

High and Middle Applicatives in Japanese: Adversity Causatives and *V-te kureru* Construction

Kazunori KIKUSHIMA (National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan)

【keywords】 applicative, adversity causatives, *V-te kureru* construction, phase

1. Introduction

This study examines two distinct constructions that express the affectedness in Japanese: “adversity causative construction” and “*V-te kureru* construction”. It has been widely argued that Japanese includes the so-called adversity passive since such seminal works on Japanese grammar, similar to those reported by Kuno (1973), Kuroda (1979), and Inoue (1979), were presented under the generative syntax framework¹. Besides such passives, sentences involving the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* or the transference verb *kureru* (‘give’) can express the adversative meaning, as illustrated in Example (1)².

- (1) a. Taroo-ga asi-o suber-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM³ leg-ACC slip-cause-PST
 ‘Taro slipped.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni himitu-o barasite kure-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT secret-ACC reveal KURERU-PST
 ‘Taro revealed the secret to Hanako on me.’

In Example (1a), although the verb *suber* (‘slip’) is followed by the causative morpheme *-(s)ase*, the subject *Taro* is not a Causer but an Affectee. In Example (1b), the speaker, which is not overtly realized, is an Affectee. That is to say, the speaker was adversely influenced by the proposition *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni himitu-o baras* ‘Taro reveal(s) the secret to Hanako.’ This study investigates some semantic characteristics and syntactic distinctions of sentences such as those in Example (1), by focusing on the corresponding constructions in Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, and English. In addition, this study as-

1 Pylkkänen (2000, 2002) also discusses some syntactic properties on adversity causatives under the Minimalist Program framework.

2 On *V-te kureru* construction, Yamada (2004) analyzes its adversative function extensively.

3 The following is a list of abbreviations used in this article: NOM: nominative Case, ACC: accusative Case, PST: past tense, DAT: dative Case, APPL: applicative, CL: clitic, REF: reflexive, PRF: perfective marker, INC: inchoative marker, PRG: progressive marker, CAUSE: causative morpheme, AFF: affective marker, DUR: durative marker, GEN: genitive marker, and IMP: imperative.

sumes that Example (1a) involves the middle applicative, while Example (1b) involves the CP-related high applicative.

This study is structured as follows. Section 2 presents some analyses on applicative constructions in Pylkkänen (2002) and Cuervo (2003), because the assumption in this study is that both the adversity causative and *V-te kureru* constructions involve the Applicative head, which introduces the Affectee as an applied argument. In addition, following Tsai (2007, 2008, 2009), this study shows that Mandarin Chinese also includes “middle applicatives,” which are associated with the vP phase. Section 3 shows that although Japanese does not include adversity causatives associated with unergative or transitive verbs, it has adversity causatives with some unaccusative verbs. Following the argument on affected applicatives by Cuervo (2003), the pseudo double object constructions and double unaccusatives by Tsai (2007, 2008, 2009), and the analyses on the correlation between the verb *have* and causation in English by Ritter and Rosen (1990), this study argues that adversity causative in Japanese involves the middle applicative head. Its subject is the Affectee which is affected by the end state of the event when the complex predicate [embedded unaccusative + APPL *-(s)ase*] is formed. Section 4 analyzes the syntax of *V-te kureru* construction, which is also able to express adversative meaning. Because it involves the CP-related high applicative, *V-te kureru* construction holds some properties related to the left periphery such as speaker orientedness, compatibility with non-agentive subjects, and so on. Finally, section 5 presents the conclusion.

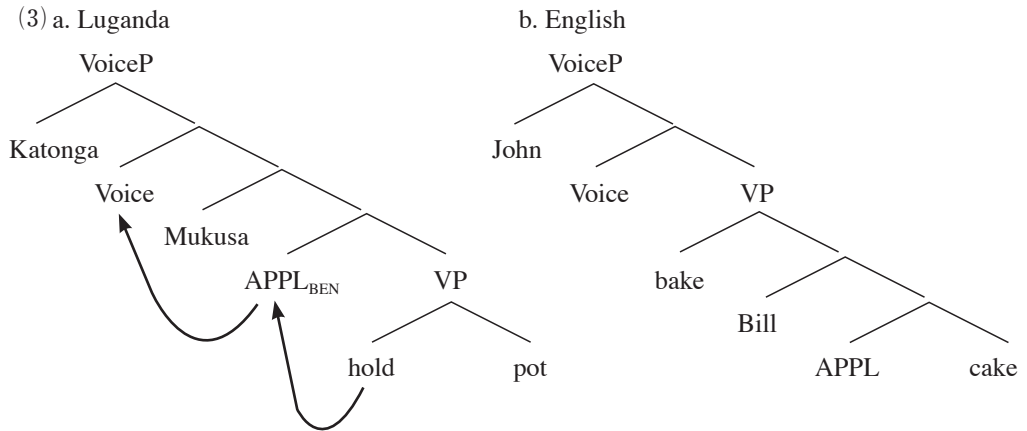
2. Applicative Constructions

2.1. Pylkkänen

It is widely suggested that there are two different types of applicative heads that introduce an applied argument in a sentence: the high applicative and the low applicative (Pylkkänen 2002). The high applicative head denotes a relationship between an event and an individual, and therefore, it originates above the VP, introducing the applied argument (i.e., the Affectee) in its Spec and taking on VP as its complement, as seen in Example (4a). On the other hand, the low applicative head denotes a relationship between two individuals, and thus, it originates below the VP, taking the theme as its complement and the applied argument in its Spec, as seen in Example (4b).

- (2) Luganda [High Applicative]
 Katonga ya-kwaant-i-dde Mukusa ensawo
 Katonga PST-*hold*-APPL-PST Mukusa pot
 ‘Katonga held the pot for Mukusa.

English [Low Applicative]
 John baked Bill a cake.



Example (3a) shows the relationship between the event *holding the pot*, which is represented at the bottom of the tree, and the individual *Mukusa*, which is an applied argument licensed as the Beneficiary by the middle applicative head. As shown in this structure, the individual *Katonga* is introduced by the Voice as the external argument. On the other hand, Example (3b) shows the relationship between the individual *Bill* and the direct object *cake*. That is, the low applicative in Example (3b), which expresses the transfer of ownership, takes on the direct object *cake* as its complement and the recipient *Bill* in its Spec position.

