On indirect causativisation in Hungarian and the indispensability of an active lexicon

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0. INTRODUCTION

The talk discusses how causatives can be accounted for by Gillian **Ramchand's First-Phase Syntax theory**, as outlined in Ramchand (2008).

My main claim: Some **relevant features of indirect causativisation cannot be expressed** in this theory without changing some of its substantial assumptions, especially ones concerning the role of the lexicon.

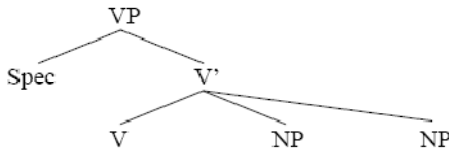
Based on a case study on **causativisation in Hindi/Urdu** (Ramchand = R 2008: 150–192):

- causativisation in **Hungarian** works in a **strikingly similar way** ⇒ they should be analysed in much the same way on the VP level;
- **significant differences** between the two languages that Ramchand's theory has a hard time dealing with.

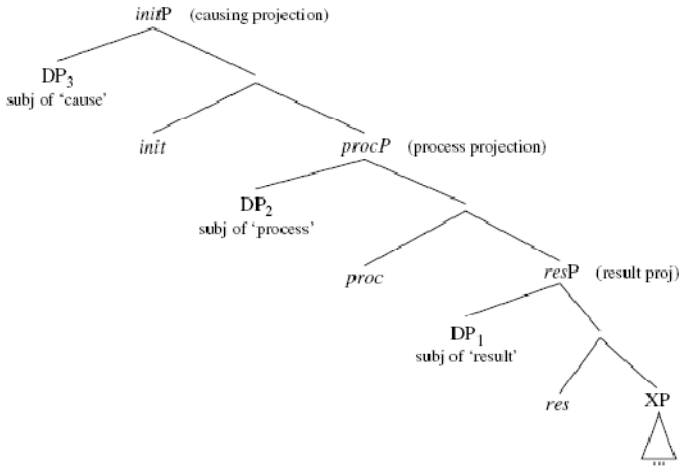
1. RAMCHAND'S THEORY OF EVENT/ARGUMENT STRUCTURE: FIRST-PHASE SYNTAX

Basic idea (similar to Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002; Baker 1997): **split VP** structure. The VP is not a single lexical projection headed by a verb but a series of **several hierarchically ordered functional projections**.

Single lexical projection (80s-style GB)



Functional projections (Ramchand 2008: 39)



Role of the **lexical item**: (e.g. the verb *cut*): contributes **idiosyncratic encyclopaedic information** on the event (e.g. what types of action can be referred to as cutting, as opposed to breaking)

Role of the **functional projections**: responsible for the properties that are **constitutive of verbs in general**, e.g.

- event reference
- internal event structure
- selection of arguments
- case assignment
- distribution within the sentence

The name of the theory refers to the split VP structure, which Ramchand calls the '**first phase**' of syntax.

Some attractive characteristics of Ramchand's approach:

- directly connects the syntactic structure to semantic factors concerning event and argument structure;
- **functional heads encode the building blocks of the complex event structure** expressed by the predicate;
- discusses how a **compositional semantics** might be formulated for event structure based on these heads;
- makes relatively **strong predictions** wrt. the syntax and the interpretation of verbs and their arguments across languages.

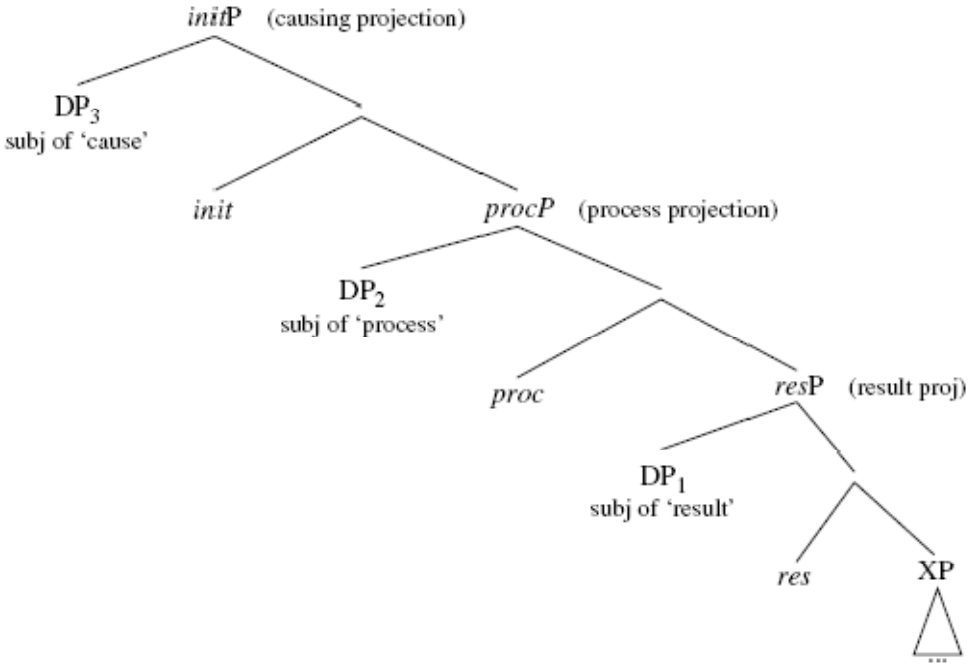
Central assumptions:

1. **The lexicon does not contain any generative devices that are syntactically relevant** (including ones relevant to argument structure). This applies to **morphological** derivational processes as well: if a particular derivation is syntactically relevant (i.e. it affects argument structure, e.g. causativisation, or syntactic category of the lexical item, e.g. nominalisation), it must be treated as a part of syntax.
2. Events can be subdivided into **subevents**, and languages represent all events as consisting of **up to three** such subevents:
   1) **initiating (causing)** subevent
   2) dynamic **process** (some change over time)
   3) **result state** that this process leads to

