

The argument structure of causatives
 Academia Salensis Lecture 1

referents	<ref ₁	ref ₂	ref ₃ >	} SEMANTIC/THEMATIC
<i>instantiated roles?</i>	<giver	given	givee>	
<i>generic roles?</i>	<ag	pat/th	goal/rec>	} STRUCTURE
or: semantic markers				
dependents of the predicate	<arg ₁	arg ₂	arg ₃ >	LEXICAL TRANSITIVITY
grammatical relations	[SUBJ	OBJ	I OBJ]	} SYNTACTIC/FUNCTIONAL
syntactic categories	[NP	NP	NP]	

Fig. 1. Semantic and syntactic valency

1. Assumptions

Mapping Theory (MT) tools for **argument-to-function mappings** (see e.g. Kibort 2014; but note that the Mapping Principle has been slightly rephrased):

- (1) Decomposition of basic argument functions into features, based on asemanic argument alternations available in syntactically nominative-accusative languages:

	[-r]	[+r]
[-o]	SUBJ	OBL _θ
[+o]	OBJ	OBJ _θ

- (2)
- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---|
| [+o] | complements | (‘internal arguments’ of the predicate) |
| [-o] | non-complements | (the ‘external’ argument and oblique arguments) |
| [-r] | core arguments | (subject and object only) |
| [+r] | non-core arguments | (all arguments except subject and object) |

- (3) A universally available syntactic subcategorisation frame with fixed argument positions:

< arg₁ arg₂ arg₃ ... arg₄ ... arg_n >
 [-o/-r] [-r] [+o] [-o] [-o]

Note: Only one SUBJ and one OBJ function are permitted. However, multiple secondary objects (OBJ_θ) and oblique arguments (OBL_θ) are possible and distinguished by their subscripts.

Diagram in (1) can be read as a hierarchy of syntactic functions. Since subject is considered the highest function, the hierarchy is as follows:

(4) $[-o]/[-r]$ SUBJ > $[-r]/[+o]$ OBJ, $[-o]/[+r]$ OBL_θ > $[+o]/[+r]$ OBJ_θ

Note: In LFG (4) is referred to as ‘Markedness hierarchy of syntactic functions’. However, we no longer consider grammatical functions to be ‘marked’ in the sense this was originally proposed in LFG’s Lexical Mapping Theory, e.g. Bresnan (2001).

(5) MAPPING PRINCIPLE

The ordered arguments are mapped onto the highest compatible function on the hierarchy of syntactic functions.

Note: The effect of (4) and (5) is that the first argument compatible with the SUBJ function is mapped to SUBJ. This can be understood as the Subject Default. However, Subject Default is not equivalent to the Subject Condition assumed in other variants of LFG’s Mapping Theory. Subjectless clauses are permitted (and attested).

2. The function of causatives

- Causativisation adds an additional participant to an event: a new causer.
- Therefore, causativisation creates a (more) complex event.
- It is logically possible that an additional causer can be added to any event:
 - a semantically intransitive, or transitive or ditransitive event
 - a semantically unaccusative or unergative event

3. The realisation of causatives

Broadly, causativisation can be realised in the following ways:

3.1. ‘Lexical’ causativisation

The basic verb includes the sense of causation as a part of its semantic content.

- Most lexical causativisation is non-productive. There may be no morphological relationship between the non-caused and caused verbs, e.g. English *die* ~ *kill*, *eat* ~ *feed*, *know* ~ *inform*, etc. Or there may be phonological similarity which may indicate a diachronic relationship, but the correspondences are irregular and synchronically there is no productive morphological process which relates the two variants, e.g. *sit* ~ *seat*, *fall* ~ *fell*, *lie* ~ *lay*, etc. (examples from Kroeger 2004: 193).

