

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS
***AR-U AND I-RU* IN JAPANESE**

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Japanese

Massey University, Palmerston North
New Zealand

Masami Murata

2003



Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES



School of Language Studies

Private Bag 11 222,

Palmerston North,

New Zealand

Telephone: 64 6 356 9099

Facsimile: 64 6 350 2271

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

This is to certify that the research carried out for the Doctoral thesis entitled "SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE" was done by Masami Murata in the School of Language Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. The thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification, and I confirm that the candidate has pursued the course of study in accordance with the requirements of the Massey University regulations.

Supervisor's Name: Professor Kiyoharu Ono

Signature:

Date:

12/8/03



Massey University

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES



School of Language Studies

Private Bag 11 222,

Palmerston North,

New Zealand

Telephone: 64 6 356 9099

Facsimile: 64 6 350 2271

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

This is to certify that the research carried out for my Doctoral thesis entitled "SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE" in the School of Language Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand is my own work and that the thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification.

Candidate's Name: Masami Murata

Signature: 村田昌巴

Date: 12 August 2003



CERTIFICATE OF REGULATORY COMPLIANCE

This is to certify that the research carried out in the Doctoral thesis entitled “SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE” in the School of Language Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand:

- (a) is the original work of the candidate, except as indicated by appropriate attribution in the text and/or in the acknowledgements;
- (b) that the text, excluding appendices, does not exceed 100,000 words.

Candidate's Name: Masami Murata

Supervisor's Name: Professor Kiyoharu Ono

Signature: 村田昌巳

Signature: K. Ono

Date: 12 August 2003

Date: 12/8/03

SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS

AR-U AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE

Masami MURATA

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a descriptive study of the Existentials *ar-u* and *i-ru* in contemporary standard Japanese. The study encompasses not only the lexical-verb usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*, which are referred to as Lexical Existentials, or LEs, in this thesis, but also the auxiliary-verb usages, which are referred to as Grammatical Existentials, or GEs.

The reasons for undertaking the present study are: (i) the true characteristics of the Japanese Existentials have not been understood accurately in linguistic-typological studies of Existential constructions due to a paucity of purely descriptive studies on the subject published in English; (ii) although a large body of Japanese literature on the nature of both LEs and GEs now exists, it is still fragmentary and a comprehensive account has yet to be produced; (iii) most studies adhere to previously accepted concepts, such as the strict dichotomy between monovalent intransitives and bivalent (or multivalent) transitives, without questioning the validity of such concepts, and, in consequence, the explanations fail to elucidate the fundamental nature of *ar-u* and *i-ru*.

I first claim that LEs are bivalent verbs, contrary to the conventional view that they are monovalent verbs. I then demonstrate that recognition of the bivalent nature of the Japanese LE leads to a unified analysis for various LE constructions, including those which denote the existence of a possessive relation and those which anticipate the existence of a future event.

I divide GEs into two categories: verbaliser-GEs that turn nominals into verbal predicates, and stativiser-GEs that turn active verbal predicates into stative verbal predicates. I argue that the former preserve the bivalent properties inherited from the LE to a significant extent, whereas the latter do not. I also show that stativiser-GEs serve not only as aspect markers but also as quasi-evidential markers.

The significance of this research project is: (1) the provision of a new framework for analysing the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* in contemporary standard Japanese, based on the assumption that they are bivalent verbs; (2) the application of the same framework to an investigation of the GEs in order to shed light on the continuity between the LEs and the GEs.

*for my brother Yoichi, whose physical existence is no longer a reality,
but whose spirit still exists within our hearts*

Acknowledgements

Words cannot adequately express my profound appreciation to my principal supervisor Professor Kiyoharu Ono. His professional guidance, unconditional support, and enthusiastic encouragement made it possible to complete this work. His fairness, magnanimity, and positiveness have also been an inspiration for me as a human being. I have had the great fortune to study under Professor Ono's mentorship at each stage of my postgraduate studies at Massey University.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my co-supervisor Dr Fumio Kakubayashi. His rigorous scholarship and extensive knowledge as a Japanologist have been a source of inspiration for my studies, and I have greatly appreciated his consistent encouragement of my work.

My former co-supervisor, Professor Charles Randriamasimanana (Providence University, Taiwan), also deserves my thanks for the generous contribution of his time and expertise in the early stages of my study, during his time at Massey University.

I am also indebted to Professor John Newman (University of Alberta, Canada) for intellectually stimulating discussions, which deepened my understanding of cross-linguistic phenomena, during his time at Massey University.

I would also like to thank Professor Emeritus Fumio Tamamura (Doshisha University, Japan), who guided me into the world of language studies and fostered my interest in the field of Japanese linguistics, and Professor Masayoshi Shibatani (Kobe University, Japan/Rice University, USA), who has constantly given me warm encouragement and astute advice.

I also feel blessed to have made the personal acquaintances of Professor Emeritus Yoshihiko Ikegami (University of Tokyo/Showa Women's University, Japan) and Professor Satoshi Kinsui (Osaka University, Japan), who specialise in research areas that are directly related to the topic of this thesis. They kindly gave me helpful suggestions and comments on my thesis project.

My great thanks and appreciation also go to Mrs Fay Butts, who proofread all the drafts of my thesis, and gave me invaluable suggestions for improving the style of the thesis.

I am grateful to the School of Language Studies, formerly headed by Professor Emeritus Glynnis Cropp, and currently by Dr Ellen Soullière, for providing a supportive research environment and generous financial support.

Many other scholars and friends have given me the benefit of their help and advice. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the following people: Professor Hisashi Noda (Osaka Prefectural University, Japan), Professor Kenichi Mihara (Osaka University of Foreign Studies, Japan), Professor Masahiko Arai (Edogawa University, Japan), Dr Gus Habermann (Massey University), Mr David Butts (Massey University), Dr Hiroji Ishida, Mr Richard Donovan (Ritsumeikan University, Japan), Mr Takumi Tagawa (University of Tsukuba, Japan), Mr David Yoshikazu Oshima (Stanford University, USA), Mr John Hundleby, Mr Matthew Dyke, and Mr Toshiaki Yamauchi.

Although the present thesis has benefited a great deal from comments and suggestions from various people, including those whom I mentioned above, responsibility for the text (with any remaining errors) is entirely mine.

I would like to acknowledge the mental and physical support provided by my parents, parents-in-law, and other family members. Without their understanding and encouragement, I could not have continued my study in this beautiful country, Aotearoa.

Finally, I wish to express my most profound gratitude to my wife, Yoko, who has supported me in every possible way. She has put up with my emotional ups and downs, and given me strength to endure and complete this thesis. The very last words that my brother said to me before his journey of no return were, “never give up”. Without Yoko’s love and unfailing faith in me, I could not have kept this promise with my brother.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations	page	xii
Notes on Japanese examples and texts		xiii

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Existentials in Japanese	1
1.1.1 <i>Wago</i> existentials and hybrid existentials	1
1.1.2 Basic functions of Japanese existentials	2
1.2 Studies of <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i> by the Four Great Grammarians	10
1.2.1 Yamada grammar - Yamada (1908, 1922a, 1922b, 1936)	10
1.2.2 Matsushita grammar - Matsushita (1901, 1928, 1930)	13
1.2.3 Hashimoto grammar - Hashimoto (1934, 1935, 1937)	14
1.2.4 Tokieda grammar - Tokieda (1941, 1950)	15
1.2.5 Summary of the Four Great Grammarians' studies	18
1.3 Research objectives and organisation of this thesis	21
1.3.1 Research objectives	21
1.3.2 Organisation of this thesis	22

Chapter 2: Lexical Existentials and Bivalency

2.1 Three kinds of LOCATIONAL constructions	23
2.2 Intransitive and transitive constructions	31
2.3 Bivalency of <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i>	38
2.3.1 DOMAIN and ENTITY	38
2.3.2 Analysis of different types of LE sentences	39
2.4 ADNOMINAL <i>aru</i>	51
2.5 Differences between <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i>	56
2.5.1 Animacy restriction	56
2.5.2 Diachronic extension of the sphere of <i>i-ru</i>	61
2.5.3 Other differences between <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i>	63
2.5.3.1 Potential suffix	63
2.5.3.2 Passive suffix	63
2.5.3.3 Honorific suffix	64
2.5.3.4 Causative suffix	66
2.5.3.5 Imperative form	67
2.5.3.6 <i>Ar-u</i> as a pure LE and <i>i-ru</i> as a converted LE	68
2.6 Summary of Chapter 2	70

Chapter 3: The POSSESSIVE-LE Construction

3.1 Transitive analysis of POSSESSIVE-LE <i>ar-u</i>	71
3.1.1 Subjecthood of NPs	73
3.1.2 ‘DOMAIN <i>ni</i> ’, ‘DOMAIN <i>ni wa</i> ’, and ‘DOMAIN <i>wa</i> ’	80
3.1.3 Animacy of the DOMAIN argument	89
3.1.4 Animacy of the ENTITY argument	90
3.1.5 The Absolute-Existential sentence	92
3.2 Non-transitive analysis of the LE construction	96
3.2.1 Double-subject analysis of the LE construction	96
3.2.2 The double-DOMAIN construction	100
3.3 DATIVE case and LOCATIVE case	106
3.4 Contiguity Theory	115
3.5 DOMAINS and ENTITIES that typically produce a POSSESSIVE interpretation ..	119
3.5.1 Prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences	119
3.5.2 Non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences	123
3.6 Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE constructions in linguistic-typological studies	130
3.7 Summary of Chapter 3	139

Chapter 4: The EVENT-LE Construction

4.1 LE <i>ar-u</i> as a PROCESS predicate	141
4.1.1 The concept of <i>KOTO</i>	144
4.1.2 ENTITY NPs with a [+ <i>KOTO</i>] feature	146
4.1.3 Marginal nouns	149
4.2 Monovalent use of the EVENT-LE	153
4.3 Assimilation of STATIVE-LE sentences and EVENT-LE sentences	162
4.4 Summary of Chapter 4	166

Chapter 5: The VERBALISER-GE Construction

5.1 The <i>de ar-u</i> construction	168
5.1.1 Identity of <i>de</i> in [NP <i>de ar-u</i>]	170
5.1.2 Auxiliary Analysis and Particle Analysis	174
5.2 Bivalency of the VERBALISER-GE construction	180
5.3 The <i>Eel</i>-sentence	187
5.3.1 The <i>Eel</i> -sentence controversy	187
5.3.2 The <i>Eel</i> -sentence and Contiguity Theory	189
5.4 Monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE	198
5.5 The [quantifier + <i>ar-u</i>] construction	202
5.5.1 Non-genuine NP arguments	202
5.5.2 Number and size	204
5.5.3 The covert argument in the <i>Persimmon</i> -sentence	206
5.6 The <i>de i-ru</i> construction	214
5.7 Summary of Chapter 5	225

Chapter 6: The STATIVISER-GE Construction

6.1	STATIVISER and ASPECTUALISER	227
6.2	The STATIVISER-GE and aspectual meaning	230
6.2.1	Aspectual meanings of <i>V-te i-ru</i>	230
6.2.2	Aspectual meanings of <i>V-te ar-u</i>	238
6.3	The [STATE verb + GE] construction	247
6.3.1	STATE verbs in Japanese	247
6.3.2	<i>Mie-ru</i>	252
6.4	The [PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + GE] construction	258
6.4.1	First-person subjects and third-person subjects	258
6.4.2	<i>Omo-u</i>	260
6.4.2.1	Nakau (1979) and Shirai (2000)	260
6.4.2.2	The concept of <i>witness status</i>	264
6.4.3	The [+at-the-scene] feature and <i>witness status</i>	277
6.4.4	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> and <i>witness status</i>	281
6.5	The STATIVISER-GE construction and bivalency	284
6.5.1	The STATIVISER-GE and the VERBALISER-GE	284
6.5.2	<i>V-te ar-u</i> and valency	287
6.5.2.1	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> and LE <i>ar-u</i>	287
6.5.2.2	Type-P ₁ <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	288
6.5.2.3	Type-P ₂ <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	296
6.5.2.4	Type-P ₃ <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	299
6.5.2.5	Type-A ₁ <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	304
6.5.2.6	Type-A ₂ <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	307
6.5.2.7	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> and valency	312
6.5.3	<i>V-te i-ru</i> and valency	313
6.5.3.1	STATIVISER-GE <i>i-ru</i> and LE <i>i-ru</i>	313
6.5.3.2	Intermediate usage of <i>i-ru</i>	314
6.5.3.3	Typical STATIVISER usage of <i>i-ru</i>	317
6.5.3.4	Location and state	319
6.6	Summary of Chapter 6	324

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1	'Existential verbs' as a subcategory of 'verbs'	325
7.2	Incompleteness of the [subject + <i>ar-u/i-ru</i>] construction	326
7.3	The copula and the copular sentence	326
7.4	Evidentiality	327
7.5	Extension of the sphere of <i>i-ru</i>	327
7.6	<i>Content</i> -displaying and <i>relation</i> -forming	328
7.7	Abstractness of lexical meaning and grammatical multi-functionality	329
7.8	Final remarks	331

Appendices	332
Appendix 1 About the Original Corpus	332
Appendix 2 Statistical data on usages of <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i> in the Original Corpus	338
Bibliography	343

List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	N	noun
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negative
ADV	adverbial	NOM	nominative
AUX	auxiliary	NOMI	nominaliser
CAUS	causative	NP	nominal phrase
CLS	classifier	NPST	non-past
COND	conditional	PASS	passive
CONJ	conjunctive	PL	plural
COP	copula	PNM	prenominal
DAT	dative	POL	polite
EMPH	emphatic	POTEN	potential
FP	final particle	PST	past
GE	grammatical existential	Q	question/interrogative
GEN	genitive	QT	quantifier
GER	gerundive	QTV	quotative
HONO	honorific	S	subject
IMP	imperative	SFE	sentence-final expression
INF	inferential	<i>s.t.</i>	something
INTJ	interjection	TOP	topic
LE	lexical existential	V	verb
<i>lit.</i>	literally	VP	verbal phrase
LOC	locative		

Notes on Japanese examples and texts

A. Romanisation

The Japanese examples and grammatical terms, including the proper nouns in examples, are Romanised based on the Kunrei system, and written in italics. However, unlike the Kunrei system, the long vowels are indicated by double vowels.

examples: *Tookyoo* ‘Tokyo’, *zyodoosi* ‘auxiliary’
syooten ‘shop’, *syoten* ‘bookshop/publisher’

Bibliographic information, such as names of Japanese scholars, novelists, and publishers, and titles of books and papers in Japanese, is Romanised based on the Hepburn system, and is not italicised apart from the titles of books and journals.

examples: Tokyo ‘Tokyo’, shoten ‘publisher’, Matsushita ‘Matsushita’,
Jodoshi no kenkyu ‘A Study of Auxiliaries’

When citing works by other scholars in which different Romanisation systems are adopted, such systems are converted into the system outlined above.

B. Hyphenation

The basic patterns of hyphenation used in the Japanese examples are given below, with some explanatory notes.

[Verb]

	Inflection types			
	Regular I	Regular II	Irregular (2 verbs only)	
V-nonpast	<i>mi-ru</i> ‘look’	<i>kak-u</i> ‘write’	<i>ku-ru</i> ‘come’	<i>su-ru</i> ‘do’
V-past	<i>mi-ta</i>	<i>kai-ta</i>	<i>ki-ta</i>	<i>si-ta</i>
V-gerundive / V-conjunctive	<i>mi-te</i>	<i>kai-te</i>	<i>ki-te</i>	<i>si-te</i>
V, (adverbial stop)	<i>mi,</i>	<i>kak-i,</i>	<i>ki,</i>	<i>si,</i>
V-polite suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-mas-u</i>	<i>kaki-mas-u</i>	<i>ki-mas-u</i>	<i>si-mas-u</i>
V-negative suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-na-i</i>	<i>kaka-na-i</i>	<i>ko-na-i</i>	<i>si-na-i</i>
V-passive suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-rare-ru</i>	<i>kaka-re-ru</i>	<i>ko-rare-ru</i>	<i>sa-re-ru</i>
V-potential suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-rare-ru</i>	<i>kak-e-ru</i>	<i>ko-rare-ru</i> <i>ko-re-ru</i>	∅
V-causative suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-sase-ru</i>	<i>kaka-se-ru</i>	<i>ko-sase-ru</i>	<i>sa-se-ru</i>
V-conditional suffix	<i>mi-reba</i>	<i>kake-ba</i>	<i>ku-reba</i>	<i>su-reba</i>

Note 1: Regular II verbs have roots that end with a consonant. Therefore, strictly speaking, *kaki-mas-u*, for example, should be written as *kak-i-mas-u* (root + ending + suffix + ending). However, the system above is adopted for simplification. The same rule is applied to the nominalised usage (for example, *kaki* in *o-kaki ni nar-u* ‘write’ (honorific)). However, the adverbial-stop usage (for example, *kaki* at the end of a subordinate clause) is hyphenated as *kak-i*, and the gloss ‘V-CONJ’ is given.

Note 2: Potential verbs, such as *mieru* ‘can be seen/can see’ and *kikoeru* ‘can be heard/can hear’, are hyphenated as *mie-ru* and *kikoe-ru*, rather than *mi-e-ru* and *kiko-e-ru*, since there is no synchronic evidence to suggest that the *e* in these forms is the potential suffix *e*.

[Noun + Copula/Particle/Affix]

Noun + copula / polite copula-nonpast	<i>tesuto</i> (‘test’) <i>da</i> / <i>tesuto des-u</i>
Noun + copula-past / polite copula-past	<i>tesuto dat-ta</i> / <i>tesuto desi-ta</i>
Noun + particle (locative / genitive / nominative)	<i>tesuto de</i> / <i>tesuto no</i> / <i>tesuto ga</i>
prefix + Noun	<i>go-kazoku</i> ‘(your) family’ <i>o-tya</i> ‘tea’
Noun + suffix	<i>Yamada-san</i> ‘Mr/Ms Yamada’ <i>Amerika-zin</i> ‘U.S. nationals’ <i>watasi-tati</i> ‘we’
Numeral + counter suffix	<i>san-nin</i> ‘three people’ <i>go-kai</i> ‘fifth floor’

Note 3: Copula *da* is not separated into *d* and *a*.

Note 4: Polite Copula (past) *desita* is hyphenated as *desi-ta*, not *des-i-ta*. (see Note 1)

Note 5: No hyphen is placed between a Noun and a Copula.

Note 6: No hyphen is placed between a Noun and a Particle.

Note 7: A hyphen is placed between a Noun and an affix if the noun can be used without the attached affix.

examples: *o-ko-san* ‘(your) child’, not *o-kosan* or *oko-san*
gohan ‘meal’, not *go-han*.

Note 8: A hyphen is always placed between a numeral and a counter suffix.

Note 9: A hyphen is placed between a Noun and the Verb *su-ru* ‘do’, when the two together form a predicate.

examples: *benkyoo-su-ru* ‘study’, *yooi-su-ru* ‘prepare’

[Adjective and Adjectival Noun]

	Adjective	Adjectival Noun (≤ Noun)
ADJ-nonpast (predicative)	<i>uresi-i</i> ‘happy’	(<i>sizuka da</i>) ‘quiet’
ADJ-past (attributive / predicative)	<i>uresikat-ta</i>	(<i>sizuka dat-ta</i>)
ADJ-pronominal (attributive)	<i>uresi-i</i>	<i>sizuka-na</i>
ADJ-adverbial	<i>uresi-ku</i>	(<i>sizuka ni</i>)
ADJ-conjunctive	<i>uresi-kute</i>	(<i>sizuka de</i>)

Note 10: In this thesis the form usually labelled as a *keiyoo-doosi* ‘adjectival verb’ is regarded as the combination of an Adjectival Noun and a Copula. In the same manner as for an ordinary Noun, no hyphen is placed before and after an Adjectival Noun, except for the case in which it is used in the pronominal position, accompanied by *na* (for example, *sizuka-na*, as in the table above).

[Adverb]

Note 11: Adverbs are sometimes accompanied by a Particle, such as *to* or *ni*. No hyphen is placed between the adverb and the particle.

examples: *yukkuri to* ‘slowly’, *karakara ni* ‘dryly’

[Adnominal]

Note 12: Adnominals do not inflect. Therefore, no hyphen is inserted.

examples: *ookina* ‘big’, *aru* ‘a certain’

[Sentence-Final Expression]

Note 13: There are some fixed expressions used at the end of a sentence. Their morphological structures are indicated using the hyphenation system above, if

applicable. However, the gloss SFE (Sentence-Final Expression) is given with the basic modal meaning in parentheses, and no individual gloss is given to each constituent, except for the tense-marking endings (if any).

examples: *hazudatta* → *hazu dat-ta*
SFE (supposition)-PST
kamosirenai → *ka mo sire-na-i*
SFE (possibility)-NPST
daroo → *daroo*
SFE (conjecture)
monoda → *mono da* [see Note 3]
SFE (reminiscence)

When citing works by other scholars in which different kinds of hyphenation systems are used, such systems are converted into the system outlined above, unless it is important to keep the original hyphenation for the purpose of discussion.

