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Taoreru-class unaccusatives and predication*

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Abstract

Kishimoto (2015) points out the verb *taoreru* 'fall.over' in Japanese can be associated with an idiomatic meaning such as *Taro-ga futi-no yamai-ni taoreta* 'Taro came down with an incurable illness.' The same verb also constitutes a clause with a locative phrase such as *Taro-ga sono ba-de taoreta* 'Taro fell over on the spot.' What is peculiar about this pair of sentences is that the former sentence disallows a modification by a subject-oriented adverb such as *wazato* 'on.purpose' (therefore, SoA) (e.g., **Taro-ga wazato futi-no yamai-ni taoreta* 'Taro came down with incurable illness on purpose'), while the latter one is perfectly construable with the adverb (e.g., *Taro-ga wazato sono ba-de taoreta* 'Taro fell over on the spot intentionally'). This study provides an account for this grammatical contrast by the assumptions that the SoA partially forms a predication structure that is headed by the complex predicate consisting of V and Pred(ication) (Matsuoka 2013); and that the given function must be saturated during the derivation (Rothstein 1983; 2004, Heycock 1993). Given these, I argue that [Spec, Pred] must be saturated by an entity that can receive [+control] feature. The SoA is licensed in the latter, 'regular' sentence, since the nominative DP can bear the [+control] feature imposed by the complex predicate including the SoA. On the other hand, the SoA is ruled out in the

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former, 'idiomatic' expression because the nominative subject in this structure cannot bear the feature.

1 Introduction

Unaccusative verbs such as *taoreru* 'fall.over' or *korobu* 'tumble.down' in Japanese can be associated with either an inanimate subject as in (1a) or an animate subject as in (1b).

(1) a. Ki-ga sono ba-de taoreta
tree-Nom the place-Loc fell.over
'Trees fell over on the spot.'
b. Taro-ga sono ba-de taoreta
-Nom the place-Loc fell.over
'Taro fell over on the spot.'

An SoA *wazato* 'on. purpose' cannot be compatible with a sentence like (1a), resulting in an infelicitous sentence as in (2a), whereas it is perfectly compatible with a sentence like (1b), as (2b) shows.

(2) a. #Ki-ga wazato sono ba-de taoreta
tree-Nom on. purpose the place-Loc fell.over
'Trees fell over on the spot reluctantly.'
b. Taro-ga wazato sono ba-de taoreta
-Nom on. purpose the place-Loc fell.over
'Taro fell over on the spot reluctantly.'

The contrast of the pair of sentences in (2) seems to suggest that the SoA can only be licensed by an animate nominative subject in the unaccusative motion verb construction. This, however, is not a fully-exhausted picture of the given verb class. As (3b) shows, there is a case in which the given modification fails, in spite of the animate nominative subject.

(3) a. Daitouryou-ga wazato sono ba-de taore-ta
President-Nom on.purpose the place-Loc fall.over-Past
'The President fell over on the spot on purpose.'

b. * Daitouryou-ga wazato kyousinnjya-no jyuudan-ni taoreta
President-Nom on.purpose fanatic.believer-Gen bullet-Dat fall.over
'The President was shot to dead on purpose by the fanatic believer's bullet.'

The grammatical contrast in (3) indicates that what is crucial for licensing of the SoA is not only a local relation between the SoA and its modified entity, but also a non-local, more global relation including the verbal event. Intuitively speaking, the ungrammaticality of (3b) factors in the relation of the nominative subject *daitouryou* 'the president' and the VP.

According to Kishimoto (2015), the dative phrase of (3b) can be interpreted as a direct cause of the falling event, not merely a goal of the caused-motion event. A limited set of NPs occur as the dative phrase in this construction: *kyuuna-yamai* 'accute illness,' *futi-no yamai* 'incurable illness,' *jyuudan/ kyoudan* 'bullet.' Furthermore, the whole sentence expresses the meaning that a referent of the dative phrase brings a fatal condition to the nominative referent. This is why a phrase like *suiminbusoku* 'a lack of sleep' is not construable with this type of *taoreru*-construction, as in (4b).