- Lexical causativisation may be productive. Examples:

‘Induced Action Alternation’ in English (Levin 1993: 31-32 and references therein; contra Kroeger 2004: 193), with **semantically unergative** verbs:

- (6) a. *The horse jumped over the fence.*
b. *Sylvia jumped the horse over the fence.*
- (7) a. *The lions jumped through the hoop.*
b. *The lion tamer jumped the lions through the hoop.*

- (8) a. *The rats ran through the field.*
 b. *The scientist ran the rats through the maze.*
- (9) a. *The soldiers lodged in the schoolhouse.*
 b. *The commander lodged the soldiers in the schoolhouse.*

Semantic restrictions/preferences:

- RUN verbs (some): *canter, drive, fly, gallop, jump, leap, march, race, run swim, trot, walk*
- LODGE verbs (some): *bivouac, board, lodge, settle, shelter*
- causee is typically an animate volitional entity that is induced to act by the causer
- the ‘accompaniment’ interpretation may occur with RUN verbs but is not necessary
- the RUN verbs in the transitive causative are typically used with a directional phrase which is understood even if omitted; the LODGE verbs are typically used with a locational phrase in both variants

N.B. semantic restrictions prevent creating ambiguous utterances which would impair communication, but which are not ill-formed:

- (10) a. *The cat ate.*
 b. *I ate the cat.*

‘Other Instances of Causative Alternation’ in English (Levin 1993: 31-32), with **semantically unaccusative** verbs in English:

- (11) a. *The baby burped.*
 b. *I burped the baby.*
- (12) a. *The statue stood on the pedestal.*
 b. *They stood the statue on the pedestal.*
- (13) a. *The bell rang.*
 b. *The visitor rang the bell.*

Semantic restrictions/preferences:

- BURP verbs and SUFFOCATE verbs: *bleed, burp, asphyxiate, choke, drown, stifle, suffocate*
- verbs of spatial configuration (some): *dangle, fly, hang, lean, perch, rest, sit, stand, swing*
- verbs of emission of sound (some), light (some), and substance (few): *bang, beep, blare, buzz, clack, clang, clash, clatter, click, hoot, jangle, jingle, ring, rustle, squeak, squeal, tinkle, twang; beam, blink, flash, shine; bleed, squirt*
- when the actions denoted by these verbs are not controlled, an external causer might be added to indicate a circumstance of external control

N.B. semantic restrictions prevent creating infelicitous rather than ill-formed utterances, but observe that other verbs may be coerced to occur in this pattern:

- (14) a. *From 1976-1983, thirty thousand people disappeared in Argentina.*
 b. *They were disappeared by the military dictatorship and even today the official figure on the numbers involved is only 13000.*
 c. *In Argentina, the dictatorship disappeared an estimated thirty thousand people.*

- In a model of argument structure – or a model of semantic valency interfaced with syntactic valency – we want to be able to add a causer to the base meaning of these predicates productively.

Note: The ‘anticausative’ (causative/inchoative) alternation which occurs with a wide range of verbs is morphologically marked in many languages and indicates the removal of an argument expressing a causer, as in: *open_{tr}* ~ *open_{intr}*, *break_{tr}* ~ *break_{intr}*. (See Kibort 2004: Ch. 3, and 2007, for a Mapping Theory account of anticausatives.)

In English, the anticausative is also ‘lexical’, i.e. morphologically unmarked, and some linguists have argued that this alternation should be analysed in the same way as lexical causativisation rather than as anticausativisation. This issue will not be discussed here, but in the present proposal the remaining alternating English verbs (ROLL verbs, BREAK verbs, BEND verbs, other alternating change of state verbs and some AMUSE-type psych-verbs) could be modelled as undergoing either causativisation or anticausativisation.

■ **Semantic valency change in lexical causatives:**

non-causativised	causativised	= single (complex) event
< x >	< c x >	

■ **Syntactic valency change in lexical causatives:**

non-causativised	causativised	= single PRED (i.e. single clause) with new causer c=SUBJ
<arg1>	<arg1 arg2>	
[-o]	[-o] [-r]	
SUBJ	SUBJ OBJ	

- As far as I know, there is no LFG account that integrates lexical causatives (identified as above) into a comprehensive theory of argument alternations and argument mapping.
- Kroeger (2004: 2015): “[W]e will simply assume that lexical causatives have the same basic argument structure as underived predicates.”

3.2. ‘Morphological’ causativisation

The causative verb is derived from a basic verb through a regular morphological process, e.g. affixation.

(English does not have productive morphology to derive causative verbs from verbal roots, though it has causative suffixes which create causative verbs from adjectival and nominal roots, e.g. *short-en*, *length-en*, *normal-ize*, *vapor-ize*, *hyphen-ate*, *activ-ate*).

