

Doubly-oriented secondary predicates in Japanese

Introduction: There are quirky adjectival secondary predicates in Japanese that appear with transitive activity verbs and describe the property of the object argument perceived by the subject argument, as shown in (1) (the adjectives are bold-faced):

- (1) a. Boku-wa sono ronbun-o **omosi**ro-ku yon-da. [DSP]
 I-Top that paper-Acc interesting-Aff read-Past
 -I read the paper and found it interesting.∅
 b. Taroo-wa sono sakana-o **oisi**-ku tabe-ta.
 Taro-Top that fish-Acc delicious-Aff eat-Past
 -Taro ate the fish and found it delicious.∅

These secondary predicates are different from standard depictive and resultative predicates, which are construed with either the subject or the object argument, but not both. Rather, the thematic interpretation of the adjectives in (1) is close to the one found with the adjectives predicated of the object NPs of epistemic verbs in (2):

- (2) a. Boku-wa sono ronbun-o **omosi**ro-ku omot-ta. [EV]
 I-Top that paper-Acc interesting-Aff think-Past
 -I thought the paper to be interesting.∅
 b. Taroo-wa sono sakana-o **oisi**-ku kanzi-ta.
 Taro-Top that fish-Acc delicious-Aff feel-Past
 -Taro felt the fish to be delicious.∅

Though the object and the adjective are often claimed to compose a small clause in (2), it is unlikely that they have such a structure in (1) given the meanings of the verbs. I argue that the adjective and the verb form a complex predicate in (1) extending a comparable analysis of (2) proposed by Hoshi and Sugioka (2009; hereafter H&S). We call the frames in (1) the doubly-oriented secondary predicate constructions (DSPs) and those in (2) the epistemic verb constructions (EVs).

Basic data: Those adjectives that appear in DSPs can realize their experiencer argument overtly with a postposition when they occur as the primary predicate, as shown in (3):

- (3) Kodomotati-nitotte sono hon-ga **omosi**ro-i (koto)
 children-for that book-Nom interesting-Pres fact
 -(the fact that) the book is interesting for the children∅

However, the experiencer argument cannot appear overtly in DSPs and must be interpreted as referring to the same individual as the subject of the verb, as shown in (4):

- (4) Taroo-wa (*kodomotati-nitotte) sono hon-o **omosi**ro-ku yon-da.
 Taro-Top children-for that book-Acc interesting-Aff read-Past
 -Taro read the book and found it interesting (for him/*for children).∅

These facts indicate that the experiencer argument of the adjective is obligatorily controlled by the subject of the verb in DSPs.

Analysis: In their analysis of restructuring constructions in Japanese, Saito and Hoshi (1998) propose that complex predicates can be formed in syntax by directly adjoining one head to another before either head is projected, as shown in (5), where X is adjoined to Y:

- (5) [_{YP} WP [_{Y∅} ZP [_Y X-Y]]]

They claim that either head X or Y can assign theta-roles to WP and ZP in the projection of Y in (5). Moreover, when Y is an obligatory control verb, the controlled theta-role of X is

absorbed by the theta-role assigned to the subject of Y (without the mediation of PRO). Extending this analysis to adjunct control, i.e., control of the subject of an adjunct predicate, I propose that DSPs also involve the complex predicate structure in (5) with the adjective adjoined to the verb, as shown in (6). The object NP generated in VP is assigned the theme role from V and secondarily from A. The experiencer role of A is absorbed by the agent role of V and assigned to the subject NP:

- (6) Taroo-wa [VP [NP sono hon]-o [V [A omosiro-ku] [v yon]]]-da
 Taro-Top that book-Acc interesting-Aff read-Past
 Exp -----> Agent

H&S argue that EVs (i.e., (2)) involve a complex predicate structure comparable to (6).

Evidence: The adjectives in DSPs consistently appear to the right of VP-internal elements in their unmarked word order. For example, the adjectives follow a floating quantifier (FQ) associated with the object NP (see (7a)) but cannot intervene between the object and the FQ (see (7b)) (FQs are in italics). By contrast, manner adverbs can appear between the object and the FQ (see (7c)):

- (7) a. Taroo-wa hon-o *ni-satu* **omosiro-ku** yon-da.
 Taro-Top book-Acc 2-Cl interesting-Aff read-Past
 -Taro read two books and found them interesting.∅
 b. * Taroo-wa hon-o **omosiro-ku** *ni-satu* yon-da.
 Taro-Top book-Acc interesting-Aff 2-Cl read-Past
 c. Taroo-wa hon-o **subaya-ku** *ni-satu* yon-da.
 Taro-Top book-Acc quick-Aff 2-Cl read-Past
 -Taro read two books quickly.∅

I also note that the adjectives in DSPs show the same distribution as those in (7a,b) relative to depictive secondary predicates associated with object NPs. These facts indicate that the adjectives are generated in the lowest position in VP, which supports the analysis in (6).

Implications: A question arises as to why the complex predication formation is forced in DSPs and EVs. It is notable that the adjectives occurring in these constructions accompany the suffix *oku* or *oni* (in some EVs) which are also found with adverbs derived from adjectives (e.g., the adverb in (7c)) (Nishiyama 1999). It is known that adjectives in English cannot function as predicates by themselves if they become adverbs followed by *oly* (e.g., The reading of the verdict was slow/*slowly.) (Rothstein 2004). I claim that the Japanese adjectives with *oku* or *oni* are comparable to *-ly* adverbs in this respect and they need to be supported by another predicate in order to be predicated of NPs. Furthermore, I explore the possibility that this analysis applies to resultative adjectives in Japanese, which also have *oku* or *oni* ending, and accounts for the semantic relationships between resultatives and verbs observed by Washio (1997).

References:

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