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Personal-taste secondary predicates: Why they are found in Japanese and not in English*

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Abstract

Adjectives that describe personal tastes like *omosiro(i)* ‘interesting’ and *oisi(i)* ‘tasty’ can occur as secondary predicates associated with the object of a verb in Japanese, whereas comparable adjectives in English cannot. Given the hypothesis that oblique experiencer arguments must move to Spec,TP, it is proposed that the difference between the two languages is attributed to a difference in the availability of a position to which those arguments selected by the adjectives move. Those adjectives in Japanese can occur in a subordinate clause involving TP without an overt copula, allowing their experiencer to move to Spec,TP in their own clause. However, those in English cannot, forcing their experiencer to move to Spec,TP in the matrix clause in violation of the adjunct condition. Furthermore, it is suggested that the subordinate clause containing those secondary predicates in Japanese may involve a null operator that mediates a predication relation with the matrix object.

Keywords: adjective, secondary predicate, experiencer, quirky subject, TP, implicit argument

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1. Introduction

Adjectives in Japanese can serve as secondary predicates that describe a personal taste or subjective judgment of the referent of the verb's object when they occur in the nonfinite form, taking the suffix *-ku*.¹ For example, *omoshiroku* 'interesting' in (1a) describes a taste of the book that I had when I read it. We call this kind of secondary predicate personal-taste secondary predicate (henceforth, PSP):

- (1) a. Boku-wa hon-o omosiro-ku yon-da.
I-TOP book-ACC interesting-AFF read-PST
'I read the book [finding it] interesting.'
- b. John-wa sakana-o oisi-ku tabe-ta.
John-TOP fish-ACC tasty-AFF eat-PST
'John ate the fish [considering it] tasty.'
- c. Mary-wa purezento-o arigata-ku uketot-ta.
Mary-TOP present-ACC welcome-AFF receive-PST
'Mary received the present [considering it] welcome.'

Adjectives that serve as PSPs other than those in (1) include *kyoomibukaku* 'interesting', *natukasiku* 'nostalgic, familiar', *itoosiku* 'lovable', *nagekawasiku* 'pitiful', *tumaranaku* 'dull', *uttoosiku* 'annoying', *wazurawasiku* 'troublesome, annoying' (see Sugioka 2014). We refer to this kind of adjective that describes a personal taste as personal-taste adjective (henceforth, PA).

PSPs are distinguished from familiar depictive and resultative secondary predicates in terms of their interpretations. It is obvious that PSPs are not resultatives; they do not describe a state of the object referent that results from the event denoted by the verb ((1a) does not mean that the book became interesting as a result of my reading it). Moreover, while standard depictives denote a temporal state of the subject or object referent that

¹ Japanese adjectives under discussion inflect for tense without an overt copula (see (4) and section 3 for examples of their finite forms). I leave open the question of what exactly the syntactic category of the suffix *-ku* is. Although there are also adjectives in Japanese, called nominal adjectives, which are accompanied by an overt inflecting copula, they are beyond the scope of the present study. See Nishiyama (1999) for morphological properties of these two kinds of adjectives in Japanese.

holds at the time of the event, PSPs describe permanent or inherent properties of the object referent which are independent of the event ((1b) does not exactly mean that the fish was tasty when John ate it).

The special character of PSPs is revealed by the fact that PAs in English cannot occur as PSPs. Thus, word-by-word translation of the examples in (1) into English yields ungrammatical sentences, as shown in (2), which is also noted by Miyakoshi (2009):²

- (2) a. * I read the book interesting.
 b. * John ate the fish tasty.
 c. * Mary received the present welcome/precious.

Given that adjectives in English make fine depictives or resultatives, this fact suggests that PSPs are distinguished from those familiar secondary predicates.

PSPs have received little attention in the generative literature. In particular, as far as I know, no serious attempt has been made to account for why they are found in Japanese and not in English. This paper proposes an analysis of this fact as follows. PAs select two arguments, experiencer and theme, in both English and Japanese. When PAs occur as the matrix predicate, the theme becomes the nominative argument, while the experiencer appears in a PP in both languages. The PP is headed by *for* or *to* in English, as shown in (3), and by *nitotte* ‘for’ in Japanese, as shown in (4):

- (3) a. The movie was amusing to Mary.
 b. The game was exciting for John.

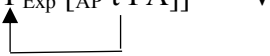
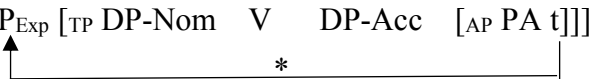
- (4) a. Sono hon-ga kodomotati-nitotte omosiro-kat-ta.
 that book-NOM children-for interesting-AFF-PST
 ‘The book was interesting to children.’

² The examples in (2) are still ungrammatical even if the adjectives are replaced with their adverbial counterparts, as shown in (i):

- (i) a. * I read the book interestingly.
 b. * John ate the fish tastily.
 c. * Mary received the present preciously.

- b. Purezento-ga Mary-nitotte arigata-kat-ta.
 present-NOM Mary-for welcome-AFF-PST
 (Lit.) ‘The present was welcome to Mary.’

Although the two arguments may not be realized overtly when PAs occur as PSPs, as we see in (1), they are assumed to be present in the syntactic representation. It is claimed by Landau (2010) that experiencer PPs selected by psych predicates like PAs must raise to Spec,TP in all languages. There are facts indicating that those PPs selected by PAs move to Spec,TP in both English and Japanese when the PAs occur as matrix predicates. A difference arises between the two languages when PAs appear as secondary predicates, that is, as PSPs. I argue that Japanese PAs in the nonfinite form can project their own clause involving TP; the experiencer of the PAs then raises to Spec,TP of the subordinate clause, as shown in (5a). However, bare PAs in English cannot construct a clause involving TP; their experiencer then needs to move to Spec,TP of the matrix clause, as shown in (5b):

- (5) a. [_{TP} DP-Nom DP-Acc [_{TP} PP_{Exp} [_{AP} t PA]] V] (Japanese)

- b. [_{TP} PP_{Exp} [_{TP} DP-Nom V DP-Acc [_{AP} PA t]]] (English)


The movement of the PP in (5b) violates the adjunct condition given that the AP from which the PP moves out is an adjunct. By contrast, the PP moves locally within an adjunct clause in (5a). I claim that this is the reason why PAs can occur as PSPs in Japanese, but not in English.