C. Sources of examples

(i) Examples from the ‘Original Corpus’

Examples are often cited from a corpus that contains all the sentences in 68 sources (15 drama/movie scenarios, 5 interviews or tripartite talks, 5 scientific essays, 7 novels, and 36 short stories). The corpus is referred to as the ‘Original Corpus’ in the thesis text. The criteria for selecting the materials and full bibliographic information for each source are given in Appendix 1. However, the following points should be noted.

Note 14: When an example from the Original Corpus appears for the first time in the thesis text, the source of the example is indicated at the end of the example, using the following format:

[material category/material number: page number]

examples: [SC01:42], [TK02:15]

The following abbreviations are used for the material categories:

SC drama/movie scenarios
TK interviews or tripartite talks
SE scientific essays
NV novels/short stories

The material number is a number given to each publication contained in the Original Corpus. See Appendix 1 for the correspondence between the material number and each publication.

Note 15: When an example from the Original Corpus represents spoken conversation, this is indicated by double quotation marks.

Note 16: For the sake of comparison, an alternative word or phrase is sometimes added to the original example. In such a case, the following format is used.

{ A / B / C }

The word or phrase in the original is always placed in the leftmost position within the parentheses, and underlined.

(ii) Examples from works by other scholars

Examples are also cited from studies by other scholars. Bibliographic information for the source studies is provided with the examples. The Romanisation and hyphenation systems outlined above are applied to such examples. However, where double quotation marks appear in the original texts, these are left unchanged in this thesis.

(iii) Examples produced by the writer

Examples produced by the writer of this thesis are also used in the discussions. In such examples, double quotation marks are placed around typical conversation-style sentences.

Note 17: (This note is applicable to all three kinds of examples discussed above)

When glosses and/or translations are omitted in subsequent appearances of

examples, the location of their first appearance is indicated using the format [see (example number)].

D. Acceptability judgement

In the course of discussion, unacceptable examples are sometimes used. The following marks indicate unacceptability.

- * completely unacceptable
- ?? not completely unacceptable, but very unnatural or elliptical
- ? acceptable, but slightly unnatural or elliptical

Unacceptable examples marked by * are accompanied by glosses, but are not translated.

When citing works by other scholars in which different kinds of marking systems are used, such systems are converted into the system outlined above. For example, an example marked by ?? as an unacceptable sentence in the literature is marked by * in this thesis.

Chapter 1 Introduction

Before discussing the research objectives of this thesis in Section 1.3, this chapter examines the basic issues relating to the analysis of Japanese existentials in previous studies in both English and Japanese in order to clearly identify the central problem that the thesis attempts to remedy and to define the two central terms used in this thesis: Lexical Existentials (LEs) and Grammatical Existentials (GEs).

In Section 1.1 the functions of the Japanese existentials are outlined and the misrepresentation of Japanese existential constructions in linguistic-typological studies written in English is examined. In Section 1.2 the treatment of the usages of the existentials by the four major traditional Japanese grammarians, Yamada, Matsushita, Hashimoto, and Tokieda is investigated. This investigation reveals the confusion surrounding the misuse of the term '*zyodoosi*' ('auxiliary verb') in the Japanese literature.

Section 1.3 provides a discussion of the research objectives of this thesis and an outline of the organisation of the thesis.

1.1 Existentials in Japanese

1.1.1 *Wago* existentials and hybrid existentials

As shown below, in modern Japanese, there are three *wago* existentials, and some hybrid existentials that consist of combinations of *wago* and *kango*.¹

(1)

	existentials
<i>wago</i>	<i>ar-u, i-ru, or-u</i>
<i>kango + wago</i>	<i>son-su-ru, sonzai-su-ru, zituzai-su-ru, genson-su-ru, etc.</i>

In this thesis, two of the *wago* existentials, *ar-u* and *i-ru*, are investigated from a synchronic perspective. *Or-u* is excluded because it is basically a stylistic variant of *i-ru*, at least in modern standard Japanese.² The hybrid existentials are also excluded since their usages are rather limited and they do not function as auxiliaries.

In the negative form, *ar-u* becomes *na-i*, and *i-ru* becomes *i-na-i* (*i-ru + na-i*). Although what can be observed for *ar-u* and *i-ru* would hold true for *na-i* and *i-na-i* to some extent, the affirmative forms only are examined, as the study of negative forms should refer to matters that are idiosyncratic to the grammatical procedure of negation, such as scope of negation.

1.1.2 Basic functions of Japanese existentials

¹ The list excludes honorific variants of *ar-u*, *i-ru*, and *or-u*. *Wago* means native Japanese words that are normally written in *hiragana*. *Kango* means Japanese words written in Chinese characters that are read in the Chinese-style, or *on-yomi*. *Kango* are often said to be words of Chinese origin. However, as Tamamura (1984: 133f.) points out, since a given word may or may not have been used historically in Chinese, this interpretation is misleading.

² *Or-u* should be given greater importance when the Japanese existentials are examined from a diachronic or a dialectal perspective. Although the diachronic development of existentials is taken into consideration in parts of this thesis, it is only for the purpose of increasing understanding of the existentials in contemporary Japanese. For diachronic and dialectal studies of Japanese existentials including their auxiliary use, see Kinsui (1983, 1984, 1996a, 1996b, 1998) and Inoue (1992, 1993, 1998).

Lyons (1968: 496) claimed that, cross-linguistically, the EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE expressions derived from the LOCATIVE expression. Following Lyons' remarks on the interconnection between EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE expressions, Clark (1978) conducted typological research on LOCATIONAL constructions in 30 sample languages.³ The research also includes the COPULA construction and the AUXILIARY construction, which are closely related to the LOCATIONAL construction in many languages. In Clark's study, Japanese is summarised as shown in (2):

(2) Clark (1978: 107)

LOCATIONAL				COPULA	AUXILIARY
EXISTENTIAL	LOCATIVE	POSSESSIVE			
		1	2		
<i>i-ru</i> [+animate] <i>ar-u</i> [-animate]	<i>i-ru</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>ar-u</i> <i>mot-te ar-u</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ar-u</i>

The following are direct Japanese translations for the English examples of LOCATIONAL constructions presented in Clark (1978: 87).⁴

(3) <EXISTENTIAL> 'There is a book on the table.'

a. *tukue no ue ni hon ga ar-u.*
 desk GEN top LOC book NOM exist-NPST

³ Clark (1978) uses the term LOCATIONAL as a generic term for EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE constructions. The term is used in the same manner in this thesis.

⁴ It is assumed in this thesis that the particle *ni* marks the LOCATIVE case in LOCATIONAL constructions. Therefore, the gloss LOC is given to *ni*, as shown in (3a), (3b), and (3d), except when examining other scholars' studies, in which different treatments of *ni* are proposed. The assertion that the particle *ni* marks the LOCATIVE case in LOCATIONAL constructions will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

It is also assumed in this thesis that *de* in *de ar-u* is a LOCATIVE case particle. Therefore, the gloss LOC is given to *de*, as shown in (3e), except when examining other scholars' studies, in which different treatments of *de* are proposed. The assertion that *de* in *de ar-u* is a LOCATIVE case particle will be discussed in Chapter 5.

<LOCATIVE> 'The book is on the table.'

b. *sono hon wa tukue no ue ni ar-u.*
that book TOP desk GEN top LOC exist-NPST

<POSSESSIVE-1> 'Tom has a book.'

c. *Tomu wa hon o mot-te i-ru.*
Tom TOP book ACC have-GER exist-NPST

d. *Tomu ni wa hon ga ar-u.*
Tom LOC TOP book NOM exist-NPST

<POSSESSIVE-2> 'The book is Tom's.'

e. *sono hon wa Tomu no { da / de ar-u }.*
that book TOP Tom GEN COP / LOC exist-NPST

The translations above reveal that Clark's summary in (2) does not reflect the actual nature of Japanese LOCATIONAL constructions.

First, what is usually referred to as an animacy restriction that controls the use of *ar-u* and *i-ru* seems applicable only to the EXISTENTIAL sentence according to Clark's summary. However, as the comparison between (3b) in the above and (4) below suggests, the restriction is also at work in the LOCATIVE constructions.

(4) *Ken wa butai no ue ni i-ru.*
Ken TOP stage GEN top LOC exist-NPST
'Ken is on the stage.'

With reference to POSSESSIVE-1 ('Tom has a book. '), the use of a (3c)-type sentence sounds more natural than a (3d)-type sentence. Although (3d) is perfectly grammatical, it has a different nuance from (3c). There are certain rules which apply

when selecting between *ar-u* and *mot-te i-ru*, and (3c) is a case where *ar-u* is unlikely to be selected, compared to examples such as in (5) below. It should also be noted that in contemporary usage it is more common to use *i-ru* than *ar-u* in a POSSESSIVE sentence such as (5):

- (5) *Tomu ni wa kodomo ga { ar-u / i-ru }.*
Tom LOC TOP child NOM exist-NPST / exist-NPST
'Tom has a child.'

With reference to POSSESSIVE-2 ('The book is Tom's. '), as shown in (3e) the noun *Tomu* is followed by the GENITIVE particle *no* and the copula *da*. Clark is basically correct to say that *ar-u* is used in the POSSESSIVE-2 construction in Japanese, since the copula *da* is a contracted form of *de ar-u*. However, it is definitely not acceptable to say that *mot-te ar-u* is also used for the POSSESSIVE-2 construction. *Mot-te ar-u* is rarely used in Japanese, and it can only be used as a highly marked expression of *mot-te i-ru* for POSSESSIVE-1 such as in (3c), and not for POSSESSIVE-2.

Clark's summary in (2) is also incorrect in relation to the COPULA and AUXILIARY constructions. The particle *no* does indeed have the function of connecting two nominals; however, the string 'A *no* B' constitutes only a nominal phrase and does not make a complete sentence in modern Japanese. It is not *no* but *da* (or *de ar-u*)

which makes a predicative COPULA sentence, as shown in (3e).⁵

It is also important to point out that Clark’s summary is incorrect in the respect that not only *ar-u* but also *i-ru* can serve as an auxiliary, as shown in (6):

(6) a. “*sigoto-ba ni mo tiisana terebi ga oi-te ar-u.*” [NV10:190]
 work-place LOC also small TV NOM put-GER exist-NPST
 ‘(lit.) A small TV set has been put also in the workshop.’
 → ‘There is a small TV set in the workshop too.’

b. *mada Toko no heya no aikagi wa*
 still Toko GEN room GEN duplicate key TOP
mot-te i-ru. [NV07:79]
 have-GER exist-NPST
 ‘I still have the duplicate key to Toko’s room.’

When these essential amendments are applied to Clark’s summary, the revised version shown in (7) is produced.

(7)

	LOCATIONAL		COPULA (incl. POSSESSIVE-2)	AUXILIARY
EXISTENTIAL	LOCATIVE	POSSESSIVE-1		
<i>ar-u</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>mot-te i-ru</i>	<i>da (de ar-u)</i>	<i>ar-u</i>
<i>i-ru</i>	<i>i-ru</i>	<i>ar-u, i-ru</i>	<i>des-u</i>	<i>i-ru</i>

Clark (1978: 109) states that, with the exception of Japanese, most of the verbs

⁵ *Des-u*, the polite equivalent of *da*, can also be used. It is reasonable to assume that the original form of the POSSESSIVE-2 sentence in (3e) is a typical COPULA sentence, as given below, from which the second noun *hon* is deleted to avoid tautology.

sono hon wa Tomu no hon {da / de ar-u}.
 that book TOP Tom GEN book COP / LOC exist-NPST
 ‘The book is Tom’s book.’

used in LOCATIONAL constructions appear elsewhere in a language as copulae and auxiliary verbs, thus implying that only Japanese deviates from a universal phenomenon. However, as is clearly observable from the revised summary in (7), Japanese is not in fact an exception to this universal tendency. On the contrary, Japanese is considered to be one of the ‘ideal’ languages from the typological viewpoint, in the regard that *ar-u* and *i-ru* (*ar-u* in particular) are used in, or at least related to, six types of constructions (EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, POSSESSIVE-1, POSSESSIVE-2, COPULA, and AUXILIARY) across the board.

It is assumed that Clark (1978) was not very successful in capturing the truth about Japanese LOCATIONAL, COPULA and AUXILIARY constructions simply because there was little descriptive work on Japanese available in 1970 when her work was originally published.⁶ However, there was only a paucity of relevant work written in English; within Japan, there already existed a long tradition of descriptive linguistic study.⁷

In recent times an increasing number of studies on Japanese have been published in English. Therefore, in theory, the situation for typologists must have radically

⁶ It seems that the only reference regarding Japanese LOCATIONAL/COPULA/AUXILIARY constructions that Clark (1970) was able to consult was Makino (1968). However, Makino does not treat *no* as a copula. He treats *da*, *des-u*, and *de ar-u* as copulae.

⁷ In fact, the multi-functionality of *ar-i*, the old form of *ar-u*, seems to be of particular interest among scholars of ancient Japanese thought and culture in the Edo period (1603-1867), as well as traditional Japanese grammarians from the Meiji period (1868-1912) onwards. For example, Fujitani (1778), who proposed the systematic four-way categorisation (*na*, *yosoi*, *kazasi*, *ayui*) of Japanese words, pointed out that existential *ar-i* is a cross-categorical element that belongs to both *yosoi* and *ayui*. According to Nakada and Takeoka (1960: 51), Fujitani’s four-way categorisation corresponds to the parts of speech after the import of European linguistic studies as shown below:

<i>na</i>	–	noun
<i>yosoi</i>	–	verb, adjective, adjectival verb
<i>kazasi</i>	–	pronoun, adverb, conjunction, interjection, prefix
<i>ayui</i>	–	particle, auxiliary suffix, suffix

It is clear that Fujitani was aware of the fact that the Japanese existential *ar-i* has verb-like properties as well as auxiliary-like properties.

improved from that of around 1970. However, many studies are produced in accordance with a particular linguistic theory, using special technical terms which are idiosyncratic to the chosen theory, and, in some cases, the important body of work of descriptive studies of Japanese has not been consulted. In other words, there is a need for purely descriptive studies of Japanese in English, which appropriately credit important works within the tradition of Japanese language studies in Japan. It is assumed that typologists are still in need of such descriptive data, since Japanese is not yet correctly perceived, even in a more recent version of a Clark-type study in Veselinova (1999).⁸

(8) Veselinova (1999: 72)

IDENTIFICATION	QUALITY (permanent)	QUALITY (temporary)	LOCATION	EXISTENCE	POSSESSION
<i>da</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	AV + (<i>da</i>)	LOC / <i>i-ru</i>	<i>i-ru</i>	<i>i-ru</i>

Compared to Clark (1978), certain improvements can be detected in (8). However, overall, Veselinova's summary still does not reflect the true characteristics of *ar-u* and *i-ru*. This summary gives the impression that *i-ru* is used for the LOCATIVE, EXISTENTIAL, and POSSESSIVE constructions, whilst *da* (or *de ar-u*) and *ar-u* are used for the COPULA (Identification, Permanent Quality, Temporary Quality) constructions. This is not the case, as the summary in (7) shows.

⁸ The abbreviations AV and LOC in Veselinova's table in (8) stand for 'verb-like adjective' and 'location', respectively. She gives the following English examples to explain the six types of construction given in (8).

Veselinova (1999: 70)

IDENTIFICATION: This is Mary.
 QUALITY (permanent): Mary is tall.
 QUALITY (temporary): Mary is sick.
 LOCATION: Mary is in the kitchen.
 EXISTENCE: To every thing, there is a reason.
 POSSESSION: Mary has a car.

Although most Japanese linguists would agree that *ar-u* and *i-ru* are used as summarised in (7), there is disagreement as to how they should be treated in linguistic study. Opinions vary even as to whether or not *ar-u* and *i-ru* in LOCATIONAL, COPULA, and AUXILIARY constructions belong to the same part of speech.

In the next section, the treatment of these three usages of the existentials *ar-u* and *i-ru* by four major traditional Japanese grammarians, Yamada, Matsushita, Hashimoto, and Tokieda, who laid the foundations for the descriptive study of Japanese language, is briefly reviewed.⁹

⁹ These four scholars are often referred to as the Four Great Grammarians, and it is customary to label their works by their names, such as ‘Yamada grammar’. This custom is adopted in this thesis.

1.2 Studies of *ar-u* and *i-ru* by the Four Great Grammarians

1.2.1 Yamada grammar - Yamada (1908, 1922a, 1922b, 1936)

Yamada argues that *ar-u* in the LOCATIONAL usage denotes a rather broad and vague meaning of existence, whereas in other cases (that is, the COPULA usage) it merely denotes the speaker's assertion. Yamada gives the following pair of examples to show these two distinct usages of *ar-u*:

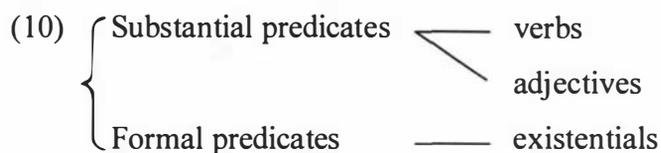
(9) Yamada (1922b: 85)

- a. *koko ni ume no ki ga ar-u.*
here LOC ume GEN tree NOM exist-NPST
'Here is an *ume* tree.'
- b. *kore wa ume no ki de ar-u.*
this TOP ume GEN tree LOC exist-NPST
'This is an *ume* tree.'

According to Yamada, *ar-u* in (9a) denotes the meaning of existence whilst *ar-u* in (9b) denotes the speaker's assertion. Yamada then classifies both types of *ar-u* under the same category called *sonzai-si* 'existentials', considering (9b) to be a derivative usage of (9a). It is important to note that, in Yamada's study, the category of 'existentials' is a part of speech which is given the same status as other parts of speech such as 'verbs' and 'adjectives'. In other words, *ar-u* is neither a verb nor an adjective in Yamada's view.

As shown in (10), the category of 'existentials' is placed under the larger category of 'formal predicates', whilst verbs and adjectives are placed under the larger

category of ‘substantial predicates’.¹⁰ The existentials are construed as formal predicates since, in Yamada’s opinion, the concept of existence lacks substantiality in meaning.



It is an interesting approach to establish a separate part of speech for *ar-u*, unifying its LOCATIONAL usage and COPULA usage. However, it is questionable whether it is appropriate to separate *ar-u* from the category of verbs. It seems that Yamada’s treatment of *ar-u* is heavily influenced by his own study of *ar-i* in classical Japanese. In classical Japanese, *ar-i* and other existentials had irregular inflectional patterns, which distinguish them clearly from the ordinary verbs at the level of morphology. However, in modern Japanese, the inflectional pattern of *ar-u* is basically the same as that of ordinary verbs.

Moreover, it seems to be the COPULA usage, rather than the LOCATIONAL usage, that obliged Yamada to argue that existentials are formal predicates. It is possible that, as Sakuma (1966: 288f.) claims, Yamada treated *ar-u* in the LOCATIONAL usage as a formal predicate, simply because he treated *ar-u* in the COPULA usage this way.

It should also be noted that there is no reference to the AUXILIARY usage of *ar-u* in Yamada (1922b), which deals with modern Japanese.¹¹ An even more serious

¹⁰ ‘Formal predicates’ and ‘substantial predicates’ are my translations of the Japanese terms ‘*keisiki yoogen*’ and ‘*zissitu yoogen*’, respectively.

¹¹ Although Yamada (1922b) is not specific in this regard, it is assumed from his line of argument on *ar-i* in classical Japanese in Yamada (1908, 1922a, 1936) that he construes *ar-u* in the AUXILIARY usage to be an affix rather than an existential: he treats *tar-i* (contracted form of *te ar-i*) in the COPULA usage in classical Japanese as an existential and *tar-i* in the AUXILIARY usage as a suffix.

deficiency in his account is the fact that *i-ru* does not appear in the argument at all. Considering that Fujitani (1778) had already pointed out that *i-ru* is used for the existence of an animate entity, and *ar-u* for that of an inanimate entity, it is a crucial omission not to include *i-ru* in the discussion. A possible reason for this omission is that *i-ru* does not have a COPULA usage. In this regard, Sakuma's criticism that Yamada's 'existential' primarily focuses on *ar-u* in the COPULA usage seems to be accurate.¹²

Although Yamada's discussion is far from complete, some of his important observations are still considered valid. In particular, the following descriptions, which were given concerning the LOCATIONAL usage of *ar-i* in classical Japanese, should still be borne in mind when the usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in modern Japanese are examined.

(11) Yamada (1908: 336f.)¹³

- a. *Ar-i* denotes the existence of an entity when it stands as a predicate. However, it is rare that *ar-i* alone makes a complete predicate, and it usually requires a word that specifies state, time, or space.
- b. It does not necessarily mean that such a specifying word must always be present in the expression. When it is absent, it is considered that specification has been presupposed in the context.
- c. If a specifying word is absent in the expression and specification has not been presupposed in the context, it should be a purely abstract statement. Such

¹² Similarly, although *wi-ru*, the old form of *i-ru*, does not appear in relation to *ar-i* in Yamada (1908) where classical Japanese is described, *wor-i*, the old form of *or-u*, is treated as a variant of *ar-i*. However, Yamada argues that, unlike *ar-i*, *wor-i* is not a formal predicate but a verb. It is interesting to observe that later in Yamada (1936), *wor-i* is considered to be an *ar-i*-equivalent, and is included in the category of 'existentials'.

