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## The causative verbal domain and the Kashmiri causative

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Kashmiri, like many Indic languages, features a productive morphological causative construction.

- (1) me ran̩na:v̩no:v su o:lav  
I-erg cook-cause-pst he-nom potatoes  
'I had him cook potatoes.'
- (2) t̩m' d'a:v̩no:vus b̩ mohnas kita:b  
he-erg gave-caus-pst-1sg-ps I-nom mohan-dat book-acc  
He had me give a book to Mohan.

The properties of causatives have long provided special insight into the organization of the clause. Most extensively studied in languages like Japanese (e.g. Shibatani 1973; Miyagawa 1984, 1999; Kuroda 1994) and Hindi-Urdu (e.g. Kachru 1976, Masica 1976, Saksena 1980), productive causative sentences tend to exhibit characteristics associated with both monoclausal and biclausal structures. In recent work, those properties suggestive of biclausality have been understood to signal multiple layers within the verbal domain (Pylkkänen 1999, 2008; Harley 2000, 2008; Kratzer 2005; Folli and Harley 2007). In each of these accounts the causative morpheme instantiates a functional head separate from the verb root, and multiple arguments may be introduced into distinct specifiers in the verbal layer.

This paper focuses on a comparison of two recent approaches to the syntax of causative verbal domain as applied to the Kashmiri productive causative. The first, following Harley (2000, 2008), and Folli and Harley (2007), posits two structurally identical vPs in a causative clause, the higher of which hosts both the causative morphology and the external argument or causer, and the lower of which hosts the intermediate agent or causee in its specifier (in (3a)). The second approach, following Pylkkänen (1999, 2002, 2008) and Alsina (1992), suggests that there are two functional layers in the verbal domain of a causative, the higher of which is a regular transitive vP introducing the causer, and the lower of which is a causative head, hosting causative morphology and introducing the causee (in (3b)).

- (3) a. [<sub>VP</sub> agent v CAUSE [<sub>VP</sub> causee v [<sub>VP</sub> internal arg. V]]]  
b. [<sub>VP</sub> agent v [<sub>CAUSEP</sub> causee CAUSE [<sub>VP</sub> internal arg. V]]]

While these analyses may seem to have much in common, they turn out to be markedly different, and are in fact built on divergent assumptions about the very nature of the causative. The approach in (3a), which I will call the dual-vP approach, assumes that role of causation is to introduce an external agent (the causer) and to relate that individual to a caused event. The approach in (3b), the CAUSEP approach, assumes that the causative serves to relate multiple events, and may optionally introduce an argument that is not identified as an external agent.

The goal of this paper is to highlight the important differences and distinct predictions made by these two approaches when applied to the Kashmiri productive causative construction. Ultimately I will argue that the second approach, in which the external-argument-introducing head and the causative head are distinct, provides the better account for Kashmiri, and I will ask whether this approach might be better suited for productive causatives crosslinguistically.

In section 2 of this paper I briefly describe the Kashmiri causative construction, with particular emphasis on those features that will be relevant in the comparison of the two accounts of the causative verbal domain. Sections 3-4 present an account of the Kashmiri causative according to each of the two approaches above, and examine the distinct predictions made by each proposal. Of particular interest is the degree to which the causee behaves like an external argument of the type introduced by vP, and the way in which patterns of case assignment, agreement, passivization, and adverbial modification help us to diagnose the shape of the layers of the verbal domain.

## 2. CAUSATIVES IN KASHMIRI

The Indic language Kashmiri is a verb-second language exhibiting a pattern of split ergativity. Subjects of transitive verbs in the perfective aspect are marked with ergative case, and the verb must then agree with the unmarked nominative direct object.<sup>1</sup> This pattern will become an important diagnostic for the clause structure of causative constructions below.

### 2.1 Kashmiri Causative Data

The morphological causative in Kashmiri is derived by the addition of a suffix to the verb. This suffix takes the form *a:v* or *ina:v/ira:v*. For details on morphophonological variation of these suffixes, see Hook and Koul (1997).

There are two forms of agreement that appear on the verb in Kashmiri. Primary agreement is obligatory, and is controlled by the nominative (unmarked) argument, regardless of the grammatical role of that argument. It encodes that argument's gender, number and person features. This is the type of agreement referred to in this section. Secondary agreement (cliticization) is conditioned by the presence of certain pronouns and takes the form of a set of enclitics on the verb. This will be discussed further in section 4.

When a causative of an intransitive is formed, case marking and agreement patterns follow those of any other transitive sentence. This means that in the imperfective a person hierarchy determines whether the causee is nominative or dative (as it would for a direct object), and in the perfective the causee must be nominative.

(4) bI chus po:n' grakina:va:n  
 I am water boil-cause-prp  
 'I am boiling water.'

(5) me asino:v aslam  
 I-erg laugh-cause.msg Aslam-abs  
 'I made Aslam laugh.'

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<sup>1</sup> I will follow Anand and Nevins (2006) in calling unmarked DPs that control agreement "nominative" and those that do not "accusative". Nothing in particular hinges on this choice of terminology.