The present paper also addresses the question of how the experiencer and the theme of PAs are interpreted when they occur as implicit arguments of PSPs in an adjunct clause. Noting that the interpretations of those arguments are parallel to those involved in object purpose clauses in English, it is suggested that the experiencer is a non-obligatory controlled PRO, while the theme is a null operator that is associated with the object of the matrix verb.

The discussion is organized as follows. In section 2, I give a review of Landau’s (2010) analysis of oblique experiencers. In section 3, I present evidence that the experiencer PP of PAs raises to Spec,TP when they occur as matrix predicates. In section 4, I argue that PAs in Japanese are in a subordinate clause involving TP when they occur

as PSPs. In section 5, I provide data indicating that bare adjectives in English cannot occur in their own clause involving TP. In section 6, I consider the interpretations of implicit arguments of PSPs. Concluding remarks are given in section 7.

2. Experiencers as quirky subjects: Landau (2010)

It is proposed by Landau (2010) that non-nominative experiencer arguments universally occur in a PP which may be headed by a lexical or null P; they are then assigned inherent case by P. Furthermore, he contends that all of those experiencer PPs must raise to Spec,TP overtly or covertly. He notes that it is found across languages that experiencers bearing inherent case occur as quirky subjects. For example, an accusative experiencer occurs in a preverbal position in a Greek sentence in (6a), whereas a dative experiencer does so in a Spanish sentence in (6b):

- (6) a. Ton Petro ton endhiaferum ta mathimatika.
 the Peter.ACC cl.ACC interest the mathematics.NOM
 ‘Mathematics interests Peter.’

(Landau 2010: 81, cited from Anagnostopoulou 1999)

- b. A Marcos le gusta la música coral.
 to Mark cl.DAT likes the music choral
 ‘Mark likes choral music.’

(Landau 2010: 83, cited from Masullo 1992)

It is argued in the literature that the experiencers in these examples are not left-dislocated arguments but genuine subjects (Masullo 1992, Anagnostopoulou 1999).

Moreover, Landau (2010) indicates that non-nominative experiencers that do not surface as the subject also exhibit subject properties. For example, it is well-known in the literature in Relational Grammar that those experiencers may control into various types of nonfinite adjunct clauses; they are parallel to nominative subjects in this respect, distinguished from accusative or dative nonexperiencer arguments (Perlmutter 1984, Legendre 1989). This is illustrated in the following examples in French, which does not allow overt quirky subjects:

- (7) a. [PRO_{1/*2} remis sur pied], son mari₁ manque à Yolande₂.
 re-put.M on foot her husband misses to Yolande
 ‘Once recovered, Yolande misses her husband.’

- b. [PRO_{*1/2} remise sur pied], son mari₁ manque à Yolande₂.
 re-put.F on foot her husband misses to Yolande
 ‘Once recovered, Yolande misses her husband.’
- (8) a. [PRO_{1/*2} remis sur pied], son mari₁ s’adresse à Yolande₂.
 re-put.M on foot her husband addressed to Yolande
 ‘Once recovered, her husband addressed Yolande.’
- b. * [PRO_{1/2} remise sur pied], son mari₁ s’adresse à Yolande₂.
 re-put.F on foot her husband addressed to Yolande
 ‘Once recovered, her husband addressed Yolande.’
- (9) a. [PRO₁ admis au gouvernement], son revenu a enchanté Pierre₁.
 admitted to-the government, his income has delighted Pierre
 ‘Admitted to the government, his income delighted Pierre.’
- b. * [PRO₁ admis au gouvernement], son revenu a enrichi Pierre₁.
 admitted to-the government, his income has enriched Pierre
 ‘Admitted to the government, his income enriched Pierre.’

(Landau 2010: 96)

The examples in (7) show that either the nominative subject or the dative experiencer in a postverbal position may control, depending on the participial agreement in the adjunct. However, when the dative argument is a goal, only the nominative subject may control, as illustrated in (8). It is also shown in (9) that an accusative experiencer may control, whereas an accusative nonexperiencer may not.

Landau (2010) argues that the privileged status of these object experiencers as controllers is attributed to their raising to the subject position at LF. He assumes that the adjuncts in the examples from (7) to (9) are adjoined to some projection of T. Then possible controllers of the adjuncts are restricted to the DPs that occupy Spec,TP since it is the only A-position that c-commands (or m-commands) a TP-adjunct. Landau claims that in (7) and (9a), the nominative theme as the surface subject raises to Spec,TP overtly, and the dative or accusative experiencer raises to a second Spec,TP at LF, yielding a multiple specifier configuration, as illustrated in (10) for (7):

- (10) [TP [PRO_{1/2} remis(e) sur pied] [TP [PP à Yolande₂]_j [TP [DP son mari₁]_i manque_{V-T} [VP t_i t_v t_j]]]]

Given that object nonexperiencers do not raise to the subject position, it is correctly predicted that only surface subjects and object experiencers can be controllers of the adjuncts from (7) to (9).