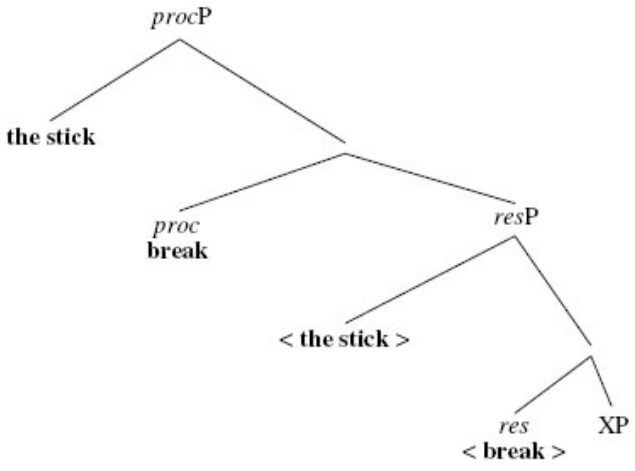
   Each subevent is encoded in syntax by a functional head, leading to the structure on p. 1 above. Thus event structure is not an inherent property of individual verbs. The **lexical content** of the verb root **fleshes out** this general structure, characterizes each subevent further, e.g. *cut* specifies what a cutting process consists in, what result it leads to etc.

Central assumptions (cont.):

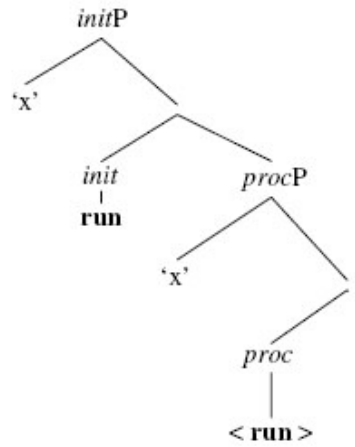
Structure of the first phase



3. Verbs are merged with these functional heads according to **category feature specifications** in the lexicon. Two examples:
   - unaccusative verbs (e.g. intransitive *break*) possess the features [**proc, res**], i.e. the root first merges with *res,* then undergoes **head movement** to *proc.* An *initP* is not projected.
   - motion verbs (e.g. *run*) are [**init, proc**], i.e. a *resP* is not projected.



The stick broke.

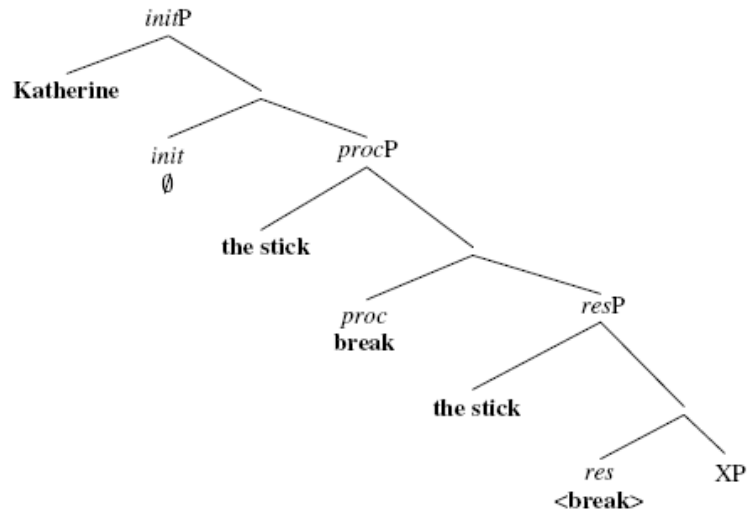


x ran.

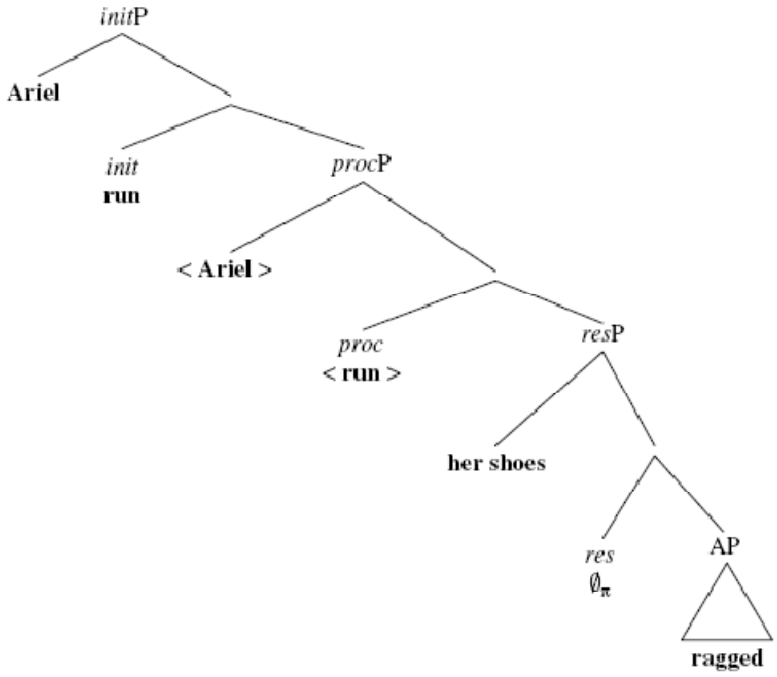
(based on R 2008: 75 and 92)

But: if a verb itself is not linked to some projection by its lexical category features, the first phase may nevertheless contain that subevent if it is **identified by some other independent lexical material** in the verb phrase:

- English *break* can be combined with a null *init* head, which is a causativising derivational morpheme (→ causative-inchoative alternation)
- for *run,* the missing *resP* can be identified (among others) by an adjectival small clause containing an unselected object, e.g. *Ariel ran [$_{resP}$ her shoes ragged]*



Katherine broke the stick. (R 2008: 75)



Ariel ran her shoes ragged. (R 2008: 124)

4. Each head projects exactly one specifier and one complement. The **specifiers correspond to the syntactic arguments** of the verbal predicate:
    - spec of init (subject of 'cause'): **INITIATOR**
    - spec of proc (subject of 'process'): **UNDERGOER**
    - spec of res (subject of 'result'): **RESULTEE**

    Each subevent is connected to **exactly one participant** (cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin's 'Argument Realization Condition 1': "There must be an argument XP in the syntax for each structure participant in the event structure.", RH&L 1998: 113), though Ramchand allows for the possibility that the **same argument XP can occupy more than one specifier position** by moving from one to the other (cf. *Ariel* and *the stick* in the trees above).

