On A-movement and Phases in Japanese


**Applicatives and Phases:** Some Appl constructions such as Kinyarwanda Benefactives allow not only 'short' passive, in which the higher object moves to the matrix subject position as in (1a) but also 'long' passive in which the lower object is raised to the subject position as in (1b). Others, such as the double object construction in English only allow IO (=indirect object) to be passivized as shown in (2).

McGinnis (2001, 2004), who exploits Pylkkänen's (2001) proposal that some Appl heads take V as its complement (=High Appl) and some appear as V's complement (=Low Appl), argues that this contrast is accounted for if High Appls are phases but not Low Appls as in (3). Since High Appl is a phase, which Chomsky (1998) assumes to have an EPP-feature, DO (=direct object) can move to the outer specifier of High ApplP because IO does not intervene between the High Appl head and DO. Then, DO can move to the matrix subject position, i.e., SPEC TP. Thus, ‘long’ passive is available. On the other hand, since Low Appl is not a phase, DO must move directly from the base position to SPEC TP. Since IO is closer to T, it serves as an intervener of the movement. Therefore, DO cannot be passivized in Low Appl constructions.

**Causatives as Applicatives:** Marantz (1993) claims that causatives and double object constructions are identical because in languages like Kinyawanda, morphologically derived causatives and double object (applicative affix, affixal verb) constructions share a similar construction with an affected object, or the causee as the higher object. This view is supported by Pesetsky (1995) and Bruening (2001), who point out that IO in a double object construction in English receives an affected interpretation as in (4). Given Marantz’s (1993) proposal, I assume that Japanese causative construction is an applicative construction as it employs a causative affix just like Kinyawanda counterpart as in (5). Then, the contrast in (6) shows that Japanese causative only allows the affected object, *daiku* in (6a), to be passivized (e.g. Inoue 1976, Marantz 1984). This indicates that Japanese causative is not High Appl but Low Appl. There are a couple of reasons that the unavailability of 'long' passive in (6b) should be attributed to the intervention effect of the affected object. First, there exist languages with morphologically derived causative constructions which allow both 'short' passives and 'long' passives. Korean is one of those languages. Korean causative constructions allow ‘long’ passives as well as ‘short’ passives as shown in (7) (Youngmi Jeong p.c.). Another example is Kichaga, which also allows both ‘short’ and ‘long’ passive operations in causative constructions as in (8) (e.g. Alsina 1992). That is, Korean and Kichaga causative constructions can be analyzed to be High Appl. Second, it is not the case that ‘long’ passive in Japanese does not exist. As Nishigauchi (1993) observes, ‘long’ passive in Japanese is possible in control constructions as in (9). Further, the contrast between (6b) and (9) follows from my proposal. As schematized in (10a), since Causative head (=Caus), which is Low Appl, is not a phase, the lower object (DP₂) must move directly from the base position to SPEC TP. The higher object (DP₁) serves as the intervener of the movement. On the other hand, as schematized in (10b), if Japanese control construction is a V-V syntactic complementation as Nishigauchi (1993), Kageyama (1999) among others claim, the object in the lower predicate (DP₁) can move to the matrix subject position via the outer specifier of vP because v is a phase and has an EPP-feature (e.g. Chomsky 1998). Thus, the interaction between locality constraints on A-movement and phases can explain the (un)availability of ‘long’ passives in these constructions.

**Implications:** This paper shows that Japanese A-movement obeys locality constraints, which should interact with phases. Further, if locality constraints are for Chomsky’s (1998) Agree as Boeckx & Niinuma (2004) and Boeckx & Jeong (2002) claim, my analysis of long passive in Japanese causatives suggests that movement in long passive be involved with Agree, against Wurmbrand’s (2002) claim that movement in long passive is independent of Agree.
Examples

(1) a. Umukoôbwa t1 -ra-andik-ir -w -a  t1 iîbarang n’ûhuûgu.
   girl SP-PR-write-APPL-PASS-ASP letter by boy
   ‘The girl is having the letter written for her by the boy.’

   b. Iîbarang, i -ra -andik -ir -w -a umukoôbwa t1 n’ûhuûgu.
   letter SP-PR-write -APPL-PASS-ASP girl by boy
   ‘The letter is written for the girl by the boy.’

(2) a. Alice was baked a cake.

   b. *A cake was baked Alice.

(3) a. High applicative
   \[ \text{AppiP} \]

   \[ \text{IO Appl'} \]

   \[ \text{Phase} \rightarrow \text{Appl VP} \]

   \[ \text{DO NOT phase} \rightarrow \text{Appl DO} \]

   b. Low applicative

(4) The lighting gave John a headache.

(5) a. Umugore a -r -ubak -iish -a abakozi inzu.
   man subAGR-pres -build -CAUSE-aspect workers house
   ‘The man is making the workers build a house’ (Kinyawanda)

   b. Sono hito-ga daiku -ni ie -o tate -sase -ta.
   the man-NOM carpenter-DAT house-ACC build-CAUSE-PAST.
   ‘The man made carpenters build a house.’ (Japanese)

(6) a. Daiku -ga t1 ie -o tate -sase -rare -ta.
   carpenter-NOM house-ACC build -CAUSE-PASS-PAST
   ‘Carpenters were made to build a house’

   b. *Ie -ga daiku -ni t1 tate -sase -rare -ta.
   house-NOM carpenter -DAT build -CAUSE -PASS-PAST
   Lit.: ‘A house was made carpenters to build.’

(7) a. Haksengdul-i t1 notebook -ul -kae/torok ha -o -chi -et-da.
   students-NOM notebook computer -ACC buy-CAUSE do-PASS-PAST
   ‘Students were caused to buy a notebook computer.’

   Notebook computer-NOM students -DAT buy-CAUSE do-PASS-PAST
   Lit.: ‘Notebook computer was caused students to buy.’

(8) a. Mana n -a -le -zrem -ilro -o t1 muinda.
   Child Foc-AGR-past-cultivate-CAUSE-PASS farm
   ‘The child was caused to cultivate the farm.’

   b. Muinda u -i -m -zrem -ilr -o t1
   farm AGR-pres-him -cultivate -CAUSE -PASS
   Lit.: ‘The farm is caused him to cultivate’

(9) Kono hon -ga yomi-hajime -rare -ta.
   this book -NOM read-begin -PASS-PAST
   Lit.: ‘This book was begun to read.’

(10) a. \[ [\text{vP} \rightarrow [\text{vP} \rightarrow [\text{CausP} [\text{DP} [\text{Caus DP}] ]]]]]

    \[ \text{[The intervener]} \]

    b. \[ [\text{DP} [\text{T} [\text{vP} \rightarrow [\text{vP} \rightarrow [\text{vP t1 [\text{v PRO [\text{v [\text{vP V}]}}]]]]]]]]

    \[ \text{[The intervener]} \]