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University of Arizona
Ling 696A
Syntax and Computation

Japanese Serial Verbs and FormSet



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Basic Data

- Japanese productively forms serial verb constructions (SVCs), comprised of two or more verbs that appear next to each other.

V-V compound verbs are characterized as a morphological amalgamation of two native verbs, where a first verb (V1), in what is traditionally called the *ren'yō* form (lit. 'adverbial' or 'predicate-modifying' form), is morphologically adjoined to the stem of a second verb (V2) and the whole V1-V2 combination inflects for tense. (Kageyama 2016:273)

(1) *kaki-komu* 'write-enter = write in

(2) *tobi-agaru* 'jump-rise = jump up' (Kageyama 1989:75)

Conjunctive *ren'yō* form

kaku → *kaki* 'write'

tobu → *tobi* 'jump'

Stem

komu 'enter'

agaru 'rise'

	Verb Types	SVCs
(a)	Tr-Tr	<i>home-tataeru</i> 'exalt' (lit. admire-praise) <i>osi-taosu</i> 'push down' (lit. push-topple) <i>mote-asobu</i> 'fiddle with' (lit. hold-play) (idiomatic: toy with)
(b)	Unerg-Unerg	<i>tobi-haneru</i> 'jump up and down' (lit. fly jump) <i>tobi-mawaru</i> 'fly around' (lit. fly-rotate around) (idiomatic: busy working/traveling)
(c)	Unacc-Unacc	<i>yake-kogeru</i> 'get gutted' (lit. burn-char) <i>oti-tuku</i> 'settle down' (lit. fall-arrive) (idiomatic: calm down)
(d)	Unerg-Unacc	<i>nige-tiru</i> 'scuttle in all directions' (lit. flee-disperse) <i>yuki-todoku</i> 'reach (lit. go-reach/arrive)' (idiomatic: every detail is taken care of)
(e)	Unacc-Unerg	<i>oti-nobiru</i> 'retreat' (lit. fall-flee) <i>iki-nobiru</i> 'survive' (lit. live-extend)
(f)	Unacc-Tr	<i>yoi-tubusu</i> 'get wasted' (lit. get.drunk-crush) <i>huki-kobosu</i> 'boil something until it spills over' (lit. boil.over-spill)
(g)	Unerg-Tr	<i>nori-koeru</i> 'move beyond (lit. get on-go over)' (idiomatic: overcome hardships) <i>odori-akasu</i> 'dance overnight' (lit. dance-stay awake)
(h)	Tr-Unerg	<i>seme-kudaru</i> 'attack-leave the capital' (lit. attack-go down) <i>ii-yoru</i> 'make advances, hit on' (lit. say-come close) <i>kake-yoru</i> 'run towards' (lit. run-come.close)
(i)	Tr-Unacc	<i>tuki-sasaru</i> 'perforate' (lit. poke-get.stuck) (idiomatic: something is poignant as if it pierces into one's heart) <i>ooi-kabusaru</i> 'flop over' (lit. hide-cover)

Table 1: Lexical Compounds (Kageyama 1989)

(a)	<i>tabe-hazimeru</i> 'eat-begin'
(b)	<i>tobi-agaru</i> 'jump-rise'
(c)	<i>kaki-hazimeru</i> 'write-begin'
(d)	<i>tabe-oeru</i> 'eat-finish'
(e)	<i>hanasi-owaru</i> 'speak-finish'
(f)	<i>syaberi-tuzukeru</i> 'speak-continue'
(g)	<i>ugoki-dasu</i> 'move-begin'
(h)	<i>tabe-kakeru</i> 'eat-hang' (begin to eat)
(i)	<i>tabe-sugiru</i> 'eat-pass' (overeate)

Table 2: Compounds with an aspectual V2 (Kageyama 1989)

Syntactic Compounds (Kageyama 1989)

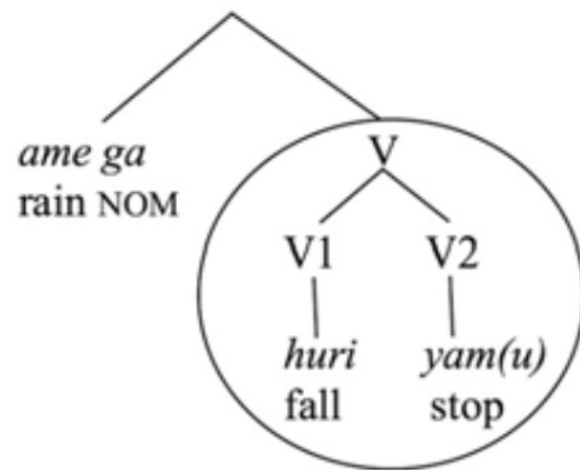
Core Properties

SVCs in Japanese according to Kageyama (2016)

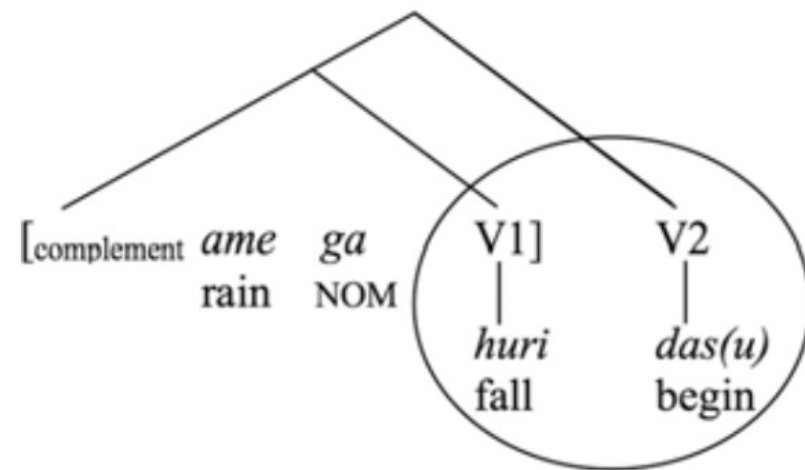
- There are two types of lexical V-V compounds.
- There are three types of syntactic V-V compounds.

Kageyama 1989

(13) a. lexical V-V compound



b. syntactic V-V compound



Kageyama (2016:281)

Lexical V-V compounds

(9) Lexical V-V compound verbs

uti-korosu [shoot-kill] ‘shoot to death’, *nagare-otiru* [flow-fall] ‘flow down’,
aruki-tukareru [walk-get.tired] ‘get tired from walking’, *tobi-agaru* [jump-go.up]
‘jump up’, *naki-sakebu* [cry-shout] ‘cry and scream’, *huri-yamu* [fall-stop] ‘(rain)
stop falling’, *sawagi-tateru* [make.a.fuss-do.excessively] ‘make a big fuss’

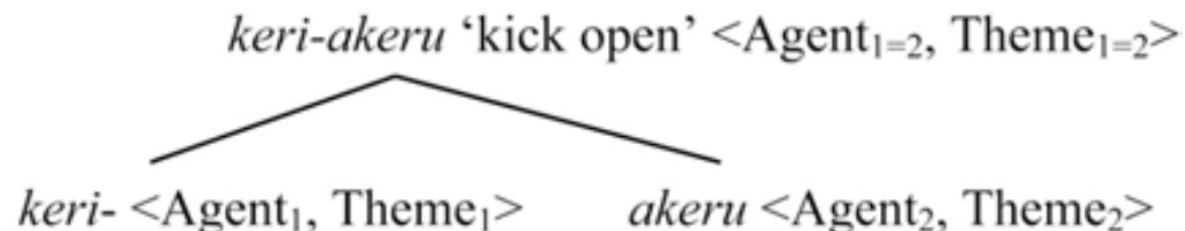
Kageyama (2016:277)

Lexical Thematic Compound verbs (Kageyama 2016: 294)

- Each verb has its own argument structure

(3) *osi-akeru* ‘push-open’ (Kageyama 2016: 299)

- (38) Pattern 1: The argument properties of two verbs are completely identical.
 [Example] *Watasi wa doa o ker-ake-ta*. ‘I kicked the door open’



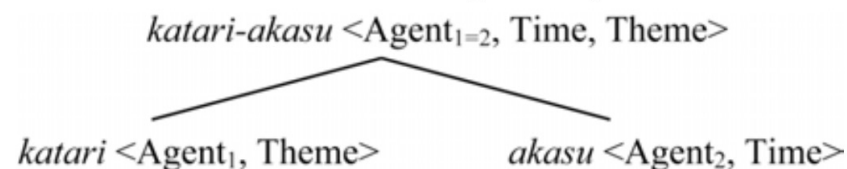
Kageyama (2016:301)

	Verb Types	SVCs
(a)	Tr-Tr	<i>home-tataeru</i> ‘exalt (lit. admire-praise)’ <i>osi-taosu</i> ‘push down (lit. push-topple)’ <i>mote-asobu</i> ‘fiddle with (lit. hold-play)’ (idiomatic: toy with)
(b)	Unerg-Unerg	<i>tobi-haneru</i> ‘jump up and down (lit. fly jump)’ <i>tobi-mawaru</i> ‘fly around (lit. fly-rotate around)’ (idiomatic: busy working/traveling)
(c)	Unacc-Unacc	<i>yake-kogeru</i> ‘get gutted (lit. burn-char)’ <i>oti-tuku</i> ‘settle down (lit. fall-arrive)’ (idiomatic: calm down)

Table 3

(40) Pattern 3: Two verbs have different internal arguments.

[Example] *Hutari wa natu no yoru o, zinsei o katari-akasi-ta.*
two.people TOP summer GEN night ACC life ACC talk-pass-PST
'The two talked a summer night away about their life.'



Kageyama (2016:302)

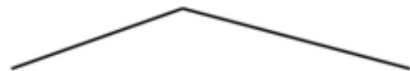
(4) *Hutari-wa zinsei-o katat-ta*
two.people-Top life-Acc talk-Past
'The two talked about their life.'

(5) *Hutari-wa natu no yoru-o akasi-ta*
two.people-Top summer Gen night-Acc pass-Past
'The two talked the night away.'

(39) Pattern 2: The argument properties of two verbs are partially identical.

[Example] *Kare wa niwatori o sime-korosi-ta*. 'He choked the chicken to death.'

sime-korosu 'choke to death' <Agent₁₌₂, Theme₂>


sime- <Agent₁, Theme₁> *korosu* <Agent₂, Theme₂>

: where Theme₁ denotes a part of Theme₂.

(6) *Kare-wa kubi-o sime-ta*
he-Top neck-Acc choke-Past
'He choked/squeezed the throat.'

(7) *Kare-wa niwatori-o korosi-ta*
he-Top chicken-Acc kill-Past
'He killed the chicken'

Kageyama (2016:302)

- Kageyama (1993, 1999) proposes the Transitivity Harmony Principle.
- V1 and V2 can be combined if they both have external arguments or if they both lack external arguments.

(42) The Transitivity Harmony Principle

Given the three argument structure schemas below, lexical compound verbs are built by combining two verbs of the same type of argument structure.

- (a) transitive verbs (Tr.): (Agent <Theme>)
- (b) unergative verbs (Unerg.): (Agent < >)
- (c) unaccusative verbs (Unacc.): <Theme>

Kageyama (2016:304)

Possible/Impossible V-V combinations

- (43) a. transitive V1 + unergative V2
(*teki o*) *mati-kamaeru* [(enemy ACC) wait-be.prepared] ‘brace oneself for the enemy’
- b. unergative V1 + transitive V2: *warai-tobasu* [laugh-fly] ‘laugh away’
- c. unaccusative V1 + unaccusative V2: *sitatari-otiru* [drip-fall] ‘drip down’
- (44) a. *transitive V1 + unaccusative V2
**tuki-otiru* [push-fall] ‘push and fall’
Cf. tr.+ tr.: *tuki-otosu* [push-make.fall]
- b. *unaccusative V1 + transitive V2
**ore-mageru* [be.bent-be.twisted] ‘be bent and twisted’
Cf. tr.+tr.: *ori-mageru* [bent-twist]
- c. *unergative V1 + unaccusative V2
(*me ga*) **naki-hareru* [(eyes NOM) cry-get.swollen] ‘(eyes) swell because of crying hard’
- d. *unaccusative V1 + unergative V2
**koroge-oriru* [tumble-step.down] ‘tumble and step down’
Cf. unacc.+unacc.: *koroge-otiru* [tumble-fall]

First, the empirical validity of this principle is supported by statistical data. In my database of about 2,750 lexical compound verbs (Kageyama and Kanzaki 2014), approximately 84% obey the Transitivity Harmony Principle. Moreover, a significant

Kageyama (2016:305)

16% don't obey the Transitivity Harmony Principle?

Lexical Aspectual Compound verbs (Kageyama 2016:296)

- V1 has argument structure, V2 doesn't

(34) L-aspectual verbs are characterized by:

- a. their function to provide V1 with a wide variety of *Aktionsart* meanings such as inception, continuation, completion, cessation, failure, strength, etc.;
- b. their broad semantic coverage of not only temporal aspect but also spatial aspect/deixis, as in *hare-wataru* [be.cloudless-extend.all.over] 'The clear state extends all over the sky', and interpersonal aspect/deixis, as in *moosi-ageru* [say-give.to.a.person.of.higher.status] 'say deferentially';
- c. their peculiar abstract and metaphorical meanings that are not found in their original, independent usage meanings;
- d. the general lack of argument structure and case;
- e. their highly selective cooccurrence relations with particular V1s;
- f. the lack of independent usage in some verbs.

