

**Syntax of the World's Languages VI**  
**10 September 2014, Pavia**

# **Verb Verb Complex Predicates in Old Japanese**

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# Introduction

Old Japanese is the earliest attested stage of Japanese, (largely 8<sup>th</sup> century). OJ is, like modern Japanese (NJ), considered a typical SOV or Verb final language, with for example

- left-branching and head-final modifying structures
- postpositional case and other particles
- inflecting suffixes
- suffixal derivational morphology.

# Introduction

Also like modern Japanese, OJ has a complex predicate construction consisting of two adjacent verbs,  $V_1$   $V_2$ , of which  $V_2$  has some grammatical function, often referred to as an ‘auxiliary’ or ‘vector’ verb:

$V_1$   $V_2$ [VECT]

*tukai-kiru* ‘use up’

use      cut

This ordering of the two verbs in the complex predicate seems consistent with a typical SOV language.

# Introduction

Old Japanese, however, has a competing complex predicate construction, not found in modern Japanese and not usually recognized or described for Old Japanese either, in which  $V_1$  is grammatical and  $V_2$  is the main verb:

$V_1$ [VECT]  $V_2$

This ordering of the two verbs in the complex predicate does not seem consistent with a typical SOV language. I will today discuss the OJ  $V_1$ [VECT]  $V_2$  complex predicate construction and possible hypotheses about its origin, development and demise.

# Overview

## **Background**

Old Japanese; the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese  
Verb Verb complexes in Modern Japanese

## **Verb Verb complexes in Old Japanese**

Overview

V1 vector verbs

# Old Japanese

Old Japanese (OJ) 700 - 800

Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) 800 - 1200

Late Middle Japanese (LMJ) 1200 - 1600

Modern Japanese (NJ) 1600 -

# The Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

A comprehensive, heavily annotated, digital corpus of  
all extant texts in Japanese from the Old Japanese  
period

url: <http://vsarpj.orinst.ox.ac.uk/corpus/>

# Old Japanese texts

## Poetic texts

<i>Kojiki kayō</i> (古事記歌謡; 712)	(112 poems; 2527 words)
<i>Nihon shoki kayō</i> (日本書紀歌謡; 720)	(133 poems; 2444 words)
<i>Fudoki kayō</i> (風土記歌謡; 730s)	(20 poems; 271 words)
<i>Bussukoseki-ka</i> (仏足石歌; after 753)	(21 poems; 337 words)
<i>Man'yōshū</i> (万葉集; after 759)	(4685 poems; 83706 words)
<i>Shoku nihongi kayō</i> (続日本紀歌謡; 797)	(8 poems; 134 words)
<i>Jōgū shōtoku hōō teisetsu</i> (上宮聖徳法王帝説)	(4 poems; 60 words)

## Non-poetic texts

<i>Shoku nihongi Senmyō</i> (続日本紀宣命; 797)	(approx. 14,000 words)
<i>Engishiki Norito</i> (延喜式祝詞)	(approx. 6,500 words)