Two fundamentally different types of morphological causativisation, depending on whether the causativised verb behaves syntactically like having one set of arguments or two (i.e. a separate set of arguments for the ‘cause X’ meaning, and a separate set for the base meaning):

Morphological monoclausal causatives

■ **Semantic valency change:**

non-causativised	causativised	= single (complex) event
< x >	< c x >	
< x y >	< c x y >	
< x y b >	< c x y b >	

■ **Syntactic valency change** (linguistic examples can be found e.g. in Kroeger 2004: 194-211):

non-causativised

causativised

= single PRED (i.e. single clause)
with new causer c=SUBJ

x
<arg1>
[-o]
SUBJ

c x
<arg1 arg2>
[-o] [-r]
SUBJ OBJ

e.g. Turkish, Swahili, Malayalam
x=OBJ

x y
<arg1 arg2>
[-o] [-r]
SUBJ OBJ

c x y
<arg1 arg2 arg3>
[-o] [-r] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ

Swahili: x=OBJ, y=OBJ_θ

c y x
<arg1 arg2 arg3>
[-o] [-r] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ

Turkish: x=OBJ_θ, y=OBJ

c y x
<arg1 arg2 arg4>
[-o] [-r] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBL_θ

Malayalam: x=OBL_θ, y=OBJ

(not many languages with morphological causatives allow them to be derived from basic ditransitive verbs)

x y b
<arg1 arg2 arg3>
[-o] [-r] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ

c y b x
<arg1 arg2 arg3 arg4>
[-o] [-r] [+o] [-o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ OBL_θ

Turkish: x=OBL_θ, y=OBJ, b=OBJ_θ

x y b
<arg1 arg2 arg4>
[-o] [-r] [-o]
SUBJ OBJ OBL_θ

c y b x
<arg1 arg2 arg4 arg4>
[-o] [-r] [-o] [-o]
SUBJ OBJ OBL_θ OBL_θ

Malayalam: x=OBL_θ, y=OBJ, b=OBL_θ

x b y
<arg1 arg2 arg3>
[-o] [-r] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ

c x b y
<arg1 arg2 arg3 arg3>
[-o] [-r] [+o] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ OBJ_θ

Swahili: x=OBJ, y=OBJ_θ, b=OBJ_θ

Note: The ordering of arguments in the argument template in (3) corresponds to LFG's **relational hierarchy** of syntactic functions, with adjunct being a non-argument function (Bresnan 2001: 96):

(15) SUBJ > OBJ > OBJ_θ > OBL_θ > COMPL > ADJUNCT

(The label COMPL stands for the whole class of various predicate complements; Bresnan 2001: 96).

The relational hierarchy is proposed after Keenan and Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, presumed to be universal (at least in nominative-accusative systems):

(16) SUBJ > OBJ > OBJ θ > OBL > possessor NP > object of comparison

Thus, the ordering of argument positions in (3) also parallels Keenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy, however, while LFG's relational hierarchy in (15) is based on final grammatical functions, the ordering in (3) is based on MT's atomic values [+/- r/o].

- Comrie (1981) argues that the grammatical function of the causee (x) in languages like Turkish (i.e. languages with structural datives) can be predicted from the Relational Hierarchy: the causee will get the highest function on the hierarchy which is not part of the subcategorisation of the base verb, i.e. the 'next available GF' (Kroeger 2004: 201-202):

(17) subcategorisation of base verb	GF of causee
{SUBJ}	{OBJ}
{SUBJ, OBJ}	{OBJ θ }
{SUBJ, OBJ, OBJ θ }	{OBL θ }

- Therefore, for some classes of verbs:

non-causativised causativised = single PRED (i.e. single clause)
with new causer c=SUBJ

x	b	c	x	b	
<arg1	arg3>	<arg1	arg2	arg3 >	Turkish: x=OBJ, b=OBJ θ
[-o]	[+o]	[-o]	[-r]	[+o]	
SUBJ	OBJ θ	SUBJ	OBJ	OBJ θ	

x	z	c	x	z	
<arg1	arg4>	<arg1	arg2	arg4 >	Malayalam: x=OBJ, z=OBL θ
[-o]	[-o]	[-o]	[-r]	[-o]	
SUBJ	OBL θ	SUBJ	OBJ	OBL θ	

Semantic restrictions/preferences:

- causation may include different concepts: direct vs indirect/mediated causation; coercion vs permission; manipulation vs verbal direction
- a language may have distinct causative strategies to express these different distinctions, e.g. Malayalam has two different causative affixes, one called 'lexical' (for direct causation; less productive), and the other called 'morphological' (for indirect and direct causation; more productive)
- a language may use a different grammatical function for the causee depending on the type of causation, e.g. in Telugu the causee is DAT for manipulation and OBL_{inst} for verbal direction; Malayalam can also have an ACC causee with an intransitive base verb to express manipulation as opposed to instruction (e.g. 'roll' in the undergoer sense as opposed to the agentive sense)

- in South Asian languages morphological causatives from transitive roots of ingestion and perception likewise follow the casemarking of intransitive roots, i.e. the causee is, or may be, an ACC direct object
- Japanese uses one affix to express different types of causation, of which the coercive causative is monoclausal and the grammatical functions pattern with those of Turkish

Examples from Malayalam (T. Mohanan, cited in Kroeger 2004: 207, 216):

- (18) a. *amma kuttiye-kkontə nilattə urulik'k'um* x=OBL θ
 mother(NOM) child(ACC)-with floor-LOC roll-CAUS-FUT
 'Mother will make the child roll on the floor.'
- b. *amma kuttiye nilattə urulik'k'um* x=OBJ
 mother(NOM) child-ACC floor-LOC roll-CAUS-FUT
 'Mother will roll the child on the floor.'
- (19) a. *amma kuttiye-kkontə maanna tinnik'k'um* x=OBL θ
 mother(NOM) child(ACC)-with mango eat-CAUS-FUT
 'Mother will have the mango eaten by the child.'
- b. *amma kuttiye maanna tiittum* x=OBJ
 mother(NOM) child-ACC mango eat-CAUS-FUT (the so-called
 'Mother will feed the child a mango.' 'lexical' causative')

So, there are alternations in the assignment of grammatical functions to the arguments, with some change of meaning. An example of a-structure representations corresponding to (19a-b):

- (20) c y x causee as an oblique
 | | |
 < arg₁ arg₂ arg₄ >
 [-o] [-r] [-o]
 SUBJ OBJ OBL θ

- (21) c x y causee as a core argument
 | | |
 < arg₁ arg₂ arg₃ >
 [-o] [-r] [+o]
 SUBJ OBJ OBJ θ

- An alternative mapping of participants to argument positions of this type is very common. It also occurs in dative shift, and in applicative constructions.

Comparison with dative shift:

- LFG and HPSG (both stemming from Relational Grammar) and current non-transformational textbooks (e.g. Tallerman 2011: 200; Kroeger 2005: 61) analyse the recipient in dative shift as having the same grammatical function as the direct object of the transitive:

- (22) a. John read a book.
DIRECT OBJECT
- b. John gave/offered/sent a book to Mary.
DIRECT OBJECT OBLIQUE
- c. John gave/offered/sent Mary a book.
DIRECT OBJECT SECONDARY OBJECT

- (23) x y **b** **beneficiary as an oblique**
| | | =(22b)
< arg₁ arg₂ arg₄ >
[-o] [-r] [-o]
SUBJ OBJ OBL_θ

- (24) x y **b**
| | |
< arg₁ arg₂ arg₄ >
[-o] [-r] [-o]
[+r] passivisation
OBL_θ SUBJ OBL_θ

- (25) a. A book was given to Mary (by John).
b. Supper was cooked for the children (by both parents).

- (26) x **b** y **beneficiary as a core argument in a shifted dative**
| | | =(22c)
< arg₁ arg₂ arg₃ >
[-o] [-r] [+o]
SUBJ OBJ OBJ_θ

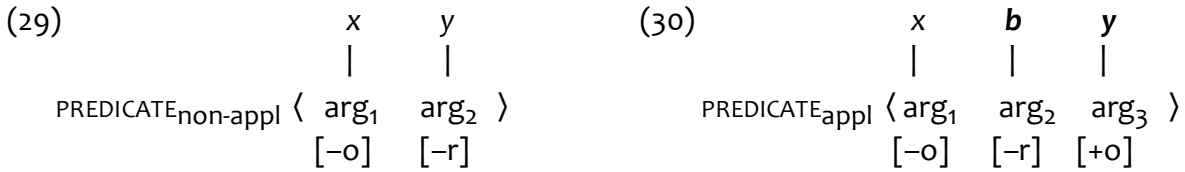
- (27) x **b** y
| | |
< arg₁ arg₂ arg₃ >
[-o] [-r] [+o]
[+r] passivisation
OBL_θ SUBJ OBJ

- (28) a. Mary was given a book (by John).
b. The children were cooked supper (by both parents).