As regards the trigger for object experiencer raising at LF, Landau (2010) suggests that it is semantically motivated. Non-nominative experiencers are assumed to occur in a PP headed by a lexical or null P, as noted above. He attributes the conception of experiencers as mental locations, in particular, containers or destinations of mental states/effects (see Jackendoff 1990, Bouchard 1995, Baker 1997), to the presence of P. Given that T serves as the spatiotemporal anchor of the clause, all locative and temporal descriptions in the clause must form a semantic relation with T; for that purpose, those descriptions are required to be a sister to T in syntax.³ Landau claims that locative arguments including experiencers raise to Spec,TP to satisfy this requirement.⁴

Landau (2010) provides examples indicating that experiencer PPs selected by PAs in English also undergo raising to Spec,TP at LF. In particular, he notes that PAs cannot undergo reflexivization, which is originally observed by Postal (1971), as shown in (11):

- (11) a. * I am amusing to myself.
 b. * I was irritating to myself.
 c. * I am loathsome to myself. (Postal 1971: 47, Landau 2010: 110)

It is assumed under Landau's analysis that the theme subjects move overtly from the complement position of A to the first Spec,TP, whereas the experiencer PPs move covertly from Spec,AP to a second Spec,TP, as illustrated in (12) for (11a):

³ Landau (2010) suggests that the semantic relation held between spatiotemporal descriptions and T may be predication or functional application, which applies to elements in a sister relation in syntax (Heim and Kratzer 1998).

⁴ Landau (2010) proposes that non-nominative experiencers universally raise to Spec,TP. They can undergo the raising overtly in some languages like Greek and Spanish, as we saw in (6), whereas they can do so only at LF in other languages including French and English. Landau suggests that this difference is due to a filter applying at PF which specifies the morphological case required of subjects in the language.

(12) [TP [PP to myself]₁ [TP [DP I]₂ am_{V-T} [VP t_V [AP t₁ amusing t₂]]]] (= (11a))

Given that two specifiers of the same head are structurally nondistinct, Landau assumes that the overt specifier and the LF specifier mutually c-command each other. Then the pronoun in the first Spec,TP binds the reflexive in the second Spec,TP, fulfilling Condition A. However, the reflexive also binds the pronoun in this structure, violating Condition C. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (11) then lends support to the hypothesis that experiencer PPs obligatorily undergo raising to Spec,TP.⁵

3. PAs occurring as matrix predicates in Japanese

With Landau's (2010) analysis of experiencer PPs in mind, we now consider the experiencer selected by PAs that occur as matrix predicates in Japanese. I argue that it undergoes obligatory raising to Spec,TP at LF, as predicted from Landau's study. It is also observed that the nominative theme of those PAs remains in its base position in AP.

It is known that the reflexive *zibun* 'self' in Japanese has subject orientation; its antecedent must be in a structural subject position (Shibatani 1978, Katada 1991). If we consider sentences involving a PA as the matrix predicate in Japanese, it is observed that the experiencer argument can serve as the antecedent of *zibun* embedded in the theme argument regardless of the surface order between the two arguments, as shown in (13):

- (13) a. John_i-nitotte [zibun_i-nituite-no hanasi]-ga omosiro-kat-ta.
 John-for self-about-GEN story-NOM interesting-AFF-PST
 'A story about himself was interesting to John.'
- b. [Zibun_i-no hurusato]-ga Mary_i-nitotte natukasi-kat-ta.
 self-GEN hometown-NOM Mary-for nostalgic-AFF-PST
 'Mary felt nostalgic for her hometown.'

⁵ One might wonder whether the examples in (11) cannot satisfy both conditions A and C by only reconstructing the experiencer PP to its base position, leaving the theme in the subject position. Landau (2010: 112ff.) suggests that such a "partial" reconstruction is impossible when the elements moved to the specifiers of the same head are coindexed, noting that those elements are indistinguishable in terms of both their structural position and index.

By contrast, the theme cannot bind *zibun* contained in the experiencer regardless of the surface order between the two arguments, as shown in (14):

- (14) a. * John_i-ga [zibun_i-no yuuzintati]-nitotte omosiro-kat-ta.
 John-NOM self-GEN friends-for funny-AFF-PST
 ‘John was funny to his friends.’
- b. * [Zibun_i-no seitotati]-nitotte Yamada-sensei_i-ga natukasi-kat-ta.
 self-GEN students-for Yamada-teacher-NOM nostalgic-AFF-PST
 ‘His students felt nostalgic for Professor Yamada.’

These facts suggest that the experiencer is in the subject position though it is accompanied by the postposition *nitotte*. By contrast, the theme is not in the subject position though it is marked by nominative case.

This view is supported by the distribution of the formal noun *koto* ‘fact’. It is noted in the Japanese literature that *koto* can attach to the object, that is, the complement, of a transitive adjective without carrying its lexical meaning of ‘fact, matter’, but not to the subject (see Sasaguri 1999, Takano 2003, Kishimoto 2005). The formal noun can be added to the theme of PAs, as shown in (15):

- (15) a. John-nitotte Mary(-no koto)-ga itoosi-kat-ta.
 John-for Mary-GEN fact-NOM lovable-AFF-PST
 ‘Mary was lovable to John.’
- b. Seitotati-nitotte Yamada-sensei(-no koto)-ga natukasi-kat-ta.
 students-for Yamada-teacher-GEN fact-NOM nostalgic-AFF-PST
 ‘Students felt nostalgic for Professor Yamada.’

However, *koto* cannot attach to the experiencer, as shown in (16):

- (16) a. John(*-no koto)-nitotte Mary-ga itoosi-kat-ta.
 John-GEN fact-for Mary-NOM lovable-AFF-PST
 ‘Mary was lovable to John.’
- b. Seitotati(*-no koto)-nitotte Yamada-sensei-ga natukasi-kat-ta.
 students-GEN fact-for Yamada-teacher-NOM nostalgic-AFF-PST
 ‘Students felt nostalgic for Professor Yamada.’

Thus, these examples indicate that the theme of PAs, but not the experiencer, is the complement of PAs.