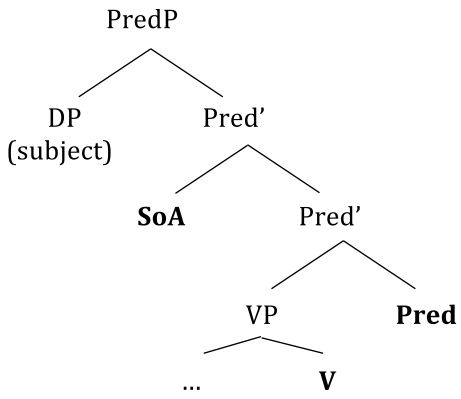
(4) a. Daitouryou-ga kyoushinnjya-no jyuudan-ni taoreta
President-Nom fanatic.believer-Gen bullet-Dat fall.over
'The President was shot to dead on the fanatic believer's bullet.'

b. Daitouryou-ga {*suiminbusoku-ni / #raifuru-ni} taore-ta
President-Nom lack.of.sleep-Dat / rifle-Dat fall.over
'The President was shot to dead on {*the lack of sleep / #on the rifle}'
(Kishimoto 2015: 17, (22b))

In this paper, I argue how the grammatical difference between (3a) and (3b) can be captured by a semantic condition on the complex predicate being composed with V and Pred. I assume that the SoA partially consists of this complex predicate, following Matsuoka (2013). I also assume that the PredP, as

a function, must follow a more general Function Saturation Principle proposed by Rothstein (1983). Given these, I argue that that Japanese SoAs parasitically form a predication structure such as in (5), where the Pred head and V constitutes a complex predicate by head-movement, requiring the subject in its Spec.

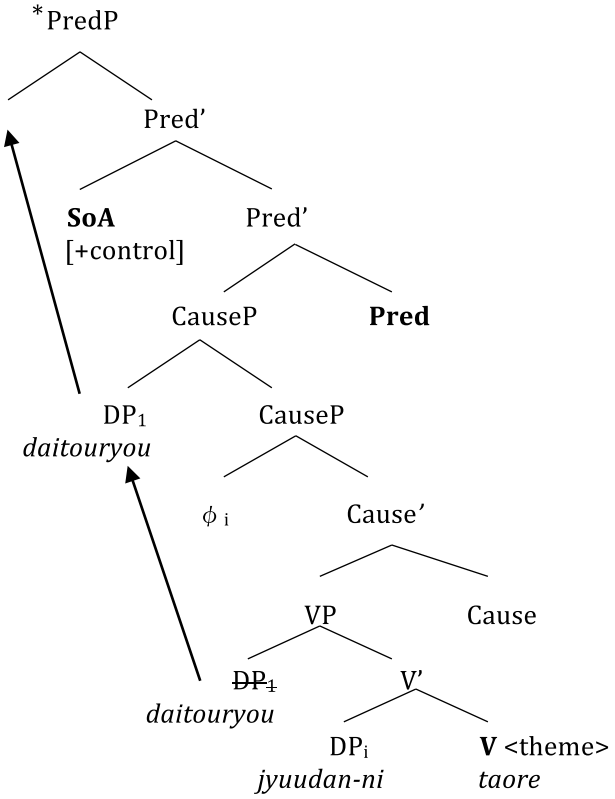
(5)



Borrowing the lexical-semantic structure of (3b) from by Kishimoto (2015), which will be introduced in section 4, I argue that a derivation for (3b) cannot converge because [Spec, Pred] fails to satisfy the semantic condition imposed by its head as in (6) and the projection is not fully saturated as (7) demonstrates. The semantic condition in (6) requires that a DP that can be either merged or remerged to the Spec, Pred should bear [+control].

(6) Semantic condition of predication (for SoAs)
The SoA, bearing the semantic feature [+control], partially contributes to the determination of the semantic value of the complex predicate consisting of V and Pred.

(7)



Other assumptions that are necessary for our discussion are itemized in (8), and thoroughly introduced in section 3.

(8) a. The event arguments of the VP and the PredP is combined via Event Identification (Kratzer 1996)[1].

b. The Pred head does not have its own θ-role but inherits θ-roles of the lexical category (Baker 2003).

c. The adverb itself has an adjunct θ-role which is a distinctive θ-role of V (Zubizaretta 1982).

The structure of this paper is as follows: section 2 shows more details

1 'Event Identification allows one to add various conditions to the event that the verb describes; Voice, for example adds the condition that the event has an agent (or an experiencer or whatever one considers possible thematic roles for external arguments)…' Event Identification <e,<st>> <st> --> <e,<st>> (Pylkkänen 2008: 6, (10))

about the syntax of two sentences in (3); in section 3, I introduce some theoretical assumptions that my proposal is based on. In section 4, I show my analysis for (3) and explain why a derivation for (3a) can license SoAs, whereas the one for (3b) cannot; and section 5 concludes.

