

Prepositional versus Verbal Causativizers

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1. Introduction

In causative constructions of natural languages, a causer argument, which does not originate in a predicate's argument structure, is typically realized as a DP (or NP). Since a DP requires Case, the predicate needs to expand its Case-licensing ability, for example, by being selected by an independent verb like *make* in the English example (1b) or by a verbal bound morpheme like *-sase* in the Japanese example (2b).

- (1) a. Mary went to New York.
b. John made Mary go to New York.
- (2) a. Mary-wa New York-e ik-ta.
Mary-TOP New York-to go-PAST
'Mary went to New York.'
- b. John-wa Mary-o New York-e ik-(s)ase-ta.
John-TOP Mary-ACC New York-to go-cause-PAST
'John caused Mary to go to New York.'

A distinct type of increased Case requirement is exemplified in (3b) and (4b), where a DP argument appears instead of a TP argument after the intransitive verb *think* and the adjective *certain*, respectively.

- (3) a. I think that John should resign.
b. I can't think of anything.
- (4) a. I'm proud that you won the game.
b. I'm proud of your victory.

Unlike in (1) and (2), it is the semantically null preposition *of* rather than the designated verbal elements that accommodates the Case requirement in (3) and (4). It is not surprising to resort to *make*, *-sase*, or *of* since transitive verbs and prepositions are generally Case-licensors. An important difference is that in (1) and (2), the number of arguments has increased and the causative meaning is added, while in (3) and (4), there's

no semantic or thematic change. Indonesian is interesting in that one of its suffixes, *-kan*, which I will analyze on a par with *of* in English, is used in both patterns of increased Case requirement as well as benefactive constructions. In this paper, I will deduce the versatile nature of *-kan* in contrast to the causative verbs *make* and *-sase* from their categorial distinction.

2. Transitivity Restriction on Indonesian Causatives and Benefactives

As summarized in Sneddon 1996, and Son and Cole 2008, *-kan* constitutes distinct constructions depending on the transitivity of the root; if suffixed with *-kan* (and prefixed with *meN-*), unaccusatives and adjectives become causative as in (5) and (6), while transitive verbs become benefactive as in (7).

- (5) a. Cangkirnya pecah.
cup.his break
'The cup broke/is broken.'
- b. Janet memecahkan cangkirnya.
Janet MEN.break.KAN cup.her
'Janet broke her cup.'
- (6) a. Wajahnya putih.
face.his white
'His face is white.'
- b. Ia memutihkan wajahnya.
3sg MEN.white.KAN face.his
'He whitened his face.'
- (7) a. Tika memanggang roti itu untuk Erik.
Tika MEN.bake bread the for Erik
'Tika baked the bread for Erik.'
- b. Tika memanggangkan Erik roti itu
Tika MEN.bake.KAN Erik bread the
'Tika baked Erik the bread.'
- (Son and Cole 2008:123-124)

Specifically, *Erik* in (7b) cannot be interpreted as the agent of the baking event caused by the matrix subject; it can only be a benefactive argument.

In contrast, Japanese verbs with *-sase* are interpreted as causative regardless of their transitivity.

- (8) a. John-wa Mary-no tame ni pan-o yak-ta.
John-TOP Mary-GEN sake for bread-ACC bake-PAST
'John baked bread for Mary.'
- b. John-wa Mary-ni pan-o yak-(s)ase-ta.
John-TOP Mary-DAT bread-ACC bake-cause-PAST
'John caused Mary to bake bread.'

Prepositional versus Verbal Causativizers

Like (2b) with an intransitive verb, (8b), involving a transitive verb, has the causative meaning rather than the benefactive meaning expressed by (8a). The same holds true of *make* in (1b).

