Chapter II

Literature Review

As this study aims to provide new information for the derivational and lexicalist accounts of causativity, some previous studies will first be reviewed. First, Huang (1988) and Wang and He (2002) of the movement-based account will be described and then studies by the lexical view including Cheng and Huang (1994), Li (1995) and Her (2007) of the lexical view.

2.1 The derivational account

The viewpoints of derivational syntax in regard to the derivation of Mandarin causatives are selectively introduced in this section. They are Huang (1988) and Wang and He (2002).

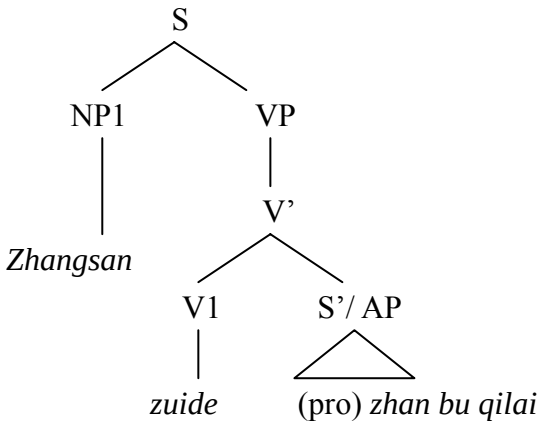
2.1.1 Huang (1988)

Huang examines phrase structures of Mandarin "DE" constructions and argues that the causative meaning of the constructions is derived syntactically. He uses the following sentences to illustrate that they are derived from the same syntactic structures but only one of examples is causative.

(1) 張三醉得站不起來。 (non-causative)
Zhangsan zuide zhan bu qilai.

Zhangsan drunk DE stand not up.
'*Zhangsan* was too drunk to stand up.'

(2)

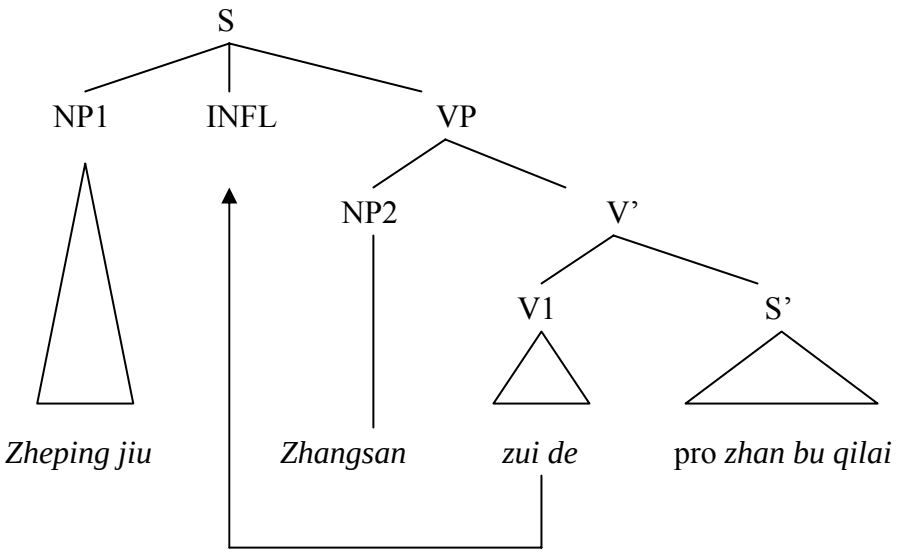


In Example (1) Huang argues that V1 is the main verb and it takes S or AP as its complement. Moreover, the NP1 *Zhangsan* functions as the subject of the matrix clause and indirectly (through 'pro') as the subject of the next clause.

Subsequently the causative counterpart is presented.

(3) 這瓶酒醉得張三站不起來。 (causative)
Zheping jiu zuide Zhangsan zhan bu qilai
This wine drunk DE *Zhangsan* stand not up
'This wine made *Zhangsan* so drunk that he couldn't stand up.'