2.2. Causatives in Japanese:- Introduction

Section 2 primarily introduces syntactic properties of the Affected Applicatives in Spanish and Pseudo Double Object Constructions or Double Unaccusatives in Mandarin Chinese. However, before beginning the discussion on these constructions, this subsection shows the causatives in Japanese as an introduction. As shown below, although the sentence involving the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* normally expresses the regular causative meaning, some sentences do not. Consider the following sentences:

- (4) a. Taroo-ga wazato zibun-no asi-o suber-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM intentionally self-GEN leg-ACC slip-CAUSE-PST
 'Taro made his own legs slip intentionally.'
- b. Taroo-ga asi-o suber-asete koron-da.
 Taro-NOM leg-ACC slip-CAUSE fall-PST
 'Taro slipped and fell.'

Example (4a) includes the regular causative interpretation only, as shown in its English translation. Thus, the theta role of the subject *Taro* is the Causer. On the other hand, although the sentence involves the causative morpheme in Example (4b), it does not include the causative interpretation, but only the adversative meaning (Miyagawa 1989; and Pytkänen 2002 for the relevant discussions). Before analyzing the syntactic properties of Japanese adversity causatives in Section 3, this introduces

Cuervo (2003) and Tsai (2007, 2008, 2009) in the following subsections because both Spanish and Mandarin Chinese include similar constructions.

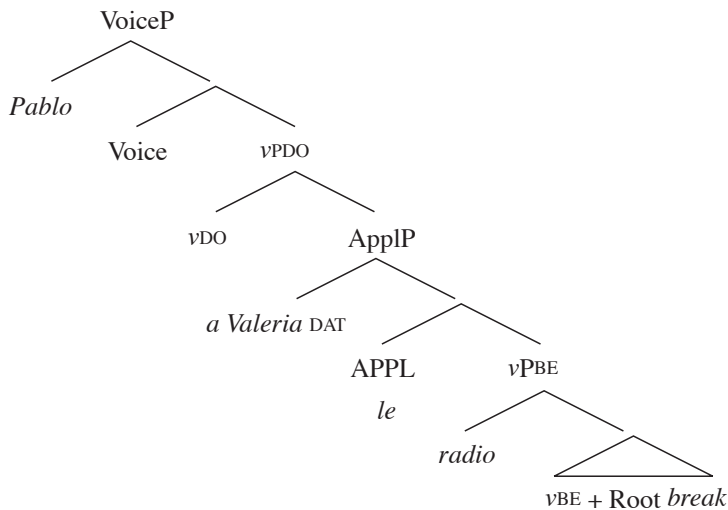
2.3. Cuervo (2003): Affected Applicatives in Spanish

Spanish also includes the so-called high and low applicatives, which denote a relationship between an event and an individual as well as a relationship between two individuals. However, in addition to this high/low distinction on an applicative head, there is another type of applicative: the affected applicative. According to Cuervo's (2003) analyses, which are based on the distributed morphology, an affected applicative is defined as the applicative that takes on the vPB_E as its complement and becomes embedded under the dynamic event introducer vDO or vGO . That is, ApplP in the affected applicative is always the complement of the vDO or vGO in Cuervo's analyses. Consider the following sentence:

- (5) Pablo le rompió la radio a Valeria
 Pablo CL.DAT broke the radio Valeria.DAT
 'Pablo broke the radio on Valeria'.

In Example (5), *a Valeria* is not directly related to the theme object. Rather, *a Valeria* is understood as the individual affected by the (change of) state of the theme object. Example (6) is the syntactic structure of Example (5), which is an example of an affected applicative with causatives.

- (6) The structure of affected applicative with causatives in Example (5)



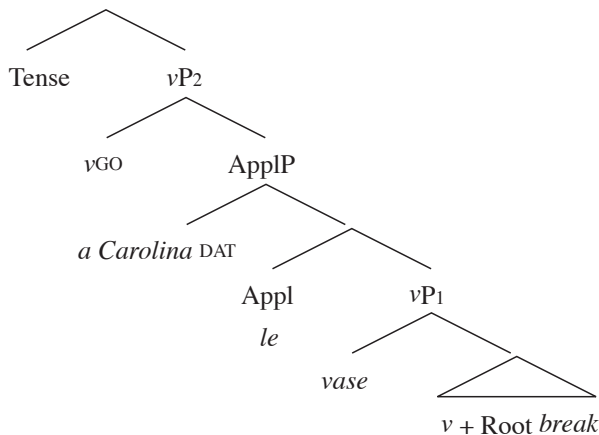
In Example (6), the Voice head introduces the Agent in its Spec and takes on the dynamic event $vPDO$ as its complement. The affectee *a Valeria* appears in the Spec of ApplP, of which the head is the clitic *le*. As shown in Example (6), this ApplP is sandwiched between the dynamic event $vPDO$ and the resulting state vPB_E . As mentioned above, *a Valeria* is not directly related to the object *radio*, but a *Vale-*

ria is affected by the resulting state *v*PB_E which is caused by the Agent's action *v*DO.

Another example is an affected applicative that involves the inchoative. Inchoatives or unaccusatives differ from causatives because they do not project an external argument. Therefore, there is no Voice, as in Example (8). Example (7) is an example of an affected applicative with an unaccusative, and Example (8) is its syntactic structure proposed by Cuervo (2003).

- (7) A Carolina se le rompió el florero
 Carolina.DAT CL.REF CL.DAT broke the vase
 'The vase broke on Carolina'

- (8) The structure of an affected applicative with unaccusatives in Example (7)



The followings are semantic interpretations of Affected Applicatives, proposed by Cuervo (2003):

- (a) The dative DP is not directly related to the theme DP,- i.e., the possession of the object should not be entailed. The dative DP is the possessor of the end state of the object.
- (b) In a sentence with a causative, the dative DP participates in two events: the dative DP is an object of the causing event and it is also the possessor of the end state.
- (c) In a sentence with an unaccusative, the dative DP participates in two events: the dative DP is an object of the event of change and it is the possessor of the end state.