Table 5: Lexical aspectual compound verbs classified semantically

I. Temporal aspect	<i>huri-yamu</i> (vi.) ‘stop falling, said of snow and rain’, <i>kaki-ageru</i> (vt.) ‘finish writing’, <i>kaki-agaru</i> (vi) ‘writing is finished’, <i>ni-tumeru</i> (vt.) ‘boil down’, <i>kesi-saru</i> (vt.) ‘wipe out’
a. completive	
b. incompleted	<i>ii-sasu</i> (vt.) ‘stop speaking halfway’
c. intensive result	<i>ne-komu</i> (vi.) ‘fall sound asleep’, <i>komari-hateru</i> (vt.) ‘be completely at a loss’, <i>sizumari-kaeru</i> (vi.) ‘become completely silent’, <i>saki-midareru</i> (vi.) ‘bloom in profusion’, <i>otituki-harau</i> (vi.) ‘be perfectly composed’
d. inception	<i>ake-someru</i> (vi.) ‘begin to dawn’, <i>saki-someru</i> (vi.) ‘begin to bloom’
e. continuative	<i>huri-sikuru</i> (vi.) ‘(rain) fall incessantly’, <i>naki-kurasu</i> (vi.) ‘cry all day’
f. iterative	<i>hozikuri-kaesu</i> (vt.) ‘dig again’, <i>tukai-komu</i> (vt.) ‘use repeatedly’, <i>tate-kaeru</i> (vt.) ‘rebuild’, <i>ii-narawasu</i> (vt.) ‘commonly say’
g. intensive action	<i>sawagi-tateru</i> (vi.) ‘fuss about’, <i>izikuri-mawasu</i> (vt.) ‘fumble about’, <i>waki-kaeru</i> (vi.) ‘boil violently’, <i>waki-tatu</i> (vi.) ‘boil hard’, <i>home-tigiru</i> (vt.) ‘praise highly’
h. ineffective	<i>kasi-siburu</i> (vt.) ‘hesitate to lend’, <i>nobi-nayamu</i> (vi.) ‘do not make expected progress’, <i>kiki-tigau</i> (vt.) ‘hear wrongly’, <i>haki-tigaeru</i> (vt.) ‘put on the wrong shoes’
i. reciprocal	<i>i-awaseru</i> (vi.) ‘happen to be at the same place’, <i>kiki-kaesu</i> (vt.) ‘ask back’, <i>tukai-wakeru</i> (vt.) ‘use different things according to the needs’
II. Spatial aspect	<i>naguri-kakaru</i> (vt.) ‘strike at’, <i>donari-tukeru</i> (vt.) ‘yell at’, <i>mi-ageru</i> (vt.) ‘look up’, <i>mi-mawasu</i> (vt.) ‘look round’, <i>hare-wataru</i> (vt.) ‘be clear all over the sky’, <i>tobi-dasu</i> (vi.) ‘dash out’
III. Social (interpersonal) aspect	<i>moosi-ageru</i> (vt.) ‘say to a respectable person’, <i>mi-kudasu</i> (vt.) ‘look down upon’, <i>moosi-tukeru</i> (vt.) ‘say to a person of lower status’, <i>kasi-sageru</i> (vt.) ‘(public institution) lend to private sector’

Kageyama (2016:297)

Syntactic V-V compounds

(10) Syntactic V-V compound verbs

kaki-hazimeru [write-begin] ‘begin to write’, *tabe-oeru* [eat-finish] ‘finish eating’, *huri-kakeru* [rain-be.about.to] ‘be about to rain’, *home-au* [praise-join] ‘praise each other’, *mi-sobireru* [see-miss] ‘miss seeing’, *tabe-sugiru* [eat-exceed] ‘eat excessively’, *ii-wasureru* [say-forget] ‘forget to say’, *nomi-tukusu* [drink-exhaust] ‘drink up’

Kageyama (2016:277)

Table 3: Syntactic compound verbs classified semantically

Aspectual notions	Examples
inception	<i>V-kakeru</i> [hang, vt.] ‘be about to V’, <i>V-dasu</i> [take out, vt.] ‘begin to V’, <i>V-hazimeru</i> [begin, vt.] ‘begin to V’, <i>V-kakaru</i> [set about, vi.] ‘set about V-ing’
duration, repetition	<i>V-tuzukeru</i> [continue, vt.] ‘continue to V’, <i>V-makuru</i> [roll up, vt.] ‘V on and on’
completion	<i>V-oeru</i> [finish, vt.] ‘finish V-ing’, <i>V-owaru</i> [end, vi.] ‘stop V-ing’, <i>V-tukusu</i> [exhaust, vt.] ‘V exhaustively’, <i>V-kiru</i> [cut, vt.] ‘V completely’, <i>V-toosu</i> [let through, vt.] ‘V to the end’, <i>V-nuku</i> [pull out, vt.] ‘V to the end’, <i>V-hateru</i> [come to an end, vi.] ‘V utterly’
incompletion, failure	<i>V-sokonau</i> [harm, vt.] ‘miss V-ing’, <i>V-sokoneru</i> [harm, vt.] ‘fail to V’, <i>V-sonziru</i> [damage, vt.] ‘fail to V’, <i>V-sobireru</i> [miss (auxiliary use only)] ‘fail to V’, <i>V-kaneru</i> [be.unable] ‘be unable to V’, <i>V-wasureru</i> [forget] ‘forget to V’, <i>V-nokosu</i> [leave undone] ‘leave something without V-ing completely’, <i>V-ayamaru</i> [err, vt.] ‘make a mistake in V-ing’, <i>V-okureru</i> [be late, vi.] ‘be delayed in V-ing’, <i>V-aguneru</i> [Classical Japanese ‘be satiated’] ‘hesitate to V’
excessiveness	<i>V-sugiru</i> [go past, vi.] ‘V excessively’
retrial	<i>V-naosu</i> [repair, vt.] ‘V again (to obtain a desired result)’
repetition, habituation	<i>V-tukeru</i> [attach, vt.] ‘be used to V-ing’, <i>V-nareru</i> [get accustomed, vi.] ‘be accustomed to V-ing’, <i>V-akiru</i> [get weary, vi.] ‘get weary of V-ing’
reciprocity	<i>V-au</i> [meet, vi.] ‘V reciprocally’
likelihood	<i>V-eru</i> or <i>V-uru</i> [obtain, be possible] ‘be likely to V’

33 verbs form syntactic compounds (Kageyama 2016: 283)

3 types of syntactic V-V compounds!

- Kageyama (1993, 1999) proposes that there are three different types of syntactic V-V compounds.

Syntactic V-V compound: Raising structure

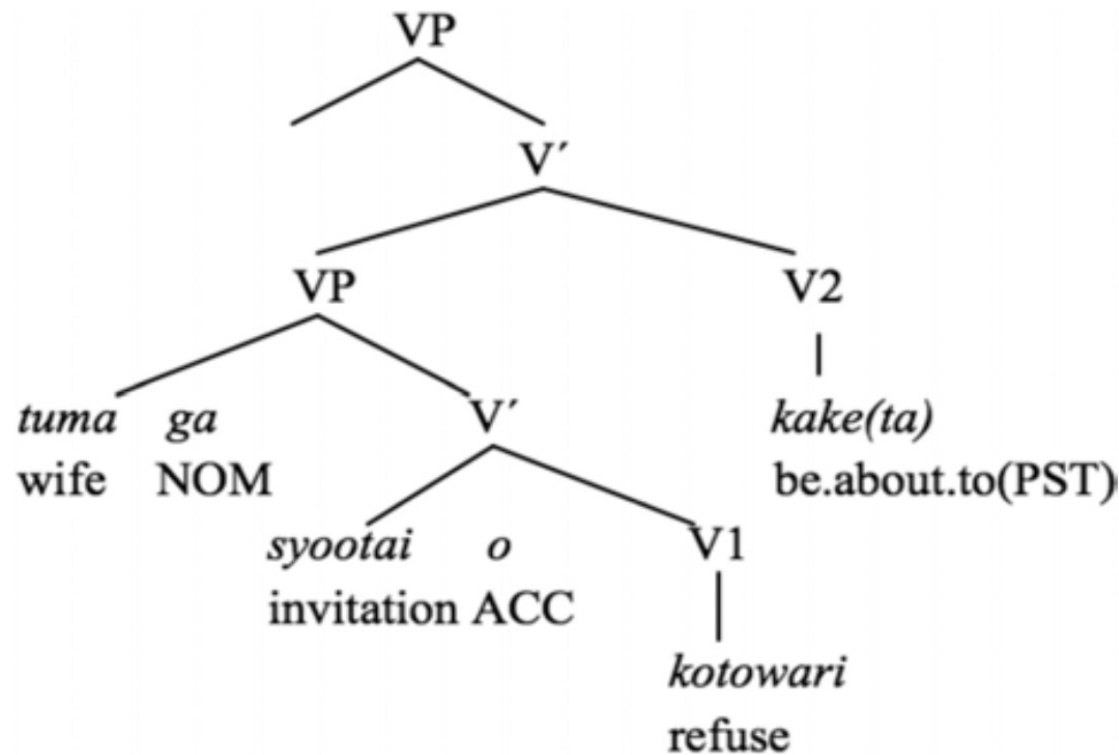


Figure 1: Raising structure

Kageyama (2016:286)

Syntactic V-V compound: Raising structure

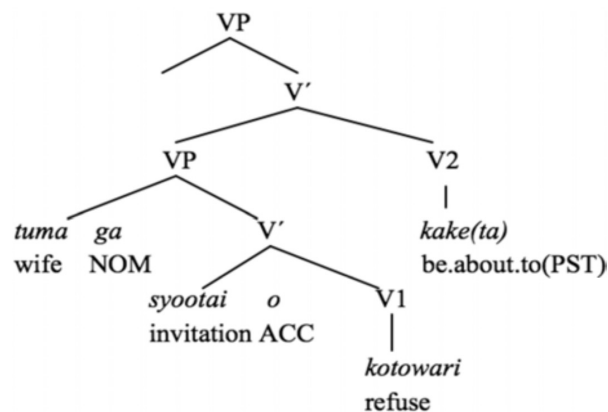


Figure 1: Raising structure

V2 “does not impose any semantic restriction on the subject” (Kageyama 2016: 287)

- (17) a. *Zisin ga okori-kake-ta.* (inanimate subject)
 earthquake NOM occur-be.about.to-PST
 ‘An earthquake was about to occur.’
- b. *Tuma ga syootai o kotowari-kake-ta.* (human subject)
 wife NOM invitation ACC refuse-be.about.to-PST
 ‘My wife was about to turn down the invitation.’

Kageyama (2016:287)

Syntactic V-V compound: Control structure

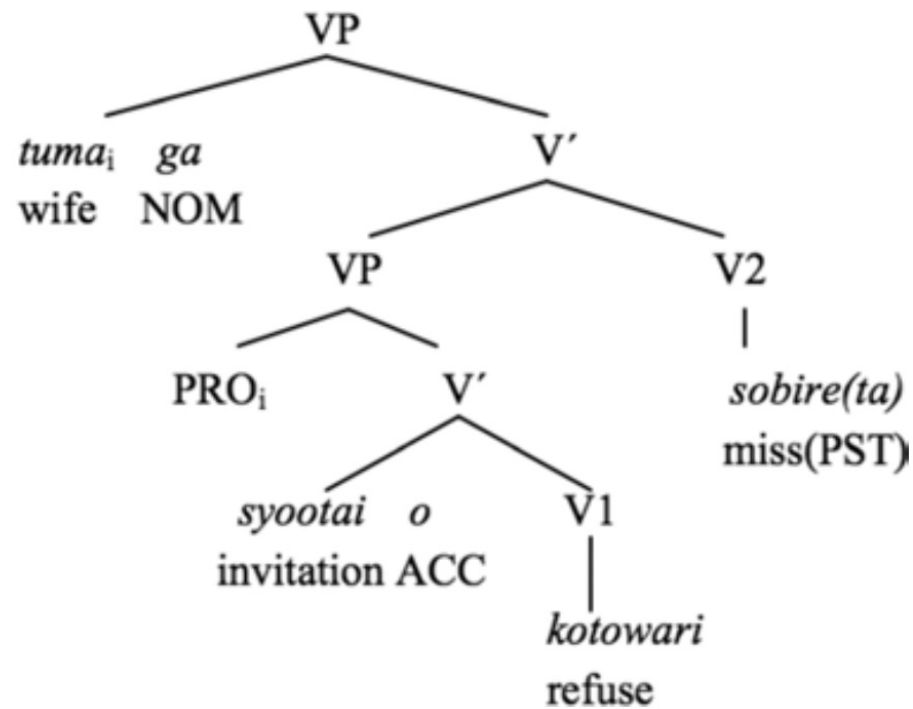


Figure 2: Control structure

Kageyama (2016:286)

Syntactic V-V compound: Control structure

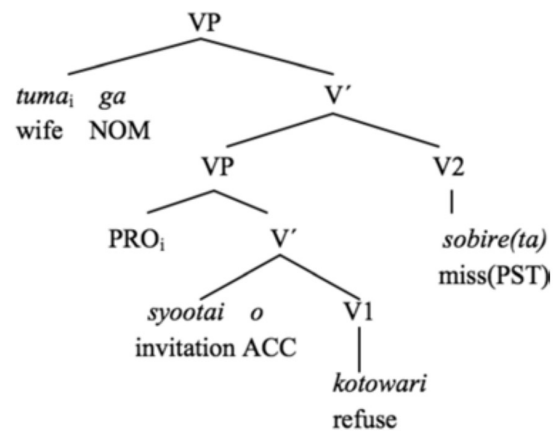


Figure 2: Control structure

V2 “requires the subject to be a sentient human”
(Kageyama 2016:287)

- (18) a. *Zisin ga okori-sobire-ta. (inanimate subject)
 earthquake NOM occur-miss-PST
 lit. ‘An earthquake missed the chance of occurring.’
- b. Tuma wa syootai o kotowari-sobire-ta. (human subject)
 wife TOP invitation ACC reject-miss-PST
 ‘My wife missed the chance of turning down the invitation.’