**Total approx 110,000 words**



# OCOJ Content

**Texts** (in original script and transcription)

**Translations**

**Dictionary**

**Annotation**

# Annotation

**XML mark-up**, following the internationally recognized standards of the **Text Encoding Initiative**

**Lemmatized**

**Morphological mark-up**

**Syntactically parsed**

**Grammatical roles**

# *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) 3.341

賢跡

物言從者

酒飲而

醉哭為師

益有良之

# *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) 3.341

賢跡

sakasimito  
cleverly

物言従者

mono-ipu ywori pa  
thing-say than TOP

酒飲而

sake nomite  
saké drinking

醉哭為師

wepi naki suru *si*  
get.drunk cry do EMPH

益有良之

masari-taru *rasi*  
excel-STAT PRES.CONJ

# *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) 3.341

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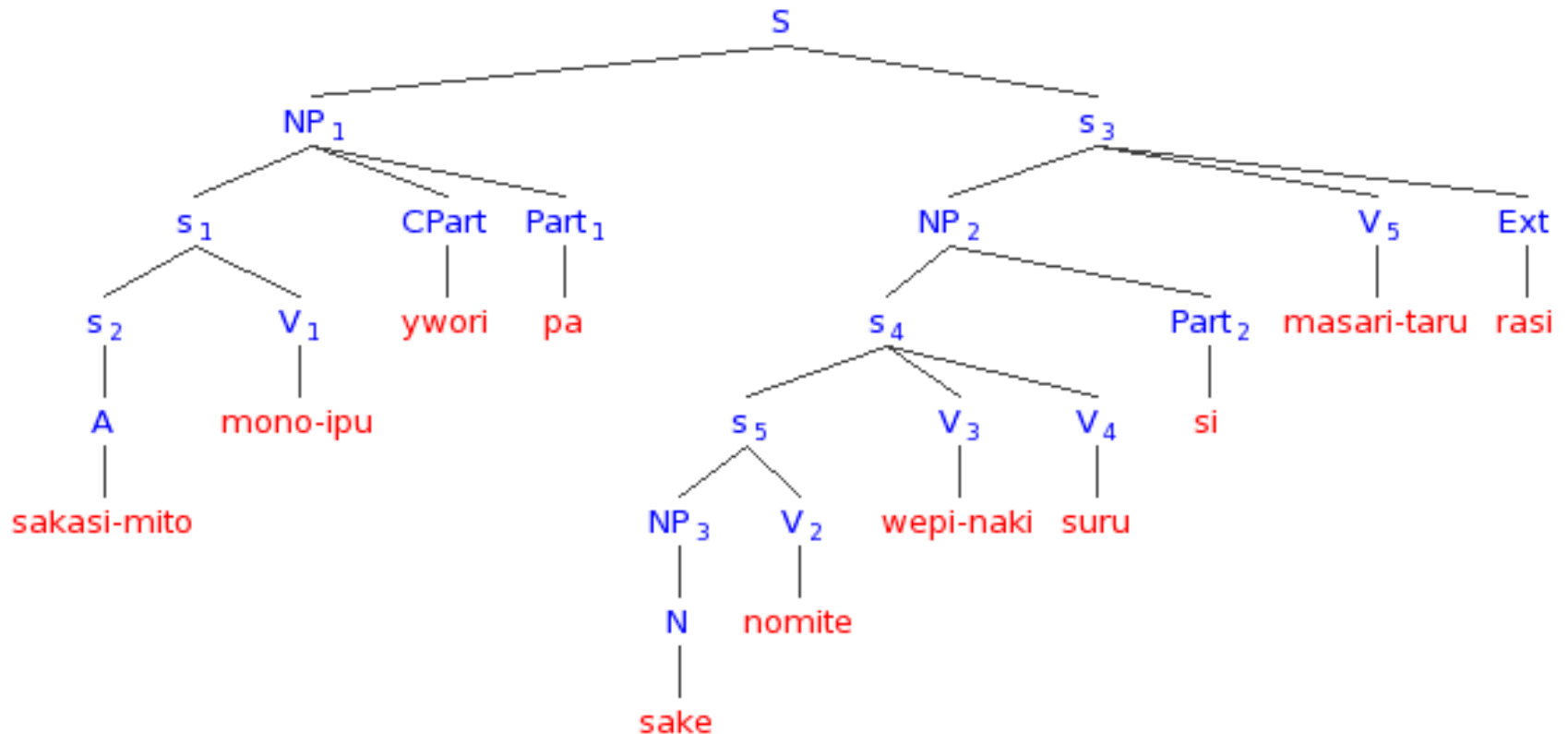
wepi naki suru *si*  
get.drunk cry do EMPH

益有良之

masari-taru *rasi*  
excel-STAT PRES.CONJ

“It should be better to drink  
saké and weep drunkenly  
than talking in a clever  
fashion”

# *Man'yōshū* (万葉集) 3.341



# Verb Verb complexes in Modern Japanese

Classification by Taro Kageyama  
(Kageyama et al. 2013)

# V V complexes in Modern Japanese

**Type 1. Lexical thematic compound verbs,**

e.g. *aruki-tukareru* (“walk-get.tired”) ‘get tired from walking’

