

## D-5

# Only in syntax: Syntactic derivation of lexical compounds in Japanese

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## 0. Preface

- Much of recent work on argument structure (alternation) has converged to argue for a grammatical architecture, where argument structure (alternation) is handled by Syntax, rather than a pre-syntactic lexicon (Ramchand 2008; Schäfer 2008; Cuervo & Roberge 2012; Marantz 2013; Wood 2012, 2015; Lohndal 2014, inter alia).
- In this talk, we will investigate a case of argument frame (structure) alternation in Japanese, where a certain argument frame of a main verb that appears originally impossible becomes possible when a V-V compound is rendered (Kishimoto 2010).
- Contra Kishimoto (2010) who argues this is a result of perspective shift in the sense of Pinker (1989), we argue that such an argument frame alteration is illusory, providing a purely syntactic account without the notion of argument frame alternation at pre-syntactic Lexicon.
- Roadmap
  1. V-V Compound affects argument frame
  2. The Syntax of Change-of-State Frame
    - 2.1. The Syntax of *siki-tume-* in COS Frame
    - 2.2. The Syntax of *sik-* in COS Frame
  3. The Syntax of Motion Frame
  4. Conclusion

## 1. V-V Compound affects argument frame

(1) a. John-ga      tairu-o      yuka-ni      siita.

John-NOM    tile-ACC    floor-DAT    set

‘John set the tiles on the floor.’

Motion Frame

b. \*John-ga      yuka-o      tairu-de      siita.

John-NOM    floor-ACC    tile-with    set

‘John set the floor with the tiles.’

Change of State (COS) Frame

- (2) a. John-ga      tairu-o      yuka-ni      siki-tumeta.      Motion Frame  
 John-NOM    tile-ACC    floor-DAT    set-filled  
 ‘John laid the tiles on the floor.’
- b. John-ga      yuka-o      tairu-de      siki-tumeta.      COS Frame  
 John-NOM    floor-ACC    tile-with    set-filled  
 ‘John laid the floor with the tiles.’

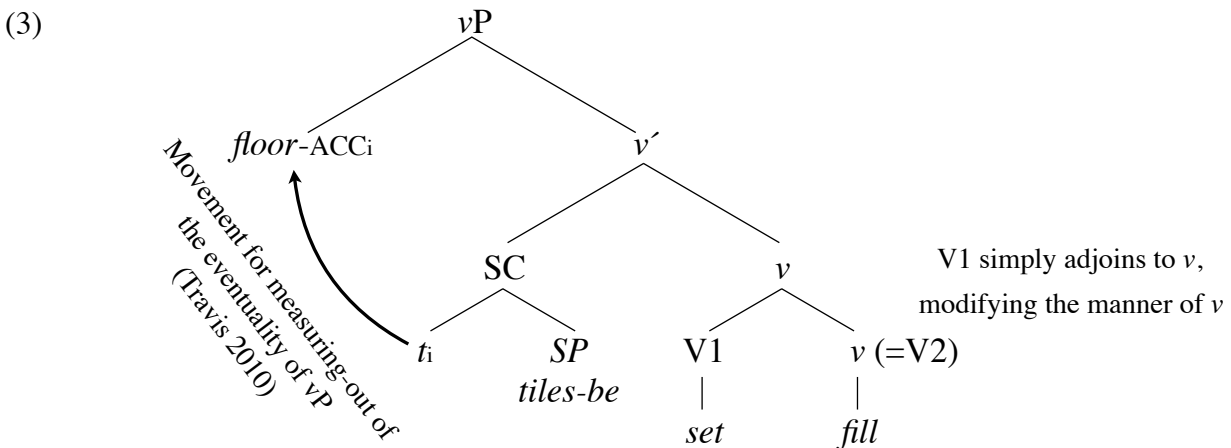
Table 1: Summary of the argument frames of *sik-* and *siki-tume-*