3. Prepositional *-kan* and *of* in English

Besides causative and benefactive constructions, *-kan* functions purely to license an internal DP argument (see Sneddon 1996: 61, 72, 98, 268; Son and Cole 2008:122; Kroeger 2007:Section 4). In (9a), the verb *berpikir* ‘think’, takes a clausal complement. It can take a nominal argument if is followed by an independent preposition as in (9b). Alternatively, a nominal argument is possible if the verbal root is suffixed with *-kan* as in (9c). (10a-c) show a similar pattern with the adjectival root *bangga* ‘aware’.

- (9) a. Saya berpikir bahwa dia pencuri.
I think that he thief
‘I think that he is a thief.’
b. Saya berpikir tentang sukses.
I think of success
‘I think of success.’
c. Saya meikirkan sukses.
I MEN.think.KAN success
‘I think of success.’
- (10) a. Saya bangga bahwa saya adalah muslim
I proud that I am a Muslim.
‘I’m proud that I’m a Muslim.’
b. Pak Hasrun bangga akan anaknya.
Mr. Hasrun proud of son.his
‘Mr. Hasrun is proud of his son.’
c. Pak Hasrun membanggakan anaknya.
Mr. Hasrun MEN.proud.KAN son.his
‘Mr. Hasrun is proud of his son.’

Clearly, the paradigm in (9a,b) and (10a,b) parallels that in the English examples in (3a,b) and (4a,b). Then, the synonymy of (9b,c) and of (10b,c) suggests that *-kan* in (9c) and (10c) is an affixal preposition on a par with the semantically null preposition *of*.

Suppose that *-kan* in causatives and benefactives like (5)-(7) is the same lexical item as the one in (9c) and (10c). It follows that *-kan* makes no direct contribution to the causative or benefactive meaning in (5)-(7). As for the causative meanings in the English and Japanese examples in (1b) and (2b), *make* and *-sase* probably contribute to some degree. It needs to be explained how *-kan* can constitute distinct constructions without being endowed with the corresponding semantic contents.

A key to this question can be found in the categorial status of *-kan* as P. Note that *of* in *think of* and *aware of* is to be analyzed as appearing configurationally lower than *think* and *aware*. More generally, quite a few English verbs and adjectives take PP

complements but there are no clear cases of Ps selecting predicates, though bare verbs can be selected by functional verbs such as *-sase*, *make*, *have*, *let* and modal auxiliaries.¹ So, I assume that *-kan* appears lower than verbal or adjectival roots not only in (9) and (10) but also in the causative and benefactive examples in (5)-(7). I further assume, *inter alia*, with Kratzer 1996 and Marantz 1997 that an external argument is introduced by a functional head (*v*) that selects a root projection. It follows that the complement domain of *-kan* can involve an internal argument of the root but never an external argument. On the other hand, if *-sase* and *make* take a *vP* (see Shibatani 1976, Harley 2008, and Svenonius 2005), the external argument is closer to them than any of the internal arguments. In the next section, I will show that *-kan* produces distinct constructions depending on which internal argument of the root it Case-checks, which in turn is contingent on the transitivity of the root.

4. Licensing of Internal Arguments by *-kan*

4.1 Why Unaccusatives/Adjectives Become Causative But Unergatives Cannot

According to Sneddon (1996:61-65), many of the intransitive verbs with the prefix *ber-* in Indonesian are N-based, as exemplified in (11).

(11) a	bertopi	b. berkuda	c. berbohong
	BER-hat	BER-horse	BER-lie
	‘wear a hat’	‘ride a horse’	‘tell a lie’

I assume that core cases of *ber-*verbs are N-based, and analyze them as in (12a) with an instance in (12b).²

- (12) a. [*vP* DP*(θ ext) [*v*'[*v* *ber-*] N]]]
 b. [*vP*[DP* Erik] [*v*'[*v* *ber-*] [N *topi*]]] (cf. (11a))

(12) is based on the following assumptions, where I follow but slightly depart from Hale and Keyser's (1993, 2002) analysis of unergatives:

- (13) (i) *ber-* is a verbalizer with [*uCase*]; (ii) it introduces an external argument in its spec position, which is to be construed as related to its N complement;³ (iii) it triggers N incorporation in Baker (1988) due to its affixal nature, and (iv) its [*uCase*] agrees with that of the N.⁴

*Ber-*verbs largely fail to become causative via suffixation with *-kan*. In contrast, as has been exemplified in (5) and (6), those that become causative are unaccusatives or adjectives, and they have no prefix or suffix. I assume that they are acategorial roots ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

¹ Koopman (1994) offers one possible line of analysis on this asymmetries. Hoffman (1995:124) assumes that VP can be selected by P, acknowledging that it is unusual.

² Category labels are used hereafter for ease of illustration.

³ See Sneddon 1996:51-64 for various semantic roles of the subject of *ber-*verbs.

⁴ ϕ -features are set aside here since Indonesian verbs show no overt agreement with a subject or an object. See also Sato 2010 for a similar analysis of *ber-*verbs.

Prepositional versus Verbal Causativizers

merging with their surface subject as their internal argument and forming a root phrase (\sqrt{P}) as in (14a) with an example in (14b).

- (14) a. [\sqrt{P} [$\sqrt{\dots}$] DP*(θ int)]
b. [\sqrt{P} [$\sqrt{\text{pecah}}$] [DP* cangkiranya]] (=5a))

In (12) and (14), [uCase] of DP* and [uCase] of the clausal head, say T, are checked under Agree, and the latter's EPP feature forces DP* to remerge in its spec position.

My main claim has been that *-kan* is P and appears lower than the root. Given (12), it has no chance to agree with DP* of the *ber-*verb, which is an external argument. On the other hand, if DP* of the unaccusative/adjective root in (14) first merges with *-kan*, and the resultant phrase merges with the root as in (15), its [uCase] is checked properly *in situ* by *-kan*; hence, the spec,T position is available for an external argument.

- (15) [TP[DP Janet] T ... [\sqrt{P} [$\sqrt{\text{pecah}}$] [PP[P *-kan*] [DP* cangkiranya]]]] (=5b))

An unmarked interpretation of (15) is that the event expressed by \sqrt{P} is caused by the individual expressed by the DP in spec,T; the whole construction is construed as causative in what Zubizarreta and Oh (2007) call “constructional” manners.

4.2 The Nature of the Prefix *meN-*

Besides being suffixed with *-kan*, the unaccusative/adjective root needs to be prefixed with *meN-*, as has been illustrated in the causative verbs in (5b) and (6b). A standard analysis of *meN-* (Cole and Harmon 2005, Son and Cole 2008 *inter alia*) is that it is responsible for accusative Case-checking. This assumption is supported by the fact that it is added to almost all transitive verbs including derived causative verbs, and it alternates with another prefix *di-* in passives. There is, however, one piece of evidence to question this assumption. In particular, *meN-* quite productively attaches to adjectival roots and forms inchoative verbs as in (16) as observed in Sneddon 1996:66.

- (16) Wajahnya menutih.
face.3SG MEN.white
'His face became white.' (cf. (6a))

Clearly, *meN-* in (16) has nothing to do with accusative Case. I thus assume the following concerning *meN-*:

- (17) (i) *meN-* is a verbalizer without [uCase]; (ii) it introduces an external argument in its spec position, which is to be construed as related to the root phrase; (iii) [uCase] originates in the transitive verbal root; and (iv) the root's [uCase] becomes active only if the root's category is fixed as verbal by being selected by and incorporated into *meN-* or some other verbalizer.

Something like (17iii, iv) needs to be adopted in any theory to distinguish transitive and intransitive verbs. For instance, *destroy* can take an accusative DP while *arrive* cannot; their nominal counterparts behave on a par, requiring a preposition before a DP.

