

Two Types of L1 Transfer in Japanese EFL Learners' L2 English

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This study examines two types of L1 transfer, syntactic and semantic, which emerge in the performance by Japanese learners who are learning English as a foreign language (EFL) in Japan. Particularly, we look at their acquisition of subject *seem* raising (SSR) and object relative clause construction (ORC) in English, as in (1a) and (1b), respectively. Much research has been conducted on the investigation of L1 effects in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) (White 2003, Lardiere 2006, Schwartz and Sprouse 2013). However, L1 transfer is still a major issue subject to much deeper investigation to identify which aspect of L1 affects which part of L2 in the acquisition process. Our discussion is both theoretical and experimental from the new perspective of intervention by analyzing our results from Japanese EFL learners based on the Japanese-and-English comparison of SSR and ORC constructions. The outcome of this study can make an important contribution to the advancement in the SLA research field.

We first discuss the results of two experiments on the comprehension of SSR constructions, one with 30 high school students (TOEIC range 215-625, CEFR A2) and the other with 53 college students (Low: $n=28$, TOEIC 320-500, A2, High: $n=25$, TOEIC 635-830, B1). Their comprehension results in Table 1 show that the SSR is acquired much late presumably due to an intervention effect, unlike the subject control, even though both constructions have intervening *Susan* (2a) and *Mary* (2b) blocking an anaphoric relation between the matrix subject and the embedded null subject (Δ) (Nakayama and Yoshimura 2020). We then consider ORC production (writing) data taken from 28 Japanese college students (TOEIC 545-615, CEFR B1). The participants were asked to complete a sentence in writing following the instruction in Japanese, like “Describe a sailor in Picture A so that Mari can select him” (Figure 1). Their production results show that overall, the relative clause is not difficult to produce if the passive relative clause (PRC) is also counted as correct, as in Table 2. However, the grouping of the ORCs into 4 categories according to the [+/-animate] feature of the head and the subject induces one significant finding: The learners are significantly affected by the animate RC head when the subject is inanimate, thereby producing the ORC 58.3% of the time compared to 75.9% on the average in the other three constructions. Given these experimental results, we explore the following 2 questions from the viewpoint of L1 transfer in L2 acquisition: (I) Why do Japanese EFL learners perform poorly on the comprehension of the SSR construction due to intervention? (II) Why do they tend to produce the PRC (3b) over the ORC (3a) with the animate head and inanimate subject of the RC?

Question (I) pertains to L1 syntactic transfer whereas the second question concerns L1 semantic transfer. We postulate that what is responsible for the learners' difficulty with the SSR is the structural absence of the SSR in Japanese. According to Kishimoto (2005) and Takezawa (2015), *yooda* and *rashii*, semantically equivalent to *seem*, are not verbs, and more importantly, the subject in (4a), a translation equivalent to (1a), is base-generated without Case-triggered A-movement as in (4b), unlike the SSR in English. This syntactic difference led the learners to misinterpret the experiencer DP to be the subject of the infinitive clause as in (5). Regarding Question (II), we first point out that the RC in active voice is easier for the learners to acquire than that in passive voice. We hypothesize that their choice of the PRC in the animate-head-and-inanimate-subject RC construction emerges as a result of the topicality of the relative head coupled with the rarity of the overt inanimate subject in Japanese (Kuno 1976). This induces the downgrading of an overt logical subject to an oblique adjunct inside the *by*-phrase in the

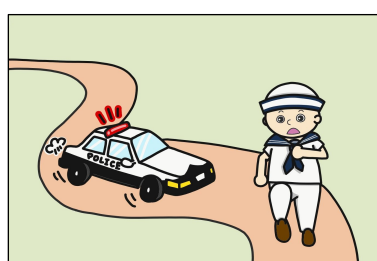
passive, with the null gap being left in the embedded subject position, as in (6a), due to the semantic/pragmatic L1 transfer. Our conclusion will further be compared with a set of oral production data from 10 native speakers of English.

- (1) a. John seems to Mary to be happy. (SSR)
b. The girl that a dog is kissing. (ORC)
- (2) a. Hanako promised Susan $\triangle$ to join the school tennis team.
b. Kenji seemed to Mary $\triangle$ to be an excellent singer for the school festival.

Table 1: Average correct response percentages by group (%)

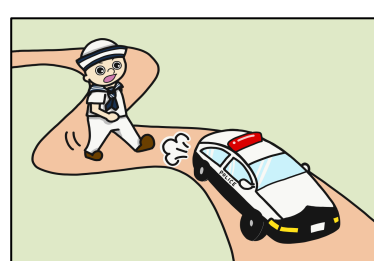
Group	Subject Control (2a)	Raising (2b)
High school students (n=30)	71	42
College students-Low group (n=28)	74	38
College students-High group (n=25)	92	67

Figure 1. Production example: A



A police car is following a sailor.

B



A sailor is following a police car.

Mari, select the picture of the police car _____.

- (3) a. ORC: Mari, select the picture of the sailor that a police car is following.
b. PRC: Mari, select the picture of the sailor that is followed by a police car.