The above facts suggest that the experiencer rather than the theme is the subject of PAs. However, the experiencer does not behave like a subject with respect to honorification, which is another standard diagnostic for subjecthood in Japanese. It has been observed in the Japanese literature (Harada 1976, Shibatani 1978) that honorification of adjectives is triggered by the subject, but not by a non-subject argument, as shown in the examples in (17) involving an adjective other than PA:

- (17) a. Yamada-sensei-ga seitotati-ni (o)-yasasi-ku-te irassyat-ta.
 Yamada-teacher-NOM students-DAT HON-kind-AFF-Te be.HON-PST
 ‘Professor Yamada was kind to students.’
- b. * Seitotati-ga Yamada-sensei-ni (o)-yasasi-ku-te irassyat-ta.
 students-NOM Yamada-teacher-DAT HON-kind-AFF-Te be.HON-PST
 ‘Students were kind to Professor Yamada.’

It is assumed that this honorification involves agreement between the morphological form of an adjective and an argument in subject position (Kishimoto 2005, Hasegawa 2006).⁶

Now let us consider honorification of PAs. It can be triggered neither by the experiencer, as shown in (18), nor by the theme, as shown in (19), regardless of the order between the two arguments:⁷

⁶ Honorification of adjectives is morphologically marked by the prefix *o-*, the verbal ending *-te irassyar-u*, which involves a suppletive honorific form of the verb *ir-u* ‘be’, or the combination of these (see Hasegawa 2006).

⁷ Hideki Kishimoto (personal communication) informed me that some PAs occurring as matrix predicates may have their experiencer marked by dative particle *-ni* instead of the postposition *nitotte*, and the dative experiencer may trigger honorification of those PAs. He also noted that the experiencer can only be marked by *nitotte* when those PAs occur as PSPs. Although the present paper focuses on the experiencer marked by *nitotte*, which is the one involved in the PSP construction, further research will be needed to understand the nature of the dative experiencer.

- (18) a. * Yamada-sensei-nitotte seitotati-ga (o)-natukasi-ku-te
 Yamada-teacher-for students-NOM HON-nostalgic-AFF-Te
 irassyat-ta.
 be.HON-PST
 ‘Professor Yamada felt nostalgic for his students.’
- b. * Sono hon-ga Tanaka-sensei-nitotte omosiro-ku-te
 that book-NOM Tanaka-teacher-for interesting-AFF-Te
 irassyat-ta.
 be.HON-PST
 ‘The book was interesting to Professor Tanaka.’
- (19) a. * Yamada-sensei-ga seitotati-nitotte (o)-natukasi-ku-te
 Yamada-teacher-NOM students-for HON-nostalgic-AFF-Te
 irassyat-ta.
 be.HON-PST
 ‘Students felt nostalgic for Professor Yamada.’
- b. * Hanako-nitotte Tanaka-sensei-ga (o)-nagekawasi-ku-te
 Hanako-for Tanaka-teacher-NOM HON-pitiful-AFF-Te
 irassyat-ta.
 be.HON-PST
 ‘Hanako felt pity for Professor Tanaka.’

The question would arise as to why the experiencer exhibits subject properties with respect to *zibun* binding, as we saw in (13), but not with honorification.⁸

It is argued by Kishimoto (2013) that an agreement relation licensing subject

⁸ One might wonder whether the experiencer cannot trigger honorification in (18) because it is an oblique argument. However, it is known that dative subjects of stative verbs in Japanese can be the target of honorification, as shown in (i):

- (i) Ito-sensei-ni Ken-ga insyoo-ni nokot-te irassyar-u
 Ito-teacher-DAT Ken-NOM impression-LOC remain-Te be.HON-PRS
 ‘Professor Ito still has an impression of Ken.’ (Kishimoto 2013: 169)

Moreover, it is observed by Kishimoto (2012) that subjects marked by the postposition *kara* ‘from’ also trigger honorification of verbs in Japanese. Thus I assume that the ill-formedness of the examples in (18) is not due to the oblique status of the experiencer.

honorification must be available in overt syntax since morphological well-formedness is determined at PF (Chomsky 1995), whereas *zibun* binding is fixed at LF, involving a purely interpretative process. Given this, we can account for the behavior of the experiencer in question. In particular, the experiencer remains in its base position in AP in overt syntax, which blocks it from triggering subject honorification; however, it raises to the subject position, Spec,TP, at LF, which allows it to bind *zibun*. The LF raising of the experiencer is predictable if we assume with Landau (2010) that experiencer PPs in general must be in Spec,TP at LF, as discussed in section 2.

This analysis gains further support if we consider facts about indeterminate pronoun binding which indicate that the experiencer obligatorily moves out of AP. As discussed by Kuroda (1965), McGloin (1976), and Kishimoto (2001), indeterminate pronouns like *dare* ‘anyone’ and *nani* ‘anything’ can serve as negative polarity items when they are bound by the Q-particle *mo*, as shown in the sentences involving a PA in (20):

- (20) a. Dare-nitotte-mo sono hon-ga omosiro-ku nakat-ta.
 anyone-for-Q that book-NOM interesting-AFF NEG-PST
 ‘The book was not interesting to anyone.’
- b. John-nitotte nani-mo omosiro-ku nakat-ta.
 John-for anything-Q interesting-AFF NEG-PST
 ‘Nothing was interesting to John.’

Although the particle *mo* is attached to a pronoun in these examples, *mo* may occur in various syntactic positions by adjoining to different lexical heads insofar as the pronoun falls within its scope. Kishimoto (2001) argues that the scope of the particle is fixed relative to the position of the head to which the particle attaches; in particular, the domain corresponds to the least maximal projection dominating the head. Moreover, Kishimoto (2001, 2013) provide data indicating that the legitimacy of indeterminate pronoun binding is determined at LF rather than in overt syntax.

