

## Reversed-causative\*

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### 0. Introduction

In recent decades much linguistic literature has treated the causative construction. Japanese causativization, especially, has been argued from a syntactic point of view within the framework of generative grammar (Kuroda 1965, Shibatani 1975, 1976, 1977, Takahashi 1982) as well as traditional grammar (Fujii 1971, Aoki 1977, Ito 1985, Ooshika 1987). However, there is little that describes the semantic/pragmatic aspect of Japanese causatives. This paper discusses a particular type of causative sentence, such as *Kono syoosetu wa kanari yomaseru*, which I call the reversed-causative<sup>1</sup>, and discusses how one can analyze them from the viewpoint of Gricean theory of implicature.

### 1. Why a problem?

In order to understand B's reply in an exchange such as

- (1) A: *Kono syoosetu wa omosiroi desu ka?*

'Is this novel interesting?'

B: *Kore wa kanari yom-ase-ru yo.*

this TOP. quite read-CAUS.-PRES. PART.

'(lit.) This novel makes (people) read./

This is very well written.'

the addressee (A) must make some inferences. This is because the sentence type in question does not contain necessary and sufficient information to answer the question, i.e. the causee and the grammatical object of *yomaseru*, which are usually required for a Japanese causative sentence.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, even if the addressee succeeds in filling the gaps, s/he still cannot fully understand this sentence because, as the Japanese gloss shows, it cannot be construed literally. The topic of the sentence is actually the thing which the causee is made to read, and the novel cannot literally force one to read something. Therefore, one should focus on the way the addressee understands what the addresser wants to mean by this type of sentence.

### 2. Syntactic characteristics

In this section attention is focused on the syntactic characteristics of the reversed-causative.

The reversed-causative consists of a rather small number of examples<sup>3</sup>:

- (2) a. *Kono syoosetu wa kanari yomaseru.*

'This novel is very well written/ interesting'

- b. Kare no hanasi wa nakanaka waraw-ase-ru.  
he GEN. story TOP. quite laugh-CAUS.-PRES.  
'His story is very funny.'
- c. Ano eega wa sugoku nak-ase-ru.  
that movie TOP. very much cry-CAUS.-PRES.  
'That movie is very touching.'
- d. Yamada-san no nodo wa kanari kik-ase-ru.  
GEN. throat TOP. quite listen-CAUS.-PRES.  
'His voice/way of singing fascinates us.'
- e. Kono sake wa nakanaka nom-ase-ru.  
this sake TOP. quite drink-CAUS.-PRES.  
'This sake tastes very good.'

All of these examples share the following characteristics. First, although paradigm cases of transitive sentences, in general, include the grammatical object of the main verb, being causative sentences, the reversed-causative does not have any overt grammatical object of the corresponding transitive verb. More technically speaking, although it is recognized cross-linguistically that the morphological causative usually has a valency one higher than that of the corresponding non-causative (see Comrie 1989:175), the causative type in question typically reduces the valency, especially the omission of the direct object of non-causative verb object.<sup>4</sup> Note here that although the explicit existence of the missing elements (i.e. the causee and the grammatical object) makes them closer to typical causative sentences, it consequently changes the meaning of the sentences. For example,

- (3) Sono syoosetu wa watasitati ni sono syoosetu o kanari  
that novel TOP. us DAT. that novel ACC. quite  
yom-ase-ru  
read-CAUS.-PRES.  
'That novel makes us read it (=that novel) harder.'

Sentence (3) is no longer equivalent to (2a); the former is a typical causative sentence, and the focus is on the cause and effect relationship. But in the latter case, what the addresser tries to convey is its well-written/attractive characteristic rather than the physical causation.