    Well-known generalization: subjects of motion verbs have properties characteristic of both agents and themes/patients.
    - the event (e.g. running) involves the subject's voluntary action: agent-like
    - the subject experiences a change of state or rather location: patient-like

    This can be captured nicely in this system: the subject is both INITIATOR and an UNDERGOER.

5. Two possible separate **sources of telicity:**
    1) **presence of a resP** leads to telicity, but is not a necessary condition for it;
    2) **proc** takes a so-called **'path' complement**: an incremental theme (*eat <u>an apple</u>*), a path object (*walk <u>the trail</u>*), or maybe a path PP (*walk <u>to the station</u>*).
        - path is **bounded** (e.g. quantized DP, *to*-PP) $\Rightarrow$ **predicate is telic**
        - path is non-bounded (e.g. mass noun, bare plural DP, *toward*-PP) $\Rightarrow$ predicate is atelic

    This follows from a **homomorphism** requirement between the process subevent and its path complement.

6. After the first phase (VP domain) further functional material is built on top of this structure in later phases of the syntax: IP domain (especially Tense and Aspect, presumably AgrS, AgrO, Voice) and CP domain, though these issues are left completely open by Ramchand.
    Note: The **first phase determines inner aspect** (aktionsart) of the predicate. Outer aspect (perfect aspect, progressive, iterativity, habituality etc.) is determined in these higher layers.

2. CAUSATIVES IN HINDI/URDU (AND HUNGARIAN)

Two patterns of productive morphological causativisation, which account for the vast majority of the semantically causative verbs in this language.

Both types are formed by attaching a different suffix to the base.

> **Side note:** In Hindi, there is furthermore a (non-productive) closed set of **non-derived lexically transitive** causative verbs, and an **analytic causative construction** with a causative light verb (similar to English *get x to do P*). These are ignored here, since there is not much to say about the non-derived type, and the analytic causative is irrelevant to the first phase since it is a bi-clausal structure involving a second VP (containing the light verb) atop the base VP domain.

2.1. Type I: direct causatives with the suffix -aa

Table 1: **Direct causatives in Hindi and their Hungarian equivalents**

Hindi base	**Hindi direct caus.**	**Meaning**	**Hungarian base**	**Hungarian direct caus.**
bahal	*bahl-**aa***	'be entertained/entertain'	*szórakoz-*	*szórakoz-**tat***
baiṭh	*biṭh-**aa***	'sit/seat'	*ül-*	*ül-**tet***
ban	*ban-**aa***	'be made/make'	*kész-**ül***	*kész-**ít***
bhiig	*bhig-**aa***	'become wet/wet'	*nedves-**ed***	*nedves-**ít***
chipak	*chipk-**aa***	'stick'	*tap-**ad***	*tap-**aszt***
chõk	*chõk-**aa***	'be startled/startle'	*ij-**ed***	*ij-**eszt***
chhip	*chhip-**aa***	'hide'	*búj-*	*búj-**tat***
gal	*gal-**aa***	'melt'	*olv-**ad***	*olv-**aszt***
hil	*hil-**aa***	'rock'	*ring-*	*ring-**at***
jaag	*jag-**aa***	'wake up'	*ébr-**ed***	*ébr-**eszt***
jam	*jam-**aa***	'freeze'	*fagy-*	*fagy-**aszt***
jii	*jil-**aa***	'be alive/cause to be alive'	*él-*	*él-**tet***
dekh	*dikh(l)-**aa***	'see/show'	—	
khaa	*khil-**aa***	'eat/feed'	*e-*	*e-**tet***
pii	*pil-**aa***	'drink/cause to drink'	*i-*	*i-**tat***
samajh	*samjh-**aa***	'understand/explain'	*(meg)ért-*	*(meg)ért-**et***
siikh	*sikh-**aa***	'learn/teach'	*tan-**ul***	*tan-**ít***
sun	*sun-**aa***	'hear/tell'	—	

Source: Ramchand (2008: 156–157) for Hindi, my own examples for Hungarian.

Direct causatives express 'direct causation', i.e. the subject **directly triggers the result state or process expressed by the root**.

Morphological causativisation is present to a rather similar degree in Hindi/Urdu and Hungarian, though more regular (and probably more productive) in Hindi/Urdu.

Hindi/Urdu consistently derives direct causatives from unaccusatives by **adding** the morpheme *-aa.* Such pairs are less regular in **Hungarian** and show a **mix** between the causativising pattern (*szórakoz-* vs. *szórakoz-tat*) and an equipollent pattern (i.e. the unaccusative contains a category-marking morpheme as well and this alternates with the causative morpheme, cf. Komlósy 2000, e.g. *kész-ül* vs. *kész-ít;* particularly common and productive with adjectival bases).

> Note: In Hungarian, there is also a common and relatively productive decausativising pattern, where the unaccusative is derived from the causative by a suffix, e.g. *szór – szóródik, teker – tekeredik*. These will be ignored since they are outside of the scope of this talk, but the Hindi/Urdu equivalents of these Hungarian verbs follow the causativising pattern just like the verbs in Table 1.

In both languages there are **some transitive base forms that undergo direct causativisation** in addition to the much more numerous unaccusative bases; Ramchand calls these '**ingestives**' (e.g. *eat/feed, drink/make drink, learn/teach;* see bottom of Table 1).

2.2. Type II: indirect causatives with the suffix -vaa

The suffix *-vaa* "does not show any obvious differences in distribution as compared to the *-aa* class" (R 2008: 161), i.e. it can attach to the same bases.

