

The Possessor Raising Construction: Transitivization, Causative, and Experiencer*

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Dealing with non-agentive transitives, Hasegawa (2001, in press) proposes a system where the small *v* category is considered to have two independently specified features, [\pm Object Case][\pm External Role]. This paper is a sequel to it and proposes an analysis of the possessor raising construction (PRC), where the subject is interpreted as a possessor of the object, syntactically deriving the particular reading, namely 'experiencer', on the human subject of PRC. It will be shown that PRC is observed not only in transitives but also in certain types of causatives, *-(s)ase* in Japanese and *have* and *get* in English and that Hasegawa's system accounts for both transitive PRCs and causative PRCs in a unified way. The paper explores differences and similarities between causatives, experiencer causatives, and experiencer passives in both Japanese and English.

0. Introduction

In Hasegawa (2001), considering the nature of the category small *v*, I proposed the system (1) where small *v* is specified in terms of the two features [\pm External Role(ER)] and [\pm Object Case(OC)].

(1) The Specification of *v* in Hasegawa (2001, in press)

	+ ER	- ER
+OC	(a) agentive transitive	(c) unaccusative transitive
- OC	(b) agentive unaccusatives	(d) unaccusative intransitives

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This system differs from the popularly held view of this category, such as (2) (cf. Chomsky (1995), Collins (1995), etc.), where small *v* is considered to be a realization of Burzio's generalization.

- (2) a. *v* for transitives: external theta-role assignment
Object Case checking.
- b. *v* for unaccusatives: no external theta-role assignment
no Object Case checking

The proposal (1) allows more than what the system (2) allows: not only ordinary transitive predicates (i.e., (1a)/(2a)) and unaccusative predicates (i.e., (1d)/(2b)) but also what may be called unaccusative transitives (1c) and agentive unaccusatives (1b).

Among the four types, the most controversial may be the (1c) type; i.e., predicates that do not assign an external role but assigns (or checks) Object Case.¹ However, I argued in Hasegawa (2001, in press), dealing with non-agentive transitive sentences in general, that transitives with a cause subject as well as those with a subject that also serves as a possessor of an object crucially involves the small *v* of the (1c) type.

In this paper, after briefly going over the proposal of Hasegawa (2001, in press) for the type (1c) of the category small *v*, we will further pursue the consequence of this type of *v* by examining the possessor raising construction (PRC). Some examples of PRC are given in (3) and (4), where the subject is non-agentive and is interpreted as the possessor of the object.

- (3) a. Jane_i lost her_i mind.
- b. Sue_i hurt her_i back.
- (4) a. Tomoko-ga kosi-o itam-e-ta.
-NOM back-ACC hurt-tr-past
'Tomoko_i hurt her_i back.'

¹ The (1b) type also goes against Burzio's generalization, which claims that predicates with an external role assigns Object Case. In Hasegawa (2001), I argued that predicates like *move* and *stand*, as exemplified in (i), where unaccusatives have an agentive subject, fall under this class.

- (i) a. Mary *moved* intentionally.
- b. Jane walked to the back of the room and *stood* there.

- b. Taro-ga tokoya-de kami-o kit-ta.
-NOM barber-at hair-ACC cut-past
'Taro_i has his_i hair cut at a barber.'
- c. Kyoko-ga simo-de ueki-o kar-asi-ta.
-NOM frost-by plant-ACC wither-tr-past
'Kyoko_i had her_i plants die with frost.'
- d. Doru-ga sensoo-de ne-o ag-e-ta.
dollar-NOM war-by value-ACC raise-tr-past
'The dollar_i raised its_i value due to the war.'
- e. Taiyoo-ga kagayaki-o masi-ta.
sun-NOM brightness-ACC increase-past
'The sun_i increased its_i brightness.'

In previous literature, various types of PRCs have been presented (cf. Inoue (1976), Hasegawa (2001, in press), Kageyama (1996, 2002), Sugioka (2002), Cambell and Martin (1989), Reinhart (2000), to just mention several). Based on Hasegawa (2001), Okura (2004) explores PRCs, which she calls 'Possessive-Relationship Construction', and notes differences in semantic roles on the subject of these PRCs, categorizing them into different types, such as Experiencer (e.g., (4a)), Benefactor (4b), Indirect Patient (4c), Inanimate Reflexive (4d), etc. In this paper as well as in Hasegawa (2001, in press), we disregard such semantic differences of these PRCs, deriving them by the same syntactic mechanism. Only the reading we are concerned about is the existence of some psychological effects on the part of the human subject of PRCs and we will explore what is responsible for this reading in terms of syntax. For this reading, we employ the term 'experiencer', using it more generally than Okura. That is, Experiencer, Benefactor, Indirect Patient, etc. in the sense of Okura are all subsumed under the 'experiencer' reading. We will also discuss PRCs with an inanimate subject in comparison with human subject PRCs with the experiencer reading.

In what follows, we will first review Hasegawa (2001, in press) and see how PRCs are analyzed there in terms of the (1c) type of small *v*. Then, we will extend Hasegawa's analysis of transitives to causative

predicates, *-(s)ase* in Japanese and *get* and *have* in English, arguing that they are lexicalized instances of the small *v* category, being subject to the features $[\pm ER][\pm OC]$. In Section 2, we will account for the experiencer reading observed in such causatives by applying the system (1) to these predicates, and propose a syntactic condition for deriving this reading. In Section 3, we will clarify the differences and similarities between *have*, *-(s)ase*, and *-(r)are*, in terms of what structure they have and how causative and experiencer readings are given rise to with these predicates. In particular, we will account for the fact observed in (5): (5a) is a causative sentence, while (5b) can be causative or experiencer (or adversative) passive; and compare them with their counterparts in Japanese with *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are*.

- (5) a. Mary had John's hair cut short.
 b. Mary_i had her_i hair cut short.

1. Transitivity and Causative Predicates

In this section, after going over Hasegawa (2001, in press), we will consider the function of the transitivity small *v* (the (1c) in particular) in more detail and claim that it plays a crucial role in characterizing not only ordinary transitive predicates but also causative predicates, such as *-(s)ase* in Japanese, *have* and *get* in English.

1.1 Hasegawa (2001, in press)

In Hasegawa (2001, in press), I argued for the necessity of (1c), the *v* for 'unaccusative transitive', based mainly on two types of constructions: (i) transitive sentences with a cause subject, exemplified in (6) and (7), and (ii) PRC, seen in (3) and (4) above.²

- (6) a. Ziko-ga densya-o okur-ase-ta.
 accident-NOM train-ACC delay-tr-past
 'The accident delayed the train.'

² One may consider that psych-predicate examples in (7) are not transitives but causatives. We will come back to this topic in 1.2, where I will argue that certain occurrences of *-(s)ase* are transitivity morphemes, following Miyagawa (1998). See also Hasegawa (2001).

- b. Kaze-ga eda-o yur-asi-ta.
wind-NOM branches-ACC sway-tr-past
'The wind swayed the branches.'
- c. Sensoo-ga Doru-no ne-o ag-e-ta. (cf. (4d))
war-NOM dollar-DAT value-ACC raise-tr-past
'The dollar raised its value due to the war.'
- (7) a. Sono sirase-ga minna-o odorok-ase-ta.
the news-Nom everyone-Acc surprised-cause-past
'The news surprised everyone.'
- b. Sono uwasa-ga Hanako-o kurusim-{e/ ase}-te-i-ru.
the rumor-NOM -ACC be=tormented-{tr/cause}-prog-pres
'The rumor tormented Hanako.'

Let us first discuss sentences with a cause subject, (6) and (7). The predicates in (6) and (7) are transitives and have a cause subject. Being a transitive, they of course can have an agent subject in place of a cause subject.