Table 2 Mean correct response rates by production sentence type (%)

	[-A] [-A]	[-A] [+A]	[+A] [-A]	[+A] [+A]
ORC	71.1	66.7	54.44	75.6
PRC	12.2	21.7	21.1	11.1
Errors	16.7	11.7	24.4	13.3

- (4) a. *Mari-ni Zyōn-ga siawase-ni omoeru/mieru*
b. [TP₁Mary for [_{VP}[TP₂John-NOM happy] can-think/see]]

- (5) Japanese EFL learners' interlanguage grammar
[TP₁[DP_i [seems [TP₂ to DP_j [to VP]]]] (i≠j) (Base-generation)

- (6) Japanese EFL learners' tendency in [+animate] and [-animate] sequence: (6a) over (6b)
a. [DP [+animate] [_{RC} $\triangle$ (null) be V-ed by DP (overt) [-animate]]] (PRC)
b. [DP [+animate] [_{RC} DP (overt) [-animate] [_{VP} V $\triangle$ (null)]]] (ORC)

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Reconciling Serial Verbs with Labeling and Theta Theory

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In Japanese, two argument-taking verbs may combine within a single clause to form a serial verb construction (SVC), which operates productively over a variety of verb (transitivity) types. In the most recent development in the Minimalist Program, θ -structures are limited to what can be formed by External Merge alone. Internal Merge to a θ -position is not permitted. Chomsky (2021) calls this division of labor *Duality of Semantics*. Two SVC verbs *must* share one or more arguments to be related; e.g. in (1) both *osu* ‘push’ (V1) and *taosu* ‘topple’ (V2) are inherently transitive verbs that each have an internal argument (IA) and external argument (EA), but the combination V1-V2 has only two overt arguments.

(1) Mari-ga Taro-o osi-taosi-ta

M.-Nom T.-Acc push-topple-Pst

‘Mari toppled Taro by pushing him.’ (Adapted from Nishiyama 1998:185)

We present an analysis that deals with the challenge SVCs pose for the Minimalist Program.

We propose that the most plausible SVC θ -structure is obtained when no new verb frames or θ -configurations need be invented; i.e. when both V1 and V2 retain their underlying θ -structure in the SVC construction. The combined structure must permit argument sharing (by c-command of identical inscriptions, following Chomsky) and be properly Labeled, both of which are needed to be correctly interpreted. (1) has θ -structure (2b), formed by embedding (2a)(i) into (2a)(ii). (The Subscript θ indicates a θ -position. Also arguments of V1 are marked with 1, and arguments of V2 are marked with 2.)

(2) a. (i) $\{EA1_\theta, \{\{IA1_\theta, V1\}, v^*\}\}$, and (ii) $\{EA2_\theta, \{\{IA2_\theta, V2\}, v^*\}\}$

b. $\{_1 EA2_\theta, \{\{_2 IA2_\theta, \{\{_3 EA1_\theta, \{\{IA1_\theta, V1\}, v^*\}\}, V2\}\}, v^*\}\}$

c. $\{_0 EA2, \{\{_1 EA2_\theta, \{\{_2 IA2_\theta, \{\{_3 EA1_\theta, \{\{IA1_\theta, V1\}, v^*\}\}, V2\}\}, v^*\}\}, INFL\}\}$

Chomsky’s (2021) FormCopy, defined in (3), associates EA2 with EA1, and IA2 with IA1, solving the argument-sharing problem.

(3) *FormCopy* (FC): establish a copy relation between two (c-commanding) **identical inscriptions** via Minimal Search (adapted from Chomsky 2021).

In (2b), EA2 $_\theta$ and IA2 $_\theta$ locally c-command their V1 counterparts (assuming Univocality). FC between θ -positions is independently needed for M-gaps (Chomsky 2021).

There are apparent XP-YP Labeling problems (Chomsky 2013, 2015) in (2b). The Label of “ $\{_3$ ” is determined by the lower v^* as the IAs are shared, given FC relation (IA2 $_\theta$,

IA1_θ). Lower IA1_θ is unpronounced in (2c). In “{₁”, EA2 raises to INFL, as shown in (2c). The Label of “{₁” is determined by the higher v*. The raised EA2 (not in a θ-position) is Labeled as it shares ϕ-features with INFL through Agreement. Finally, the XP-YP structure “{₂” is problematic. IA2_θ is in a criterial position (receives Accusative Case from higher v* and is spelled out here), and it does not share any features with the lower VP. Given the Labeling framework, “{₂” is thus Unlabel-able and should crash at interpretation.

Chomsky (2021) provides an independently motivated solution for our SVC θ-configuration, demonstrated with the double object verb *persuade* (4a) with structure (4b).

(4) (a) John persuaded Bill to leave. (Chomsky 2021:24)

(b) {₁ John_θ, {v* {₂ **1**Bill_θ, {persuaded, {₂Bill to {v, {leave, **3**Bill_θ}}}}}}}

In (4b), *persuade* has two complements: ₁Bill_θ and the clause “{₂Bill to {v, {leave, **3**Bill_θ}}”}. The lower subject ₂Bill is formed by raising **3**Bill. All three *Bill*’s are identical inscriptions in local c-command relations and FC applies. Only the highest copy **1**Bill_θ is pronounced, as in (4a). The position of **1**Bill_θ is motivated by Binding facts, e.g. *I persuaded myself to leave*. Chomsky (1955, 2021) indicates that there is a verb-complement relation between **1**Bill_θ and the verbal complex *persuade-to-leave*. Assuming this, the verbal complex must be able to label “{₂” in (4b). “{₂” in (4b) is parallel to “{₂” in the SVC (2b). **1**Bill_θ is in the same position as IA2_θ. Thus “{₂” in (2b) is labeled by the (SVC) verbal complex V1-V2; i.e. *osi-taosi* Labels just like *persuade-to-leave* does. This FormCopy analysis also applies for transitive-intransitive SVCs such as *tuki-sasaru* ‘poke-get stuck’ and intransitive-transitive SVCs like *yoi-tubusu* (get.drunk-crush) ‘get wasted’.