Kageyama (2016: 287)

Syntactic V-V compound: Reduced complement structure

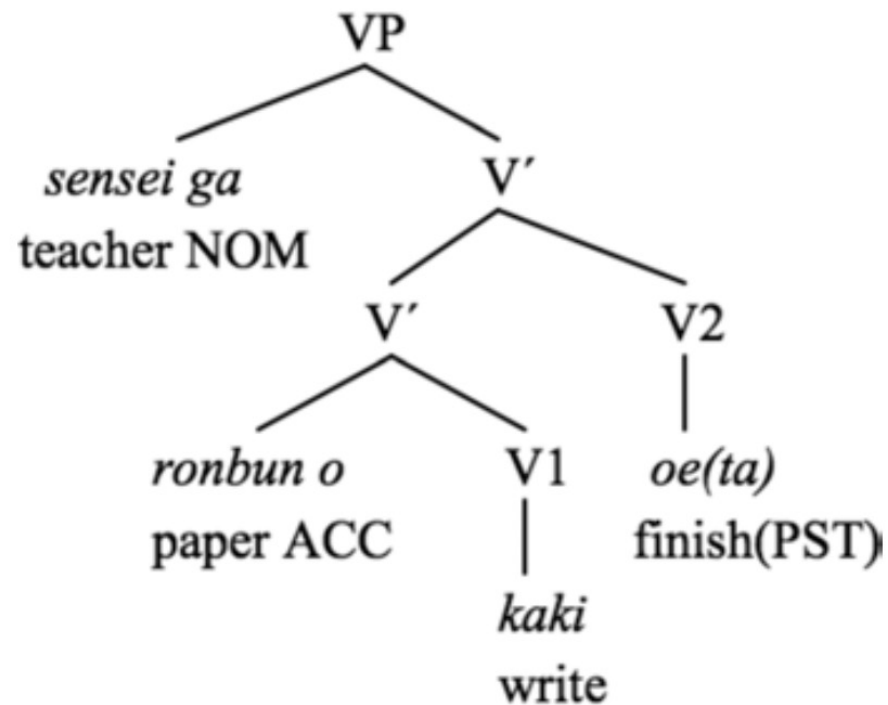


Figure 3: Reduced complement structure

Syntactic V-V compound: Reduced complement structure

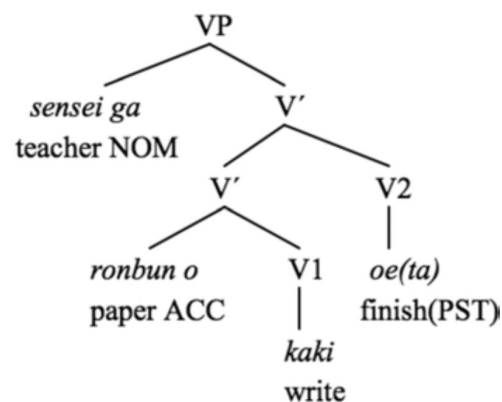


Figure 3: Reduced complement structure

Question: Don't the other types of syntactic compounds also allow long distance passivization?

(8) Raising: ??kotowari-kake-rare-ta 'refuse-be.about.to-Pass-Past'

(9) Control: *?kotowari-sobire-rare-ta 'occur-miss-Pass-Past'

V2 requires an agent subject ("Human-controlled artifacts like 'trains' and 'chemicals'" are also possible (Kageyama 2016: 288))

These allow a long distance passive. Kageyama proposes that this has a monoclausal structure in which the object can be passivized.

- (23) a. *Koozan ga hori-tukus-are-ta.*
mine NOM dig-exhaust-PASS-PST
'The mine was dug up and exhausted.'
- b. *Keiyakusyo ga kaki-naos-are-ta.*
contract NOM write-do.again-PASS-PST
'The contract was rewritten and fixed.'
- c. *Dasi-wasure-rare-ta tegami ga tukue no ue ni ar-u.*
post-forget-PASS-PST letter NOM desk GEN top DAT be-NONPST
'There is a letter on the desk that he forgot to post and left unwittingly.'

(Kageyama 2016:289)

- Syntactic V-V compounds and Lexical Aspectual Compounds look similar. What is the difference?

(10) Lexical aspectual compounds: ne-komu ‘sleep-fall’ (fall sound asleep)

(11) Syntactic V-V compound: kaki-hazimeru ‘write-begin’

- These behave differently, with respect to certain tests.

Syntactic V-V compounds vs. Lexical Aspectual Compounds

- Syntactic V-V compounds both have a lexical V1 and a V2 that seems to be aspectual (lacking argument structure).
- According to Kageyama (2016:296), lexical aspectual verbs have these properties:

- Kageyama points out a distinction in aspectual V2s.
- Could the syntactic V-V compounds and lexical aspectual compounds simply be the same type of compound?

(34) L-aspectual verbs are characterized by:

- a. their function to provide V1 with a wide variety of *Aktionsart* meanings such as inception, continuation, completion, cessation, failure, strength, etc.;
- b. their broad semantic coverage of not only temporal aspect but also spatial aspect/deixis, as in *hare-wataru* [be.cloudless-extend.all.over] 'The clear state extends all over the sky', and interpersonal aspect/deixis, as in *moosi-ageru* [say-give.to.a.person.of.higher.status] 'say deferentially';
- c. their peculiar abstract and metaphorical meanings that are not found in their original, independent usage meanings;
- d. the general lack of argument structure and case;
- e. their highly selective cooccurrence relations with particular V1s;
- f. the lack of independent usage in some verbs.

Syntactic V-V compounds vs. Lexical Aspectual Compounds

- e. their highly selective cooccurrence relations with particular V1s;
- f. the lack of independent usage in some verbs.

V2 in syntactic V-V compound can occur with virtually any V1

(12) *tabe-tudukeru* 'eat-continue', *aruki-tudukeru* 'walk-continue', *yomi-tudukeru* 'read-continue', *kiki-tudukeru* 'listen-continue', *home-tudukeru* 'praise-continue'

V2 in Lexical Aspectual Compound is not productive. Argument structure of V2 is determined by V1 even if V2 has a lexical use with argument structure.

(13) *tobi-dasu* 'jump-take.out' (jump out), *ii-sasu* 'talk-poke' (stop speaking halfway), *ne-komu* 'sleep-enter' (fall sound asleep)

**tabe-sasu* 'eat-poke', **yomi-sasu* 'read-poke', **kiki-sasu* 'listen-poke', **home-sasu* 'praise-poke'

However *dasu* looks a lot like an aspectual V2 in a syntactic V-V compound:

tabe-dasu 'eat-take.out' (start to eat), *aruki-dasu* 'walk-take.out' (start to walk), *yomi-dasu* 'read-take.out' (start to read), *kiki-dasu* 'listen-take.out' (elicit), *home-dasu* 'praise-take.out' (start to praise)

Tests to distinguish lexical vs. syntactic compounds

Table 1: Syntactic criteria for the lexical-syntactic distinction

	Lexical compound verbs	Syntactic compound verbs
I. Passives in V1	*[os-are]-aku [push-PASS]-open(vi.) 'open (vi.) by being pushed'	[ais-are]-tuzukeru [love-PASS]-continue 'continue to be loved'
II. Honorific verbs in V1	*[o-uke ni nari]-toru [HON-get DAT beecome]-take 'receive'	[o-utai ni nari]-hazimeru [HON-sing DAT become]-begin 'begin to sing'
III. Verbal anaphora in V1	naki-sakebu → *[soo si]-sakebu cry-scream [so do]-scream lit. 'scream by doing so'	kaki-oeru → [soo si]-oeru write-finish [so do]-finish 'finish doing so'
IV. Light verb constructions in V1	*rakka-si-yamu cf. huri-yamu [fall-do]-stop rain-stop 'stop falling'	[rakka-si]-owaru [fall-do]-stop 'stop falling'
V. Idioms in V1	#abura o uri-siburu oil ACC sell-hesitate 'hesitate to sell oil/ *shoot the breeze'	[abura o uri]-sokonau [oil ACC sell]-fail 'fail to sell oil/shoot the breeze'

Kageyama (2016:278)

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	Lexical compound verbs	Syntactic compound verbs
I. Passives in V1	*[os-are]-aku [push-PASS]-open(vi.) 'open (vi.) by being pushed'	[ais-are]-tuzukeru [love-PASS]-continue 'continue to be loved'
II. Honorific verbs in V1	*[o-uke ni nari]-toru [HON-get DAT become]-take 'receive'	[o-utai ni nari]-hazimeru [HON-sing DAT become]-begin 'begin to sing'
III. Verbal anaphora in V1	naki-sakebu → *[soo si]-sakebu cry-scream [so do]-scream lit. 'scream by doing so'	kaki-oeru → [soo si]-oeru write-finish [so do]-finish 'finish doing so'
IV. Light verb constructions in V1	*rakka-si-yamu cf. huri-yamu [fall-do]-stop rain-stop 'stop falling'	[rakka-si]-owaru [fall-do]-stop 'stop falling'
V. Idioms in V1	#abura o uri-siburu oil ACC sell-hesitate 'hesitate to sell oil/ *shoot the breeze'	[abura o uri]-sokonau [oil ACC sell]-fail 'fail to sell oil/shoot the breeze'

According to Kageyama (2016:278), lexical aspectual compounds pattern with lexical V-V compounds, not with syntactic V-V compounds:

- (14) a. tobi-dasu 'jump-take.out' (jump out)
 b. Passive: *tob-are-dasu
 c. Honorific: *o-tobi-ni-nari-dasu
 d. Verbal anaphora: *soo-si-dasu
 e. light verb: *tobi-si-dasu
- (15) a. ii-sasu 'talk-poke' (stop speaking halfway)
 b. Passive: *ii-ware-sasu
 c. Honorific: *o-ii-ni-nari-sasu
 d. Verbal anaphora: *soo si-sasu
 e. light verb: *ii-si-sasu

- Very complicated:
- 2 different types of Lexical V-V compounds
- 3 different types of Syntactic V-V compounds

Table 6: Subclasses and mutual relationships of V-V compound verbs

Class	Lexical		syntactic		
	Thematic	Aspectual	V' complement	VP with control	VP with raising
I. Structure	left-to-right modification	complementation/ right-to-left modification	complementation	complementation	complementation
II. Meaning	thematic	aspectual (or thematic-aspectual)	thematic-aspectual	aspectual	aspectual
III. Transitivity Harmony	Applies with almost absolute accuracy.	Applies with reasonable accuracy.	Irrelevant.	Irrelevant.	Irrelevant.
IV. Desemanticization	V1	V2	V2	V2	V2
V. Hierarchical relation	lowest ←-----→ highest				

- Are all of these distinctions real? Yes, probably.
- Is Kageyama making the syntactic analysis of V-V compounds too complicated?
- Hypothesis: Distinctions are real, but not necessarily syntactic in nature.
- Hypothesis: The syntax of V-V compounds is not so complicated.
 - Then, is the semantics complicated?
- All V-V compounds are formed in the syntax. Some V-V compounds have an aspectual V2, some V-V compounds do not have an aspectual V2.

Nishiyama (1998) takes a syntactic approach

- Kageyama's Lexical V-V Compounds are formed in the syntax

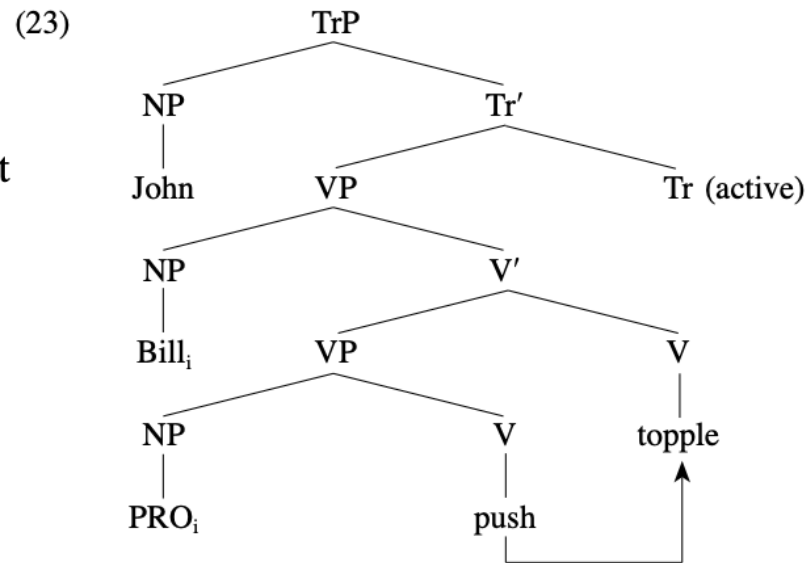
Transitive-Transitive V-V compound

- (22) John-ga Bill-o osi-taosi-ta
 -Nom -Acc push-topple-Past
 'John toppled Bill by pushing him.'