Second, we know that there are two or three possibilities, depending on the valency of the verb, to make relative clauses (RCs) from causative sentences. Schematically this is summarized as follows:

- (4) A wa B o/ni V-saseru (e.g. *A wa B o warawaseru* 'A makes B laugh')
- RC: a. [B o V-saseru] A  
(e.g. *B o warawaseru A* 'A who makes B laugh')
- b. [A ga V-saseru] B  
(e.g. *A ga warawaseru B* 'B, whom A makes laugh')

(5) A wa B ni C o V-saseru (e.g. *A wa B ni hon o yomaseru* 'A makes B read a book')

RC: a. [B ni C o V-saseru] A

(e.g. *B ni hon o yomaseru A* 'A who makes B read a book')

b. [A ga C o V-saseru] B

(e.g. *A ga hon o yomaseru B* 'B whom A makes read a book')

c. [A ga B ni V-saseru] C

(e.g. *A ga B ni yomaseru hon* 'the book which A makes B read')

On the other hand, when a reversed-causative is made into a RC, it still does not require the overt expression of the causee and/or the grammatical object if the main verb is transitive; when they are expressed, again, it changes the meaning. Observe the following example:

(6) a. (< *Sono eega wa nakaseru* 'the film is touching')

[nak -ase -ru] eega

cry -CAUS.-PRES. film 'a touching film'

b. (< *Sono eega wa onnanokotati o nakaseru* 'the film makes girls cry')

[onnanokotati o nak -ase -ru] eega

girls ACC. cry-CAUS.-PRES. film

'the film which makes girls cry'

Although both of the cases should be considered as expressing the figurative meaning (because the movie itself does not physically force us to cry, i.e. physically doing something), the explicit existence of the causee in (6b) makes the sentence more specific than (6a) in which not only specific people but generally whoever watches the movie considers it touching.

With regard to the above point, it seems that there are some restrictions on the head NP of the reversed-causative RC. As the following examples show, the head NP should be inanimate<sup>5</sup>:

(7) ?[nak -ase -ru] Yamada-san

cry -CAUS.-PRES. Mr. Yamada

(e.g. ?? *Ano hito ga nakaseru Yamada-san desu.*

'That is Mr. Yamada, who makes (people) cry.')

(8) ?[yom -ase -ru] hito

read -CAUS.-PRES. person

(e.g. ?? *Yamada-san wa kanari yomaseru hito desu.*

'Mr. Yamada makes (people) read hard.')

The next examples indicate that the head NP and the predicate in RC should have a certain semantic relationship:

(9) ?[yom-ase-ru] tabako

read -CAUS.-PRES. tobacco

(e.g. ? *Kore ga kanari yomaseru tabako desu.*

'This is the tobacco which makes (people) read.')

- (10) ?[kik -ase -ru] isu  
 listen -CAUS.-PRES. chair  
 (e.g. ?Kono ga kikaseru isu desu.  
 'This is the chair which makes (people) listen.')

Needless to say, the corresponding source sentences of (9) and (10) are also unacceptable.

Third, the acceptability of the examples in (2) decreases when the tense is changed to past; the corresponding RCs are also difficult to accept in the past tense<sup>6</sup>:

- (11) a. ?Kono syoosetu wa kanari yom-ase-ta.  
 this novel TOP. quite read-CAUS.-PAST.  
 'This novel was very well written.'  
 b. ?Kare no hanasi wa nakanaka waraw-ase-ta.  
 he GEN. story TOP. quite laugh-CAUS.-PAST.  
 'His story was very funny.'  
 c. ?Ano eega wa sugoku nak-ase-ta.  
 that movie TOP. very much cry-CAUS.-PAST.  
 'That movie was very touching.'  
 d. ?Yamada-san no nodo wa kanari kik-ase-ta.  
 GEN. throat TOP. quite listen-CAUS.-PAST.  
 'His voice/way of singing fascinated us.'  
 e. ?Kono sake wa nakanaka nom-ase-ta.  
 this sake TOP. quite drink-CAUS.-PAST.  
 'This sake tasted very good.'

The above three syntactic characteristics indicate that the reversed-causative is quite different from a typical Japanese causative sentence. As we will see in the next section, semantics and pragmatics of causation play a very important role in these cases; from the syntactic view point, they should be treated as independent predicates, which do not require any valence increase and behave like one-place predicates discussed in logic. In other words, I suggest that although verbal morphologies point out that the whole sentences should be treated as causatives, these are a part of adjectivals whose main function is to characterize the NPs in a certain manner.