Our analysis overcomes problems inherent in standard SVC analyses which rely on *ad hoc* lexical or syntactic processes that alter the thematic structures of verbs. Kageyama (1993) proposes that SVCs such as *osi-taosu* ‘push-topple’ are formed in the lexicon, which requires special, i.e. construction-particular, versions of V1 and V2 θ-configurations, complicating the theory. Both Nishiyama (1998) and Saito (2016) propose syntactic analyses in which a transitive SVC has a single EA θ-position; they differ in that Nishiyama proposes a separate IA θ-position, as in (5) with PRO as the lower IA, but Saito proposes a V1-V2 verb complex that jointly selects for an IA, as in (6).

(5){EA, {{IA_i, {{PRO_i, V1}, V2}}, Tr(active)}} (6){IA, {V1, V2}}

In this talk, we further elaborate on how typical analyses of SVCs are problematic and how our proposal that verbs that retain their original argument structure in SVCs accords with the optimal conditions of the Minimalist Program, the Strong Minimalist Thesis (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

***That* as a Causal Conjunction in West Germanic Languages**

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In English and other West Germanic languages, epistemically neutral complement clauses are typically introduced by the complementizer *that* or one of its cognates, e.g. Dutch and Frisian *dat* (Nordström & Boye 2016). Three examples are shown in (1)–(3):

- (1) English
*He knows **that** she is home.*
- (2) Dutch
*Hij weet **dat** ze thuis is.*
he knows COMP she at.home is
'He knows that she is home' (Nordström & Boye 2016: 139)
- (3) Wangerooge Frisian
*daa we'itert yaa nich, **dat** yuu deer wíziin hää.*
then know.PL they not COMP she there been has
'Then they don't know that she has been there' (Ehrentraut & Versloot 1996: 449.196)

However, in many of these languages, including earlier stages of English, the complementizer has a range of additional functions. In Middle English, for instance, *that* could also be used to introduce purpose, result, and causal clauses, as shown in the following examples (cited from Phillipps 1966; see also Fischer 1992: 343–346; MED, s.v. *that* conj.):

- (4) Middle English
 - a. PURPOSE ('in order that')
*Wherfor, **that** youre rewarde may be the larger, so he woll ther upon returne the panell for the seyde ateynte* (Paston Letters, no. 224, 1454)
 - b. RESULT ('so that')
*peasse, I pray the, be still / I laghe **that** I kynke* (Towneley Plays, c. 1450)
 - c. CAUSAL ('because')
*Remember that I spake to yw [...] I trow ye forgettyt, **that** ye sent me non answer ther of in ony wye.* (Paston Letters, no. 681, 1471)

In this paper I investigate the type in (4c), i.e. the use of *that* in causal clauses, and propose a scenario for its development. The phenomenon has parallels in other languages of Europe, but is not mentioned for any of the Germanic languages treated by Nordström & Boye (2016). The development from complementizer to causal subordinator is also not discussed by Kuteva et al. (2019).

The paper will focus on two of the West Germanic languages – Middle English and its lesser-known relative Wangerooge Frisian – but I will also point to parallels in Dutch and Low German dialects (e.g. de Rooy 1965: 131–134; Scheel 1939: 74–75). The Middle English data are drawn from the CMEPV, while the Wangerooge Frisian material comes from an electronic corpus based on 19th-century documentation (Ehrentraut 1849, 1854; Ehrentraut & Versloot 1996). Examples were excerpted with AntConc (Anthony 2022) and manually analysed.

The corpus material shows that both Middle English and Wangerooge Frisian had at least two distinct causal uses of the complementizer, corresponding to Sweetser's (1990) "content" and "speech act" domains, respectively. An example of each type from Wangerooge Frisian is shown in (5)–(6). In (5), the event in the *dat*-clause is the "real-world" cause of the event in the matrix clause, whereas in (6) the *dat*-clause provides a motivation for the previous speech act:

- (5) *iik sin saa suf, dat iik farlêeden nacht nich sliipin hâb*
 I am so tired COMP I last night not slept have
 'I'm so tired because I haven't slept last night' (Ehrentraut 1849: 103)
- (6) *hâ's=tuu schôftiid haivt, dát=tuu saa laang we' wiziin bist?*
 have=you break had COMP=you so long away been are.2SG
 'Were you on a break, since you've been away for so long?' (Ehrentraut 1849: 390)

Although one might expect the functions in (5)–(6) to be directly related (cf. Sweetser 1990: Ch. 4), I suggest that they arose in different syntactic contexts. Specifically, the "content" causal use in (5) developed out of *dat*-clauses used as complements of low-transitivity emotion predicates, as in (7), whereas the "speech act" causal use in (6) developed from the use of *dat* in result clauses.