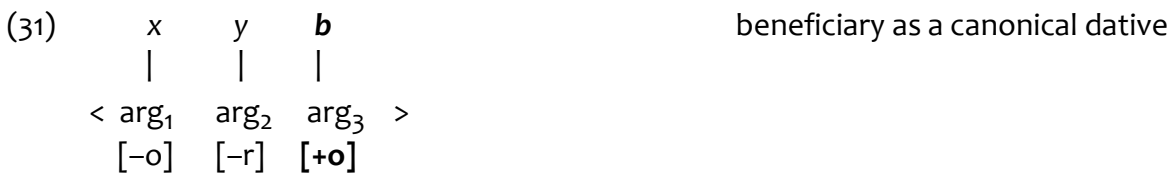
Note: According to the model proposed here, in (27) the y participant has an option to be mapped either to an OBJ (by default) or OBJ_θ (with secondary object preservation which would impose on it the [+r] specification). Which of these two grammatical functions are used is language-dependent. I have not yet investigated which of these is a more appropriate label for the English passivised dative shift. (For objecthood tests in English see e.g. Hudson 1991 and 1992).

Comparison with applicatives:

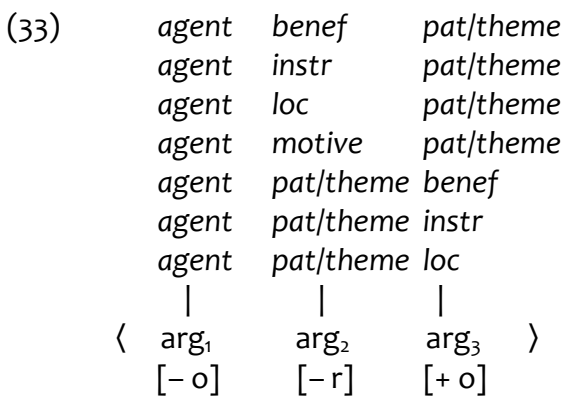
- The applicative adds an argument pre-specified as [+o] to the valency frame of the base predicate, increasing its transitivity:



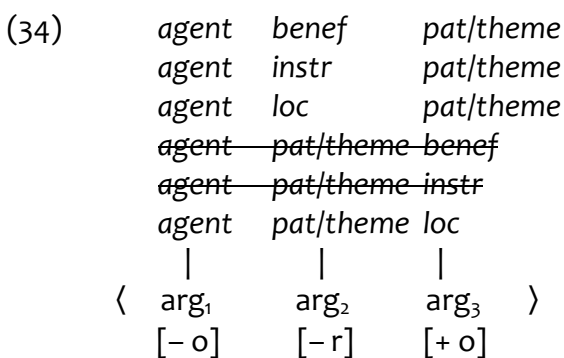
- The other two patterns of mapping are also possible with applicatives:



- Example: Participant mapping options in **Kichaga**, for a base predicate subjected to applicative transitivity (with thematic labels used to facilitate reading):



- Example: Participant mapping options available in **Chicheŵa**:



(see Kibort 2008 for details)

Morphological biclausal causatives

Despite being produced by affixation, the causativised verb behaves syntactically like having two sets of arguments, i.e. a separate set of arguments for the ‘cause X’ meaning, and a separate set for the base meaning.

Various tests can be devised to confirm that there is an internal clause boundary within the construction.

Examples include: a Chimwiini morphological causative (Marantz 1984), and three variants of the Japanese morphological causative (the explicit and implicit permissive causatives, and the persuasive causative; Matsumoto 1998).

Therefore, in LFG we have to posit that there are two PREDs, which represent two events, and they share an argument:

- (35) *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o yom-ase-ta.* (Japanese)
Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC read-CAUS-PAST
‘Taroo made Hanako read the book.’