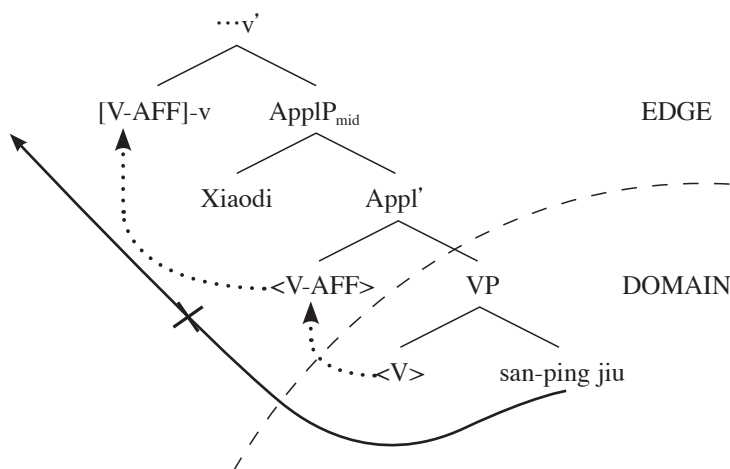
2.4. Middle Applicatives in Mandarin Chinese

This subsection summarizes Tsai's (2007, 2008, 2009) discussions on middle applicatives in Mandarin Chinese. First, consider the following sentences:

- (9) Akiu he-le Xiaodi san-ping jiu.
 Akiu drink-PRF Xiaodi three-bottle wine
 'Akiu drank three bottles of wine on Xiaodi.'

Example (9) is known as pseudo double object constructions (pseudo-DOCs). On its surface, it looks similar to regular DOCs because the verb is followed by two DPs. The salient differences between them are as follows: the DP in the indirect object position is the Affectee in pseudo-DOCs, while the indirect object of the regular DOCs is the Recipient or Source in Mandarin Chinese. Example (9) involves a relationship between an individual *Xiaodi* and an event *Akiu he-le san-ping jiu* ‘Akiu drank three bottles of wine’, while the regular DOCs simply express the direct object’s transfer to or from the indirect object. Example (10) is the syntactic structure of pseudo-DOCs, which is proposed by Tsai (2007, 2008, 2009).

(10) The partial structure of Example (9) :



Middle applicative projection is located between v and V , which is non-phrasal and headed by an implicit light verb *AFF*, as shown in Example (10).

Tsai also shows another type of affective in Mandarin Chinese: the double unaccusative. Consider the following sentences:

- (11) a. Akiu pao-le laopo.
 Akiu run-INC wife
 ‘Akiu’s wife ran away on him.’
- b. Wangmian si-le fuqin.
 Wangmian die-INC father
 ‘Wangmian’s father died on him.’

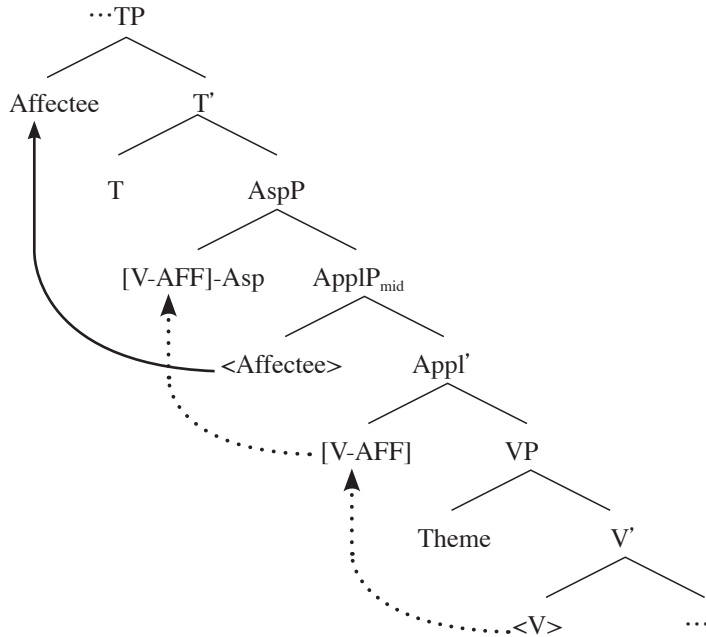
This construction also involves the Affectee. In Examples (11a), which means ‘Akiu was affected by the event “his wife ran away,”’ the subject *Akiu* is the Affectee.

Double accusatives are unable to take on an unergative predicate. The subject can only be af-

fected by a bounded event.

- (12) * Akiu zai-pao laopo.
 Akiu PRG-run wife
 'Akiu's wife is running away on him.'

- (13) The (partial) syntactic structure of double unaccusatives in Mandarin Chinese



3. Adversity Causatives in Japanese

In Subsections 2.3 and 2.4, we examined adversity constructions that presented the adversative relationship between the individual (i.e., the affectee) and the event: Affected Applicatives in Spanish; pseudo-DOCs and Double Unaccusatives in Mandarin Chinese.

This section discusses the properties of so-called adversity causatives in Japanese, and shows how the constructions are very much in line with the Affected Applicatives involving unaccusatives in Spanish and Double Unaccusatives in Mandarin Chinese. In Example (14) below, the subject *Taro* is not the Causer, but the Experiencer (or the Affectee) in spite of the fact that the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* appears.

- (14) a. Taroo-ga kodomo-o kootuu-ziko-de sin-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM child-ACC traffic-accident-in die-CAUSE-PST
 'Taro's child died on him in a traffic accident.'

- b. Taroo-ga asi-osuber-ase-te koron-da.
 Taro-NOM legs-ACC slip-CAUSE fall-PST
 ‘Taro slipped and fell.’

Unlike Spanish and Mandarin Chinese, Japanese does not have an affected applicative with a transitive, as in Example (15).