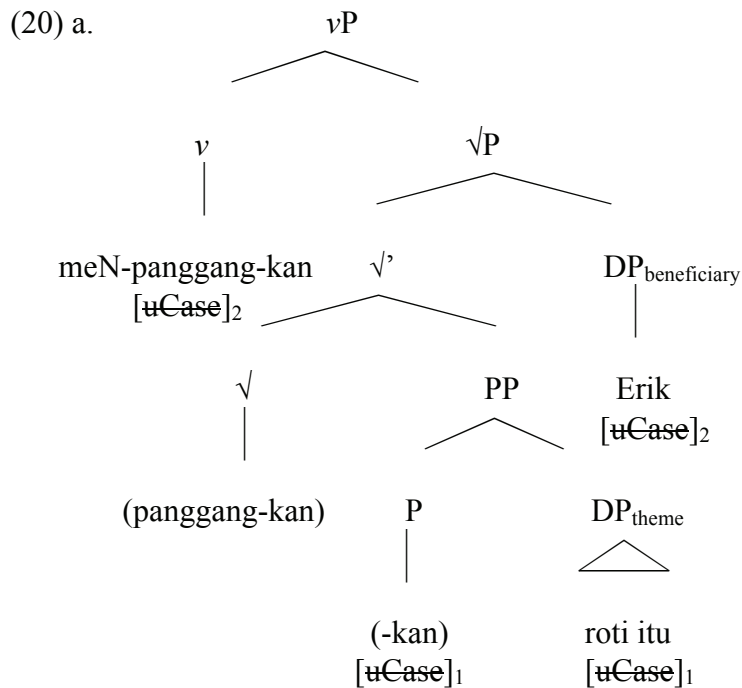
Given (17i-iv), a basic transitive structure like (18a) is to be analyzed as (18b), while the derived causative structure in (15) is to be elaborated as (19).

- (18) a. Tika memanggang roti itu.
 Tika MEN.bake bread the
 ‘Tika baked the bread.’
- b. [TP Tika T [vP (Tika) [v meN-] [√P[√ panggang] [DP roti itu]]]]
 [EPP] [uCase]₂ [uCase]₁ [uCase]₁
 [uCase]₂
- (19) [TP Janet T [vP (Janet) [v meN-] [√P[√ pecah] [PP[P -kan] [DP cangkirnya]]]]]
 [EPP] [uCase]₂ [uCase]₁ [uCase]₁
 [uCase]₂

A minimal difference is that the accusative Case feature of the verbal complex originates in the transitive root in (18) and *-kan* in (19).

4.3 Why Transitives Become Benefactives Rather Than Causatives

If the internal argument of the root in (18a) first merges with *-kan* and the resultant phrase merges with the root, the root’s [uCase] requires one more DP argument to agree with in its complement domain, as described in (20a), with a full sentence in (20b).



Prepositional versus Verbal Causativizers

- b. Tika memanggangkan Erik roti itu (=7b))
Tika MEN.bake.KAN Erik bread the
'Tika baked Erik the bread.'

An additional DP needs to be some internal argument of the root rather than an external argument. If a causer argument is always external to the root, a natural candidate for the extra DP is a beneficiary since a beneficiary PP can optionally appear in general, as has been illustrated by (7a). In (20a), the suffix *-kan* incorporates into the root after its [uCase] has agreed with [uCase] of the theme argument. The root ($\sqrt{\text{'}}$) further merges with the beneficiary DP, and the resultant phrase ($\sqrt{\text{P}}$) becomes verbal by merging with and incorporating into the light verb *meN-*, where [uCase] of the root becomes active according to (17iii,vi) and agrees with [uCase] of the beneficiary.

If a root, if it has some internal arguments, should always merge with its theme first, the hierarchical structure given in (20a) is correct. As (20b) shows, however, at PF the beneficiary should be adjacent to the verbal complex with *-kan*, while the theme argument is dissociated from *-kan*, which in my theory is responsible for its Case-checking. Moreover, under passivization, the beneficiary is preposed in the double object construction with *-kan* as in (21b), while the theme is preposed in the PP benefactive construction as in (22b).