2 Regular *taoreru* vs. idiomatic *taoreru*

Let us call the verb in (3a) the regular *taoreru* and the one in (3b) the idiomatic *taoreru*. The subject of the regular *taoreru* can be understood as an entity that initiates an intentional activity, while the one for the idiomatic *taoreru* may be understood as an entity that is involved in a result event of a causation. This contrast can be clearly observed in the data (9), where the former construction allows the SoA *wazato* 'on.purpose,' while the latter disallows it.

(9) a. Daitouryou-ga wazato sono ba-de taore-ta
President-Nom on.purpose the place-Loc fall.over-Past
'The President fell over on the spot on purpose.'

b. *Daitouryou-ga wazato kyoushinnjya-no jyuudan-ni taore-ta
President-Nom on.purpose fanatic.believer-Gen bullet-Dat fall.over-Past
'(lit.) The President was shot dead on purpose by the fanatic believer's bullet.

In (9a), the nominative subject *daitouryou* functions as controling the verb event including the SoA, whereas in (9b), the nominative subject cannot do so. This distinction can be further confirmed by other syntactic tests.

VP-preposing is a structure in which the VP is fronted to a sentence-initial position. Japanese VP-preposing is formed with the focus particle *sae* 'even'. According to Hasegawa (1990), VP-preposing in Japanese involves a control structure. As in (10b), a transitive verb *homeru* 'praise' can constitute a VP-preposing, while an unaccusative verb (*ame-ga*) *furu* 'rain' cannot as in (11b).

(10) a. John-ga Mary-o home-sae si-ta
-Nom -Acc praise-even do-Past
'John even praised Mary'
b. [Mary-o home-sae] John-ga si-ta (VP-preposing)
-Acc praise-even -Nom do-Past
'Even praised Mary, John did.'

(11) a. Ame-ga furi-sae si-ta
rain-Nom fall-even do-Past
'Even it rained'
b. *[Furi-sae] ame-ga si-ta (VP-preposing)
fall-even rain-Nom do-Past
'*Even fall, rain did.'

Hasegawa argues that the verb *suru* 'do' in (10b) and (11b) is different from one another. The latter is the auxiliary *suru* that is the same as *do*-support in English, whereas the former is a full lexical verb that takes the subject. The contrastive derivation of these sentences is given in (12b) and (13b), respectively. In (12) the nominative subject does not move out of VP but is base-generated outside of VP thereby controlling PRO within VP. When this VP is fronted, there is nothing left unbound within VP, thus the derivation converges. On the other hand, suppose the nominative subject is base-generated within VP and is moved out of VP leaving its trace (t_i) there. When this VP is fronted, the remnant trace is fronted together with V+*sae* and this trace is left unbound as in (13b), thereby violating Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1977, Saito 1985)[2]. Hence the derivation does not converge.

(12) a. Johni-ga [$_{VP}$ PRO$_i$ Mary-o home-sae] si-ta
b. [$_{VP}$ PRO$_i$ Mary-o home-sae]$_j$ John$_i$-ga t_j si-ta

2 The definition of Proper Binding Condition (PBC) (Fiengo 1977) is as follows. Traces must be bound.

(13) a. Ame$_i$-ga [$_{VP}$ t_i furi-sae] si-ta
b. *[$_{VP}$ t_i Furi-sae]$_j$ ame-ga t_j si-ta

Following Hasegawa, Kishimoto (2016) argues that Pseudo-cleft Such as (14b) and (15b) in Japanese also involves a control structure[3].

Given these assumptions, if a regular *taoreru* sentence involves a control structure, we expect that it should appear in VP-prepsing and Pseudo-cleft. On the other hand, if an idiomatic *toareru* sentence has nothing to do with the control structure, it should not appear in these constructions. As (14) and (15) indicate, this expectation is indeed borne out. The regular *taoreru* allows both constructions as in (14) and the idiomatic *taoreru* disallows them as (15) shows.

(14) Regular *taoreru*
a. [$_{VP}$ sono ba-de taore]-sae Taro-ga si-ta (VP-preposing)
the place-Loc fall.over-even -Nom do-Past
'(Lit.) Even fell over on the spot, Taro did.'
b.Taro-ga sita-no-wa sono ba-de taoreru koto-da (Pseudo-cleft)
-Nom did-Gen-Top the place-Loc fall.over the fact-Cop
'What Taro did is fall over on the spot on.'

(15) Idiomatic *taoreru*
a. *[$_{VP}$ Jyuudan-ni taore]-sae Taro-ga si-ta (VP-preposing)
bullet-Loc fall.over-even -Nom do-Past
'(lit.)Even fell over on the bullet, Taro did.'
b. *Taro-ga sita-no-wa jyuudan-ni taoreru koto-da (Pseudo-cleft)
-Nom did-Gen-Top bullet-Dat fall.over the fact-Cop
'What Taro did is fall over onto the bullet.'