In the imperfective example in (4), the auxiliary verb *chus* ‘am’ agrees in person and number with the subject, and in the perfective example in (4), the verb agrees with the nominative causee.

Causatives of transitives are somewhat more complex. Two patterns emerge. In the first, called Pattern A here, the case of the causee in the imperfective is determined by the person hierarchy as in (6). In the perfective, the causee is marked with the nominative, as in (7).

(6) bI    chu su        o:lav            ranġna:va:n.  
 I-nom is   he-nom potatoes-acc    cook-caus-prp  
 ‘I am having him cook potatoes.’

(7) me    ranġna:vġno:v    su        o:lav  
 I-erg cook-cause-pst   he-nom potatoes  
 ‘I had him cook potatoes.’

Agreement in Pattern A is identical to that for causatives of intransitives: the verb agrees in person, gender, and number with the subject unless the sentence is ergative, in which case the verb agrees with the nominative causee.

In the second pattern, called Pattern B, the causee is oblique, marked with the postposition *athi*. In the perfective aspect, this means that the only nominative argument in the sentence is the direct object.

(8) bI    chu tġmis athi    o:lav            ranġna:va:n.  
 I-nom is   he-oblique   potatoes-acc    cook-caus-prp  
 ‘I am having him cook potatoes.’

(9) me    ranġna:vġnġ:v    tġmis athi    o:lav  
 I-erg cook-caus-pst.mpl he-oblique potatoes-nom  
 ‘I had him cook potatoes.’

Agreement in Pattern B is with the subject in the imperfective. However, in the perfective as in (7), the verb must agree with the only nominative argument, the plural direct object. The causee is unavailable for agreement because it is realized as oblique (compare (5) and (7)). Note that affective verbs in causative constructions also permit Pattern A, but instead of the oblique case in Pattern B they require the causee to be marked with the dative. The pattern of verb agreement remains the same.

Causative forms of double object verbs in the perfective (ergative) allow us to see the case assignment and agreement possibilities played out with additional arguments. The verb must agree with the causee if the causee is nominative (10). When the causee is oblique, the verb must agree with the direct object (10). The indirect object is always in the dative, and so is never available for agreement.

(10) tġm’    d’a:vġno:vus        bġ        mohnas    kita:b  
 he-erg gave-caus-pst-1sg-ps   I-abs    mohan-dat book-abs-fsg  
 He had me give a book to Mohan.

(11) tġm’    d’a:vġnġ:v        me athi        mohnas    kita:b  
 he-erg gave-caus.fsg   me-oblique mohan-dat book-abs-fsg  
 He had me give a book to Mohan.

Kashmiri permits a construction in which multiple causees are present (called here the extended causative). The causative suffix may optionally be iterated. Both causees are typically marked with (different) oblique cases.

(12) me chal̩na:v̩nə:v̩' ra:mni zəriyi raj-as athi palav  
 I-erg wash.caus.cause.mpl Ram-oblique Raj-oblique clothes  
 I got clothes washed by Raj through Ram.

The alternation that will be of most interest to us here is that of case marking and agreement in ergative causative constructions. In sum, if the causee is nominative, then agreement must be with the causee, whereas if the causee is oblique or dative, agreement must be with the direct object.

## 2.2 Previous Accounts the Kashmiri Causative

Kashmiri causatives are relatively understudied, usually only mentioned in a comparative context alongside Hindi-Urdu. Earlier accounts primarily serve to provide descriptive depth. Hook and Koul (1984) present the Kashmiri morphological causatives in significant detail. Though they offer no formal analysis of Kashmiri causatives beyond refuting a lexicalist approach, their careful empirical work began a series of discussions on how Kashmiri causation should be accounted for.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, Sayeed (1985) proposes that the morphological causative in Kashmiri be treated as part of the lexicon, and not as a transformational component of the grammar, due to a small number of asymmetries and gaps in the causative paradigm. However, he outlines no specific mechanisms for the construction of the causative verb forms in the lexicon, nor has a clear account of the overwhelming regularity of the morphological causative.

Altaha (1992) proposes an account of the morphological causative in Kashmiri within the framework of Relational Grammar. The core claim of this account is that causatives undergo the operation Causative Clause Union, in which the structure is biclausal at the underlying level but monoclausal at the surface level (see also Dubinsky 1994). In his account, the downstairs 1 (the causee) becomes the upstairs 2 of the combined structure and the downstairs 2 (in a transitive structure) becomes a 2-chômeur in the upstairs structure. What this account predicts is that the causee should be treated uniformly as a direct object in the upstairs clause, and this is frequently the case. However, Pattern B, in which the causee is marked oblique, represents a scenario in which the causee does not function like a normal direct object, for the purposes of case assignment, agreement, or passivization. Altaha (1992) does not address data exhibiting Pattern B in his discussion.