- (36)

[PRED	‘cause { SUBJ OBJ XCOMP }’]
	SUBJ	[PRED ‘Taroo’]	
	OBJ	[PRED ‘Hanako’]	
	XCOMP	[PRED ‘read { SUBJ OBJ }’]	
	SUBJ	_____	
	OBJ	[PRED ‘book’]	

3.3. ‘Syntactic’ causativisation (periphrastic/analytical)

The causative predicate is expressed by two separate verbs: the base verb and a verb meaning ‘cause’ morphologically independent of the base verb.

Syntactic monoclausal causatives

A type of ‘complex predicate’ (Butt 2005) or a ‘serial verb construction’ (Kroeger 2004: 222-226):

- a single (though complex) event and therefore a single PRED (a functional structure with one SUBJ)
- but a biclausal syntax (with the light verb being usually the syntactic head of the construction)

Example: the *faire* ‘make’ causative in French.

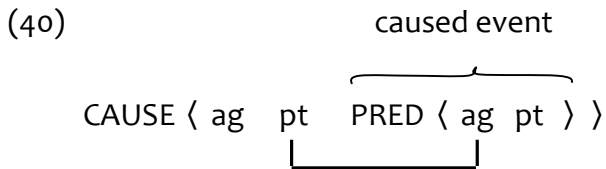
Syntactic biclausal causatives

Two verbs each expressing an event (‘cause X’, and the base verb) in a head-complement construction, sharing an argument.

Examples: the ‘let’ causative in French; the ‘make’ causative in English.

4. Increasing the semantic valency in monoclausal causatives

- Mainstream LFG analyses of causatives assume that causative realisation (whether with a lexical or light verb, or an affix) represents a ‘cause’ predicate which has its own argument structure (e.g. Alsina 1992, Matsumoto 1998, Kroeger 2004: 215-216), for example:



- **Predicate Composition:** the ‘cause’ predicate and the ‘effect/base’ predicate fuse. **Argument Fusion:** a new argument is created which is both an argument of the cause predicate and the embedded predicate.
- Since causatives and applicatives in some languages may use the same morphology, Predicate Composition and Argument Fusion has also sometimes been used to analyse applicatives (e.g. Austin 2005, Hemmings 2012).

However:

- There is a multitude of alternations which add or omit an argument, and it does not make sense to posit that each of them requires adding a predicate and fusing it with the base predicate to increase their valency, e.g.
 - all unexpressed object alternations (predicates with unspecified objects e.g. *clean, eat, hunt*; with understood body parts e.g. *blink, wave, wash*; with understood reflexive and reciprocal objects e.g. *dress, exercise, agree, meet, touch*; with PROarb objects e.g. *shock, warn*)
 - all beneficiaries/recipients in contexts which can be construed as semantically ditransitive
 - if inchoatives are considered basic, predicate composition would probably need to extend to them, too
- In principle, there is no problem to add an argument to a valency frame of a predicate (as demonstrated e.g. by Needham and Toivonen 2011). The problem with adding a new causer is that it disrupts the presumably universal fixed order of semantic roles which is assumed in mainstream LFG, even though it has been demonstrated to be inadequate (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005 and references therein).
- Adding a causer results in a similar range of changes to participant linking as dative shift and other alternations that allow more than one participant to compete for the direct object function. It makes sense to propose the same mechanism to account for the whole range.
- Affix is not automatically a PRED.
- PRED is a distinct lexical entry with its own argument structure which is part of syntax. Its arguments can be structure-shared with another PRED. What is attempted in predicate composition and argument fusion is a process that belongs in the semantics (event composition) which is a different level of analysis.

Alternative proposal for participant-to-argument mapping

- In the absence of a universal thematic hierarchy governing participant-to-argument mapping, the following may represent the most general mapping principles which capture instead the relations the participants of the predication bear to one another and to the predication (Kibort 2013):

(41) RULES FOR MAPPING PARTICIPANTS TO THE ARGUMENT POSITIONS (general, informal)

- a. The first argument position (arg₁) is associated with the participant of whom the event or state is predicated.
- b. If the predicator has any other dependents, the most prominent of the remaining semantic dependents of the predicator maps on the second argument position (arg₂).
- c. This rule is applicable only to languages with structural datives (as some languages may not use this argument position): if the predicator has another semantic dependent, it maps on the third argument position (arg₃).
- d. If the predicator has further semantic dependents which it selects, they map onto further argument positions (arg₄, ..., arg_n).

- The participants are allowed to map on the available argument positions in alternative ways for semantically altered predicates.

