

## What can V-te V complex predicates say which V-V compounds cannot? The differentiation of the two types of verbal complexes in Japanese

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- Existence of two different kinds of multi-verb complexes in one language (i.e., Japanese)
- How are they morphologically and syntactically different?
- What are semantically/functionally different?

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## V-te V complexes

Kare-wa baggu-o koko-ni motte ki-ta  
he-Top bag-Acc here-Go have-TE come-Pst  
'He brought a bag here.'

Kare-wa boku-ni hon-o yonde kure-ta  
he-Top I-Dat book-Acc read-TE give-Pst  
'He read a book for me.'

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## Vte V vs. V-V cmpnds

V1s end in the -TE form; cf. Renyookei form in V-V compounds

-te complexes

baggu-o koko-ni motte ki-ta  
bag-Acc here-Go have-TE come-Pst  
'brought a bag here'

V-V compounds:

baggu-o dokoka-ni moti-sat-ta  
bag-Acc somewhere have-leave-Pst  
'took a bag away to somewhere'

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## The nature of -te

- allomorphy: often *-de*
- a nonfinite verb form; often called "gerundive"; also treated as a "converbal" form
- historically related to perfective *-tu*
- connects two clauses; marks a variety of meanings (e.g., successive, circumstantial, causal, contrastive, etc.); purpose excluded
- temporal succession often claimed to be the most basic use: [... V1-te] [... V2] 'E1 and then E2'

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## Previous works

Sakuma 1936, Kuno 1973, Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1978, 2003, 2007, Teramura 1984, Ishikawa 1985, McCawley & Momoi 1986, Moriyama 1988, Miyagawa 1989, Sells 1990, Matsumoto 1990, 1991, 1996, Kajii 1997, Ono 2000, Yamada 2004, Nakatani 2006, 2013, Kubota 2007, Shibatani & Chung 2007, Yoshida 2012, etc.

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## Organization and purpose

1. Morphology and grammar of V-te V complex predicates in comparison to V-V compounds

2. Semantics of the two verbal complexes compared, especially in the domain of motion

- There is a semantic division of labor between the two multiverbal complexes, especially in relation to subjective meanings

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## I: morphological & grammatical properties of -te cmplx preds

- morphologically not lexical
- adjacency of two verbs required
- V2 restricted, V1 unrestricted (i.e., asymmetrical V1 & V2)
- monoclausal & biclausal subtypes (cf. lexical vs syntactic V-V compounds)
- no subject sharing condition

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## Lexical integrity test 1

-Te complexes allow a particle to be inserted between V1 and V2 (Sakuma 1936, Matsumoto 1996, etc.)

テキスト

-te complex

baggu-o koko-ni motte-wa kit-ta  
bag-Acc here-Go have-TE-Foc come-Pst  
'(I) did bring a bag here'

compound:

\*baggu-o moti-wa sat-ta  
bag-Acc have-Foc leave-Pst

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## Lexical integrity test 2

☉ -Te complex predicates allow V2 only to be reduplicated

baggu-o koko-ni motte kita koto-wa kita ga..  
 bag-Acc here-Go have-TE came thing-Foc came but  
 'Although (I) did bring my bag here, ...'

\*baggu-o moti-satta koto-wa satta ga..  
 bag-Acc have-left thing-Foc left but  
 'Although (I) did bring my bag here, ...'

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## adjacency requirement

☉ Complex predicate properties are seen only when the two Vs are adjacent

• complex predicate  
 sore-o gakkoo-ni motte kita  
 it-Acc school-Go have-TE came  
 '(He) brought it to school'

• biclausal structure with subordination  
 [PRO sore-o motte] gakkoo-ni kita.  
 it-Acc have-TE school-Go came  
 'Holding it, (he) came to school'

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## sika-nai test

☉ *sika*-phrase and *nai* 'not' must be in the same clause to produce the meaning of 'only'

[s ... NP-sika ... nai (NEG)]

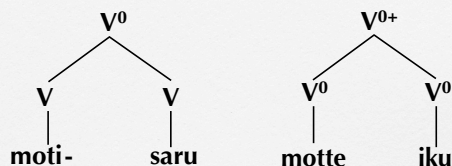
☉ *sika* can be placed on the argument of *motte* with negation on the main verb only when the two are adjacent (Matsumoto 1991, 1996, Shibatani 2007)

sore-sika gakkoo-ni motte ko-nakat-ta.  
 it-only school-Go have-TE come-Neg-Pst  
 'brought it only'

\*[sore-sika motte] gakkoo-ni ko-nakat-ta

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## morphological differences



X<sup>0</sup> = the smallest unit in (surface) syntax

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## Accent & Contracted forms

☉ -te complex allows one-word accent pattern and contraction (see also Shibatani 2007), which are not allowed in biclausal cases (even when the two verbs are adjacent)