Conversely, Bhatt (Rakesh) (1999) focuses only on Pattern B, claiming that the Kashmiri causative is a two-clause structure in which the embedded clause is passivized. As Ramchand (2008) and Bhatt (Rajesh) (2003) have pointed out, this approach is problematic since the causative morpheme can attach to verbs that do not independently undergo passivization. In addition, Bhatt's account does not address agreement Pattern A, in which the causee is nominative.

## 3. TWO POSSIBLE APPROACHES TO THE CAUSATIVE VERBAL DOMAIN

<sup>2</sup> Hook and Koul write: “the derivation of *ha:vun* ‘show’ from *vuchun* ‘see’+[CAUSE] is no more or less complex than that of *bo:zina:vun* ‘tell’ from *bo:zun* ‘hear’+[CAUSE]. But, in Kashmiri the syntactic properties of these two differ in a way that parallels the obvious morphological difference...” (1984:116).

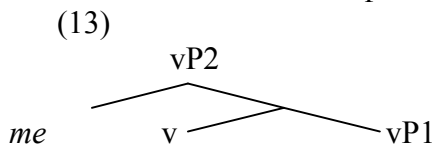
In this section I turn to two recent implementations of the causative verbal domain: the dual-vP approach (Harley 2000, 2008; Folli and Harley 2007), and the CAUSEP approach (Pylkkänen 1999, 2002, 2008).<sup>3</sup> As we will see below, these proposals differ in crucial ways. In this article I apply these analyses to lesser-studied productive causative in Kashmiri to learn whether its properties shed further light on the structure of the causative verbal domain and the layers it may contain.

The two approaches to causative clauses discussed below feature a single TP/IP (the domain for case-marking, agreement, and formation of the passive), but multiple layers within verbal domain. They differ in the nature of the verbal layers themselves, the position of the head introducing the causative morpheme, and the way in which the causee relates to the external argument. As we will see, the two approaches make sharply different predictions concerning the properties of the Kashmiri causative.

Harley (2008) proposes that productive causatives in Japanese employ multiple vPs (Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002). Harley claims that the causativizing morphology of Japanese is a realization of a type of v head. In this view, vP is the phrase which introduces external arguments, and which serves as the domain for the properties suggestive of biclausality. Importantly, Harley identifies both of the v heads in the tree in (13) as phase-defining (Chomsky 2001).

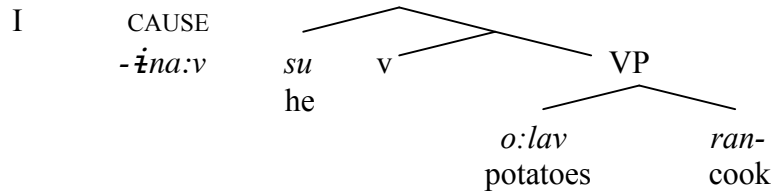
For productive causatives in Kashmiri, this analysis provides a structure below in (13). The causative morpheme heads the higher vP2, which introduces an external argument (agent of causation). This v then selects the lower vP1, which introduces another argument (the causee). The lower vP1 selects for the VP headed by the main verb (the caused action). The tree for (5) (repeated here), is given below<sup>4</sup>:

- (5) me ranina:vino:v su o:lav  
 I-erg cook-cause-pst he-abs potatoes  
 'I had him cook potatoes.'



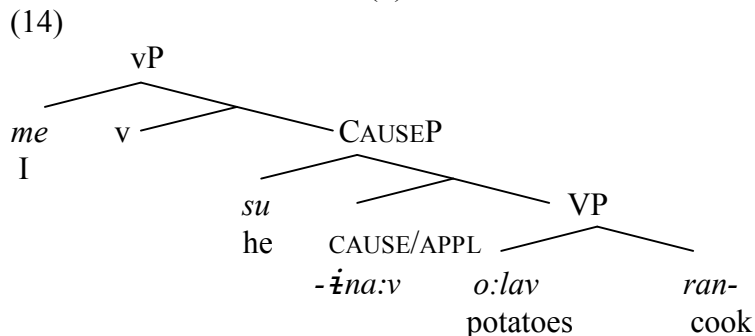
<sup>3</sup> Although there are other recent proposals (e.g., Kratzer 2005, Ramchand 2008), I will not explore them all in depth here. Focusing on these two approaches which differ in such fundamental ways serves to inform us of some of the essential properties of a successful crosslinguistic account of the causative verbal domain. It is not necessarily only the specific implementation of CAUSEP outlined in the text that is being advocated for here – instead, I am suggesting that proposals that overlap with this approach in their basic assumptions about the role of causation and the nature of the causee are more likely to be successful in accounting for the facts at hand.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the structure in (11) assumes that although Kashmiri is in general head-final, functional projections are left-headed (for more on this see Bhatt 1999, Manetta 2006). The clause-final verb root must ultimately appear in second position, having combined with morphological material in a number of functional heads and formed a single tensed verb. This process might be best understood in a Distributed Morphology-style account (Halle and Marantz 1993 *et seq.*) as suggested by Manetta (2006), though this has not been hashed out.



This approach, at its core, is claiming that what is unique to causation is the introduction of an external causer argument that is not present in non-causative structures.