- (8) a. Syasyoo-ga densya-o okur-ase-ta.
conductor-NOM train-ACC delay-tr-past
'The conductor delayed the train.'
- b. Hanako-ga eda-o yur-asi-ta.
-NOM branches-ACC sway-tr-past
'Hanako swayed the branches.'
- (9) a. Taro-ga minna-o odorok-ase-ta.
-NOM everyone-Acc surprised-cause-past
'Taro surprised everyone.'
- b. Kyoko-ga Hanako-o kurusim-{e/ ase}-te-i-ru.
-NOM -ACC be=tormented-{tr/cause}-prog-pres
'Kyoko tormented Hanako.'

These cause subject transitives consistently behave differently from agent transitives. First, a cause role can show up in corresponding

unaccusative counterparts, while an agent role cannot. This is seen in (10).

- (10) a. Densya-ga {ziko-de/*syasyoo-de} okur-e-ta.
train-NOM accident-by/conductor-by be=delayed-intr-past
'The train was delayed by {the accident/*by the conductor}.'
- b. Eda-ga {kaze-de/*Hanako-de} yur-e-ta.
branch-NOM wind-by swing-intr-past
'The branches swayed {in the wind/*by Hanako}.'

Second, as seen in (11), backward anaphora is observed with a cause subject but not with an agent subject (Akatsuka (1976), Balletti and Rizzi (1988), Pesetsky (1995), etc.)

- (11) a. {Zibun_i-ni tuite-no uwasa-ga/*Zibun_i-no koibito-ga} Hanako_i-o
self-about-GEN rumor-NOM/self-GEN lover-NOM -ACC
be=sad-cause-past
kanasim-ase-ta.
'{The rumor about herself_i /*Herself_i's lover} made Hanako_i sad.'
- b. {Zibun_i-no kako-ga /* Zibun_i-no oya-ga} Taro_i-o
self-GEN past-NOM/ self-GEN parent-NOM -ACC
kurusim{-e/-ase}-te-i-ru.
be=tormented-{tr/cause}-prog-pres
'{His_i past life /*His_i parent} distresses Taro_i.'

Furthermore, as seen in (12), a cause subject and an object are scopally ambiguous in the SOV base order, but an agent subject and an object are not.

- (12) a. [Kaze-ka yuki]-ga subete-no densya-o okur-ase-ta.
wind-or snow-NOM all-train-ACC delay-tr-past
'Wind or snow delayed all the trains.'
- ambiguous* [OR>ALL or ALL>OR]

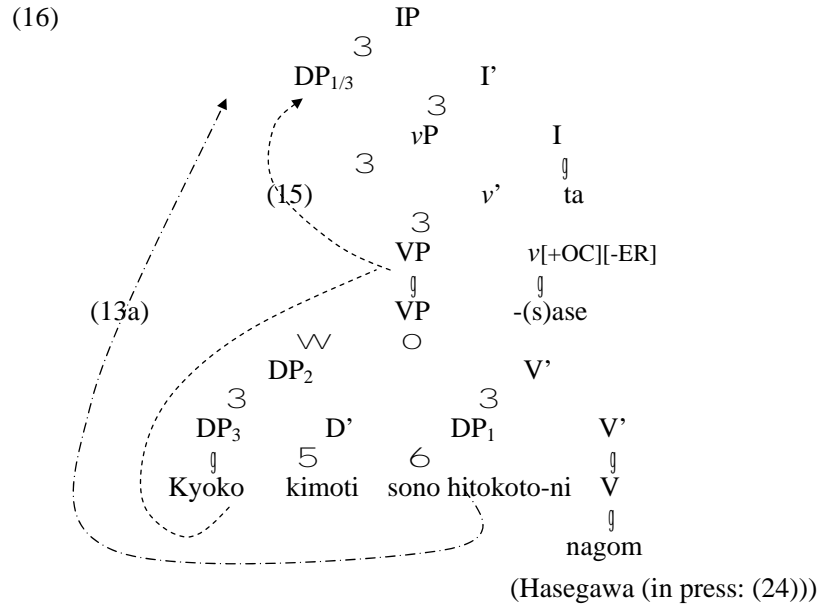
- b. [Syasyoo-ka untensyu]-ga- subete-no densya-o okur-ase-ta.
 conductor-or motorman-NOM all-train-ACC delay-tr-past
 'The conductor or the motorman delayed all the trains.'
Not ambiguous [OR>ALL]

These facts can be accounted for if we assume that causer subject sentences involve the (1c) type small v , [-ER][+OC], and that a cause role occurs inside a VP and c-commanded by a theme object at base but is raised to the subject position (at TP-Spec) to receive Nominative Case. That is, unaccusatives and transitives share the same VP inside of which a cause role occurs as a kind of adjunct, and they differ only with respect to the [\pm OC] feature on v . Transitive v can be further distinguished with respect to the feature [\pm ER] and the agentive subject in (8) and (9) are due to the v with [+ER] and it cannot occur inside VP. This explains the contrast in (10). As for (11), the anaphor inside a cause role is c-commanded (and bound) by the theme item before it moves to the subject position for Case. Furthermore, the quantifier at cause position is c-commanded by the quantifier object at base but it c-commands the object after it moves to the subject position, which gives rise to the ambiguity in (12). Thus, the above facts all lead to the conclusion that a cause subject is derived from inside a VP; which in turn forces the subject to be empty (i.e., [-ER]), though predicates are transitive (i.e., they have an object, which must be licensed by the v with the [+OC] feature).

This analysis of cause subject transitives provides a natural account for PRC. Let us first see the examples in (13). (Cf. Hatori (1997, 1999))

- (13) a. Sono hitokoto-ga Kyoko-no kimoti-o nagom-ase-ta.
 that one=word-NOM -GEN feeling-ACC calm-cause-past
 'That one word soothed Kyoko's feelings.'
- b. Kyoko-no kimoti-ga sono hitokoto-ni nagon-da.
 -Gen feeling-NOM that one=word-DAT calm-past
 'Hanako's feelings calmed with that word.'

The relation between (13a) and (13b) is equivalent to that between (6) and (10) in terms of predicate types and semantic roles that appear as a subject; the cause role is the subject of the transitives in (13a) and (6) and



- (18) a. Tomoko-ga kosi-o itam-e-ta.
-NOM back-ACC hurt-tr-past
'Tomoko_i hurt her_i back.'
- b. Taro-ga tokoya-de kami-o kit-ta.
-NOM barber-at hair-ACC cut-past
'Taro_i has his_i hair cut at a barber.'
- c. Kyoko-ga simo-de ueki-o kar-asi-ta.
-NOM frost-by plant-ACC wither-tr-past
'Kyoko_i had her_i plants die with frost.'
- d. Doru-ga sensoo-de ne-o ag-e-ta.
dollar-NOM war-by value-ACC raise-tr-past
'The dollar_i raised its_i value due to the war.'
- e. Taiyoo-ga kagayaki-o masi-ta.
sun-NOM brightness-ACC increase-past
'The sun_i increased its_i brightness.'

That is, the subject of these sentences is derived from the possessor of the object. As illustrated in (16) (for (13c)), the possessor of the object is detached from the object and is eventually raised to the subject position (i.e., TP-Spec), where it receives Nominative Case.³ The above discussion is a brief summary of Hasegawa (2001, in press). What we would like to consider in the following is more about PRC, in relation to the particular reading associated with the subject raised from the possessor position of the object. For example, in human subject examples in (17) and (18), the subject is interpreted as some kind of experiencer that is affected by the incident expressed in the rest of the sentence.

Before taking up this topic, however, the function of the transitive *v* (either [+ER] or [-ER]) will be examined in a more general context. We will see that the category *v* is not just an abstract category (as in the case of English predicates which can be either transitives or intransitives) but is lexically realized as a morpheme or an independent lexical predicate.