### 3. Transitivity and semantics of reversed-causative

In the previous section we observed that the reversed-causative has the following characteristics: (i) the omission of the causee and the grammatical object of the verb (when the verb is transitive); (ii) because of (i), when it is relativized, no overt expression of these elements is required in RC, and the head noun, which corresponds to the subject/topic of the source sentence, should be inanimate and (iii) the reversed-causative invites unacceptability when it is used in the past tense. Concern-



hypothesis, its low transitivity should be observed throughout the clause, and the inanimacy restriction on the causer is also the manifestation of this low transitivity. Actually, the involvement of one participant (A), non-action of the causer (i.e. it does not physically make the causee to do the action) (B), the non-volitional causer (E), low potency of the causer (H), partial affectedness of the causee (I) and no mention of the causee (J), all of these indicate the low transitivity of the reversed-causative. The inanimate restriction contributes to (E) and (H); in short, we recapture the restriction from the view point of the transitivity of the reversed-causative clause and regard it as the manifestation of the low transitivity of the clause. Moreover, although in the previous section we observed and concluded that reversed-causatives can be regarded as adjectivals, this can also be restated to the effect that its adjectival characteristics are supported by the view that the reversed-causative is actually low in transitivity.

On the other hand, the above discussion of low transitivity suggests that a typical causative sentence such as *Kimiko wa Noriko ni hon o yomaseru* 'Kimiko makes Noriko read a book' has high transitivity. In fact, although it is not an acceptable sentence, a reversed-causative sentence with an animate causer such as *Kimiko wa yomaseru* 'Kimiko makes (people) read (something)' or *Kimiko wa nakaseru* 'Kimiko makes (people) cry' would be assigned figurative meaning but not a statement about the characteristics of *Kimiko*. That is, the animate causer raises the transitivity of the reversed-causative sentences and alters their meanings. The inanimate restriction on the causer, therefore, is related to the low transitivity of the whole clause and a change of meaning in the reversed-causative.

So far we have observed that the reversed-causatives are lower in transitivity and behave like adjectivals, demonstrating that this sentence type loses its typical cause-effect sense but functions to characterize the causer. It might not be unreasonable to assume that the tense restriction is also related to these aspects of the reversed-causative.

A great deal of literature has been devoted to the study of tense in linguistics as well as in philosophy; however, because of the limitation of this paper, we should not go into a detailed discussion of tense here and it is not necessary for the present purpose.<sup>8</sup> What is related to the present discussion is the use of the Japanese present tense and the past tense (henceforth, following Teramura's convention, RU form and TA form) and, especially, the relationship between RU form of verbs and transitivity.

It has been pointed out that TA form of verbs indicates the completed action and/or the past fact depending on whether the predicates in question are action/event predicates or stative predicates (Teramura 1971, 1982; Nakau 1980); on the other hand, RU form designates (i) the present/future action whose actualization 'the speaker has no doubt about' (Teramura 1982) or the present/future state and, as being recognized as an 'extension' usage (see Comrie 1985), (ii) the whole span of time regardless of the stativity of the predicates; this case is applicable when the predicates are used to indicate the habitual, repetitious or general statement (15):

- (15) a. Asita inu o tabe-ru. (action/future)  
tomorrow dog ACC. eat-PRES.  
'I will eat (a) dog tomorrow.'
- b. Kono hamigaki wa nigai. (state/present)  
this toothpaste TOP. bitter  
'This toothpaste is bitter.'
- c. Watasi wa mainiti kare ni denwa o su-ru. (habitual action)  
I TOP. everyday him DAT. telephone ACC. do-PRES.  
'I call him everyday.'
- (16) a. Darumasan ga koron-da. (action/past fact)  
NOM. fell down-PAST.  
'The Dharma doll fell down.'
- b. Moo ano eega o mi-masi-ta ka. (action/completion)  
already that film ACC. see-POL.-PAST. Q.  
'Have you already seen that film?'
- c. Zyuunen mae ano hito wa keekan dat-ta. (state/past fact)  
ten years ago that person TOP. policeman COP.-PAST  
'That person was a policeman ten years ago.'