Frames	Motion Frame DP(Material)-Acc DP(Locative)-Dat	COS Frame DP(Locative)-Acc DP(Material)-with
<i>sik-</i> ‘set’	✓	✗
<i>siki-tume</i> ‘set-fill’	✓	✓

## 2. The Syntax of Change-of-State Frame

### 2.1. The Syntax of *siki-tume-* in COS Frame

- We claim ...
  - The accusative DP in (2b) (i.e. Locative DP) is not introduced by the V-V compound, but it is the subject of the small clause (SC), which we argue to be a secondary predicate (SP) in the sense of Koizumi (1994): *-de* ‘with’ in (2b) is a copula in the connective form (Nishiyama 1998);
  - V1 *sik-* ‘set’ adjoins to *v* realized as V2 *tume-* ‘fill’, modifying the manner of *v* (Marantz 2013)



### Tairu-de as an SP

- As Kishimoto (2010) notes, we can omit *yuka-ni* as in (4a), but not *tairu-de* in (4b), so the latter is not simply an instrumental adjunct PP, but an SP.

(4) a. John-ga tairu-o (yuka-ni) siki-tumeta. Motion Frame  
John-NOM tile-ACC floor-DAT set-filled  
'John laid the tiles on the floor.'

b. \*John-ga yuka-o \*(tairu-de) siki-tumeta. Change of State (COS) Frame  
John-NOM floor-ACC tile-with set-filled  
'John laid the floor with the tiles.'

### On the nature of V2 *tume-* 'fill'

- V2 *tume-* 'fill' is now grammaticalized, void of its lexical meaning, and functions as *hojodoshi* (補助動詞).
- We understand this as V2 *tume-* 'fill' realizing v, where we assume that causative semantics is encoded (Wood 2014 among others).
- One might argue that V2's grammaticalization into v contradicts the less productive nature of V-*tume*, while we suppose this is a result of the nature of V-*tume* created below VoiceP just like other "lexical" V-V compounds (cf. Marantz 1997; Ramchand 2008).

### Consequences: More support for the SP analysis

- The SP can be referred back to by the adverbial anaphor *soo* 'so', but this is impossible for the instrumental PP.

(5) a. Taroo-ga maguro-o *nama-de* tabeta.  
Taro-Nom tuna-Acc raw-be ate  
'Taro ate the tuna raw.'

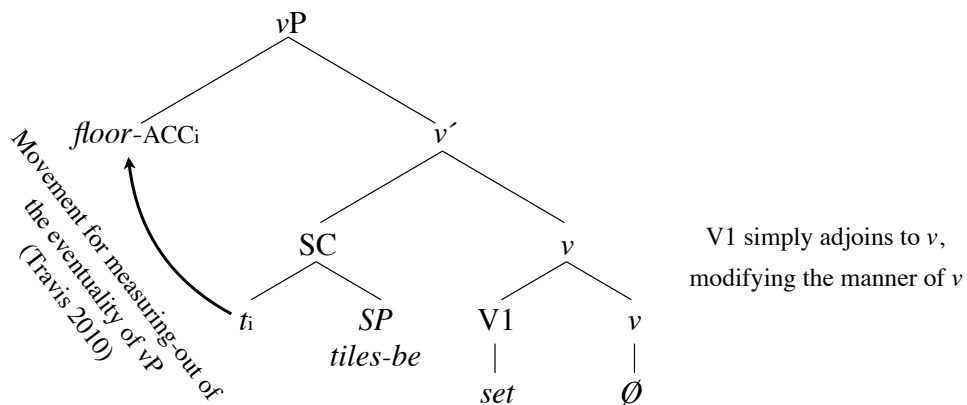
b. Ziroo-wa katuo-o *soo* tabeta.  
Jiro-Nom bonito-Acc so ate  
'Jiro ate the bonito in the same way.'

