

THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURE AND LOGICAL STRUCTURES OF
COMPOUND VERBS IN JAPANESE

by

Kiyoko Toratani
May 7, 2002

A dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of State
University of New York at Buffalo
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics

Copyright by
Kiyoko Toratani
2002

Acknowledgements

My first and foremost thanks go to the three members of the dissertation committee: Dr. Robert Van Valin, Jr., Dr. Jean-Pierre Koenig, and Dr. Mitsuaki Shimojo. I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Dr. Van Valin, who guided me with extreme patience throughout my graduate study. I feel the most fortunate to be able to study under Dr. Van Valin, who is the principal developer of Role and Reference Grammar, which is the theoretical framework this dissertation adopts. I cannot thank him enough for his time and his dedication to discuss issues even when the regular semesters were not in session. I would like to express my great debt of gratitude to Dr. Koenig for his constructive criticisms, and for his guidance, without which I would not have been able to approach this topic. I would further like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Shimojo for his precious comments and for his moral support during various stages in writing this dissertation.

I am also grateful to Dr. Yoko Hasegawa (U.C. Berkeley) for reading the entire manuscript and providing me with valuable comments. I owe the Department of Linguistics, the Department of Modern Languages, and the World Languages Institute much gratitude. Without their financial support, my graduate study would have been impossible. I also thank Stacy Krainz for providing me with various editorial comments.

During the past several years, I was taught, helped, and inspired by many fellow students in the Linguistics Department at UB. I owe many thanks to them, particularly, Osamu Amazaki, Holger Diessel, Ardis Eschenberg, Jeonghan Han, Shingo Imai, Kyung-Shim Kang, Hidematsu Miura, Nuttanart Muansuwan, Wataru Nakamura, Luis Paris, Suda Rangkupan, Kimio Tanihara, Takashi Yoshida, Kazue Watanabe, and Joy Wu. I also

thank the Japanese students who helped me with the acceptability judgments.

And finally, I am very grateful to my parents for their loving support.

Abstract

This dissertation examines the morphosyntactic structure of compound verbs in Japanese. Compound verbs constitute morphologically a unitary class of V-V, in which a finite V2 is bound to a non-finite V1 as in *suberi-otiru* slip(V1)-fall(V2) ‘slip down’. Recent studies (Kageyama 1989, 1993; Matsumoto 1992, 1996) argue that Japanese compound verbs consist of multiple types structurally on the basis of their distinct behaviors when a compound verb co-occurs with another element (e.g., the passive morpheme *-(r)are*) within the same clause. This study corroborates Kageyama and Matsumoto in that Japanese V-Vs enter into multiple structural types but offers an alternative account working within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), arguing that the notions of nexus and juncture can make explicit the structural relations between the component verbs. It claims that the morphosyntactic and the semantic relations exhibited by the Japanese V-V construction are systematic, conforming to the principle of the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), which explicates the iconic relationship between the syntactic tightness and the semantic cohesion among the units. Specifically, of the semantic relations which V-V expresses, the concepts of causative, phase, psych-action and jussive are instantiated by lexical compounding, nuclear cosubordination, core cosubordination, and core coordination respectively, whose morphosyntactic tightness is organized from the tightest to the loosest as predicted by the principle of the Interclausal Relations Hierarchy. Chapter 1 is the introduction. Chapter 2 introduces the framework. It also develops the diagnostics tests to examine the Japanese Aktionsart classes. Chapter 3 focuses on the transitivity structure based on Jacobsen’s (1992) observation of ‘transitivity parity’. Chapter 4 lays

out the criteria to distinguish syntactic from lexical phenomena in RRG terms. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 examine the juncture-nexus types as well as the logical structures of non-phase verbs (e.g., *-sugi* ‘excessively’) and phase verbs (e.g., *-hazime* ‘begin’) respectively. Chapter 7 presents an analysis of lexical compound verbs (e.g., *-aw* ‘fit/match (distributively)’), which have been previously analyzed as syntactic. Chapter 8 presents a summary and examines the implications of this study.