There are cases where verbs formed from the same stem by *-aa* and *-vaa* are "virtually synonymous" (R 2008: 162), but there is generally a semantic difference between the two members of such pairs. Verbs with *-aa* express direct causation, ones with *-vaa* express '**indirect causation**': a situation in which an animate and sentient entity *x* (the subject) compels a second entity *y* (the so-called 'intermediate agent' or 'causee') to actively carry out some action *P,* i.e. *x makes y do P*.

(1) (a) *makaan ban-aa* (R 2008: 161–162)
house be made-PERF.M.SG
'The house was built.'

(b) *anjum-ne makaan ban-aa-yaa*
Anjum-ERG house be made-*aa*-PERF.M.SG
'Anjum built a house.'

(c) *anjum-ne (mazdurő-se) makaan ban-vaa-yaa*
Anjum-ERG labourers-INSTR house be made-*vaa*-PERF.M.SG
'Anjum had a house (built by the labourers).'

Note that both the argument structures of the three verbs and their interpretation are essentially **parallel to what we find in Hungarian** if we compare an unaccusative, a related direct causative, and an indirect causative that is derived by adding *-(t)at/-(t)et* to the direct causative:

(2) (a) *A ház fel-ép-ül-t*
the house RES-build-UNACC-PAST
'The house was built (lit.: the house UNACCUSATIVE-built).'

(b) *Lajos ép-ít-ett egy ház-at*
L. build-DIR.CAUS.-PAST a house-ACC.
‚Lajos built a house.‘

(c) *Lajos ép-ít-tet-ett egy ház-at (a munkásokkal)*
L. build-DIR.CAUS.-INDIR.CAUS.-PAST a house-ACC. (the labourers-INSTR.)
‘Lajos had a house built (by the labourers).’

Some relevant similarities:

1. The **intermediate agent is not an obligatory argument** in either language, but it can be systematically expressed by an **adjunct carrying instrumental** case. Conversely, an intermediate agent cannot appear with a direct causative in either language. An adjunct marked by instrumental case must either be understood as an actual instrument (a tool used in course of the direct causation), or as a comitative.
2. Both the subject of the indirect causative and the intermediate agent must be animate agents and can never be some abstract or inanimate cause (e.g. a natural force), even if the corresponding direct causative does not rule this out, cf. Hungarian (the same pattern seems to hold for *-vaa* causatives in Hindi/Urdu):

(3) (a) *A lámpa megvilágítja az udvart.*
’The light illuminates the court.’
(direct causative, inanimate cause, OK)

(b) *Péter megvilágítja az udvart a lámpával.*
’P. illuminates the court with the light.’
(direct causative, animate cause, inanimate instrument, OK)

(c) *Péter megvilágíttatja az udvart Lajossal.*
’P. has the court illuminated by L.’
(indirect causative, animate cause, animate instrument is intermediate agent)

(d) *#Péter megvilágíttatja az udvart a lámpával.*
’P. has the court illuminated by the light’
(indirect causative, animate cause, inanimate instrument cannot be an intermediate agent; sentence only makes sense if either the light is conceived of as animate, or an unexpressed animate intermediate agent carries out the lighting of the court using the light as a tool)

(e) *#A lámpa megvilágíttatja az udvart (Péterrel).*
‘The lamp has the court illuminated by P.’
(inanimate cause completely impossible, unless conceived of as an animate agent)

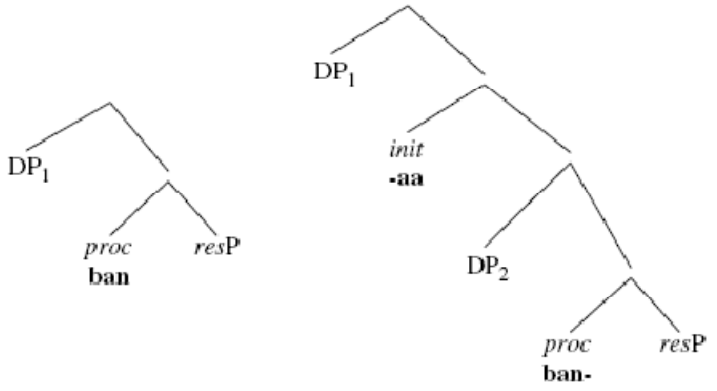
3. Indirect causation is **monoclausal** in both languages, as opposed to e.g. Japanese: it does not introduce a subordinating syntactic structure (as shown by Horvath and Siloni 2009 for Hungarian, and Butt and Ramchand 2005 for Hindi/Urdu).

What follows from these similarities?

If argument structure and event structure are directly determined by syntactic structure (as assumed by Ramchand), and two structures have so strikingly similar argument and event structure properties like Hungarian and Hindi/Urdu causatives, this suggests that **the analysis of their split VP domain should be very similar**, all things being equal.

2.3. Analysis of Hindi/Urdu causatives according to Ramchand (2008)

1. **Direct causatives from unaccusatives** (e.g. *ban* 'UNACCUSATIVE-make' vs. *ban-aa* 'CAUSATIVE-make'):

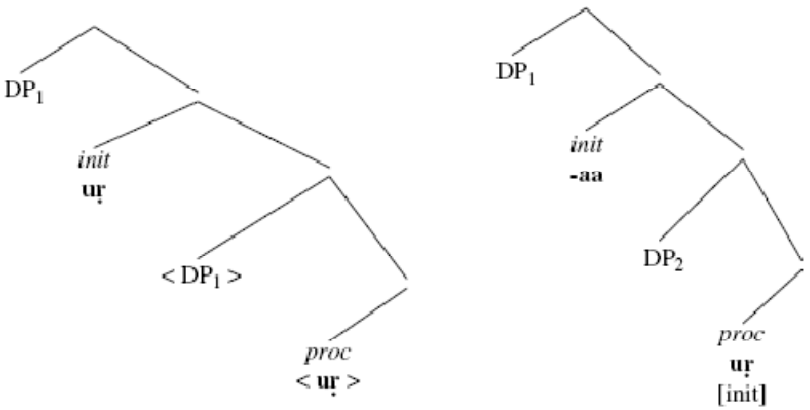


(R 2008: 171)

The direct causative suffix attaches to a [proc] base and **occupies the *init*** head itself.