1.2 -(S)ase and the Transitive Small *v*

As the tree diagram in (16) suggests, the small *v* category may be phonetically realized as a transitivity morpheme in Japanese. As is well known, Japanese exhibits various transitivity-intransitivity suffix pairs, some of which are given in (19), taken from Hasegawa (2001) (cf. Inoue (1976)).⁴

³ The difference between Japanese and English is that the former does not make use of a lexical item at a removal site, whereas English leaves a pronoun there. See Hasegawa (2001) for more discussion on what grammatical item is allowed at the position from which the possessor is raised. It seems that languages differ with respect to what occurs at a removal site; pronoun (in English), empty category (in Japanese), clitic (in Romance).

⁴ Though these suffixes are put at *v* in (16) and will continue to be placed under *v* in the following, it does not mean that we take a particular stand as to whether they actually reside at *v* at base or a combination of a verb stem and a suffix is generated at *V* and is checked its transitivity feature against *v* in derivation. Putting these suffixes under *v* is merely an excution. What is of importance here is that these suffixes are the items that are relevant to the small *v* category, being specified with respect to [\pm OC].

(19) *Examples of Intransitivizing and Transitivity Suffix Pairs*

	Intransitive	Transitive	gloss
a.	kawak-u ugok-u tob-u	-as- kawak-as-u ugok-as-u tob-as-u	'dry' 'move' 'fly'
b.	-re- tubu-re-ru tao-re-ru kowa-re-ru	-s- tubu-s-u tao-s-u kowa-s-u	'crush' 'cut-down' 'destroy'
c.	-ar- ag-ar-u sim-ar-u mag-ar-u	-e- ag-e-ru sim-e-ru mag-e-ru	'rise/raise' 'close' 'bend'
d.	ak-u tizim-u tat-u	-e- ak-e-ru tizim-e-ru ta-t-e-ru	'open' 'shrink' 'stand'
e.	-e- or-e-ru nuk-e-ru kudak-e-ru	or-u nuk-u kudak-u	'fold' 'pull out' 'smash'

(Hasegawa (2001: 3))

Let us concentrate on transitivity morphemes in the following, leaving aside intransitivizing ones. We take these transitivity suffixes to be morphological realizations of the v with the [+OC] feature. Under our system (1), furthermore, they are also specified with respect to the [\pm ER] feature; where [+ER] gives rise to agentive transitives and [-ER] non-agentive ones such as those seen in (18). In addition, in Hasegawa (2001), following the insight of Miyagawa (1998), I have argued that the causative *-(s)ase* can be an allomorph of the transitivity morpheme.

As seen in the following examples, *-(s)ase* is a causative verb that gives rise to the so-called 'periphrastic' or 'syntactic' causative, in which the subject is an agentive causer of the complement event expressed by the verb that precedes *-(s)ase*.

- (20) a. Hanako-ga (3 kai) Taro{-o/-ni} hasir-ase-ta.
 -NOM times -ACC/-DAT run-cause-past
 'Hanako caused Taro to run three times.'

- b. Tomoko-ga Toru-ni kuruma-o kaw-ase-ta.
 -NOM -DAT car-ACC buy-cause-past
 'Tomoko caused Toru to buy a car.'

It is clear that these causative sentences involve two events. For example, the frequency adverb *3 kai* 'three times' may modify the 'causing' act of *Hanako* or the 'running' act of *Taro* (cf. Shibatani (1976)). That is, the subject of these causatives is a causer (or agent) of another event in which the causee, the object, *Taro* in (20a) and *Toru* in (20b), is an agent of the complement predicate.

In contrast to (20), *-(s)ase* also takes a non-agentive event as its complement, which is exemplified in (21) (cf. Inoue (1976)).

- (21) a. Kyoko-ga yasai-o kusar-ase-ta.
 -NOM vegetable-ACC perish-cause-past
 'Kyoko caused the vegetables to perish.'
- b. Taro-ga sinnaa-o zyooohatu s-ase-ta.
 -NOM thinner-ACC evaporate-cause-past
 'Taro vaporized the thinner.'

Miyagawa's claim is that *-(s)ase* is an 'elsewhere' transitivizer and when an unaccusative predicate does not have a designated transitivizer, such as those shown in (19), *-(s)ase* is used. In (21), the base-verbs, *kusar-u* 'perish' and *zyooohatu su-ru* 'evaporate', are unaccusatives but do not have their own designated transitivizers. Thus, when they appear in transitive contexts, they make use of the elsewhere transitivizer *-(s)ase*.

Given this analysis of *-(s)ase*, (20) and (21) are analyzed to have different structures: (i) for (21), *-(s)ase* is a transitivizer that takes a VP as its complement; and (ii) for (20), *-(s)ase* is a periphrastic causative that is subcategorized for a full-fledged *vP*. If we analyze *-(s)ase* in this way, we do not have to assign two distinct categories for the same phonological string *-(s)ase*. We may say that both occurrences of *-(s)ase* are invariably the category small *v*, but they have different subcategorizational specifications, either VP or *vP*. This is illustrated in (22) in the following page, taken from Hasegawa (2001: 30) with some modifications. To recapitulate, the predicate *-(s)ase* is an instance of *v*

- (23) a. Taro-ga Hanako-o komar-ase-ta.
 -NOM -ACC be=troubled-cause-past
 'Taro caused Hanako to have hard time.'
- b. Sono dekgoto-ga Hanako-o kanasim-ase-ta.
 that event-NOM -ACC be=sad-cause-past
 'The event caused Hanako to become sad.'

The predicates that precede *-(s)ase* in (23), *komar-* 'be troubled', *kanasim-* 'be sad', are not agentive and their logical subject, *Hanako*, is not an agent. This means that such an occurrence of *-(s)ase* cannot take (22a) as its structure, but (22b). In our system, therefore, *-(s)ase* in psych predicates is to be analyzed as an instance of a transitivizing small *v*, which has incidentally been already suggested in (16). Furthermore, depending on the specification of the [\pm ER] feature, *-(s)ase* of the psych predicate can be either agentive or non-agentive. This difference gives rise to (23a), which is with [+ER] *v*, and (23b), which has [-ER] *v*.

If the above characterization of *-(s)ase* is on the right track, the following is predicted: if the causee can be interpreted as either agentive or non-agentive, the sentence with the same phonological string can be interpreted in two different ways. This predication is borne out by (24).

- (24) Taro-wa musuko-o sin-ase-ta.
 -TOP son-ACC die-cause-past
 'Taro caused his son to die.'

This sentence has two distinct meanings: (i) Taro made his son kill himself, or (ii) though Taro did not make his son take his life but was severely affected by his son's death.⁶ The reading (i) obtains with the 'causative' or 'periphrastic' *-(s)ase*, where *his son* may be taken to be an

⁶ The experiencer reading in (24) may be somewhat special, as will be discussed in Section 3 and fn. 18, and this interpretation of *-(s)ase* may not be generalized. Exactly what Taro did or did not with respect to his son's death is not clear in the causative reading (i), since the notion of 'causation' varies from direct causation (Taro did something, which directly cause his son's death) to indirect causation (Taro's act indirectly triggered his son's death, or to negligence (Taro did not do anything to stop it though he could have done something to prevent it), etc. (cf. Shibatani (1976)). Thus, it may not be accurate to say that the human causer subject of the causative is always agentive. However, in this paper, I will gloss over such differences in the causer role, contrasting it with the experiencer reading.

agent; while the reading (ii) involves the ‘transitivizing’ *-(s)ase*. In the case of the reading (ii), the subject is interpreted as an experiencer or someone ‘adversatively’ affected by the complement event and, interestingly, it is equivalent (or quite close) to (25), where the passive morpheme *-(r)are* is used (cf. Washio (1993, 1997)).

- (25) Taro-wa musuko-ni sin-are-ta.
-TOP son-DAT die-passive-past
‘Taro was affected by his son’s death.’