- (7) *daa farschrêcket yaa yam, dat hii saa hooch is*
 then startle.PL they them COMP he so tall is
 'Then they are startled {that/because} he is so tall.' (Ehrentraut & Versloot 1996: 449.227)

Finally, I compare my findings to the generalizations made by Kehayov & Boye (2016) about complementizers in European languages and point to a number of parallels in other languages of the world.

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Particles *Mé/Ń'i* Indicating Topic/Contrast in Biji

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1. Introduction: The properties of the particle *wa* in Japanese have been investigated in detail in the history of Japanese syntax (Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973), Saito (1985) and Maki et al. (1999), among many others). *Wa* has two main functions. When it appears at the beginning of a sentence, it indicates a “topic,” as in (1), and when it appears in the middle of a sentence, it indicates a “contrast,” as in (2). Also, even when it appears at the beginning of a sentence, as in (3), if it is stressed, it indicates a “contrast.”

- (1) Shoohee-*wa* Ichiroo-o mita. (2) Ichiroo-ga Shoohee-***wa*** mita.
Shohei-Top Ichiro-Acc saw Ichiro-Nom Shohei-Top saw
'Shohei saw Ichiro.' 'Ichiro saw Shohei, as opposed to...'
- (3) Shoohee-***wa*** Ichiroo-o mita.
Shohei-Top Ichiro-Acc saw
'Shohei, as opposed to..., saw Ichiro.'

These examples clearly indicate that *wa* has two functions. However, since these two functions appear to be clearly different, the question arises as to whether there really is one *wa*, or whether there are two homophones *was*. Using this as a starting point, this paper addresses the research questions in (4).

- (4) Research questions
- Are there any languages that have particles expressing topics and contrasts in different forms, unlike Japanese?
 - What are the characteristics of topic and contrast particles in such languages?

To address these questions, this paper focuses on Biji, which is considered to be one of the Tibeto-Burman languages.

2. Background: For the purpose of discussion below, we present the basic properties of Biji. Biji is spoken in Hunan Province, Hubei Province and Chongqing in China. It is an SOV language, as shown in (5), and the genitive case marker is *ge*, as shown in (6).

- (5) Ń'os gi k'apwat p'oug. (6) Kyâši-ge c'ekpu
I.A Det flower buy.Pst.1Sg Kyâši-Gen book
'I bought the flowers.' (A = Agent) 'Jushi's book'

3. Data

The data discovered in this study are presented below. First, unlike Japanese, there are no multiple nominative sentences in Biji, as shown in (7).

- (7) Jañ-jû*(-ge) sñik'yé fêlbé ras.
elephant-Pl-Gen trunk.Pl long.Pl Cop
'Elephants' trunks are long./ *Elephants trunks are long.'

Second, the topic marker is *mé*, as shown in (8).

- (8) Jañ-jû-***mé*** gi sñik'yi fêlba ras.
elephant-Pl-Top Det trunk long Cop
'As for elephants, their trunks are long.'

Third, multiple topic sentences are possible in Biji, as shown in (9).

- (9) Jañ-jû-***mé***, sñik'yé-***mé*** fêlbé ras.
elephant-Pl-Top trunk.Pl-Top long.Pl Cop
'As for elephants, as for their trunks, they are long.'

Fourth, the contrast marker in Biji differs in form from the topic marker, and is *ń'i*, as shown in (10).

- (10) Jañ-jû-***ń'i*** sñik'yé-***mé*** fêlbé ras.
elephant-Pl-Ctr trunk.Pl-Top long.Pl Cop

‘Elephants, as opposed to..., as for their trunks, their trunks are long.’

Fifth, contrast markers only appear in the sentence-initial position, as shown in (10)–(12).

- (11) * Jañ-jû-**mé** sñik'yé-**ń'i** řêlbé ras.
elephant-Pl-Top trunk.Pl-Ctr long.Pl Cop
‘As for elephants, their trunks, as opposed to..., are long.’

- (12) * Jañ-jû-**ń'i** sñik'yé-**ń'i** řêlbé ras.
elephant-Pl-Ctr trunk.Pl-Ctr long.Pl Cop
‘Elephants, as opposed to..., their trunks, as opposed to..., they are long.’

Sixth, contrasts and topics have fixed word order, as shown in (10) and (11).

Seventh, topic/contrast markers may not appear in complement clauses, as shown in (13) and (14).

- (13) * Asé-té [jañ-jû-**mé/-ń'i** sñik'yé kê-řêl]-ś-bo kô-so-bor.
who.Pl-Fcs [elephant-Pl-Top/-Ctr trunk.Pl Pfx-long]-Nml-Dat Pfx-think-Per.Prg
‘Everyone thinks that [as for elephants/elephants, as opposed to..., their trunks are long].’

- (14) * Asé-té [jañ-jû-**mé/-ń'i** sñik'yé-mé/-ń'i kê-řêl]-ś-bo
who.Pl-Fcs [elephant-Pl-Top/-Ctr trunk.Pl-Top/-Ctr Pfx-long]-Nml-Dat
kô-so-bor.
Pfx-think-Per.Prg
‘Everyone thinks that [as for elephants/elephants, as opposed to..., as for their trunks/their trunks, as opposed to..., they are long].’