- (21) a. Dia membelikan adiknya buku.
he MEN.buy.KAN brother.his book
'He bought his brother a book.'
b. Adiknya dibelikannya buku.
brother.his DI.buy.KAN.him book
'His brother was bought a book by him.'
- (22) a. Dia memeli buku itu untuk adiknya.
he MEN.buy book that for brother.his
'He bought that book for his brother.'
b. Buku itu dibelinya untuk adiknya.
book that DI.buy.him for brother.his
'That book was bought by him for his brother.' (Sneddon 1996:251)

The above paradigm is essentially the same as the one observed with the corresponding constructions in English.⁵ I assume with Chomsky (1995, 2001, 2008) and Kayne (1994) that syntactic structures encode configurational relations but no linear orderings. The PF position of the beneficiary DP and its passivizability, which is referred to as Marantz's generalization in Baker (1988:245-258), call for principled explanations.

I will claim that the primary object is the one that agrees with [uCase] of the whole verbal complex, which is the beneficiary (21a) and the theme in (22a). The Indonesian passivization with the prefix *di-* exemplified in (21b) and (22b), whatever

⁵ Those who do not like passive benefactives like the English translation of (21b) totally reject the other word order 'The book was bought his brother by him.' See Hoffman 1995:117.

operation it may be, cancels the Case-licensing relation between the verbal complex and the primary object just defined, and the latter is forced to move to the spec, T position for Case/EPP reasons. Note that the object of the lexical causative with *-kan* in (19) can be said to agree with the Case feature of the verbal complex, though the feature originates in *-kan*. It is passivized in the same way as a prepositional object in a pseudo-passive like ‘the bed has not been slept in for weeks.’

Going back to the PF realization of (20a) as (20b), the beneficiary comes immediately after the verbal complex, and *-kan* is dissociated from the theme DP. This can be attributed to the fact that Indonesian, like English, lacks overt case morphology, and requires the verbal complex to be linearly adjacent to the DP it has Case-checked; the theme DP is frozen in place. An alternative is to Spell-Out the ν P according to Kayne’s (1994) LCA. In (20a), the verbal complex asymmetrically c-commands $DP_{\text{beneficiary}}$, which in turn asymmetrically c-commands DP_{theme} ; the correct surface order in (20b) is obtained.⁶

5. (Apparent) Exceptions to the Transitivity Restriction

5.1 Causatives with Transitive Roots

As mentioned in Section 2, transitive roots, if suffixed with *-kan* and prefixed with *meN-*, generally become benefactive rather than causative. It is because a causer argument is external to the root and can never be in the complement domain of *-kan*, which appears lower than the root. Sneddon (1996:74-76) and Kroeger (2007:2.4), however, observe that there are cases of transitive roots with *-kan* that do not have a benefactive connotation, as exemplified in (23) and (24).

(23) Saya memeriksakan mata ke dokter/*oleh dokter.
I MEN.check.KAN eyes to doctor/ by doctor
‘I had my eyes checked by the doctor.’

(24) Saya mau mencetakkan kartu nama saya di percetakan baru itu.
I want.to MEN.print.KAN card name my at printery new that
‘I want to get my calling cards printed at that new printery.’
(Sneddon 1996:75)

If the roots in (23) and (24) had [uCase], they would have no DP to agree with since the two DPs to their right are Case-checked by *-kan* or prepositions.

⁶ The adjacency between the theme DP and the verbal complex in (22a) can be explained analogously, but there are presumably some differences. Given (17iv), [uCase] of the beneficiary DP in (21a) can agree with [uCase] of the root only after the latter becomes verbal by incorporating into the light verb *meN-*. For this reason, I assume that the beneficiary DP must occur in the complement domain of the root and that of *meN-*. In contrast, the beneficiary PP in (22a), which is optional and is irrelevant for [uCase] of the root, can be merged after the root incorporates into *meN-*.