**Type 2. Lexical aspectual compound verbs,**

e.g. *ami-ageru* (“knit-accomplish”) ‘finish knitting’

**Type 3. Syntactic compound verbs,**

e.g. *hataraki-tuzukeru* (“work-continue”) ‘keep on working’

**Type 4. Syntactic complex verbs,**

e.g. *yonde simau* (“reading put.away”) ‘finish reading’



# V V complexes in Modern Japanese

## I V1 manner

1. Lexical thematic compound verbs, e.g.

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> – V2

*aruki-tukareru* ‘get tired from walking’

## II V2 vector verb

2. Lexical aspectual compound verbs, e.g.

3. Syntactic compound verbs, e.g.

4. Syntactic complex verbs, e.g.

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

V1 - V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

*ami-ageru* ‘finish knitting’

*hataraki-tuzukeru* ‘keep on working’

*yonde simau* ‘finish reading’

# Verb Verb complexes in Old Japanese

# V V complexes in Old Japanese

## **Morphophonology**

**VV** (root compounding; more prevalent in pre-OJ;  
Cf. Frellesvig & Whitman forthcoming)

***Vi* V**

***Vte* V** (very few constructions in OJ; more in later  
stages of the language)

*V<sub>i</sub>* *V* complexes in OJ

***Vi V* complexes in OJ**

Structural ambiguity  
of surface ***Vi V***

# *Vi V* complexes in OJ

Structural ambiguity  
of surface *Vi V*

Biclausal

[ [ ... *Vi* ] *V* ]

*V V* complex

[ ... *Vi V* ]

# sasi watari

泉河乃

速 瀬

竿 刺 渡

idumi no kapa no payaki se wo

sawo **sasi watari**

Izumi GEN river GEN fast rapids ACC

pole plunge.in cross

(MYS.13.3240)

# Biclausal

[ [ ...*Vi* ] V ]

泉河乃

速 瀬

竿 刺 渡

[ idumi no kapa no payaki se wo

[ sawo sasi ] watari ]

Izumi GEN river GEN fast rapids ACC

pole plunge.in cross

“Cross the fast rapids of the Izumi River, plunging in a pole”

(MYS.13.3240)



# pumi watari

狭穂河乃

sapogapa no

Saogawa GEN

小石

kwoisi

pebble

踐 渡

**pumi watari**

step cross

(MYS 4.525)

# Biclausal

[ [ ... *Vi* ] V ]

狭穂河乃

小石

踐 渡

[ [ sapogapa no

kwoisi

pumi ] watari ]

Saogawa GEN

pebble

step

cross

“Cross by stepping on the pebbles in the Saogawa River”  
(MYS 4.525)

# pumi kwoye

安之比奇能

asipikwi *no*

EPITHET

八 峯

yatu wo

eight hill

布美 越

**pumi kwoye**

step cross

(MYS 19.4164)

# V V complex

[... *Vi* V ]

安之比奇能

[ asipikwi no

EPITHET

八 峯

yatu wo

eight hill

布美 越

pumi kwoye ]

step cross

“Cross many mountains on foot”

(MYS 19.4164)

# OR: Biclausal

[ [ ...*Vi* ] V ]

安之比奇能

[ asipikwi no

EPITHET

八 峯

yatu wo

eight hill

布美 越

[pumi] kwoye ]

step cross

“Cross many mountains on foot (lit. stepping)”

(MYS 19.4164)

# V V complex

[... *Vi* V ]

安之比奇能

[ asipikwi no

EPITHET

八 峯

yatu wo

eight hill

布美 越

pumi kwoye ]

step cross

“Cross many mountains on foot”

(MYS 19.4164)

# kwopwi wataru

忌忌 伎美 爾  
yuyusiki kimi ni  
awesome lord DAT

故非 和多流 香母  
**kwopwi wataru** kamo  
yearn cross EMPH

(MYS.15.3603)

# V V complex

[... *Vi* V ]

忌忌 伎美 爾

[ yuyusiki kimi ni

awesome lord DAT

故非 和多流 香母

kwopwi wataru kamo ]

yearn cross EMPH

“I will **continue to** yearn for you, my awesome lord!”