In an alternative proposal, Pylkkänen (1999, 2002, 2008) claims instead that causation serves to introduce a causing event. The causative head may introduce an additional argument, but Pylkkänen presents crosslinguistic evidence that it need not. To this end, she suggests that the causative verbal domain contains two distinct heads. Further, the introduction of the external argument (the causer) is not associated with the projection headed by the causative morpheme. Instead, the causative morpheme heads a causative verbal projection. This intermediate projection, below the transitivity vP that introduces the causer, also serves to introduce the causee in its specifier (as the participant caused to perform an action). In this version of the causative verbal domain only the v head is phase-defining. In (14) is the structure this approach provides for the Kashmiri causative sentence in (5).



At a glance we can see that the structures in (13) and (14) are saying something very different about the nature of the productive morphological causative. The dual-vP account in (13) suggests that the causative is an additional verbal layer built upon a regular transitive clause. The lower vP1, when taken alone, is simply the structure for the sentence *he cooks potatoes*. Following its construction, a second vP is added containing the causative morpheme and introducing an additional external argument (the causer). In this view, the causative is not instantiated by a distinct type of syntactic head, but instead by a distinct type of structure: when a second vP is layered above a first. In contrast, in the causative account in (14) (Pylkkänen 1999, 2002, 2008), there is no single constituent that looks like a simple transitive clause. Instead, a causative verbal layer is constructed in which the causee and internal argument are participants in a caused event. A regular transitive vP is then merged above this causative layer, adding an external argument which will be interpreted as the causer. In this account the causative may be introduced in a head that is not identified with the head introducing external arguments.

The rest of this article explores what these differences mean both theoretically and empirically. Because the dual-vP proposal really just employs multiple layers of the transitive v, we would expect the specifier of vP1 (the causee) to behave much like the external argument of a regular transitive clause. On the other hand, the CAUSEP approach

asserts that the causee is a different type of argument, instantiated by a special causative head. For this reason we might predict that the causee would have properties distinct from those of regular external arguments in transitive sentences, as well as from the causer of a causative clause.

The dual-vP proposal features two equivalent vP projections and maintains that these two vPs are each a phase (Harley 2008). This would mean that operations sensitive to phase boundaries, including processes of case-assignment, agreement, and passivization, should treat causative clauses differently from those clauses purported to contain a single phase in the verbal domain (non-causative clauses). The CAUSEP approach, in contrast, contains only a single phase-defining head in the verbal domain, and predicts that operations sensitive to phase boundaries should treat causative and non-causative clauses similarly.

Finally, there is the question of how parametric variation in productive morphological causatives is to be accounted for. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to perform a rigorous crosslinguistic comparison of causation, we will ask how differences in languages as diverse as Kashmiri and Japanese might be accommodated within the two approaches.

#### 4. KASHMIRI CAUSATIVES AND THE VP PHASE

In this section I will explore the predictions made by the above approaches concerning the productive morphological causative in Kashmiri. We will first examine the properties of the causee, and ask to what degree the causee patterns with external arguments of non-causative clauses, as well as the causer argument. We will then turn to the question of phase boundaries, and whether causative clauses in Kashmiri appear to contain more phases within the verbal domain than non-causative clauses. Finally, we will ask how parametric variation in productive morphological causatives across languages can be accounted for under the two approaches above, and how the particulars of the Kashmiri causative contribute to this comparison.

##### 4.1 Agentivity

It is clear that the Kashmiri causative involves multiple events, just as in the more familiar Japanese productive causatives.<sup>5</sup> This is often demonstrated by showing that there are multiple sites for modification by VP-adverbials.

- (15) mohan      karino:v                  no:ka:r                  jal-jal    kə:m  
       Mohan-erg cause-to-do.m3s    servant.nom (m)    quickly work.nom (f)  
       ‘Mohan quickly caused the servant to do the work.’  
       ‘Mohan caused the servant to do the work quickly.’

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<sup>5</sup> Ramchand (2008) proposes an implementation of the Hindi-Urdu causative verbal domain (or ‘first phase’) that contains multiple event heads (*initiatorP* (introducing the causation event and licensing the external argument), and *processP* (specifies the nature of the change or process)). Although I won’t evaluate this proposal in detail here, it shares an important property with the dual-vP approach: the causative morpheme is hosted in the highest functional head in the verbal domain, and this is the same head that introduces the external agent (causer).

What is less clear is whether the causative verbal domain contains multiple agents of these events, of the type introduced in Spec, vP. Harley (2008) reiterates the argument that the ability of the causee to antecede subject-oriented reflexives in Japanese indicates the subject-like status of the causee. Causees in Kashmiri can also antecede the subject-oriented reflexive *pa:n* or reflexive possessive pronoun *panun*.

- (16) mohnan karino:v no:ka:r panin' kə:m  
 Mohan-erg cause-to-do.m3s servant.nom (m) self's work.nom (f)  
 'Mohan had the servant do self's (Mohan's own/the servant's own) work'.<sup>6</sup>

However, many other kinds of derived, dative-marked, and nominal clause subjects can also antecede *pa:n*.