We will come back to the contrast between (24) with *-(s)ase* and (25) with *-(r)are* in Section 3, after examining the structural characteristics that seem responsible for the experiencer or adversative reading on the subject.⁷

1.3 *Have* and *Get* in English

In 1.2, we have seen that *-(s)ase* can be taken to be an instance of the transitive small *v* and that the difference between the periphrastic *-(s)ase* and the transitivizing *-(s)ase* is what type of complement *-(s)ase* takes. In this subsection, *have* and *get* in English will be argued to be lexical realizations of small *v*. Let us first take up *get*.

Examining the following sentences, Haegeman (1988) proposes that *get* can be either ergative (i.e., unaccusative) or non-ergative (i.e., transitive).

- (26) a. George got very wet.
b. George got into trouble.
c. George got in.
d. The students got working on another topic.
e. His girlfriend got invited to all the meetings.
f. The students got to like linguistics. (Haegeman (1985: 60))

⁷ Under our proposal, *-(s)ase*, either periphrastic as a transitivizing morpheme, is taken to be a kind of ‘transitivizer’, since it always have the [+OC] feature. In Japanese grammar, *-(s)ase* is often contrasted with *-(r)are*, and it seems that the passive morpheme can be [-OC], which gives rise to the so-called ‘direct’ passive. We will not take up ‘direct’ passives in this paper, however. As for the ‘indirect’ or adversative passive, we will come back to it in Section 3, in relation to (25). As for passives, we will consider the *get* construction in English in the immediately following section. See fn. 18 below for relevant discussion.

- (27) a. John got his feet wet.
 b. John got his girlfriend in trouble.
 c. John got his motion in.
 d. John got his students working on another topic.
 e. John got his girlfriend invited to all the meetings.
 f. John got his students to work on another topic.

(Haegeman (1985: 56))

- (28) a. Adjective Phrase
 b. Preposition Phrase
 c. Particle
 d. VP with -ing form
 e. VP with passive participle
 f. VP with to-infinitive

(Haegeman (1985: 56, 60))

Notice that *get* in both (26) and (27) involve the same range of complement types, given in (28). The two sets above differ only with respect to whether *get* assigns (or checks) Object Case and whether *get* has an extra argument as a causer or an agent. Haegeman accounts for this behavior of *get* by specifying *get* in (26) to be unaccusative and *get* in (27) transitive, while maintaining that *get* invariably takes complement types given in (28).

Within our framework, Haegeman's analysis of *get* can be recast in the following way. *Get* is a lexical realization of the small *v* and it may be specified either [-OC][-ER], which gives rise to (26), or [+OC][+ER], which is for causative (27).⁸ Haegeman seems to consider the external role in the causative (27) to be an agent; however, some subjects in (27) do not have to be agentive. (27a), for example, the subject *John* can be an experiencer or a sufferer of the event of *his feet getting wet*. Similarly, *John* in (27e) does not have to be an agentive causer of the event of *his girlfriend's being invited to all the meetings*. *John* can be the one that got adversely affected by this event (say, he got his dates

⁸ Here, I assume that *get* itself does not have its designated meaning. The notion of 'causative' or 'non-causative' associated with (27) and (26), respectively, has to do with the differences in the specification of these features. The fact that *get*-passives, such as (26e), and *be*-passives (e.g., *His girlfriend was invited to all the meetings*.) are logically equivalent (though there may be some stylistic differences) seems to suggest that this line of analysis is on the right track.

cancelled by his girlfriend due to these meetings). Such interpretation of *get* cannot be explained simply by saying that transitive *get* has an agent subject. Notice that in order to obtain these non-agentive readings on *John*, the object must be related to *John*, as in these examples, where *John* is an antecedent of *his*, the possessor of the object. In other words, if the object is not related to *John* in any sense, as exemplified in (29), *John* is interpreted only as an agentive causer, not the one affected by the event.

- (29) a. John got the floor wet.
b. John got Bill invited to all the meetings.

Within our framework, this state of affairs can be easily explained: The ‘affected’ or ‘experiencer’ reading on *John* in (27a) and (27e) is a case of PRC and it is given rise to by the [-ER] *get*. That is, the subject is raised from inside the object NP, just as in typical PRCs such as (17) and (18). Sentences (17) and (18) involve either the abstract *v* (as in (17)) or the transitivizing *v* (as in (18)), though they are both specified to be [+OC][-ER]. The case of *get* is the same except that it is morphologically an independent predicate and it can take various types of complements given in (28). Thus, *get* is similar to *-(s)ase*, in that it is more independent than mere transitivizers in terms of morphological forms and subcategorizational features. *Get* can not only take some kind of small clause or VP for (28a)(28b)(28c)(28e) but also a more extended verbal or sentential category (*vP* or *TP*) for (28d)(28f)).⁹ Recall that *-(s)ase*, as a transitivizer, can take a VP as its complement, while the periphrastic causative *-(s)ase* takes *vP*. *Get* differs from *-(s)ase*, in that it can be [-OC] as exemplified in (26), while *-(s)ase* is always [+OC].

The above analysis of *get* and *-(s)ase* can easily be extended to the analysis of *have*. Examining various types of *have*, shown in (30), Ritter and Rosen (1993, 1997) (R&R) propose that *have* is not a

⁹ Here, I will not discuss exactly what category each of the complement types in (28) is, though there is a clearly distinction between (28a)(28b)(28c) and (28e) on the one hand and (28d) and (28f) on the other. As will be discussed in Section 3, only the former seems to allow the non-agentive experiencer subject and the subject of the latter is interpreted only as an agent. This distinction seems to correspond to the two instances of *-(s)ase*, as a transitivizer or as a periphrastic causative predicate.

full-fledged lexical predicate but some kind of functional category that has no semantic content of its own.

- (30) a. John had the students read three articles. Causative
 b. John had a party. Nominal event
 c. John had his car stolen. Experiencer
 d. John has a hat on today. Locational
 e. John has a sister. Inalienable possession
 f. John has a new car. Alienable possession
 g. John has read the NYT. Auxiliary

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 296))

According to R&R, “the various interpretations of *have* are derived from the syntactic structure. More specifically, a meaning is assigned to *have* ... on the basis of the interpretation assigned to its subject, and its subject receives an interpretation by virtue of its relation to the predicate embedded under *have*. (p.296)” Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to compare R&R’s system with ours, it is rather clear that their characterization of *have* is essentially the same as what has been mentioned concerning *get* and *-(s)ase*.

To the extent that all the instances of *have* have an object, *have* is like *-(s)ase* in that it is always marked [+OC].¹⁰ That is, unlike *get*, which can be unaccusative as seen in (26), *have* is always transitive. With respect to the [\pm ER] feature, *have* may be [+ER] as in causative (30a), where the subject takes place as an independent item from the complement clause, or it may be [-ER] as in experiencer (30c), where the subject is interpreted as the possessor of the object, an instance of PRC.

In this section, we have seen that the category *v* may be realized in various forms. It may be abstract, as in most of transitive-unaccusative pairs of English, or concrete, taking phonologically realized forms. When concrete, it may be realized as an intransitivizing or transitivity-morpheme as shown in (19), or as an independent lexical item such as

¹⁰ The auxiliary use of *have* in (30g) does not have an object. Although I think R&R are essentially on the right track in considering all the occurrences and interpretations of *have* to be accounted for in a unified way, we will be concerned only with the causative *have* as in (30a) and the experiencer *have* as in (30c) in the following discussion.

- (32) a. Taro-wa Hanako-no neko-o sin-ase-ta.
 -TOP -GEN cat-ACC die-cause-past
 'Taro caused Hanako's cat to die.'
- b. John got Mary's feet wet.
 e. John got Mary's friend invited to all the meetings.
 d. John had Mary's car stolen.

