



Secondly, turning to Korean, the loci of the two generally competing causative forms /Ci/ and /Cu/ should be determined. While /Ci/ may be merged with either adjectival (e.g. *noph-i* ‘heighten’, *nelp-hi* ‘widen’), intransitive (e.g. *cwuk-i* ‘kill’, *anc-hi* ‘seat’) or transitive (e.g. *mek-i* ‘feed’, *ip-hi* ‘clothe’) roots, /Cu/ with adjectival (e.g. *pal-wu* ‘straighten’, *nac-chwu* ‘lower’) and intransitive (e.g. *kkay-wu* ‘wake<sub>vt</sub>’, *mac-chwu* ‘correct<sub>vt</sub>’) roots, but not with transitive roots.

### 3. Proposals

As for (3a), the underlying sentence before *-rare* is merged is the following causative clause.

- (4) Mary<sub>2</sub>-ga [αP John<sub>1/2</sub>-ni (wazato<sub>1</sub>) (zibun<sub>1/2</sub>-no) kodomo-o home]-sase-ta  
 Mary-nom John-dat on.purpose self-gen child-acc praise-caus-past  
 ‘Mary made John praise his child (on purpose).’

In (4), *John* (as well as *Mary*) may antecede *zibun* and be modified by a subject-oriented adverb; hence, αP is identified as VoiceP. As a result, *-sase* in (4) is an instance of phase-selecting Cause in (2c). Then, *-rare* in (3a) should appear higher than Voice. Aoyagi (2010) claims that Higher Applicative (H-Appl), whose benefactive and malefactive exponents are (*-te moraw* ‘receive’ and *-rare*, respectively, is located above Voice (i.e. X in (1)) in Japanese (but not in Korean). Given this, (3a) has the following representation.

- (5) [H-ApplP John<sub>1</sub> [CausP Mary<sub>2</sub> [VoiP e<sub>1</sub> [vP child<sub>1/2</sub> √praise<sup>v</sup>] ^Voice\*] ^Caus] ^H-Appl<sub>[mal]</sub>]

This is a welcome result; although *John* is “included” in the passivized event in the sense that the child can be taken for his own (Washio 1993), adversity is forced. Moreover, the contrast between (3b) and (3c) can also be accounted for if Cause may select H-ApplP in the order reversed from (5) (i.e., Voi<sup>H-Appl</sup>Caus) for those who accept (3b). Since H-Appl assigns experiencer to an animate DP in its Spec, the selectional requirement in (2c) is met for them. However, the sentence embedded under Cause in (3c) is a direct passive headed by Voice<sub>[+passive]</sub>. Since Voice<sub>[+passive]</sub> does not take an EA by definition, it does not satisfy the selectional requirement in (2c) (or, for that matter, either (2a) or (2b), either).

As for /Ci/ in Korean, Aoyagi (2016) argues that, unlike /(a)s/ in Japanese, it stays in v. This is not unwarranted. First, it may be merged with an adjectival root to form a verb (e.g. *noph-i* ‘heighten’). Furthermore, it is not sensitive to the arity of the root; thus, it may be merged with a (mono-)transitive root to form a ditransitive verb (Tsukamoto 2012) as well as monadic (i.e. adjectival or intransitive) root to form a transitive verb. On the other hand, /Cu/ selects an adjectival or unaccusative root, but not a dyadic root. This means that /Cu/ selects a monadic vP (i.e. [CausP [vP IA √Root<sup>v</sup>=/Ci/] ^Caus=/Cu/].). One might predict that /Ci/ and /Cu/ may both be merged with a root. This is actually borne out, as instantiated by *se-y-wu* ‘stand<sub>vt</sub>’, *ca-y-wu* ‘put to sleep<sub>vt</sub>’, *kh-i-wu* ‘grow<sub>vt</sub>’, etc.