

## Complex verbs in the alleged small clause construction (ASC) in Japanese

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The question remains as to whether the bare adjective (BA) in (1a) forms a small clause (SC) with *Mary-o* (accusative (A)DP), as in (1b), or a complex verb (CV) with the matrix predicate (MP), as in (1c) (cf. Takezawa 1988, Kikuchi and Takahashi 1991, and Koizumi 2002). While the SC approach is arguably more popular, this paper argues for the CV approach, where the BA and MP, as a CV, is predicated of the matrix subject (SUBJ). The MP then raises to break the symmetry of the A-MP complex, as in (1c/d).

- (1) a. John-wa Mary-o [A kinodoku-ni/itoshiku] omotta  
 John-top Mary-acc pity-dat /lovable considered  
 ‘John considered Mary lovable/pity.’  
 b. [IP SUBJ [SC ADP BA] MP]. c. [VP SUBJ [VP ADP [V BA MP ] ] ].  
 d. [IP SUBJ [VP ~~SUBJ~~ [VP ADP [V BA MP ] ] MP ] ] ].
- (2) John-wa Mary-o [kinodoku da/itoshi-i] -to omotta  
 John-top Mary-acc pity be/lovely-be -quote considered  
 ‘John considered Mary to be lovable/to be pity.’

The SC approach is motivated by the surface similarity between (1a) and (2), an epistemic ECM construction (EEC). They appear identical except for the form of the BA: the so-called stem form in (1a) and the predicate form in (2). This difference is generally taken as comparable to the tensed/tense-less contrast, as expressed in their respective English gloss.

This similarity is only apparent, however. For example, the BA is not predicated of the ADP in (1a), as it is in (2). In the EEC as in (4), *dissatisfied<sub>BA</sub>* is predicated of *Mary<sub>ADP</sub> – Mary* being dissatisfied. In the ASC as in (3), the BA is modifying the *omou<sub>MP</sub> – John* is dissatisfied. Also, the MPs are narrowly constrained for an ASC, as in (5), although the predicates therein are allowed for an EEC. Thus, an ASC is not a tense-less counterpart of an EEC; Kawai (2008) and Matsuoka (2012) reached the same conclusion independently, to be discussed in the paper. Further, the strict adjacency is required of the ADP and A in an ASC, unlike an EEC (6). This range of facts receives a natural account if the A and MP form a CV.

- (3) John-wa Mary-o human-ni omotta ASC  
 John-top Mary-acc dissatisfied considered  
 ‘John was not happy about Mary.’
- (4) John-wa Mary-o human-da -to omotta EEC  
 John-top Mary-acc dissatisfied-be -quote considered  
 ‘John considered Mary to be dissatisfied.’
- (5) omotta /kanjita/\*kangaeta /\*dantei-shita/\*handan-shita/\*utagatta /\*kigatsuita  
 considered/felt /thought /determined /judged /suspected /realized
- (6) a. John-wa Mary-o [\*itoshiku/√itoshi-i -to ] kokoro-kara omotta  
 John-top Mary-acc lovable/lovable-is -quote heart-from considered  
 ‘John considered Mary (to be) lovable from the bottom of his hear.’  
 b. Mary-o \*itoshiku/√itoshi-i -to John-wa omotta  
 Mary-acc lovable/lovable-be -quote John-top considered  
 ‘John considered Mary (to be) lovable.’

A number of questions arise from the approach advocated herein, especially regarding the alleged subjecthood of the ADP (Kikuchi and Takahashi 1991, Yokoyama 2012). I suggest that the subject property of the ADP derives from the configuration created by the predicate-raising (1d) (e.g. Kitagawa 1986 and Irimia 2012).

## References

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