TA form of predicates, when they are action predicates (e.g. non-stative verbs), express the completed action or the past fact (cf. (16)). Meanwhile, we have observed that the predicates of the reversed-causative are also verbs which denote some action (e.g. *naku* 'to cry', *warau* 'to laugh', *kiku* 'to listen', etc.). That is, the typical causative sentences with these predicates, when they take TA forms, are supposed to express the completed action or the past fact. However, as noted above, the meaning of the reversed-causative is not that of the literal sense of the typical causatives; even if one says *kono syoosetu wa yomaseru*, it should not be construed to describe a situation in which a monstrous book forces us to read something. On the other hand, for example, *kono hon wa yomaseta* (the TA form) always indicate a past action or a completed action (i.e. literal meaning) but not a state (actual meaning). Thus, it is claimed that the TA form cannot combine with the reversed-causative unless the

meaning of the sentence is changed from low transitive (= stative) to literal transitive.

On the other hand, however, although the RU form of verbs can express the future action, the reversed-causative does not express this meaning, either; in the above case, whatever the book is, it will not literally force us to read it. According to the above explanation, the choice left in our hands is the 'extension' usage of the RU form of verbs, which expresses the general truth, habitual action, repetitious action, etc. In fact, this usage matches the meaning of the reversed-causative. That is, what is expressed by the reversed-causative sentences is the prominent characteristic of the subject/topic, and the speaker believes that this characteristic is applicable at all times and to everybody who plays the role of the causee. This point can be clarified from the following examples where the reversed-causative can be combined with an adverbial phrase *itu ... sitemo* 'whenever do ...' but not with *ima* 'now'; the latter (implicitly, though) indicates the characteristic is tentative:

- (17) a. Kono eega wa *itu mi-temo* nak-ase-ru.  
           this film TOP. whenever I see cry-CAUS.-PRES.  
           'Whenever I see this movie, I'm always moved to cry.'
- b. ??Kono eega wa *ima* nak-ase-ru.  
           this film TOP. now cry-CAUS.-PRES.  
           'This film makes (people) cry now.'

To sum up: so far we have observed that, first, the reversed-causative sentences are low in transitivity; this point was confirmed by Hopper and Thompson's (1980) parameters. Six out of the ten parameters indicate that the transitivity of this type of sentence is lower than the typical causative sentences. Second, as for the restriction of the subject/head NP of RC, we observed that the restriction at issue is one of the manifestations of the low transitivity of the reversed-causative sentence, i.e. the inanimate subject itself contributes to the whole meaning (i.e. non-physical causation) of the reversed-causative sentence. Otherwise, in the case of the animate causer (i.e. one of the indicators of high transitivity), the sentence is interpreted to express the literal sense that the causer makes someone do something (i.e. physical causation). Tense restriction was also examined with regard to the 'extension' meaning of the RU form of verbs; the meaning of the sentence is changed when either (i) the TA form is chosen or (ii) the RU form is utilized to indicate the future action. The next section focuses on how the reversed-causative sentence can be correctly understood by the addressee in a situation.

#### 4. Pragmatics of the reversed-causative



From the point of view of pragmatics, there are two major approaches to the non-compositional aspect of the meaning of a sentence. One is the speech act theory, which discusses the relationship between a certain sentence type and the associated 'illocutionary force'; the other is Grice's framework using the notion of 'conversational implicature', where the addressee's inference process is focused on.

#### 4.1 Speech act theory

The theory of speech act, which was launched by Austin and advanced by Searle, deals with the speaker's intended meaning. However, unlike the Gricean explanation, this framework claims that there must be some constitutive rules which are parts of our linguistic knowledge and connect a sentence type and a particular meaning. Searle (1976) claims that the functions of language should be divided into five categories according to what kind of illocutionary force each sentence type bears: assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. Illocutionary force of each type is determined according to the felicity conditions which consist of (i) propositional content, (ii) preparatory condition, (iii) sincerity condition and (iv) essential condition.

Within this framework, because we already know that the speaker's intended meaning cannot be dealt with compositionally, it seems to be classified as an example of the assertives in the above classification. Searle (1976) characterizes the assertives as follows:

The point or purpose of the members of the assertive class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition. All of the members of the assertive class are assessable on the dimension of assessment which includes *true* and *false*.

The following example confirms this point:

- (18) Kono hon wa yomaseru toyuu no wa hontoo dearu/dewa nai.  
 this book TOP.read-CAUS.-PRES.saying NOM.TOP. true is/is not  
 'It is (not) true to say that this book is well-written.'

where the reversed-causative sentence is embedded into another sentence which indicates the truth of the embedded sentence.