With these in mind, consider the following examples where the particle *mo* appears to the right of a PA. The particle can bind an indeterminate pronoun occurring as the theme, as shown in (21).⁹ However, it cannot bind one as the experiencer regardless of the order between the two arguments, as shown in (22):

⁹ There are some speakers who find the binding of the pronouns in (21) unacceptable. I thank Hideki Kishimoto (personal communication) for bringing this fact to my attention.

- (21) a. John-nitotte (tokuni) nani-ga omosiro-ku-mo nakat-ta.
 John-for particularly anything-NOM interesting-AFF-Q NEG-PST
 ‘Nothing (in particular) was interesting to John.’
- b. Mary-nitotte (tokuni) nani-ga arigata-ku-mo nakat-ta.
 Mary-for particularly anything-NOM welcome-AFF-Q NEG-PST
 (Lit.) ‘Nothing (in particular) was welcome for Mary.’
- (22) a. * (Tokuni) dare-nitotte sono hon-ga omosiro-ku-mo nakat-ta.
 particularly anyone-for that book-NOM interesting-AFF-Q NEG-PST
 ‘The book was not interesting to anyone (in particular).’
- b. * Sono purezento-ga (tokuni) dare-nitotte arigata-ku-mo nakat-ta.
 that present-NOM particularly anyone-for welcome-AFF-Q NEG-PST
 (Lit.) ‘The present was not welcome for anyone (in particular).’

It is argued by Kishimoto (2017) that the clausal negator *nai* associated with adjectives is in NegP. Given this, the particle *mo* occurring between the PA and the negator in (21) and (22) is assumed to be attached to the head of the AP, taking scope over the AP, but not beyond. The grammaticality of the examples in (21) then indicates that the theme remains in AP at LF. On the other hand, the failure of binding in (22) suggests that the experiencer must be moved out of AP at LF.

Given the data presented in this section, those sentences involving a PA as the matrix predicate in Japanese like (23a) are assumed to involve the LF structure in (23b):

- (23) a. John-nitotte sono hon-ga omosiro-kat-ta.
 John-for that book-NOM interesting-AFF-PST
 ‘The book was interesting to John.’
- b. [_{TP} John-nitotte_i [_{AP} t_i sono hon-ga omosiro-kat]-ta]

The nominative theme, which is base-generated as the complement of PA, remains in that position. However, the experiencer PP, which is merged first as Spec,AP, raises to Spec,TP at LF. I assume that the raising of the experiencer is required to form a semantic relation with T, following Landau’s (2010) proposal discussed in section 2.

4. The structure of the PSP construction in Japanese

With the above discussion of PAs occurring as matrix predicates in mind, we now consider PAs serving as PSPs in Japanese. It is argued that they occur in a subordinate clause involving TP, to which their experiencer is assumed to raise at LF.

As mentioned in section 1, when PAs occur as PSPs, their experiencer argument may be overtly realized or implicit. For example, the experiencer can be realized as a reflexive referring to the subject of the matrix verb in (24):

- (24) a. John-wa hon-o (karezisin-nitotte) omosiro-ku yon-da.
John-TOP book-ACC himself-for interesting-AFF read-PST
'John read the book [finding it] interesting (to himself).'
- b. Mary-wa purezento-o (kanozyozisin-nitotte) arigata-ku uketot-ta.
Mary-TOP present-ACC herself-for welcome-AFF receive-PST
'Mary received the present [considering it] welcome (to herself).'

When the experiencer is not overtly expressed, it still refers to the subject in these examples under unmarked interpretations (see also (1)).

However, there are examples of PSPs whose implicit experiencer receives an arbitrary interpretation, referring to an unspecified person or group of people, as shown in (25). It is assumed that these examples involve PRO_{arb} as the experiencer:

- (25) a. John-wa sono yaku-o omosiro-ku enzi-ru.
John-TOP that role-ACC amusing-AFF perform-PRS
'John plays the role [and PRO_{arb} finds it] amusing.'
- b. Mary-wa otya-o oisi-ku ire-ru.
Mary-TOP tea-ACC tasty-AFF brew-PRS
'Mary brews tea [and PRO_{arb} considers it] tasty.'

As discussed by Kuroda (1983) and Kishimoto (2005, 2013), PRO_{arb} is assumed to occur only in the subject position of a nonfinite clause in Japanese. Given this, the examples in (25) indicate that the experiencer of PSPs is in the subject position of a nonfinite clause even if it is not overtly realized; otherwise, it would be difficult to account for why the experiencer can be conceived as PRO_{arb} in (25).

With this in mind, I assume that the experiencer of PSPs, like the experiencer of PAs discussed in section 3, undergoes raising to a subject position, in particular, Spec,TP,

whether it is overt or implicit. Moreover, I posit that the implicit experiencer is PRO occurring in a PP headed by a null postposition, whether it receives an arbitrary interpretation or refers to a specific entity. Now the question is where the subject position is. Given that PSPs are adjuncts, which are islands for extraction, it is unlikely that the experiencer raises to Spec,TP of the matrix clause.

There are two pieces of evidence that PSPs occur in a subordinate clause involving TP. First, PSPs can be accompanied by a clausal negator *nai*, as shown in (26):

- (26) a. John-ga sono ryoori-o mazu-ku-naku tabe-ta.
 John-NOM that dish-ACC tastless-AFF-NEG eat-PST
 ‘John ate the dish [considering it] not tastless.’
- b. Mary-ga purezento-o arigata-ku-naku uketot-ta.
 Mary-NOM present-ACC welcome-AFF-NEG receive-PST
 ‘Mary received the present [considering it] not welcome.’

As noted above, Kishimoto (2017) argues that negative *nai* associated with adjectives in Japanese is the head of NegP. Moreover, it is proposed by Zanuttini (1996) that the occurrence of NegP depends on the presence of TP.¹⁰ Given these, the examples in (26) indicate that PSPs occur in a subordinate clause involving TP.