- (15) a. * Taroo-ga Hanako-ni konpyuutaa-o kowasi-ta.
 Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT computer-ACC break-PST
- b. * Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sake-o non-da.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT wine-ACC drink-PST

If the transitive verb is followed by the causative morpheme, the sentence only includes the regular causative interpretation only, as in Example (16).

- (16) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni konpyuutaa-o kowas-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT computer-ACC break-cause-PST
 ‘Taro made Hanako break the computer.’
- b. Taroo-ga Hanako-ni sake-o nom-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT alcohol-ACC drink-cause-PST
 ‘Taro made Hanako drink alcohol.’

In Example (16a) for instance, the subject *Taro* is not the Affectee, but the Causer (or the Agent). The dative-marked *Hanako* is not the Affectee, but just the Causee. Thus, the most prominent difference between Japanese and languages such as Spanish and Mandarin Chinese is that the former language includes the so-called affected applicative (i.e., Cuervo’s sense) with unaccusative only, while the latter languages include the affected applicative both with transitives and unaccusatives. Incidentally, the affected applicatives with unergatives are impossible among these languages because the affected applicative requires more than two DPs on the surface: the Affectee and the theme.

Pylkkänen (2000) also observes another important property of the adversity causative: only the unaccusative verb can appear in this construction and there is a possessive-like relationship between the Affectee and the theme. Consider the following sentences:

- (17) a. Taroo-ga musuko-o asob-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM son-ACC play-CAUSE-PST
 ‘Taro made his son play.’

[regular causative interpretation only; no adversity reading]

- b. Taroo-ga ame-o fur-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM rain-ACC fall-CAUSE-PAST
 ‘Taro made it rain.’

[regular causative interpretation only; no adversity reading]

Either sentence in Example (17) cannot deliver the adversity interpretation, because the verb is unergative (in Example (17a)) and there is no possessive-like relation between the subject and the theme (in Example(17b)).

There are still some mysteries to be solved in regard to Japanese causative constructions, such as the availability of adversity interpretation, the appearance of the Experiencer (instead of the Causer) in Spec of TP, the restriction that only unaccusatives are able to appear as the embedded verb, and so on. To solve these mysteries, this study presents in the following subsection some examples from English that parallel the causative sentences in Japanese.

3.1. Ritter and Rosen (1990)

This subsection introduces proposals by Ritter and Rosen (1990), who argue that the verb *have* in English has little or no underlying meaning, and that such verbs receive their interpretation from their syntactic function, rather than from their lexical semantics. Consider the following sentence.

- (18) John had his students walk out of class.

In Example (18), *have* may express either cause or experience. According Ritter and Rosen (1990), *have* lacks a fully specified lexical semantic representation and the interpretation of *have*'s argument as the Causer or the Experiencer comes from the role it plays in the event, which is added as an extra participant to the event or state denoted by its complement. For example, the sentence in Example (19a) below contains all the arguments directly involved in the event of walking out. When this clause is embedded under *have*, as in Example (19b), it contains all the arguments directly involved in the event of walking out, but *have* adds one argument, *John*.

- (19) a. Half the students walked out of John's lecture.
 b. John had half the students walk out of his lecture.

In Example (19b), John can be interpreted as either the Causer or the Experiencer of the students' walking event. The reasons why both interpretations arise are as follows: when the complex predicate *have + walk out* is formed, (i) the action of the Causer (i.e., the volitional control of the action) marks the beginning point of an event, or (ii) the event is extended forward to include a consequent state. This type of aspectual difference can be confirmed from the following sentences:

Causative reading

- (20) a. * Ralph had Sheila die.
 a'. Ralph made Sheila die.
 b. * Ralph had Sheila fall down.
 b'. Ralph made Sheila fall down.

Experiencer reading

- (21) a. Ralph had Sheila die on him.
 b. Ralph had his daughter fall and break her leg.

A causative reading is available when the argument in the embedded clause is able to take volitional control of the action, as in Example (19b). However, only the Experiencer reading is available when the verb in the embedded clause is unaccusative, because its subject cannot have volitional control. In addition, the unaccusative is unable to mark the beginning point of an event. Thus, in the case when the verb is *have* and the embedded verb is unaccusative, only the Experiencer reading is available, as shown in Examples (21a) and (21b). To express causality with unaccusatives, the real causative verb *make*, instead of *have*, needs to appear in the sentence, as illustrated in Examples (20a') and (20b')

Regarding the difference between *have* and the causative verb *make*, Ritter and Rosen show the fact that *have* takes on the VP as its complement and no such restrictions apply to the complement of *make*. Consider the following sentences:

- (22) a. ??John has Bill be shelving books whenever the boss walks in.
 b. John has Bill shelving books whenever the boss walks in.
- (23) a. John makes Bill be shelving books whenever the boss walks in.
 b. * John makes Bill shelving books whenever the boss walks in.
- (24) a. ??John had Bill be arrested.
 b. John had Bill arrested.
- (25) a. John made Bill be arrested.
 b. * John made Bill arrested.

The behavior of both the progressive and passive *be* supports the claim that the complement of *have* is never headed by an inflectional element, as in Examples (22b) and (24b), while the complement of *make* is always headed by an inflectional element, as in Examples (23a) and (25a). Ritter and Rosen's proposals are as follows: the verb *have*, unlike the real causative verb *make*, takes on the VP as its complement, and when it forms a complex predicate with the embedded verb, either the Causer or the Experiencer is assigned to the subject, depending on the aspectuality of the event denoted by the VP.

3.2. Causative morpheme *-(s)ase*

To create a causative expression in Japanese, the morpheme *-(s)ase* is usually attached to the verb, as in Example (26), where the Causer is the nominative marked subject and the logical subject (the Causee) of the root verb is marked with the accusative or the dative Case.

- (26) Taroo-ga Hanako-o/-n ik-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-ACC/-DAT go-CAUSE-PST
 'Taro made/let Hanako go.'

This section shows that the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* is parallel with the verb *have* in English and that its applied argument is assigned with either the Causer or the Experiencer (the Affectee), depending on the aspectuality of its complement.