Although Searle (1976) does not mention the felicity conditions of the assertives, they should take the following form:

- (19) Felicity conditions of assertives<sup>9</sup>
- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Propositional content: | Description of present state/event, E                   |
| Preparatory:           | S(peaker) does not know whether H(earer) knows E or not |
| Sincerity:             | S believes E  |
| Essential:             | Counts as an attempt to provide this information to H   |

However, here note that, for example, in the case of (1), there is no mention of the 'attractive' or 'well-written' characteristics which should be stated in the above chart. In short, the speech act theory concerns the literal meaning of a sentence. However, we still don't know why describing (i.e. illocutionary force) the present event/state, *kono hon wa yomaseru* (i.e. sentence form) can not be counted as the literal physical causation and how the addressee knows the speaker's intended meaning, i.e. the expression of its 'attractiveness' or 'well-writtenness' and this statement is not actually a description of an event but his evaluation towards the book (i.e. indirect speech act).

With regard to indirect speech act, Levinson (1983:263ff.) points out that there are two possibilities to explain this phenomenon while maintaining Searle's view that illocutionary force is built into sentence form: idiom theory and inference theory.<sup>10</sup> Roughly speaking, the former claims that certain sentence forms are registered in the lexicon of the language with 'the appropriate semantic equivalent' (Levinson 1983: 268). However there is a good argument to reject this view; it cannot explain the productivity of the sentence pattern in question (i.e. should each lexical item have the description of 'attractive' meaning?) Or more specifically, it raises a question: what part of grammar can describe (indirect) illocutionary force of a derived lexical form? On the other hand, the inference theory asserts that indirect force should be inferred from the contextual information based on some principles or rules of inference. Although there are several arguments to maintain this position (Levinson 1983, Gordon & Lakoff 1971, Searle 1975), it is difficult to say that the formulation of the inference process is successful.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, indirect speech act is strongly related to the politeness phenomena (Lakoff 1973). We do not go into the detailed discussion of speech act theory any further in this paper. However, the following point should be clear from this rather brief discussion. That is, because of the premise of the speech act theory that each sentence type has one illocutionary force, the problems of the speaker's intended meanings or the indirect forces of sentences cannot be solved within this framework. Now let us look at another pragmatic theory, Gricean theory of implicature, which also deals with the speaker's intended meaning.

#### 4.2. Gricean implicature

The Gricean account of the speaker's intended meaning consists of two crucial parts: the cooperative principle and the four maxims of conversation. Roughly speaking, within this framework, the non-compositional meaning (i.e. implicature) is supposed to be calculated based on the observance or the flouting of the maxims.

It has been pointed out that the conversational implicature should have the following five characteristics: cancellability, non-detachability, calculability, non-conventionality and reinforceability. Let us examine whether the reversed-causative sentences can fit in the category of conversational implicature by examining these properties.

Observe the following sentences:

- (20) ? Kono eega wa nakaseru ga daremo kandoo wa sinai  
 this film TOP. cry-CAUS.-PRES. but nobody would be not impressed  
 'This film is touching but nobody would be impressed.'
- (21) a. Kono hon wa dokusya no kokoro o toraete hanasanai.  
 this book TOP. reader GEN. heart ACC. capture do not release  
 'Readers will be impressed by this book.'
- b. Kono hon wa omosirokute ikki ni yondesimatta.  
 this book TOP. interesting in one go read  
 'This book was so interesting that I read it in one sitting.'
- c. Kono hon wa kanari no mono da.  
 this book TOP. good GEN. thing COP.  
 'This book is pretty good.'
- (22) Kono hon wa kanari yomaseru; watasi wa ikki ni yondesimatta.  
 this book TOP. quite read-CAUS.-PRES. I TOP. in one go read  
 'This book is written very well/attractive; I read it in one sitting.'