- The internal argument of 'push' is the complement of 'push'

Issues:

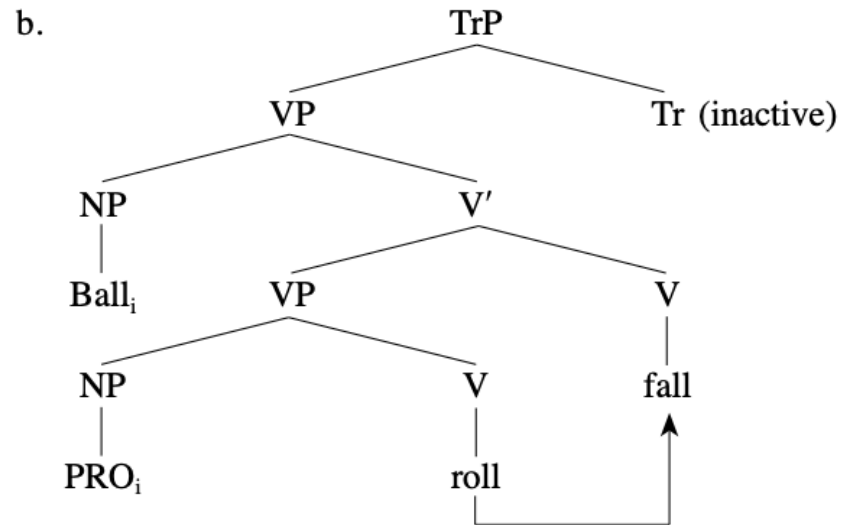
- The internal argument of V2 'Bill' is not the complement of V2.



Nishiyama (1998:184-185)

Unaccusative-Unaccusative V-V compound

(24) a. Ball-ga koroge-oti-ta
 -Nom roll-fall-Past
 'The ball rolled down.'



- The internal argument PRO of V1 is the complement of V1.

Issues:

- The internal argument of V2 'ball' is not the complement of V2.

Nishiyama (1998:186)

Transitive-Unaccusative V-V compound

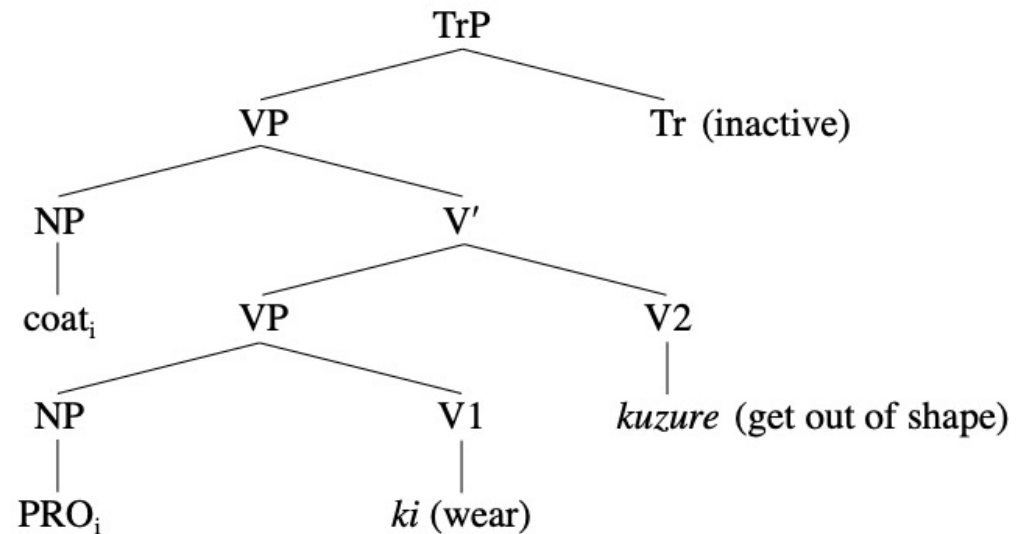
- (33) a. *sigoto-ga si-agat-ta*
 job-Nom do-get.ready-Past
 'The job was done and got ready.'
- b. *coat-ga ki-kuzure-ta*
 -Nom wear-get.out.of.shape-Past
 'The coat was worn and got out of shape.'

- The internal argument PRO of V1 is the complement of V1.

Issues:

- The internal argument 'coat' of V2 is not the complement of V2.
- The transitive V1 doesn't appear to be transitive (it doesn't merge with a subject argument or transitive v).

(35)



Nishiyama (1998:189-190)

Transitive-Unaccusative V-V compound

(38) a. John-ga kaban-o moti-sat-ta
 -Nom bag-Acc hold-leave-Past

‘John left with a bag.’

b. John-ga kodomo-o ture-sat-ta
 -Nom child-Acc take-leave-Past

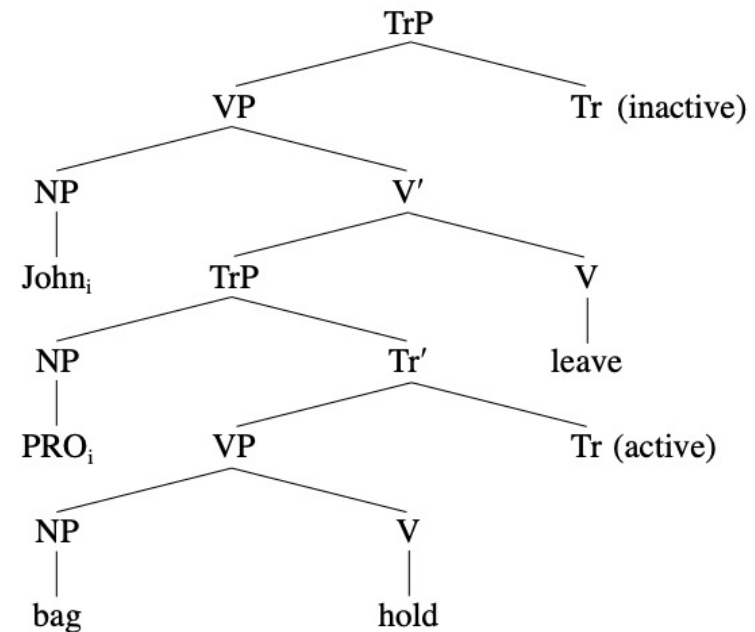
‘John took the child and left.’ (Kageyama (1993, p. 134))

- Transitive V1 has external and internal arguments.

Issues:

- Internal argument of V2 is not the complement of V2.

(40)



Nishiyama (1998:191-192)

Unaccusative-Transitive V-V compound

(43) a. John-ga soup-o huki-kobosi-ta
 -Nom -Acc boil.over(intr)-spill(tr)-Past

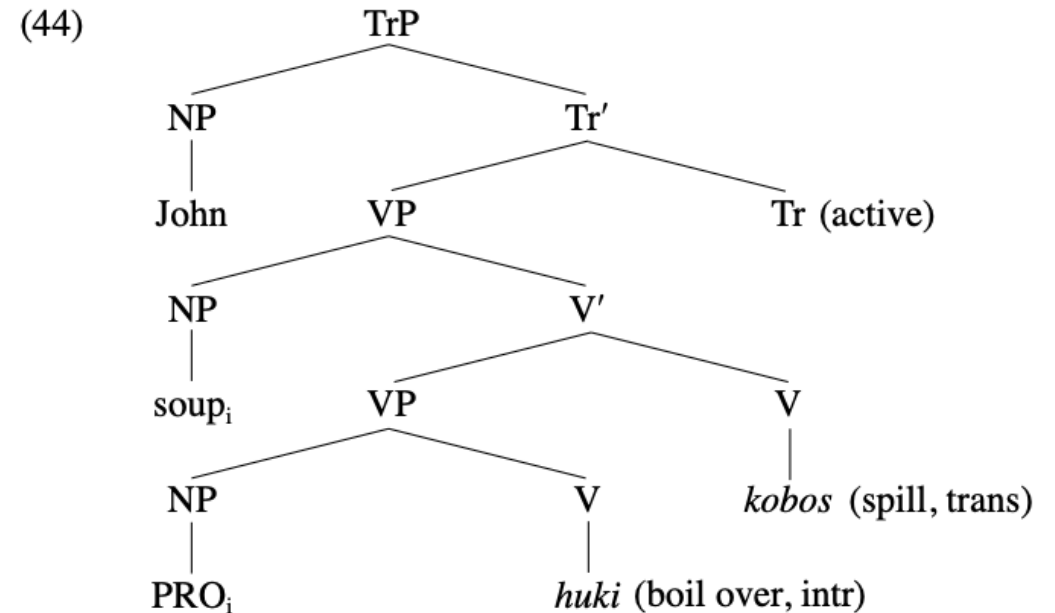
‘The soup boiled over and John spilled it.’

b. kaze-ga konoha-o mai-age-ta
 wind-Nom leaves-Acc whirl(intr)-raise(tr)-Past

‘The wind whirled up the leaves.’

(cf. Matsumoto (1996, p. 213))

- Internal argument PRO of V1 is complement of V1.
- Issues:
- Internal argument ‘soup’ of V2 is not complement of V2.



Nishiyama (1998:193)

FormSet account of SVCs

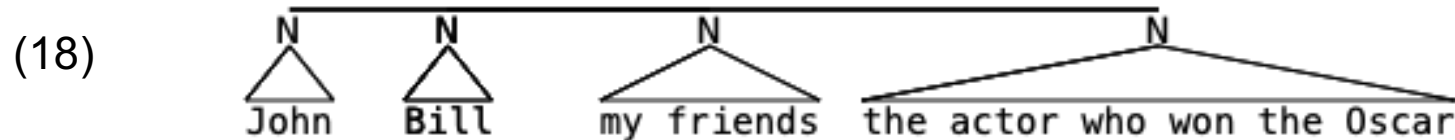
Theoretical assumptions and predictions

- FormSet

(16) FormSet (FS): a coherent (with respect to interpretation and Merge) set of syntactic objects. Members might be of the same categories/semantic function, e.g. $\pm$ referential, $\pm$ predicative. (Adapted from Chomsky 2021, 2024)

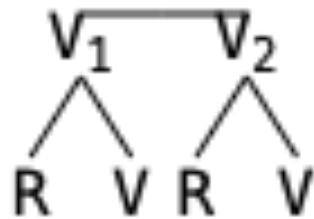
- **{ }** indicates FormSet

(17) {John, Bill, my friends, the actor who won the Oscar} (Chomsky 2021:31)

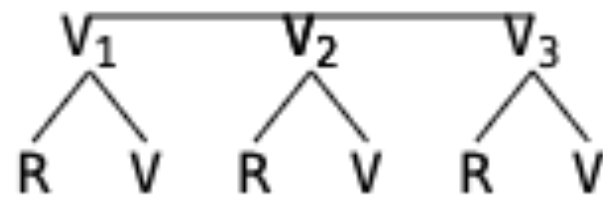


(19) SVCs formed via FormSet

(20) (a)



(b)



- (21) FormCopy (FC): automatically establish a copy relation between two (c-commanding) identical inscriptions via Minimal Search under the same Phase (our definition, adapted from Chomsky 2001).
- (22) Minimal Search (MS): stop as soon as the first eligible item is found in the c-command domain (Chomsky 2001).

(23) John tried [John to win]

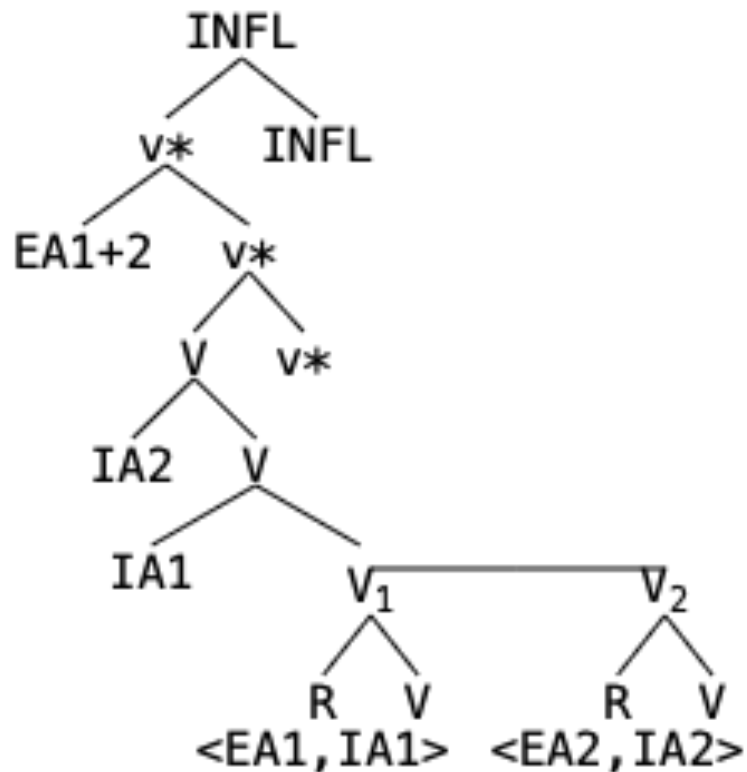
- Under economy of externalization in English, the upper copy is pronounced and the lower is not, producing *John tried to win*, not **John tried John to win*.
- Suppose instead, FC did not apply. Then the two instances of *John* must refer to different individuals, and both must be pronounced separately.

(24) Stability (Chomsky 2021): Lexical properties must be preserved throughout the derivation.