- (6) a. Taroo-wa maguro-o *hasi-de* tabeta.  
 Taro-Nom tuna-Acc chopstick-with ate  
 ‘Taro ate the tuna with chopsticks.’
- b. \*Ziroo-wa katuo-o *soo* tabeta.  
 Jiro-Nom bonito-Acc so ate  
 ‘Jiro ate the bonito with them.’
- (7) a. John-ga yuka-o *tairu-de* siki-tumeta.  
 John-Nom floor-Acc tile-be set-filled  
 ‘John laid the the floor with the tiles.’
- b. Bill-wa kabe-o *soo* siki-tumeta.  
 John-Nom floor-Acc so set-filled  
 ‘John laid the the wall in the same way.’

### 2.1. The Syntax of *sik-* in COS Frame

- In fact, our informants state that (1b) is not so bad, if the result state interpretation is forced. This means that even in (1b), *tairu-de* is an SP.
- This implies that there is null *v* that denotes causative semantics and is modified by *sik-* ‘set’.

(8)



### 3. The Syntax of Motion Frame

- Since V2 *tume-* ‘fill’ is aspectually telic, its endpoint can be given by a result state denoted by an SC as in (1, 2b).
- We argue that this situation is the same in the Motion Frame, too: quantized DP such as *tairu-o* in (1, 2a) starts out as the figure argument of *pP* in the sense of Talmy (1985) and Svenonius (2003, 2007); and the DP moves, again, to measure out the eventuality of *vP*.

(9)

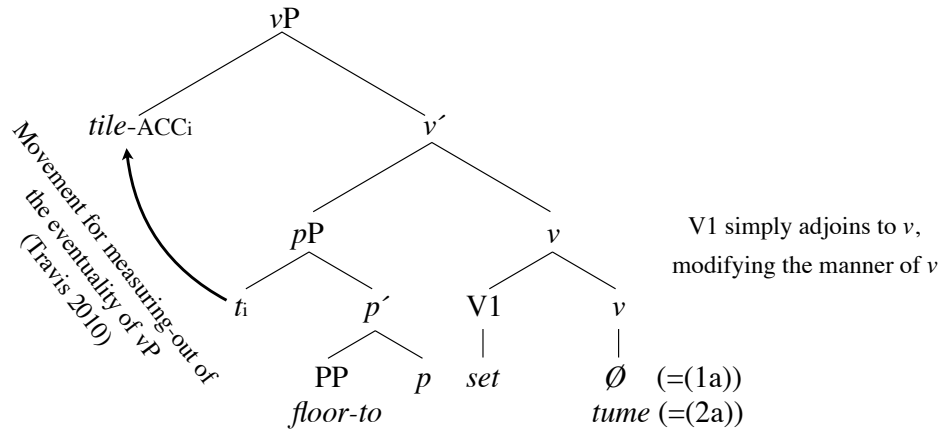


Table 2: Summary of the present analysis

	Motion Frame	COS Frame
Comp. of the V-v complex head	[ <sub>pP</sub> Material DP [ <sub>p'</sub> PP p]]	[ <sub>sc</sub> Locative DP SP]
Spec. of the V-v complex head	Material DP	Locative DP

#### 4. Conclusion

- In this talk, we have argued for a purely syntactic account for the alleged argument frame alternation found in *sik-* ‘set’ and *siki-tume-* ‘set-fill’.
- The accusative-marked DPs in the Motion and COS Frames are not arguments of *sik-* ‘set’ and *siki-tume-* ‘set-fill’; Such DP is a figure argument of *pP* in the Motion Frame and is the subject of SC in the COS Frame.
- Importantly, (1b), which is argued to be impossible in Kishimoto (2010), is actually possible, as correctly predicted by our analysis.
- Our analysis shows that the argument frame alternation observed in Kishimoto (2010) is illusory and should not be handled by the Lexicon.
- Rather, the alleged argument frame alternation is a result of a grammatical architecture, which allows the verb *sik-* ‘set’ to enter into different argument structures derived in Syntax:
  - (a) the Motion Frame, where V-v takes *pP* as its complement and a Material DP as its specifier;
  - (b) the COS Frame, where V-v takes SC as its complement and a Locative DP as its specifier.

## References

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