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Mapping from DS to SS: A Case of Japanese Psych-Verbs

Manabu Hashimoto, Hidehito Hoshi, Masaharu Shimada, Yuji Takano

In this joint research we discussed the following constructions with psych-verbs:

(1) a. sono aidolu kasyu-ga John-o sitsubousa-se-ta koto
    the idol-NOM John-ACC disappoint-CAUSE-PAST fact
    'The idol disappointed John.'

b. sono aidolu kasyu-ga John-o (nihon-no geinoukai-ni)
    the idol-NOM John-ACC (Japanese-GEN show business-
    sitsubousa-se-ta koto
    disappoint-CAUSE-PAST fact
    lit.'The idol disappointed John about Japanese show business.'

The main purpose of our research is to shed some light on the syntactic behaviour of psych-constructions in Japanese and to make clear some differences between (1a) and (1b).

First, we claimed that psych-constructions have biclausal structures parallel to causative constructions:

(2) John-ga Mary-o hataraka-se-ta koto
    John-NOM Mary-ACC work-CAUSE-PAST fact
    'John made Mary work.'

sase (CAUSE) is involved with both psych-constructions and causative ones. It is plausible to claim that, like causative, Incorporation has to do with psych-constructions, assuming that Japanese psych-constructions are derived through either V-raising or VP-raising, as Inagaki et al. (1990) points out in causative constructions.

Secondly, there are some examples of psych-constructions involving A-movement like passive, as Belletti and Rizzi (1988) observes. Consider the following example:
(3) nanika-ga daremo-o sitsubousa-se-ta koto
   something-NOM everyone-ACC disappoint-CAUSE-PAST fact
   'Something disappointed everyone.'
   (cf. Oka (1988))

(3) is ambiguous; the quantified NP nanika (something) takes wide
    scope over the other quantified NP daremo (everyone) and vice versa.
    Following Hoji's (1985) observation that when a quantified NP is
    preposed over another quantified NP, the scope interpretation is
    ambiguous, we can say that A-movement like passive is involved with
    psych-constructions; psych-verbs have nonthematic subjects, like
    passive, raising, or ergative verbs. However, there are other
    examples where passivization is available. Consider the following
    sentence:

    (4) John-ga sono aidolu kasyu-niyotte sitsubousa-se-rare-
        John-NOM the idol -by disappoint-CAUSE-PASS-
        ta koto
        PAST fact
        'John was disappointed by the idol.'

It is well known that structures with nonthematic subjects cannot
undergo passivization. Thus, the above fact appears to be
contradictory to the assumption that A-movement is involved with
psych-constructions. We must attack the problem of this ambivalent
nature of psych-constructions.

In order to account for the above facts we claimed that two types
of thematic relations have to do with psych-constructions. Consider
the following English data discussed by Pesetsky (1990):

(5) a. Bill was satisfied with the Chinese dinner.
    b. The Chinese dinner satisfied Bill.

It has long been assumed that the Chinese dinner in both (5a) and (5b)
has the same θ-role; it bears "Theme" θ-role. However, Pesetsky
(1990) observes that the Chinese dinner in both (5a) and (5b) is different; it represents "Subject Matter" (SM) and "Cause" \( \theta \) -role, respectively. This seems to hold of psych-constructions in Japanese. Let us return to the sentences (1a,b).

In (1a) sono aidol\( \text{u} \) kasyu can represent either SM or cause; the sentence (1a) is ambiguous. If nihon-no geinoukai, which is a SM argument, is added to (1a), the sentence is unambiguous. That is, in (1b) sono aidol\( \text{u} \) kasyu is a Cause argument. From the above observation, we can say that (1a) and (1b) differ with respect to the thematic relation and that the fact should be represented in a syntactic configuration. We concluded that while psych-constructions with a Cause argument can be passivized, psych-constructions without a Cause argument involve A'-movement of a SM argument and cannot be passivized. In fact, in the passive sentence (4) sono aidol\( \text{u} \) kasyu cannot be a SM argument; it represents Cause.

In this way, we can explain this ambivalent nature of psych-constructions in terms of the thematic relation along the line of Pesetsky's (1990) observation.

References