(4)



The deep structures of the two sentences are similar. The NP2 *Zhangsan* in (4) cannot take a θ role in this structure since V' cannot assign a role to it. As a result, V1 is raised to incorporate with INFL and is able to assign a role to NP2. In other words, the VP movement not only helps the NP2 to acquire a role, but attributes a causative meaning to the sentence. Therefore, compared to (1) and (2), by moving into the position of INFL, (3) and (4) attain the CAUSE meaning, which can be briefly formulated as (5):

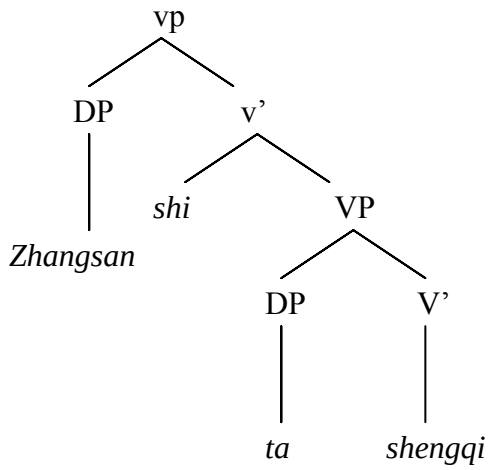
(5) *Zheping jiu* [CAUSE] *Zhangsan zuide zhan bu qilai*
This wine *Zhangsan* drunk DE can't stand.

In brief, Huang seeks to demonstrate that the emergence of causativity is due to syntactic structure rather than the lexicon.

2.1.2 Wang and He (2002)

Based on Huang's study, Wang and He also propose that the causative meaning is derived from the syntactic structure and apply this rule to all Mandarin causatives.

(6) 張三使他生氣
Zhangsan shi ta shengqi.
'*Zhangsan* make him angry.'

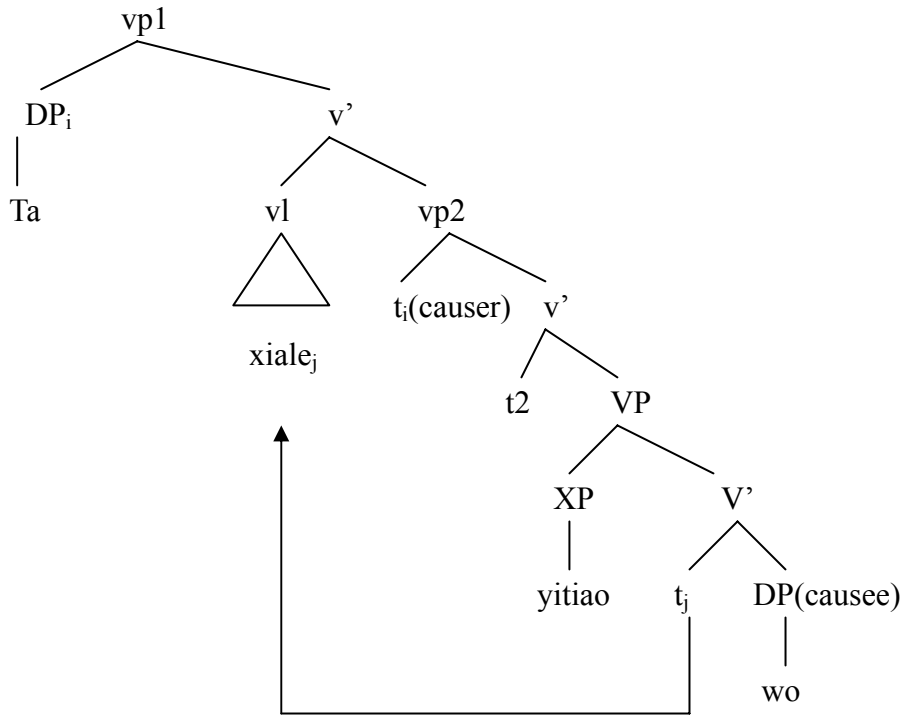


(Wang and He 2002:100)

(7) 他嚇了我一跳。

Ta xiale wo yitiao.