- (17) Reflexive anteceded by dative subject  
 Ma:la:yi chu panun pa:n pasand.  
 Mala-dat aux self's self likes  
 'Mala likes herself.' [Hook & Koul 1984: 126]
- (18) Reflexive anteceded subject of nominalized clause  
 Me a:v ni khosh [ mohnun pa:nas mutalakh tabsur karun]  
 I-dat aux not like Mohan's self-dat about analyze do-inf  
 'I did not like Mohan's analyzing himself'. [Hook & Koul 1984: 127]
- (19) Reflexive anteceded by derived subject  
 Tsi yikh me pani hava:li karni panun pa:n  
 You come me-dat self-abl handover do self-emph  
 'You yourself will be handed over to me by yourself'.

As Pykkänen suggests, this indicates that the kind of subjecthood that these types of reflexives require does not strictly align with the agent introduced in Spec, vP (see also Anand and Nevins 2006). Therefore this diagnostic does not necessarily help us to determine whether the causee is this type of argument.

Pykkänen points out for Japanese (in (20)), that were the causee the type of agent typically understood to be introduced by *v*, we would expect to see it modified by agent-oriented adverbs. However this kind of modification is reserved only for the causer in Japanese as well as in Kashmiri (in (20)).

- (20) Taro-ga wazato Hanako-o waraw-ase-ta  
 Taro-nom on.purpose Hanako-acc laugh-CAUSE-PAST  
 'Taro, on purpose, caused Hanako to laugh'  
 ≠'Taro caused [Hanako to laugh on purpose]'

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<sup>6</sup> Note that this is only possible for case-marking Pattern A (non-oblique causee). In Pattern B, in which the causee is marked with the instrumental case, only the causer may serve as an antecedent to the subject-oriented reflexive. Wali and Koul (1997) note that Pattern A is not found in the related language Hindi-Urdu, and unsurprisingly only the causer is able to antecede the subject-oriented reflexive (see Mahjan 1990, Mohanan 1994). If Anand and Nevins (2006) are on the right track in assuming that the property of being able to antecede a subject-oriented reflexive (in Hindi-Urdu) aligns with the position Spec, TP, then we might propose that the nominative causee is found in Spec, TP, while the instrumental causee is not. However, it is challenging to pinpoint this position, given that Kashmiri is a verb second language in which the tensed verb is understood to appear in C and the preverbal constituent in Spec, CP.

- (21) ashayi asano:v Karim zaenəθ  
 Asha cause-to-laugh Karim on-purpose  
 Asha, on purpose, caused Karim to laugh.  
 ≠ Asha caused [Karim to laugh on purpose]

While the ability of the causee to antecede subject-oriented reflexives may not be informative in distinguishing the two proposals to the causative verbal domain, the fact that causees cannot be modified by agent-oriented adverbials suggest that they are not the type of argument introduced by v.

#### 4.2 Case, Agreement, and Phases

Because of the relatively complex system of case assignment and agreement in the split-ergative language Kashmiri, we are able to provide a unique set of diagnostics for an account of causative constructions that proposes that the causative clause contains multiple phase boundaries. In particular, the operation Agree and Move, sensitive to the presence of phase boundaries, should help us to determine the shape of the causative verbal domain.

##### 4.2.1 Ergative causative clauses

Let us begin by assuming that case assignment and agreement in Kashmiri function along the lines Bhatt's (Rakesh) (2000) proposal for Kashmiri and Bhatt's (Rajesh) (2005) proposal for Hindi-Urdu, updated in current theoretical terms. Ergative case is assigned by Tense (T) in association with transitive v and perfective aspect.<sup>7</sup> Agreement takes place when T probes its c-command domain for an accessible nominative argument and values its uninterpretable features with the interpretable  $\phi$ -features found on that argument. Crucially, T cannot probe beyond the phase immediately beneath it (Chomsky 2001, Svenonius 2005), so for instance, agreement cannot take place across a finite CP phase (Bhatt 2005, Bhatt 1999).

- (22) a. tse chu-y ba:sa:n ki Mary yiyi  
 you.dat aux.m-cl think that Mary come.fut  
 b. \*tse cha-y ba:sa:n ki Mary yiyi  
 you.dat aux.f-cl think that Mary come.fut  
 'You think that Mary will come.'

As discussed above, in a perfective transitive causative sentence in Kashmiri the causee is marked either with instrumental or nominative case (22), unlike the causer (marked

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<sup>7</sup> An alternative approach to ergative case assignment in Hindi-Urdu, defended by Anand and Nevins (2006), is one in which ergative is assigned as a lexical case by a defective v (in Spec, vP). T then assigns nominative case to the internal argument (never entering into an Agree relation with the subject). This approach, if extended to Kashmiri, would pose even greater difficulty for the dual-vP account of the causative. If the lower vP in the dual-vP approach is just a normal vP (and it is the higher vP that introduces causation), it would be impossible to prevent the assignment of ergative case to the causee (introduced in the lower Spec, vP). The causee can never surface as ergative (only the causer), so we would be required to stipulate that the vP selected by the causative vP can never be headed by the ergative-assigning v (even if all other conditions for ergative case were met).

ergative in (22)) or the external argument of a simple perfective transitive clause as in (23).