The contrast in (31) and (32), in terms of the availability of the experiencer reading on the subject, is nicely captured in our framework, where the difference between the causative reading and the experiencer reading correspond to the differences in the specification of the value of the [\pm ER] feature of these predicates: the causative reading is due to the [+ER] and the experiencer reading obtains when they are specified [-ER]. The [+ER] feature on these predicates necessarily requires an agentive external role, which is the causer of the event expressed by the complement. With the [-ER] feature, no agentive external role is available and the subject position (i.e., TP-Spec) is to be occupied by an item that is raised from inside the complement. In (32), the subject, *Taro* or *John*, being a causer, must be generated at the Spec of *-(s)ase, get, or have*, which is marked with the [+ER] predicate. In (31), on the other hand, the subject, being coindexed with the possessor of the object, is raised from the possessor position. Such a derivation is possible only when these predicates are marked with [-ER].

In order to explain the causative reading on (31), we need to assume that the subject and the pronominal possessor of the object can corefer each other without involving raising. That is, for the causative reading on (31), the subject is allowed to directly occur at the spec of these predicates, just in the case of (32), which in turn means that these predicates are specified as [+ER], just as in (32). This explains why (31) is ambiguous between the causer and experiencer readings on the subject, while (32) is not.

The above discussion suggests that there is a structural condition that give rise to the experiencer reading on the subject of causatives.

(33) *The Condition on the Experiencer Reading on the Subject*

The experiencer reading results on the subject when the small *v*, either lexical, suffixal, or abstract, is specified [-ER] and the subject is raised via possessor raising from inside the complement VP, creating the coindexed relation between the subject and the possessor position of the item inside the VP.

Condition (33) is more specific than the generally held view that “the experiencer (i.e., adversative--*nh*) subject generally requires a coreferential item in the embedded predicate. (Ritter and Rosen (1997: 315))”. Note that, as the ambiguity of (31) shows, coreference between the subject and the possessor of the object is not a sufficient condition for the experiencer reading, though it is a necessary condition. What is necessary, according to (33), is not only coreference but coindexation via possessor raising.¹¹ Let us see how (33) is relevant to other more typical PRC cases with lexical transitive predicates.

2.2 The Possessor Raising Construction

In Section 1, referring to Hasegawa (2001, in press), we have seen that PRC obtains when transitives are marked with the [-ER] feature. That is, with no external role at the Spec of *v* at base, the subject is raised from inside the VP. If the possessor of the object is raised, PRC results. Typical examples are given in (17) and (18), repeated here as (34) and (35).

- (34) a. Jane_i lost her_i mind.
b. Sue_i hurt her_i back.

- (35) a. Tomoko-ga kosi-o itam-e-ta.
-NOM back-ACC hurt-tr-past
'Tomoko_i hurt her_i back.'

¹¹ This kind of characterization is possible only if we consider that the experiencer transitives do NOT have an external subject at base, which indicates that our view of the category small *v*, which may be either [+ER][-ER], is on the right track.

- b. Taro-ga tokoya-de kami-o kit-ta.
-NOM barber-at hair-ACC cut-past
'Taro_i has his_i hair cut at a barber.'
- c. Kyoko-ga simo-de ueki-o kar-asi-ta.
-NOM frost-by plant-ACC wither-tr-past
'Kyoko_i had her_i plants die with frost.'
- d. Doru-ga sensoo-de ne-o ag-e-ta.
dollar-NOM war-by value-ACC raise-tr-past
'The dollar_i raised its_i value due to the war.'
- e. Taiyoo-ga kagayaki-o masi-ta.
sun-NOM brightness-ACC increase-past
'The sun_i increased its_i brightness.'

These sentences meet (33) and we expect that they have the affected reading on the subject and in fact they do (except the inanimate subject examples (35d) and (35e), to which we will turn shortly). But this does not mean that any construction that has the coreference relation between the subject and the possessor of the object exhibits the affected reading. Observe the following.

- (36) a. Hanako-ga te-o fut-ta.
-NOM hand-ACC wave-past
'Hanako_i waved her_i hand.'
- b. Tomoko-ga kao-o arat-ta.
-NOM face-ACC wash-past
'Tomoko_i washed her_i face.'
- c. Hanako-ga kosi-o kagam-e-ta.
-NOM back-ACC bend-tr-past
'Hanako_i bent her_i back.'

In these examples, the subject is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the object. Thus, the derivational process that naturally comes to mind is possessor raising. If (36) in fact involves possessor raising, the structural condition given in (33) is met and we expect the affected

reading to be observed on the subject. However, they do not exhibit such a reading. This is the situation observed in (31), where the coreference between the subject and the object do not produce the experiencer reading when the subject is taken to be an agentive. In (36), the subject is an agent, which means that it is given by the feature [+ER]. Then, the coreference between the subject and the possessor of the object is not established by possessor raising but via some kind of coreference. This means that the condition (33) does not meet in (36) and no experiencer reading obtains on the subject of (36).¹²

This explains the ambiguity seen in (35b), which is the same as what we saw in the causative case (31). The subject can either be an agent or an experiencer. If it is taken to be an agent, it must result from the [+ER] ν in our framework. That is, the subject is generated at Spec of ν P at base and the coreference between the subject and the possessor of the object is not established by possessor raising. If the subject is not agentive; thus, the act is performed by someone else not by the subject herself, the subject is interpreted as an experiencer, which is given by (33): the [-ER] feature as well as possessor raising are necessary conditions for the experiencer reading on the subject.

There is yet another condition for the experiencer reading, however. Observe (37).

- (37) a. Doru-ga ne-o ag-e-ta.
 dollar-NOM value-ACC raise-tr-past
 ‘The dollar_i raised its_i value.’
 b. Asagao-ga turu-o nob-asi-ta.
 morning glory-NOM vine-ACC extend-tr-past
 ‘The morning glory_i extended its_i vine.’

¹² In Hasegawa (2001), examining sentences like (36), I assumed that they involve the raising of the possessor to the Spec of ν where an agent role can be picked up derivationally on its way to the subject position (Spec of TP). In this paper, however, I abandon such an analysis and assume that anaphoric coreference in (36) does not result from raising. In this way, we can maintain (33), which may serve as a diagnostic test for the existence or non-existence of movement for various anaphoric or reflexive constructions.

- c. Taiyoo-ga kagayaki-o masi-ta.
 sun-NOM brightness-ACC increase-past
 'The sun_i increased its_i brightness.'

With a non-animate subject, it is clear that the small *v* involves the [-ER] feature. Then the subject must have been raised from the possessor of the object in these transitives. Note in fact that they have unaccusative counterparts virtually with the same meaning, where the subject of (37) appears as the possessor.

- (38) a. Doru-no ne-ga agat-ta.
 dollar-GEN value-NOM rise-past
 'The value of the dollar rose.'
 b. Asagao-no turu-ga nob-i-ta.
 morning glory-GEN vine-NOM extend-intr-past
 'The vine of the morning glory extended.'
 c. Taiyoo-no kagayaki-ga masi-ta.
 sun-GEN brightness-NOM increase-past
 'The brightness of the sun increased.'

Thus, the examples in (37) are clearly instances of PRC. But they do not have the experiencer reading on the subject. We may simply say, as widely assumed, that the experiencer reading has to do only with humans or higher animals. Thus, (33) does not apply when the raised possessor is inanimate.

2.3 On the Notion of Experiencer

In the above, we have examined the relation between the structure of PRC and the experiencer interpretation on the subject. We have seen that the experiencer interpretation is observed on the subject of transitives as well as causatives when the subject is non-agentive and there is a coreference relation between the subject and the possessor of the object. In our framework, this is captured by means of a syntactic operation of possessor raising to the subject position (i.e., Spec of TP). Such raising is possible only when there is no external role (agent) appears at the Spec

of vP .¹³ In other words, as discussed above in relation to (35b), which is repeated as (39a) with a slight modification, if the subject is interpreted ambiguously either as an agent or as an experiencer, the sentence has two different sources: one with the subject at Spec of vP [+ER], which gives rises the agent reading and the other with the subject being raised from inside the complement, which is for the experiencer reading. This is illustrated in (40), where (39a) is taken as an example.