- gakkoo-ni [sikkari hon-o motte] itta  
 OK HLL LHH; \*LHHLL in V1 modification reading
- \*gakkoo-ni [sikkari hon-o motte]tta  
 bad in V1 modification reading

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## Restricted Vs allowed in V2 in -Te Cmplx Preds

- ☉ deictic motion: *iku* 'go', *kuru* 'come'
- ☉ aspectual: *iru* 'be', *aru* 'be', *simawu* 'put.away' > 'do ... completely', *oku* 'put' > 'do in preparation'
- ☉ benefit transfer: *ageru* 'give', *kureru* 'give', *morawu* 'receive',
- ☉ attitudinals: *hosii* 'want', *miru* 'try'

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## iku/kuru vs agaru

☉ *kuru* forms a -te complex predicate, but *agaru* does not.

[PRO sore-o motte] nikai-ni kita/agatta.  
 it-Acc have-TE 2nd.floor-Go came/ascended  
 'Holding it, (he) {came/went up} to the 2nd floor.'

Sore-sika nikai-ni motte {ko-nakat-ta/\*agar-anakat-ta}  
 it-only 2F-Go have-TE come-Neg-Pst/ascend-Neg-Pst  
 '(He) {brought it/carried it up} to the 2nd floor.'

cf. *kaeru* 'return', *mawaru* 'go around' may form complex predicates in some speakers (Nakatani 2013)

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## monoclausal subtype: -te iku

☉ adverbial modification of V1 alone is restricted  
 [sore-o sikkari motte] gakkoo ni itta.  
 it-Acc tightly have-TE school-Go went  
 'Holding it tightly, (he) went to school.'

sore-o gakkoo ni sikkari motte itta.  
 it-Acc school-Go tightly have-TE went  
 '(He) brought it to school for sure.'

☉ passivization of the whole possible (Matsumoto 1996)  
 sore-wa doko-ni-mo motte ik-are-te i-nai  
 it-Top anywhere have go-Pass-TE be-Neg  
 'It has not been taken away to anywhere.'

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- VP proform *soo suru* cannot replace V1 and its arguments

Taroo-wa hon-o ie-ni motte itta.  
Taro-Top book-Acc house-Go have-TE went

\*Hanako-mo soo site itta.  
Hanako-too so do-TE went

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## bi-clausal: -te morawu 'receive'

Boku-wa kare-ni [PRO hon-o yonde] moratta.  
I-Top he-Dat book-Acc read-TE received  
'I received from him the benefit of his reading a book.', or 'I had him read a book.'

Subject properties of Dative NP: antecedent of SUBJ-oriented reflexive *zibun* (Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1978)

Kare-wa sensee-ni [zibun-no hon-o yonde] moratta.  
He-Top teacher-Dat self-Gen book-Acc read-TE received  
'He<sub>i</sub> had the teacher<sub>j</sub> read his<sub>i,j</sub> book'

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- Adverbial interpretation: modification of V1 alone is possible

kare-ni [PRO oogoe-de [PRO hon-o yonde] moratta.  
he-Dat loudly book-Acc read-TE received  
'In a loud voice (I) had (=asked) him read a book'  
'(I) had him read a book in a loud voice'

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- te morawu may not look like a complex predicate; it is neither morphologically a lexical item, nor is it monoclausal grammatically

However,

- adjacency suggests that the two verbs form a nonlexical unit
- te morawu can form an accentual unit
- te itadaku (honorific form of -te morawu) can have a contracted form: -tetadaku

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	monoclausal	bi-clausal
V-V cmpnd vrbs	moti-saru have-leave K's Types 1, 2	yomi-hazimeru read-begin K's Type 3
V-te V cplx prds	mot-te iku have-TE go K's Type 4	yonde morawu read-TE receive K's Type 4

In monoclausal type, V1 is semantically a modifier (adjunct) of V2 in most cases; in biclausal cases, V1 heads the syntactic complement clause of V2 (at some level of representation)

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## subject sharing

Compound Vs in Japanese must respect Subject Sharing (Yumoto 1996, Matsumoto 1998); cf. Crowley 2002, Aikhenvald 2006 on serial verbs

true of (most) lexical compounds: *tataki-korosu* (hit-kill)

also true of syntactic compounds (Matsumoto 1998)

• *yomi-kaneru* (read-be.reluctant) 'be reluctant to read': V1 subject controls V2 subject

• No compounds have V1 object controlling V2 subject: \**tabe-iwu* (eat-say) 'tell ... to eat', \**tabe-tanomu* (eat-ask) 'ask ... to eat'

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## 'Different subjects' in -te cplx prds

-Te allows 'Different subject' structures

Hon-ga oite aru  
book-Nom put-TE be-Npst  
'A book is in the state of (someone) having placed it.'