- (23) a. *təm' karinə:v no:kras-athi kə:m*  
 he-erg caused-to-do.f3s servant-inst work.nom (f)  
 'He had the work be done by the servant'. [Hook & Koul 1984: 106]
- b. *təm' karino:v no:ka:r kə:m*  
 he-erg cause-to-do.m3s servant.nom (m) work.nom (f)  
 'He had the servant do the work.' [Hook & Koul 1984: 106]
- (24) *mohanan ə:s bulə:v-mġts mi:ra:*  
 Mohan-erg be invite-psp Mira  
 'Mohan invited Mira.'

In the regular perfective transitive clause in (23), the verb agrees with the direct object. In a common understanding of Agree (Chomsky 2001, Bhatt 2003), this means that T probes its domain (the entire vP) and locates the direct object, valuing its uninterpretable features. In (22b), the verb agrees with the causee. This is expected under either approach to the verbal causative domain. In the case of the dual-vP approach, the causee is in the specifier of the lower vP, and therefore accessible to probes until the construction of the CP phase (Chomsky 2001). However, in (22a) the causee is marked with instrumental case and is therefore unavailable for agreement. The verb then must agree with the nominative feminine direct object *kə:m* 'work'. Keep in mind that this direct object is within the VP, well beneath the edge of the lower vP in the dual-vP approach. For this reason, given that Harley (2008) maintains that both vPs are phases, we would expect material not at the edge of the lower vP to be unavailable for interaction with the tense head (having been transferred to the interfaces). In the CAUSEP approach, on the other hand, the entire verbal domain consists of only a single phase (the vP), and so we would expect verbal agreement even with the most embedded argument, should that be the highest unmarked argument.

In sum, the CAUSEP approach predicts that causative clauses will behave identically to non-causative clauses with respect to agreement processes in ergative sentences, and this is precisely what we find.

#### 4.2.2 Passivization

Kashmiri permits either the causee (when unmarked) or the direct object of a causative to undergo passivization.<sup>8</sup>

- (25) a. *ləDki a:yi tsoT kh'a:vinī*  
 boy.nom come bread cause-to-eat  
 'The boy was caused to eat bread.' [Hook & Koul 1984: 116]
- b. *tsoT a:yi ləDkas kh'a:vinī*

<sup>8</sup> McGinnis (2001, 2004) associates the high applicative head with constructions that permit passivization of the internal argument as well as the applied argument. As mentioned above Pylkkänen suggests that the CAUSE head may be akin to a high applicative. Though McGinnis (2001) argues that high applicatives may be phase boundaries, later work by McGinnis and others (Lee 2003; McGinnis and Gerdtts 2004) suggests that they are not.

bread come boy.dat cause-to-eat

‘The bread was caused to be eaten by the boy.’ [Hook & Koul 1984: 116]

c. \*ləDkas a:yi tsoT kh’a:vini  
boy.dat come bread cause-to-eat

d. \*tsoT a:yi ləDki kh’a:vini  
bread come boy.nom cause-to-eat

Of course, indirect objects cannot undergo passivization (26a), nor can arguments of embedded finite clauses be moved into matrix clauses (26b).

(26) a. \*ləDki a:yi tsoT dini  
boy.nom come bread give

‘The boy was given bread.’ [Hook & Koul 1984: 116]

b. \*ləDki o:sus bĭ za:na:n ki tsoT a:yi kh’a:vini  
boy.nom was I knowing that bread come cause-to-eat  
‘I knew that the boy was caused to eat bread.’

In the case of passivization, we note that the causee and internal argument once again pattern together. Importantly, the availability of the direct object for passivization in (25b) suggests that there is not an additional vP phase within the verbal domain. Under standard assumptions about passivization, the Tense head should probe its domain and interact with the closest accessible c-commanded argument (in Kashmiri this once again excludes overtly case-marked material) (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 2004). Under the dual-vP approach, the direct object in (25b) would be too embedded to interact with the T head, and would therefore be unable to passivize. In the CAUSEP approach, on the other hand, we would expect to see both types of passive available in a causative clause, as in (25).<sup>9</sup>

#### 5.4 Pronominal clitics

Kashmiri has several sets of pronominal clitics that can mark the person, gender, and number of a pronominal argument in clauses in which there is a certain difference in grammatical person between the subject and that argument. The clitics vary as to whether they are optional, and whether or not they permit the pronoun to be co-present (clitic doubling), but most of these details will not be relevant here.

Two sets of pronominal clitics become useful diagnostics in the context of causative constructions. The first are the nominative clitics, marking difference in person between the subject and a nominative object. If the subject is lower in grammatical person than the object, the appropriate clitic will appear as a verbal suffix.

(27) bĭ chu-s-ath tsĭ ana:n  
I am-1sg-2sg you bringing  
‘I am bringing you.’