Section 3.2 introduced Ritter and Rosen's analysis that proposes that the verb *have* is a functor predicate, and this verb combines with the embedded verb to form a complex predicate. The applied argument of this complex predicate is assigned with a Causer or an Experiencer (Affectee) role, depending on the aspectuality of the event. In fact, this type of analysis can be applied to causatives in Japanese, because the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* behaves much like a predicate that combines with the embedded verb, and its external argument is assigned either a Causer or an Experiencer. However, we still need to focus attention on the fact that there are some differences between English and Japanese: in Japanese, the Experiencer role assignment to its external argument only takes place when the verb is unaccusative, and in addition, it appears that there are selectional restrictions between *-(s)ase* and the unaccusatives when it expresses adversity. Consider the following sentences:

- (27) Taroo-ga musuko-o asob-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM son-ACC play-CAUSE-PST
 'Taro made his son play.'
- (28) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni hon-o yom-ase-ta.
 Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT book-ACC read-CAUSE-PST
 'Taro made Hanako read books.'
- (29) Taroo-ga ame-o hur-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM rain-ACC fall-CAUSE-PST
 'Taro made it rain.'

- (30) Taroo-ga kaisya-o toosans-ase-ta.⁴
 Taro-NOM company-ACC bankrupt-CAUSE-PST
 ‘Taro bankrupted the company.’
 ‘Taro’s company went bankrupt, and he was adversely affected.’

As mentioned above, Examples (27) and (28) only include the regular causative interpretation because the verb in Example (27) is unergative and the verb in Example (28) is transitive. In Example (30), the verb *toosans* ‘bankrupt’ is unaccusative and it includes two possible readings: the regular causative and the adversity causative. On the other hand, in Example (29), although the verb *hur* ‘fall’ is unaccusative, the sentence includes the regular causative interpretation only. What makes these two sentences different? One possible answer is that while there is no possessive-like relationship between the Affectee *Taro* and the object *ame* ‘rain’ in Example (29), there is such a relationship between the Affectee *Taro* and *kaisya* ‘company’ in Example (30).

As shown in the previous subsection, Ritter and Rosen argue that the causative morpheme *-(s)ase* is a functor predicate. Therefore, this study combines the analyses by Tsai (2007, 2008, 2009), Cuervo (2003), and Ritter and Rosen (1990) to account for the mystery of adversity causatives in Japanese.

- (i) The subject is an Affectee, which is affected by the end state.
- (ii) The embedded verb is unaccusative.
- (iii) When the complex predicate [embedded unaccusative verb + *(s)ase*] is formed, the event is extended forward to include a consequent state.

Example (31) is the adversity causative and Example (32) is its syntactic structure.

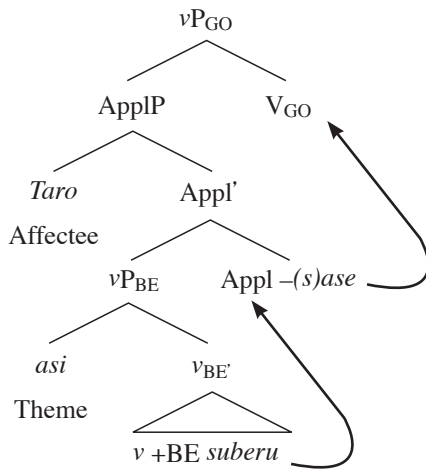
- (31) Taroo-ga asi-o suber-ase-ta
 Taro-NOM leg-ACC slip-cause-PST
 ‘Taro slipped.’

4 I assume that Examples (30) can express adversative meaning as well as regular causative interpretation. Consider the following sentence:

Taroo-wa (hukeiki-de) kaisya-o toosans-ase-ta.
 Taro-NOM depression-with company-ACC bankrupt-CAUSE-PST
 ‘Taro had his company go broke on him (because of the depression).’

In the sentence shown above, what caused Taro’s company go broke is not Taro’s intention, but the depression which is nothing to do with the action by Taro. In this sentence, Taro is not a Causer, but an Affectee (See Oehrle and Nishio, 1981).

(32) The (partial) syntactic structure of adversity causatives in Example (31)



Lastly, This study briefly summarizes the properties of affected construction discussed in this subsection: Both Mandarin Chinese and Spanish include middle affected applicatives which are associated with the *vP* phase. Adversity causatives in Japanese are one type of middle affected applicative. The subject is an Affectee, and it is affected by the end state when the complex predicate [embedded unaccusative + Appl -(s)ase] is formed.

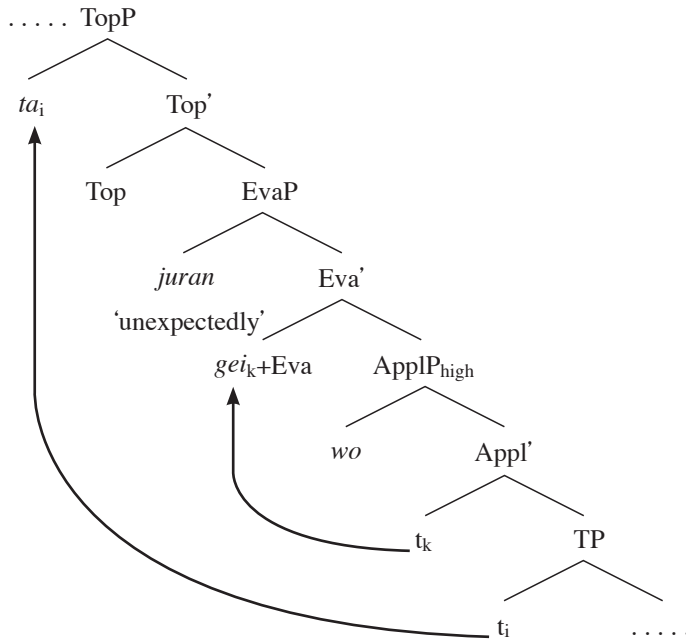
4. V-te kureru Construction

In addition to the high/low distinction (Pykkänen, 2002), Tsai (2007) proposed that there was an even higher applicative head. Its structural properties can be captured by postulating an extra head in the left periphery. It is possible to find such an example in Mandarin Chinese, as shown in Example (33).