CONTENTS

List of tables xii

List of figures xiii

List of abbreviations xiv

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction 1

- 1.1. Scope and data 1
- 1.2. Goals and limits of study 4

CHAPTER TWO: Framework 8

- 2.1. The layered structure of the clause (LSC) for simple sentences 8
 - 2.1.1. The constituent projection of the LSC 8
 - 2.1.2. The operator projection of the LSC 10
- 2.2. Operators 11
 - 2.2.1. Nuclear operators 11
 - 2.2.2. Core operators 13
 - 2.2.3. Clausal operators 13
- 2.3. The layered structure of the clause in complex sentences 14
- 2.4. Lexical representations 20
- 2.5. Macroroles and semantic transitivity 25
 - 2.5.1. Macroroles 25
 - 2.5.2. Macrorole-transitivity 26
- 2.6. Diagnostic tests for determining the predicate classes in Japanese 28

2.6.1.	Test 1: <i>-te-i-ru</i> test	28
2.6.2.	Test 2: the citation form	36
2.6.3.	Test 3: <i>for</i> test and test 4: durative <i>in</i> test	37
2.6.4.	Test 5: <i>finish</i> test	39
2.6.5.	Test 6: <i>slowly</i> test, Test 7: <i>zyozyoni</i> test, Test 8: <i>dandan</i> test	40
2.6.6.	Test 8: causative paraphrase test	44
2.6.7.	Summary of the diagnostic tests	47
2.6.8.	Aktionsart classes of Japanese verbs	48
2.7.	Notes on Japanese verbs	48
2.8.	Summary	51
CHAPTER THREE: Descriptive Characteristics		52
3.1.	The component's ability to occur as an independent verb	53
3.1.1.	The types	53
3.1.2.	Distribution of forms	57
3.2.	Transitivity	59
3.2.1.	Introduction	59
3.2.2.	Transitivity parity	60
3.2.3.	Motivation for the morphological distinction in V2 position	61
3.2.4.	Examination of transitivity parity	69
3.3.	Frequency counts	72
3.3.1.	V2s of high counts	73
3.3.2.	V1s of high counts	77
3.4.	Summary	79

CHAPTER FOUR: Syntactic versus Lexical Compounds 81

- 4.1. Lexical versus syntactic phenomena in RRG 81
- 4.2. Diagnostic tests employed in previous research 87
 - 4.2.1. Tagashira (1978) 87
 - 4.2.2. Kageyama (1993) 90
 - 4.2.3. Matsumoto (1992, 1996) 95
- 4.3. Subtypes 97
 - 4.3.1. Shibatani (1973a) 98
 - 4.3.2. Kageyama (1993) 99
 - 4.3.3. Matsumoto (1996) 104
 - 4.3.4. Diagnostic tests not employed 105
- 4.4. Diagnostic tests 113
 - 4.4.1. Interpretation of adjuncts 113
 - 4.4.2. Passivization 114
 - 4.4.3. Causative 127
- 4.5. Summary 141

CHAPTER FIVE: Non-Phase Verbs 142

- 5.1. *-Sugi* ‘excessively’ 143
 - 5.1.1. Meaning 143
 - 5.1.2. The juncture-nexus type of *-sugi* 157
 - 5.1.3. Domain and the structural type 160
- 5.2. Psych-action verb: *-nare* ‘become used to’ 164

5.3.	Modality-related V2s	167
5.3.1.	<i>-Kane</i> ‘serve both as (unable)’	167
5.3.2.	<i>-Kane-nai</i> ‘might’	174
5.3.3.	<i>-E</i> ‘be possible’	178
5.4.	Summary	181
CHAPTER SIX: Phase Verbs 182		
6.1.	Aspectual phases	183
6.2.	Inceptive phase (I): <i>-hazime</i> ‘begin’	185
6.2.1.	Introduction	185
6.2.2.	Meaning of <i>-hazime</i> _{NUC} and <i>-hazime</i> _{CORE}	186
6.2.3.	The juncture-nexus type of <i>-hazime</i> _{NUC} and <i>-hazime</i> _{CORE}	193
6.3.	Inceptive phase (II): <i>-das</i> ‘begin’	197
6.4.	Middle phase: <i>-tuzuke</i> ‘continue _{tran} ’	200
6.5.	Final phase: <i>-owar</i> ‘finish _{intran} ’ and <i>-owe</i> ‘finish _{tran} ’	204
6.5.1.	Introduction	204
6.5.2.	Toratani (1999)	205
6.5.3.	The semantic difference	208
6.5.4.	The juncture-nexus type	212
6.6.	Prior to the onset of an atelic phase: <i>-kake/-kakar</i> ‘hook (be about to)’	217
6.6.1.	The juncture-nexus type	217
6.6.2.	Meaning of <i>-kake</i> ‘hook _{tran} (be about to)’	219
6.7.	Summary	231