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<sup>9</sup> This would also help explain the contrast between (26b) and grammatical ‘long passives’ from non-finite embedded clauses as in (i) -- these arguably lack an internal vP phase (Wurmbrand 2001).

(i) Kita:b gəyi mashit [ ra:jas \_\_\_\_\_ ra:th din']  
Book.f come forgot Raj.dat yesterday give.inf  
‘The book was forgotten to be given to Raj yesterday (by someone)’

The second set of clitics marks the person and number of dative arguments (regardless of grammatical function).

- (28) *bĭ* chu-s-**ay** tse ana:n  
 I am-1sg-2sg you-dat bringing  
 ‘I am bringing (something) to/for you.’

There is a third set of clitics that mark the properties of the subject, however for the purposes of this discussion we will focus on the nominative set and the dative set. Note that if a grammatically specified nominative object of the appropriate person is present, it must be encoded by a pronominal clitic instead of any dative argument present (the two types of clitics cannot co-occur).

In causative constructions, the nominative clitics can mark person differences between the external agent and the causee, as in (29). This set of clitics does not mark such differences between the subject and the indirect objects (30), nor between an agent and an embedded agent (31).

- (29) *bĭ* chu-s-**ath** tsĭ kath bo:zina:va:n  
 I am-1sg-2sg you-nom story cause-to-hear  
 ‘I am having you hear a story’ [Hook & Koul 1984: 110]
- (30) *bĭ* chu-s-**\*ath** tse philim ha:va:n  
 I am-1sg-2sg you-dat film show  
 ‘I am showing you a film’ [Hook & Koul 1984: 110]
- (31) *bĭ* chu-s-**\*ath** yatsha:n ki tsĭ gotsh-ukh gatsh-un  
 I am-1sg-2nsg wanting that you-nom should-2sg go-inf  
 ‘I want that you should go’.

In this way, the system of pronominal clitics treats the causee like a direct object within the same clause as the external agent. Importantly, cliticization does not group the causee with indirect objects or with an external agent of another clause.

Hook and Koul (1984) construct a set of three causative sentences that demonstrate the range possibilities for the pronominal clitic in a context with multiple internal arguments. The relevant clitic is bolded, and the argument marked by the clitic is underlined:

- (32) *bĭ* chu-s-**an** tse athĭ ra:mĭ tse:rĭ kh’a:vĭna:va:n  
 I am-1sg-3sg you-oblique ram-nom apricots-nom eat-cause-cause  
 ‘I am having you cause Ram to eat apricots.’
- (33) *bĭ* chu-s-**ath** tsĭ ra:mas tse:rĭ kh’a:vĭna:va:n  
 I am-1sg-2sg you-nom ram-dat apricots-nom eat-cause-cause  
 ‘I am having you cause Ram to eat apricots.’
- (34) *bĭ* chu-s-**ath** tsĭ ra:mĭ tse:rĭ kh’a:vĭna:va:n  
 I am-1sg-2sg you-nom ram-nom apricots-nom eat-cause-cause  
 ‘I am having you cause Ram to eat apricots.’
- (35) *\*bĭ* chu-s-**an** tsĭ ra:mĭ tse:rĭ kh’a:vĭna:va:n  
 I am-1sg-3sg you-nom ram-nom apricots-nom eat-cause-cause

In the causative sentence in (32), the clitic *-an* is a nominative clitic marking the third person singular nominative argument *Ram*. There can be no suffix marking the second person argument *tse* ‘you’, because it is oblique. However, in (33), the clitic does encode the second person singular argument because it is in the nominative case. The dative

clitic (marking *ra:mas*) does not appear, because the nominative clitic takes precedence. In (34) and (35), we see that if both the second and third person arguments are nominative, the clitic must correspond to the highest nominative argument.

Wali and Koul (1994) and Subbarao and Munshi (2000) have analyzed the pronominal clitic in Kashmiri as the morphological realization of a head distinct from T. While I will not evaluate these proposals in detail here, this head would, like T, probe its domain for an accessible goal of the right type. In order for both the second causee *ts̄* ‘you’ and the first causee *ra:m̄* ‘Ram’ to be accessible goals, there must be an additional phase boundary intervening between this clitic head and each goal. This understanding of cliticization in Kashmiri would also provide a clear explanation for the lack of optionality in (35): the highest accessible goal must be marked – the head cannot probe beyond it.

Given an account of pronominal clitics in Kashmiri in which the clitic morphology reflects a probe-goal interaction very similar to that taking place for primary agreement, the data above also supports the CAUSEP approach to Kashmiri causatives. If we assume (as is desirable) that all probes are limited in their domain by the phase in precisely the same way, it is heartening that the system of pronominal clitics and the system of primary agreement function identically in this respect.