This result leads us to another expectation such that the regular one should not be construed with a non-agentive sentence, whereas the idiomatic one

3 Due to limitations of space, I will not go into details of Kishimoto's (2016) derivation. Interested readers may refer to Kishimoto (2016) and also Hasegawa (1991).

should be so. There is a phenomenon in which this expectation is indeed borne out both in English and Japanese.

Jackendoff (1990) argues that so-called 'what happens to X' constructions identify the non-controability of the subject in a sentence[4].

(16) a. Bill rolled down the hill. (Jackendoff 1990: 128, (14))
b. What Bill did was roll down the hill.
c. What happened to Bill was he rolled down the hill. (Jackendoff 1990: 127, (11))

The sentence (16a) is neutral about the controability of the subject *Bill*. But the *what*-cleft in (16b) is biased in this respect, since it presupposes that the subject can control the event that is focused. Similarly, the *what-happened* construction in (16c) is also oppositely biased, as it presupposes that the subject cannot control the verbal event that is focused.

If we are on the right track, we expect that the regular *taoreru* sentence should reject this type of constructions because the subject of the regular *taoreru* sentence can control the event, while the idiomatic one should allow it because it cannot control the event. As in (17), we are indeed on the right track.

(17) a. *Taro-ni okotta koto-wa sono ba-de taoreta koto da (regular)
-Dat happened thing-Top -Loc fell.down the.thing Cop
'*What happened to Taro was he fell down in front of Hanako.'
b. Taro-ni okotta koto-wa jyuudan-ni taorerta koto da (idiomatic)
-Dat happened thing-Top bullet-Dat fell.down thing Cop
'What happened to Taro was he was shot dead.'

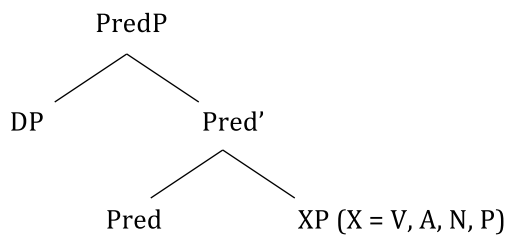
The two types of *taoreru* sentences differ with respect to whether or not they involve a control structure.

4 Although Jackendoff (1990) does not provide a derivation for this construction, I assume that it is a kind of conjunction structure. On the derivation for this type of sentence in Japanese, I leave it for my future work.

3 Assumptions

Matsuoka (2013) treats English SoAs as predicate adverbs that specify a relation between an event and a participant in it. But they are not a theta-assigning predicate like verbs and adjectives. Following the recent trend, he assumes that predication in general is mediated by a functional category Pred (Kishimoto 2008), adopting Bowers' Pr (1993, 2001)[5], as (18) shows. This predication relation is established within the minimal domain of (19)[6].

(18)



Bowers (1993: 595)

(19) The locality of predication: The Pred accommodates the predicate and the subject in its minimal domain. (Matsuoka 2013: 603, (53), originally in denDikken 1995)

As just mentioned, SoAs are lexical predicates and associated with DPs through the mediation of Pred. But they never be independent predicates in a sentence as given in (20).

(20) a. *John was reluctantly
b. John was stupidly to spend all his money

5 In Bowers' term, it is Pr (dication). Matsuoka (2013) simply adopts it and re-labels it as Pred.

6 The definition of minimal domain (Chomsky 1995: 178)
Suppose α is a head. Then:
a. Max (α) is the least full-category maximal projection dominating α.
b. The DOMAIN S (α) of α is the set of nodes contained in Max (α) that are distinct from and do not contain α.
c. The MINIMAL DOMAIN Min (S(α)) of α is the smallest subset K of S(α) such that for any $\gamma \in$ S, some $\beta \in$ K reflexively dominate γ.

The structure (21) is the proposed structure for the SoA licensing in English. SoAs potentially adjoin to one of three positions, (i) the Pred head, (ii) a projection of Pred, or (iii) the lexical head of the complement of Pred[7,8].

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7 Matsuoka (2013) postulates the adverb position (iii) in his structure due to the fact that the adverbs *reluctantly* and *calmly* cannot adjoins to the PP, since they cannot constitute a focus of the *it*-cleft, together with the locative PP as in (i) and (ii). Provided this, the only adjunction site that is available for the adverbs is the lexical V or the lower Pred head in a bi-clausal structure.

(i) *It was reluctantly to the doctor that John sent the boys. (cf. It was to the doctor that John sent the boys reluctantly.)