(33) a. ta juran [gei wo] pao-le.
 he unexpectedly AFF me run-PRF
 'He ran away on me unexpectedly.'

b. taifeng jinnian juran [gei wo] lai-le shi ci.
 typhoon this-year unexpectedly AFF me come-PRF ten time
 'Unexpectedly, typhoons came ten times on me this year.'

c High applicative in the left periphery (Tsai, 2007)



As Tsai (2007) points out, this type of sentence shows CP-related properties such as speaker-oriented restrictions, focus interpretations, force/clause-typing property, and compatibility with non-agentive subjects, because the applicative head originates in the left periphery located above the TP.

In fact, the existence of such a “very” high applicative head is not an isolated characteristic of Mandarin Chinese, but a parallel property of Japanese. The transference verb *kureru* ‘give’ can appear in a similar environment to the CP-related high applicative in Chinese, as shown in Example (34).

- (34) Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nimotu-o okutte-kure-ta.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT package-ACC send-KURERU-PST
 (i) ‘Taro sent Hanako a package for my sake.’
 (ii) ‘I was adversely affected by Taro sending Hanako a package.’

In Example (34), the verb *kureru* ‘give’ is preceded by another verb *okur* ‘send’, which is in the form of a gerund. As shown in its translations in English, it is possible to obtain two distinct readings: Beneficiary and Adversity.

4.1. High Applicative in Mandarin Chinese

Tsai (2007) argues that typical affective constructions in Mandarin are marked by *gei* ‘give’, either in the form of a two-place predicate that expresses an affective relationship between an individual and an event, as in Example (35a), or in the form of a preposition-like element, which introduces an extra Affectee argument, as in Example (35b).

- (35) a. wo juran gei [ta pao-le].
 I unexpectedly GEI he run-PRF
 'He ran away on me unexpectedly.'
- b. ta juran [gei wo] pao-le.
 he unexpectedly GEI I run-PRF.
 'He ran away on me unexpectedly.'

As shown above, Example (35a) expresses a “cause …to have” relationship. Thus, the external argument of the verb *gei* ‘give’ turns out to be the Affectee of the event, which is expressed by the embedded clause. On the other hand, in Example (35b), the Affectee is introduced by the preposition-like element *gei* ‘give’, which appears in the preverbal position. Tsai proposes that the high applicative is involved in such constructions. Consider the following sentences:

- (36) Akiu gei Xiaodi xi-le yifu.
 Akiu GEI Xiaodi wash-PRF clothes
 'Akiu washed clothes for Xiaodi.'

Example (36) involves the so-called high applicative, and it expresses the “instead” reading when its Beneficiary argument appears preverbally. The constructions such as those in Example (36) develop an even higher applicative, which is speaker-oriented. In addition, it requires the licensors: an evaluative adverbial such as *juran* ‘unexpectedly’, a force typing like imperative⁵ and so on, as illustrated in Example (37).

- (37) a. ta juran [gei wo] pao-le.
 he unexpectedly GEI I run-PRF
 'He ran away on me unexpectedly.'
- b. [gei wo] zhan-zhu!
 GEI I stand-DUR
 'Stand still for me!'

The following subsections will show some properties of *V-te-kureru* construction that involves very high applicatives as well as provide some analyses in comparison to high applicative constructions in Mandarin Chinese.

5 Imperatives with *V-te-kureru* compound introduce the applied argument which is the speaker. On the other hand, imperatives with *V-te-yaru* and *V-te-morau* do not. Consider the following sentences.

4.2. *V-te kureru* Construction as a CP-related High Applicative

Japanese includes three different verbs that denote the direction of the entity's transfer: *youtu* 'give', *morau* 'receive', *kureru* 'give (me)'. Which transference verb can appear in the sentence depends on the "person" feature on the entity (Hirose, 2001). This subsection discusses some characteristics of *V-te kureru*, *V-te yaru*, and *V-te morau*. First, as Nishikawa (1995) and Takami and Kuno (2002) argue, the Affectee of *V-te kureru* construction must be the speaker because, unlike *V-te yaru* and *V-te morau* constructions, inanimate entities are acceptable as its subject in *V-te-kureru* construction, as illustrated in Example (38). This compatibility with non-agentive subjects is one of the properties of "very" high applicatives (Tsai 2007).

- (38) a. * Ame-ga hutte-yat-ta.
 rain-NOM fall-give-PST
- b. * Ame-ga hutte-morat-ta.
 rain-NOM fall-receive-PST
- c. Ame-ga hutte-kure-ta.
 rain-NOM fall-KURERU-PST
- (i) 'It rained for my sake.' [Beneficiary reading]
- (ii) 'It rained on me.' [Adversity reading]

Takami and Kuno (2002) also propose that the idea in which the Affectee of *V-te kureru* constructions must be the "speaker" can be strengthened by the fact that only *V-te kureru* construction can co-occur with speaker-oriented expressions, but not *V-te yaru* constructions or *V-te morau* constructions. Consider the following sentences:

- (39) a. * Odoroitakotoni Hanako-ni yubiwa-o katte-yat-ta.
 surprisingly Hanako-DAT ring-ACC buy-give-PST
 'Surprisingly I bought a ring for Hanako.'

(a) katte-n siro.
 Arbitrarily do(IMP).
 'Do as you like.'

(a') katte-ni site-kure
 Arbitrarily do-KURERU(IMP).
 'Do as you like (for me).'

Since (a') just introduces the speaker as its affectee, it is sometimes used as the paraphrase of (a). However, the imperatives with *V-te-yaru* and *V-te-morau* cannot be the paraphrase of (a), because the affectees in these sentences are not the speaker.

- b. * Odoroitakotoni Hanako-ni yubiwa-o katte-morat-ta.
 surprisingly Hanako-DAT ring-ACC buy-receive-PST
 'Surprisingly I had Hanako buy a ring for me.'
- c. Odoroitakotoni Hanako-ga yubiwa-o katte-kure-ta.
 Surprisingly Hanako-NOM ring-ACC buy-KURERU-PST
 (i) 'Surprisingly Hanako bought a ring for my sake.'
 (ii) 'Surprisingly Hanako bought a ring on me.'