¹³ My translation from the Japanese.

expressions are often used in scientific or philosophical writing, since writers of such are supposed to present their arguments as ideally and formally as possible by means of abstracting temporal and spatial concepts.

1.2.2 Matsushita grammar - Matsushita (1901, 1928, 1930)

In contrast to Yamada grammar, in Matsushita grammar, the AUXILIARY usage is taken into consideration, and *i-ru* is included in the discussion.

Matsushita (1928: 272ff.) refers to *ar-u* and *i-ru* in both the AUXILIARY usage and the COPULA usage as ‘formal verbs’.¹⁴ Formal verbs are defined as verbs that only have formal meaning. Although this theoretical concept is analogous to that of formal predicates in Yamada grammar, Matsushita’s view is radically different from Yamada’s, since Matsushita places formal verbs in a subcategory within the category of verbs. It is also noteworthy that Matsushita refers more precisely to *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the COPULA and the AUXILIARY usages as ‘auxiliary verbs’. Matsushita strongly encourages the correct use of the term ‘auxiliary verbs’ in order to remedy Otsuki’s misuse of the term.¹⁵

Matsushita considers *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the LOCATIONAL usage to be static ‘substantial verbs’.¹⁶ This indicates that, in Matsushita’s opinion, *ar-u* and *i-ru* can be used as lexical verbs, as well as auxiliary verbs. In fact, he states, giving the

¹⁴ The term ‘formal verb(s)’ is my translation of the Japanese term ‘*keisiki doosi*’.

¹⁵ Otsuki (1890) used the term ‘auxiliary verb’ for (*sa*)*se* and (*ra*)*re*, which should have been more appropriately labelled as (auxiliary) suffixes. Because Hashimoto grammar, which was chosen as a school grammar (that is, a standard grammar taught at school), followed Otsuki’s misuse of the term, the auxiliary suffixes such as (*sa*)*se* and (*ra*)*re* are still referred to as auxiliary verbs in the present-day linguistic study of Japanese.

¹⁶ The term ‘substantial verb(s)’ is my translation of the Japanese term ‘*zissitu doosi*’.

following pair of examples, that formal verbs sometimes function as substantial verbs.

(12) Matsushita (1928: 293)

<Formal verb> (auxiliary verb)

a. *tori ga ton-de i-ru.*

bird NOM fly-GER exist-NPST

‘Birds are flying.’

<Substantial verb> (lexical verb)

b. *tori ga i-ru.*

bird NOM exist-NPST

‘Birds exist.’

1.2.3 Hashimoto grammar - Hashimoto (1934, 1935, 1937)

Hashimoto treats *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the LOCATIONAL usage as verbs, and *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the AUXILIARY and the COPULA usages as ‘assisting verbs’.¹⁷ The term ‘assisting verb’ is not a label for a part of speech, but a label for the function of a verb. In other words, in Hashimoto grammar, *ar-u* and *i-ru* are treated uniformly as verbs regardless of LOCATIONAL, COPULA, or AUXILIARY usages. In this respect, Hashimoto grammar takes a similar position to Matsushita grammar. However, since Hashimoto grammar is formalistic in nature, the semantic characteristics of *ar-u* and *i-ru* are not taken into consideration. Therefore, the issue of whether the meaning that *ar-u* or *i-ru* denotes is substantial or formal, on which Matsushita placed great

¹⁷ The term ‘assisting verb(s)’ is my translation of the Japanese term ‘*hozyo doosi*’.

importance, is not relevant in Hashimoto grammar.

As shown in (13), Hashimoto's word classification is based on two dichotomies: whether a given element is a 'si' (free form) or a 'zi' (bound form), and whether it is inflectional or not.

(13) Hashimoto (1934: 45ff.)

{	<i>si</i> (free form)	{	+inflectional — verb, adjective
		{	-inflectional — noun, adverb, conjunctive, interjection
{	<i>zi</i> (bound form)	{	+inflectional — auxiliary verb
		{	-inflectional — particle

Morphologically *ar-u* and *i-ru* are verbs. However, they can be used as bound forms, that is, in the COPULA and AUXILIARY usages. This fact is problematic for Hashimoto, who is essentially a strict dichotomist. It seems that, to account for this discrepancy, Hashimoto coined the term 'assisting verbs'. There are probably two reasons why Hashimoto could not use the term 'auxiliary verbs' for such usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*: he followed Otsuki's (1890) misuse of the term for suffixes such as *(sa)se* and *(ra)re* and, in order to maintain the strict dichotomy between *si* (free form) and *zi* (bound form), he would not have wished to admit that *ar-u* and *i-ru* can be auxiliary verbs (that is, bound forms).

1.2.4 Tokieda grammar - Tokieda (1941, 1950)

Tokieda is also well known as a strict dichotomist. Tokieda uses the terms 'si' and 'zi', which are superficially the same as Hashimoto's terms. However, whilst in

Hashimoto grammar *si* and *zi* respectively mean free form and bound form in a purely morphological sense, *si* and *zi* in Tokieda grammar are defined in terms of objectivity and subjectivity; that is, according to Tokieda, *si* is a word that denotes the external objective world, whereas *zi* is a word that denotes the speaker's subjective view towards the external objective world. Tokieda then contends that *si* and *zi* should never be mixed together. He criticises Yamada's category of 'existentials', because it contains *ar-u* in the LOCATIONAL usage, which is a *si*, together with *ar-u* in the COPULA usage, which is a *zi* in Tokieda's classification.

To demonstrate the importance of the *si-zi* distinction, Tokieda gives the following example in (14) which allows two different readings.

(14) Tokieda (1941: 255)

kooen wa koodoo de ar-u.
 lecture TOP auditorium AUX/LOC *si / zi*

a. 'The lecture will be (held) in the auditorium.' [*ar-u* (existential) = *si*]

b. 'The lecture is (in) the auditorium.' [*ar-u* (judgemental) = *zi*]

Tokieda argues that these two readings emerge because there are two different kinds of *ar-u*, one being *si* which denotes the meaning of existence, and the other being *zi* which denotes the speaker's judgement. Therefore, in Tokieda grammar, the former is construed as a verb and the latter as an auxiliary verb. Note that the term 'auxiliary verb' in Tokieda grammar is a legitimate part of speech. Therefore, it is completely different from the 'auxiliary verb' in Matsushita grammar and Hashimoto grammar. As discussed above, 'auxiliary verb' in Matsushita grammar is merely a subcategory of 'verb', and 'auxiliary verb' in Hashimoto grammar is a label for

suffixes such as *(sa)se* and *(ra)re*.¹⁸

Tokieda strongly advocates the distinction between *si* and *zi*, which consequently leads him to consider that *ar-u* in the LOCATIONAL usage and *ar-u* in the COPULA usage are two distinct words, rather than two different functions of the same word.

The next point for consideration is the treatment of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the AUXILIARY usage in Tokieda grammar. Interestingly, Tokieda seems to have made a compromise with Matsushita grammar. Tokieda (1950: 94f.) refers to *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the AUXILIARY usage as ‘formal verbs’, which are defined in Tokieda grammar as verbs that require supplementary words due to the extreme vagueness of their own conceptual meanings. According to Tokieda, the example in (15a) is not usable because the formal verb *i-ru* only represents a very abstract notion of existence and state. To make a sentence complete, Tokieda argues, a preverbal modifier such as *sai-te* ‘bloom-GER’ should be present as a supplementary word, as shown in (15b):

(15) Tokieda (1950: 95)

a. * *hana* *ga* \emptyset *i-ru*.
 flower NOM exist-NPST

b. *hana* *ga* *sai-te* *i-ru*.
 flower NOM bloom-GER exist-NPST
 ‘Some flowers are in bloom.’

It is assumed from this explanation that Tokieda draws a clear boundary between the verbs *ar-u* and *i-ru* that denote concrete concepts of existence and the formal verbs *ar-u* and *i-ru* that denote abstract concepts of existence or state. Otherwise, although he does not explicitly express this, the ungrammaticality of (15a) would

¹⁸ In Tokieda grammar, *(sa)se*, *(ra)re* and other similar forms are correctly classified as suffixes.

have been explained as due only to the breach of the animacy restriction, rather than due to the lack of a supplementary word.

1.2.5 Summary of the Four Great Grammarians' studies

Treatments of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the Four Great Grammarians' studies can be summarised as shown in (16) below. For reference, the summary also includes the treatment of auxiliary suffixes such as *(sa)se* and *(ra)re*.¹⁹

(16)

		Yamada	Matsushita	Hashimoto	Tokieda
LOCATIONAL	<i>ar-u</i>	Existential (Formal predicate)	Substantial verb	Verb	Verb
	<i>i-ru</i>	n/a			
AUXILIARY	<i>ar-u</i>	n/a	Formal verb (Auxiliary verb)	Verb (Assisting verb)	Formal verb
	<i>i-ru</i>	n/a			Auxiliary verb
COPULA	<i>ar-u</i>	Existential (Formal predicate)			
<i>(sa)se, (ra)re</i>		Suffix	Suffix	Auxiliary verb	Suffix

There is no consensus among the four grammarians. Matsushita and Hashimoto seem, at least from this summary, to share a similar stance, but their views of language, as mentioned above, differ radically from each other.

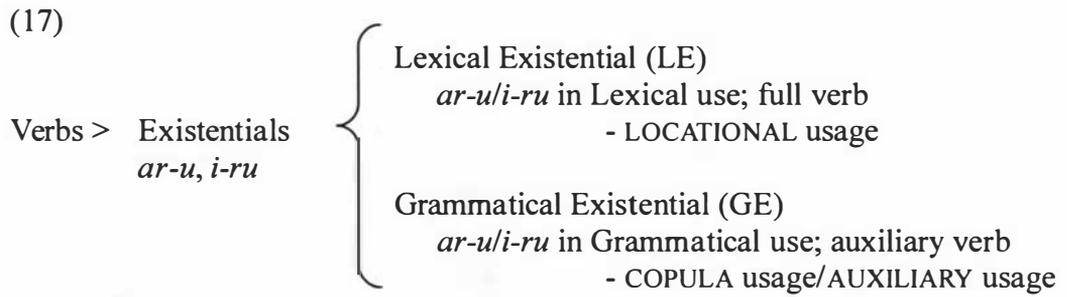
Although the diversity in the works discussed above seems to be largely due to the non-unified use of the term 'auxiliary verb', it is not just a matter of terminology,

¹⁹ For *(sa)se* and *(ra)re*, Yamada, Matsushita, and Tokieda adopt different labels: '*hukugobi*' (Yamada), '*doozyozi*' (Matsushita), '*setubigo*' (Tokieda). However, they can all be translated as 'suffix' or 'auxiliary suffix'.

but stems from confusion caused by the use of the category of ‘auxiliary verb’.²⁰ Confusion is inevitable unless the basic fact is recognised that in an agglutinative language such as Japanese the function of auxiliary *verbs* in other types of languages is carried out by the auxiliary *suffix*. In this respect, Hashimoto grammar can be criticised for not treating *(sa)se* and *(ra)re* appropriately as suffixes. Yamada grammar is praiseworthy in the respect that it attaches great importance to the functions of *ar-u*, but Yamada’s description lacks comprehensiveness. The approach taken in Tokieda grammar is original, but given the nature of language, the strict dichotomy between *si* and *zi*, which denies any continuity between the two, inevitably leads to problems. Such a strict categorisation is not always appropriate. It would, in fact, be more productive to consider the LOCATIONAL, COPULA, and AUXILIARY usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru* to be functions of the same verbs, on the premise that they are intrinsically interconnected in some circumstances.

Of the four grammars, Matsushita grammar seems the most systematic and logical. However, the opposition between ‘substantial’ and ‘formal’, although the distinction *per se* is useful to the description of Japanese and has been well received among scholars to date, should be restated, using more general linguistics terms, such as the opposition between ‘lexical’ and ‘grammatical’. This measure is necessary to avoid confusion between substantial and concrete, and between formal and abstract, which should be appropriately distinguished. Therefore, the preliminary position taken in this thesis with regard to the classification of the three main usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru* is established, based on Matsushita grammar, as shown in (17):

²⁰ The same sort of confusion seems to be present in the study of English and other languages too. See Heine (1993) for various standpoints on the category of ‘auxiliary’.



Ar-u and *i-ru* are construed in this thesis to be verbs which have both lexical uses (LE) and grammatical uses (GE). The distinction between the LE and the GE is considered to be a prototypical opposition, which presupposes continuity between the two, rather than a strict dichotomic opposition.

1.3 Research objectives and organisation of this thesis

1.3.1 Research objectives

This thesis is an attempt to comprehend, utilising the Original Corpus,²¹ the characteristics of the Japanese LEs and GEs in their major usages. The approach used is basically that of descriptive linguistics, without subscribing to a particular theoretical framework.

The reasons for undertaking this study are as follows.

First, as observed above, the true characteristics of the Japanese LEs and GEs have not been understood accurately in linguistic-typological studies of existential constructions due to a paucity of purely descriptive studies on the subject published in English.

Second, although a large body of Japanese literature on the nature of both LEs and GEs now exists, it is still fragmentary and a comprehensive account has yet to be produced.

Third, most studies adhere to previously accepted concepts, such as the strict dichotomy between monovalent intransitives and bivalent (or multivalent) transitives, without questioning the validity of such concepts, and, in consequence, the explanations fail to elucidate the fundamental nature of *ar-u* and *i-ru*.

This thesis aims to provide a new framework for analysing the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* in contemporary standard Japanese, based on the assumption that they are bivalent verbs, and proposes the application of the same framework to an investigation of the

²¹ For the details of the Original Corpus, see Appendices 1 and 2.

GEs in order to shed light on the continuity between the LEs and the GEs.

1.3.2 Organisation of this thesis

For each topic considered, some important works are selected and then reexamined from a fresh perspective, in addition to an investigation of some aspects that have previously received very little attention. In Chapter 2, a structural formula, or prototype, of the LE constructions is presented, which forms the basis for subsequent observations. LE sentences in general are then examined. In Chapter 3, LE sentences that denote the existence of a POSSESSIVE relation are investigated, followed in Chapter 4 by an examination of LE sentences which express the existence of a future event. The GE *ar-u* in the COPULA usage is examined in Chapter 5; and in Chapter 6 the GEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the AUXILIARY usage are discussed. Finally, Chapter 7 presents the conclusion, incorporating the outcome of the investigations in the preceding chapters.

Chapter 2 Lexical Existentials and Bivalency²²

2.1 Three kinds of LOCATIONAL constructions

LOCATIONAL is a generic term for three kinds of LE usages: EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE. However, these three usages have not been appropriately distinguished in the studies of *ar-u* and *i-ru* by the Four Great Grammarians, which were reviewed in the previous chapter. While the lack of distinction among the three usages should be criticised as an omission, it may also be taken as a clear indication of the affinity of the three usages in Japanese.

It was not until significant contributions to the study of Japanese were made by non-Japanese scholars, such as Alfonso and Martin, that the distinctions separating EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE were brought into discussion.²³ However, even in Alfonso (1966) and Martin (1975) there is a great deal of difference in the treatment of these usages. As shown in (18), Alfonso asserts a dichotomy between LOCATION and EXISTENCE in his description, whilst Martin asserts a trichotomy separating EXISTENCE, LOCATION, and POSSESSION. Moreover, confusingly, that which Alfonso refers to as EXISTENCE is referred to by Martin as POSSESSION.

(18)	Alfonso (1966):	LOCATION	vs.	EXISTENCE		
				↓		
	Martin (1975):	EXISTENCE	vs.	LOCATION	vs.	POSSESSION

²² This chapter and the following chapter are expanded and revised versions of Murata (2002a, 2002b).

²³ Although several Western scholars had attempted to describe Japanese grammar prior to Alfonso and Martin, their studies are not as extensive as the works of these two eminent scholars.

Martin summarises the three LE expressions, as follows.²⁴

(19) Martin (1975: 194)

		unmarked			marked for animate direct subject (possessed)		
a.	EXISTENCE	X/(A) <i>ga</i>		<i>ar-u</i>	A <i>ga</i>		<i>i-ru</i>
b.	LOCATION	X <i>ga</i>	P <i>ni</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	A <i>ga</i>	P <i>ni</i>	<i>i-ru</i>
c.	POSSESSION	A <i>ni/ga</i>	X/B <i>ga</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	A <i>ni/ga</i>	B <i>ga</i>	<i>i-ru</i>

(A/B: people (but also often animals), X: a thing, P: a place)

From this summary, it is clear that Martin distinguishes the EXISTENTIAL sentence and the LOCATIVE sentence based on the presence or absence of ‘P *ni*’, a *ni*-marked LOCATIVE NP. This seems to be a straightforward classification, since a given sentence is judged as LOCATIVE if there is a LOCATIVE NP, and EXISTENTIAL if there is no LOCATIVE NP. However, this classification does not correspond to Clark’s distinction between EXISTENTIAL and LOCATIVE. Clark’s classification is based on whether an entity that exists is definite or indefinite, rather than whether a LOCATIVE NP is present or absent. If the entity is indefinite, the sentence is regarded as EXISTENTIAL, and if definite, the sentence is regarded as LOCATIVE.

Since [X *ga* P *ni* LE] in (19b), which Martin labels as LOCATION, is normally used when X is indefinite, as shown in (20) below, it is regarded as EXISTENTIAL in Clark’s classification.

(20) “*demo tosyokan ga uti no tikaku ni ar-u*
but library NOM house GEN neighbourhood LOC LE-NPST

²⁴ *Or-u* (a stylistic variant of *i-ru*), *gozaimas-u/o-ari ni nar-u* (polite/honorific-equivalents of *ar-u*), and *irassyar-u/o-ide ni nar-u* (honorific-equivalents of *i-ru*) are all present in Martin’s original summary, but have been omitted here for the sake of simplification.

kara na." [TK02:79]

because FP

'Well, but there is a library near my house.'

In order to construct a LOCATIVE sentence, the TOPIC particle *wa* is normally utilised, as shown below:

- (21) *demo tosyokan wa uti no tikaku ni ar-u*
but library TOP house GEN neighbourhood LOC LE-NPST
kara na.
because FP
'Well, but the library is near my house.'

In principle, X and P in [X *ga* P *ni* LE] are both interpreted as new information, whereas, in [X *wa* P *ni* LE], X is interpreted as old information, and P as new information. Therefore, using Clark's classification, the former makes a typical EXISTENTIAL sentence, while the latter makes a typical LOCATIVE sentence, because attention is drawn to the new information that relates to location.

Although, as already documented by Kuno (1971, 1973a), the standard word order of the EXISTENTIAL sentence is [P *ni* X *ga* LE] rather than [X *ga* P *ni* LE], it is important to note that the simple reversion of 'X *ga*' and 'P *ni*' does not significantly change the sentential meaning. In other words, although the example in (20) is non-standard in terms of the order of 'X *ga*' and 'P *ni*', it is still considered to be an EXISTENTIAL sentence where X is interpreted as indefinite.

In contrast, in the LOCATIVE construction [X *wa* P *ni* LE], reversion of 'X *wa*'

and ‘P *ni*’ will result in a different meaning. [P *ni* X *wa* LE] implies that X is at P, but something else is missing at P. This is because, as illustrated in (22) below, [P *ni* X̄ *wa* LE] is interpreted as a marked expression of the standard EXISTENTIAL sentence [P *ni* X *ga* LE].

- (22) EXISTENTIAL sentence: [P *ni* X *ga* LE] = [X *ga* P *ni* LE]
 LOCATIVE sentence: [X *wa* P *ni* LE] ≠ [P *ni* X *wa* LE] marked expression
-

As Clark (1978: 91) suggests, languages that do not have definite/indefinite articles often utilise word order to express definiteness/indefiniteness. However, in Japanese, changing the word order *per se* does not change an EXISTENTIAL sentence into a LOCATIVE sentence; topicalisation of an entity nominal by the particle *wa* also helps to produce the LOCATIVE sentence. However, it should be noted that the topicalisation outlined above does not always produce a LOCATIVE reading.²⁵

- (23) Ono (personal communication, 2003)

A: “*ano kyoositu wa sawagasi-i na. Yamada-sensei wa*
 that classroom TOP noisy-NPST FP Yamada-teacher TOP
kyoositu ni i-ru no ka?”
 classroom LOC LE-PNM NOMI Q

‘That classroom is noisy, isn’t it? I wonder if Mr Yamada is in the classroom.’

B: “*hai, Yamada-sensei wa kyoositu ni irassyar-u*
 yes Yamada-teacher TOP classroom LOC LE (HONO)-PNM

²⁵ I am indebted to Kiyoharu Ono (personal communication, 2003) for the observation presented here.

n des-u kedo, nan-da-ka kodomo-tati ga
 NOMI COP-NPST but somehow child-PL NOM
sawagi-tate-te i-ru n des-u.”
 make noise-GER GE-PNM NOMI COP-NPST

‘Yes, Mr Yamada is in the classroom, but somehow the children are making a noise.’