Second, sentential adverbs, in particular, epistemic adverbs like *tabun* ‘probably’ and evidential adverbs like *akirakani* ‘evidently’, exhibit a peculiar distribution in the PSP construction. It is observed across languages that those adverbs must precede manner adverbs when they occur in the same clause (Jackendoff 1972, Cinque 1999). The same restriction is observed in Japanese, as shown in (27) and (28), which is also noted by Endo (2007: 205):

- (27) a. John-wa sono hon-o tabun subayaku yon-da.
 John-TOP that book-ACC probably quickly read-PST
 ‘John probably read the book quickly.’
- b. * John-wa sono hon-o subayaku tabun yon-da.
 John-TOP that book-ACC quickly probably read-PST

¹⁰ I thank Marcel den Dikken (personal communication) for bringing Zanuttini’s (1996) work to my attention.

- (28) a. Mary-wa purezento-o akirakani yukkuri uketot-ta.
 Mary-TOP present-ACC evidently slowly receive-PST
 ‘Mary evidently received the present slowly.’
- b. * Mary-wa purezento-o yukkuri akirakani uketot-ta.
 Mary-TOP present-ACC slowly evidently receive-PST

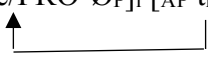
Now note that in the PSP construction, sentential adverbs can follow manner adverbs when they occur immediately before a PSP, as shown in (29):

- (29) a. John-wa sono hon-o subayaku tabun omosiro-ku
 John-TOP that book-ACC quickly probably interesting-AFF
 yon-da.
 read-PST
 ‘John read the book quickly probably [finding it] interesting.’
- b. Mary-wa purezento-o yukkuri akirakani wazurawasi-ku
 Mary-TOP present-ACC slowly evidently annoying-AFF
 uketot-ta.
 receive-PST
 ‘Mary received the present slowly evidently [considering it] annoying.’

The grammaticality of these examples would not be expected if the PSP construction involved a monoclausal structure. It is predictable, however, if PSPs are assumed to occur in a subordinate clause. Given that the sentential adverbs in question are licensed by some functional head in the TP domain (Cinque 1999, Haegeman 2010), I claim that in (29), those adverbs and PSPs occur in an embedded clause, while the manner adverbs are in the matrix clause.¹¹

Given these facts, I propose that PSPs always occur in their own subordinate clause involving TP. Then their experiencer, whether it is overt or PRO, is assumed to raise to Spec,TP of the clause at LF, as shown in (30):

¹¹ It is suggested by Harwood (2018) that sentential adverbs in English including epistemic and evidential adverbs may occur marginally in some position lower than TP. I thank Éva Dékány (personal communication) for bringing Harwood’s work to my attention.

- (30) a. John-ga hon-o (karezisin-nitotte) omosiro-ku yon-da.
 John-NOM book-ACC himself-for interesting-AFF read-PST
 ‘John read the book [finding it] interesting (to himself).’
- b. John-ga hon-o [_{TP} [_{PP} karezisin-nitotte/_{PRO-Ø_P}]_i [_{AP} t_i omosiro-ku]] yon-da.


Since the movement in question is local, occurring within an adjunct clause, it is correctly predicted that the sentence is grammatical.

Note that this analysis also provides a straightforward account of the fact that the implicit experiencer of PSPs can receive an arbitrary interpretation, as we saw in (25). In particular, by moving to Spec,TP of the subordinate clause, PRO_{arb} fulfills the requirement that it must appear in the subject position of a nonfinite clause.

5. On the absence of PSPs in English

With the above analysis of PSPs in Japanese in mind, we now consider why PAs cannot serve as PSPs in English. It is argued that unlike PAs in Japanese, those in English cannot occur in a subordinate clause involving TP. This forces their experiencer to raise to the subject position of the matrix clause in violation of the adjunct condition.

It is known that adjectives in English can serve as secondary predicates, in particular, as depictives, as shown in (31a), and as resultatives, as shown in (31b):

- (31) a. John ate the carrots raw.
 b. Mary froze the ice cream solid.

There has been a debate in the literature over whether these adjectival secondary predicates occur in a subordinate clause, in particular, a small clause, or not (Stowell 1983, Williams 1983). There are some facts indicating that even if these secondary predicates are in an embedded clause, it cannot involve TP. First, these secondary predicates cannot be accompanied by a clausal negator, as shown in (32):

- (32) a. * John ate the carrots not raw.
 b. * Mary froze the ice cream not solid.

Moreover, they cannot occur with a sentential adverb, as shown in (33):

- (33) a. * John ate the carrots evidently raw.

b. * Mary froze the ice cream probably solid.

Given that both the occurrence of the clausal negator and that of the sentential adverbs depend on the presence of TP, as discussed in section 4, these examples suggest that adjectival secondary predicates in English cannot appear in an embedded clause containing TP.¹²

Note that unlike resultative adjectives in English, those in Japanese can occur with a clausal negator to some marginal degree, as shown in (34), and a sentential adverb, as shown in (35):¹³

- (34) a. ? Mary-ga aisukuriimu-o kata-ku-naku koorase-ta.
Mary-NOM ice cream-ACC solid-AFF-NEG freeze-PST
(Lit.) ‘Mary froze the ice cream not solid.’
- b. ? John-ga nuno-o siro-ku-naku some-ta.
John-NOM cloth-ACC white-AFF-NEG dye-PST
(Lit.) ‘John dyed the cloth not white.’

¹² One of my English consultants informed me that a sentential adverb can occur immediately before a depictive predicate associated with the subject of the matrix verb, as shown in (i):

- (i) John left the room allegedly angry.