- (39) a. Kyoko-ga kami-o kit-ta. (cf. (35b))
 -Nom hair-Acc cut-past
 'Kyoko_i cut her_i hair.'

- b. Shoichi-ga doa-ni atama-o butuk-e-ta.
 -Nom door-to head-Acc hit-tr-past
 'Shoichi_i banged his_i head into the door.'

- (40) a. [_{TP} Kyoko_i-ga [_{vP} t_i [_{VP} [_{DP} e_i kami]-o kit-] v] ta]
 ↑
 └──────────┘ [+ER][+OC]
 b. [_{TP} Kyoko_i-ga [_{vP} [_{VP} [_{DP} t_i kami]-o kit-] v] ta]
 ↑
 └──────────┘ [-ER][+OC]

In both readings, the subject is coreferential with the null possessor of the object. However, these readings differ in how the coreference obtains. In (40a), which has the agentive reading on the subject, the coreference is due to a mere anaphoric relation. On the other hand, in (40b), the possessor is raised from the possessor of the object and the experiencer reading obtains due to (33). Thus, the null possessor in (40b) is a trace and cannot be replaced with a lexical item in Japanese (see fn. 3 and Hasegawa (2001). Observe (41).

- (41) a. Kyoko_i-ga kanojo_{i/j}-no kami-o kit-ta.
 -NOM her-GEN hair-Acc cut-past
 'Kyoko_i cut her_i hair.'

¹³ If there is an external role at Spec of vP , that is the one that moves to Spec of TP to receive Nominative Case. I will not discuss the exact mechanism of possessor raising in this paper. But see Hasegawa (1999). See also Tsujioka (2002) and Okura (2004) for relevant discussion.

- b. Shoichi-ga doa-ni kare_{i/j}-no atama-o butuk-e-ta.
 -NOM door-to his-GEN head-ACC hit-tr-past
 ‘Shoichi_i banged his_i head into the door.’

If the possessor is lexical as in (41), only the agentive reading is possible on the subject. This in turn means that the empty possessor in (41a) is pronominal in nature and replacing it with a lexical pronominal or an item that is not coreferential with the subject does not alter the agentive reading of the subject.¹⁴

Our claim that sentences such as (39) have two different sources is supported by the reading on *te-i-ru*, the progressive or perfective marker. Observe (42), which is basically the same as (39a) except that the predicate is followed by *te-i-ru*.

- (42) Kyoko-ga kami-o mizikaku kit-te-i-ru. (cf. (35b))
 -NOM hair-ACC short cut-prog/perf-pres
 ‘Kyoko_i is cutting her_i hair short.’ *Agentive*
 ‘Kyoko_i has cut her_i hair short.’ *Experiencer*

Te-i-ru has two aspectual functions, either progressive or perfective. Examining various occurrences of *te-i-ru*, Takezawa (1991) proposes the generalization that the perfective reading obtains when there is a syntactic association between the object (or an item inside VP) and the subject, such as via raising in direct passive, unaccusative, and inalienable possessor construction, and the progressive reading results when no such movement is involved. Thus, we expect that the reading on *te-i-ru* in (42) varies depending on how the subject is interpreted. This prediction is borne out as indicated in (42). With the experiencer reading on the subject, which results from (33) involving possessor raising from insider VP, *te-i-ru* is interpreted ‘perfective’. With the agent subject, *te-i-ru* is ‘progressive’. Thus, Takezawa’s generalization on *te-i-ru* clearly supports our analysis of PRCs with the experiencer reading.¹⁵

¹⁴ See Reinhart (2000) for relevant discussion on anaphoric and pronominal nature of anaphoric items, such as clitics, in other languages. See also Hasegawa (2001).

¹⁵ However, PRCs with a non-human subject, such as (37), do not follow Takezawa’s generalization straightforwardly. That is, if *te-i-ru* is used in the examples of (37), which are clearly PRCs in our framework, *te-i-ru* is ambiguous between progressive and perfective, as seen

In sum, though both an agent and an experiencer appear as a subject of a transitive, they have different sources in how they are derived as well as how their interpretations obtain. An agent has its own designated position at base in syntax given by the [+ER] feature of *v*, whereas an experiencer is a derived role. Thus, an item at the possessor position of the object is a mere possessor at base, which yet has nothing to do with experiencerhood, but it comes to be ‘interpreted’ as an experiencer once it is detached from the object and raised to the subject position. Furthermore, as being apparent from the contrast between (34)(35) on the one hand and (38) on the other, the experiencer reading is possible only when the raised possessor is human or higher animal. That is, unlike agent, experiencer is a derived notion and it does not have its own syntactic position designated just for this reading.

This view on experiencer seems valid on other cases. Observe (43).

- (43) a. Taro-ga atama-ga ita-i.
 -NOM head-NOM hurt-pres
 ‘Taro_i, his_i head aches.’
- b. Kyoko-ga kimoti-ga sono hitokoto-ni nagon-da. (cf. (13))
 -NOM feeling-NOM that one=word-DAT calm-past
 ‘Kyoko_i, her_i feelings calmed with that word.’

These predicates are intransitives (i.e., unaccusative) and the first nominative item (a major subject, in the sense of Kuroda (1987)) is not a logical subject of the predicates but is interpreted as the possessor of the second nominative item, which is the logical subject, as well as the experiencer of the state expressed by the rest of the sentence. These sentences differ from the PRC cases examined above in that the possessee here is not an object. Yet, they are alike in the sense that the possessee has been at the Spec of the complement VP at base and the possessor is

in (i).

- (i) Doru-ga ne-o a ag-e-te-i-ru.
 dollar-NOM value-ACC raise-tr-prog/perf-pres
 ‘The dollar has raised its value.’ / ‘The dollar is raising its value.’

We leave this problem open. See Sugioka (2002) for relevant discussion.

raised from there.¹⁶ Thus, the fact that the major subject in (43) has the experiencer reading is accord with the above generalization; namely it has undergone possessor raising from inside VP and it is human.

Note in passing that, as mentioned in relation to (38), the experiencer reading is also conditioned semantically. That is, the item that meets the structural condition for the experiencer reading must be a human or a higher animal, which has the capacity to be affected psychologically, mentally, or sensually. Furthermore, semantic types of predicates are also relevant to the availability of the experiencer reading as well. Even in the construction similar to (43) with a human as a major subject, no experiencer reading obtains if the predicate has nothing to do with psychological or mental state or sensation expression.

- (44) a. Tetsuya-ga se-ga taka-i.
 -NOM height-NOM high-pres
 ‘Tetsuya, his height is high. (Tetsuya is tall)’
 b. Neko-ga karada-ga yawaraka-i.
 cat-NOM body-NOM flexible-pres.
 ‘Cats_i, their_i body is flexible.’

To sum, the experiencer reading is a derived one and it is both structurally and semantically conditioned. Semantically, predicates must be of psychology or sensation type and the entity must be of human or higher animal. Structurally, possessor raising from inside a VP (most probably from the theme position) is required for this reading.¹⁷

¹⁶ (43a) has an adjective not a verb. We will not discuss the structure of adjectives in this paper and simply assume here that a predicative AP is just like a VP. See Tonosaki (2003) for intriguing discussion on adjectives in Japanese and thematic roles that are associated with them. See also Nihshiyama (1998).

¹⁷ Another typical example that involves ‘experiencer’ is the psych-predicate construction such as (i) below, where *Hanako*, the object (not the possessor of the object) of transitives or the subject of (unaccusative) intransitives, is interpreted as experiencer.