(MYS.15.3603)



*Vi* V complex verb  
types in OJ

# *Vi* V complex verb types in OJ

## I V1 manner

e.g.

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

pumi kwoye “cross by foot”

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

## II V2 vector verb

e.g.

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

kwopwi watar “continue to yearn”

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

# V V complexes in Modern Japanese

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1. Lexical thematic compound verbs, e.g.

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V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

*aruki-tukareru* ‘get tired from walking’

## II V2 vector verb

2. Lexical aspectual compound verbs, e.g.

3. Syntactic compound verbs, e.g.

4. Syntactic complex verbs, e.g.

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

*ami-ageru* ‘finish knitting’

*hataraki-tuzukeru* ‘keep on working’

*yonde simau* ‘finish reading’

# *Vi V* complexes in OJ

## Wordhood

OJ *Vi V* have *less lexical integrity* than NJ *Vi-V* complexes:

- Fairly free separability of V1 and V2 by particles;
- CAUSATIVE/PASSIVE interpolation between V1 and V2 possible;
- OJ *Vi V* exhibit less *transitivity harmony* than NJ

# *Vi V* complexes in OJ

## Wordhood

Thus, OJ *Vi V* are best treated as **complex verbs**, rather than compound verbs; and, it is for OJ not possible to draw as clear distinctions as between the NJ Types 2-4.

# V V complexes in Modern Japanese

## I V1 manner

1. Lexical thematic compound verbs, e.g.

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

*aruki-tukareru* ‘get tired from walking’

## II V2 vector verb

2. Lexical aspectual compound verbs, e.g.

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V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

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# *Vi V* complex verb types in OJ

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kwopwi watar “continue to yearn”

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V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

# Some V2 vector verbs in Old Japanese

**Progressive:** *wori* ('be sitting')

**Explorative:** *mi* ('see')

**Reciprocal:** *api* ('meet')

**Adventive:** *ki* ('come')

**Inceptive:** *some* ('begin'); *ide* ('go out'); *kake* ('hang up')

**Potential:** *e* ('get'); *kane* ('fail'); *kate* ('prevail')

**Continuative:** *yuki* ('go'); *tugi* ('convey'); *topori* ('pass through');  
*watari* ('go across')

**Social deixis:** *imasi* ('be'); *itadaki* ('receive'); *maturi* ('offer');  
*myesi* ('see'); *tamapi* ('give'); *tamape* ('receive')

**Degree:** *kwosi* 'put over'; *kwoye* 'go over'; *masari* 'exceed';  
*sugusi* 'put beyond'; *sugwi* 'go beyond'; *tari* 'suffice'



## V2 vector verb

### *ki* Adventive (‘come’)

筑波嶺	乃	吉久	乎	見者	長	氣尔
tukupane	no	yokyeku	wo	mireba	nagaki	ke ni
Tsukuba.Peak	GEN	goodness	ACC	look.when	long days	for

念	積	夾之	憂	者	息沼
omopi	tumi	kosi	urepe	pa	yami-nu
think	pile	came	sadness	TOP	stop-PERF

“When I look at how fine Tsukuba Peak is, the despondency that for long days I **came** to **feel**, has stopped.” (MYS.9.1757)

# V V complexes

## I V1 manner

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

## II V2 vector verb

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

# One more type in Old Japanese

# One more type in Old Japanese

V1 vector verb

# *Vi* V complexes in OJ

## I V1 manner

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

## III V2 vector verb

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

# *Vi* V complexes in OJ

## I V1 manner

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

## II V1 vector verb

V1<sub>(aktionsart)</sub> V2

V1 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure

## III V2 vector verb

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

# V1 vector verb

V1<sub>(aktionsart)</sub> V2

V1 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure

# V1 vector verb

*ari* Iterative/Stative (*ar* ‘be, exist’)

*e* Potential (*e* ‘get’)

*api* Reciprocal/Proximative (*ap* ‘meet’)



# V1 vector verb

## *ari* Iterative/Stative ('be, exist')

之麻豆多比

sima-dutapi

island-pass.along

伊己芸和多利弓

i-kogi watarite

PFX-row crossing

安里米具利

*ari* meguri

be go.around

“I **keep going around** **and around** the islands, crossing by  
boat between them”

