[P-22]

Not always introducing arguments: the syntax of high-applicative constructions in Japanese

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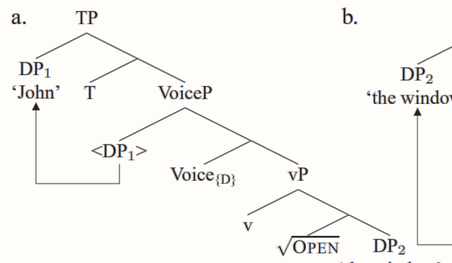
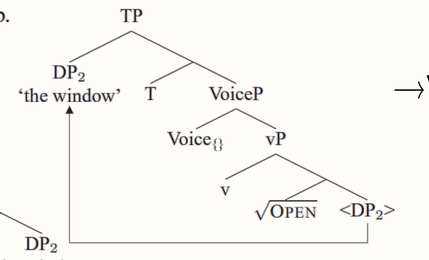
Introduction

- **Big question**: some projections have a spec, while other don't. Why?
- **Literature**: Researchers in Distributed Morphology hypothesize that there is an acategorial D-feature requiring an NP (Schäfer 2008, Wood 2015, Wood & Marantz 2017).

(1) a. 

b. 

→**Voice, p, low-appl**

- **Prediction**: there should exist a high-applicative without a specifier.
- **Problem**: This prediction apparently contradicts the common assumption that applicatives introduce an EA (Pylkkänen 2008).
- **Claim**: Examining the two Japanese high-applicative constructions, we show that this prediction is in fact borne out: **some applicatives fail to do so** (Y&N 2023).

Data: *-te kure* vs. *-te moraw*

Observation 1: Overtness of the beneficiary (Y&N 2023:248–249; cf. Nakatani 2014)

(2) a. *Taro-ga hasit-ta.*
Taro-NOM run-PST
'Taro ran.'

b. *Hanako-ga Taro-ni hasir-**te** **morat**-ta.*
Hanako-NOM Taro-DAT run-CV HA-PST
'Taro ran, which benefactively affected Hanako.'

(3) a. *Taro-ga hasit-ta.*
Taro-NOM run-PST
'Taro ran.'

b. *Taro-ga (*Hanako-ni) hasir-**te** **kure**-ta.*
Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT run-CV HA-PST
'Taro ran, which benefactively affected Hanako.'

Observation 2: Case assignment (Y&N 2023:249–251)

(4) a. *John-**ga** Tom-**ni** hasit- -**te** **morat**-ta.*
John-NOM Tom-DAT run -CV APPL-PST
'Tom ran for John, from which I benefited.'

b. *Tom-**ga** hasit -**te kure**-ta.*
Tom-ACC run-CV APPL-PST
'Tom ran, from which I benefited.'

(5) a. *John-**ga** Mary-**ni** Tom-**o** hasir-**ase**-**te** **morat**-ta.*
John-NOM Mary-DAT Tom-ACC run-CAUS-CV APPL-PST
'Mary let Tom run for John, from which I benefited.'

b. *Mary-**ga** Tom-**o** hasir-**ase**-**te kure**-ta.*
Mary-NOM Tom-ACC run-CV APPL-PST
'Mary let Tom run, from which I benefited.'

Observation 3: Point-of-View restriction

(6) a. *John-**ga** {*watasi/anata/kare}-**ni** hasit- -**te** **morat**-ta.*
John-NOM I/you/he-DAT run -CV APPL-PST
'{*I/you/he} ran for John, from which I benefited.'

b. *{*watasi/anata/kare}-**ga** hasit -**te kure**-ta.*
I/you/he-ACC run-CV APPL-PST
'{*I/you/he} ran, from which I benefited.'

(7) a. *John-**ga** {*watasi/anata/kare}-**ni** Tom-**o** hasir-**ase**-**te** **morat**-ta.*
John-NOM I/you/he-DAT Tom-ACC run-CAUS-CV APPL-PST
'{*I/you/he} let Tom run for John, from which I benefited.'

b. *{*watasi/anata/kare}-**ga** Tom-**o** hasir-**ase**-**te kure**-ta.*
I/you/he-NOM Tom-ACC run-CV APPL-PST
'{*I/you/he} let Tom run, from which I benefited.'