- (i) a. Sono uwasa-ga Hanako-o kurusim-{e/ase}-te-i-ru.
 the rumor-NOM -ACC be=tormented-{tr/cause}-prog-pres
 ‘The rumor tormented Hanako.’
 b. Hanako-ga sono uwasa-ni kurusim-de-i-ru.
 -NOM the rumor- DAT be=tormented-prog-pres
 ‘Hanako is tormented by the rumor.’

3. On Causative and Experiencer Passive: *Have*, *-(s)ase*, and *-(R)are*

In 1.2 and 1.3, we have analyzed the causative predicates, *have* and *get* in English and *-(s)ase* in Japanese, as lexical realizations of the small *v* category. Referring to Wahsio (1993, 1997) and Ritter and Rosen (1993, 1997), we have observed ambiguity on the interpretation of the subject in the following types of sentences: the subject may be a causer (agent) or an experiencer. Under the proposed system, this ambiguity on the subject is due to the different specification on the [\pm ER] feature of these predicates (and the subsequent application of raising from inside a VP in the case of [-ER]).

- (45) a. Taro-wa musuko-o sin-ase-ta. (=24))
 -TOP son-ACC die-cause-past
 ‘Taro caused his son to die.’
 b. John had his hair cut short by Mary.

We further noted there that the experiencer interpretation of (45a) is quite close to the indirect passive (25), repeated here as (46).

- (46) Taro-wa musuko-ni sin-are-ta. (=25))
 -TOP son-DAT die-passive-past
 ‘Taro was affected by his son’s death.’

However, this does not mean that any causative *-(s)ase* sentence can be restated in indirect passive. For example, the Japanese translation of (45b), which is ambiguous in a relevant way in English, is not ambiguous as seen in (47a), which has only the causative reading. The two readings on (45b) in English are represented by two different sentences in Japanese, one with *-(s)ase* as in (47a) and the other with *-(r)are* as in (47b), which exhibits the experiencer reading of (45b).

As discussed in Hasegawa (2001) and further developed by Tonosaki (2003), I assume that the original role (or the role structurally designated to *Hanako* in these examples) is theme and the experience reading is derived due to the fact that these predicates are to do with a psychological or mental state. As for so-called ‘adversity’ passive (or ‘experiencer’ passive in the sense of this paper), see Section 3.

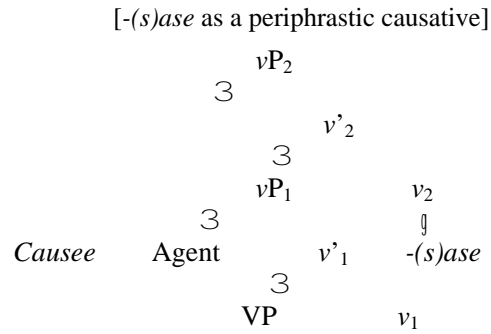
- (47) a. John-ga Mary-ni kami-o mizikaku kir-ase-ta.
 -NOM -DAT hair-ACC short cut-cause-past
 ‘John_i made Mary cut his_i hair short.’
- b. John-ga Mary-ni kami-o mizikaku kir-are-ta.
 -NOM -DAT hair-ACC short cut-pass-past
 ‘John_i got affected by Mary cutting his_i hair short.’

Then, the questions arise concerning *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are* on the one hand, and *-(s)ase* in Japanese and *have* in English on the other: (i) why is (45a) ambiguous while (47a) is not? (Under what condition *-(s)ase* gives rise to a reading similar to *-(r)are*?); (ii) why does the *have* example (45b) exhibit ambiguity while the *-(s)ase* example (47a) does not, when they seem to express the same content: Mary cut John’s hair short? Let us discuss *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are* first.

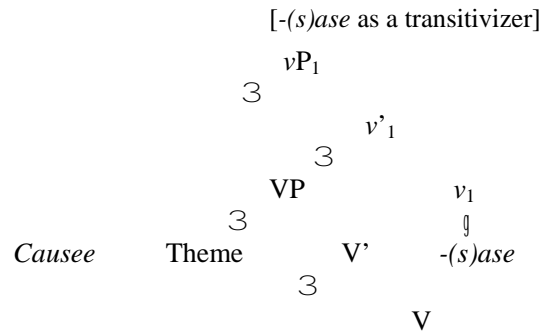
3.1 *-(S)ase* and *-(R)are*

To recapitulate, the problem here is that both (45a) and (47b) have the causative reading but only (45a) has an experiencer reading on the subject. As summarized in (33), the experiencer reading results when the coreference between the subject and the possessor of the item inside a VP complement is established by possessor raising. Then, it must be the case that only (45a) has a derivation in which the possessor *Taro* is raised from inside the VP and no such raising is available in (47a). Notice that the causee of (47a), *Mary*, is an agent, which means that the complement of *-(s)ase* is not just a VP but a full-fledged vP. On the other hand, the causee of (45a), *musuko* ‘son’, may or may not be interpreted as an agent. As discussed in 1.2, if the causee is interpreted as an agent, the subject *Taro* is not interpreted as an experiencer but as a causer (or agent). And when the causee is interpreted as a theme, *Taro* can be an experiencer. That is, whether the subject of *-(s)ase* is interpreted as an experiencer or not is dependent on whether the causee is an agent (i.e., whether the complement of *-(s)ase* is a VP or vP (with [+ER])). We have already proposed structural differences between these cases; namely, (22), which is repeated here as (48).

(48) a. With an Agentive Causee



b. With a Non-Agentive Causee



Structure (48a) is for the causer reading on the subject and (48b) for the experiencer reading.

Recall that the v of the structure (48b) is what we have been calling a transitivizer and is equivalent to what appears in ordinary transitive predicates. This seems to suggest that the [-ER] $-(s)ase$ with the structure (48b) should be able to be replaced with $-(r)are$, without altering the reading on the subject. However, the fact is not that simple.

- (49) a. Kyoko-ga yasai-o kusar-ase-ta. (=21a))
 -NOM vegetable-ACC perish-cause-past
 'Kyoko caused the vegetables to perish.'

- b. Taro-ga sinnaa-o zyooohatu s-ase-ta. (=21b)
 -NOM thinner-ACC evaporate-cause-past
 'Taro vaporized the thinner.'
- (50) a. *Kyoko-ga yasai-ni kusar-are-ta.
 -NOM vegetable-ACC perish-passive-past
 'Kyoko was affected by the vegetables having been perished.'
- b. *Taro-ga sinnaa-ni zyooohatu s-are-ta.
 -NOM thinner-ACC evaporate-passive-past
 'Taro was affected by the thinner having been evaporated.'

Contrary to the expectation, the *-(r)are* examples in (50) are all not allowed. The ungrammaticality of (50) can be explained if we assume that *-(r)are*, unlike *-(s)ase*, cannot take a mere VP or a *vP* with [-ER]. This seems to be on the right track since the following examples are all ungrammatical.

- (51) a. *Taro-ga ie-ni yake-rare-ta.
 -NOM house-DAT burn-pass-past
 'Taro was affected by the house having been burnt.'
- b. *Hanako-ga tokei-ni tomr-are-ta.
 -NOM watch-DAT stop-pass-past
 'Hanako was affected by the watch having been stopped.'
- c. *Toru-ga Kyoko-ni kosi-o itam-e-rare-ta.
 -NOM -DAT back-ACC hurt-tr-pass-past
 'Toru was affected by Kyoko's getting her back hurt.'
- d. *Taro-ga Hanako-ni kazi-de ie-o yak-are-ta.
 -NOM -DAT fire-by house-ACC burn-passp-past
 'Taro was affected by Hanako's getting her house burnt by fire.'