As illustrated in Examples(39a) and(39b), *V-te yaru* and *V-te morau* are both incompatible with speaker-oriented expressions such as *odoroitakotoni* 'surprisingly'. These constructions only express the relationship between the Beneficiary and the event. On the other hand, *V-te-kureru* construction is strongly related to the "speaker". The fact that speaker-oriented expressions such as *odoroitakotoni* 'surprisingly' are only compatible with the *V-te-kureru* construction reveals that neither its subject nor their indirect objects are the actual Affectee of the event.

Next, by examining scopal phenomena in its possible combinations with other verbs and auxiliaries such as *tai* (willing, want), this study shows that the verb *kureru* 'give (me)' is indeed located higher than other transference verbs. First, by taking a closer look at possible combinations between three transference verbs *yaru*, *morau*, and *kureru*, we find that the verb *kureru* always takes on a wider scope over *yaru* and *morau*.

(40) [*yaru* < *kureru*, **yaru* < *morau*]

- a. isya-ga Taroo-o tasukete-yatte-kure-ta.
 doctor-NOM Taro-ACC help-give-KURERU-PST
 (i) 'The doctor helped Taro for my sake.'
 (ii) 'The doctor helped Taro on me.'

[**kureru* < *yaru*]

- b. **isyaga* Taroo-o tasukete-kurete-yat-ta.
 doctor-NOM Taro-ACC help-KURERU-give-PST

(41) [*morau* < *kureru*, **morau* < *yaru*]

- a. Taroo-ga isya-ni tasukete-moratte-kure-ta
 Taro-NON doctor-DAT help-receive-KURERU-PST
 (i) 'Taro had the doctor help him for my sake.'
 (ii) 'Taro had the doctor help him on me.'

[*kureru < morau]

- b. **isy*a-ga *Taroo*-o *tasukete-kurete-morat-ta*.
 doctor-NOM *Taro*-ACC help-KURERU-receive-PST

Next, auxiliaries such as *-tai* ‘willing, want’ can take scope over *yaru* and *morau*. However, it never takes scope over *kureru*, as shown in Example (42).

- (42) a. *osiete-yari-tai*
 tell-give-want
 ‘want to tell (something to someone)'
 b. *osiete-morai-tai*
 tell-receive-want
 ‘want to ask (someone) to tell (me)’
 c. **osiete-kure-tai*
 tell-KURERU-want

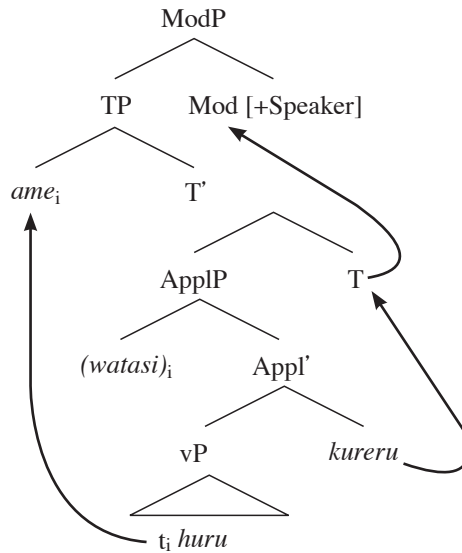
From the above discussions, we can deduce that the verbal element *-kureru* originates higher than the embedded *vP*, since it never occurs in the position lower than *-yaru* and *-morau*, and in addition, unlike *-yaru* and *-morau*, *-kureru* never allows to be c-commanded by auxiliaries such as *-tai* ‘want, willing’.

4.3. Syntax of *V-te kureru* Construction

Hasegawa (2006) proposes that *kureru* is a functional category in the *vP* phase and it moves up to Mod head in the CP layer to check [+speaker] feature. In this case, this study assumes that *kureru* is an applicative head and introduces the applied argument, which includes [+speaker] feature and takes on TP as its complement.

- (43) *ame-ga* (*watasi-ni*) *hutte* *kure-ta*.
 rain-NOM (I-DAT) fall KURERU-PST
 (i) ‘It rained for my sake.’
 (ii) ‘It rained on me.’

(44) The syntactic structure of Example (43)



The applicative head *kureru* is a type of raising verb. Movement of the subject DP from the embedded clause to the matrix does not violate relativized minimality in Example (45), because it involves a high applicative. It is widely assumed that a low applicative phrase is not a phase. On the other hand, a high applicative phrase is a phase that makes it possible for the elements in the domain of the high applicative phase to escape to Spec of ApplP via phase-EPP movement. In fact, McGinnis (2001) suggests that raising constructions involve high or low applicatives and the contrast between languages such as Icelandic and Italian follows if the Experiencer construction is a low applicative in Icelandic but a high applicative in Italian.

Icelandic does not allow the embedded subject to be raised to the matrix subject position over the Experiencer:

- (45) *Jón telur [Haralduri vortast mérgert [t_i hafa gert
 Jon-NOM believes Haraldur-NOM to-seem me-DAT to have done
 petta wel]]
 this well

Unlike Icelandic, Italian allows the embedded subject to be raised to the matrix subject position over the Experiencer:

- (46) Gianni non gli sembra [t_i fare il suo dovere]
 Gianni not him-DAT seemed do the his duty
 'Gianni seemed to him not to do his duty.'

Both Experiencer Constructions in Italian and *V-te kureru* Constructions in Japanese involve high applicatives. Thus, these constructions allow the subject in the embedded clause to move up to Spec of TP of the matrix clause directly even if there exists a potential intervener in Spec of ApplP.

When the subject of the sentential idiomatic chunk occurs in the matrix subject position of *V-te kureru* constructions, its meaning does not disappear. The well-formedness and the ill-formedness shown in Examples (47) demonstrate the fact that while *kureru* moves up to the CP domain and the entire TP is under its scope, *yaru* and *morau* do not move away from the TP domain.