- A transitive verb remains transitive, an unaccusative verb remains unaccusative, an unergative verb remains unergative, etc.
- The thematic role of an argument remains the same.

Proposed structure

(25) SVC with INFL



- Tense is a property of verbs (Chomsky 2021).
- (26) John arrives every day at noon and met Bill yesterday (Chomsky 2021:34).
- There is one INFL that agrees with the subject, but each verb has a separate tense associated with it.

EA = External Argument

IA = Internal Argument

EA1+2 is EA associated with V1 and V2

IA1 is IA associated with V1

IA2 is IA associated with V2

- There do not appear to be any cases in which SVCs have different external arguments (EAs).

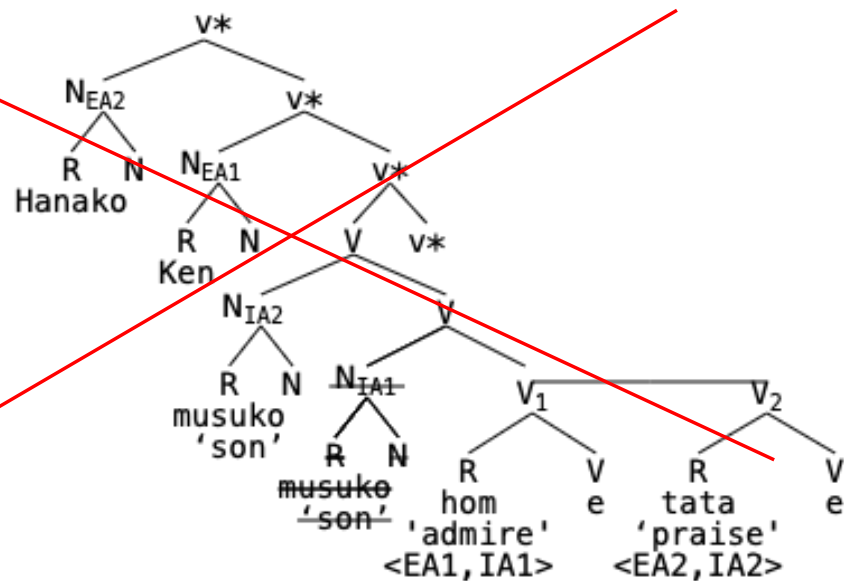
(27) */✓ Hanako-ga Ken-ga musuko-o home-tatae-ta.

H.-Nom K.-Nom son-Acc admire-praise-Pst

✓ Hanako and Ken admired and praised their son.

*Hanako admired and Ken praised their son.

(28) EA2, EA1 not permitted with Tr-Tr SVC



SVC argument structure possibilities

Tr-Tr

(29) a. Ken-ga Miki-o home-ta

K.-Nom M-Acc praise-Pst

‘Ken praised Miki.’

b. Ken-ga Miki-o **tatae**-ta

K-Nom M-Acc admire-Pst

‘Ken admired Miki.’

c. {Ken, {v*, {home, Miki}}}

d. {Ken, {v*, {tatae, Miki}}}

e. Tr-Tr (EA₁, EA₂), (IA₂, IA₁)

Ken-ga Miki-o **home-tatae**-ta

K.-Nom M.-Acc admire-praise-Pst

‘Ken admired and praised Miki.’

- There are only two structure-building operations to consider

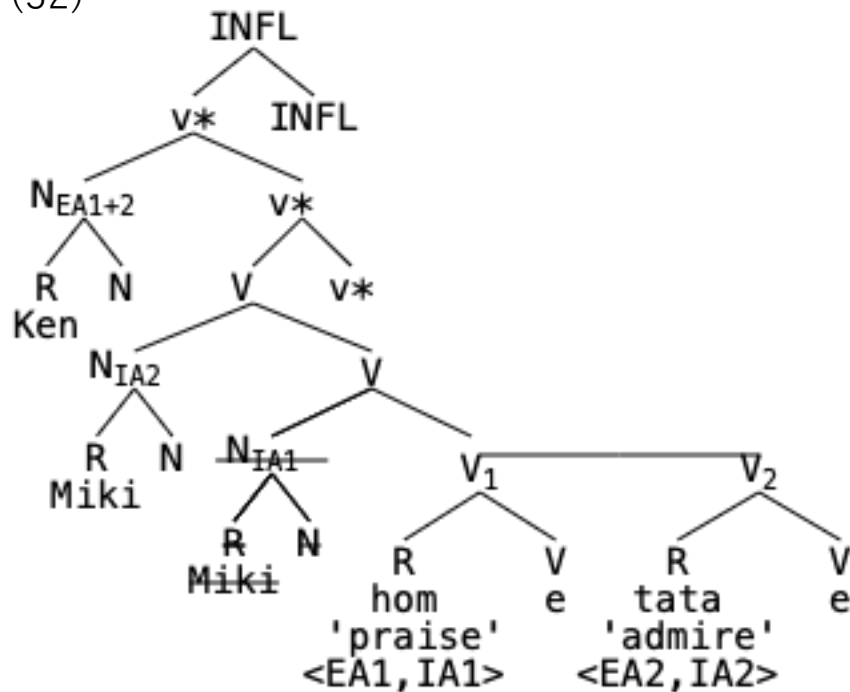
(30) a. {hom-e, tata-e}  Merge

b. {hom-e, tata-e}  FormSet

(31) Tr-Tr (EA1+2, IA2=IA1)

Ken-ga Miki-o **home-tatae**-ta
 K.-Nom M.-Acc admire-praise-Pst
 'Ken admired and praised Miki.'

(32)



- The object NP *Miki* attaches twice, once for each component verb.
- The FormCopy relation (*Miki*, *Miki*) automatically obtains, as c-command obtains between the two instances of *Miki* (within a Phase).
- By economy, at Externalization only the higher copy is pronounced.
- v^* introduces EA.
- Note: Valency Reduction is automatically observed for Tr-Tr SVCs.
 - Valency reduction:
 - Each Tr verb has 2 arguments. V1 and V2 have 4 arguments total.
 - SVC has 3 arguments because of only 1 external argument.

(33) a. Ken-ga sake-o non-da
K.-Nom alcohol-Acc drank-Pst
'Ken drank alcohol.'

Although marked, it is possible for a Tr-Tr
SVC to have 2 distinct internal arguments.

b. Ken-ga yoru-no-mati-o arui-ta
K.-Nom night-Gen-town-Acc walk-Pst
'Ken walked the town at night.'

c. Tr-Tr (EA_{1+2} , IA_2 , IA_1)

Ken-ga **yoru-no mati-o sake-o nomi-arui-ta** Tr-Tr

K.-Nom night-Gen town-Acc alcohol-Acc drink-walk-Pst

'Ken went bar-hopping at night.' (Adapted from Kageyama 1993:108)

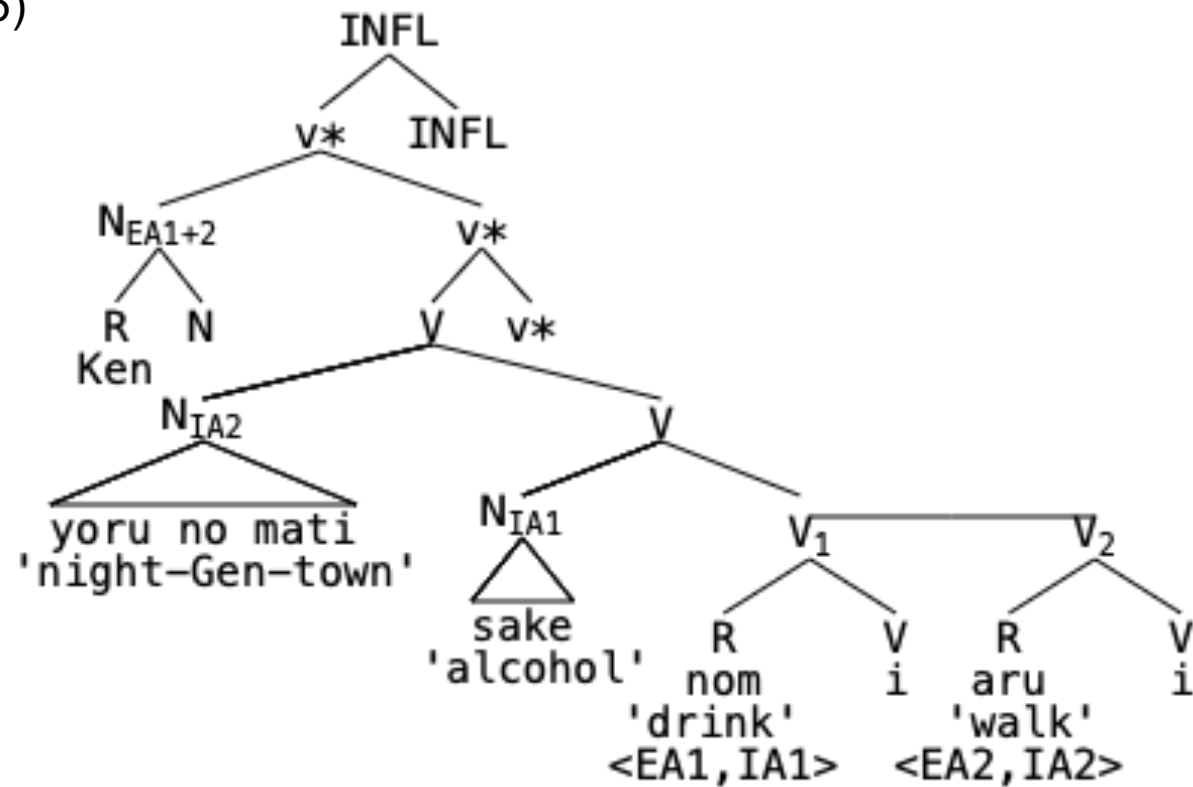
(34) Tr-Tr (EA1+2, IA2, IA1)

Ken-ga **yoru-no mati-o sake-o nomi-arui**-ta Tr-Tr

K.-Nom night-Gen town-Acc alcohol-Acc drink-walk-Pst

'Ken went bar-hopping at night.' (Adapted from Kageyama 1993:108)

(35)



- Semantic and pragmatic properties are a factor in determining which SVC combinations are licit.
- In most cases, objects of a Tr-Tr SVC cannot be expressed independently.

- (36) a. *Ken-ga Ren-o *mune-o osi-taosi-ta. 
 K.-Nom R.-Acc chest-Acc push-topple-Pst
 'Ken toppled Ren by pushing his chest.' (cf. Nishiyama 1998)
- b. ?Ken-ga Ren-o karada-o osi-taosi-ta.
 K.-Nom R.-Acc body-Acc push-topple-Pst
 'Ken toppled Ren('s body) by pushing him.'
- *Osu* 'push' and *taosu* 'topple' are part of a compound event sharing essentially the same object.
 - The inalienable body part *mune* 'chest' is insufficiently similar to *Ren*, resulting in ill-formedness.
 - *Karada* 'body' is semantically substitutable for *Ren* for some Japanese speakers, and perhaps considered redundant information (and therefore, odd) for others.
- 

Unerg-Unerg

(37) Unerg-Unerg (EA1+2)

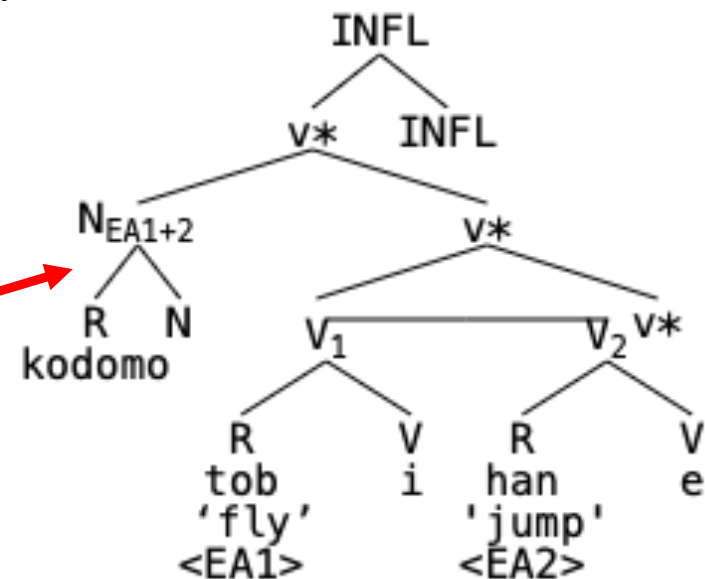
Kodomo-ga (purezento-o moratte) tobi-hane-ta

child-Nom (present-Acc receive) fly-jump

'The child jumped up (to get a present).'

There is only 1 external argument.

(38) Unerg-Unerg SVC



Unacc-Unacc

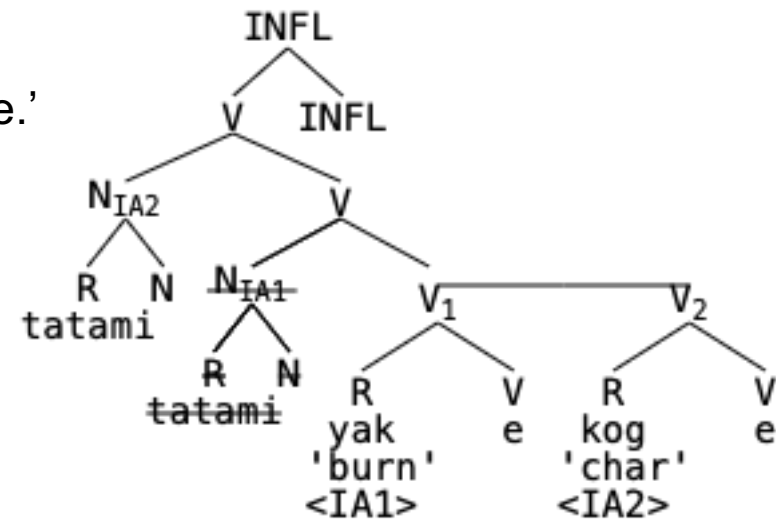
(39) Unacc-Unacc (IA2=IA1)

Tatami-ga (tabako-de) yake-koge-ta

straw.mat-Nom cigarette-from burn-char-Pst

‘The tatami was burned and charred from the cigarette.’