That is, as often been pointed out, the experiencer *-(r)are* does not take an unaccusative predicate as its complement (Washio (1989-90), Kageyama (1993)) and this explains the ungrammaticality of (51a) and (51b) along with (50).¹⁸ Furthermore, the ungrammaticality of (51c) and (51d)

¹⁸ As noted in Kageyama (1993) and Hasegawa (1988, 1999), some unaccusatives can appear as

indicates that *-(r)are* does not take a transitive either, if it has a non-agentive subject, a *vP* with the [-ER] subject. All what *-(r)are* allows is the case where *-(r)are* takes a *vP* with [+ER] and the structure we obtain is equivalent to (48a), except that *-(r)are* occurs under *v*₂ in place of *-(s)ase*. Furthermore, the causative *-(s)ase* does not take a [-ER] transitive *vP* either, which is seen in the ungrammaticality of (52a) and (52b), to be compared with (51c) and (51d), respectively. (cf. Hasegawa (2001))

- (52) a. *Toru-ga Kyoko-ni kosi-o itam-e-sase-ta.
 -NOM -DAT back-ACC hurt-tr-cause-past
 ‘Toru caused Kyoko to hurt her back.’
- b. *Taro-ga Hanako-ni kazi-de ie-o yak-ase-ta.
 -NOM -DAT fire-by house-ACC burn-cause-past
 ‘Taro caused Hanako to burn her house by fire.’

Thus, the difference between *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are* amounts to the following: *-(s)ase* can take either (48a) or (48b), while *-(r)are* takes only (48a); the *-(r)are* subject is inherently interpreted as an experiencer.¹⁹

a complement of adversative *-(r)are*. Especially those that involve weather (i) and some process that may be perceived to have some kind of ‘willfull or undistracted course’ of its own (e.g., (ii)).

- (i) Hanako-ga ame-ni fur-are-ta.
 -Nom rain-Dat fall-pass-past
 ‘Hanako got rained on.’
- (ii) ?Boku-wa koosokudooro-de kurama-ni pannku s-are-ta.
 I-Top speedway-at car-Dat puncture-pass-past
 ‘I was affected by my car getting flat tire at speedway.’

Sin-are ‘die-passive’ (46) may be considered to be this kind of ‘exceptional’ unaccusative, though in the body of this paper, (46) is analyzed to be derived from the ‘agentive’ use of *die*. Since (46) can take a cause adjunct such as *sensoo-de* ‘in the war’, it is obvious that *die* in (46) may not be agentive. I have to leave to future research this question of exactly what role the subject of *die* can take and how the subject of *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are* relates to the death of human beings, particularly of those who are closely related to the subject of these predicates. See Washio (1989-90, 1993) for relevant discussion.

¹⁹ As mentioned in fn. 7, this paper is concerned only with the indirect (i.e., experiencer or adversative) passive. It seems that different types of passives (ie., indirect passive, direct passives, possessor passives (and perhaps, honorific passives)) and intransitivizing functions of *-(r)are* may be derived by differentiating the specification of *v*, along the line of the analysis of *-(s)ase* and other transitivity suffixes presented in this paper. I will leave this to future research.

That is, the experiencer interpretation observed on the subject of the *-(s)ase* example (45) and that of the *-(r)are* (46) has different sources. In (45), being a case of PRC, it is derived by meeting the condition (33), while in (46), it is inherent in *-(r)are*. Thus, only when *-(s)ase* is an instance of transitivizer and the causee may or may not be interpreted as an agent of the complement event, *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are* exhibit similar meanings. Such case is quite limited, being confined to the cases such as (46a) and (47).²⁰

3.2 *Have* vs. *-(S)ase* and *-(R)are*

In 1.3, we have seen that *have* (as well as *get*) can take various types of complements. The crucial structural difference between the *-(s)ase* or *-(r)are* case in (47) and the *have* example (45b) is that the former involves a full-fledged *vP* (i.e., (48a)), as discussed above, whereas the latter has a passive predicate. It is interesting to note that once the passive complement is changed to an active *vP* as in (53), the adversative reading disappears (or at least becomes quite weak) and only the causative reading results. Note that (47a), the Japanese translation of the causative reading of (45b), has a full-fledged active *vP* as a complement of *-(s)ase*.

(53) Taro_i had Hanako cut his_i hair short.

The fact here (i.e., (53) is interpreted only as causative not as experiencer) is the same as what we have observed in (47a). Both *have* and *-(s)ase* are causative predicates if they are subcategorized for a full-fledged *vP*. Being a kind of *v*, *have* and *-(s)ase* may also take place at a transitivizing *v*, taking a complement whose structure is less than *vP*, say, *VP* for *-(s)ase* and passive predicate (and some other small clause types as seen in (33)) for *have*. Thus, we may conclude that the experiencer reading is observed when the following two conditions are met: (i) *have* and *-(s)ase* are transitivizing *v*'s and (ii) (33) is satisfied. Thus, when the causee is agentive, as seen in (47a) and (53), the experiencer reading is impossible even when there is some coreference

²⁰ See Washio (1993) for more discussion concerning somewhat special status of the experiencer reading of (45a).

(56) (*Inclusive Passive; Experiencer*)

- a. John_i had [his_i hair cut by a probationary barber]
- b. John-wa minarai-no riyooosi-ni kami-o kir-are-ta.
-TOP probationary barber-DAT hair-ACC cut-passive-past
'John_i was affected by a probationary barber cutting his_i hair.'

(57) (*Exclusive Causative*)

- a. John_i had [Mary_j's hair cut by a probationary barber]
- b. John-wa minarai-no riyooosi-ni Mary-no kami-o kir-ase-ta.
-TOP probationary barber-DAT -GEN hair-ACC cut-cause-past
'John had Mary's hair cut by a probationary barber.'

(58) (*Exclusive Passive; Experiencer*)²²

- a. *John_i had [Mary_j's hair cut by a probationary barber]
- b. John-wa minarai-no riyooosi-ni Mary-no kami-o kir-are-ta.
-TOP probationary barber-DAT -GEN hair-ACC cut-passiv-past
'John was affected by a probationary barber cutting Mary's hair.'

Have in English takes place in both Inclusive and Exclusive contexts as seen in (55)-(57). The grammatical contrast between (56a) and (58a) shows that the experiencer reading (i.e., passive in the sense of Washio) is possible only in the Inclusive context. In contrast, Japanese makes use of two predicates, *-(s)ase* and *-(r)are*, for the above contexts and the experiencer (passive) context can be expressed by *-(r)are*.

Under our framework, the above fact is explained in the following way. *Have* may take place either in the Inclusive or Exclusive contexts; however, only the Inclusive case may meet the condition (33), provided that this occurrence of *have* is a [-ER] v. Thus, the experiencer (or passive) reading is possible only in the Inclusive context. As for Japanese, since all the examples in the above involve an agent, *minarai-no riyooosi* 'a probationary barber', for a complement subject, they invariably involve a vP as their complement. Thus, the condition (33) is irrelevant to the experiencer reading in the above. Whether these

²² The asterisk (*) on (58a) means that this sentence does not have the experiencer (or passive) reading. As the grammatical status of (57a) shows, it is grammatical as an Exclusive causative.

sentences are interpreted as ‘causative’ or ‘passive’ is solely dependant on whether they involve *-(s)ase* or *-(r)are*. Thus, whether the given context is Inclusive or Exclusive does not affect the original meanings of these sentences: those with *-(s)ase* are a causative regardless of whether context is Inclusive or Exclusive and those with *-(r)are* are always a passive.²³

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²³ Washio argues that the meaning of passives differs depending on whether they involve an Inclusive context or an Exclusive context and that languages differ with respect to whether Exclusive passives are allowed. In terms of types of passives, Inclusive passives can be regarded as possessor passives. Then, as briefly speculated in fn. 7 and fn. 19, our framework may be able to incorporate this claim of Washio’s, by assigning different features on *-(r)are*. I leave this to future research.

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