### 4.3 Other evidence

#### 4.3.1 Domains for special meaning

The approach to the vP built on the work of Marantz (1984, 1997, 2000) posits that word formation from roots may be idiosyncratic, but that word derivation that takes as its base a pre-existing word is both predictable and productive. In this view, the vP is considered the domain for special meanings containing the verb root. Morphology first combined with the root itself within the vP may produce idiomatic meaning, but beyond the vP the meaning of the derived verb form is now fixed. Harley (2008) makes use of the lack of idiomatic meaning for the productive causative in Japanese to support the dual-vP hypothesis. If the vP introducing the causee intervenes between the root and the causative morphology (introduced by the higher vP), then the meaning of the verb should be fixed at the point at which the causative morpheme is introduced. That is, the productive causative morpheme will have an entirely predictable effect on meaning.

In Kashmiri this is nearly always true as well; the addition of the causative morpheme makes a predictable contribution to the meaning of the composed verb. However, there is a very small set of cases in which the addition of the causative morpheme to a verb produces an idiomatic or unpredictable meaning.

(36)	Root	Causative
	<i>boz</i> ‘hear’	<i>bozinawun</i> ‘to make one understand’
	<i>bih</i> ‘to sit’	<i>bohinavun</i> ‘to circumcise someone’
	<i>mokil</i> ‘to be finished’	<i>mokilavun</i> ‘to divorce’ (Sayeed 1985:90) <sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Ramchand (2008) and Saksena (1982) indicate that the same situation exists in Hindi-Urdu, in that both causative forms “seem to give regular and predictable meanings in the general case. However, there do exist a number of lexically idiosyncratic forms...” (Ramchand 2008:164).

This phenomenon led Sayeed (1985) to propose that the Kashmiri causative was actually a lexical causative with a very surprising amount of regularity. However, as Masica (1976), Hook and Koul (1984), Altaha (1992), Bhatt (1999) argue, the better account of causation in Kashmiri proves to be one in which we understand it as a productive syntactic process. Assuming the understanding of the vP as the domain for special meaning, the dual-vP account leaves no room for explanation of the idiomatic meanings in (36). However, the CAUSEP account is one in which the causative morpheme is the first head to combine with the root. For this reason, it is possible for idiosyncratic meaning to be produced.

#### 4.3.2 Causative morphology

Arad (2002), following Marantz (2000), claims based on the derivation of Hebrew verbs that roots can only condition specific allomorphs of morphemes that first combine with them. Additional word derivation is required to take the already-derived form, not the initial root, as its phonological (and semantic) input. In the case of Kashmiri, the shape of the root does determine the form the causative suffix takes. The Kashmiri causative suffix appears as *a:v* unless the root ends in a consonant, in which case the suffix is *-ina:v* (Hook & Koul:100).

<u>Verb</u>	<u>Causative</u>
di 'give'	d'a:v
he 'buy'	h'a:v
kar 'do'	karina:v
to:l 'weigh'	tolina''v

If Arad's proposal is on the right track, this would mean that the causative head is likely the first to combine with the verb root, favoring the CAUSEP proposal in which the causative head is adjacent to the root (over the dual-vP approach in which a second v head intervenes between the causative head and the root).

#### 4.4 Parametric variation

Harley (2008) characterizes the difference between Japanese lexical and productive causatives in terms of the number of vP phrases present in the causative verbal domain. In her proposal, the lexical causative is a single vP adjacent to the root, while the productive causative is a vP introducing the causative and selecting a second vP beneath it which in turn embeds the VP. However, we have shown here that the dual-vP approach to productive morphological causatives cannot be extended to account for Kashmiri. In particular, a verbal domain containing two vP phases makes incorrect predictions about phase-sensitive processes. It is also difficult to see how the dual-vP approach could be modified to accommodate Kashmiri. Since the head introducing causation is the upper vP, we would need to remove or alter the lower vP to create a verbal domain with a single vP. However, we would then have no point at which to introduce the causee (the role of the lower vP in Harley's account).

Pylkkänen (1999, 2008) on the other hand, offers a proposal that accounts for this kind of parametric variation in a different way. In her approach, the causative morpheme is always introduced by a dedicated causative head distinct from v. Parametric variation

between causatives is encoded in the size of the complement selected by the causative head, and whether the causative head can be “bundled” with the agent introducing head. For instance, Japanese lexical causatives are what Pylkkänen terms “root selecting”, taking the bare root as a complement to the CAUSE head, while Japanese productive causatives embed a larger verbal constituent.<sup>11</sup> While it is beyond the scope of this article to evaluate the ramifications of this proposal for Japanese, let alone crosslinguistically, it seems clear that it offers an opportunity to account for parametric variation among causative constructions while avoiding the problems associated with multiple agent-introducing vPs in languages like Kashmiri.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The evidence presented here supports an account of the Kashmiri causative in which the head introducing causative morphology and the agent-introducing vP are distinct. Further, Kashmiri’s rich system of primary and secondary agreement, as well symmetric passivization, are uniquely suited to provide illustration of the problems associated with multiple vP phases in the causative verbal domain. Overall the article has provided data that help us more closely identify the shape that the causative verbal domain may (and may not) take in any research program aiming to arrive at a general theory of the causative.

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<sup>11</sup> Although Pylkkänen does not explicitly specify the type for Japanese productive causatives, it appears from her typology to be a verb-selecting causative.

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