(40)



Unacc-Tr

(42)

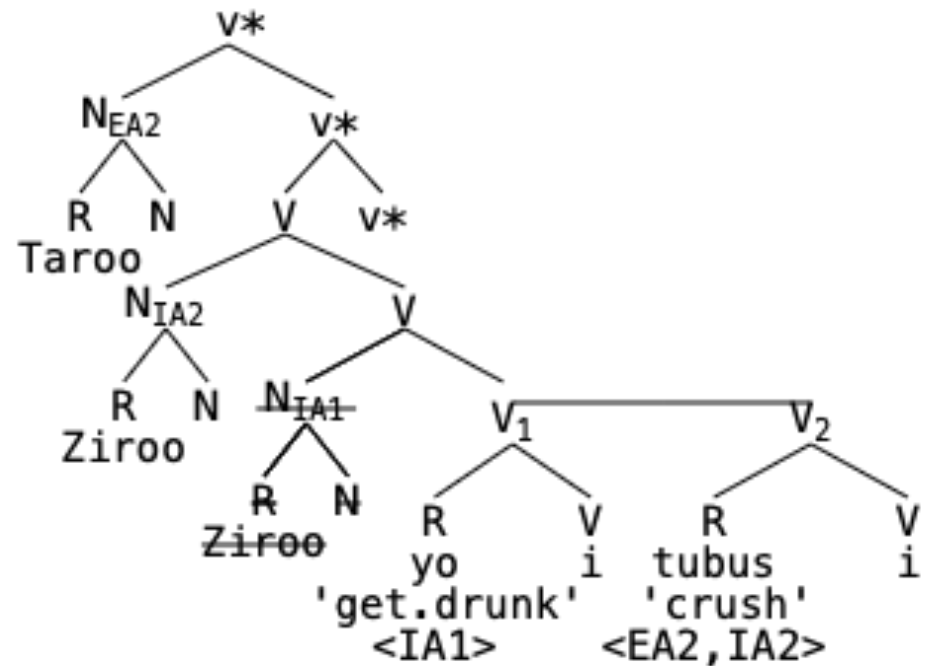
(41) Unacc-Tr (EA2, IA2=IA1)

%Taroo-ga Ziroo-o yoi-tubusi-ta

T.-Nom Z.-Acc get.drunk-crush-Pst

‘Taro got Ziro wasted.’

- What about these.
- EA2 = IA2, IA1
- EA2 = IA1, IA2
- Violation of Stability?
 - EA2 and IA2 may also be a violation of Univocality.
 - EA2 = IA2 also violates *Univocality



*Univocality = An argument must have a unique theta role (interpretation at the interfaces) (see Chomsky 2024:26).

Unerg-Tr

(44)

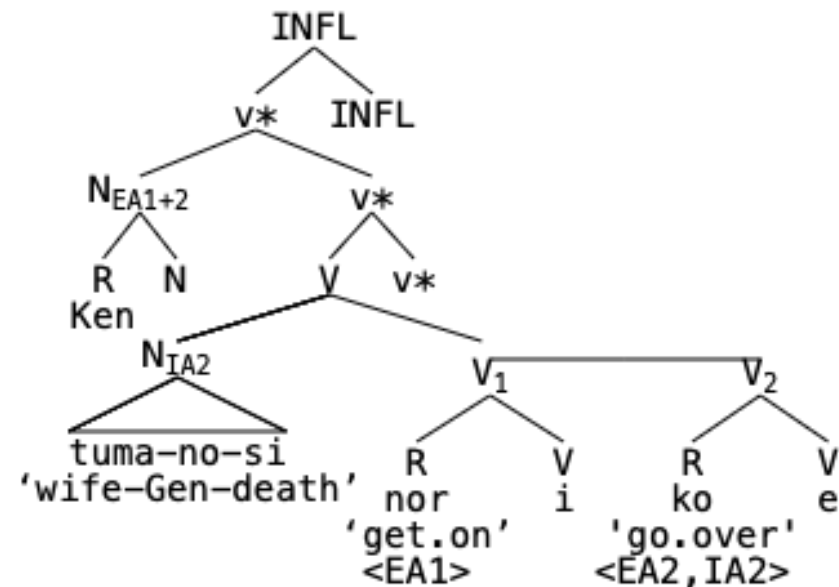
(43) Unerg-Tr (EA1+2, IA2)

Ken-ga tuma-no-si-o nori-koe-ta

K-Nom wife-Gen-death-Acc get.on-go.over

'Ken got over the death of his wife.'

- The possibility of all three arguments being shared (EA1=EA2=IA2), e.g., Ken got over himself, can be excluded either on semantic grounds or by Univocality (distinctness of EA/IA unless predicate is reflexive).



Tr-Unerg

[EX] Tr-Unerg (EA_{1+2} , IA1)

Nobunaga-wa tyuugokutihoo-ni moorizei-o (45)

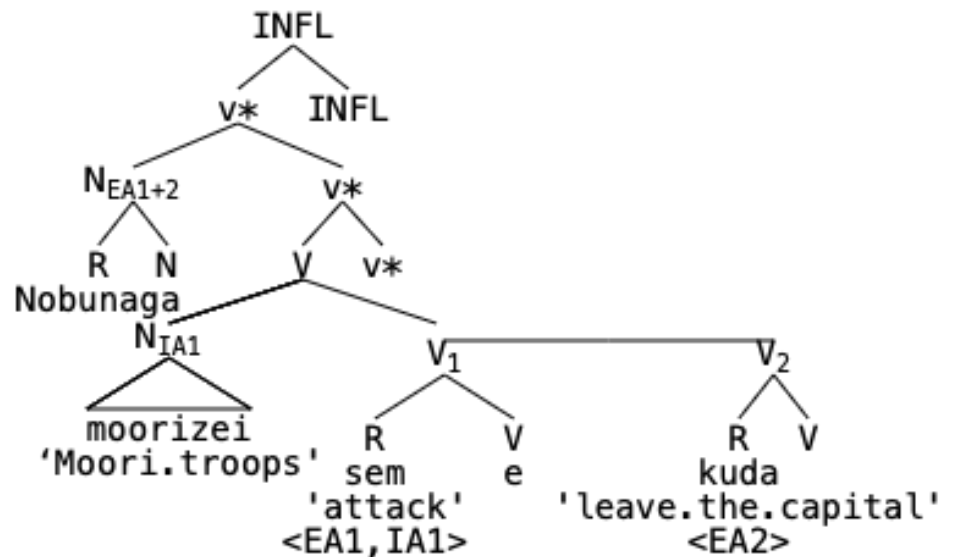
N. -Top chugoku.region-Dat Moori.troops-Acc

seme-kudaru tumori dat-ta

attack-leave.the.capital plan.to be-Pst

'Nobunaga was planning to go down to the
Chugoku region to assault the Moori troops.'

$EA1 = IA1$ would violate Stability and
Univocality, as the agent would also be
the theme.



Unerg-Unacc

[EX] Unerg-Unacc (EA1 = IA2)

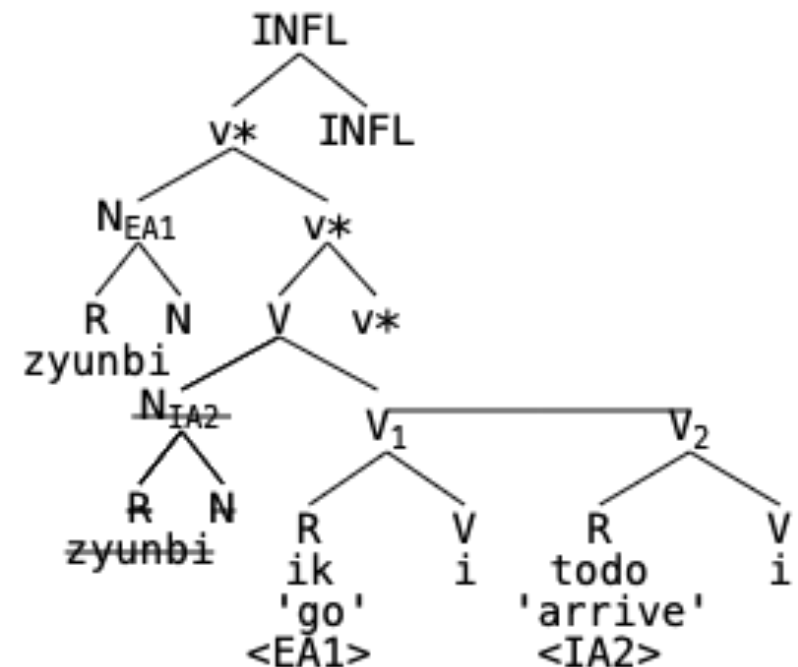
Zyunbi-ga iki-todoi-ta

Preparation-Nom go-reach-Past

‘The preparation was very meticulous (done very attentively to details).’

- This would violate Stability if EA1 is an agent and IA2 is a theme.
- *iki-todoku* ‘go-reach’ has an idiomatic meaning of do something meticulously.
- The EA1 does not function as the agent of the verb *iku* ‘go’, since the meaning of ‘go’ is no longer present.
- The EA1 has the same thematic role as IA2, which is likely to be some type of theme.

(46)



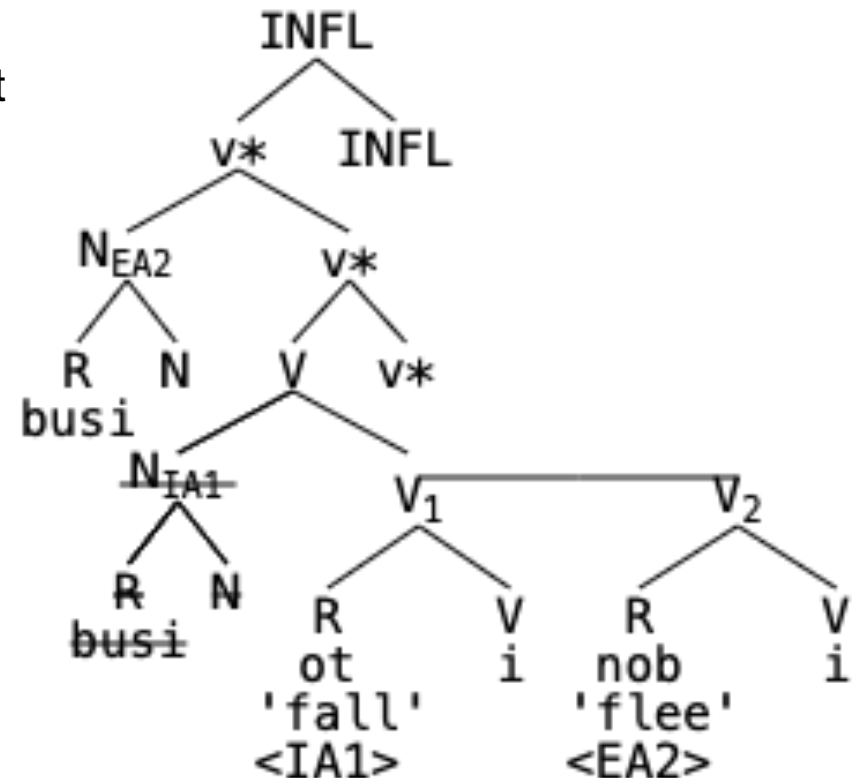
Unacc-Unerg

[EX] Unacc-Unerg (EA2 = IA1)

Busi-ga (ikusa-ni yaburete kono mura-ni) oti-nobi-ta
 Warrior-Nom war-at lost this village-at fall-flee-Pst
 ‘The warrior fled (to the village, having lost the battle).’
 ‘The warrior fled (in defeat) to this village.’

- The V1 *otiru* ‘fall’ refers to being defeated.
- The subject flees because of defeat and thus it appears as though there is an external cause (e.g., a war).
- No violation of Stability: EA2 and IA1 have identical, or similar, thematic roles, more aligned with a theme than an agent.