Like transitive roots in Indonesian, the noun *destruction* can be construed as active or passive as in (28a,b), and its internal argument can appear with *of*, which is impossible in the verbal construction in (28c). A near, though awkward, paraphrase of (23) would be ‘I had the checking of my eyes at the doctor’s (office),’ where the matrix subject is clearly not the agent of the action expressed by the nominal *checking*. In brief, causative sentences with transitive roots like (23) and (24) support rather than refute my theory advocated here.⁷

5.2 Empty Beneficiary

Sneddon (1996:81-82) observes that a beneficiary DP can be missing, as shown in (29c).

- (29) a. Pelayan mengambil segelas air (untuk tamu).
 waiter MEN.fetch glass water (for guest)
 ‘The waiter fetched a glass of water (for the guest).’
 b. Tika memanggangkan Erik roti itu (=7b)
 Tika MEN.bake.KAN Erik bread the
 ‘Tika baked Erik the bread.’
 c. Pelayan mengambilkan segelas air.
 waiter MEN.fetch-KAN glass water
 ‘The waiter fetched someone a glass of water.’

More specifically, if *-kan* is absent as in (29a), the benefactive meaning is also absent without a beneficiary PP; if *-kan* is present, the beneficiary argument either appears overtly as in (29b) or is obligatorily implied as the English translation of (29c) shows.

Son and Cole (2008:125) claim that Indonesian is a pro-drop language. If a beneficiary empty category is present in (29c) and it requires Case, the presence of *-kan* is not contradictory. Indonesian, however, does not seem to allow pro-drop generally. An alternative account would be that the root in (29c) is passive as I have argued for (23) and (24). Then, [uCase] of the only overt DP is checked under Agree with [uCase] of *-kan*, and the beneficiary, which cannot appear in the root projection, is somehow implied. I will not work out this possibility any further here.⁸

5.3 Instrumental or Goal PP *-kan*

One major construction that does not easily fall under my theory involves a so-called instrumental or goal PP *-kan*; no new DP argument appears to be introduced despite the addition of *-kan* (see Sneddon 1996:78-80, Son and Cole 2008:130-135 inter alia). For example, (30a,b) show that the transitive verb *mengikat* ‘tie’ can take either a theme or an instrumental as its primary object. *Mengikat* in (30a) can optionally take an instrumental PP as in (31a). If it is suffixed with *-kan*, the instrumental argument becomes its primary

⁷ Kroeger (2007:2.4) is concerned with the less productive nature of causatives with transitive roots under the assumptions that causative *-kan* and benefactive *-kan* are different contrary to my position.

⁸ In expletive passive constructions like ‘it was believed that the earth was flat,’ the experiencer argument is implied.

Prepositional versus Verbal Causativizers

object, and the theme argument becomes a PP, as in (31b). In contrast to the benefactive construction, *-kan* in (31b) can be omitted without change in meaning.

- (30) a. Dia mengikat anjing itu.
3SG MEN.tie dog the
'He tied the dog.'
b. Dia mengikat tali itu
3SG MEN.tie rope the
'He tied the rope.'
- (31) a. Dia mengikat anjing itu dengan tali.
3SG MEN.tie dog the with rope
b. Dia mengikat-(kan) tali itu ke anjing.
3SG. MEN.tie-KAN rope the to dog
'He tied the rope to the dog.'

Hoffman (1995) analyzes dative and locative alternation verbs in English and Chichewa under the assumption that they take projections headed by Ps that can be bidirectional. It might be interesting to combine this line of analysis with my claim that Indonesian transitive roots are bidirectional in that they can be interpreted as active or passive.

6. Other Analyses and Some Implications

6.1 Pylkkänen's (2008) Low and High Applicatives

According to Pylkkänen (2008), applicative heads can be classified into two depending on whether they appear lower or higher than the root. One might think that my analysis could be restated as *-kan* being a low applicative head. In fact, these two claims are totally different. For one thing, in Pylkkänen's theory, benefactive heads in English and several other languages are low, while all causative heads are high. My claim has been that both causative and benefactive *-kan* are Ps that appear lower than the root.