'He scared me so I jumped up.'



(Wang and He 2002:107)

Example (6) is a periphrastic causative with its syntactic structure whereas example (7) demonstrates the structure of Mandarin lexical causatives. Although

the causatives are of different categories, their structures are alike. The causative morpheme *shi* appears at the same position with v1 in (7). Therefore, this is the slot of a causative light verb. Moreover, without a causative morpheme such as *shi*, the verb "*xiale*" can move in and then take a causative meaning. Additionally, the causee "*wo*" will be moved to the left of the XP before the phonetic form. This account suggests that causative meanings are derived from the syntactic structure but not from the lexicon. As a result, there is no need to mention lexical causatives and they should be no different from periphrastic causatives.

2.2 The lexicalist account

We present different perspectives in this section related to the lexicalist points of view toward Mandarin causatives. They challenge the movement-based analyses because they believe that causatvity originates from the lexicon, not from syntactic structures.

2.2.1 Cheng and Huang (1994)

Cheng and Huang classify the resultative compounds (RVC) according to transitivity and aspectuality. They fall into four categories—unergative, transitive, ergative, and causative. Moreover, the resultative compounds are divided into two sets based on the compositional semantics—active and nonactive RVCs. Each category displays the different features of argument structures, which are

presented as follows:

(8) Active RVC: [$_{RV}$ V1 $_{Active}$ [V2 $_{State/\ Change\text{-}of\text{-}state}$]]

a. <agent> (unergative RVC)

b. <Agent, Theme> (transitive RVC)

c. <Agent, (Theme)> (mixed)

(Cheng & Huang 1994: 198)

(9) Non-active RVC: [$_{RV}$ V1 $_{Non\text{-}active}$ [V2 $_{State/\ Change\text{-}of\text{-}state}$]]

a. <Theme/ Experiencer/ Causee> (ergative)

b. <Causer, Theme/ Experiencer/ Causee> (causative)

(Cheng & Huang 1994: 199)

Therefore, not all resultative compounds indicate causatives even though they have the same syntactic structures. Take (10) for illustration:

(10) a.張三騎累了這匹馬。 (Causative)

Zhangsan qilei le zhepi ma

Zhangsan ride tired ASP this horse

Zhangsan rode this horse and made it tired.

b. 張三騎厭了這匹馬。 (Non-causative)

Zhangsan qiyian le zhepi ma

Zhangsan ride bored ASP this horse

Zhangsan became bored with riding this horse.

The difference between (10a) and (10b) lies in their argument structure. (10a) falls into the category of causative because the horse is the experiencer or the causee, and *Zhangsan* is the causer. Unlike (10a), the horse in (10b) only takes a "theme" role and *Zhangsan* is the agent. The result of the study indicates that the causativity is not produced via syntactical transformation, but as a part of a compounding operation in a lexical item.

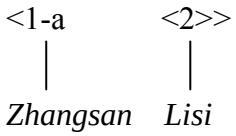
2.2.2 Li (1995)

Unlike Cheng and Huang's following of formal theta-criterion, Li proposes that the causative theta criterion can override it. Focusing on Mandarin causative compounds, Li suggests that when causatives are examined, two more causative roles (c-roles) should be considered—Cause and Affectee. These two roles represent the property of the whole resultative compound which is composed of V_{caus} +V_{res}. The conditions of c-role assignment are listed as follows:

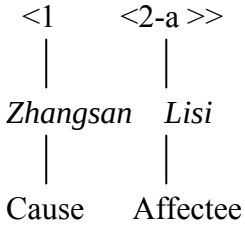
(11) a. The argument in the subject position receives the c-role Cause from a resultative compound if it receives a theta role only from V_{caus}.
b. The argument in the object position receives the c-role Affectee from a resultative compound if it receives a theta role at least from V_{res}.
(Li 1995: 267)

The c-role explains the grammaticality of the following data:

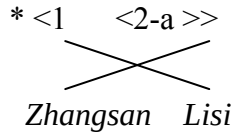
(12) 張三追累了李四。
Zhangsan zhuilei le Lisi.
Zhangsan chase tired *Lisi*.
a. *Zhangsan* chased *Lisi* and *Zhangsan* got tired.