Sentence (20) shows that because of its non-cancellability, i.e. the meaning of the attached clause cannot override that of the preceding clause, the reversed-causative does not count as the conversational implicature. On the other hand, the sentences in (21) indicate that the same kind of the speaker's intended meaning (i.e. 'well-written' or 'attractive' character) can be conveyed by other means (i.e. non-detachability); sentence (22) also denotes that the latter clause does not invite a sense of anomalous redundancy (i.e. reinforceability) (Levinson 1983:120). As for the non-conventionality, the reversed-causative sentences always seem to indicate 'attractiveness' of the 'causer' or 'excessive involvement' of the causee. In this sense, one may say that the reversed-causative does have the conventional meaning and cannot be the conversational implicature. If this last point is correct, the implied meaning is not calculable from the contextual knowledge and the pragmatic principles (e.g. cooperative principles and maxims of conversation), that is, it should be non-calculable. However, this argument of 'attractive'/'excessive involvement' conventional meaning still does not reveal how each verb is related to this meaning, i.e. why *yomaseru* 'cause someone to read' is construed as 'well-written' or 'interesting' but *nomaseru* 'cause someone to drink' is understood to mean 'tasty' although both con-

cern the meaning of 'attractiveness'/'excessive involvement'. That is to say, the addressee still has to infer what aspect of the 'causer' is related to the meanings of the main predicates. In this sense, I would like to argue that the reversed-causatives are calculable on the basis of the maxim of the conversation and our knowledge of the world, even though these are not the typical cases of the conversational implicatures as the failure of the above two property tests show. On the assumption that the reversed-causative is a type of conversational implicature, the next section concerns a sample analysis of the reversed-causative within the Gricean theory of implicature.

#### 4.3. Sample analysis

Let us examine the reversed-causative sentence in an exchange such as follows:

- (23 = 1) A: Kono syoosetu wa omoshiroi desu ka?  
 'Is this novel interesting?'  
 B: Kore wa kanari yom-ase-ru yo.  
 this TOP. quite read-CAUS.-PRES. PART.  
 '(lit.) This novel makes (people) read./  
 This is very well written.'

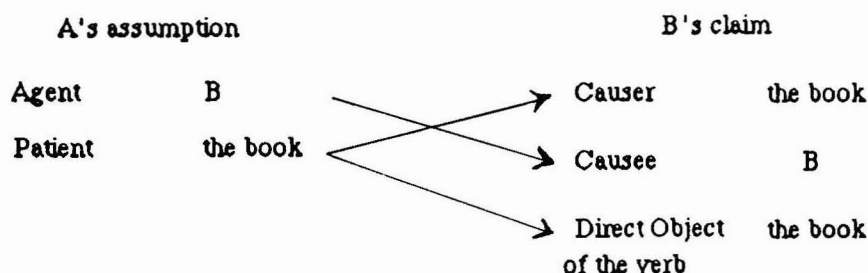
As already pointed out in the previous sections, a literal interpretation of B's reply does not make sense by itself. That is, in order for this exchange to be meaningful, the addressee A has to know what B is trying to say by means of the reversed-causative sentence.

B's reply violates two of the maxims of conversation: quality and quantity maxims. As for maxim of quality, the use of the inanimate causer and the use of the present tense does not match our knowledge of the world; an inanimate entity, especially those which are not in a dynamic state (e.g. a book, a movie, a bottle of whiskey, etc.) does not physically cause us to do something. That is, following our ordinary knowledge of the world, that an inanimate entity can be a causer is false. Moreover, the use of the present tense (RU form) indicates that the activity of reading will take place in the future, but this is not true; our knowledge of the world tells us that, for example, no matter how long one waits, a book in front of her/him does not cause her/him to read something. Meanwhile, B's reply does not give much information concerning the causee and the grammatical object of the transitive verb, which leads to the violation of maxim of quantity. The addresser entirely relies on the addressee's inference to fill in these gaps.

Let us next examine the speaker's knowledge which is required to calculate the implicature. First, the addressee (A) has to know the conventional content of the sentence, *Kore wa kanari yomaseru*. That is, at least, as a literal interpretation, A

assumes that the novel in question makes someone read something. Second, A knows the co-operative principle and its maxims. Third, A knows that s/he asked B's opinion on the novel, i.e. A expects an answer from B which expresses B's evaluation of the novel on the assumption or background knowledge that B had already read the novel and that what B read was the novel at issue. However, the utterance claims that this reading scenario needs some elaboration. This can be illustrated as follows:

(24)



That is, A must notice this reversed situation of the agent and the patient - the semantic role is completely reversed, meanwhile the patient role is still assigned to the book. In other words, A must infer from B's utterance that something happens which causes the semantic roles of each entity to change.

