses instruments to achieve the action or be at the different spatial, the periphrastic form is preferred.

- (9) a. 張三絆倒了李四。
Zhangsan bandao le Lisi
 Zhangsan stumble ASP Lisi
 ‘Zhangsan banged into Lisi.’
 b. 張三使李四絆倒了。
Zhangsan shi Lisi bandao le
 Zhangsan make Lisi stumble ASP
 ‘Zhang made Lisi stumble.’

Consequently, the result of the study is not *ad hoc* and corresponds to universal grammar.

5.3 The feedback from the three frameworks

Chapter IV has demonstrated that the three frameworks—directness, force-dynamics and transitivity work successfully to identify the degree of

causativity. The three frameworks did not function independently in this study, but rather interactively. In other words, they are highly correlated. Among the three models, transitivity includes the collective features of the elements of the clause. Givón (1985) has divided the features into three groups: Agent-related, Patient-related and Verb-related. Moreover, Malchukov (2006) also turned the transitivity features into a continuum form.

(10) Transitivity scale

A-features	V-features	O-features
[animacy][volitionality][kinesis][factivity][tense/aspect][affectedness][O-individuation]		
(Malchukov 2006: 333)		

After the features are categorized, it is easy for us to connect them to the other two frameworks. For illustration, directness is primarily highly correlated to verb because the direct situation calls for the same spatio-temporal frame. Namely, if the action is punctual then it has a greater chance to be direct. On the contrary, when the verb is durative, then the greater the chance is for it to become an indirect situation. Certainly, the animate agents and patients help to increase the degree of directness as well.

Unlike directness, force-dynamics is in relation to A-features and O-features. The strong force requires a powerful agent to be antagonist. Similarly, the agency feature for the transitivity framework entails potency, namely power. In addition to

a power agent, the affectedness of a patient is also important to identify the degree of force. Like logical inference, a strong agent may influence the patient totally, but if the patient is little or not affected then the force of the agent is weak.

To sum up, V-features play a decisive role for directness whereas A-features and O-factors influence the force dimension. Although the three frameworks—force-dynamics, directness, and transitivity—start from different perspectives, respectively cognition, semantics and grammar, they demonstrate overlapping and complementary functions in the construction of causativity.

5.4 Remarks

The discussion of the results we presented in the previous sections in this chapter includes the following points: First, the result of this study offers another piece of evidence to support the lexicalist view. Moreover, the imperfections of the movement-based account were also presented. Last, the result also conforms to the iconicity of the natural language and the complementary nature of the three models contributes greatly to our analysis. A summary of this study will be presented next in Chapter VI.