2. **Direct causatives from transitive or unergative bases** (e.g. *uṛ* (intr.) 'fly' vs. *uṛ-aa* 'fly')

In such cases **the base already contains an *init* projection**.



(R 2008: 174)

(4) (a) *patang/chiṛiyaa uṛ rahii hai*
kite/bird fly PROG.F be.PRES.SG.
'The kite/the bird is flying.'

(b) *anjali patang/*?chiṛiyaa uṛaa rahii hai*
Anjali kite/bird fly PROG.F be.PRES.SG
'Anjali is flying a kite/*?a bird.'

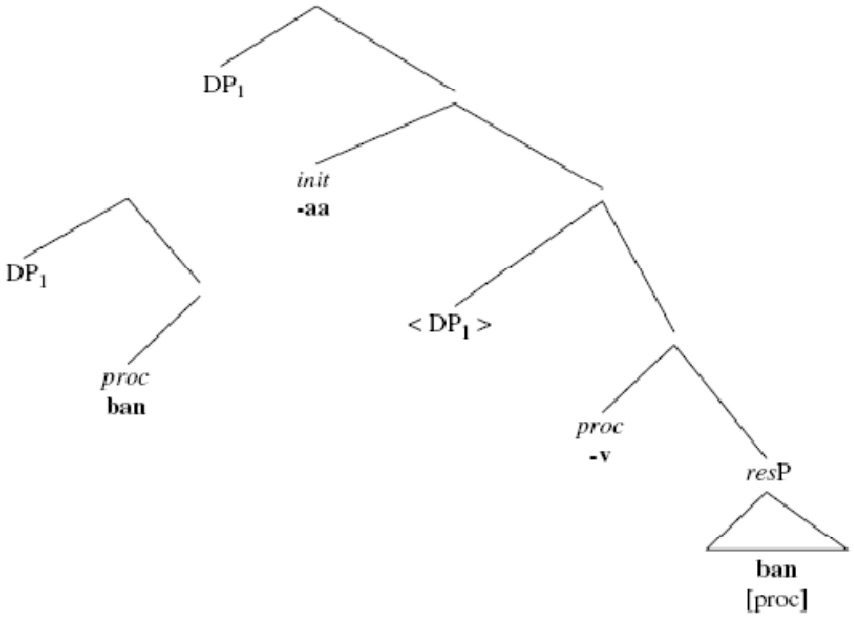
In unergative *fly,* the subject fills both the INITIATOR and the UNDERGOER position (DP_1 on the left). In causative *fly,* the INITIATOR belongs not to base fly but to a separate causing subevent marked by *-aa,* so in this case it is not the flyer (the UNDERGOER, which surfaces as the direct object) who directly causes the flying but someone else. Accordingly, direct causative transitive *fly* is incompatible with animate objects that are in control of their flying, like birds, but is only compatible under normal circumstances with objects that have to be controlled by another participant to fly (like kites, or like airplanes in English).

Transitive *uṛ* 'fly' involves a case of '**underassociation**': Whereas the verb stem *uṛ* is normally associated with both *init* and *proc* by its lexical category features ([init, proc]), **it is possible for it not to move** to *init* if the *init* head is **already identified by another lexical item**, which is *-aa* in this case. The [init] feature of the verb is essentially suspended.

3. **Indirect causatives**

Ramchand assumes that **recursion of the *init* head is impossible** in the split VP domain, so there can be only one instance of *initP* as long as the structure is monoclausal. In addition, *-vaa* does not seem to consist of *-aa* plus a further causative component anyway, since the additional morphological material *-v-* is in fact closer to the stem.

Therefore, instead of analysing *-vaa* as another *init* morpheme, she decomposes it into two parts, causative *-aa* + *-v* that identifies proc:



(R 2008: 177)

Since *-vaa* occupies both *init* and *proc,* what is left for the verb root is only *resP.* In other words: *-vaa* identifies the causing action of the subject, and the verb root does no more than characterise the result state that is indirectly caused by the subject's action.

Ramchand independently assumes that the **process and result subevents are temporally directly dependent if and only if they are identified by the same lexical material**. Since *procP* and *resP* are identified by *-v* and the root respectively in this case, i.e. **different lexical material, the two subevents are temporally independent.** Ramchand speculates that this explains the fact that the causation is understood as indirect.

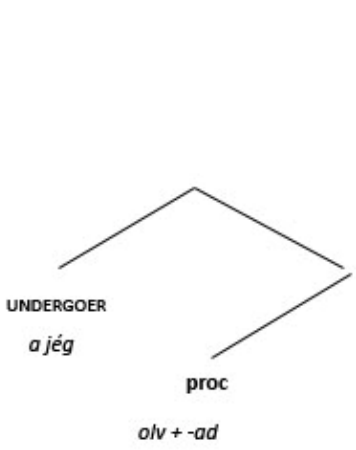
> Note: The fact that the verb stem appears in *resP* in this structure is quite problematic (though Ramchand apparently does not perceive it as such). The problem is that all types of verb can serve as an input to *-vaa* causative formation, not only resultatives (e.g. *ban* is a simple [proc] verb, see structure on the left above). How can a verb like this identify the result subevent, unless a past participle is derived from it first, and this participle is then embedded under resP – which is exactly the bi-clausal analysis we would like to avoid?

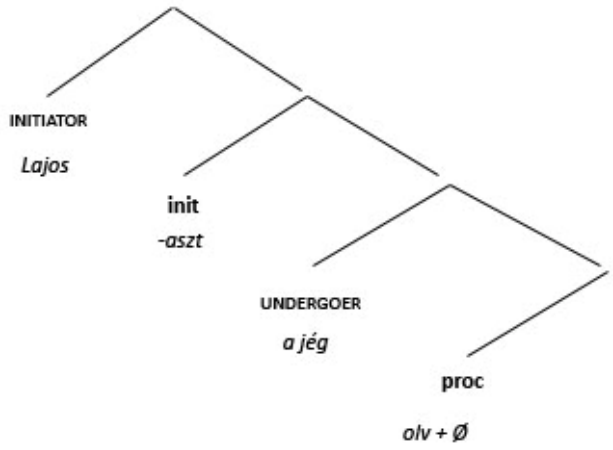
3. Analysis of Hungarian causatives

1. Direct causatives from unaccusatives

The *proc* head is most frequently spelled out as *-ul/ül, -ad/ed* or zero, depending on the root combined with this head (see Table 1). The single UNDERGOER argument is realized as the subject.