(47)



Tr-(double)Unacc

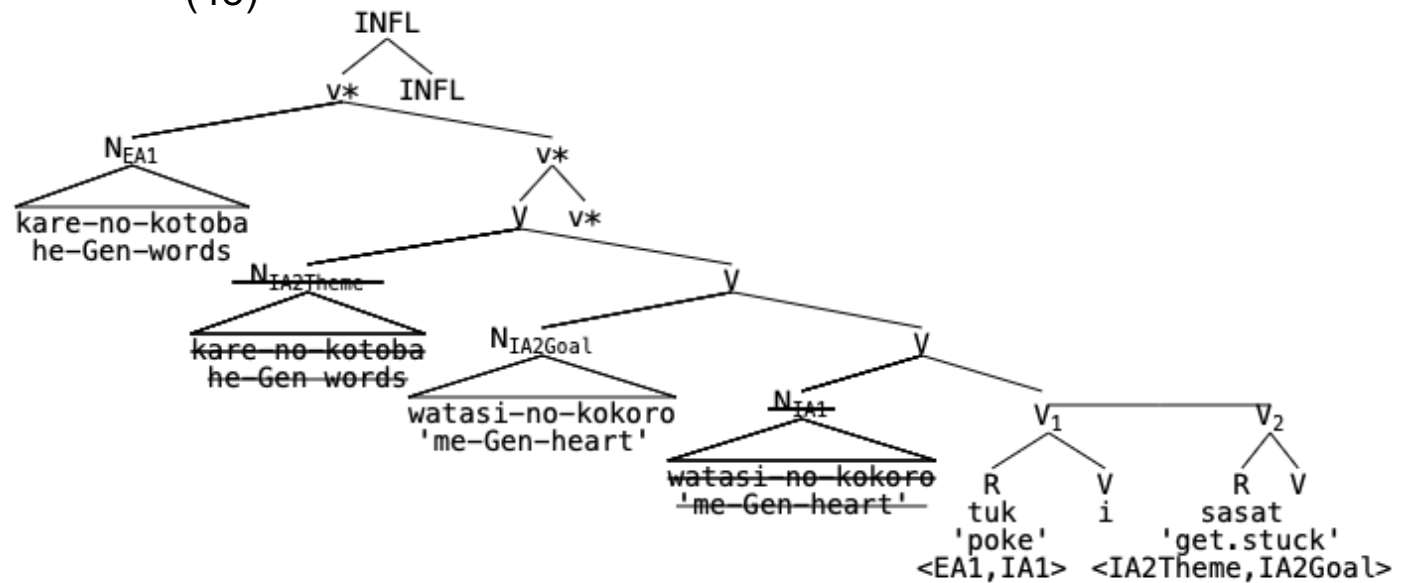
[EX] Tr-(double)Unacc (EA1=IA2_{Theme}, IA2_{Goal} = IA1)

Kare-no-kotoba-ga watasi-no-kokoro-ni tuki-sasat-ta.

he-Gen-words-Nom me-Gen- heart-Dat poke-get.stuck-Pst

'His words strongly affected/struck me.'

(48)



- No violation of Stability for EA1=IA2_{Theme}: EA1 is not agentive, so it could be a type of theme.
- Other possibilities would probably violate Stability and/or Univocality:
 - EA1= IA2_{Goal}, EA1=IA1, IA2_{Theme}=IA2_{Goal}, IA2_{Theme}=IA1, EA1=IA2_{Theme}=IA2_{Goal}, etc.

Tr-Unacc

- Pure Tr-Unacc might not exist, which is in accord with Kageyama's Transitivity Principle.
- There are SVCs that are formed from a normally transitive V1 and a normally unaccusative V2, but they do not behave as Tr and Unacc when combined.
- Note that EA1=IA2 and IA1=IA2 are likely to violate Stability.
- *nomi-tubureru* 'drink-break' is derived from transitive *nomu* 'drink' and unaccusative *tubureru* 'break', but *tubureru* 'break' appears to be unaccusative.
- This might be Unerg-Unacc with EA1 and IA2 behaving like a theme. (50) Unerg-Unacc (EA1=IA2)

(49) a. Ken-ga tekiira-o non-da

K.-Nom tequila-Acc drink-Pst

'Ken drank tequila.'

b. *Ken-ga tekiira-o **nomi**-tubure-ta

K.-Nom tequila-Acc drink-break-Pst

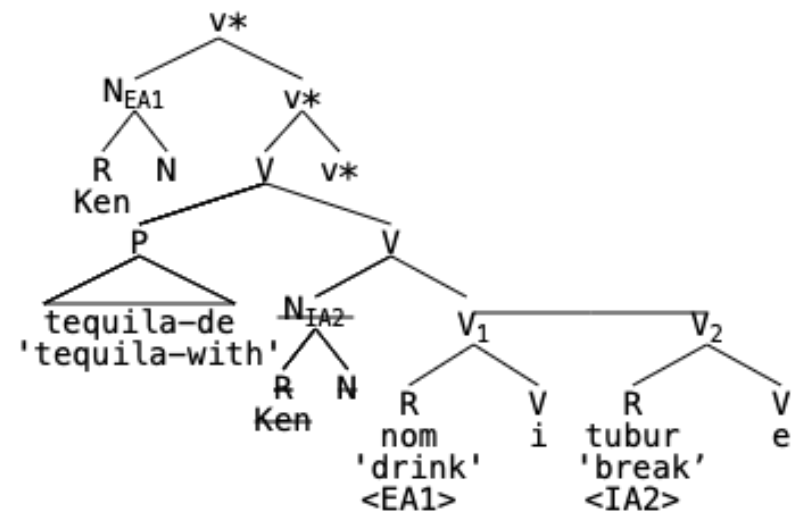
'Ken drank so much tequila that he got sick.'

c. Tr-Unacc → Unerg-Unacc (EA1=IA2)

?Ken-ga tekiira-de nomi-tubure-ta

K.-Nom tequila-with drink-break-Pst

'Ken drank so much tequila that he got sick.'



Pattern	Relations
Trans-Trans	EA2=EA1, IA2=IA1 (Slide 49)
Trans-Trans	EA2=EA1, IA ₂ , IA ₁ (Slide 51)
Unerg-Unerg	EA2=EA1 (Slide 53)
Unacc-Unacc	IA2=IA1 (Slide 54)
Unacc-Tr	EA2, IA2=IA1 (Slide 55)
Unerg-Tr	EA2=EA1, IA2 (Slide 56)
Tr-Unerg	EA2=EA1, IA1 (Slide 57)
Unerg-Unacc	EA1=IA2 (Slide 58)
Unacc-Unerg	EA2=IA1 (Slide 59)
Tr-(double)Unacc	EA1=IA2 _{Theme} , IA2 _{Goal} =IA1 (Slide 60)
Trans-Unacc – doesn't exist?	(Slide 61)

The facts regarding unergativity/unaccusativity in particular are not necessarily straightforward and require further examination.

Table 4: SVC Patterns

SVCs with an aspectual V2

- Kageyama's Syntactic V-V compounds have an aspectual V2
- An aspectual V2 does not project argument structure.
- Kageyama (2016:277) writes that “in traditional Japanese grammar, syntactic compounds [constructions with aspectual V2s] are usually regarded as syntactic verb-auxiliary concatenations.”
- Nishiyama and Ogawa (2014) argue that aspectual verbs are “semantically bleached” so that they function as auxiliaries.
- Fukuda (2012) provides arguments that the aspectual verbs *hazimeru* ‘begin’, *tsuzukeru* ‘continue’, *oeru* ‘finish’ and *owaru* ‘end’ do not assign theta-roles and are functional in nature.

Aspectual V2

[EX] a. Boku-ga kane-o tuki-hazime-ta

I-Nom bell-Acc hit-begin-Pst

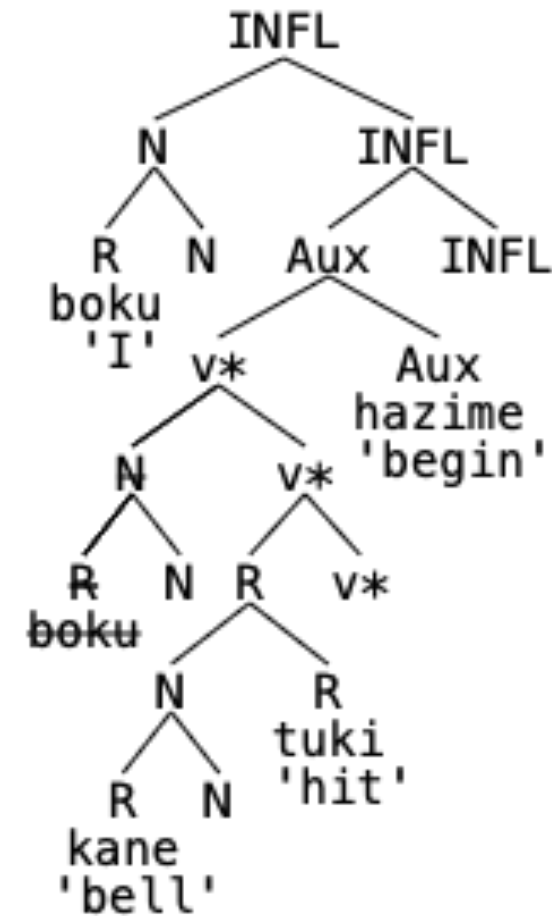
'I began to hit the bell.'

b. Boku-ga kane-o tuki-kaketa

I-Nom bell-Acc hit-hang-Pst

'I almost hit the bell.'

(51)



Aspectual V2

- Some aspectual verbs are ambiguous and can also function as non-aspectual (lexical) verbs.

(52) a. *tukeru* 'attach' is not aspectual:

V-V compound: Possibly Tr-Tr_{Ditransitive}

Taroo-ga musuko-o hasira-ni sibari-tuke-ta

T-Nom son-Acc pillar-to fasten-attach-Pst

'Taro fastened his son on to the pillar.'

b. *tukeru* 'attach' is aspectual:

Taroo-ga musuko-o (*hasira-ni) sikari-tuke-ta

T. -Nom son-Acc (pillar-to) scold-attach-Pst

'Taro scolded his son harshly (*to the pillar).' (Nishiyama & Ogawa 2014:83)

Kageyama's (1989, 1993) tests distinguishing lexical and syntactic V-V compounds

- The tests, when they work, can distinguish V-V compounds that have an aspectual V2 from those with a lexical (non-aspectual) V2.

Honorification

- Aspectual V2 permits honorification of V1

(53) Aspectual V2

a. *utai-hazimeru* 'start singing (lit. sing-begin)' → *[o-utai-ni-nari]-hazimeru*

(54) Non-aspectual V2

a. *utai-ageru* 'sing touchingly (lit. sing-raise)' → **[o-utai-ni-nari]-ageru*

b. *utai-osameru* 'finish singing (lit. sing-finish)' → **[o-utai-ni-nari]-osameru*

c. *utai-mawaru* 'sing here and there (lit. sing-rotate)' → **[o-utai-ni-nari]-mawaru*

soo-suru ‘so do’ test

- Aspectual V2 permits replacement of V1 with *soo-suru* ‘so do’

(55) Aspectual V2

- a. *tabe-hazimeru* ‘start eating (lit. eat-begin)’ → *soo si-hazimeru* ‘so do-begin’
- b. *aruki-tudukeru* ‘keep walking (lit. walk-continue)’ → *soo si-tudukeru* ‘so do-continue’
(Kageyama 1989: 79)

(56) Non-aspectual V2

- a. *tobi-agaru* ‘upfly (lit. jump-rise)’ → **soo si-agaru* ‘so do-rise’
- b. *naki-sakebu* ‘wail (lit. cry-scream)’ → **soo-si-sakebu* ‘so do-scream’
- c. *kaki-komu* ‘write in (lit. write-[enter])’ → **soo si-komu* ‘so do-[enter]’ (Kageyama 1989: 79)

passivization test

- Aspectual V2 permits passivization of V1

(57) Aspectual V2

- a. *tabe-rare-oeru* 'finish being eaten (lit. eat-Pass-finish)'
- b. *tabe-rare-sokoneru* 'fail to be eaten (lit. eat-Pass-fail)' (Kageyama 1989:75)

(58) Non-aspectual V2

- a. *osi-aku* 'push-open' → **os-are-aku* 'push-Pass-open' (Kageyama 2016:278)
- b. *kiri-korosu* 'cut-kill' (kill by cutting) --> **kir-are-korosu* 'cut-Pass-kill'

- Kageyama states that syntactic compounds, but not lexical compounds permit idioms in V1

(59)

a. abura-o uri-siburu

oil-Acc sell-hesitate

‘hesitate to sell oil’/*‘shoot the breeze’

b. abura-o uri-sokonau

oil-Acc sell-fail

‘fail to sell oil’/‘shoot the breeze’

- We find that some V-V compounds with a non-aspectual V2 do seem to permit an idiomatic interpretation in V1

(60)

- a. (kuruma-no mado-kara/nanmon-ni) te-o dasi-siburu
 (car-Gen window-from/difficult problem-Dat) hand-Acc put-hesitate
 ‘hesitate to (put one’s hand out (of a car window)/tackle (a difficult problem))’
- b. (azi-ni kodawat-te/oroka-mono-ni) goma-o suri-siburu
 taste-Dat stick-Conj/foolish-person-Dat sesame.seeds-Acc grind-hesitate
 ‘hesitate to (grind sesame seeds (due to picky eating)/butter up (the fool))’
- c. (kega-no-tame/mukasi-no nakama-kara) asi-o arai-siburu
 injury-Gen-cause/old friends-from} feet-Acc wash-hesitate
 ‘hesitate to (wash one’s feet (due to an injury)/sever ties (with one’s old friends))’

- Idiomatic interpretations involving V1 of an SVC seem to be possible.
- In many/most cases, the idiomatic interpretation may be lost for idiosyncratic reasons having to do with the semantics of the idioms. A non-aspectual V2 influences thematic structure, whereas an aspectual V2 does not.
- We suggest that Kageyama's observation may indicate a tendency for idiomatic interpretations of V1 to be lost, but this is not evidence that some SVCs are formed in the lexicon.