(ii) *It was calmly on the bed that Mary put the children. (cf. It was on the bed that Mary put the children calmly.)

Japanese SoAs such as *yorokonde* 'happily' and *sibusibu* 'reluctantly' cannot also constitute a focus of the cleft as in (iii), together with the PP. This indicates that these SoAs cannot adjoin to the PP and no adjunction site is available for the PP. I am not yet certain that this fact immediately directs us to the same assumption given above, thus, SoAs can adjoin to X. This fact may also mean that there is no adjunction site for SoAs within XP. I leave this issue for the future work.

(iii) *Taro-ga Hanako-o okutta no-wa sibusibu isya-ni da
-Nom -Acc sent Gen-Top reluctantly doctor-Loc Cop
'*It was reluctantly to the doctor that Taro sent Hanako'

(iv) *Hanako-ga kodomo-o oita no-wa yorokonde yuka-ni da
-Nom child-Acc put Gen-Top happily floor-Loc Cop
'*It was happily onto the floor that Hanako put her baby'

8 According to Matsuoka (2013), a phrasal SoA cannot intercept the DO and the PP in the English dative PP construction as (i) shows. He then argues that an SoA that can appear in this position must be phrasal and then it should attach to the Pred head in the structure (21).

(i) John sent Bill so reluctantly (*that everyone noticed) to the doctor.

(ii) John sent Bill to the doctor so reluctantly (that everyone noticed).

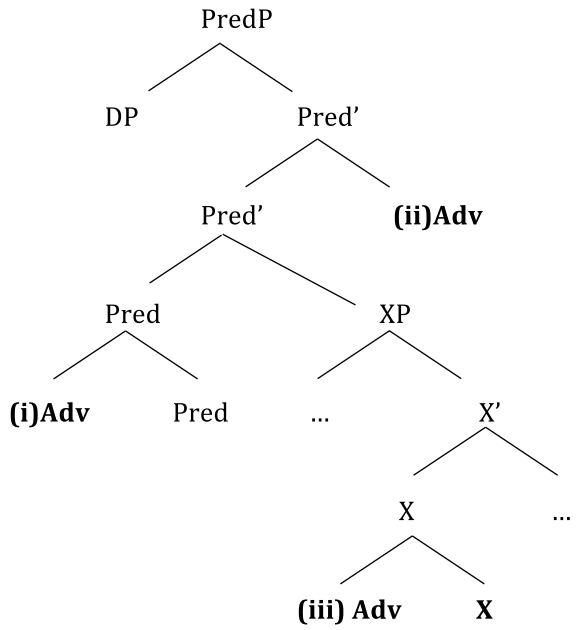
It seems that Japanese SoAs are uniformly phrasal, according to their distribution in the ditransitive passive. A phrasal SoA *minaga akireru hodo yorokonde* '(so) happily that everyone is fed up with' below can intercept the DO and the PP.

(i) Hanako-ga minaga akireru hodo yorokonde Taro-ni yubiwa-o okur-are-ta
-Nom everyone fed.up.with so happily -Dat ring-Acc send-Pass-Past
'Hanako was happily sent a ring by Taro'

(ii) Hanako-ga Taro-ni akireru hodo yorokonde yorokonde yubiwa-o okur-are-ta

And hence I argue that there is no SoA that can adjoin to Pred in Japanese (i.e., the position (i) in (21)).

(21)



4 A proposal

I provide several examples of Japanese SoAs in (22), which will be our target for analysis in this section[9].

(22) yorokonde 'happily', wazato 'intentionally', orokanimo 'stupidly', iyaiya(nagara) 'reluctantly', sibusibu 'reluctantly'

I argue that these SoAs are not independent predicates like their English counterparts, because they cannot have a predicative form as the examples in (23) show.

9 Although these adverbs roughly correspond to MA adverbs in Matsuoka (2013), I have no specific arguments in favor of his categorization here.

(23) a. Taro-wa oroka da
-Top stupid be
'Taro is stupid'
b. *Taro-wa orokanimo da
-Top stupidly be
'*Taro is stupidly'

Following Matsuoka (2013), I claim that the Japanese SoA is a lexical predicate but parasitically licensed by the Pred head.

In respect to the Japanese SoA, I assume that the lexical category that the Pred head can select is only the VP but not others. An NP *tentou* 'tipping. over' cannot be selected by the Pred since the NP *John-no tentou* '(lit) John's tipping over' cannot be predicated of the SoA as in (24). Similarly, neither an adjective *ookii* 'big' in *Taro-no ookii te* 'Taro's big hand' can be a subject of an SoA *yorokonde* 'happily' as (25) shows, nor a locative PP *daigaku-de* 'at a university' can be a subject of an SoA *hokorasigeni* 'proudly,' as in (26).