Moreover, in Pylkkänen's theory, the English benefactive double object construction is analyzed as low because there is a possession implication between the two objects, as has been observed by many researchers (Oehrle 1976, Pesetsky 1995, Beck and Johnson 2004 *inter alia*).

- (32) a. Sally knitted Peter a sweater.
b. Sally knitted a sweater for Peter.

(32a) strongly entails that Peter had the sweater that Sally had knitted, while (32b) can also mean that Sally did the knitting because Peter didn't know how to knit. Partly following Pylkkänen's theory, Son and Cole (2008) claim that Indonesian benefactives do have a possession meaning and analyze *-kan* as low applicative. In fact, this factual generalization is clearly rejected by Sneddon 1996:81, Kroeger 2007, and Chonan

2010:148-149.⁹ My claim that benefactive *-kan* appears lower than the root is not at all based on the presence of possession implication but on its categorial status as P.

6.2 Baker's (1988) V Incorporation and P Incorporation

In Baker's (1988) seminal work on incorporation, causatives are analyzed as V incorporation, while benefactives and other applicatives are treated as P incorporation. This approach is quite similar to Pylkkänen's (2008) in that the root appears lower than causative heads but higher than benefactive heads. The distinction is quite reasonable in that Chichewa, for example, uses the same morpheme *-ir* in benefactive and other applicative construction, but a distinct morpheme *-its* in causatives. *-Kan* in Indonesian, however, is used in both constructions; this homophony would be accidental in Baker's theory. In fact, Baker does not take up causative *-kan*, analyzing only benefactive *-kan* as merging with a beneficiary just like a free standing P. Since in my theory a beneficiary merges with the root instead of *-kan*, and agrees with its [uCase], Marantz's generalization mentioned in 4.3 follows straightforwardly. Baker's UTA is also respected in that a theme and a beneficiary merge with the root in the same order in the double object and PP benefactive constructions.

6.3 Lexical Causatives and Benefactives in English

As has been observed by Pylkkänen (2008) and others, (33)-(36) show that lexical causative and benefactive double object constructions in English exhibit essentially the same transitivity restriction observed in the Indonesian data in (5)-(7).

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (33) a. The ice melted. | (34) a. Sue laughs. |
| b. John melted the ice. | b. *Mary laughs Sue. |
| (35) a. I baked a cake for him. | (36) a. Mary spoke for Sue. |
| b. I baked him a cake. | b. *Mary spoke Sue. |

A salient difference is that they show no overt morphological changes on verbs. Suppose that they involve the same phonetically null morpheme. If it is a kind of P on a par with *-kan*, my account of Indonesian causatives and benefactives can be extended to (33)-(36).

This line of analysis might be supported by the fact that Indonesian verbal roots cannot be suffixed doubly with *-kan*, and English derived nominals cannot take two instances of *of*, as shown in (37).

- (37) *the gift of the children (of) a book (Kayne 2008: (72))

Then, lexical causatives like *melt* in (33b), if analyzed as being suffixed by an empty affixal P, should not take a benefactive argument; (38c-e) should all be ill-formed.

⁹ McGinnis (2001) identifies two kinds of applicative according to the presence/absence of possession meaning.

Prepositional versus Verbal Causativizers

- (38) a. The ice melted. (=33a)
b. John melted the ice. (=33b)
c. John melted me some ice.
d. ?John broke me a block of ice.
e. *John cracked me the nut.

Pylkkänen (2008:3) judges (38c) as grammatical, which should mean that there is a possession implication between the two objects. The possession relation is just as natural between the two postverbal DPs in (38d,e) as in (38c), but they are less acceptable. Thus, it is not implausible to maintain that English lexical causatives and benefactives involve a semantically empty P.

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Yasui

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