Then, there arises a question, why the change of the semantic roles expresses 'involvement' or 'attractiveness' of the 'causer'. It is not so unreasonable to assume that when one is engaged in a certain activity (e.g. reading a novel), s/he sometimes finds her/himself getting involved with the object (e.g. a book). We want to say it is 'involvement' because, for example, a reader can quit reading the book in question at any time voluntarily; however, what is expressed is the situation where B (or anyone) is not the agent of an independent action. Moreover, then, there must be a cause which motivates her/him to keep reading the book and it must be something which concerns the book itself or the content of the book because there is no other entity included in this scenario. We might call this cause the 'attractiveness' of the book. In other words, this 'attractiveness' causes one to keep engaged in reading. Here we notice that the initial patient is no longer just an object which plays a passive role in a certain scenario (e.g. reading scenario). As a result, the reversed-causative indirectly emphasizes this intriguing aspect of the original affected entity, which, expressed informally, seems to be related to its *raison d'être*.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the change of the semantic role, indirectly though, functions to characterize the object in question, which appears as one's evaluation, for example, when it is embedded in a

question part of answer-question schema. That is, in the case of (1), as long as B is assumed to be cooperative, the emphasis of the book's characteristic of making someone keep reading leads one to infer that it should express B's evaluation. Of course, the general characteristics of the reversed causative (e.g. its tense restriction, inanimate causer, etc.) should be included in the background knowledge, i.e. B's evaluation is done with causative form, which syntactically behaves as an adjectival. Further it should be the case that all the assumptions discussed above are known to both the addresser and the addressee.

Based on the above, A's calculation of the implicature is supposed to take the following course:

- (25) (i) B has said that *Kore wa kanari yomaseru*.
- (ii) There is no reason to think B is not observing the co-operative principle.
- (iii) In order for B to say that *Kore wa kanari yomaseru* and to be indeed observing the co-operative principle, B must think that 'this novel is well-written/interesting' (based on the inference discussed above).
- (iv) B must know that it is mutual knowledge that 'this novel is well-written/interesting' must be supposed if B is to be taken to be co-operative.
- (v) B has done nothing to stop me, the addressee (A), thinking that 'this novel is well-written/interesting'.
- (vi) Therefore, B intends me to think that 'this novel is well-written', and in saying that *Kore wa kanari yomaseru* has implicated 'this novel is well-written/interesting'.

It has been demonstrated in this section that (i) the implicature of the reversed-causative can be calculable on the basis of the maxims of conversation and our knowledge of the world, (ii) 'involvement' or 'attractiveness' especially, are the characteristics of the object which concern its *raison d'être* (e.g. a book is made to be read, a bottle of sake is for drinking, etc.), (iii) these characteristics are the cause of one's keeping on doing the action and (iv) the implicature of each reversed-causative case should be related to the nature of the object and its 'attractiveness'/'the causee's involvement'.

## 5. Summary

In this paper we have observed that the reversed-causative can be analyzed in Grice's framework of conversational implicature. Speech act theory, on the other hand, also concerns the speaker's intended meaning, however, it was indicated that because of its basic premise, it does not have an explanatory power in the case of the

special sentence type at issue. And it was also illustrated that the reversed-causative has the syntactic characteristics (no mention of the causee and the grammatical object of the main verb) and the semantic characteristics of low transitivity (fewer participants, lack of volition, etc.) and the change of the semantic roles between the agent and the affected entity. All of these characteristics should be related to the calculation of the implicature as background knowledge of the addressee.

I gratefully acknowledge helpful discussions with Kyoko Hirose Ohara on several points in this paper. And I wish to thank two anonymous readers for reading the first version of this paper and Peter Coates for correcting my English. But responsibility for the text with any surviving errors rests entirely upon the author.

## Notes

1 As later discussions reveal, this type of sentence involves the reversed semantic roles of the agent/causer and the affected object/causee.

