

Mysteries of Verb Verb complexes in Old Japanese

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Background

Old Japanese; the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese

Verb Verb complexes in Modern Japanese

Verb Verb complexes in Old Japanese

Overview

Mysteries: V1 auxiliary 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/>

Annotation, Translations, Dictionary

Verb Verb complexes in Modern Japanese

Cf. the position paper for this
conference

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

V1_(manner) – V2

1. Lexical thematic compound verbs, e.g. *aruki-tukareru* ‘get tired from walking’

V1 modifies V2, mainly in terms of manner

V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

II V2 auxiliary verb

V1 - V2_(aktionsart)

2. Lexical aspectual compound verbs, e.g. *ami-ageru* ‘finish knitting’

3. Syntactic compound verbs, e.g. *hataraki-tuzukeru* ‘keep on working’

4. Syntactic complex verbs, e.g. *yonde simau* ‘finish reading’

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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 later)

OJ *Vte* V

Very few *Vte* V (= NJ Type 4) forms in OJ:

Vte ar STATIVE (*ar* ‘exist, be’)

Vtutu ar STATIVE

Vte wor RESULTATIVE (*wor* ‘be sitting’)

(cf. Trott 2013)

V_i 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

idumi no kapa no

Izumi GEN river GEN fast rapids ACC

速 瀬

payaki se wo

竿 刺 渡

sawo sasi watari

pole plunge.in cross

(MYS.13.3240)

Biclausal

[[... *Vi*] V]

泉河乃

速 瀨

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

koisi

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)

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

V1_(manner) V2

Lexical thematic complex verbs, e.g. **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 auxiliary verb

V1 V2_(aktionsart)

Non-lexical complex verbs, e.g. **kwopwi watar** “continue to yearn”

V1 is the primary determinant of argument structure and case assignment

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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 more *transitivity harmony violations* 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

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V1_(manner) V2

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3. Syntactic compound verbs, e.g. *hataraki-tuzukeru* ‘keep on working’

4. Syntactic complex verbs, e.g. *yonde simau* ‘finish reading’

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Some V2 auxiliary verbs in Old Japanese

Progressive: *wor* ('be sitting')

Explorative: *mi* ('see')

Reciprocal: *ap* ('meet')

Adventive: *ko* ('come')

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

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

Continuative: *yuk* ('go'); *tug* ('convey'); *topor* ('pass through');
watar ('go across')

Social deixis: *imas* ('be'); *itadak* ('receive'); *matur* ('offer');
myes ('see'); *tamap* ('give'); *tamape* ('receive')

Degree: *kwos* 'put over'; *kwoye* 'go over'; *masar* 'exceed';
sugus 'put beyond'; *sugwi* 'go beyond'; *tar* 'suffice'

V2 auxiliary verb

ko (*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)

V V complexes

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II **V2 auxiliary verb** **V1** **V2**_(aktionsart)

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One more (mysterious?)
type in Old Japanese

One more (mysterious?)
type in Old Japanese

V1 auxiliary

Vi V complexes in OJ

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V1 V2_(aktionsart)

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V1 auxiliary verb

V1_(aktionsart) V2

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V2 is the primary determinant of argument structure

V1 auxiliary verb

ar Iterative/Stative ('be, exist')

e Potential ('get')

ap Reciprocal/Proximative ('meet')

V1 auxiliary verb

ar 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 auxiliary verb

ap Reciprocal/Proximative (‘meet’)

相 飲 酒

api *nomamu* *ki*

meet will.drink *saké*

“The *saké* we will *drink together*”

(MYS 19.4264)

Other V1 auxiliary verbs

V1 auxiliary verb *ko* (*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 auxiliary verb

ko (*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

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V1 auxiliary verb

sik 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 auxiliary 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'), **sik** Exhaustive/Continuative ('stretch, extend'), **tat** Inceptive ('stand up, set out'), **topor** Permeative ('pass through'), **tug** Contiguative ('pass on')

Old Japanese

V1 auxiliary (fewer)

ki VERB

V2 auxiliary (more)

VERB *ki*

Old Japanese

V1 auxiliary (fewer)

ki VERB

V2 auxiliary (more)

VERB *ki*

Modern Japanese

V2 auxiliary

VERB *ki*

Mysteries

Mysteries

Or: questions

Where did the V1 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

Where did the V1 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

Where did it go?

Where did the V1 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

Where did it go?

Where does the V2 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

Where did the V1 auxiliary verb
construction come from?
Where did it go?

Where did the V1 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

Where did it go?

It may reflect an older word order.

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construction come from?

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

Vovin 2009:589.

Where does the V2 auxiliary verb construction come from?

Where does the V2 auxiliary 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 auxiliary verb construction
come from?

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

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

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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 auxiliaries

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

The V2 auxiliary 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 auxiliaries

Vi V complex verb types in OJ

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V1 V2_(aktionsart)

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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) auxiliary

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

V1 auxiliary > V2 auxiliary

Categorial reinterpretation:

lexical to grammatical

Categorial reinterpretation: lexical to grammatical

V1(manner)

Adverbial

‘manner’

modification

>

V1(aktionsart) auxiliary

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) auxiliary

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 preverbal to postverbal
auxiliary

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

V1 auxiliary

>

V2 auxiliary

Preverbal

Postverbal

ki VERB

VERB *ki*

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

Deductive innovation

V1 auxiliary

>

V2 auxiliary

Preverbal

Postverbal

ki VERB

VERB *ki*

Old Japanese

V1 auxiliary (fewer)

ki VERB

V2 auxiliary (more)

VERB *ki*

Old Japanese

V1 auxiliary (fewer)

ki VERB

V2 auxiliary (more)

VERB *ki*

Modern Japanese

V2 auxiliary

VERB *ki*

Preverbal to postverbal

Prohibitive *na*

from preverbal adverb

to postverbal grammatical particle

Preverbal to postverbal

Old Japanese

Preverbal prohibitive

na naki (so)

Postverbal prohibitive

naku na

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.

Summary

Summary

V1 auxiliary verbs in OJ

Vi V complex verb types in OJ

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Where did the V1 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

Where did it go?

Where does the V2 auxiliary verb
construction come from?

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

Abductive innovation

V1(manner) > V1(aktionsart) auxiliary

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

Deductive innovation

V1 auxiliary > V2 auxiliary

Vi V complex verb types in OJ

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V1 V2_(aktionsart)

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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