- Remaining issue:

- Why do these tests distinguish SVCs with an aspectual V2 from those without an aspectual V2.
- Why do some SVCs with an aspectual V2 (under our account) behave differently from others?

(61) a. utai-hazimeru 'sing-begin' (begin to sing)
b. Passive: uta-ware-hazimeru
c. Honorific: ?o-utai-ni-nari-hazimeru*
d. Verbal anaphora: soo-si hazimeru
e. light verb: *utai-si-hazimeru

(62) a. tobi-dasu 'jump-take.out' (jump out)
b. Passive: *tob-are-dasu
c. Honorific: *o-tobi-ni-nari-dasu
d. Verbal anaphora: *soo-si dasu
e. light verb: *tobi-si-dasu

*There seems to be some judgement variability. Kageyama (2016) marks this as acceptable. Judgment is ? for Hiroshi Terada (p.c.).

Conjunctive form

- Japanese has a conjunctive suffix *-te* that can be used to combine verbs. Our FormSet account predicts we should be able to form conjunctive verb combinations when SVCs are possible. Some SVCs and their corresponding conjunctive forms are given below.

(63) a. *osi-akeru* ‘push-open’; *osi-te akeru* ‘open by pushing, push open’

b. *nage-ireru* ‘throw-put in’; *nage-te ireru* ‘put in by throwing, throw in’

c. *asobi-kurasu* ‘play-live’; *ason-de kurasu* ‘spend a day playing, idle one’s time away’
(Kageyama 2016: 293)

(64) Tr-Tr

a. Ken-ga yoru-no mati-o sake-o nomi-arui-ta

K.-Nom night-Gen town-Acc alcohol-Acc drink-walk-Pst

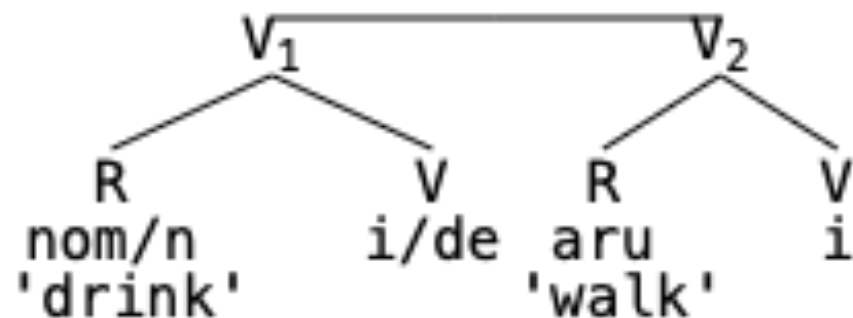
'Ken went bar-hopping at night.' (cf. Kageyama 1993)

b. Ken-ga yoru-no mati-o sake-o non-de arui-ta

K.- Nom night-Gen town-Acc alcohol-Acc drink-Conj walk-Pst

'Ken went bar-hopping at night.'

(65)



(66)

Unacc-Unacc

a. yane-ga yake-oti-ta

roof-Nom burn-fall-Pst

‘The roof burned down.’

b. yane-ga yake-te oti-ta

Roof-Nom burn-Conj fall-Pst

‘The roof burned and fell.’

(67) Unerg-Unerg

a. Kodomo-ga (purezento-o moratte) tobi-hane-ta

child-Nom (present-Acc receive) fly-jump

‘The child jumped up (when he/she got a present).’

b. Kodomo-ga (purezento-o moratte) ton-de hane-ta

child-Nom (present-Acc receive) fly-Conj jump

‘The child flew and jumped up (when he/she got a present).’

- Some SVCs have corresponding conjunctive verb combinations, but others do not.
- Kageyama (2016a: 293) writes that “**the core meanings of approximately 60% of about 2,750 lexical compounds** in my database...can be plausibly paraphrased by replacing the infinitive verb in V1 with its gerundive (-te) counterpart in the formula [V1-V2] $\hat{=}$ ‘V1-te V2’ [V1 and then V2], where V1 modifies V2 from left to right.”
- Japanese SVCs must have a compound event interpretation in which two component events are very closely related. Perhaps in the conjunctive form, this connection is weakened; i.e., two conjoined events are more easily re-interpreted as separate events (versus a compound event).

(68) Tr-Tr

a. Ken-ga Miki-o **home-tatae-ta**

K.-Nom M.-Acc admire-praise-Pst

‘Ken admired and praised Miki.’

b. ?Ken-ga Miki-o **home-te tatae-ta**

K.-Nom M.-Acc admire-Conj.-praise-Pst

‘Ken admired and praised Miki.’

(69) Unacc-Unerg

a. Busi-ga (ikusa-ni yaburete kono mura-ni) **oti-nobi-ta**

Warrior-Nom war-at lost this village-at fall-flee-Pst

‘A warrior fled (to the village, having lost the battle).’

b. *Busi-ga (ikusa-ni yaburete kono mura-ni) **oti-te nobi-ta**

Warrior-Nom war-at lost this village-at fall-Conj flee-Pst

‘A warrior fled (to the village, having lost the battle).’

V2 *tataeru* ‘praise’ is awkward when used by itself. *Nobiru* ‘flee’ is not typically used in modern Japanese

(70)

Unacc-Unacc

a. Tatami-ga (tabako-de) yake-koge-ta.

straw.mat-Nom cigarette-from burn-char-Pst

‘The tatami was burned and charred from the cigarette.’

b. ?Tatami-ga (tabako-de) yake-te koge-ta.

straw.mat-Nom cigarette-from burn-Conj char-Pst

‘The tatami was burned and charred from the cigarette.’

- The conjunctive form is marginal for some Japanese speakers, possibly because the SVC refers to a compound event in which burning and charring are logically very closely connected; e.g., charring requires burning.
- In the conjunctive form, this connection between charring and burning is weakened, and this may be incongruous for many.

- The conjunctive form (often referred to as a gerund in the literature) also may permit multiple structures, which don't necessarily require FormSet.
- A conjunct could be an adjunct of some sort, in some cases.

- (35) a. [_{teP} *Kaban o katui-de*] *Taroo wa tyuusyazyoo ni ki-ta.*
 [_{teP} bag ACC shoulder-GER] Taro TOP parking.lot DAT come-PST
 'Taro came to the parking lot, shouldering a bag.'
- b. *Taroo wa* [_{teP} *kaban o katui-de*] *tyuusyazyoo ni ki-ta.*
 Taro TOP [_{teP} bag ACC shoulder-GER] parking.lot DAT come-PST
- c. *Taroo wa tyuusyazyoo ni* [_{teP} *kaban o katui-de*] *ki-ta.*
 Taro TOP parking.lot DAT [_{teP} bag ACC shoulder-GER] come-PST

Nakatani (2016:402)

SVCs and the lexicon

- Kageyama (1989:78) writes that a class of SVCs are lexical compounds that “are by and large restricted to certain fixed combinations of first and second members and thus need to be registered in the lexicon.”
- While there are a large number of SVCs, not all verbs can combine to form SVCs

	SVC	Marginal, ill-formed SVCs	Conjunctive form
(a)	<i>oti-komu</i> (lit. fall-enter)	?* <i>kie-komu</i> (lit. disappear-enter)	* <i>kie-te-komu</i> (lit. disappear and enter)
(b)	<i>hore-komu</i> (lit. be enamored- enter)	?* <i>home-komu</i> (lit. praise-enter)	* <i>home-te-komu</i> (lit. praise and enter)
(c)	<i>sizumi-komu</i> (lit. sink-enter)	* <i>ukabi-komu</i> (lit. float-enter)	* <i>ukan-de-komu</i> (lit. float and enter)
(d)	<i>tori-komu</i> (lit. take-enter)	* <i>nuki-komu</i> (lit. extract-enter)	* <i>nui-te-komu</i> (lit. extract and enter)
(e)	<i>ii-nogareru</i> (dodge)	* <i>hanasi-nogareru</i> ‘speak-flee’	<i>hanasi-te-nogareru</i> ‘speak-Conj-flee’
(f)	<i>tobi-oriru</i> ‘jump-descend’ (jump down)	* <i>tobi-sagaru</i> (jump descend)	?? <i>ton-de-sagaru</i> ‘jump-Conj-descend’
(g)	<i>nomi-aruku</i> (drink-walk)	* <i>nomi-yoru</i> ‘drink-drop by’	<i>non-de-yoru</i> ‘drink-Conj-drop by’ <i>non-de-hasiru</i> ‘drink-Conj-run’

Table 5: Possible and impossible SVCs

- For situations that are highly related or likely to occur together, one finds that many SVCs can exist.
- For example, the action of pushing often occurs with a variety of other common events.
- The Compound Verb Lexicon (Kageyama and Kanzaki 2014) contains 45 SVCs for which V1 is *osu* 'push' (e.g., *osi-au* 'push-come together', *osi-agaru* 'push-come up', *osi-ageru* 'push-raise up', *osi-akeru* 'push-open', *osi-taosu* 'push-topple').
- English also has a few of these: a. push open b. push close c. push shut
- There are also many situations that could be described with SVCs, but for which SVCs do not (yet) exist.
- **osi-taoreru* or **osi-daoreru* '(lit. push-fall)' could reasonably describe a situation in which somebody pushes somebody else who falls, but this SVC is unattested.
- The Compound Verb Lexicon contains a number of SVCs that it lists as rare. SVCs may, for somewhat arbitrary reasons, become obsolete.

(71) Rare SVCs from the Compound Verb Lexicon (Kageyama and Kanzaki 2014)

- a. *ire-komeru* 'put inside (lit. put in-load)'
- b. *uti-wasureru* 'forget completely (lit. strike-forget)'
- c. *umari-komu* 'be buried into (lit. be buried-be crowded)'
- d. *omoi-iru* 'think deep in one's heart (lit. think-enter)'

Remaining issues

- We have proposed a relatively simple syntactic account of SVCs.
- Previous researchers have used the lexicon and complex syntactic analyses. These analyses account for various complexities of SVCs, but the analyses are complex.
- How do we account for the complexity of SVCs? Much of the semantic complexity seems to be somewhat idiosyncratic and outside of the syntax.
- Case assignment can be complex. If Case is part of Externalization (Chomsky 2001), this can generally be accounted for.

Remaining issues

- Similarities and differences between SVCs and conjunctive *-te* forms.
 - SVCs with an aspectual V2 don't all behave the same way with respect to Kageyama's tests.
 - Phenomena that fall outside of the syntax (if we are correct):
 - Possible and impossible SVCs
 - Semantics of SVCs
 - Differences between languages that productively have SVCs and languages that don't. Even English has a few.
- (72) a. No inflection: *come/go see, go fly a kite, pray tell* (Zwicky 1990)
- b. Inflection of V2 : *dry-clean, freeze-dry, drip-dry, stir-fry, and crash-land* (cf. Altakhaineh and Zibin 2017)
- c. Inflection of V1: *push open, push close, and push shut*.

Remaining issues

- This example is potentially problematic, given FormSet.

(73) Taroo-ga sore-o Hanako-kara {yuzuri-uke-ta/tutae-kii-ta}
T.-Nom it-Acc H.-from yield-receive-Pst/convey-hear-Pst
'Taroo received/overheard it from Hanako.'

yuzuru 'yield': EA = *Hanako*, IA_{Goal} = *Taro*

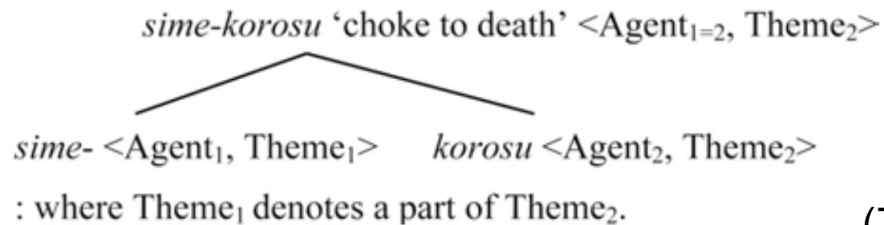
ukeru 'receive': EA = *Taro*

Remaining issues

This type of example needs to be examined. Is there really an underlying IA1 that is not pronounced?

- (39) Pattern 2: The argument properties of two verbs are partially identical.

[Example] *Kare wa niwatori o sime-korosi-ta*. 'He choked the chicken to death.'



Kageyama (2016:302)

- (74) *Kare-wa kubi-o sime-ta*
 he-Top neck-Acc choke-Past
 'He choked/squeezed the throat.'

- (75) *Kare-wa niwatori-o korosi-ta*
 he-Top chicken-Acc kill-Past
 'He killed the chicken'

This type of example also needs to be examined. An argument seems to be missing.

- (76) a. John-ga huku -o arat-ta
J.-nom clothes-Acc wash-pst
'John washed the clothes.'
- b. *John-ga **huku-no** **yogore-o** arat-ta
J.-nom clothes-Gen dirt-Acc wash-Pst
'John washed the clothes/*John washed the clothes' dirt.'
- c. John-ga huku-no yogore-o arai-otosi-ta
J.-nom clothes-Gen dirt-Acc wash-drop-Pst
'John removed the clothes' dirt by washing the clothes.' (Nishiyama & Ogawa 2014:74)

One possibility is the following with deletion of *huku-o* 'clothes' at Externalization.

- (77)
John-ga ~~huku-o~~ huku-no yogore-o arai-otosi-ta
J.-Nom clothes-Acc clothes-Gen dirt-Acc wash-drop-Pst
'John removed the clothes' dirt by washing the clothes.' (Nishiyama and Ogawa 2014:74)

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