If an *init* projection is added, it introduces another argument position for the INITIATOR. Being highest in the structure, this becomes the subject (through movement to AgrS, presumably), and the now lower argument, the UNDERGOER, becomes the direct object (through AgrO). The *init* head can be mostly spelled out as *-(t)at/(t)et, -aszt/eszt, -ít* (see Table 1) or sometimes null; when selected by any *init* head, *proc* is always spelled out as null.





a jég olvad

'the ice is melting'

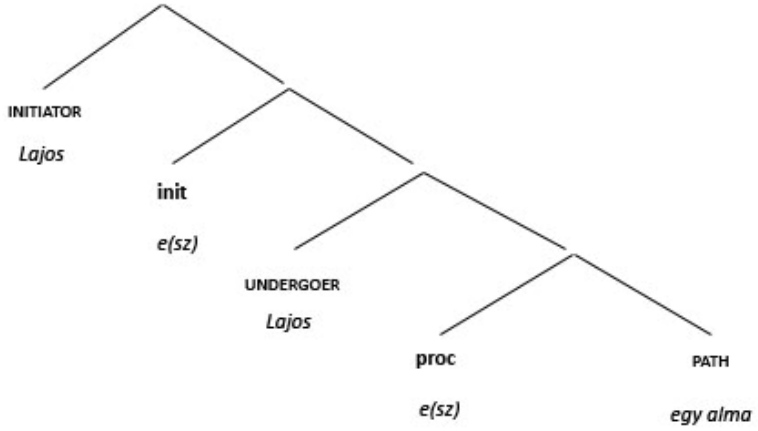
Lajos olvasztja a jeget

'L. is melting the ice'

2. **Direct causatives from 'ingestives'**

Ramchand refers to base non-causative transitive verbs as 'ingestives'. They are [init, proc] verbs, their subject is both INITIATOR and UNDERGOER (i.e. it does not only initiate the event but carries out the process as well; contrast this with *olvaszt* 'melt' where the subject is only INITIATOR and does not necessarily do anything during the process of melting).

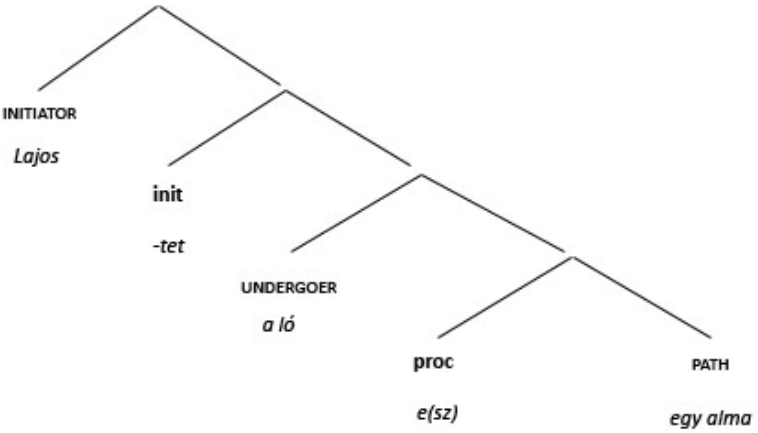
The higher argument is realized as the subject, the (optional) lower argument becomes the direct object if it is expressed. It is marked as PATH since it is a path complement that measures out the event (see page 5 above).



Lajos eszik (egy almát)

'L. is eating (an apple)'

The corresponding causative is analysed as follows:



The [init] feature of 'eat' is underassociated, and a causativizing morpheme is added, which introduces its own specifier ⇒ the eating process is only initiated by the INITIATOR subject but carried out by the UNDERGOER. Two ways to realize this structure:

(5) *Lajos eteti a lovat (egy almával)*
'John is feeding the horse (with an apple)'

(6) *Lajos etet *(a lóval) egy almát*
'John is feeding an apple *(to the horse)'

In (5) the UNDERGOER is the direct object; the PATH can either be absent or be realized as an instrumental. In (6) the PATH is the direct object; the UNDERGOER gets instrumental case (default case assigned as last resort?) but is crucially not optional.

In languages that have a double object construction (e.g. English and Hindi) this is a third option:

(7) *John is feeding the horse an apple*

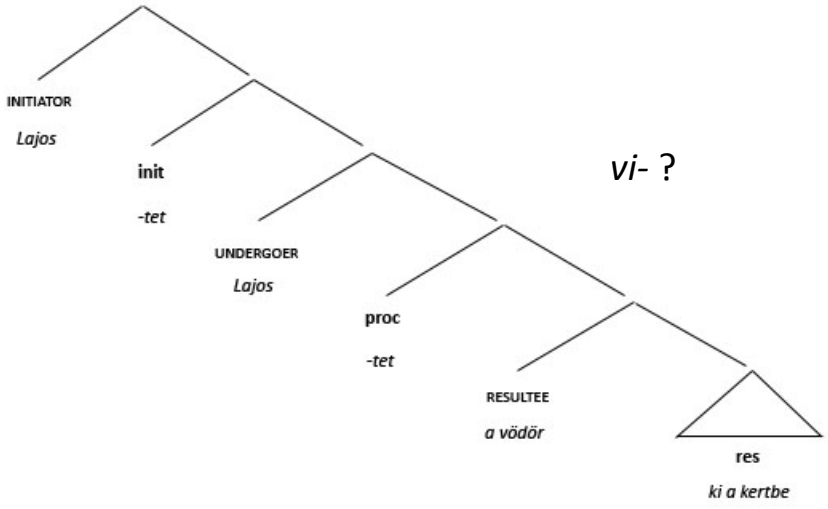
(8) *anjum-ne saddaf-ko khaanaa khil-aa-yaa* (R 2008: 175)
Anjum-ERG Saddaf-ACC food eat-*aa*-PERF.M.SG
'Anjum fed Saddaf food.'