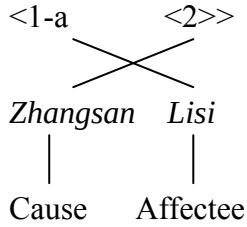
b. *Zhangsan* chased *Lisi* and *Lisi* got tired.



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



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



The argument *Zhangsan* in (12a) attains no c-role for it fails to satisfy the condition in (11a) so it is not causative. In (12b), *Zhangsan* is assigned as Cause and Lisi as Affectee, so it is causatives. In (12c) and (12d), on the other hand, the prominent agent role is assigned to its object *Lisi*, violating the thematic hierarchy. However, since the causative hierarchy can override the thematic hierarchy, (12d) receives c-roles and thus it is still grammatical whereas (12c) fails to satisfy either thematic hierarchy or the c-role conditions and therefore it is ungrammatical. In brief, Li's account explains the relationship between grammaticality and causativity. Moreover, it also shows that the assignment of causativity is an essential part of the lexical formation.

2.2.3 Her (2007)

Li's (1995) solution of causativity depends on causative roles which can override the thematic roles. Differing from Li, Her prefers to solve this issue based

on the well-established thematic framework. The same example with (12) is utilized here to illustrate Her's suppression approach.

(13) 追 *zhui* 'chase' <x, y> +累 *lei* 'tired' <z>

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

<*x*=~~*z*~~ *y*> (non-causative)

S O

Zhangsan *Lisi*

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

<*x* *y*-~~*z*~~> (non-causative)

S O

Zhangsan *Lisi*

<$x_{[caus]}$ ~~*y*~~=$z_{[af]}$> (causative)

S O

Zhangsan *Lisi*

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

<*x* *y*=~~*z*~~> (non-existent)

<*x* ~~*y*~~-*z*>

*O *S

Lisi *Zhangsan*

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

<~~*x*~~=$z_{[af]}$ $y_{[caus]}$> (causative)

O S

Lisi *Zhangsan*

(Her 2007: 240-241)

The resultative compound 追累 *zuilei* "chase-tired" licenses three arguments in total. However, two of them are overlapping so one can be suppressed and it is grammatical. As a result, only two arguments are realized phonetically to form the

sentence we hear. Note that (13d) is an example of argument-function mismatches and Li argues that here c-roles override the thematic roles and so it is acceptable. Her, on the other hand, suggests that both *z* and *y* are patient/theme type of roles, so the causativity functions to assign *y* as cause. Moreover, the prominent agent role *x* is suppressed, and no violation of the thematic roles happens. Generally, this approach modifies Li's account and provides a more natural and economic explanation for the relationship between grammaticality and causativity.

2.3 Remarks

This section has briefly presented derivational and lexicalist perspective toward causativity. The former one believes that causativity is derived from the syntactic structure. In other words, there is no need to identify the nature of lexical causatives since every lexical item can become a causative once it moves into the position of causative light verb. Moreover, the nature of the causativity will be the same regardless of the category of the causative. The lexicalists propose, in contrast, that causativity is a part of the lexical formation. The causativity will vary depending on different semantic components of the causatives.

In the next chapter, there will be a short introduction of the frameworks to be used in the analysis of causativity, including directness, force-dynamics and transitivity. The introductions of the three aspects are extracted from respectively,

Shibatani and Pardeshi (2001), Wolff (2003), Talmy (2000), and Hopper and Thompson (1980).