(24) a. John-no tentou
-Gen tiping.over
'(lit) John's tipping over.'
b. *John-no wazato tentou
-Gen on.purpose tipping.over
'(lit) John's tipping over on purpose.'

(25) a. Taro-no ookii te
-Gen big hand
'Taro's big hand.'
b. *Taro-no yorokonde ookii te
-Gen happily big hand
'*Taro's happily big hand.'

(26) a. Hanako-ga daigaku-de mananda koto
-Nom university-AT learned the.fact
'The fact that Hanako learned at a university.'
b. *Hanako-ga hokorasigeni daigaku-de mananda koto
-Nom proudly university-At learned the.fact
'The fact that Hanako learned at a university in proud'
'(intended reading) *The university where Hanako learned is in proud.'

Following Baker (2003) and Matsuoka (2013), I assume that the Pred itself has no θ-role but the theta role of X is inherited to Pred when X head-moves to Pred; and both events are combined via Event Identification. A complex head V-Pred in (28), for example, creates a θ-role, say, the agent in the case of the transitive structure. I further make an assumption that the adverb itself has its own θ-role (Zubizaretta 1982) and such a role will be assigned to [Spec, Pred], together with the role of the complex head. The adjunct role here is something like <controller> on the basis of the syntax of two sentences in (3) in the previous section.

Here we have one more important assumption for licensing the SoA. Rothstein (1983) claims Function Saturation Principle for every function including both lexical and syntactic.

(27) Function Saturation Principle
All syntactic and lexical functions must be saturated.

I assume that this principle also applies to the projection of the complex predicate in our discussion.

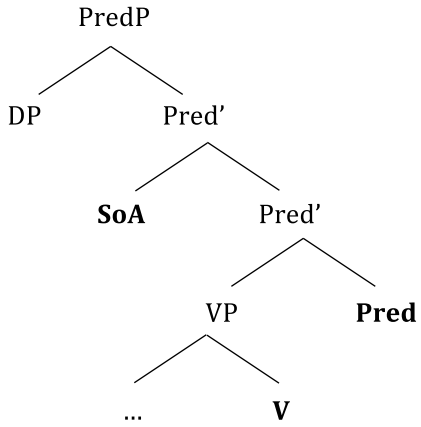
Provided with these, the SoA licensing should not be limited to the main clause. As in (28a), it can modify the embedded causee and the dative phrase of the indirect passive as in (28b). Furthermore, these phrases cannot receive a nominative-marking, respectively, as in (28).

(28) a. Taro-ga Hanako-ni/*-ga wazato hadena doresu-o kis-ase-ta
-Nom -Dat/*-Nom on.purpose flashy dress-Acc wear-Cause-Past
'Taro let Hanako wear a flashy dress.'

b. Taro-ga gakusei-ni/-*ga jyugyoucyuuni nak-are-ta
-Nom student-Dat/*-Nom during.the.lesson cry-Pass-Past
'Taro was adversely affected as his students cried during the lesson.'

The structure in (29) is the proposed structure for the SoA in Japanese.

(29)



The structure (29) shows a predication structure in which the Spec, Pred is the subject of the complex predicate composed of the primary predicate V, the mediator Pred and the SoA. I also propose a semantic condition on the subject of the complex predicate in which the SoA is partially involved.

(30) Semantic condition of predication (for SoAs) (=(6))
The SoA, bearing the semantic feature [+control], partially contributes to the determination of the semantic value of the complex predicate consisting of V and Pred.

The condition in (30) nicely accounts for why the SoA causes a semantic anomaly in a sentence like (31a), but not in (31b).

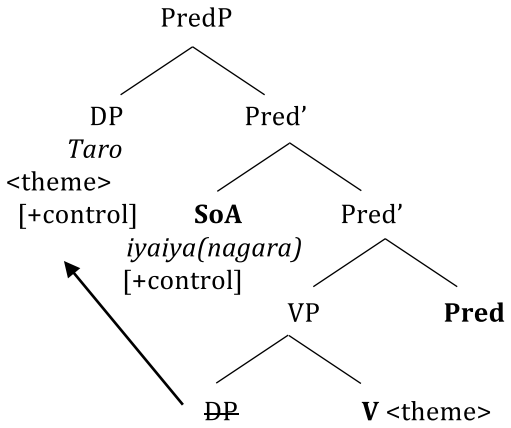
(31) a. Taro-ga iyaiya (nagara) sono kusuri-o nomihosita
-Nom reluctantly the medicine-Acc drunk.up
'Taro reluctantly drunk up the medicine.'
b. #Aranami-ga iyaiya (nagara) sono kobune-o nomikonda
raging.wave-Nom reluctantly the boat-Loc drunk.up
'The raging wave reluctantly drunk up the boat.'