As is shown, although the entity nominal *Yamada-sensei* ‘Mr Yamada (teacher)’ is topicalised in the utterance of B, the utterance does not present the location *kyoositu ni* ‘in the classroom’ as new information; therefore, it is not considered to be a LOCATIVE sentence. This observation suggests that, although the prototypical construction of a LOCATIVE sentence is [X *wa* P *ni* LE] as given in (22), topicalisation is not an absolute determiner of the interpretation of an LE sentence, and that whether it is EXISTENTIAL or LOCATIVE ultimately depends on the context.

Given that what Martin referred to as a LOCATIVE expression is in fact an EXISTENTIAL expression, the status of the [X *ga* LE] sentence in (19a) needs to be clarified. Martin gives the following example in (24) to defend the validity of his classification based on the presence or absence of a LOCATIVE NP.

(24) Martin (1975: 195)

koko ni i-ru₁ gakusei mo i-ru_{2-si}
 here LOC LE-PNM student also LE-NPST-CONJ
koko ni i-na-i₃ gakusei mo i-ru₄.
 here LOC LE-NEG-PNM student also LE-NPST

‘There are students who are here and students who are not here.’

According to Martin, *i-ru*₁ and *i-na-i*₃ should be distinguished from *i-ru*₂ and *i-ru*₄, since the former take *ni*-marked LOCATIVE expressions whereas the latter do not. This claim itself is not problematic, but I consider that the difference between the former and the latter should be explained in terms of the concepts of ‘concrete existence’ and ‘abstract existence’. Teramura (1982: 160f.) asserts that the LE usage of the *i-ru*₁ and *i-na-i*₃ type denotes the physical/spatial existence of an entity, and the usage of the *i-ru*₂ and *i-ru*₄ type denotes the existence of a subset. Based on Teramura’s analysis, LEs such as *i-ru*₁ and *i-na-i*₃ are referred to as SPATIAL-LEs, and LEs such as *i-ru*₂ and *i-ru*₄ are referred to as SUBSET-LEs in this thesis. The SUBSET-LE sentence is, in other words, a sentence that represents the abstract existence of an entity in an abstract location. In fact, when considering the kind of situation in which a sentence such as in (24) would be uttered, it is construed that there would be some sort of abstract location such as ‘among the students who have enrolled in my lecture’. If such an abstract location becomes even more abstract, it becomes something like ‘in this world’. It then becomes less essential to express explicitly what the location is and, consequently, the sentence takes the form of [X *ga* LE].²⁶ Even if the location is broad and abstract, it should still be regarded as a location. Therefore, LE sentences can be treated uniformly according to the simple dictum that ‘where there is an entity, there is a location’, and the researcher should not be misled by a surface appearance lacking an explicit locative expression. In fairness, it should be noted that in fact Martin himself reached a similar understanding, as shown in (25):

²⁶ The apparent monovalent use of the LE will be discussed in detail in Section 2.3.2.

(25) Martin (1975: 193f.)

In Japanese, as in many languages, there is considerable overlap in the devices used to express existence, location, and possession. That is because, in a three-dimensional world, if something exists it must have a location; and in a personalised world OWNERSHIP can be imputed (to supernatural beings if to no one else) for whatever exists. And so the same verbal elements are often used to carry all three meanings, but with subtle differences in the grammar depending on which of the meanings is intended.

Having noted that “if something exists it must have a location”, Martin did not go one step further and recognise that there is an abstract location when there is no element that denotes a physical location. The fact that Yamada did recognise this concept is significant. As given in (11) in the previous chapter, Yamada was the first to note that an LE rarely stands alone to make a predicate to the subject nominal; it usually co-occurs with a word that specifies state, time, or space. He subsequently points out that when there is no such specifying word in the sentence, specification is considered to be presupposed in the context, and further, he goes on to say that when a specifying word is absent and specification has not been presupposed, it must be an expression where the concepts of time and space have been abstracted. Therefore, it is clear that the principle of ‘where there is an entity, there is a location’ is a basic concept of Yamada’s argument.

Based on the principle of ‘where there is an entity, there is a location’, the core function of the LE can be defined as given in (26), where the term LOCATION includes both presupposed and abstract locations.

(26) LE: a bivalent verb that connects an ENTITY and a LOCATION

This definition is also applicable to an LE that represents a POSSESSIVE relation, since ‘where there is a POSSESSED item (ENTITY), there is a POSSESSOR (LOCATION)’.

Viewed in this light, it is understandable that LEs are used in all three LOCATIONAL constructions (EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE) since the LE is the most fundamental verb that denotes a static relation between two elements.

2.2 Intransitive and transitive constructions

It is not an established practice among Japanese linguists to treat LEs as bivalent verbs, as is claimed in this thesis, since such an idea is impeded by the conventional intransitive-transitive distinction.

The most conventional measure to distinguish between intransitive and transitive in Japanese is to observe whether or not a given verb takes an *o*-marked direct object. Using this measure, the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* are judged as intransitive since they do not take *o*-marked direct objects. Because the intransitive verb is usually assumed to construct a [S+V] sentence structure, it is construed as a monovalent predicate that only takes a subject nominal. This is the predominant way of analysing LEs in terms of transitivity and valency, and the framework of such an analysis does not allow for the bivalency of the LE.

An alternative prototype approach for measuring the transitivity of verbs, or more precisely, the transitivity of sentence constructions, has been proposed in Hopper and Thompson (1980).²⁷

(27) Hopper and Thompson (1980: 252)

	HIGH TRANSITIVITY	LOW TRANSITIVITY
a. PARTICIPANTS:	2 or more participants, A and O	1 participant
b. KINESIS:	action	non-action
c. ASPECT:	telic	atelic
d. PUNCTUALITY:	punctual	non-punctual

²⁷ A and O in Hopper and Thompson (1980) refer to Agent and Object, respectively.

e. VOLITIONALITY:	volitional	non-volitional
f. AFFIRMATION:	affirmative	negative
g. MODE:	realis	irrealis
h. AGENCY:	A high in potency	A low in potency
i. AFFECTEDNESS OF O:	O totally affected	O not affected
j. INDIVIDUATION OF O:	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

These parameters clearly suggest that the LE sentence does not have a high level of transitivity. However, it is debatable as to whether or not an LE sentence can be referred to as a prototypically intransitive sentence, which involves only one participant.

Because the prototype theory presupposes some elements intermediate between the two extremes, LEs may be considered to occupy such an intermediate position. However, I have reservations regarding the appropriateness of placing LEs anywhere on the transitive-intransitive scale. Rather, I believe that it is erroneous to consider that all verbs can be related to the concept of transitivity (or intransitivity). In this respect, I am in agreement with Lyons (1977), who separates LOCATIVE and POSSESSIVE sentence schemata from intransitive and transitive sentence schemata, as shown in (28):²⁸

(28) Lyons (1977: 469)

- | | | |
|----|------------------|----------------|
| a. | NP + V | (intransitive) |
| b. | NP + V + NP | (transitive) |
| c. | NP (+ Cop) + NP | (equative) |
| d. | NP (+ Cop) + N/A | (ascriptive) |

²⁸ Lyons defines each symbol as follows: NP = noun phrase (or nominal); V = verb; N = noun; A = adjective; Loc = locative (adverbial) expression, Poss = possessive (adverbial) expression; and Cop = copula.

- e. NP (+ Cop) + Loc (LOCATIVE)
- f. NP (+ Cop) + Poss (POSSESSIVE)

Lyons argues that some, or all, of these sentence schemata are identifiable, on purely grammatical grounds, in many unrelated languages. In further discussion, partly motivated by Kuno's (1971) study on English and Japanese, Lyons adds the following sentence schemata, in order to account for cases where LOCATIVE expressions are the referents which predicates or predicative expressions describe.

(29) Lyons (1977: 475ff.)

- a. Loc (+ Cop) + Loc
- b. Loc (+ Cop) + A
- c. Loc + V
- d. Loc (+ Cop) + N
- e. Loc (+ Cop) + NP

Lyons (1977: 471) defines copula as "a meaningless lexeme whose syntactic function it is to convert whatever it combines with into a verbal (i.e. predicative) expression". The copula-symbols in (28) and (29) are enclosed in parentheses because Lyons wishes to indicate that there are certain languages in which some or all of these sentence schemata lack any element that might be classified as a copulative verb.

In relation to Japanese in particular, the symbol 'Cop' does not have to be enclosed in parentheses since the GE serves as a copula, as mentioned in Chapter 1. For example, the sentence schema in (28f) is observed in the POSSESSIVE-2 sentence in (3e) in the previous chapter, if the word order of 'Cop' and 'Poss' is disregarded.

The LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* are not meaningless lexemes. However, they can be treated as copulae in a broad sense, since their functions are considered essentially copulative in the respect that they connect an ENTITY and a LOCATION. Therefore, based on Lyon's model, the major sentence schemata specific to Japanese are as follows.²⁹

- (30) a. NP + V (intransitive)
 b. NP + NP + V (transitive)
 c. NP + NP/Poss + GE (equative/ascriptive/POSSESSIVE-2)
 d. Loc + NP + LE (EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE-1)
 e. NP + Loc+ LE (LOCATIVE)

The separation of the LE constructions from intransitive and transitive constructions, as given in the above, has not yet been seriously considered in the study of Japanese.³⁰ On the contrary, it has been a common practice to fit such LE constructions into the intransitive construction in (30a), or, in some cases, the transitive construction in (30b), due to the accepted notion, disputed in this thesis, that all verbs can be classified as either intransitive or transitive.

The separation as portrayed in (30) enables LOCATIVE NPs in LE sentences to be treated appropriately as arguments. If the traditional analysis that deems the core of the LE sentences to be [NP(S)+V] is used, there is no choice but to regard LOCATIVE NPs as adjuncts, which is not justifiable.³¹

²⁹ Each schema in (30) reflects the standard word order in Japanese. Note that (30) is not an exhaustive list of sentence schemata in Japanese.

³⁰ The GE construction in (30c) has been appropriately distinguished from the intransitive/transitive constructions in the literature, as a nominal-predicate sentence.

³¹ Although, as shown in Footnote 28, Lyons states that 'Loc' and 'Poss' are adverbial expressions, it does not imply that they are adjuncts. In fact, Lyons (1977: 495) correctly acknowledges the argument-status of such expressions, presenting the following bivalent schemata:

(i) BE (ENTITY, ATTRIBUTE/CLASS)
 (ii) BE (ENTITY, PLACE)

Goldberg and Ackerman (2001: 798) claim that there are adjuncts that are obligatory in terms of conversational pragmatics. Although I do not deny the existence of such obligatory adjuncts in general, I do not construe that LOCATIVE NPs appear in LE sentences due to pragmatic requirements.

Teramura (1982: 160f.) refers to a LOCATIVE NP in an EXISTENTIAL sentence as a “semi-obligatory complement”. Teramura is forced to accept such a compromise due to the limits of the dichotomic classification between monovalent intransitives and bivalent (or multivalent) transitives.

It should be noted here that, although few in number, there are some studies that take a similar position to the one taken in this thesis. For example, Kuno (1971), who influenced Lyons’ study, considers the Japanese EXISTENTIAL sentence to have an [L+S+V] structure. According to Kuno (1973b: 277), L (= LOCATIVE NP) is not an adverbial element but a constituent of the simplex sentence, which means that the deep structure of (31a) is (31b), not (31c).³²

(31) Kuno (1973b: 277)

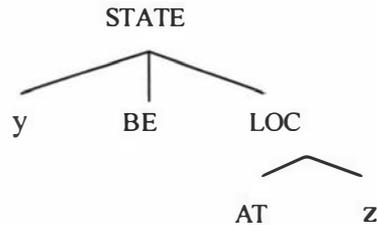
- a. *tukue no ue ni hon ga at-ta.*
 desk GEN top LOC book NOM LE-PST
 ‘There was a book on the desk.’
- b. [*tukue no ue ni hon ga at-ta*]_s
- c. * [*tukue no ue ni [hon ga at-ta]*]_s_s

Kageyama (1996), who contrasts English and Japanese within the framework of

³² Although it is clear from this description that Kuno acknowledges the bivalent nature of the LE, it is unclear whether or not he treats such LE sentences as independent of ordinary intransitive/transitive constructions, as is claimed in this thesis.

the Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS), also acknowledges the argument status of the LOCATIVE NPs in LE sentences. Kageyama (1996) claims that the diagram shown below depicts the conceptual structure of all STATE verbs:

(32) Kageyama (1996: 50)



Note that BE in the above diagram indicates the abstract concept of STATIVENESS, and AT indicates the abstract concept of LOCATION. According to Kageyama, in Japanese LE constructions that are typically STATIVE the concept of BE is realised in the syntactic structure by the LEs, and that of AT is realised by the particle *ni*. The LCS analysis of the LE sentence is based upon the premise that LEs are inherently bivalent predicates. Therefore, in Kageyama (1996), the *ni*-marked LOCATIVE NPs in the following examples are treated appropriately as the arguments licensed by the LEs.

(33) Kageyama (1996: 51)

- a. *Nihon ni iti-oku-ni-sen-man-nin no ningen ga i-ru.*
 Japan LOC 120,000,000-person GEN human NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There are one hundred and twenty million people in Japan.’
- b. *kanozyo ni sadoo no tasinami ga ar-u*
 she LOC sado GEN accomplishment NOM LE-PNM
koto wa sira-nakat-ta.
 NOMI TOP know-NEG-PST

'I didn't know that she was accomplished at *sado* (Japanese traditional tea ceremony).'

The bivalent nature of the LE is naturally perceived once one departs from the fixed idea that any verb is either a monovalent intransitive or a bivalent (or multivalent) transitive, and takes the semantic characteristics of LEs into consideration. The reason that the argument status of LOCATIVE NPs is conceded in Kageyama's study is, at least partly, due to his use of the LCS framework, which is designed to elucidate the interface between syntax and semantics. Adherence to the formal syntactic stereotype of <no *o*-marked direct object → intransitive → monovalent predicate> prevents the correct understanding of the LE construction.

2.3 Bivalency of *ar-u* and *i-ru*

2.3.1 DOMAIN and ENTITY

Based on Lyons (1977), the sentence schemata of the LE constructions have been postulated as shown below:³³

- (34) a. Loc + NP + LE (EXISTENTIAL/POSSESSIVE)
 b. NP + Loc + LE (LOCATIVE)

The term DOMAIN is used for the ‘Loc(ative expression)’ in (34), and the use of Loc, or LOC, is limited to the LOCATIVE case (particle), in order to avoid confusion with the ‘locative expression’ in Lyons’ sense and the ‘LOCATIVE sentence’ as a type of LOCATIONAL construction. The ‘LOCATIVE sentence’ is referred to as the LOCATIVE-LE sentence/construction.³⁴ Furthermore, in order to be more specific, the NPs in (34) are referred to as ENTITY NPs/arguments.³⁵

Based on the claim that the LE is a bivalent verb, and using the terms DOMAIN and ENTITY, the prototype of Japanese LE constructions can be formulated as follows:

- (35) Prototype of the Japanese LE constructions: [DOMAIN ENTITY LE]

I consider that the three types of LOCATIONAL constructions in Japanese share the

³³ Because the distinction between ‘POSSESSIVE-1’ and ‘POSSESSIVE-2’ is irrelevant to this discussion on LEs, POSSESSIVE-1 is referred to simply as POSSESSIVE.

³⁴ See also Footnote 36.

³⁵ As is mentioned above, Kuno (1971, 1973b) considers a *ga*-marked NP in an EXISTENTIAL sentence to be a subject. However, I do not presume the subjecthood of the *ga*-marked ENTITY NP.

same prototype given in (35): EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE are basically different interpretations of the same structure. An interpretation is made based on the relationship between an ENTITY argument and a DOMAIN argument together with a consideration of the context. Topicalisation also helps to produce LOCATIVE and POSSESSIVE interpretations, as illustrated in the following typical particle alignments, although topicalisation is not an absolute determiner of the interpretations; that is, the fundamental case-marking for an ENTITY argument is *ga*-marking, and that for a DOMAIN argument is *ni*-marking, throughout the three interpretations/constructions.³⁶

(36) *Typical* particle alignments of three LOCATIONAL constructions

EXISTENTIAL-LE: [DOMAIN *ni* ENTITY *ga* LE]

LOCATIVE-LE: [ENTITY *wa* DOMAIN *ni* LE]

POSSESSIVE-LE: [DOMAIN *wa / ni wa* ENTITY *ga* LE]

2.3.2 Analysis of different types of LE sentences

Nishiyama (1994) proposes the following classification of LE sentences.³⁷

³⁶ An LE in a sentence that produces an EXISTENTIAL interpretation is referred to as an EXISTENTIAL-LE. The terms LOCATIVE-LE and POSSESSIVE-LE are also used in the same manner. Issues surrounding the particle *wa* in POSSESSIVE-LE sentences are discussed in Chapter 3.

³⁷ In Nishiyama's classification, the following example is also included under the label of LOCATIVE-copula.

Nishiyama (1994: 120)

o-kaasan wa daidokoro da.
POL-mother TOP kitchen COP

'(lit.) Mother is the kitchen.' → 'Mother is in the kitchen.'

Because this is not a usage of the LE, it is excluded from the discussion here. A discussion of the LOCATIVE-copula sentence is included in the examination of GEs in Chapter 5.

(37) Nishiyama (1994: 116ff. ³⁸)

a. <Spatial-Existential>

tukue no ue ni banana ga ar-u.
table GEN top LOC banana NOM LE-NPST
'There are some bananas on the desk.'

b. <Locative>

o-kaasan wa, daidokoro ni i-ru.
POL-mother TOP kitchen LOC LE-NPST
'Mother is in the kitchen.'

c. <Specifying-Locative>

X: *sono heya ni dare ga i-ru no?*
that room LOC who NOM LE-PNM NOMI
'Who is in the room?'

Y: *Yoko ga i-ru yo.*
Yoko NOM LE-NPST FP
'Yoko is there.'

d. <Appearing-Existential>

oya, anna tokoro ni risu ga i-ru yo.
oh that place LOC squirrel NOM LE-NPST FP
'Oh, there's a squirrel over there!'

e. <Possessive>

Yamada-sensei ni wa syakkin ga ar-u.
Yamada-teacher LOC TOP debt NOM LE-NPST
'Professor Yamada has some debts.'

³⁸ The translations of the category labels from the Japanese are mine.

f. <Semi-Possessive>

kono kaisya ni wa Amerika-zin no zyuyaku
 this company LOC TOP America-national GEN executive
ga i-ru.
 NOM LE-NPST

‘There is an American executive in this company.’

g. <Listing-Existential>

X: *haha no sewa o su-ru hito wa*
 mother GEN care ACC do-PNM person TOP
i-na-i yo.
 LE-NEG-NPST FP

‘There is no one who takes care of our mother.’

Y: *Yoko to Satiko ga i-ru zya-na-i ka.*
 Yoko and Sachiko NOM LE-NPST COP-NEG-NPST EMPH
 ‘Don’t you realise there are Yoko and Sachiko?’

h. <Actual-Existential>

mukasi, mazyo ga hontoo ni i-masi-ta.
 once witch NOM really LE-POL-PST
 ‘Once upon a time, there really was a witch.’

i. <Absolute-Existential>

Taroo no suki-na tabemono ga ar-u.
 Taro GEN like-PNM food NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There is Taro’s favourite food.’
 or ‘Taro has favourite foods.’

The examples in (37a) through (37f) clearly exhibit the bivalent nature of LEs. Although there is seemingly no DOMAIN argument in the utterance of Y in (37c), this is an example of an ellipsis phenomenon that frequently occurs in Japanese discourse.

The example in (37g) is given a label of Listing-Existential in Nishiyama. However, this type of example was classified as SUBSET-LE in Section 2.1, following Teramura (1982). Although there is no overt DOMAIN expression in the utterance of Y, this is also a case of ellipsis, and the DOMAIN expression in the utterance of Y can be recovered from the utterance of X, as shown in (38) below:

- (38) *haha no sewa o su-ru hito ni wa, Yooko to*
 mother GEN care ACC do-PNM person LOC TOP Yoko and
Satiko ga i-ru zya-na-i ka.
 Sachiko NOM LE-NPST COP-NEG-NPST EMPH
 ‘Don’t you realise there are Yoko and Sachiko who can take care of our mother?’