- (47) a. wazawai tenzite fukuto nasite-kure-ta/*-age-ta/*morat-ta.
 misfortune turn happiness become-KURERU-PST/*-give-PST/*-receive-PST
 ‘I am glad that it turns a misfortune into a blessing.’
- b. nasake-ga ada-ni
 sympathy-NOM disservice-Dat
 natte-kure-ta/*-age-ta/*morat-ta.
 become-KURERU-PST/*-give-PST/*-receive-PST
 ‘Sympathy turns into disservice on me.’

5. Conclusion

This study discussed two types of adversity constructions in Japanese: adversity causative and *V-te kureru* constructions. Adversity causatives in Japanese are a type of middle applicatives. The subject is an Affectee, and it is affected by the end state when the complex predicate [embedded unaccusative + Appl *-(s)ase*] is formed. This complex predicate includes the ability to assign either a Causer or an Experiencer to its external argument. However, there are two conditions for its Experiencer role assignment: (i) unaccusativity of the embedded verb, and (ii) the possessive-like relationship between the Affectee (i.e., the subject) and the theme. Spanish and Mandarin Chinese also have middle (affected) applicatives, which are associated with the *v*P phase. Meanwhile, the *V-te-kureru* construction is a CP-related high applicative. Therefore, this construction holds some properties related to the left periphery, such as speaker-orientedness, the compatibility with non-agentive subjects, and so on.

References

- Cuervo, M (2003) *Datives at Large*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Hasegawa, Nobuko (2006) *Iti-ninshoo no shooryaku: modaritii to Kureru* "Deletion of First Person: Modality and Kureru". In Hasegawa, Nobuko. (ed.), *Nihongo no shubun-genshoo: toogo-koozoo to modaritii* "Linguistics Phenomena in Japanese Main Clauses: their syntactic structures and modality," 331-69. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shoboo.
- Hirose, Yukio (2001) *Jujudoosi to ninsyoo* "Verbs of Transfer and Person". *Gengo*: 64-70
- Inoue, Kazuko (1979) *Henkeibumpoo to Nihongo* "Transformational Grammar and Japanese." Tokyo: Taishukan.
- Kuno, Susumu (1973) *The Structure of the Japanese Language*. The MIT Press.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. (1979) On Japanese Passives. In G. Bedell, E. Kobayashi and M. Muraki. (ed), *Exploration in Linguistics*. Tokyo: Kenkyusya.
- McGinnis, Martha (2001) Variation in the Phase Structure of Applicatives. In P. Pica & J. Rooryck (ed.) *Linguistic Variations Yearbook 1*: 101-142. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru (1989) *Syntax and Semantics 22*: Structure and Case Marking in Japanese 11. Academic Press. San Diego.
- Nishikawa, Mariko (1995) "On 'te-kureru' –Comparative Study with 'te-yaru'/'-morau.'". *Gengo Bunka Kenkyuu* 21: 241-253. Osaka University.
- Oehrle, Richard T. and Hiroko Nishio (1981) Adversity, In Farmer, Ann Kathleen and Chisato Kitagawa (ed). *Coyote Papers working Papers in Linguistics from A □ Z, Proceedings of The Arizona Conference on Japanese Linguistics: The Formal Grammar Sessions Vol. 2*, 163-193. University of Arizona.
- Pylkkänen, Liina (2000) *Deriving Adversity*. In Billerey and Lillehaugen (ed), *WCCFL 19 Proceedings*, 399-410. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Pylkkänen, Liina (2002) *Introducing Arguments*. PhD Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Ritter, Elizabeth and Sara Thomas Rosen (1990) "Deriving Causation". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory II*: 519-555.
- Takami, Kenichi and Susumu Kuno (2002) "'-ni V-site morau' construction and '-ga V-site kureru' construction." *Intransitive Constructions in Japanese and English*, 283-355. Kenkyu-sha: Tokyo.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan (2007) *Four Types of Affective Constructions in Chinese*. Paper presented in FOSS-5, National Kaosiung Normal University, Taiwan.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan (2008) *On Higher Applicatives: A View from Left Periphery*. Paper presented in TEAL-5, Potsdam University, Germany.
- Tsai, Wei-Tien Dylan (2009) *High Applicatives are not High Enough: A Cartographic Solution*. Paper presented in FOSS-6, National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan.
- Yamada, Toshihiro (2004) "Nihongo-no benefactive – 'teyaru' 'tekureru' 'temorau' –no bunpoo", *Benefactive in Japanese – the grammar of 'teyaru' 'tekureru' 'temorau'*. Meiji shoin. Tokyo.

日本語における High Applicative と Middle Applicative ——「迷惑使役」と「動詞テ形+くれる」を例として

菊島和紀（国立清華大学、台湾）

【キーワード】 アプリカティブ、迷惑使役文、動詞テ形くれる構文、フェイス

本稿は日本語の迷惑使役構文並びに補助動詞「くれる」を含む非恩恵型構文の統語構造について考察する。これら二つの構文はどちらもアプリカティブ (applicative) が関わる構文として分析可能で、迷惑使役文は Middle Applicative を、補助動詞「くれる」を含む非恩恵型構文は CP 領域に関わる High Applicative をそれぞれ含むと主張する。迷惑使役文においては、主語は何らかの結果を引き起こす主体ではなく、ある原因によって迷惑などの影響を受けるものとなる。こうした構文では、形態素「させ」は本来の使役機能を失い、アプリカティブ句の主要部を占める要素となる。アプリカティブ句の補部には非対格動詞で表される結果または状態が、指定部には迷惑被害を受ける名詞が現れる。スペイン語や中国語においても同様の構文が見られるが、非対格動詞だけでなく他動詞も Middle Applicative に現れうる。一方、日本語の場合は一部の非対格動詞のみに限られる。本稿ではまた、授受動詞「くれる」が補助動詞として機能する構文を扱うが、この構文では素性 [+speaker] が CP 領域において素性照合を行うため、一人称である話者が常に受益者または被害者として表現されると主張する。他の授受動詞「やる」「もらう」は CP 領域まで移動することではなく、結果として話者を受益者または被害者として取り込むことはない。統語的に見ると、補助動詞「くれる」は High Applicative の主要部に位置し、埋め込み文に現れる動詞の項全てを含む命題がその補部として現れ、話者がアプリカティブ句の指定部を占めると考える。