3. **Indirect causatives**

Even if the base verb of the indirect derivation is morphologically non-complex, a solution along the lines of Ramchand's (i.e. indirect causative morpheme occupies *init* and *proc,* the verb root occupies *res*) is impossible for Hungarian. Compare:

(9) *Lajos ki-vi-tet-te a vödröt a kertbe*
'L. had the bucket taken out in the garden'

If *-tet* occupies *init* and *proc,* and the resultative preverb plus the locative occupies *res* (which is what Ramchand argues for, for perfective verbs in Russian, R 2008: 138–142), **there is no room left to insert the verb root** *vi-* anywhere, so this cannot be the right structure:

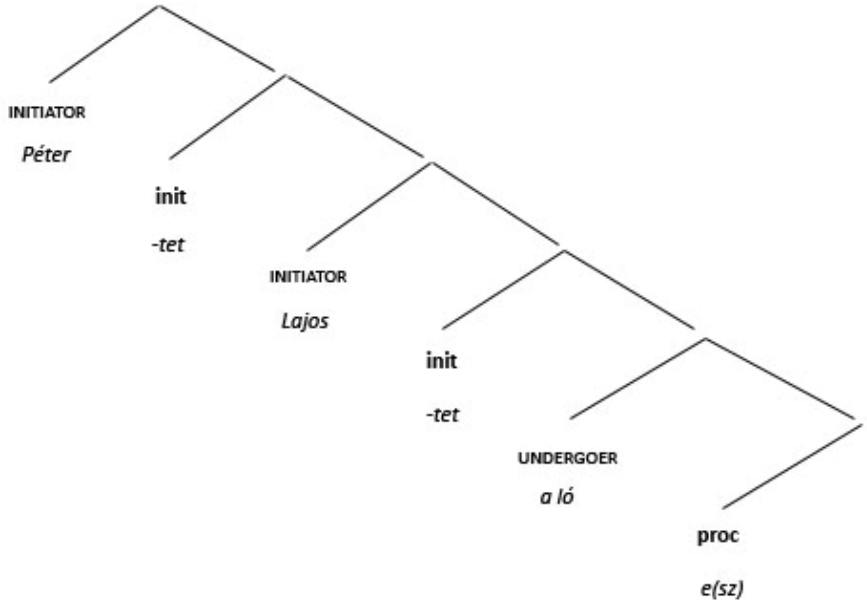


Thus it is safe to conclude that the Hungarian indirect causative morpheme is not an [init, proc] lexical item. Furthermore, as opposed to Hindi/Urdu, the Hungarian indirect causativizing morpheme does in fact often attach to a relative stem **that contains another causative derivational suffix** itself.

(10) *Péter olv-aszt-at-ja a jeget (Lajossal).*
P. melt-CAUS1-CAUS2-3sg-def.obj. the ice-acc L.-inst.
'P. has the ice melted (by L.)'

(11) *Péter e-tet-tet-i a lovat (Lajossal).*
P. eat-CAUS1-CAUS2-3sg-def.obj. the ice-acc L.-inst.
'P. has the horse fed (by L.)'

Assuming 1) that the structure given for *etet* 'feed' on p. 12 is correct and 2) the additional morpheme should occupy a further terminal node, and project its own specifier (an indirectly causing agent instead of the directly causing agent of *etet*), permitting **recursion of *initP*** seem unavoidable:



Péter etetteti (Lajossal) a lovat

'P. has the horse fed (by L.)'

A further motivation for allowing recursion of *initP:* the **indirect causative morpheme** itself **can recurse** in Hungarian. Contrary to Komlósy (2000: 240), I believe that examples containing two or more indirect causatives are perfectly grammatical, like the following:

(12) *Péter olvaszt-at-tat-ja a jeget.*
'P. has someone have the ice melted'

These simply appear too hard to process because of the repetition of 'like elements', very much like centrally embedded subordinate syntactic structures (e.g. *The mouse the cat the dog barked at chased ran away*), and this is why we tend to avoid them.

An **alternative solution** to the same effect instead of the recursion of *initP:* indirect causatives in Hungarian are **biclausal/multiclausal** despite appearances, so they do in fact contain a **second (third etc.) layer of split VP** that hosts the indirect causativizer(s).

But: neither the recursion of *initP,* nor the biclausal solution seems attractive, since **both entail that the event and argument structure of the indirect causative should be more complex than that of the base direct causative.** However, I am not aware of any evidence supporting this.

Compare a true biclausal structure (13) to a morphological indirect causative (14): **the intermediate agent is a true argument in the former but behaves like an adjunct in the latter** (i.e. the intermediate agent can be left out and cannot be realized as a direct object) **if** this intermediate agent is the **pure INITIATOR of the direct causative base**.

(13) *Péter elérte, hogy Lajos olvassza a jeget.*
'P. got L. to melt the ice'

(14) (a) *Lajos olvasztja a jeget.*
'L. is melting the ice'

(b) *Péter olvasztatja a jeget (Lajossal).*
'P. is having the ice melted (by L.)'

(c) ?? *Péter olvasztatja Lajost / olvasztat Lajossal.*
'P. has L. melt'

(d)**Péter olvasztatja Lajost a jéggel.* (contrast: Péter eteti a lovat egy almával.)
'lit.: P. has L. melted with the ice' (vs.: Peter has the horse fed with an apple.)

(Note: (14)(c) seems only acceptable if an activity interpretation is coerced for the base *olvaszt* 'melt' (instead of the normal accomplishment sense), which is not normally available for it.)