For the bivalent analysis of LEs, the example of an Actual-Existential in (37h) requires more serious attention. In the example there is no DOMAIN argument, yet the sentence sounds complete. Moreover, since it can be used without any preceding context, it cannot be considered a case of DOMAIN ellipsis. Nishiyama (1994: 124) explains that an Actual-Existential sentence such as in (37h) denotes that a metaphysical ENTITY exists in the speaker’s mental world. He therefore asserts that this kind of LE sentence should not be confused with a Spatial-Existential sentence that lacks a physical DOMAIN argument. This is a valid assertion, which basically corresponds with the distinction argued for in this thesis between a concrete existence and an abstract existence. However, as argued in Section 2.1, it is considered that an abstract existence is actualised when an abstract ENTITY is connected to an abstract DOMAIN. In this respect, Shibatani (2001a) has made an important point. Shibatani claims that an LE does not constitute a complete sentence

with an ENTITY argument alone, except in a case where an abstract universal domain is assumed.³⁹ He gives the following example of such an exceptional case:

(39) Shibatani (2001a: 21)

kami wa i-ru.

god TOP LE-NPST

‘God is/exists.’

I postulate a *universal* DOMAIN as a covert DOMAIN argument, incorporating Shibatani’s assertion. Such a *universal* DOMAIN argument is sometimes made explicit in the guise of *kono yo ni* ‘in this world’, as in the example below.⁴⁰

(40) “*kono yo ni kami ga i-ru-naraba ore no negai*

this world LOC god NOM LE-NPST-COND I GEN wish

o kanae-te hosi-i.” [SC10:286]

ACC fulfil-GER want-NPST

‘If God exists in this world, I want God to fulfil my wish.’

In the same manner, the example in (37h) is also analysed to have an implicit *universal* DOMAIN argument, as given in (41):

(41) *mukasi, (kono sekai ni) mazyo ga hontoo ni i-masi-ta.*

once (this world LOC) witch NOM really LE-POL-PST

‘Once upon a time, there really was a witch (in this world).’

³⁹ I agree with Shibatani (2001a) on this point. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, Shibatani does not consider LEs to be bivalent verbs.

⁴⁰ The concept of *universal* DOMAIN can also be expressed by phrases such as *kono sekai ni* and *kono seken ni*, both of which can be translated as ‘in this world’ in English. In the following discussion, *kono sekai ni* is used when a *universal* DOMAIN is made explicit, because it is considered to be the simplest expression that does not entail any particular connotation. *Kono yo (ni)*, for example, is associated with a religious concept, and is often contrasted to *ano yo (ni)* ‘(in) the next world’.

Viewed in this light, the construction in which an LE seems to form a complete sentence with an ENTITY nominal alone is construed to be merely a subtype of the bivalent LE construction, as shown below:⁴¹

- (42) a. Prototypical LE construction: [DOMAIN ENTITY LE]
 b. Subtypical LE construction: [(*universal* DOMAIN) ENTITY LE]

In relation to the example in (37h), another issue warrants attention: the function of the word *mukasi* ‘once/in the old days’. TIME adverbial phrases are usually construed as adjuncts, and are thus largely ignored in the study of the LE sentence. However, when a native speaker compares the two examples in (43) below, it is observed that (a) sounds much more natural than (b).

- (43) a. *mukasi, mazyo ga hontoo ni i-masi-ta.* [= (37h)]
 once witch NOM really LE-POL-PST
 ‘Once upon a time, there really was a witch.’
- b. \emptyset *mazyo ga hontoo ni i-masi-ta.*
 witch NOM really LE-POL-PST
 ‘There really was a witch.’

⁴¹ The *universal* DOMAIN cannot be made explicit if the ENTITY itself represents a similar concept to a *universal* DOMAIN, as the following pair of examples illustrates.

- (i) *utyuu wa ar-u.*
 universe TOP LE-NPST
 ‘The universe exists.’
- (ii) * *kono sekai ni utyuu wa ar-u.*
 this world LOC universe TOP LE-NPST

However, the LE *ar-u* in (i) is still considered to have an implicit *universal* DOMAIN, as schematised in (42b).

I consider that (43a) sounds more natural than (43b) because in (43a) the TIME adverbial *mukasi* superficially fills the DOMAIN slot of the LE. This is merely a superficial role, since, strictly speaking, the DOMAIN slot is already occupied by an implicit *universal* DOMAIN, and it is the *universal* DOMAIN, not the TIME adverbial, that, together with the ENTITY argument, determines the basic meaning of the entire LE sentence. This is understood from the fact that the two examples in (43) denote essentially the same abstract existence of the ENTITY, in spite of the presence or the absence of the TIME adverbial. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that in principle an LE requires a physical or an abstract SPACE DOMAIN argument in its DOMAIN slot, and that TIME adverbials lack full entitlement as legitimate DOMAIN arguments.⁴²

The monovalent use of the LE in (37i), which Nishiyama labels as Absolute-Existential, is also best accounted for by postulating an implicit *universal* DOMAIN, as shown below:

- (44) *(kono sekai ni) Taroo no suki-na tabemono ga ar-u.*
 (this world LOC) Taro GEN like-PNM food NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There is Taro’s favourite food (in this world).’

Nishiyama argues that the meaning of (37i) is the *same* as that of the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence in (45) below:

⁴² The grammatical inequality between SPACE and TIME DOMAINS discussed here does not apply to LE sentences that anticipate the existence of future events. Such LE sentences will be examined in Chapter 4.

(45) Nishiyama (1994: 127)

Taroo ni wa koobutu ga ar-u. (*koobutu = suki-na tabemono*)

Taro LOC TOP favourite food NOM LE-NPST

‘Taro has some favourite food.’

Although in a formal-logic sense, (37i) and (45) may share a *similar* meaning, there is an important difference that should not be neglected. In (45), the LE *ar-u* connects the DOMAIN argument *Taroo* and the ENTITY argument *koobutu*. On the other hand, given that the example in (37i) has a *universal* DOMAIN as indicated in (44), the LE *ar-u* connects the DOMAIN argument *kono sekai* and the ENTITY argument *Taroo no suki-na tabemono*. It is important to note that in (45) the LE *ar-u* is directly involved in producing the meaning of POSSESSION by connecting Taro and his favourite food, whereas in (37i) it is not the LE *ar-u* but the GENITIVE particle *no* that produces the meaning of POSSESSION. Therefore, the DOMAIN argument must be overt in (45) to generate the POSSESSIVE sense, and, except for cases of discourse ellipsis, the monovalent use of the LE is not allowed as shown below:

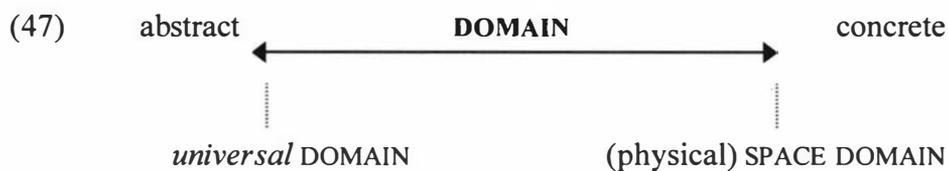
(46) * \emptyset *koobutu ga ar-u.*

favourite food NOM LE-NPST

On the other hand, when the LE has a *universal* DOMAIN as in (44), such a DOMAIN can be made covert as in (37i), without causing a change in the sentential meaning.

It is clear from the above observation that the examples in (37i) and (45) have different structures and meanings. Therefore, Nishiyama’s claim that the two examples indicate the *same* meaning is unacceptable.

As shown above, using the concept of the *universal* DOMAIN, monovalent LE usages can be considered within the bivalent frame of the LE construction. Although the *universal* DOMAIN may seem to be a highly conjectural concept, it is, in fact, a type of DOMAIN argument that is abstract to the utmost extent, as depicted in the diagram in (47):



The three examples in (37h), (37i), and (39) are typical cases of LE sentences with *universal* DOMAINS. However, it should be noted that it is possible to purposefully create a *universal* DOMAIN sentence through the simple procedure of suppressing a DOMAIN argument. As discussed in (11) in the previous chapter, Yamada distinguishes two types of monovalent LE usages: (i) cases where the DOMAIN argument is omitted because it has been presupposed in the context; and (ii) cases where the DOMAIN argument is purposefully suppressed by the speaker to render a statement abstract. To render a statement abstract is, in other words, to *universalise* the DOMAIN argument. Since such DOMAIN *universalisation* is in essence a rhetorical technique, it goes beyond the scope of grammatical description. For instance, the example in (48) is judged to be grammatically incomplete, but is usable as a rhetorical expression.

- (48) *yama ga ar-u.*
 mountain NOM LE-NPST
 ‘(lit.) A mountain is./Mountains are.’

This technique is often utilised in the beginning of a novel or an essay to create an impact on the reader, as shown in (49):

- (49) *rekisi-teki syunkan, to i-u mono ga ar-u*
 history-like moment QTV say-PNM thing NOM LE-PNM
wake des-u. [SE05:59]
 SFE (explanation) COP-NPST
 ‘(lit.) The so-called historic moment exists.’
 → ‘There is a historic moment (in the history of our world).’

It is considered that such an effect is due to a focus shift from the DOMAIN-ENTITY relation to the ENTITY itself. In other words, the rhetorical technique of DOMAIN *universalisation* is used when the speaker wishes to place special emphasis on the existence of the ENTITY.

Although such emphasis is evident when the DOMAIN is a *universal* DOMAIN, it is not a characteristic exclusive to *universal* DOMAIN sentences. Rather, it is a feature that is relative to the abstractness of a given DOMAIN argument. Therefore, the farther the DOMAIN lies to the left on the scale given in (47), the stronger the emphasis becomes. This account explains why a SUBSET-LE, such as *i-ru₂* and *i-ru₄* in (24) in the previous chapter, implies emphasis on the existence of an ENTITY to some extent; it is because the DOMAIN argument of a SUBSET-LE sentence is relatively abstract.

It must be stressed here that it is important not to confuse DOMAIN *universalisation* with DOMAIN ellipsis. DOMAIN ellipsis is a general discourse phenomenon that takes place in order to avoid tautology. As observed in (37c) and (37g), it frequently occurs in a question-answer situation. However, it can also occur in a single utterance, as in the example in (50):

- (50) *soko e ike-ba hyoohon mo ar-u-si bunken mo*
 there to go-COND specimen also LE-NPST-CONJ reference also
ar-u to i-u node, dondon kaimei
 LE-NPST QTV say-PNM because one after another solution
deki-mas-u yo. [TK04:290]
 can do-POL-NPST FP

‘If you go there, you can solve (the riddles in entomology) one after another, because there are specimens and references there.’

In this case, it is considered that, assuming that the interlocutor will identify the covert DOMAIN argument *soko ni* from the adverbial clause *soko e ike-ba*, the speaker omits the DOMAIN argument to avoid producing a tautological sentence such as the one given below:

- (51) ?*soko e ike-ba soko ni hyoohon mo ar-u-si soko ni*
 there to go-COND there LOC specimen also LE-NPST-CONJ there LOC
bunken mo ar-u to i-u node, dondon
 reference also LE-NPST QTV say-PNM because one after another
kaimei deki-mas-u yo.
 solution can do-POL-NPST FP

‘If you go there, you can solve (the riddles in entomology) one after another, because there are specimens there and references there.’

Therefore, although the overt DOMAIN arguments *soko ni* for the LEs are absent in (50), it is not a case of DOMAIN *universalisation*, but a typical case of DOMAIN ellipsis.⁴³

⁴³ When tautology is not an issue, the DOMAIN argument *soko ni* need not be omitted as in the example below. Note that this example has basically the same sentence structure as (50).

“*turibasi made iki-tuke-ba, soko ni wa kuruma ga ar-u.*” [SC08:32]
hanging bridge to go-reach-COND there LOC TOP car NOM LE-NPST
‘If I manage to reach the hanging bridge, my car is there.’

2.4 ADNOMINAL *aru*

In this section, the usage of the ADNOMINAL *aru* is briefly considered as an issue related to the bivalency of the LEs.

First, it should be noted that the LEs do not generally form prenominal modifiers on their own, except in some idiomatic expressions.⁴⁴

As shown in (52a), an ordinary monovalent intransitive verb forms a prenominal modifier on its own, whereas in the case of an ordinary bivalent transitive verb, the verb and one of the arguments jointly form a prenominal modifier, as shown in (52b):

- (52) a. *Taroo ga hasit-ta.*
 Taroo NOM run-PST
 ‘Taro ran.’
 → *hasit-ta* *Taroo* ‘Taro who ran’
- b. *Taroo ga Ken o sikat-ta.*
 Taroo NOM Ken ACC scold-PST
 ‘Taro scolded Ken.’
 → *Ken o sikat-ta* *Taroo* ‘Taro who scolded Ken’
 → *Taroo ga sikat-ta* *Ken* ‘Ken whom Taro scolded’
 → * *sikat-ta* *Taroo* / * *sikat-ta* *Ken*

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Kiyoharu Ono (personal communication, 2003) for providing the idiomatic examples below, in which LEs form prenominal modifiers on their own.

- (i) *ar-u koto na-i koto*
 LE-PNM thing LE (NEG)-PNM thing
 ‘(lit.) things that exist and things that do not exist’ → ‘anything and everything’
- (ii) *at-ta mono de wa na-i.*
 LE-PST thing LOC TOP LE (NEG)-NPST
 ‘(lit.) It is not a thing that exists.’ → ‘It is an extraordinary thing.’

As shown in (53) below, the LEs behave in the same manner as the bivalent transitive verb in (52b). This behaviour supports the assertion that the LEs are bivalent verbs.⁴⁵

- (53) a. *Taroo ga i-ru.*
 Taro NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There is Taro./Taro is there.’
 → * *i-ru* *Taroo*
- b. *mondai ga ar-u.*
 problem NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There is a problem.’
 → * *ar-u* *mondai*
- c. *kyoositu ni Taroo ga i-ru.*
 classroom LOC Taro NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There is Taro in the classroom.’
 → *kyoositu ni i-ru* *Taroo* ‘Taro who is in the classroom’
 → *Taroo ga i-ru* *kyoositu* ‘the classroom in which Taro is’
 → * *i-ru* *Taroo* / * *i-ru* *kyoositu*
- d. *keikaku ni mondai ga ar-u.*
 plan LOC problem NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There is a problem in the plan.’
 → *keikaku ni ar-u* *mondai* ‘the problem which is in the plan’
 → *mondai ga ar-u* *keikaku* ‘the plan in which there is a problem’
 → * *ar-u* *mondai* / * *ar-u* *keikaku*

⁴⁵ Adjectives can also form prenominal modifiers on their own, except for *oo-i* ‘many/much’ and *sukuna-i* ‘few/little’. That is, *oo-i* and *sukuna-i* behave in the same manner as the LEs. I am indebted to Hisashi Noda (personal communication, 2002) for pointing out this fact. For a detailed discussion of the idiosyncratic characteristics of *oo-i* and *sukuna-i*, see Nitta (1980: 233ff.). Mikami (1969: 233) has insightfully treated the two adjectives as predicates that construct existential expressions.

An ADNOMINAL, or *rentai-si*, is an indeclinable word that can only be placed in front of a noun as a modifier. Therefore, whereas *ar-u mondai* (verb + noun) in (53b) is unacceptable, the homophonic expression *aru mondai* (ADNOMINAL + noun) is perfectly acceptable, although it conveys the meaning of ‘a certain problem’, rather than the meaning of ‘an existing problem’.

Because it is not a verb, the ADNOMINAL *aru* rarely appears in discussions of the LE *ar-u*. However, since it is, as is widely held, an element that has developed from the ADNOMINAL form of the LE *ar-u*, it is predicted that an interrelation of some sort exists between the two. In this respect, it is notable that Morita (1989) makes reference to the LE *ar-u* when presenting an explanation of the ADNOMINAL *aru*:

(54) Morita (1989: 92f.)⁴⁶

The ADNOMINAL *aru* has its origin in the verb *ar-u*, and it expresses the meaning of ‘exists there’. . . . It is important to notice that when a speaker uses the ADNOMINAL *aru*, it is implied that although the speaker knows what it is, he/she has chosen not to express specifically what it is. For example, *aru basyo* in the following example indicates a place the location of which the speaker knows precisely.

aru *basyo ni* *kakusi-ta.*

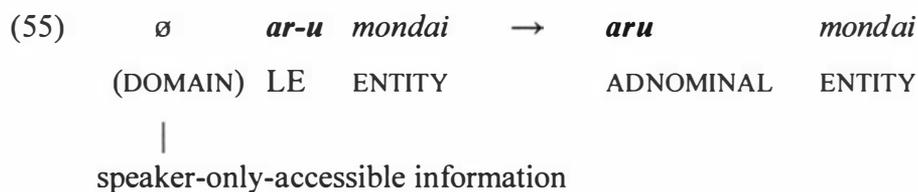
ADNOMINAL place LOC hide-PST

‘I hid (the thing) in a certain place.’

The ADNOMINAL *aru* produces a blurred expression so that the interlocutor cannot be certain as to which one, among possible candidates, the speaker is specifically referring to.

⁴⁶ My translation from the Japanese.

The description above is deemed basically correct, except for the assertion that the ADNOMINAL *aru* expresses the meaning of ‘exists there’. Since *aru mondai* does not mean ‘the problem that exists there’, it is clear that the ADNOMINAL *aru* does not have this meaning. The usage, or more precisely the origin of the usage, of the ADNOMINAL *aru* should be analysed in terms of the bivalent frame of the LE construction, as shown in (55):



As portrayed in (55), it is considered that the speaker suppresses the DOMAIN argument, and in consequence, the access to the DOMAIN argument becomes unavailable to the interlocutor. This manipulation causes the blurring effect in the ADNOMINAL expression that Morita pointed out. Viewed in this light, the usage of the ADNOMINAL *aru* is considered, at least in a broad sense, to be another example of DOMAIN *universalisation*, which was discussed in Section 2.3.2.

However, it should be noted that the analysis presented in (55) only accounts for a theoretical interrelation between the LE *ar-u* and the ADNOMINAL *aru*, which is regarded as one of the causes of the derivation of the latter from the former. It does not imply that in practice the speaker universalises a DOMAIN each time he/she uses the ADNOMINAL *aru*. The ADNOMINAL *aru* is an end product of the derivational process and has become an indeclinable non-verb element, which no longer preserves the original bivalent feature of the LE. In the process, it has also lost the

original meaning of existence, which premises DOMAIN and ENTITY arguments, and, in consequence, it stands alone as an ADNOMINAL that conveys the meaning of ‘a certain’. The claim that the ADNOMINAL *aru* lacks the meaning of existence is confirmed by the following example in which the phrase of ‘ADNOMINAL + noun’ is predicated by the LE *i-ru*.

- (56) “*aru* *huuhu* *ga* *i-te*, *teisyu* *no* *hoo* *ga*
 ADNOMINAL couple NOM LE-CONJ husband GEN side NOM
syuran *de*, *katei-nai* *de* *sugo-i* *booryoku*
 vicious drinker LOC home-inside LOC terrible-PNM violence
o *huru-u* *n* *des-u* *ne.*” [TK01:64]
 ACC give-PNM NOMI COP-NPST FP
 ‘There is a couple, and the husband is a vicious drinker and behaves violently in the house.’

2.5 Differences between *ar-u* and *i-ru*

2.5.1 Animacy restriction

The so-called animacy restriction attracts the attention of linguists whenever they discuss Japanese LE constructions.

(57) Kishimoto (1996: 46)

a. *hon ga asoko ni* { *ar-u* / * *i-ru* }.
book NOM there LOC LE-NPST / LE-NPST
'The books are there.'

b. *Taroo ga asoko ni* { * *ar-u* / *i-ru* }.
Taro NOM there LOC LE-NPST / LE-NPST
'Taro is there.'

As in (57a), *ar-u* is used when the ENTITY is inanimate, and as in (57b), *i-ru* is used when it is animate. This is an unusual property within Japanese, since the language does not have a grammatical agreement system.

The animacy restriction has been a target of scrutiny, not only for descriptive studies, but also for theoretical syntactic studies of Japanese. However, when discussed in the latter, only typical cases such as in (57) are usually considered. On the other hand, the descriptive studies have probed more deeply into this concept. Among them, Miura (1975) and Kinsui (1984) are of particular importance. Although the two studies differ in details, it is interesting to observe that they draw essentially the same conclusion, which is that animacy is not the real factor which determines the selection of *i-ru* or *ar-u*.

Miura (1975: 193) states that *i-ru* is used when the ENTITY is *viewed* as dynamic, and *ar-u* is used when it is *viewed* as static, independent of the intrinsic nature of the ENTITY. This account neatly explains why the same animate noun *haha* ‘mother’ takes both *i-ru* and *ar-u* as in (58a) and (58b), and the inanimate noun *Hikari iti-goo* ‘*Hikari 1*; a name of the bullet train’ can take *i-ru* as in (58c):

(58) Miura (1975: 190f.)

a. *niwa ni haha ga i-ru kara yon-de ki-te kure.*
 garden LOC mother NOM LE-NPST because call-GER come-GER give (IMP)
 ‘As Mother is in the garden, go get her.’

b. *watasi ni wa zihibuka-i haha ga ar-u.*
 I LOC TOP merciful-PNM mother NOM LE-NPST.
 ‘I have a merciful mother.’

c. *Hikari iti-goo wa ima Nagoya no tikaku ni i-ru*
 Hikari 1-number TOP now Nagoya GEN near LOC LE-PNM
hazu da.
 SFE (inference)
 ‘The Hikari 1 must be near Nagoya now.’