It is argued by Koizumi (1994) that unlike depictives associated with the matrix object (see (31a)), those construed with the matrix subject can be merged outside VP in English. Given this, the example in (i) can be analyzed as having the adverb and the depictive right-adjoined to the matrix TP rather than having the two elements in an embedded clause.

Note that unlike the adverb, the clausal negator cannot appear before the depictive in (i), as shown in (ii):

- (ii) * John left the room not angry.


This fact indicates that subject-oriented depictives, like object-oriented ones, cannot occur in an embedded clause containing TP, providing support for the present study.

¹³ Some Japanese speakers do not allow resultative adjectives to be accompanied by a clausal negator at all. I thank Hideki Kishimoto (personal communication) for bringing this fact to my attention.

- (35) a. Mary-ga aisukuriimu-o (yukkuri) tabun kata-ku
 Mary-NOM ice cream-ACC slowly probably solid-AFF
 koorase-ta.
 freeze-PST
 (Lit.) ‘Mary froze the ice cream (slowly) probably solid.’
- b. John-ga nuno-o (subayaku) akirakani ao-ku
 John-NOM cloth-ACC quickly evidently blue-AFF
 some-ta.
 dye-PST
 (Lit.) ‘John dyed the cloth (quickly) evidently blue.’

These facts suggest that resultative adjectives in Japanese, like PSPs we saw in section 4, can occur in their own clause involving TP.¹⁴

Given that English adjectival secondary predicates in general cannot appear in an embedded clause involving TP, as suggested by the examples in (32) and (33), it is assumed that PAs in English could not occur in such a clause, either, if they were base-generated as secondary predicates. Those PAs are also assumed to select the experiencer PP, which is required to raise to Spec,TP. The experiencer would then need to move to Spec,TP of the matrix clause at LF, as shown in (36):

- (36) a. * John read the book interesting.
 b. [TP [PP PRO- \emptyset_P]_i [TP John read the book [AP t_i interesting]]


However, the movement must be blocked since the AP headed by a PA or any projection involving it, if any, is an adjunct, which constitutes an island for extraction. The experiencer would thus fail to be interpreted without forming a relation to T. I claim that this is the reason why PSPs are not found in English.

¹⁴ It is notable that the resultative adjectives in (34) and (35) are accompanied by the same nonfinite suffix *-ku* as PSPs. Although a close investigation of the nature of the suffix is left for future research, it may be related to the presence of T. It should also be noted that since standard depictives in Japanese involve a noun rather than an adjective (Koizumi 1994), they are not considered here.

6. Control into the PSP clause

Given the above proposal that PSPs occur as the predicate of a nonfinite embedded clause, we now consider the question of how their arguments, that is, the experiencer and the theme, are controlled when they are implicit. Noting some similarities between PSP clauses and object purpose clauses in English, it is proposed that the experiencer is a non-obligatory controlled PRO, whereas the theme is a null operator that is bound by the matrix object.

When we consider the interpretations of implicit arguments of PSPs, it seems instructive to compare them with those of object purpose clauses (henceforth, OPCs) in English, which involve a gap in the object position of a nonfinite clause carrying a connotation of purpose, as shown in (37) (see Bach 1982, Whelpton 2002):

- (37) a. I bought *War and Peace* to read e to the children.
b. David brought some articles along to discuss e in class.

The gap in the object position must be associated with the theme argument of the matrix verb. It is held under the standard analysis that the gap is created by a null operator that moves to the edge of the nonfinite clause (Chomsky 1980, Browning 1987); the operator is then bound by the matrix theme, as illustrated in (38):

- (38) I bought *War and Peace* _{i} [Op_i to read t_i to the children]

It is claimed by Browning (1987) that an agreement chain formed between the matrix theme and the null operator licenses a predication relationship between the theme and the nonfinite clause.

OPCs involve another gap in the subject position, which is assumed to be PRO, as shown in (39):

- (39) a. I_i bought *War and Peace* _{j} PRO _{i} to read e_j to the children.
b. David _{i} brought some articles _{j} along PRO _{i} to discuss e_j in class.

As observed by Bach (1982) and Whelpton (2002), the choice of the controller of PRO is relatively free. Although the PRO subject is interpreted as referring to the matrix subject in (39), it is controlled by the matrix indirect object in (40):

- (40) a. I bought you_i *War and Peace*_j PRO_i to read e_j to the children.
 b. David brought Ruth_i some articles_j along PRO_i to discuss e_j in class.

Moreover, the controller of PRO can be provided from context, overriding a possible overt controller in the sentence. For example, Bach (1982: 41) notes that under certain circumstances, the sentence in (41) may be interpreted in such a way it is unspecified who is to do the reading:

- (41) I brought ‘The Wind in the Willows’ to read to the children.

Given these facts, Whelpton (2002) argues that PRO in OPCs is syntactically free though it is subject to semantic constraints.

Now note that these properties of OPCs are also found with PSP clauses that involve two gaps corresponding to the theme and the experiencer. First, the theme is comparable to the object gap in OPCs. Given the discussion in section 3, the theme is assumed to be base-generated as the complement of a PA. As we saw in (1), the theme refers to the same entity as the theme of the matrix verb.

Second, the implicit experiencer is parallel to the subject PRO in OPCs. As discussed in section 4, the experiencer is assumed to be PRO, which raises to the subject position of PSP clauses at LF. Moreover, the choice of the controller of PRO seems to be syntactically free. Although PRO refers to the matrix subject in the examples in (1) under unmarked interpretations, it is controlled by the matrix indirect object in (42):¹⁵

- (42) John-ga bokutati-ni sono hanasi-o omosiro-ku katat-ta.
 John-NOM us-DAT that story-ACC funny-AFF tell-PST
 ‘John told us the story [and we found it] funny.’

Recall that the controller may also be unspecified, as we saw with the examples of arbitrary control in (25).