Eighth, topic/contrast markers may not appear in adjunct sentences, such as relative clauses, as shown in (15) and (16).

- (15) * [Jañ-jû-**mé/-ń'i** sñik'yé kê-řêl]-ś-ge ñóinžin-bo ña-te
[elephant-Pl-Top/-Ctr trunk.Pl Pfx-long]-Nml-Gen reason-Dat 1-Fcs
xi-šisg-ra.
Pfx-know.1.Sg-Prg
‘I know the reason why [as for elephants/elephants, as opposed to..., their trunks are long].’

- (16) * [Jañ-jû-**mé/-ń'i** sñik'yé-**mé/-ń'i** kê-řêl]-ś-ge ñóinžin-bo ña-te
[elephant-Pl-Top/-Ctr trunk.Pl-Top/-Ctr Pfx-long]-Nml-Gen reason-Dat 1-Fcs
xi-šisg-ra.
Pfx-know.1.Sg-Prg
‘I know the reason why [as for elephants/elephants, as opposed to..., as for their trunks/their trunks, as opposed to..., they are long].’

4. Discussion: Let us consider what the above facts might suggest for the theory of syntax. First, we obtained an answer to research question (4a). There is a language that has particles expressing topics and contrasts in different forms. It is Biji. Second, the answer to research question (4b) is as follows. (i) Topics and contrasts occupy different structural positions, with CtrP being superior to TopP. (ii) Unlike Japanese, contrasts cannot appear in places other than the sentence-initial position, and even if they move to CtrP at LF, it is too late for them to be licensed. (iii) Unlike English and Japanese (Maki et al. (1999)), in Biji, topics are not allowed to appear in complement clauses, and the conditions for topic licensing in embedded clauses vary depending on the language.

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1. Aim of this Presentation

Within the Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky 2013), Labeling for Syntactic Object is important because labeling is needed at the interfaces. In this presentation, using the Labeling Algorithm, we are going to explore the role of Case observed after the two-member compounds in complex compounds in Swedish, represented in (1). In order to do so, we are going to consider if the CASE inside complex compounds can be considered as an anti-labeling head in the sense of Saito (2016) by comparing it with the Case in Japanese. To do this, we will first compare the element with the phrasal Case in Swedish. As far as we know, there is no other established study of CASE in the Labeling Algorithm. Our study will reveal the mechanism of both morpho-syntactic features of Case system and also, the framework of Labeling Algorithm in more details.

2. Morpho-syntactic behaviors of complex compounds

First, let us show examples of complex compounds in Swedish, with a comparison to possessive DPs. The examples in (1) are complex compounds, while those in (2) are DPs, taken from Holmberg (1992). To make the distinctions, we are going to use CASE in capital letters for the -s marking in complex compounds, while we do use Case for the possessive DPs.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) a. fot-ball-s-plan
foot-ball-CASE-pitch
‘football-pitch’ | (2) a. skolflik-a-s dröm
school-girl-A-Case dream
‘school girl’s dream’ |
| b. skol-flick-s-väsk-a
school-girl-CASE-bag-A
‘school girl’s bag’ | b. min barndom-s stad
my childhood-Case town
‘my childhood’s town’ |

The element *-a* in the word *väsk-a* is a word marker, according to Holmberg (1992) and Josefsson (1997). As shown in (1a-b), in Swedish, complex compounds need to have the element, the CASE to the two-member compound, such as *fot-ball* in (2a). For example, (1a) would not have the same interpretation without the CASE marking inside (e.g., **fot-ball-plan*, perhaps interpreted as ball plan for foot). This CASE is homophonous and historically related to the genitive Case used in possessive NPs (Holmberg 1992: 30). However, as argued in Holmberg (1992), the CASE inside complex compounds is morpho-syntactically different from the case marker found in possessive NPs/DPs, shown in (2a-b). Firstly, as can be shown from the morphological difference of the word *flick-a*, in the possessive DP (2), *-a* element, a word marker needs to be there, whereas in complex compounds like in (1b), *flick* does not have the word marker, resulting the element to be a root, not a word. According to Holmberg (1992) and Josefsson (1997), constituents in two-member compounds in Swedish are not morphologically word, but a root. However, having the word marker *-a* or *-e* is not always the case. So *-a* is not attached to the word *barndom* in (2b). In this sense, then, complex compounds behave exactly as two-member compounds in this language, and it is clear that complex compounds are different from possessive DP. In the presentation, we are going to show more examples to show this difference.

Secondly, according to Josefsson (1997), the CASE in complex compounds does not carry an independent meaning, while the Case, inherently definite, and thus must raise to the D-position and assigns structural Case to a possessor DP in Spec DP (Delssing 1993). Just like in English,

Swedish or other Mainland Scandinavian, the possessor phrase -s attaches to the end of a phrase (e.g. *Lassa och Agentas hus* (Lassa and Agneta's house), so not a case-morpheme. In addition, in Swedish or other Mainland Scandinavian, the possessor phrase always refers to an individual element in the discourse (e.g. my childhood's dream refers to my childhood, not anyone else's). However, the CASE in complex compounds can never be attached to the end of a phrase, but only a two-member compound. In addition, the two-member compound, which the CASE attaches to, does not refer to an individual element in the discourse (e.g. we cannot substitute the compound with a pronoun, it, for example; **den-s-plan*). In this sense, Josefsson (1997: 63) argues that the CASE in complex compounds is similar to "cranberry morphemes" that lack independent meaning but contribute to a meaning of the whole. For example, the typical contrast examples are *barn-bok-klubb* vs. *barn-bok-s-klubb*, where the existence of the CASE makes the interpretation of the whole compound different e.g., club for children's book, as opposed to 'book club for children'. From the different behaviors of complex compounds as opposed to possessive DPs, the CASE element found in complex compounds is not a structural case marking as such found in possessive DPs. Then, what kind of element is it?