Miura’s explanation based on the dynamic-static opposition is basically correct. However, Kinsui’s (1984) description is even more accurate. Kinsui accounts for the use of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in terms of the concept of self-controllability. If an ENTITY has, or is viewed to have, control over its own movement, the ENTITY is construed to be [+self-control]. Kinsui then formulates a generalisation that *i-ru* can be used only if a given ENTITY is [+self-control].

This account explains clearly why (58c) is acceptable. The generalisation is also

appropriate, as is Miura's explanation, in the respect that it does not preclude the case where the same ENTITY can be [+self-control] or [-self-control] at different times. For example, since *Hikari iti-goo* is inherently [+self-control], it is unacceptable to use *ar-u* as shown in (59a) below. However, as shown in (59b), once *Hikari iti-goo* is retired and placed in the museum as an exhibit, it is no longer [+self-control], and, as a result, it requires *ar-u*, rather than *i-ru*.

(59) a. * *Hikari iti-goo wa ima Nagoya no tikaku ni ar-u*
 Hikari 1-number TOP now Nagoya GEN near LOC LE-PNM
hazu da.
 SFE (inference)

b. *Hikari iti-goo wa ima Nagoya no tetudoo-hakubutukan*
 Hikari 1-number TOP now Nagoya GEN railway-museum
*ni { ar-u / * i-ru } hazu da.*
 LOC LE-PNM / LE-PNM SFE (inference)

'The Hikari 1 must be in the Railway Museum in Nagoya now.'

It follows from the observation above that what has been usually referred to as the animacy restriction should be more appropriately referred to as the self-controllability restriction.

It is also important to note that, whereas Miura attempted to explain all LE sentences, including POSSESSIVE-LE sentences such as in (58b), in terms of the epistemological judgement of dynamic and static, Kinsui considers that the self-controllability restriction is applicable to EXISTENTIAL-LE sentences such as in (60a), but not to POSSESSIVE-LE sentences such as in (60b) and SUBSET-LE

sentences such as in (60c):

(60) Kinsui (1984: 285)

a. <EXISTENTIAL-LE>

*kooen ni kodomo ga { i-ru / * ar-u }.*

park LOC child NOM LE-NPST / LE-NPST

‘There are children in the park.’

b. <POSSESSIVE-LE>

Yasuko-san ni wa kodomo ga { i-ru / ar-u }.

Yasuko-POL LOC TOP child NOM LE-NPST / LE-NPST

‘Yasuko has a child.’

c. <SUBSET-LE>

mada syukudai o yat-te i-na-i kodomo ga

yet homework ACC do-GER GE-NEG-PNM child NOM

{ i-ru / ar-u }.

LE-NPST / LE-NPST

‘There are children who haven’t yet done their homework.’

Kinsui argues that the fact that *ar-u* can be used in (60b) and (60c) relates to the overall sentential meanings, rather than to the [+self-control] or [–self-control] characteristic of the ENTITY, since the three examples in (60) all have the same *ga*-marked NP *kodomo ga*.

As mentioned previously, the meanings of the LE sentences are determined by the relationships that the ENTITY arguments and the DOMAIN arguments form. This fact, together with Kinsui’s observation, suggests that the DOMAIN arguments also play

important roles in the selection of *ar-u* and *i-ru*.⁴⁷ It can be generalised that the self-controllability restriction comes into effect when a DOMAIN argument represents a concrete LOCATION, whereas the restriction becomes irrelevant when a DOMAIN argument indicates an abstract LOCATION. That is, in (60a) *i-ru* must be selected since the DOMAIN argument *kooen* indicates a concrete LOCATION, whereas in (60b) *i-ru* does not have to be selected since the DOMAIN argument *Yasuko-san* indicates an abstract LOCATION. Because a SUBSET-LE sentence such as in (60c) is considered to have an implicit abstract DOMAIN as claimed in Section 2.3.2, the sentence in (60c) can be explained in the same manner as the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence in (60b).

⁴⁷ Whilst it is prevalent in the literature to ascribe the selection between *ar-u* and *i-ru* to the nature of the ENTITY argument only, it is noteworthy that Martin (1975) points out, presenting the following example, that only *ar-u* is used when speaking of people being in abstract static situations.

(i) Martin (1975: 194)

watakusi wa kootyoo to si-te sono enzetu o si-nakereba narana-i
 I TOP principal QTV do-CONJ that speech ACC do-must-PNM
*tatiba ni { ar-u / * i-ru }.*
 position LOC LE-NPST / LE-NPST
 ‘As the principal, I am in a position where I have to make the talk.’

According to Martin, *tii* ‘position, status’, *kankyoo* ‘environment, atmosphere’, *zyootai* ‘situation, state’, and possibly a few other DOMAIN arguments select *ar-u* in this way.

This is an important observation since it shows that, even when the ENTITY is [+self-control], some particular DOMAIN arguments force the speaker to select *ar-u*. However, it is observed in recent times that increasingly these DOMAIN arguments also take *i-ru*. As shown in the table below, in the Original Corpus, *i-ru* is used in 3 out of 7 examples of *tatiba*, and 2 out of 2 examples of *kankyoo*. There was no example of *tii*. It is interesting to note that *zyootai* still only takes *ar-u* as Martin argues. I conjecture that the reason for this is because *zyootai* is the most abstract DOMAIN among the four.

(ii)

DOMAIN argument	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>i-ru</i>
<i>tatiba</i> ‘position’	4	3
<i>kankyoo</i> ‘environment, atmosphere’	0	2
<i>tii</i> ‘position, status’	0	0
<i>zyootai</i> ‘situation, state’	19	0

2.5.2 Diachronic extension of the sphere of *i-ru*

In order to fully comprehend the fact that both *ar-u* and *i-ru* can be used for a [+self-control] ENTITY in POSSESSIVE-LE and SUBSET-LE sentences, it is necessary to take into consideration the diachronic development of *i-ru*. Kinsui (1984, 1996a) has documented the development, as shown below:

(61) Kinsui (1984: 289f.)⁴⁸

a. <7th century - 15th century>

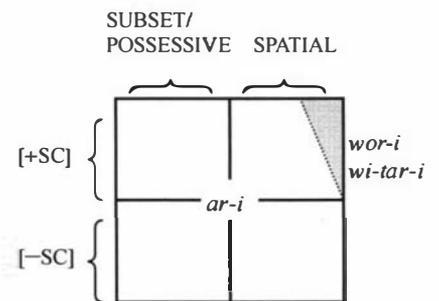
wi-ru (old form of *i-ru*):

a non-stative verb that means ‘sit down’;

the antonym of *tat-u* ‘stand up’;

used as a quasi-existential in the stativised forms *wor-i* and *wi-tar-i* ‘(lit.) be sitting’

ar-i (old form of *ar-u*): an existential



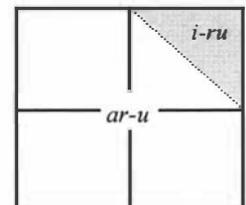
b. <16th century>

i-ru: *wi-ru* acquired stativeness, and

turned into the existential *i-ru*;

co-used with *ar-i*, or *ar-u*, for [+self-control]

entities in SPATIAL-LE sentences



⁴⁸ My translation from the Japanese. SC in [+SC] and [-SC] in (61) stands for ‘self-controllability’.

c. <17th century - 19th century>

i-ru: used predominantly for [+self-control] entities in SPATIAL-LE sentences

		SUBSET/ POSSESSIVE	SPATIAL
[+SC]	{	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>i-ru</i>
[-SC]		<i>ar-u</i>	<i>ar-u</i>

d. <20th century - >

i-ru: gradually used for [+self-control] entities in SUBSET-LE/POSSESSIVE-LE sentences

<i>ar-u</i>	<i>i-ru</i>	
<i>ar-u</i>	<i>ar-u</i>	<i>ar-u</i>

As shown in Kinsui's study, the newcomer existential *i-ru* has been gradually invading the territory of the genuine existential *ar-u* that was once omnipotent in the sense that it was used in any kind of LE sentence.

There is a trend in recent times for the younger generation to use *i-ru* in a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence such as (58b), whereas the older generation uses *ar-u*. This is viewed as a manifestation of the fact that the extension of the function of *i-ru* from denoting concrete existence to denoting abstract existence is still in progress among contemporary Japanese.

From the position taken in this thesis, in which importance is attached to the relationships between the DOMAIN arguments and the ENTITY arguments, this diachronic change can be viewed as a shift from joint control by the DOMAIN-ENTITY to sole control of *ar-u/i-ru* selection by the ENTITY.

2.5.3 Other differences between *ar-u* and *i-ru*

There are other differences between *ar-u* and *i-ru*, as outlined below, which have not received as much attention as the self-controllability of the ENTITY.

2.5.3.1 Potential suffix

The LE *i-ru* can take a potential suffix as shown in (62a), whereas the LE *ar-u* cannot.

- (62) a. “*musume, izen wa syuppansya ni i-ta n des-u ga,*
daughter before TOP publisher LOC LE-PST NOMI COP-NPST CONJ
watasi no koto, toyakaku i-u hito ga i-te,
I GEN thing this and that say-PNM person NOM LE-CONJ
i-rare-na-ku nari-masi-ta.” [SC06:262]
LE-POTEN-NEG-ADV become-POL-PST
‘My daughter used to work at a publisher’s, but she couldn’t continue her job, because there were some people who said all kind of bad things about me.’

- b.* *hon ga koko ni ar-e-nak-u nari-masi-ta.*
book NOM here LOC LE-POTEN-NEG-ADV become-POL-PST

2.5.3.2 Passive suffix

The LE *i-ru* can take the passive suffix (*ra*)*re*, and construct an indirect passive as shown in (63a), whereas the LE *ar-u* cannot.

(63) a. *kono mama zimusyo-nai ni keizi ni i-rare-te wa,*
 this state office-inside LOC detective DAT LE-PASS-CONJ TOP
sigoto no syori ni mo mondai ga de-te
 work GEN handling DAT EMPH problem NOM go out-GER
ku-ru daroo. [NV02:46]

come-NPST SFE (inference)

‘If these detectives stay in my office like this, it will be a problem for the progress of my work.’

b. * *kono mama zimusyo-nai ni hon ni ara-re-te wa,*
 this state office-inside LOC book DAT LE-PASS-CONJ TOP
sigoto no syori ni mo mondai ga de-te
 work GEN handling DAT EMPH problem NOM go out-GER
ku-ru daroo.

come-NPST SFE (inference)

2.5.3.3 Honorific suffix

The suffix (*ra*)*re* can also be used to represent an honorific meaning. Although *i-rare-ru* in (64a) is not completely unacceptable, it is seldom used, and the honorific form *irassyar-u*, as in (64b), is normally used instead,⁴⁹ which avoids any ambiguity between the potential reading and the honorific reading.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ No example of *i-rare-ru* in the honorific use was found in the Original Corpus.

⁵⁰ In contrast to *i-ru*, its stylistic variant *or-u* takes an honorific (*ra*)*re*, as shown below. This probably occurs because *ora-re-ru* does not usually produce a potential meaning, thus ambiguity between an honorific reading and a potential reading does not occur.

“*mosimosi, Yagi-butyoo-keizi wa soko ni ora-re-mas-u ka.*” [NV01:220]
 hello Yagi-chief-detective TOP there LOC LE-HONO-POL-NPST Q
 ‘Hello, would Chief Detective Yagi be there?’

- (64) a. ?? *anata ga i-rare-ru kara des-u yo.*
 you NOM LE-HONO-NPST because COP-NPST FP
 ‘It is because you’re here, you know?’
- b. “*anata ga irassyar-u kara des-u yo.*” [SC09:48]
 you NOM LE (HONO)-NPST because COP-NPST FP
 ‘It is because you’re here, you know?’

Unlike the LE *i-ru*, the GE *i-ru* sometimes takes the form of *i-rare-ru* as shown in (65a). However, the use of *irassyar-u*, as in (65b), is more common.

- (65) a. “*okusan no kasyu-zidai kara, danna-san wa sono maneezyaa*
 wife (POL) GEN singer-days from husband-POL TOP its manager
o yat-te i-rare-ta n des-u kara.” [NV01:74]
 ACC do-GER GE-HONO-PST NOMI COP-NPST because
 ‘It’s because the husband has been acting as his wife’s manager, since the
 time when she was a singer, you know?’
- b. “*suruto nizyut-tai kurai no kaiboo o, mainiti*
 then 20-body about GEN autopsy ACC every day
yat-te irassyar-u wake des-u ne.” [TK01:94]
 do-GER GE (HONO)-PNM SFE (reasoning) COP-NPST FP
 ‘Then you’re doing about twenty autopsies every day, right?’

The LE *ar-u* cannot take the honorific (*ra*)*re* in SPATIAL-LE sentences, as shown in (66a). In contrast, in the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence *ar-u* can take (*ra*)*re* as shown in (66b), although it is more natural and common to use the honorific form *o-ari ni nar-u* as shown in (66c):

- (66) a. * *Yamada-sensei no o-kuruma ga asoko ni ara-re-ru.*
 Yamada-teacher GEN POL-car NOM there LOC LE-HONO-NPST
- b. ? *Yamada-sensei wa o-kuruma ga asoko ni ara-re-ru.*
 Yamada-teacher TOP POL-car NOM there LOC LE-HONO-NPST
 ‘Professor Yamada has got his car over there.’
- c. *Yamada-sensei wa o-kuruma ga asoko ni o-ari ni nar-u.*
 Yamada-teacher TOP POL-car NOM there LOC LE (HONO)-NPST
 ‘Professor Yamada has got his car over there.’

It is also noted that the GE *ar-u* takes, although infrequently, the honorific (*ra*)*re* as shown, for example, in (67):

- (67) “*Nejime-san wa si no bokusingu no tyanpion*
 Nejime-POL TOP poetry GEN boxing GEN champion
de mo ara-re-masi-te . . .” [TK05:145]
 LOC also GE-HONO-POL-CONJ
 ‘Mr Nejime is also a champion of the Poetry Boxing (poetry-recitation competition), . . .’

2.5.3.4 Causative suffix

The LE *i-ru* can take the causative suffix (*sa*)*se*, whereas the LE *ar-u* cannot, as shown below:

- (68) a. “*soba ni i-sase-te ne.*” [NV07:99]
 near LOC LE-CAUS-GER FP
 ‘Let me stay with you, please.’

- b. * *soba ni ara-se-te ne.*
 near LOC LE-CAUS-GER FP

2.5.3.5 Imperative form

The LE *i-ru* can take the imperative form as in (69a), whereas generally the LE *ar-u* cannot, as in (69b), except for a literary expression such as in (69c):

- (69) a. “*yo-asobi si-na-i-de ie ni i-ro*
 night-play do-NEG-NPST-CONJ home LOC LE-IMP
yo na.” [SC07:232]
 FP FP
 ‘Don’t go out on the town at night, and stay at home, OK?’
- b. * *hon, koko ni ar-e.*
 book here LOC LE-IMP
- c. *kimi ni siawase ar-e.*
 you LOC happiness LE-IMP
 ‘(lit.) May happiness be at you!’ → ‘I wish you much happiness!’

Note that *ar-e*, in (70) below, appears to have taken the imperative form. This is in fact not the imperative form of *ar-u* in contemporary Japanese but the realis form of *ar-i* in classical Japanese; therefore, it does not represent the imperative meaning. This is a residue of one of the agreement phenomena called *kakari-musubi* in classical Japanese, by which a verb is inflected to its realis form to agree with the particle *koso*. This usage has become idiomatic in contemporary Japanese.

- (70) *soo i-u sikisai-kihon-go to i-u mono ga, hito no*
 so say-PNM colour-basic-word QTV say-PNM thing NOM human GEN
iroiro-na bunka no aida de tasyoo no tigail
 various-PNM culture GEN between LOC a little GEN difference
koso ar-e, hizyoo ni huhensei ga ar-i, sikamo
 EMPH LE-REALIS extremely universality NOM LE-CONJ moreover
sinka-si-te ik-u mono da to i-u koto o,
 evolution-do-GER go-PNM thing COP QTV say-PNM NOMI ACC
Baarin to Kei to i-u hito ga tonae-ta. [SE04:242]
 Berlin and Kay QTV say-PNM person NOM claim-PST
 ‘The scholars called Berlin and Kay claimed that such basic colour terms are,
 although there are certain differences among various human cultures, very
 much universal, and the type of thing that evolves.’

The GE *ar-u* sometimes takes the imperative form as in (71). However, the usage sounds rather archaic, as does the literary expression in (69c).

- (71) “*sitamati no mitibata ni utukusi-ku sak-u*
 shitamachi GEN wayside LOC beautiful-ADV bloom-PNM
hana de ar-e.” [SC07:160]
 flower LOC GE-IMP
 ‘Be a flower beautifully blooming at the wayside of the *shitamachi* (traditional working-class neighbourhood).’

2.5.3.6 *Ar-u* as a pure LE and *i-ru* as a converted LE

As shown in (61), Kinsui’s study demonstrates that, whereas *ar-u* is an LE in

origin, *i-ru* was originally an action verb, which later became an LE. The differences between *ar-u* and *i-ru* identified in the above can be related to the nature of *ar-u* as a pure LE on the one hand and the nature of *i-ru* as a converted LE on the other. In other words, the volitional sense contained in the original action verb *wi-ru* 'sit down' still persists to some extent in the use of *i-ru* as an LE, which is why *i-ru* accepts the attachment of the suffixes *(ra)re* and *(sa)se* and the inflection to the imperative form.

It is important to bear in mind that, while *ar-u* is a genuine stative verb, *i-ru* is a hybrid in the sense that it is a stative verb that preserves some action-verb properties. Another point to note is that some of the morphosyntactic restrictions imposed upon the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* sometimes loosen when they are used as GEs.

2.6 Summary of Chapter 2

The main observations and arguments of this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- i. The LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* are bivalent verbs that connect an ENTITY argument and a DOMAIN argument.
- ii. Because transitivity (or intransitivity) is irrelevant to the LEs, LE sentences should be treated independently of ordinary transitive or intransitive constructions.
- iii. The monovalent construction, in which an LE seems to form a complete sentence with an ENTITY nominal alone, is a subtype of the bivalent LE construction whose DOMAIN argument is a *universal* DOMAIN.
- iv. The rhetorical procedure of DOMAIN *universalisation* has the effect of shifting the focus from the DOMAIN-ENTITY relation to the existence of the ENTITY, and it should be distinguished from the simple discourse phenomenon of DOMAIN ellipsis.
- v. Because the LEs are bivalent verbs, they do not generally form prenominal modifiers on their own. Although the ADNOMINAL *aru* is theoretically analysed as a DOMAIN-universalised LE, it has lost the bivalent nature of the LE and does not denote the meaning of existence.
- vi. The so-called animacy restriction on *ar-u/i-ru* selection should be more appropriately termed the self-controllability restriction.
- vii. Whereas *ar-u* was an authentic LE from its origin, *i-ru* was originally an active verb that meant ‘sit down’. Because of this background, the LE *i-ru* contains a volitional sense to some extent, and accepts attachment of the potential/passive suffix *rare* and the causative suffix *sase*.

Chapter 3 The POSSESSIVE-LE Construction

This chapter is an investigation of the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence. Since the presentation of important studies such as those by Alfonso (1966) and Martin (1975), the POSSESSIVE-LE construction has attracted the attention of many scholars. The question of general interest is, and has always been, whether or not the LE that denotes the existence of a POSSESSIVE relation should be distinguished as a different verb from the LE that denotes the SPATIAL EXISTENCE of an ENTITY.

3.1 Transitive analysis of POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u*

In this thesis LEs in the three LOCATIONAL constructions are considered to be the same lexemes; therefore, whether a given LE sentence is EXISTENTIAL, LOCATIVE, or POSSESSIVE is considered to be basically a matter of interpretation. This claim is based on the observation that the concept of POSSESSION implies the existence of a POSSESSOR and a POSSESSED item, in the same way that the concept of SPATIAL EXISTENCE implies the existence of a DOMAIN (SPACE) and an ENTITY. Nevertheless, the position taken in this thesis is that of a minority, particularly in syntactic studies. The predominant view can be observed in the following statement in Shibatani (1990):

(72) Shibatani (1990: 305)

[W]hile in many languages the possessive and existential verbs are identical,

Japanese shows only a superficial phonological similarity. In particular, the animacy distinction controls the choice between two existential verbs *ar-u* and *i-ru*, while there is only one possessive verb *ar-u*. The syntax also differs between the existential and the possessive verbs. In the former, the nominative nominal functions as a subject, the *ni*-marked nominal indicating a location or an affiliated person, and in the latter, the dative nominal is a subject as in other predicates that govern the DAT-NOM case pattern.

This view considers the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* to be a transitive verb, and the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* and *i-ru* to be intransitive verbs. This idea was first presented in Transformational Grammatical studies of Japanese, such as Kuno (1973a, 1973b) and Shibatani (1977, 1978), and has been widely accepted since.⁵¹

Nishiyama (1994) presents the following five criteria for distinguishing the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* from the SPATIAL-EXISTENTIAL *ar-u*.