- The causative adds a new semantic participant to an event and includes it within the meaning of the verb. The meaning of the derived predicate – via its sets of entailments – is such that it requires the participant be mapped onto the most prominent argument.

- An illustration with **semantic markers** (see Kibort 2014 for details):

- 1 a semantic participant which can map on the (arg₁) position
 - 2 a semantic participant which can map on the (arg₂) position
 - 3 a semantic participant which can map on the (arg₃) position
 - 4 a semantic participant which can map on the (arg₄-arg_n) position
 - 41 a semantic participant which can map either on the (arg₄-arg_n) or the (arg₁) position
 - 42 a semantic participant which can map either on the (arg₄-arg_n) or the (arg₂) position
 - 23 a semantic participant which can map either on the (arg₂) or the (arg₃) position
- and so on

(42) Sample RULES FOR MAPPING PARTICIPANTS TO THE ARGUMENT POSITIONS (specific, formal):

- (a) Arg₁ position is associated with the participant bearing the semantic marker **1**.
If participant **1** is not expressed, participant **13** or **41** maps on the first argument position.
- (b) Arg₂ position is associated with the participant bearing the semantic marker **2**.
- (c) Arg₃ position is associated with the participant bearing the semantic marker **3**.
- (d) Arg₄ position is associated with the participant bearing the semantic marker **4**.
[This means either **4** or **41**.]

■ The causative rule:

- take a semantic valency frame, e.g. OPEN < 1 2 >
- add a new semantic participant '1' **and** a semantic marker to the participant which needs to map differently to the non-causative variant, e.g. in Turkish: CAUSE-OPEN < 1 13 2 >
- the Mapping Rules will find and map: participant '1' onto arg1, participant '2' onto arg2, and participant '13' onto arg3
- the Mapping Rules cannot map participant '13' onto arg1 because participant '1' would remain unmapped and the mapping would fail

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Appendix

Some linguistic examples cited in Kroeger (2004: 194-211).

A. Transitives

Swahili (Comrie, 1976)

- a Msichana a-li-(u-)fungu-a mlango.
 girl S.agr-PAST-O.agr-open-INDIC door
 ‘The girl opened the door.’
- b Mwalimu a-li-m-fungu-zish-a msichana mlango.
 teacher S.agr-PAST-O.agr-open-CAUS-INDIC girl door
 ‘The teacher made the girl open the door.’

Turkish (Aissen, 1974; Comrie, 1981)

- a Müdür mektub-u imzala-dī.
 director letter-ACC sign-PAST
 ‘The director signed the letter.’
- b Dişçi mektub-u müdür-e imzala-t-ti.
 dentist letter-ACC director-DAT sign-CAUS-PAST
 ‘The dentist got the director to sign the letter.’

Malayalam

- a kut̥ti aana-ye ṇuḷli.
 child(NOM) elephant-ACC pinched
 ‘The child pinched the elephant.’ (1983a:59)
- b amma kut̥ti-ye=kkon̥tə aana-ye ṇuḷliccu.
 mother(NOM) child-ACC=with elephant-ACC pinch-CAUS-PAST
 ‘Mother made the child pinch the elephant.’

B. Ditransitives

Turkish (Comrie, 1976, 1981)

- a Müdür Hasan-a mektub-u göster-di.
director Hasan-DAT letter-ACC show-PAST
'The director showed the letter to Hasan.'
- b Dişçi Hasan-a mektub-u müdür tarafından göster-t-ti.
dentist Hasan-DAT letter-ACC director by show-CAUS-PAST
'The dentist got the director to show the letter to Hasan.'

Malayalam (Mohanam, 1982:575)

- a amma kutti-kkə pustakam kotuttu.
mother child-DAT book gave
'The mother gave a book to the child.'
- b acc^han amma-ye=kkonṭə kutti-kkə pustakam kotuppiccu.
father mother-ACC=with child-DAT book give-CAUS-PAST
'Father caused mother to give a book to the child.'

Swahili (Comrie, 1976)

- a Johni a-li-wa-lip-a watoto pesa.
John S.agr-PAST-O.agr-pay-INDIC children money
'John paid the money to the children.'
- b ?Maria a-li-m-lip-ishiz-a Johni watoto pesa.
Mary S.agr-PAST-O.agr-pay-CAUS-INDIC John children money
'Mary made John pay the money to the children.'