In (31a), the SoA *iyaiya (nagara)* 'reluctantly', V and the Pred composes a complex predicate for the subject. The complex predicate inherits the agent role from V and the controller role from SoA. The Spec, Pred *Taro* can receive these roles since it can stand as the subject of the complex predicate, thereby controlling the verbal event, and hence the SoA is licensed, satisfying the semantic condition (30). On the contrary, in (31b), the Spec, Pred *aranami* 'raging wave' cannot receive these roles, as the DP cannot be a subject of the complex predicate, thereby failing to satisfy the selectional restriction in (30). Due to this, the Spec, Pred is unsaturated; hence the derivation results in unconvergence.

The distribution of the SoA in the unaccusative construction can also be accounted for by the restriction in (30). The SoA *iyaiya(nagara)* can be compatible with a sentence with an animate subject as in (32a). Hence, it follows the restriction in (30). The DP *Taro* originally merges within VP and later remerges to [Spec, Pred] and at this place it bears the [+control] feature from the complex predicate, as displayed in (32b). I use a square bracket for the role of SoAs to just make a distinction from the theta role of V.

(32) a. Taro-ga iyaiya(nagara) sono ba-de taoreta
-Nom reluctantly the place-Loc fell.over
'Taro fell over on the spot reluctantly.'

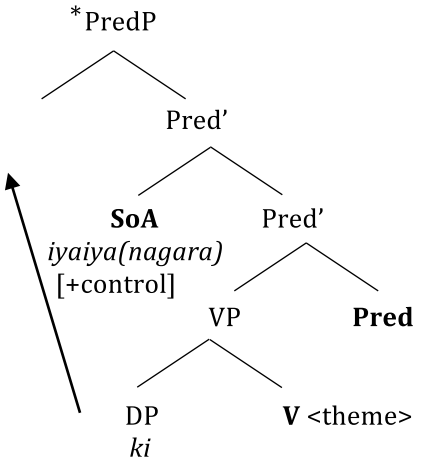
b.



On the contrary, the same SoA cannot be licensed in a sentence like (33a) where the subject *ki* 'tree' cannot receive the [+control] from the complex predicate as shown in (33b). The derivation has to crash here due to the fact that [Spec, Pred] cannot be saturated, thereby failing to satisfy the semantic restriction in (30).

(33) a. #Ki-ga iyaiya (nagara) sono ba-de taoreta
tree-Nom reluctantly the place-Loc fell.over
'Trees fell over on the spot reluctantly.'

b.



Let us now turn to the very target of this study. What makes a sentence like (3b), repeated in (34b), ungrammatical? As has been already mentioned, the sentence is perfectly acceptable without the SoA, which suggests that there is something wrong about the SoA licensing in the derivation of this sentence.

(34) a. Daitouryou-ga wazato sono ba-de taore-ta
President-Nom on.purpose the place-Loc fall.over-Past
'The President fell over on the spot on purpose.'

b. *Daitouryou-ga wazato kyoushinnjya-no jyuudan-ni taoreta
President-Nom on.purpose fanatic.believer-Gen bullet-Dat fall.over
'The President was shot to dead on purpose by the fanatic believer's bullet.'

The nominative subject *daitouryou* in (34b) is an animate entity and it seems no problem for it to receive the theta role of the complex predicate. However, as we have seen in section 2, the subject of this sentence cannot be a controller of the event (e.g., it cannot appear in VP-preposing).

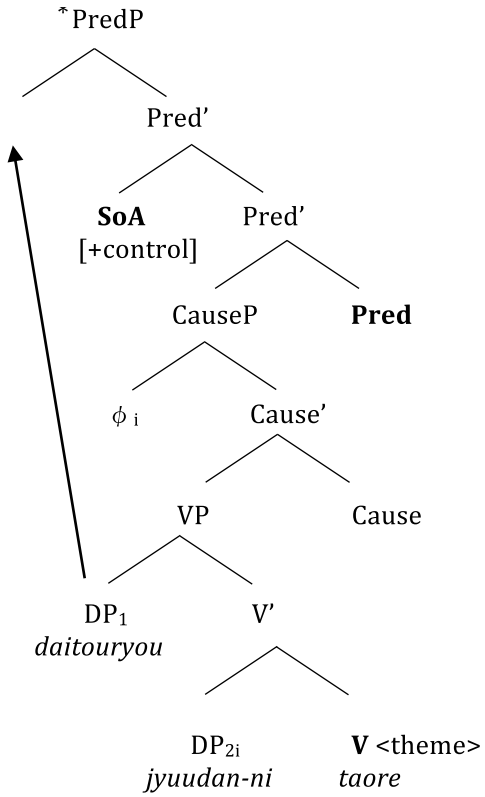
I borrow the insight from the lexical structure of (34b) proposed by Kishimoto (2015), which is given in (35). In (35), z appears as the dative phrase and it is structurally a causer of the event via co-indexation with ϕ[10]. Y appears as the nominative phrase and it is underlyingly a causee of the event.