CHAPTER SEVEN: Lexical Compound Verbs 234

- 7.1. The means-result V-Vs 235
- 7.2. *-Kir* ‘cut (completely)’ 240
- 7.3. *-Aw* ‘fit/match (distributively)’ 244
 - 7.3.1. Introduction 248
 - 7.3.2. V1 with unaffected valence 248
 - 7.3.3. V1 with decreased valence 253
- 7.4. Summary 261

CHAPTER EIGHT: Conclusion 263

Appendix A 271

References 273

Text references 285

TABLES

Table 2.1:	Aktionsart classes	20
Table 2.2:	Diagnostic tests for predicate classes in Japanese	47
Table 2.3:	Aktionsart classes of Japanese verbs	48
Table 3.1:	Distribution of forms	57
Table 3.2:	Pattern of transitivity	69
Table 3.3:	The V2s of high counts on the ability to compound	74
Table 3.4:	The V1s of high counts on the ability to compound	78
Table 4.1:	Constructional template for Japanese indirect passive construction	127
Table 4.2:	Constructional template for Japanese causative constructions	140
Table 5.1:	Constructional template for <i>-sugi</i> ‘excessively’	159
Table 6.1:	Summary of <i>-kake</i> ’s readings with non-causative classes	221
Table A1:	The intransitive-transitive pairs found in V1 and V2 positions	271

FIGURES

- Figure 2.1: Components of the LSC 9
- Figure 2.2: Constituent projection of the LSC 10
- Figure 2.3: Operator projection in LSC 11
- Figure 2.4: Nexus relations 16
- Figure 2.5: The Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy 25
- Figure 3.1: The continuum of the transparency of the meaning 58
- Figure 4.1: System linking semantic and syntactic representations 82
- Figure 6.1: The internal phases of an event 184
- Figure 6.2: An event of falling 223
- Figure 6.3: The relation of a telic event and the resultative state 224
- Figure 6.4: Event of drying 225
- Figure 6.5: The schema of *-kake* with an event 226
- Figure 6.6: The schema of *-kake* 229
- Figure 6.7: The schema of the phase verbs 232
- Figure 8.1: Interclausal Relations Hierarchy 267
- Figure 8.2: The syntactic and the semantic relations of the compounds 268
- Figure 8.3: The Interclausal Relations Hierarchy of Japanese V-V 269

ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Accusative
ARG	Argument
ASP	Aspect
CAUS	Causative
CL(F)	Classifier
COM	Comitative
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DCA	Direct core argument
DfP	Different pivot
EVID	Evidential
FOC	Focus
GEN	Genitive
H	Honorific
IF	Illocutionary Force
INTRAN	Intransitive
LINK	Linker
LS	Logical structure
LSC	Layered structure of the clause
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NPST	Non-past

NUC	Nucleus
P	Particle
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
PRED	Predicate
PROG	Progressive
PSA	Privileged syntactic argument
PST	Past
Q	Question
RECIP	Reciprocal
SG	Singular
TOP	Topic
TPAST	Past tense-earlier today
TRAN	Transitive

Note:

1. When a hyphenation ‘-’ is placed immediately before a verb, it indicates that the verb is V2 (e.g., *-hazime* ‘begin’). Otherwise, the hyphenation is placed after the verb (e.g., *tabe-* ‘eat’).
2. The system of romanization employed is the *kunree-siki* system except for the cited work and authors’ names which employ the *Hepburn* system.