Marii-ni hon-o yonde {moratta/itadaita/hosii}.  
Mary-Dat book-Acc read-TE received/received/want  
'(I) had Mary read a book/(I) want Mary to read a book.'

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## II: Semantic Questions

- Te complexes allow Different Subject complexes --> they can represent situations undescrivable by V-V compounds
- But then, why do -te complexes exist for Same subject cases? Why can they not take V-V compound forms? Why do we not have \**moti-iku*, 'have-go', etc?
- Why are V2s in -te complexes restricted?  
--> Expressions of deixis in motion and other events

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## compound motion Vs

- ☉ Two verbs must obey the following order (Matsumoto 1997):  
Co-occurring Actions > Manner > Path

- A-M: *uri-aruku* (sell-walk) 'walk selling'
- A-P: *uri-mawaru* (sell-go.around) 'go around selling'
- P-M: *aruki-mawaru* (run-go.around) 'walk around'

No D(eixis) allowed

- \*A-D: *uri-kuru* (sell-come)
- \*P-D: *mawari-kuru* (go.around-come)
- \*M-D: *aruki-kuru* (walk-come)

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## Hypothesis 1: the nature of the 'third' verb

- ☉ H1: Deictic verb may well be the third verb, in addition to Manner and Path, but the compounds can have only two and so deixis is excluded.

- *kake-agat-te kuru* (run-go.up-TE come)
- ☉ However, why is \**agari-kuru* (go.up-come) bad? In addition, sometimes three-verb compounds are possible when the last is directional (Kageyama 2011). Why not a deictic verb, then?
- OK: A-M-P: *uri-aruki-mawaru* (sell-walk-go.around)
- Bad: A-M-D: \**uri-aruki-kuru* (sell-walk-come)

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## Hypothesis 2: Morphological positions and semantics

- ☉ Deixis is not a preferred element in compounds (except in V1 in syntactic compounds); it is preferred in V2 in *-te* complexes
- ☉ deixis in 1) motion, 2) transfer, 3) social relations

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## deixis excluded from V-V cmpnds (in mod. Japanese)

- ☉ V-V compounds like *watari-yuku* (cross-go) used to exist (with a literary variant *yuku*), but most are now archaic. The few that remain are mostly used for temporal motion (e.g., *sugi-yuku* (pass-go)) in literary styles.

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## deixis excluded from V1 in lexical cmpnds

- ☉ *iku* 'go' does occur as V1 but semantically it does not contrast with *kuru* 'come' (Noriko Matsumoto, pc)
- *iki-tuku* 'go-arrive', *iki-ataru* 'go-hit', *iki-meguru* 'go-go.around', *iki-wataru* 'go-cross', etc.
- \**ki-tuku*, \**ki-kawu*, \**ki-ataru*, \**ki-meguru*, \**ki-wataru*, \**ki-dumaru*
- *boku-ni iki-tuku* (I-Go go-arrive) 'reach me after all' <--- the speaker can be at the goal

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## deixis in transfer verbs

- ☉ *kureru* 'give'/*ageru* 'give' deictically restricted (Kuno, 1986, Shibatani 2003, Yamada 2004, etc.)
- hierarchy: 1st prsn > "IN-group" prsn > ... > 3rd prsn
- *kureru*: give to a higher person
- *ageru*: give to a person not higher
- ☉ cf. *kotukkuka* vs. *taruka* in Malayalam (Mohanan 1983, Comrie 2003)

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## deixis excluded from V-V

- ☉ nondeictic *ataeru* 'give', *watasu* 'hand', etc. not excluded; however, *ageru/kureru* excluded
- *wake-ataeru* (divide-give) 'give (a portion to each person)', *yuzuri-watasu* (yield-hand) 'hand over',
- \**wake-ageru*, \**yuzuri-kureru*
- ☉ *Yaru* 'give', a variant of *ageru* can occur in V2 in lexical compounds, but deictic meaning is absent
- *mi-yaru* 'look at', *omoi-yaru* 'consider of'

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- ☉ *ageru/kureru* occur as V2 in *-te* complexes to indicate the giving of benefit (Sakuma 1936, Inoue 1976, Shibatani 1978, Kuno 1980, Yamada 2004, etc.)

Ken-wa boku-ni hon-o yonde kure-ta.  
Ken-Top I-Dat book-Acc read-TE give-Pst  
'Ken read a book for me.'

Boku-wa kare-ni hon-o yonde age-ta  
I-Top he-Dat book-Acc read-TE give-Pst  
'I read a book for him.'