Observation 4: Volitionality

(8) a. *Musiba-ga katteni naot-ta.*
cavity-NOM on its own heal-PST
'Cavities healed themselves.'

b. *Musiba-ga katteni naot-**te** **kure**-ta.*
cavity-NOM on its own heal-CV APPL-PST
'Cavities healed themselves, from which I benefited.'

c. *?*John-ga musiba-ni katteni naot-**te** **morat**-ta.*
John-NOM cavity-DAT on its own heal-CV APPL-PST
'John had cavities heal themselves, from which I benefited.'

Observation 5: Idiom test

(9) a. *Kankodori-ga nai-ta.*
cuckoo-NOM sing-PST
Reading 1: 'A cuckoo sang.' (Literal reading)
Reading 2: 'A depression started.' (Idiom)

b. *Kankodori-ga nai-**te** **kure**-ta.*
cuckoo-NOM sing-CV APPL-PST
Reading 1: 'A cuckoo sang, from which I benefited.' (Literal reading)
Reading 2: 'A depression started, from which I benefited.' (Idiom)

c. *John-ga kankodori-ni nai-**te** **morat**-ta.*
John-NOM cuckoo-DAT sing-CV APPL-PST
Reading 1: 'John had a cuckoo sing, from which I benefited.' (Literal reading)
*Reading 2: 'John had a depression start, from which I benefited.' (Idiom)

Observation 6: Honorification

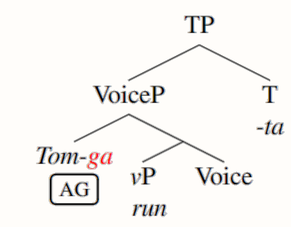
(10) Watasi-ga {*doroboo/sensei}-ni hasit-te **itadai**-ta.
I-NOM thief/teacher-DAT run-CV APPL$_H$.OH-PST
'The {*thief/teacher} ran, from which I benefitted.'

(11) {*Doroboo/sensei}-ga hasit-te **kudasat**-ta.
thief/teacher-NOM run-CV APPL$_H$.SH-PST
'The {*thief/teacher} ran, from which I benefitted.'

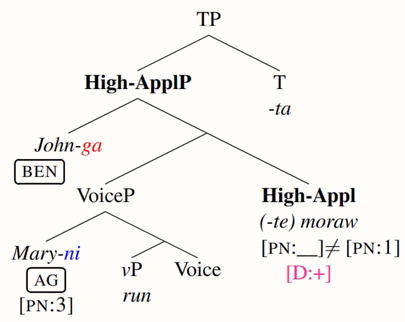
Analysis & Support

Y&N (2023)

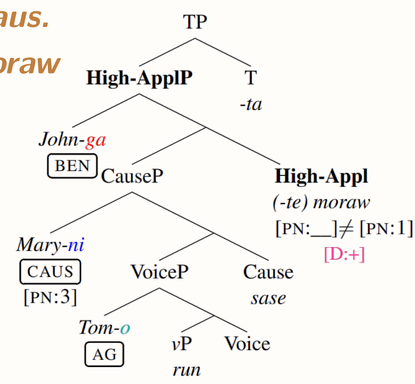
A *Transitive*



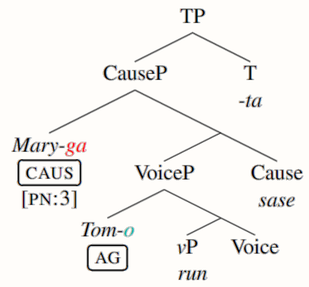
B *-temoraw*



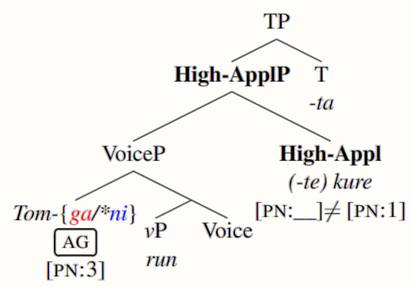
C *Caus. -temoraw*



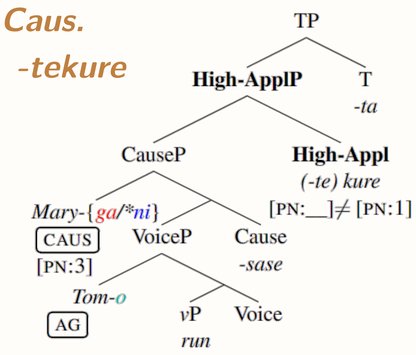
D *Caus.*



E *-te kure*



F *Caus. -tekure*



- (Obs 1) Specifier: [D : +] (Wood 2015; Wood & Marantz 2017)
- (Obs 2) Case assignment:

Head	Spec	EM/IM	Case	θ-role
T:	[D:+]	IM	Nom	*
High-Appl (*-te kure*):	*	*	*	*
High-Appl (*-te moraw*):	[D:+]	EM	Dat	Ben
Cause:	[D:+]	EM	Acc	Causer
Voice$_{active}$:	[D:+]	EM	Acc	Agent
Voice$_{passive}$:	*	*	*	*

- (Obs 3) Person restriction: **ϕ-feature agreement** (in an apparently ϕ-defective language)
  1. There are two—unvalued and valued —person features in High-Appl.
  2. The unvalued feature agrees with the value of the matched NP.
  3. These two features are to be distinct. (Pancheva & Zubizarreta 2018)
- (Obs 4/5) Volitionality: AG is also assigned to the NP it firstly downward probes.
- (Obs 6) Honorification: Downward agreement via HON (the same as (Obs 3))

Relation between a specifier and Case assignment

(12) **Burzio's Generalization**: (Burzio 1986:178)
A verb can assign an ACC case to an object iff it can assign a θ-role to the subject.

(13) **Extended Burzio's Generalization (EBG)**
a. A functional head can assign a Case to the NP it down-agrees with iff it is equipped with [D+] (= it has a specifier).
b. Internal Merge is triggered when the head is inept at assigning a theta-role to its specifier.

Crosslinguistic View: Wide Distribution of Appl Introducing No Argument

- EGB is applicable crosslinguistiaclly: [±D] is a syn-sem feature. Cf.Narrow Syntax

(14) **Swahili** (Marten 2003: 215)
a. Juma a-li-va-a kanzu
Juma SCD1-PST-wear-FV kanzu
'Juma was wearing a Kanzu'

b. Juma a-li-val-**i**-a { nguo rasmi / *kanzu }
Juma SCD1-PST-wear-**APPL**-FV clothes official kanzu
'Juma was dressed up in official/formal clothes'

(15) **Standard Javanese** (Vander Klok & Evans 2022: 449) qtd.in (Sumarlam 2004: 70, 74)
a. Tono ng-antem Toni
Tono AV-hit Toni
'Tono hit Toni.'

b. Tono ng-antem-**i** Toni (*sepisan)
Tono AV-HIT-**APPL** Toni one time
'Tono hit Toni { multiple times / *once }'.

(16) **Besemah** (Truong & McDonnell 2022: 426)
a. Aku tadi ng-alih kawe
1SG earlier AV-move coffee
'I moved the coffee beans'

b. Aku tadi ng-alih-**ka** kawe
1SG earlier AV-move-**APPL** coffee
Readings: a. *in the same location* / **b.** *to another location.*

CONCLUSION: High-ApplP Introducing No DP & Burzio's Generalization Revisited

- Argument Introducers like High-Appl can introduce no argument: Japanese *te kure*.
  → *te kure* is passivized *te moraw* (Y&N (2023)). The distinction results from [±D] (Wood 2015).
- Argument Introduction ([±D]) is directly connected with Case assignment: EBG
- EBG is also applicable to ApplP with no EA in languages other than Japanese.

Burzio, L. 1986. *Italian syntax: A government-binding approach*. •Marten, L. 2003. The Dynamics of Bantu Applied Verbs: An Analysis at the Syntax Pragmatics Interface. •Pylkkänen, L. 2008. *Introducing Arguments*.•Schäfer, F. 2008. *The Syntax of (Anti-)Causatives*. •Sumarlam. 2004. *Aspektualitas Bahasa Jawa*. [Javanese aspect]. •Truong, C. L. & B. McDonnell 2022. Neglected functions of western Indonesian applicatives •Vander Klok, J. & B. Evans 2022. *-i* suffixation in Javanese and neighboring languages •Wood, J. 2015. *Icelandic morphosyntax and argument structure*. •Wood, J. & A. Marantz 2017. The interpretation of external arguments.•Yamada, A. and T. Nagano 2023. The 'passivized' high applicative construction in Japanese.