(MYS 20.4408)

# V1 vector verb

## *api* Reciprocal/Proximative (‘meet’)

相 飲            酒

*api* nomamu ki

meet will.drink *saké*

“The *saké* we will drink together”

(MYS 19.4264)

# Other V1 vector verbs

# V1 vector verb

## *ki* Adventive (‘come’)

安之比奇能

asipikwi no

EPITHET

夜麻

yama

mountain

伎做奈里低

*ki* pyenarite

come be.between

“The mountains having *come* *between* us”

(MYS 17.3981)

# V2 vector verb

## *ki* Adventive (‘come’)

筑波嶺乃

tukupane no

Tsukuba.Peak GEN

吉久乎見者

yokyeku wo mireba

goodness ACC look.when

長氣尔

nagaki ke ni

long days for

念積夾之

omopi tumi kosi

think pile came

憂者

urepe pa

sadness TOP

息沼

yami-nu

stop-PERF

“When I look at how fine Tsukuba Peak is, the despondency that for long days I **came** to **feel**, has stopped.” (MYS.9.1757)

# V1 vector verb

## *siki* Continuative (‘extend, stretch’)

春 之 雨 者

paru no ame pa

spring GEN rain TOP

弥布落尔

iya *siki* *puru* ni

more.and.more extend fall although

“Although the spring rain *keeps falling*”

(MYS 4.786)

# Some OJ V1 vector verbs

**ari** Iterative/Stative ('be, exist'), **e** Potential ('get'), **api** Reciprocal/Proximative ('meet')

**ape** Additive ('join, vt. '), **ide** Elative ('emerge, go out'), **ko** Adventive ('come'), **siki** Exhaustive/Continuative ('stretch, extend'), **tati** Inceptive ('stand up, set out'), **topori** Permeative ('pass through'), **tugi** Contiguative ('pass on')

# Old Japanese

V1 vector (fewer)

V2 vector (more)

*ki* VERB

VERB *ki*



# Old Japanese

V1 vector (fewer)

V2 vector (more)

*ki* VERB

VERB *ki*

# Modern Japanese

V2 vector

VERB *ki*

# Questions

# Questions

Where did the V1 vector verb construction come from?

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Where did it go?

# Questions

Where did the V1 vector verb construction come from?

Where did it go?

Where does the V2 vector verb construction come from?

Where did the V1 vector verb construction  
come from?

Where did it go?

Where did the V1 vector verb construction  
come from?

Where did it go?

It may reflect an older word order.

Where did the V1 vector verb construction  
come from?

Where did it go?

It may reflect an older word order.

“the last stages of transition from a SVO to  
a SOV language”

Vovin 2009:589.



Where does the V2 vector verb construction come from?

Where does the V2 verb construction  
come from?

It may come from *in situ* reanalysis of  
a V2 in a clause sequence

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come from?

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[ [ ... V1 ] V2 ]

Where does the V2 vector verb construction  
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It may come from *in situ* reanalysis of  
a V2 in a clause sequence

$[[ \dots V1 ] V2 ] > [ \dots V1 V2 ]$

Where does the V2 vector verb construction  
come from?

It may come from *in situ* reanalysis of  
a V2 in a clause sequence

$[[ \dots V1 ] V2 ] > [ \dots V1 V2 ]$

- (1)  $[[ \dots V1 ] V2 ]$ , where V2 is a clausal complement taking verb.

AND/OR

- (2) Semantic bleaching and grammaticalization of V2 in  
 $[[ \dots V1 ] V2 ]$

# Unrelated (partly competing) hypotheses about V1 and V2 vector verbs

The V1 vector verb construction reflects an older SVO word order and is the SVO stage origin of V2 vector verbs.

The V2 vector verb construction comes from *in situ* reanalysis of a V2 in a clause sequence.