3. Is CASE an Anti-Labeling Head?

Following Boškovich (2007) that case valuation in Japanese or another language is independent of agreement feature, Saito (2016) argues that when there is no other way of labeling in the structure (feature-sharing/movement), anti-labeling mechanism where the suffixal case marking makes the constituent opaque for labeling. Case is a suffixal marking in Japanese serves as an anti-labeling device. Similarly, at word level with VV compounds, he proposes that in lexical compounds, the preverbal -i, which is in adverbial form, is the anti-labeling head. Thus, it makes a constituent opaque for search. Among these, of interest here in the presentation is Case as a suffixal marking in Japanese as an anti-labeling device. Saito argues that in a language like Japanese where phi-agreement does not take place between T and the subject DP, the suffixal marking of Case on the subject DP makes the constituent invisible for labeling. Otherwise, the set, {DP, TP} cannot be labeled in Japanese. This is along the same line as what Chomsky (2013) proposes about heads such as conjunction and roots being invisible to Labeling Algorithm. As discussed in Section 2, the CASE in complex compounds in Swedish does not have any semantic features, but needs to be there for the interpretation of the whole compound. It has also been argued that it behaves morpho-syntactically different from the phrasal Case in DPs. In fact, Holmberg (1992), under the Government Binding theory, proposes that the effect of CASE in complex compounds in Swedish, is to close the nominal projection, preventing projection of the features of the Case-marked noun onto the dominating node, thus allowing the other noun to project its features. We are taking this suggestion, only using the different framework, Labeling Algorithm. Although Holmberg (1992) proposes that the complex non-head should be a root, directly merged with CASE, we propose that the CASE is merged with a nominal categorizer, because CASE is only merged with a nominal categorizer, not any other category (cf. Harðason 2020). In addition, roots are weak syntactic elements (Chomsky 2008, 2015), so should be merged with a categorizer to work in the narrow syntax. Thus, the resultant structure would not be labeled with the complex modifier with a categorizer. We propose that the CASE is an anti-labeling head like the Case in Japanese, because like the Case on the subject DP in Japanese, there is no phi-agreement between the constituents of complex compounds, since the constituent, the two-member compound (e.g. *fot-ball*) does not have any reference in the discourse, resulting the constituent to be not a full DP (perhaps nP). Thus, no features are agreed between the two-member compound and the CASE. In addition, just like the Case in Japanese, without the CASE, the whole structure would not be

labeled. Our analysis will be useful for other languages with CASE or a linking element inside compounds, like German, Dutch and many other languages.

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Exploring the Pragmatic Dimensions of 'Any': Insights from Domain Widening

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1. Introduction:

I argue that *any* has a pragmatic effect on the "unlikelihood dimension" when the domain widening effect occurs, and it is necessary to take previous research into account.

2. Background:

2.1. Widening effect of 'any'

It has been well acknowledged that English *any* works either as Polarity Sensitive (PS) or Free Choice (FC) items, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. I don't have any potatoes. (PS any)
b. *I have *any* potatoes.
b. Any lawyer could tell you that. (FC any) (Kadmon & Landman 1993:353-354)

Kadmon & Landman (1993, K&L, hereafter) argue that both PS and FC *any* give rise to a domain widening effect, and suggest the licensing condition for *any*, strengthening (see also Chierchia 2006). In other words, the idea is that widening has a purpose, and this is to make a stronger statement.

- (2) WIDENING: In an NP of the form any CN (i.e. common noun), *any* widens the interpretation of the common noun phrase (CN) along a contextual dimension. (K&L 1993: 361)

- (3) Strengthening
Any is licensed only if the widening that it induces creates a stronger statement,
i.e., only if the statement on the wide interpretation $\Rightarrow$ narrow interpretation (K&L 1993: 369)

< Case 1: PS *any* >

- (4) YOU: Will there be French fries tonight?
ME: (a) No, I don't have potatoes.
YOU: Maybe you have just a couple of potatoes that I could take and fry in my room?
ME: (b) Sorry, I don't have *ANY* potatoes.

It is clear that *any* creates its effect by extending the interpretation of the common noun phrase. K&L say that this widening is done along contextually given dimension – the 'cooking vs. non-cooking' dimension, the 'large vs. small quantities' dimension etc. in (4).

< Case 2: FC *any* >

- (5) A: An owl hunts mice.
B: A healthy one, that is?
A: No, *ANY* owl. (K&L 1993: 364)

In (5), B introduces the possibility that the rule is intended to apply to healthy owls only, but A's last utterance directly indicates a shift in what counts as 'owl' and sick owls are to count as well. This shift is widening effect caused by *any*.