(73) Nishiyama (1994: 130ff.)⁵²

- a. As argued in Shibatani (1978), in the POSSESSIVE construction [**A** *ni wa* **B** *ga ar-u*], **A** is a subject, and **B** is an object, while in the SPATIAL-EXISTENTIAL construction [**A** *ni (wa)* **B** *ga ar-u*], **B** is a subject.
- b. The POSSESSIVE LE *ar-u* accepts the sentence structure [**A** *wa* **B** *ga ar-u*] where **A** is marked solely by *wa*, while the SPATIAL-EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* does not.
- c. In the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* construction, **A** is normally animate, and does not represent a space/locus where **B** exists. The POSSESSIVE *ar-u* indicates an intangible relationship between **A** and **B**, rather than a physical/positional relationship.

⁵¹ It has been particularly well received among the Generative Grammarians, including those who take the recent Minimalist Approach, for example, Takezawa (2000).

⁵² My translation from the Japanese.

- d. Unlike the SPATIAL-EXISTENTIAL construction, *ar-u* can be used in the POSSESSIVE construction when the nominal **B** (POSSESSED) is animate.
- e. The Absolute-Existential sentence can be constructed from the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* construction, but not from the SPATIAL-EXISTENTIAL construction.

As shown above, Nishiyama gives a range of criteria. Each criterion is examined in detail below.

3.1.1 Subjecthood of NPs

Nishiyama's first criterion relates to the transitive analysis of *ar-u*, the basic concept of which is summarised in Shibatani's (1990) statement in (72).⁵³

The phenomenon of subject honorification provides a strong piece of evidence in support of the transitive analysis. According to Shibatani (1978: 61), subject honorification embellishes a verb with *o-V ni nar-u* to show respect for a corresponding subject NP. For example, *ar-u* becomes *o-ari ni nar-u* as shown in (74a). Because *i-ru* cannot take the form of *o-i ni nar-u*, its honorific variant *irassyar-u*, or *o-ide ni nar-u*, is used instead.⁵⁴

⁵³ Significantly, Shibatani (1999, 2001a, 2001b) has revised some of the claims in Shibatani (1977, 1978, 1990). However, as in Nishiyama, Shibatani's earlier analysis is still supported by many other scholars.

⁵⁴ *Irassyar-u* has its historical origin in *ira-se-rar-u* 'enter-HONO-HONO-NPST' which was an honorific expression of 'go/come in'. In contrast, *ide* in *o-ide ni nar-u* originally meant 'go/come out'. Therefore, *irassyar-u* and *o-ide ni nar-u* are also used as honorific expressions of *ik-u* 'go' and *ku-ru* 'come'.

(74) Shibatani (1978: 190)

- a. *Yamada-sensei wa o-ko-san ga o-ari ni nar-u.*
Yamada-teacher TOP POL-child-POL NOM LE (HONO)-NPST
'Professor Yamada has a child.'
- b. *boku no ootoo wa kodomo ga san-nin*
I GEN younger brother TOP child NOM 3-person
{ * *o-ari ni nar-u / ar-u* }.
LE (HONO)-NPST / LE-NPST
'My younger brother has three children.'
- c. *Yamada-sensei no o-ko-san ga heya ni*
Yamada-teacher GEN POL-child-POL NOM room LOC
{ * *o-ari ni nar-u / irassyar-u / o-ide ni nar-u* }.
LE (HONO)-NPST / LE (HONO)-NPST / LE (HONO)-NPST
'Professor Yamada's child is in the room.'

Shibatani argues that, in (74a), it is not *o-ko-san* 'child' but *Yamada-sensei* 'Professor Yamada' that is identified as the subject that triggers honorification of the verb *ar-u*, because: (i) a non-respected subject, such as *boku no ootoo* 'my younger brother' does not undergo *ar-u*-honorification as shown in (74b); and (ii) *o-ko-san* as a subject triggers *i-ru*-honorification, as shown in (74c).

Based on the above difference in the distribution of the subject, Shibatani claims that (74a) and (74b) are POSSESSIVE sentences which should be distinguished from EXISTENTIAL sentences, such as in (74c). He uses the following pair of examples to elucidate his claim.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ *Tyan* in the examples in (75) is a variant of *san*. It is used for a person who is on friendly terms with the speaker.

(75) Shibatani (1978: 191)

a. <POSSESSIVE>

[*Tat-tyan ni*]_{SUBJECT} *koibito ga ar-u.*
Tacchan DAT lover NOM LE-NPST
'Tacchan has a lover.'

b. <EXISTENTIAL>

Tat-tyan ni [*koibito ga*]_{SUBJECT} *i-ru.*
Tacchan LOC lover NOM LE-NPST
'Tacchan has a lover.'

The above argument in Shibatani (1978) is convincing. However, there are some inherent problematic aspects.

First, although the phenomenon of subject honorification identifies a syntactic subject, it does not prove the objecthood of the other NP. For example, honorification exemplifies the subjecthood of the *ni*-marked NP *Yamada-sensei* in (74a), but it does not necessarily indicate the objecthood of the *ga*-marked NP *o-ko-san* in the same sentence. The question then arises as to why *o-ko-san*, as well as *kodomo* in (74b) and *koibito* in (75a), are treated as objects. The responsibility for treating the *ga*-marked NPs in this way can be largely attributed to Kuno (1973a, 1973b). Kuno (1973b: 50) classified the POSSESSIVE *ar-u*, together with other predicates such as 'ability adjectives', 'potential verbs', and 'V + *ta-i* (desiderative)', into the group of

predicates that take *ga*-marked *object* NPs.⁵⁶ However, he did not produce firm evidence to justify the objecthood of such *ga*-marked NPs. Nevertheless, Kuno's study led Shibatani to analyse the following examples uniformly as DATIVE subject-NOMINATIVE object constructions.

(76) Shibatani (1990: 302f.)

a. *Takehi-sensei ni eigo ga yoku wakar-u.*

Takehi-teacher DAT English NOM well understand-NPST

'Professor Takehi understands English well.'

b. *Takehi-sensei ni sake ga takusan nom-e-ru.*

Takehi-teacher DAT sake NOM a lot drink-POTEN-NPST

'Professor Takehi can drink a lot of *sake*.'

c. *Takehi-sensei ni o-ko-san ga san-nin ar-u.*

Takehi-teacher DAT POL-child-POL NOM 3-person LE-NPST

'Professor Takehi has three children.'

Although examination of verbs other than LEs is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to note that there is considerable difference between *ar-u* and verbs such as *wakar-u* 'understand' in (76a) and *nom-e-ru* 'can drink' in (76b). For instance, in *wakar-u* and *nom-e-ru* sentences, NPs that generally take the NOMINATIVE case *ga* sometimes take the ACCUSATIVE case *o* instead, which typically marks a grammatical object, as shown in the following examples:

⁵⁶ Kuno (1973b: 53f.) credits the basis of his idea to Tokieda's (1941) claim pertaining to the *taisyoogo* 'object entity'. However, *taisyoogo* in Tokieda's study is significantly different from *mokutekigo* 'grammatical object' in Kuno's study. Because, unlike Kuno, Tokieda distinguishes *taisyoogo* from *mokutekigo*, *taisyoogo* does not necessarily mean non-subject. In fact, Tokieda (1950: 279) explicitly states that *syugo* 'subject' and *taisyoogo* are not mutually exclusive categories, and points out that *taisyoogo* can also be subjects in some cases. It should also be noted that Tokieda (1950) does not include the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* in the group of predicates that take *taisyoogo*.

- (77) a. *mazu zibun to i-u no o wakar-u mezirusi*
 first self QTV say-PNM NOMI ACC understand-PNM mark
ga are-ba i-i n des-u ne. [SE05:112]
 NOM LE-COND good-PNM NOMI COP-NPST FP
 ‘Above all, it’s good if I have a kind of mark by which I can tell that it is me, right?’
- b. “*sake o nom-e-na-i no ga timei-teki*
 sake ACC drink-POTEN-NEG-PNM NOMI NOM fatal-like
da na.” [NV04:100]
 COP FP
 ‘It’s a grave matter that I can’t drink.’

On the other hand, *ar-u* does not allow *o*-marked NPs at all:

- (78) * *o-ko-san o ar-u.*
 POL-child-POL ACC LE-NPST
 (intended to express: ‘(He/she) has a child.’)

The above observation suggests that it is justifiable to treat the *ga*-marked NPs that co-occur with *wakar-u* and *nom-e-ru* as objects, but it is not justifiable to treat *ga*-marked NPs that co-occur with *ar-u* in the same manner. Therefore, it is inappropriate to treat *ga*-marked NPs in POSSESSIVE-LE sentences in the same manner as *ga*-marked NPs such as in (76a) and (76b).

I consider that the reason that *ga*-marked NPs in POSSESSIVE-LE sentences are treated as objects is because Lyons’ separation, discussed in Chapter 2, which separates LEs from other ordinary verbs, has not been seriously taken into consideration in previous studies.

Another problematic aspect that arises from the transitive analysis of the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* is what Shibatani referred to as assimilation or confusion of EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE sentences.

In Shibatani (1978), *i-ru* is predetermined to be a non-POSSESSIVE-LE. Therefore, examples such as in (79) are, in theory, treated as EXISTENTIAL sentences.

(79) Shibatani (1978: 347f.)

a. *watasi ni wa Yamada-sensei ga { i-ru /*
 I LOC TOP Yamada-teacher NOM LE-NPST /
 * *o-ide ni nar-u / * irassyar-u }* *kara daizyoobu da.*
 LE (HONO)-NPST / LE (HONO)-NPST because all right COP
 ‘I’m all right because I have Professor Yamada to back me up.’
 or ‘I’m all right because Professor Yamada is with me.’

b. *kimi ni wa rippa-na o-toosan o-kaasan mo*
 you LOC TOP great-PNM POL-father POL-mother EMPH
 { * *o-ari ni nar-u / o-ide ni nar-u / irassyar-u }* *koto*
 LE (HONO)-PNM / LE (HONO)-PNM / LE (HONO)-PNM NOMI
da-si, sikkari si-na-kya dame zya-na-i ka.
 COP-CONJ steady do-NEG-COND no good COP-NEG-NPST EMPH
 ‘You must behave yourself well, as you have fine parents.’

These examples obviously denote POSSESSIVE meanings. As Shibatani admits, honorification does not take place in (79a) in the manner that would occur in EXISTENTIAL sentences. In (79b), honorification that is typical of EXISTENTIAL sentences is observed, yet the sentence is not considered to be a purely EXISTENTIAL sentence when the meaning is taken into consideration.

Shibatani argues that these problematic cases are manifestations of assimilation or

confusion between EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE constructions. Shibatani then claims that such assimilation or confusion is due to the structural marginality between the two constructions, which makes it difficult to determine whether a *ni*-marked NP is a SPATIAL LOCATION or a POSSESSOR. According to Shibatani, the examples in (80) are typical marginal cases.

(80) Shibatani (1978: 349)

a. *kono tukue ni wa hikidasi ga takusan ar-u.*
 this desk LOC/DAT TOP drawer NOM a lot LE-NPST
 ‘There are many drawers in this desk.’
 or ‘This desk has many drawers.’

b. *Tookyoo ni wa omosiro-i tokoro ga takusan ar-u.*
 Tokyo LOC/DAT TOP interesting-PNM place NOM a lot LE-NPST
 ‘There are many interesting places in Tokyo.’
 or ‘Tokyo has many interesting places.’

The examples in (80) clearly illustrate the fact that whether a given LE sentence is EXISTENTIAL or POSSESSIVE is a matter of interpretation. The reason that honorification does not take place in some cases as would be predicted is simply because it is the semantic interpretation that primarily assigns subject property to one of the two NPs that co-occur with the LE. Since *i-ru* has exactly the same function as *ar-u*, which is to connect two NPs, it is not justifiable to predetermine *i-ru* to be a non-POSSESSIVE LE.

The concept of assimilation, or confusion, presupposes the two distinct categories of EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE. However, in reality, there are no such distinct categories in Japanese LE sentences. Rather, there is only one sentence type that is

dissimilated to (interpretational) subcategories.

It follows from the above observations that the transitive analysis of the LEs is an attempt to account for the bivalency of the LEs within the traditional dichotomic view of monovalent intransitive and bivalent transitives. However, to attain a proper understanding of the LEs, it is essential to recognise that bivalency is not equivalent to transitiveness.⁵⁷ Therefore, Nishiyama's first criterion for distinguishing the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* from the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* is considered to be invalid.

3.1.2 'DOMAIN *ni*', 'DOMAIN *ni wa*', and 'DOMAIN *wa*'

The second criterion in Nishiyama's list in (73b) is restated, using the terminology adopted in this thesis, as follows:

- (81) The POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* accepts the sentence structure of [DOMAIN *wa* ENTITY *ga ar-u*] where the DOMAIN is marked solely by *wa*, while the SPATIAL-LE *ar-u* does not.

To illustrate this criterion, Nishiyama gives the following examples:

⁵⁷ Ono (1999) demonstrates this point cogently by referring to intransitive-transitive phrase pairs such as those shown below:

(i) *boku wa me ga same-ta.*
I TOP eye NOM wake-PST
'I woke up.'

(ii) *boku wa me o samasi-ta.*
I TOP eye ACC wake-PST
'I woke up.'

(82) Nishiyama (1994: 130)

a. * *tukue no ue wa hon ga ar-u.*

desk GEN top TOP book NOM LE-NPST

(intended to express: 'There is a book on the top of the desk.')

b. * *kooen wa onna-no-ko ga i-ru.*

park TOP female-GEN-child NOM LE-NPST

(intended to express: 'There is a girl in the park.')

According to Nishiyama, the examples in the above are unacceptable because SPATIAL-LEs do not take the string of 'DOMAIN *wa*'. However, it is in fact possible for a DOMAIN argument to take the particle *wa* alone in a SPATIAL-LE sentence, as in the following example:

(83) *kakko no genkan wa rooka kara han-gen*

each house GEN entrance TOP hallway from half-ken (1 ken = 1.818m)

hodo hekon-de doa ga ar-u. [NV06:80]

about dent-CONJ door NOM LE-NPST

'At the entrance of each flat, there is a door which is set back about 0.9m from the hallway.'

However, sentences of this kind are rare, and the string of 'DOMAIN *wa*' is more frequently used in SPATIAL-LE sentences in order to express a sense of comparison, as shown below:

(84) *ik-kai no mado wa amado ga ar-u ga,*

1-floor GEN window TOP storm shutter NOM LE-NPST CONJ

beranda no ar-u ni-kai no mado wa amado

veranda GEN LE-PNM 2-floor GEN window TOP storm shutter

ga na-i. [NV08:179]

NOM LE (NEG)-NPST

‘Although the downstairs windows have storm shutters, the upstairs windows, where the veranda is, do not have storm shutters.’

Therefore, it is noted that a DOMAIN argument in the SPATIAL-LE sentence tends not to take the form of ‘DOMAIN *wa*’, although it is an overgeneralisation to claim, as Nishiyama does, that it never takes such a form. This issue should be considered within a more systematic approach that compares the three particle patterns, ‘DOMAIN *ni*’, ‘DOMAIN *ni wa*’, and ‘DOMAIN *wa*’, as in (85):

- (85) a. [DOMAIN *ni* ENTITY *ga* LE]
b. [DOMAIN *ni wa* ENTITY *ga* LE]
c. [DOMAIN *wa* ENTITY *ga* LE]

Furukawa (1986) points out that the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence tends to take the structural patterns of (b) and (c) in (85), whereas the SPATIAL-LE sentence tends to take the structural patterns of (a) and (b). He argues that Shibatani’s POSSESSIVE-LE examples in (75a) sound rather unnatural, and that the DOMAIN NP *Tat-tyan ni* must be topicalised as in (86) in order to render it more natural.

(86) Furukawa (1986: 220f.)

Tat-tyan { ? *ni* / *ni wa* / *wa* } *koibito ga ar-u.*

Tacchan LOC / LOC TOP / TOP lover NOM LE-NPST

‘Tacchan has a lover.’

However, as Furukawa notes, this claim only applies to a simplex sentence

construction. In other words, in a subordinate clause, *ni* alone can mark a POSSESSOR (DOMAIN) NP without causing any unnaturalness, as shown below:

- (87) *Tat-tyan ni koibito ga ar-u to wakat-ta.*
Tacchan LOC lover NOM LE-NPST QTV understand-PST
'It turned out that Tacchan had a lover.'

The question then arises as to why a DOMAIN argument is topicalised in a simplex POSSESSIVE-LE sentence. Furukawa gives an explanation based on his assumption that the topicalising function is not an attribute exclusive to the particle *wa*, but an attribute that all the particles have to a greater or lesser degree. Furukawa postulates a hierarchy in topicality among NPs, with *wa*-marked NPs at the high end of the scale, followed by *ga*-marked NPs, and NPs marked by other particles such as *ni* at the low end. According to Furukawa, because a *ni*-marked NP is relatively weak in topicality, it is reinforced by the particle *wa* when the *ni*-marked NP is a syntactic subject in a simplex sentence, as in (86).

Although Furukawa's relative-topicality hypothesis is interesting, it does not shed any light on the difference in the degree of topicality between 'DOMAIN *ni wa*' and 'DOMAIN *wa*'. Noda (1996) presents an insightful observation on this difference. Having noted that *ni wa* and *wa* are interchangeable in many cases due to their similarities, Noda points out that, in the example in (88a) below, *ni wa* is used because the sentence does not describe the characteristic of *Oosaka* 'Osaka', whereas *wa* is used in the example in (88b) because the sentence directly describes the characteristic of *noogyoo* 'agriculture'.

(88) Noda (1996: 26f.)

a. *Oosaka ni wa manzai-buumu zyuu-nen-syuuki-setu*
 Osaka LOC TOP comic dialogue-boom 10-year-cycle-theory
ga ari-mas-u ne.
 NOM LE-POL-NPST FP

‘(lit.) In Osaka, there is a common conjecture that the *manzai* gets in vogue in a ten year-cycle, right?’

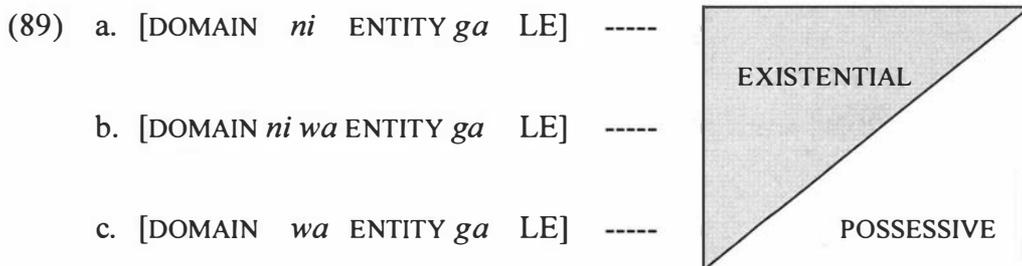
→ ‘It is said in Osaka that the *manzai* comes back in vogue every ten years, right?’

b. *noogyoo wa syuukyoo ni ni-ta tokoro ga*
 agriculture TOP religion DAT resemble-PST aspect NOM
ar-u, to it-ta hito ga i-ru.
 LE-NPST QTV say-PST person NOM LE-NPST

‘There is a person who once said that agriculture has some similar aspects to religion.’

Noda then makes the generalisation that *wa* indicates the POSSESSOR-status of the NP to the characteristic that follows it more clearly than *ni wa* does.

Incorporating some of the ideas of Furukawa (1986) and Noda (1996), the following (SPATIAL) EXISTENTIAL-POSSESSIVE continuous schema is posited.



The schema above illustrates the fact that the POSSESSIVE meaning is typically produced through the procedure of DOMAIN-topicalisation of the LE sentence. It is also shown that the LE sentence with the string of ‘DOMAIN *ni wa*’ is bifunctional because it is an intermediate construction between the construction in (89a) that typically generates an EXISTENTIAL interpretation and the construction in (89c) that typically generates a POSSESSIVE interpretation. As in the following pair of examples, *ni wa* can be used for denoting both an EXISTENTIAL meaning and a POSSESSIVE meaning, without causing any unnaturalness:

(90) a. <EXISTENTIAL-LE sentence>

tukue no ue ni wa hon ga ar-u.

desk GEN top LOC TOP book NOM LE-NPST

‘There is a book on the top of the desk.’

b. <POSSESSIVE-LE sentence>

Tat-tyan ni wa koibito ga ar-u.

Tacchan LOC TOP lover NOM LE-NPST

‘Tacchan has a lover.’

As mentioned in the previous section, Shibatani refers to the examples in (80) as cases in which it is difficult to determine whether the meaning is EXISTENTIAL or POSSESSIVE. Viewed in the light of the schema in (89), the ambiguities of the examples are ascribed to the use of the intermediate structure in (89b). As predicted in the above argument, a stronger POSSESSIVE sense is expressed if *ni wa* is replaced with *wa*, as in (91):

- (91) a. *kono tukue wa hikidasi ga takusan ar-u.*
 this desk TOP drawer NOM a lot LE-NPST
 ‘This desk has many drawers.’
- b. *Tookyo wa omosiro-i tokoro ga takusan ar-u.*
 Tokyo TOP interesting-PNM place NOM a lot LE-NPST
 ‘Tokyo has many interesting places.’