Furthermore, OPCs and PSP clauses are also similar with respect to their position in the sentence. On the basis of various tests including VP-preposing, VP-deletion, and pseudoclefts, it is observed by Faraci (1974), Browning (1987), and Jones (1991) that

¹⁵ I thank Kan Sasaki (personal communication) for bringing examples like (42) to my attention.

OPCs are base-generated in VP. For example, although OPCs can occur as a part of VP in focus position of pseudocleft constructions, they cannot be stranded, as shown in (43):

- (43) a. What Marc did was [buy Fido [to play with e]].
 b. * What Marc did [to play with e] was [buy Fido].

(Jones 1991: 60)

PSP clauses exhibit the same distribution as OPCs with respect to these tests. For example, PSPs cannot be left behind by the clefted VP in pseudocleft constructions, as shown in (44) and (45):

- (44) a. Mary-ga si-ta-no-wa [omosiro-ku hon-o
 Mary-NOM do-PST-NMLZ-TOP interesting-AFF book-ACC
 yom-u]-koto-da.
 read-PRS-NMLZ-COP
 ‘What Mary did is to read a book [finding it] interesting.’

- b. * Mary-ga omosiro-ku si-ta-no-wa [hon-o
 Mary-NOM interesting-AFF do-PST-NMLZ-TOP book-ACC
 yom-u]-koto-da.
 read-PRS-NMLZ-COP
 ‘What Mary did [finding it] interesting is to read a book.’

- (45) a. John-ga si-ta-no-wa [oisi-ku sakana-o
 John-NOM do-PST-NMLZ-TOP tasty-AFF fish-ACC
 tabe-ru]-koto-da.
 eat-PRS-NMLZ-COP
 ‘What John did is to eat fish [considering it] tasty.’

- b. * John-ga oisi-ku si-ta-no-wa [sakana-o
 John-NOM tasty-AFF do-PST-NMLZ-TOP fish-ACC
 tabe-ru]-koto-da.
 eat-PRS-NMLZ-COP
 ‘What John did [considering it] tasty is to eat fish.’

These facts indicate that like OPCs, PSP clauses are base-generated in VP.

With these in mind, I propose that the references of the two implicit arguments

involved in PSP clauses are determined by the same systems as those of the two arguments in OPCs. As for the one of the experiencer, it is assumed that PRO is a non-obligatory controlled PRO, which is interpreted according to semantic and pragmatic conditions. On the other hand, the implicit theme argument is assumed to be a null operator; it moves from the complement of a PA to the edge of the PSP clause, where it is bound by the matrix object. Thus, the example in (46a) is assigned a structure in (46b) under the present analysis:

- (46) a. John-ga hon-o omosiro-ku yon-da.
 John-NOM book-ACC interesting-AFF read-PST
 ‘John read the book [finding it] interesting.’
 b. John_i-ga hon_j-o [Op_j [TP PRO_i [AP t_i t_j omosiro-ku]]] yon-da.

It is assumed that the null operator mediates the predication relationship between the matrix object and the PSP clause.^{16,17}

¹⁶ As noted in section 4, the experiencer of PSPs may be realized overtly with a postposition (see (24)). It is argued by Browning (1987) that OPCs may also involve an overt subject instead of PRO, providing examples in (i):

- (i) a. He bought the piano for Jane to practice on.
 b. It was for Jane to practice on that he bought the piano.

(Browning 1987: 89)

She notes that the syntactic status of the string *for Jane* in (ia) is ambiguous; it may be a phrase in the matrix clause or a sequence of the complementizer and the subject in the purpose clause. However, she observes that the same string must be in the purpose clause in (ib), occurring in the focus position of a cleft as a part of the clause.

¹⁷ There is evidence that PSPs do not form a constituent with the matrix object. When the object occurs in the focus position of the cleft construction, PSPs must remain in the antecedent clause, as shown in (ia); they cannot follow the object in the focus position, as shown in (ib):

- (i) a. John-ga omosiro-ku yon-da-no-wa kono hon-da.
 John-NOM interesting-AFF read-PST-NMLZ-TOP this book-COP
 ‘It’s this book that John read [finding it] interesting.’

7. Conclusion

This paper has focused on adjectival secondary predicates in Japanese that describe personal tastes of the referent of the matrix object argument. I have proposed an analysis of why these secondary predicates are found in Japanese and not in English. We have seen evidence that the experiencer PP selected by personal-taste adjectives obligatorily undergoes covert movement to Spec,TP in both English and Japanese. On the basis of facts indicating that Japanese adjectival secondary predicates in general can occur in their own subordinate clause involving TP, I have claimed that the experiencer of personal-taste adjectives undergoes raising within the clause when they serve as secondary predicates. On the other hand, by providing data suggesting that adjectival secondary predicates in English cannot appear as the predicate of an embedded clause containing TP, it has been claimed that the experiencer of personal-taste adjectives needs to move to the matrix TP in violation of the adjunct condition if they occur as secondary predicates.

Furthermore, I have proposed an account of how the experiencer and the theme of personal-taste secondary predicates are interpreted when they occur as implicit arguments. Noting some parallels between clauses involving these secondary predicates and object purpose clauses in English, I have suggested that the interpretations of the implicit arguments of the secondary predicates are governed by the same systems as those of the object purpose clauses. In particular, the experiencer is a non-obligatory controlled PRO, whereas the theme is a null operator which is associated with the matrix object by moving to the edge of the adjunct clause involving the secondary predicate. The null operator is assumed to mediate the predication relationship between the adjunct clause and the matrix object.

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- b. * John-ga yon-da-no-wa kono hon(-o) omosiro-ku-da.
John-NOM read-PST-NMLZ-TOP this book-ACC interesting-AFF-COP
(Lit.) ‘It’s this book [finding it] interesting that John read.’

This fact indicates that PSPs are not associated with the matrix object as attributive modifiers.

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