2.2. K&L's account for 'any'

In this section, I explain the K&L's account for *any*.

Let $Q \uparrow X_A(A)$ be an expression denoting a generalized quantifier with a vague restriction (where A corresponds to a common noun phrase).

- (6) $Q \uparrow X_A(A)$ is DOMAIN PRECISE iff for every context c , $\llbracket X_A \rrbracket_c$ is domain precise on $\llbracket A \rrbracket_c$.

Otherwise, $Q \uparrow X_A(A)$ is DOMAIN VAGUE.

(K&L 1993: 411)

According to (6), $Q \uparrow X_A(A)$ is domain precise iff in every context, the set denoted by X_A is domain precise on the denotation of A (i.e. the denotation of the CN).

- (7) Any owl hunts mice.
(8) $\forall \uparrow X_{\text{owl}}(\text{Owl})(\text{Hunts mice})$

(K&L 1993: 413)

In (7), widening, for example, might be along the dimension 'healthy vs. sick'. If someone has mentioned that a healthy owl hunts mice, you can respond with *ANY* owl hunts mice, meaning that healthy and sick owl alike

hunts mice. So the narrow interpretation (before widening) represents in (9) and after widening interpretation represents in (10).

(9) $\forall \uparrow X_{owl}(\text{Healthy owl})(\text{Hunts mice})$

(10) $\forall \uparrow X_{owl, \text{ healthy or sick}}(\text{Owl, healthy or sick})(\text{Hunts mice})$

Where $X_{owl, \text{ healthy or sick}}$ is the result of minimally changing X_{owl} so as to make both HEALTHY and SICK compatible with its precise part and with its precisifications.

(K&L 1993:414)

3. Issue:

However, this K&L's observation and explanation fails to account for the directional aspects of widening effects in entailments. For instance, Fauconnier (1975) demonstrates that whether "any" can be substituted by X or Y depends on the sentence. This is surprising under K&L's account, since we would expect the relevant domain to include both the faintest and the loudest noise after widening.

- (11) a. My uncle is so deaf that he wouldn't hear $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{any} \\ * \text{the faintest} \\ \text{the loudest} \end{array} \right\}$ noise.
 b. He can't stand $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{any} \\ \text{the faintest} \\ * \text{the loudest} \end{array} \right\}$ noise.

(Fauconnier 1975 :355)

In addition to (11), this widening direction appears in FC any as well.

- (12) a. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Any} \\ * \text{The smartest} \\ \text{the dumbest} \end{array} \right\}$ lawyer could tell you that.
 b. The suspect is so good that he could trick $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{any} \\ \text{the smartest} \\ * \text{the dumbest} \end{array} \right\}$ lawyer.

In my work, I intend to incorporate the (un)likelihood effect, as suggested by Kattunen and Peters (1979) and Lahiri (1992), as a pragmatic factor within K&L's framework of the PS *any*.

4. Proposal:

Now, I will explain the interpretation as follows:

- (13) John doesn't answer $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{any} \\ \# \text{any, even the most difficult} \\ \text{any, even the easiest} \end{array} \right\}$ question.

- 1) *Any* makes alternatives of x which has a property of question in the common ground the worlds in which all member of question is a question John answers. $(= q_1, q_2, \dots q_n) (=d_e)$. It is compatible with theoretical framework by selecting the largest possible quantificational domain from among the plausible candidates.([1]:555)
- 2) From every question that John answer $(= q_1, q_2, \dots q_n)$, we can compare 'John doesn't answer q_1 ', 'John doesn't answer q_2 '... 'John doesn't answer q_n ' $(= B(q_1), B(q_2), \dots, B(q_m), B(q_n))$. Consequently, an inference can be drawn, suggesting that the proposition 'John doesn't answer q_m ' is the least likely among the set. I assume that considering the assessment of the probability of the proposition 'John doesn't answer q .' as a pragmatic scale is necessary for accepting Fauconnier's approach.
- 3) *Any* widens the least-likely proposition that 'John doesn't answer q_m .'
- 4) Therefore, this proposal gives explanation why the most difficult question in (8) is odd, because the point of evaluating the likely of 'John doesn't answer some question.' is 'how difficult the problem' is.

5. Reference:

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A Syntactic Analysis of Excessive Serial Verb Construction in Mandarin Chinese
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Mandarin Chinese (henceforth Mandarin) has the serial verb construction (SVC) like the resultative construction shown in (1). There is another kind of construction that very much resembles (1) and yet still exhibits distinct properties as provided in (2):

- (1) Tamen wa shen le kenger. (resultative)
they dig deep ASP hole
‘They dug the hole to be deep.’
- (2) Kenger wa { shen / qian } le. (excessive SVC)
hole dig deep shallow ASP
‘The hole has been dug (too) { deep / shallow }.’