An alternative hypothesis  
about the origin in  
Japanese of  
V1 and V2 vector verbs

# *V* *V* complex verb types in OJ

## I **V1 manner**

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

## II **V1 vector verb**

V1<sub>(aktionsart)</sub> V2

V1 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure

## III **V2 vector verb**

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings



1. Categorical reinterpretation: lexical to grammatical  
(from ‘manner’ to ‘*aktionsart*’)

V1(manner) > V1(aktionsart) vector

2. Structurally motivated shift in surface position:  
from preverbal to postverbal vector.

V1 vector > V2 vector

Categoryal reinterpretation:

lexical to grammatical

# Categorial reinterpretation: lexical to grammatical

V1(manner)

Adverbial

‘manner’

modification

>

V1(aktionsart) VECTOR

Grammatical

‘*aktionsart*’

augmentation

***ki* VERB**

‘to VERB, coming/

having come’

***ki* VERB**

‘come to VERB’

# Categorial reinterpretation: lexical to grammatical

## Abductive innovation

V1(manner)

Adverbial

‘manner’

modification

>

V1(aktionsart) VECTOR

Grammatical

‘*aktionsart*’

augmentation

***ki* VERB**

‘to VERB, coming/

having come’

***ki* VERB**

‘come to VERB’

# *Aktionsart*

# *Aktionsart*

‘(grammatical) **manner** of  
**action**’

Structurally motivated shift  
in surface position

from **pre**verbal to **post**verbal  
vector

# Structurally motivated shift in surface position: from preverbal to postverbal vector

V1 VECTOR

>

V2 VECTOR

Preverbal

Postverbal

*ki* VERB

VERB *ki*



# Structurally motivated shift in surface position: from preverbal to postverbal vector

## Deductive innovation

V1 VECTOR

>

V2 VECTOR

Preverbal

Postverbal

*ki* VERB

VERB *ki*

# Old Japanese

V1 VECTOR (fewer)

V2 VECTOR (more)

*ki* VERB

VERB *ki*

# Old Japanese

V1 VECTOR (fewer)

V2 VECTOR (more)

*ki* VERB

VERB *ki*

# Modern Japanese

V2 VECTOR

VERB *ki*

Preverbal to postverbal

Prohibitive *na*

from **pre**verbal adverb

to **post**verbal grammatical particle

# Preverbal to postverbal

## Old Japanese

Preverbal prohibitive

**na naki** (so)

Postverbal prohibitive

**naku na**

*nak-* ‘cry’

# Preverbal to postverbal

## Old Japanese

Preverbal prohibitive

**na naki** (so)

Postverbal prohibitive

**naku na**

## Modern Japanese

Postverbal prohibitive

**naku na**

# The Prohibitive

## 1. Abductive innovation (reanalysis)

Categorial reinterpretation: lexical to grammatical  
from adverb to grammatical particle

## 2. Deductive innovation (realization)

Structurally motivated shift in surface position:  
from preverbal to postverbal.

OJ (preverbal) adverb ‘indeed’  
as a possible source of the sentence  
final (postverbal) Necessitive extension

*ube* VERB

VERB *be-*

Forms of the Polish verb ‘to be’ which have shifted from sentence clitics, regularly placed in clause-second position, to verbal desinences marking person and number. (Andersen 1987)



# Summary

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**V1 vector verbs in OJ**

# *Vi V* complex verb types in OJ

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# Questions

Where did the V1 vector verb construction come from?

Where did it go?

Where does the V2 vector verb construction come from?

1. Categorical reinterpretation: lexical to grammatical  
(‘manner’ to ‘*aktionsart*’)

Abductive innovation

V1(manner) > V1(aktionsart) vector

2. Structurally/typologically motivated shift in position:  
from preverbal to postverbal vector.

Deductive innovation

V1 vector > V2 vector

# *V* *V* complex verb types in OJ

## I **V1 manner**

V1<sub>(manner)</sub> V2

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

## II **V1 vector verb**

V1<sub>(aktionsart)</sub> V2

V1 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure

## III **V2 vector verb**

V1 V2<sub>(aktionsart)</sub>

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V2 is grammatical(ized) and augments the lexical meaning of V1 in terms of *aktionsart* meanings

ご清聴ありがとうございました



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Thank you for your kind attention

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