(35) [ϕ_i] CAUSE [BECOME [y BE-FALLEN.DOWN & y BE-AT z_i]]
(Kishimoto 2015: 55, (23))

Mapping the lexical structure (35) to syntax, I provide a derivation such as (36) and (37). I argue that there are potentially two reasons for this derivation not to converge. The first reason is the structural one. In (36), the DP_1 *daitouryou* cannot move out of CauseP, since the empty element in [Spec, Cause] blocks the remerge of the DP_1.

10 I assume that the dative marker here is a case-marker but not a postposition.

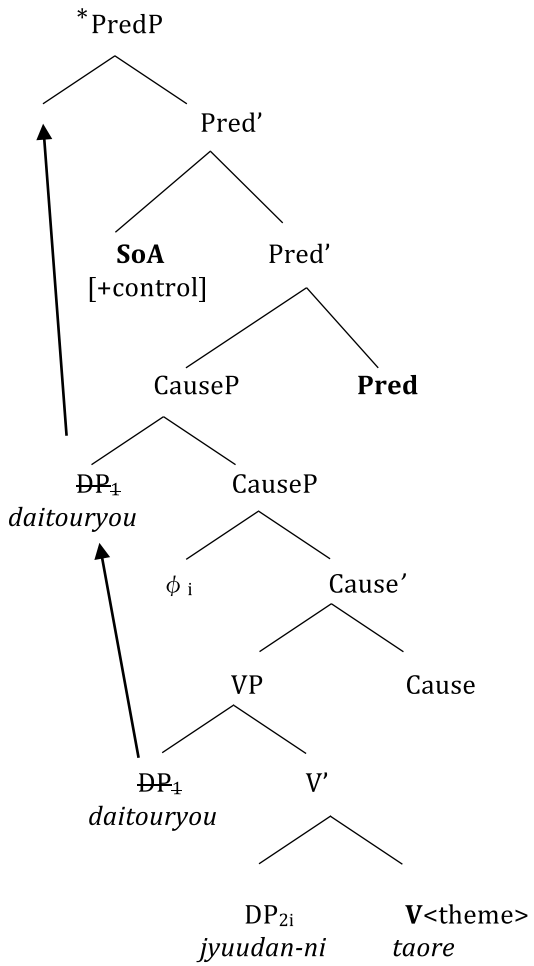
(36)



But what if the DP remerges to the spec of CauseP as in (37)? Even so, the derivation is marked as ill-formed because it has to be ended up with violating the semantic condition (30). The DP_1 cannot get the [+control] feature by the complex predicate (V, Pred, SoA)[11]. This situation leaves [Spec, PredP] in (37) unsaturated and hence the derivation results in unconvergence.

11 I assume that the Cause head has the causer role, thus, it is partially a lexical head. Hence this does not violate the selection rule of Pred such that the Pred head selects the lexical projection.

(37)



5 Conclusion and implications

In this study, I have given an analysis for the grammatical contrast of two types of *taoreru*-class constructions with respect to the licensing of the SoA under a hypothesis that the SoA partially consists a predication structure with the functional head Pred and the lexical head V. I have proposed a semantic condition that is imposed on the subject of the complex predicate consisting of the lexical head V, the functional head Pred and the SoA. According to this condition, [Spec, Pred] must be an entity with the [+control] feature. Assuming that every function must be saturated (Rothstein 1983, Heycock 1993), I have proposed that the SoA is licensed in the regular *taoreru*-sentence since PredP has been successfully saturated in its derivation, whereas it cannot be so in

the idiomatic *taoreru*-construction, due to that PredP there has been failed to do so in derivation.

The semantic condition that I have claimed in this study in tandem with Matsuoka's (2013) predication structure for the SoA has the potential to apply for the other syntactic phenomena such as licensing the *nagara*-phrases 'the *while*-phrase.' But this will be left for the future research.

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