2 Although it is necessary for the addressee to identify the referent of the referring expression *kore* 'this', this is irrelevant to the main subject.

3 Other possible candidates (given in relative clause forms) are: *mutyuuni saseru syoosetu* 'the novel which makes people get absorbed', *kowagaraseru hanasi* 'the story which scares people', *hurueagaraseru hanasi* 'the story which scares people', *sinmiri saseru hanasi* 'a touching story', *iradataseru taido* 'the attitude which makes people irritated', etc.

4 Comrie (1989) observes that some languages omit mention of the causee from the causative construction; they deal especially with causatives of transitive verbs. However, there is no report of the cases being considered here where the grammatical object of the transitive verb is omitted.

5 I would like to thank Kyoko Hirose Ohara for calling my attention to an example such as:

[yom -ase -ru] sakka  
read -CAUS.-PRES. novelist 'a novelist who impresses people'

where the expression of the (social?) role of a person can be the head of the RC.

6 It seems that the judgement of the sentences in (11) varies from speaker to speaker; however, the RC counterparts of these sentences are much less acceptable than these:

(i) [yom-ase-ta] hon  
read-CAUS.-PAST book  
(e.g. ?? *Yamada-san ni kanari yomaseta hon o kasita*  
'I lent a well-written/ interesting book to Mr. Yamada.')

(ii) [nak -ase -ta] eega  
cry -CAUS.-PAST. film  
(e.g. ?? *Kinoo kanari nakaseta eega o mita*  
'I saw a touching movie yesterday.')



7 In the chart, A stands for Agent and O for a grammatical object.

8 For the general discussion of tense, see Comrie (1985). Teramura (1971) provides a detailed discussion of the Japanese past tense. See Teramura (1982) for further elaboration of this study. See Nakau (1980) for a good overview of tense in Japanese and English.

9 As the essential condition shows, these felicity conditions are written on the assumption that the reversed-causative is used to provide required information, e.g. an exchange such as (1). Of course, there are other possibilities in which this type of sentence can be used (e.g. monologue); however, because of the limitation of this paper, I should restrict myself to the case like (1). For detailed discussion of the application of the speech act theory to discourse analysis, see Schiffrin (forthcoming).

10 Actually, Levinson shows a third possibility to account for indirect speech act, the view which totally abandons the premise that all the sentences have literal forces. To simplify the discussion I do not refer to this view in the text.

11 For example, in Gordon & Lakoff's (1971) conversational postulate theory, it is claimed that one's saying something is counted as his believing something. Thus, their 'speaker-based' sincerity condition is formulated as follows:

SINCERE (a, say (a, b, Q)) >> BELIEVE (a, Q)

(i.e. that a speaker, *a*, sincerely says something, *Q*, to *b* means that *a* believes *Q*) However, this 'speaker-based' sincerity condition and the corresponding postulate do not explain why saying something is counted as a statement of evaluation. In other words, because (i) this explanation does not consider a context in which an utterance is used and (ii) it does not include the hearer's inference process, we cannot specify a particular function of an utterance in a context (e.g. question and answer).

12 Raison d'être may not be an appropriate word. I mean in this context, for example, that when we compare *yomaseru hon* 'interesting book' and \**kawaseru hon* '(lit.) a book which make people buy it (= the book)', the reason for the unacceptability of the latter example must be its unrelatedness to the typical reading scenario where a book plays an indispensable role.

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## 論文要旨

### Reversed-causative

金 城 克 哉

日本語の使役表現は伝統文法・生成文法両面からこれまで様々な分析がなされてきたが、その多くは統語・形態の研究に偏るきらいがあり、意味論・語用論の立場からの分析はそう多くはないというのが現状である。この論文ではこれまでふれられることのなかった「この映画はすごく泣かせる」というタイプの使役表現に焦点をあて、意味・語用の分析が使役文の意味解釈に不可欠であることを論じる。このタイプの使役文は通常の使役表現とはかなり異なる Agent-patient の交代や被使役者が現れない等の特徴を持つ。ここではこれらの文の中核をなす使役表現自体が形容詞的性質を持つものであることを指摘し、どのように聞き手がこのような文を理解するのかをグライスの理論的枠組みを用いて論じる。