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## subject honorification excluded

- ☉ social deixis also excluded from V-V compounds
- *ossyaru* 'say(Hon)', *irassyaru* 'be, come, go (Hon)' excluded from lexical compounds; cf. sporadic frozen examples like *mesi-agaru* 'eat'
- Forms like *yomi-tamawu* 'read-give(Hon)' are now archaic, replaced by *-te* complex forms like *yonde kudasaru* (read-TE give(Hon))

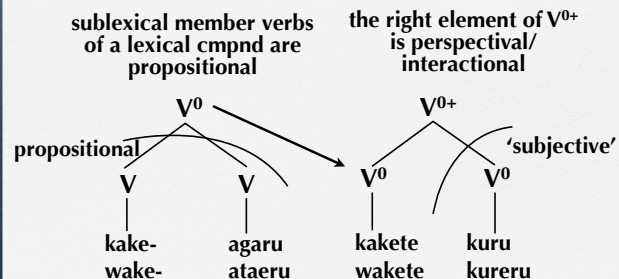
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## Apparent counterexamples

- Forms like *o-yomi kudasaru* (Hon-read give(Hon)) 'give the honor of reading ...' may seem like V-Vs with honorific V2. But these are *o-N V* complexes, with "V1" nominalized
- No lexical integrity: *o-yomi kudasatta koto-wa kudasatta ga...* --->  $V^{0+}$  form
- Accentual pattern not the same as V-V compound verbs: *o-yomi kudasaru* (L on *ku*)
- Nominal-only forms can appear: *o-kosi kudasaru*, *o-demasi kudasaru*

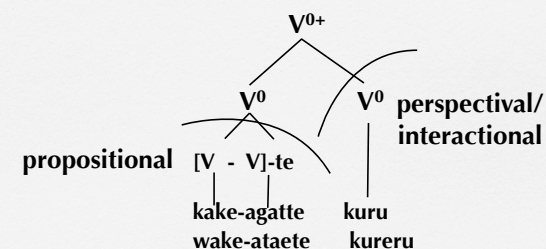
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## semantic correlates of complex verbal constructions



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## semantic correlates of complex verbal constructions



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## aspectual meanings

- V2 in both forms can represent aspect, but different kinds of aspect
- V-V (syntactic, K's Type 3): 'begin', 'continue', 'finish', 'be about to', etc.
- V-te V: 'be in the state of ...ing', 'be in the state of having V-ed', 'be in the state of having been V-ed', 'do ... completely to avoid future involvement', 'do ... in preparation'
- Te complexes represent 1) statives (progressive, resultative) and 2) attitudinal nuances

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## V-owaru vs V-te simawu

- V-owaru* 'stop Ving, cease to V'
- V-te simawu* 'do ... completely to avoid further undesirable situation', 'do ... by mistake'
- e.g., *itte simawu* 'tell ... completely so that one does not have keep it within him/her any longer'

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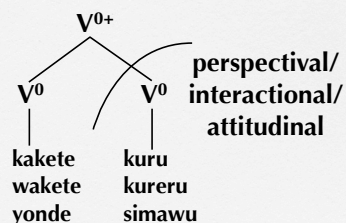
## Teramura 1984:172

[Aspectual verbs] following *-te* have more subjective colors than those following a *Renyookei* form [=V-V cmpnds]. *li-owaru* [(say-finish)] and *itte simawu* [(say-TE finish)] both describe the completion of an action, but the former describes it objectively, but the latter includes a recognition of "the state cannot be turned back to a previous one any longer".

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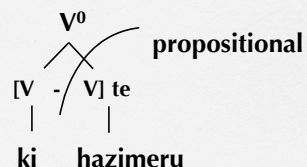
## semantic correlates of complex verbal constructions

the right element of  $V^{0+}$  is perspectival/interactional/attitudinal



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V1 of syntactic compounds is the head of an independent clause; it is free from nonsubjectivity restriction



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## Conclusion

- The two kinds of multiverbal complexes are different morphologically, syntactically and semantically
- Morphologically tighter V-V compounds require Same Subjects, and exclude subjective meanings (except V1 in syntactic compounds)
- Loosely concatenated V-te V complexes allow Different Subjects, and V2 appears to be specified for subjective meanings.
- Language does not have more than one option meaninglessly. Different multiverbal complexes have different functions.

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## Further issues for crosslinguistic study

- Different V1 forms carry particular meanings?
- Mongolian: three different converbal endings, participating in different complex predicates; different forms allegedly associated with different temporal meanings at least partially (see Badema 2011)

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## Further issues for crosslinguistic study

- Presence/Absence of Same-subject requirement is a crosslinguistically valid parameter?
- Crowley 2002: same subject serialization (hit kill) vs switch subject serialization (hit die)
- Aikhenvald 2006: All serializing languages have same-subject serialization; They differ in whether they have "switch function serialization" in addition.
- Subj sharing in Saliba (Malayo-Polynesian, Papuan Tip) compound verbs (Margetts 1999:102); serial verbs in Kambera (Malayo-Polynesian; Klamer 1998: 275ff) and Lavukaleve (Papuan, Terrill 2003: 373ff)

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