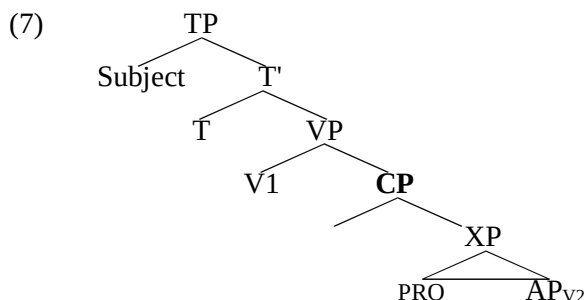
Both sentences are formed with two predicates: the first (V1) denotes an activity while the second (V2) expresses a resultant state. Compared to (1), however, the resultant state in (2) conveys some additional unexpected meaning. This construction is called the excessive SVC (Fan 2017) and has drawn some attention in the literature (Lu 1990; Ma & Lu 1997a, b, c; Shen & Peng 2010; Liu 2016; Fan 2017; Fan & Li 2019; among others). The interpretative difference can best be seen from (3): while V2 *qian* ‘shallow’ can occur in the excessive SVC as in (2), it cannot participate in the resultative formation, as in (3). The reason is clear: the two predicates in resultatives exhibit an inherent causal relation, so it is rather odd to say that the digging causes the hole to become shallow.

- (3) *Tamen wa **qian** le kenger. (resultative, Fan 2017, 204)
they dig shallow ASP hole
Intended: ‘They dug the hole to be shallow.’

As also indicated by the translation in (2), the excessive meaning is like what one would expect in cases with the adverb *tai* ‘too’. Interestingly, it is possible to have the adverb in the excessive SVC (4), but not in the resultative counterpart (5). In addition, (5) also shows that the understood object (e.g., *kenger* ‘hole’) is unlikely to originate in the postverbal position so the unaccusativity analysis of resultatives (e.g., Sybesma 1999) does not work for the excessive SVC, either.

- (4) Kenger wa **tai** shen le. (excessive SVC)
hole dig too deep ASP
‘The hole has been dug too deep.’
- (5) *Tamen wa **tai** shen le kenger.
they dig too deep ASP hole
Intended: ‘They dug the hole to be too deep.’
- (6) We dug the hole (too) deep. (internet search)

This is different from English resultatives in (6) where the excessive interpretation can easily be obtained with the addition of the adverb *too*. Together with the distinct properties noted above, it calls for a different structural analysis for the excessive SVC in Mandarin as I propose in (7):



The null subject in the embedded structure immediately accounts for why the understood object has to be displaced, as already seen in (4). The occurrence of the null subject is licensed by the intervening CP, as indicated by a classic pattern observed in English, provided in the following,

(8) I don't know [_{CP} *whether* [_{TP} { *John / *PRO* } to go to the party].

(9) I know [_{TP} { John / **PRO* } to be the best candidate]. (Haegeman 1994, 170)

In addition to (4), it is possible to have the Agent subject and an agent-oriented adverb showing up in the excessive SVC. On one hand, this indicates that the proposed structure is on the right track and rejects most previous analyses that assume an unaccusative (which is of course non-agentive) sort of analysis (Shen & Peng 2010; Liu 2016; Fan 2017; Fan & Li 2019).

(10) **Lisi** maoyi **guiyi** zhi da le. (excessive SVC)
 Lisi sweater intentionally weave big ASP
 'Lisi has intentionally woven the sweater (too) big.'

The proposed analysis with an embedded null subject can also explain different interpretative patterns observed in the excessive SVC. In particular, the understood object (e.g., *maoyi* 'sweater') can be regarded as a Topic since it can occur clause-internally as in (10) or clause-externally as in (11). The Topics in both sentences are coindexed with the null subject in the embedded structure. On the other hand, for cases like (12) that do not semantically license an understood object, the null subject will then be co-indexed with the matrix subject (i.e., *Lisi*).

(11) Maoyi_i Lisi guyi zhi [_{CP} [_{XP} *PRO*_i da le]]. (excessive SVC)
 sweater Lisi intentionally weave big ASP
 'Lisi has intentionally woven the sweater (too) big.'

(12) Lisi_i faner zhang [_{CP} [_{XP} *PRO*_i ai le]]. (excessive SVC)
 Lisi instead grow short ASP
 'Lisi grows (too) short instead.'

The dual referential property is reminiscent of a pattern in Huang (1984): an embedded empty subject in Mandarin can refer to the matrix subject or to a salient entity in the context (i.e., Topic).

In addition, it has also been observed that the excessive SVC can have the *de*-counterpart which allows a much more flexible embedded structure. That is, the understood object (e.g., *kenger* 'hole') that cannot occur post-verbally as in (4) can now appear as the embedded subject as in (13):

(13) Tamen wa **de** **kenger** tai qian le. (*de*-excessive SVC)
 they dig DE hole too shallow ASP
 'They have dug (so that) the hole is too shallow.'

The *de*-excessive construction also supports the proposed analysis. In particular, *de* can be analyzed as the overt realization of the complementizer, which then warrants the existence of a CP layer as proposed. Moreover, the fact that the embedded subject can overtly show up as in (13) is parallel to a well-known contrast of the *want*-infinitivals (or *for*-infinitivals) in English, as provided in (14). To be more precise, (14a) is parallel to the excessive SVC with a null subject whereas (14b) is on a par with the *de*-excessive SVC where the occurrence of an embedded subject is licensed.

(14) a. John wants [*PRO* to win].

(Martin 2001, 155)

b. John wants [**for** [**his team** to win]].

All in all, I propose a syntactic analysis of the excessive SVC in Mandarin and provide arguments from intra-linguistic and cross-linguistic perspectives.