Conversely, if the subject of an unergative base verb is **not just an INITIATOR but an UNDERGOER** for that verb **as well** (as in incremental theme verbs for instance), the intermediate agent of the corresponding indirect causative is in fact **an argument** (i.e. it cannot be dropped and it can appear either with instrumental or accusative case, depending on various semantic factors and the presence of a further argument in the structure):

(15) (a) *Péter énekel-tet-i Lajos-t / énekel-tet Lajos-sal.*
'P. has L. sing'

(b) *Péter énekel-tet egy dal-t (Lajos-sal). / * Péter énekel-tet-i Lajos-t egy dal-lal.*
'P. has (L.) sing a song' (UNDERGOER can only be omitted if a PATH is expressed)

(16) *Péter dolgoz-tat-ja Lajos-t / dolgoz-tat Lajos-sal.*
'P. has L. work' (no further argument possible)

(17) (a) *Péter fut-tat-ja a kutyá-t / * fut-tat a kutyával.*
'P. has the dog run'

(b) *Péter fut-tat egy kör-t a kutyá-val.*
'P. has the dog run a circle' (UNDERGOER cannot be omitted even if a PATH is expressed)

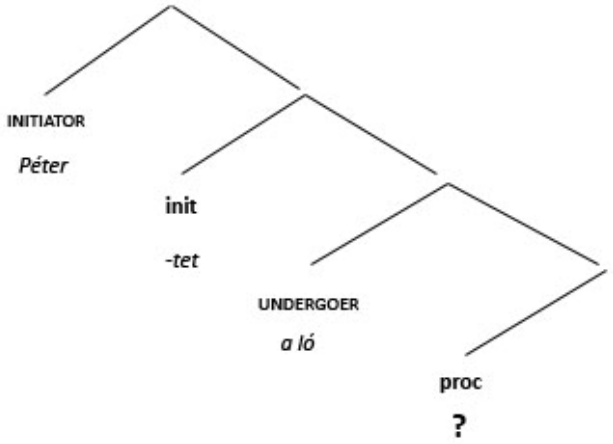
(Though there is no direct causation involved in the unergative bases, the derived verb is in fact interpreted as an indirect causative.)

What the examples (13) to (18) suggest in my opinion is not that the indirect causative morpheme inserts a second init layer on top of its base, but rather that it **removes the *initP* of the base verb along with its INITIATOR argument** and adds its own *initP* with its own INITIATOR instead.

This is why the **pure INITIATOR** of the base is **degraded to an adjunct**: it loses its argument position.

Crucially the indirect causative does not touch the *procP* and the UNDERGOER, so the subject of an unergative, which is an **UNDERGOER**, **remains an argument** in the causative.

So instead of the structure on p. 14 the evidence points to a structure like this:



Péter etet-tet-i a lovat (Lajossal)

'P. has the horse fed (by L.)'

The intermediate agent is no argument and thus does not appear in the structure (it is an adjunct).

What about the base verb *etet*?

Solution 1: It is **reanalyzed** and becomes a simple *proc* element; in parallel, it is coerced in semantics to become a non-causative process.

Problem: Reanalysis in this way **defeats the idea of distributed morphology,** so it is not normally allowed. Cf. Harley (2009: 323): "[W]herever you see a morpheme, there must be a corresponding a terminal node in the structural analysis of the sentence."

Solution 2: **Get rid of distributed morphology** in the split VP domain and allow for lexicon-internal derivation even if it has syntactic consequences.

4. Conclusion: An active lexicon for First-Phase Syntax

The active lexicon mirrors the way the morphemes in Ramchand's theory are assumed to work, with the difference that this process does not take place in syntax.

In other words, morphemes have two effects:

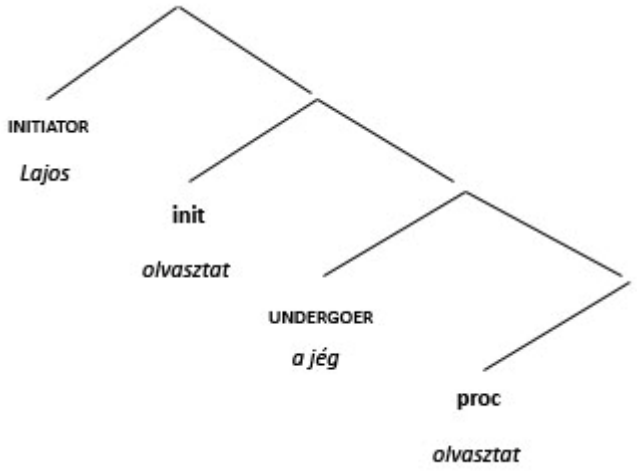
- **add lexical-conceptual (encyclopedic) information** concerning some part of the event
- **change (add, and possibly remove or replace) category features**

An example to illustrate how this is supposed to work (**in lieu of a worked-out system**):

1. If the base is *olv-* [proc] 'melt' and a DIRECT CAUSATIVE morpheme is added, it 1) contributes conceptual information to the event description to the effect that the event of melting is caused, which entails that someone or something caused it, i.e. a new salient participant appears on the conceptual level; 2) it adds an [init] feature. Yields: *olvaszt* [init, proc] 'cause to melt'.
2. If a further indirect causative morpheme is added to this, it 1) contributes the information that the base event is itself caused by something as well, which a) backgrounds the previously salient causer (basically binds it off), and b) highlights a new, indirect causer; 2) it does not change the syntactic features at all, though it requires its base to have an [init] feature. Yields: *olvasztat* [init, proc] 'cause to cause to melt'.

Consequences:

1. A indirectly causative verb like *olv-aszt-at* involves a chain of **two causations** (one direct, one indirect) on the **lexical-conceptual (encyclopedic) level only**; with respect to its linguistic properties, it is an [init, proc] verb just like its base *olv-aszt,* and is eventually merged accordingly into the Ramchandian split VP, giving us the correct linguistic argument and event structure properties:



Lajos olvasztatja a jeget (Péterrel)

'L. has the ice melted (by P.)'

2. **Underassociation is no syntactic mechanism,** contrary to what Ramchand proposes. It is essentially a **backgrounding** of some portion of an event and its participant(s) by another piece of information **on the lexical-conceptual level.** This is a desired consequence since underassociation is not well-defined in terms of syntax and does not work anyway (cf. Pethő 2009).

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