The procedure of DOMAIN-topicalisation is, to put it in a wider perspective, an operation which creates a TOPIC-COMMENT construction by extracting one of the two argument NPs from the LE construction. This is essentially the same as the operation by which a typical LOCATIVE-LE sentence is derived from an EXISTENTIAL-LE sentence.

Shibatani (1989) makes the following remarks with reference to the particle *wa*:

- (92) Shibatani (1989: 100)⁵⁸

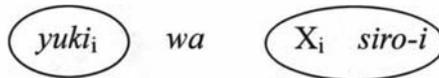
What we perceive, or judge, is a STATE OF AFFAIRS. The particle *wa* has the function of separating the ENTITY from the STATE OF AFFAIRS and constructing a two-part sentence. One part refers to the central object of the judgment, which is a TOPIC, and the other part refers to the attributes of the object. This process is schematised as follows:

- a. STATE OF AFFAIRS for judgment

yuki siro-i

⁵⁸ My translation from the Japanese.

b. separation of the central object (TOPIC)

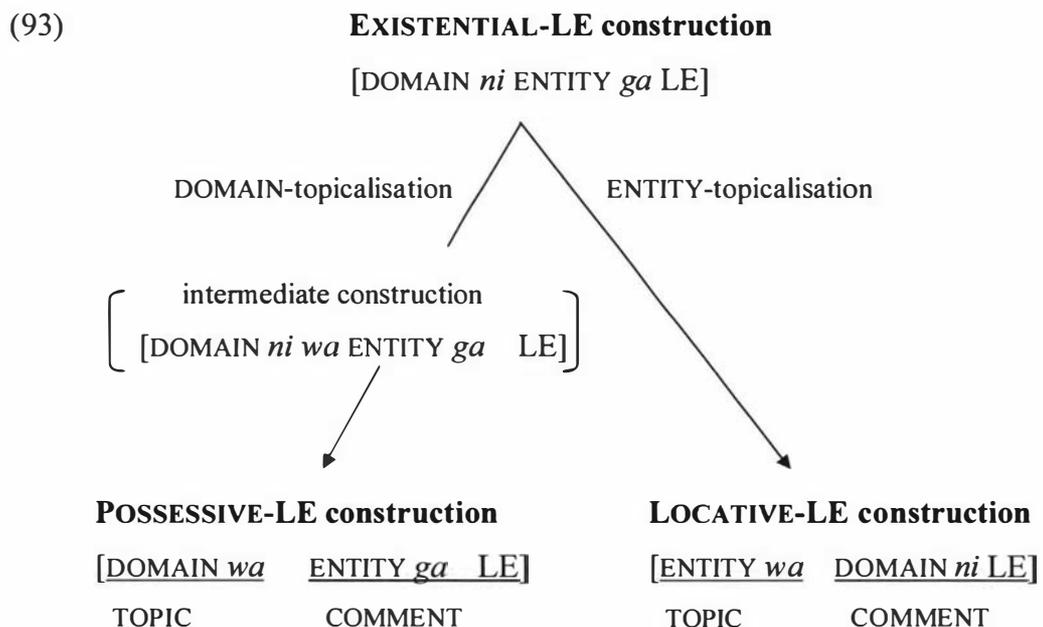


c. TOPIC sentence

yuki wa siro-i.
 snow TOP white-NPST
 ‘The snow is white.’

What should be noted here is that the particle *wa* assumes the function of separating and the function of combining, simultaneously. That is, the STATE OF AFFAIRS is separated into the two parts by *wa*, and they are combined into one by *wa*. As a consequence, the TOPIC-COMMENT construction is produced.

The example given in (92) uses the typical monovalent predicate *siro-i* ‘white’. In the LE construction, a set of a DOMAIN and an ENTITY comprises a STATE OF AFFAIRS. Therefore, the interrelations between the three typical LOCATIONAL constructions in Japanese are schematised as shown in (93):



However, it is noted that, as discussed above, DOMAIN-topicalisation is only feasible in main clauses. It is also important to remember that, as discussed in Section 2.1, ENTITY-topicalisation is not an absolute determiner of the LOCATIVE interpretation. These facts indicate that the three interpretations of the LE construction are primarily determined by the two NPs that the LE connects, together with a consideration of the context, although the procedure of topicalisation often helps to produce a POSSESSIVE meaning or a LOCATIVE meaning. In other words, the sentence structure of (89c), which typically produces a POSSESSIVE interpretation, has the same fundamental structure as (89a). Therefore, Nishiyama's criterion in (73b) is rejected on the basis that it only refers to the superficial resultant state created by the procedure of DOMAIN-topicalisation, without taking into consideration the fact that the fundamental structure of the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence is the same as that of the EXISTENTIAL-LE sentence, as demonstrated in the examples in (94) below in which LEs are used in the subordinate clauses.

(94) a. <POSSESSIVE-LE subordinate clause>

Tat-tyan { *ni* / ?? *wa* } *koibito ga ar-u to wakat-ta.* [= (87)]
 Tacchan LOC / TOP lover NOM LE-NPST QTV understand-PST
 'It turned out that Tacchan had a lover.'

b. <EXISTENTIAL-LE subordinate clause>

tukue no ue { ni / ?? wa } hon ga ar-u to
 desk GEN top LOC / TOP book NOM LE-NPST QTV
wakat-ta.
 understand-PST
 'I noticed that there was a book on the top of the desk.'

3.1.3 Animacy of the DOMAIN argument

Nishiyama's third criterion is restated as follows:

- (95) In the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* construction, the DOMAIN is normally animate, and does not represent a physical space/locus where the ENTITY exists. The POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* indicates an intangible relationship between the DOMAIN and the ENTITY, rather than a tangible/positional relationship.

It is true that POSSESSIVE-LE sentences typically have animate DOMAIN NPs; however, it is more appropriate to consider this fact from the reverse viewpoint, that is, an LE sentence typically denotes a POSSESSIVE sense when its DOMAIN argument is animate.

Furthermore, the statement in (95) implies that an intangible relationship of POSSESSION is not concomitantly expressed with a tangible/positional relationship of EXISTENCE. Consequently, Nishiyama treats the example in (96) below as a SPATIAL-LE sentence despite the fact that the DOMAIN is animate.

- (96) Nishiyama (1994: 118); originally from Shibatani (1978: 182)

Yamada-sensei ni wa sirami ga takusan i-ru.

Yamada-teacher LOC TOP lice NOM a lot LE-NPST

'Professor Yamada has lots of lice.'

Nishiyama claims that *Yamada-sensei* in (96) indicates the physical body of Professor Yamada as a tangible LOCATION. This is a reasonable assertion, yet the sentence, considered as a whole, denotes not only the sense of SPATIAL EXISTENCE

but also the sense of an intangible POSSESSIVE relation between Professor Yamada and the lice.

In addition, the sentence in (80b) is analysed as a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence according to Nishiyama's second criterion that the EXISTENTIAL sentence cannot take the form of [DOMAIN *wa* ENTITY *ga ar-u*], since the sentence *can* take this form as in (91b). However, it is also evident that the example in (80b) denotes a SPATIAL-EXISTENTIAL sense, as well as denoting the sense of POSSESSION.

Because there is continuity between EXISTENTIAL-LE sentences and POSSESSIVE-LE sentences, the more one attempts to draw a rigid boundary between the two, the less convincing the explanation will be. It is essential to recognise that both the concept of POSSESSION and the concept of EXISTENCE can be concomitantly expressed in one sentence. Therefore, Nishiyama's third criterion is refuted on the basis that it deems these two concepts to be mutually exclusive.

3.1.4 Animacy of the ENTITY argument

Nishiyama's fourth criterion is restated as follows:

- (97) Unlike the SPATIAL-LE *ar-u*, the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* can be used when the ENTITY NP (POSSESSED) is animate.

The above criterion is frequently employed in justifying the distinction between

the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* and the EXISTENTIAL-LE *ar-u*. Shibatani's (1978, 1990) studies are also based on the fact that animate ENTITY NPs co-occur with *ar-u*.

If the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* is distinguished from the EXISTENTIAL-LE *ar-u* according to the criterion in (97), a collateral issue arises pertaining to how to treat the POSSESSIVE-LE *i-ru* in a sentence such as in (98). As mentioned in Chapter 2, this form has been replacing the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* in this type of sentence in recent times.

- (98) *watasi ni wa ane ga { ar-u / i-ru }.*
I LOC TOP older sister NOM LE-NPST / LE-NPST
'I have an older sister.'

As observed in (75), Shibatani (1978) clearly distinguishes between *ar-u* and *i-ru*, despite the fact that (75a) and (75b) denote the same meaning. Nishiyama, in contrast, states that when the ENTITY is animate in a POSSESSIVE sentence, *i-ru* can be used instead of *ar-u*. However, this statement diminishes the validity of his own criterion for distinguishing the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* from the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* in (73d). Of this discrepancy, Nishiyama (1994) states, rather circuitously, that "it is an intricate problem whether or not it is necessary to admit *i-ru* as a POSSESSIVE verb" (p.131), and "we should reconsider the propriety and validity of the category of the POSSESSIVE sentence itself, including the matter of how clearly we can define the category" (p.145).⁵⁹

It is interesting that Nishiyama entertains doubts about the category of the

⁵⁹ My translation from the Japanese.

POSSESSIVE sentence in the context of a discussion arguing *for* the distinction between the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* and the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u*. I believe that such doubts are inevitable, unless the fact that POSSESSIVE sentences are in fact EXISTENTIAL sentences which produce a POSSESSIVE interpretation is acknowledged.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, historically, the genuine LE *ar-u* was used in virtually any LE sentence, irrespective of whether it was a SPATIAL-LE sentence or a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence and whether the ENTITY NP was animate or inanimate. Therefore, the fact that the animate ENTITY co-occurs with *ar-u* is simply due to this being a vestige from classical Japanese. It is important to remember that such an *ar-u* has been replaced by *i-ru* in sentences such as in (98), because *i-ru* has been gradually acquiring the ability to denote abstract existence.

Given that the two arguments control the meaning of the LE sentence, it is understandable that *i-ru* be used as a POSSESSIVE-LE once it has acquired the ability to denote abstract existence. Therefore, it is unproductive to question the *raison d'être* of the category of POSSESSIVE sentence, since there is in fact no such distinct and independent category.

Based on the observations in the above, the criterion in (73d) is also refuted.

3.1.5 The Absolute-Existential sentence

The final criterion that Nishiyama lists is restated as follows:

- (99) An Absolute-Existential sentence can be constructed from a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence, but not from an EXISTENTIAL-LE sentence.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, what Nishiyama refers to as an Absolute-Existential sentence is an LE sentence that has a *universal* DOMAIN. Nishiyama claims that the POSSESSIVE-LE sentences in (100a) and (101a) can be paraphrased as the Absolute-Existential sentences in (100b) and (101b), respectively.

(100) Nishiyama (1994: 129, 132)

- a. *Yoko (ni) wa ketten ga takusan ar-u.*
Yoko (LOC) TOP fault NOM many LE-NPST
'Yoko has many faults.'

- b. *Yoko no ketten ga takusan ar-u.*
Yoko GEN fault NOM many LE-NPST
'Yoko's faults are many.'

(101) Nishiyama (1994: 130, 132)

- a. *Yoko (ni) wa, tomodati ga takusan ar-u.*
Yoko (LOC) TOP friend NOM many LE-NPST
'Yoko has many friends.'

- b. *Yoko no tomodati ga takusan i-ru.*
Yoko GEN friend NOM many LE-NPST
'Yoko's friends are many.'

As noted in Section 2.3.2, the (a)-series and the (b)-series in (100) and (101) are not considered to denote the same meaning. The (b)-series sentences sound unnatural because ENTITIES such as *Yoko no ketten* and *Yoko no tomodati* are not very compatible with the *universal* DOMAIN. Since they sound unnatural and do not have

the same meanings as the POSSESSIVE-LE sentences in the (a)-series, it is hard to imagine that (100b) and (101b) would be used to express the meanings of (100a) and (101a).

In Nishiyama's view, SPATIAL-LE sentences cannot be paraphrased as Absolute-Existential sentences, as shown below:

(102) a. Nishiyama (1994: 118)

tukue no ue ni hon ga ar-u.
 desk GEN top LOC book NOM LE-NPST
 'There is a book on the top of the desk.'

b. * *tukue no ue no hon ga ar-u.*
 desk GEN top GEN book NOM LE-NPST

The example in (102b) does sound unnatural. However, it is no more unnatural than the (b)-series in (100) and (101).

Furthermore, as Nishiyama admits, there are some POSSESSIVE-LE sentences that do not allow paraphrasing to Absolute-Existential sentences; that is, sentences in which the *ga*-marked ENTITY arguments are referential NPs, such as in (103) below:

(103) Nishiyama (1994: 136)

Yoko ni wa kono waapuro ga ar-u kara, ronbun
 Yoko LOC TOP this word processor NOM LE-NPST because thesis
wa kak-e-ru daroo.
 TOP write-POTEN-NPST SFE (inference)

'Because Yoko has this word processor, she will be able to write a thesis.'

Because this kind of example does not fit into his criterion in (99), Nishiyama questions whether or not this kind of sentence can be referred to as a POSSESSIVE sentence. However, there is no doubt that the example in (103) denotes a POSSESSIVE meaning. It is not the POSSESSIVE sentencehood of the example that should be questioned but the validity of the criterion itself.

Therefore, the final criterion in (99) is refuted on the grounds that even if an Absolute-Existential sentence can be constructed from a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence, there is a difference in meaning between the two, and that even if an Absolute-Existential sentence cannot be constructed from a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence, this does not change the fact that the latter is a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence.

3.2 Non-transitive analysis of the LE construction

Each of the five criteria for distinguishing the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* from the EXISTENTIAL-LE *ar-u* presented in Nishiyama (1994) have been examined above. The investigation has revealed that none of the criteria holds sufficient validity.

Although it is obvious that the LE construction has the capacity to denote a POSSESSIVE meaning, it is not justifiable to postulate the existence of two distinct verbs that share only phonological similarity; that is, an intransitive EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* and a transitive POSSESSIVE *ar-u*. Nor is it appropriate to consider that it is only *ar-u* that has a POSSESSION-denoting ability. The observations above show that a strict distinction between the EXISTENTIAL sentence and the POSSESSIVE sentence not only lacks sufficient justification but also creates a hindrance to the proper analysis of the LEs.

3.2.1 Double-subject analysis of the LE construction

Despite its vulnerability, the transitive analysis of the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* is still well accepted in the field of Japanese linguistics, as mentioned above. However, it is noted that Shibatani (1999, 2001a, 2001b) has made significant amendments to his earlier accounts in Shibatani (1977, 1978, 1990). Shibatani's recent claims can be summarised as follows:

(104) Shibatani (2001a)⁶⁰

- a. In ordinary EXISTENTIAL sentences such as in (i) and (ii), a LOCATIVE NP specifies a locus/domain of existence:

(i) *teeburu no ue ni hon ga ar-u.*
table GEN top LOC book NOM LE-NPST
'There is a book on the top of the table.'

(ii) *ano heya ni wa, kodomo ga hutari i-ru.*
that room LOC TOP child NOM two people LE-NPST
'There are two children in that room.'

In the same way, in POSSESSIVE-LE sentences such as in (iii) and (iv), a DATIVE NP specifies a locus/domain of existence:

(iii) *Taroo ni wa hon ga takusan ar-u.*
Taro DAT/LOC TOP book NOM many LE-NPST
'Taro has many books.'

(iv) *Hata-san ni wa, kodomo-san ga hutari i-ru.*
Hata-POL DAT/LOC TOP child-POL NOM two people LE-NPST
'Mr Hata has two children.'

- b. If (i) and (ii) are not considered to be transitive sentences, there is no reason to consider (iii) and (iv) to be transitive sentences, either.
- c. The POSSESSIVE-LE sentence construction is a subtype of the double-subject construction. Therefore, the *ni*-marked NP is a 'large subject' licensed by the clause that consists of a combination of a *ga*-marked NP and an LE, and the *ga*-marked NP is a 'small subject' that is licensed by the LE itself.

⁶⁰ My translation from the Japanese.

- d. The LE *i-ru* can form a complete sentence without a LOCATIVE NP or a POSSESSOR NP, when a universal domain has been presupposed:

(v) *kami wa i-ru.*
 god TOP LE-NPST
 ‘God is/exists.’

As is clear in the summary, Shibatani no longer uses the transitive analysis of the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* construction. Alternatively, he proposes the double-subject (or multi-subject) analysis for all LE constructions, including both the EXISTENTIAL sentence and the POSSESSIVE sentence.

It is interesting that Shibatani’s recent analysis based on the concept of the ‘large subject’ is strikingly similar to Matsushita’s (1901) analysis.⁶¹

(105) Matsushita (1901: 263ff.)

A set of a subject and a predicate sometimes forms a larger predicate. For example, predicates, such as *ita-i* and *ar-u*, compose a clause with a subject, as in (i) and (ii):

⁶¹ As shown in (105), Matsushita (1901) treats the LE *ar-u* and the adjective *ita-i* ‘painful’ in the same manner. Shibatani (2001a) also applies his double-subject analysis to the adjective *ita-i*.

It is noted that, in addition to his statement in (105), Matsushita points out that a double-subject construction such as in (i) below accepts another subject to form a triple-subject construction as in (ii), which subsequently accepts another subject to form a quadruple-subject construction in (iii). Matsushita claims that a subject is added as many times as the speaker wishes to.

Matsushita (1901: 264)

(i) *anata wa, gakumon ga ar-u.*
 you TOP learning NOM LE-NPST

‘(lit.) Learning is at you.’ → ‘You are a learned man/woman.’

(ii) *anata wa, o-ko-san ga, gakumon ga ar-u.*
 you TOP POL-child-POL NOM learning NOM LE-NPST

‘(lit.) Learning is at a child at you.’ → ‘Your son/daughter is a learned man/woman.’

(iii) *anata wa, o-niisan ga, o-ko-san ga, gakumon ga ar-u.*
 you TOP POL-brother NOM POL-child-POL NOM learning NOM LE-NPST

‘(lit.) Learning is at a child at a brother at you.’

→ ‘Your brother’s son/daughter is a learned man/woman.’

(i) *atama ga ita-i.*
head NOM painful-NPST
'The head aches.'

(ii) *kane ga ar-u.*
money NOM LE-NPST
'Money exists.'

These clauses can be predicates for another subject, as shown in (iii) and (iv):

(iii) *watasi wa atama ga ita-i.*
I TOP head NOM painful-NPST
'(lit.) As for me, the head aches.' → 'I have a headache.'

(iv) *ano hito wa kane ga ar-u.*
that person TOP money NOM LE-NPST
'(lit.) As for that person, money exists.' → 'That person has money.'

Shibatani's recent account also shares similarities with the approach taken in this thesis; for example, it analyses both the EXISTENTIAL-LE sentence and the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence as [DOMAIN ENTITY LE], and it does not regard LEs as transitive verbs. However, Shibatani's recent account upholds the traditional view that LEs are monovalent verbs. Because the appropriateness of this fixed notion is not questioned, Shibatani is forced to consider the construction of [DOMAIN ENTITY LE] to be [DOMAIN [ENTITY LE]]. Although Shibatani pointed out, in (104d), that the structure of [ENTITY LE] does not construct a complete sentence, except when there is a presupposed *universal* DOMAIN, he did not proceed to a recognition that the LEs are bivalent verbs.

Despite these shortcomings,⁶² I consider it to be a significant advance that Shibatani, who was a leading advocate of the transitive analysis of the POSSESSIVE *ar-u*, has retracted his earlier arguments. It is also significant that in his new analysis the capacity of the LE *i-ru* to form a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence is acknowledged.

3.2.2 The double-DOMAIN construction

Although in principle I do not support Shibatani's double-subject analysis, the concept of a clausal subject (large subject) is useful in describing the case where two DOMAIN NPs are present in one sentence, such as in (106a):

(106) a. *Taroo wa Nagano ni bessoo ga ar-u.*
 Taro TOP Nagano LOC holiday house NOM LE-NPST
 'Taro has a holiday house in Nagano.'

b. *Nagano ni bessoo ga ar-u.*
 Nagano LOC holiday house NOM LE-NPST
 'There is a holiday house in Nagano.'

c. *Taroo ni wa bessoo ga ar-u.*
 Taro LOC TOP holiday house NOM LE-NPST
 'Taro has a holiday house.'

⁶² Ono (2002) also argues that, in terms of accessibility to the following four kinds of constructions, some of Shibatani's double-subject sentences are more intransitive and others are more transitive, and that it is erroneous to dichotomise such sentences either as definitively intransitive or transitive.

- | | | | |
|-------|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| (i) | NP | { <i>wa</i> (TOP) / <i>ga</i> (NOM)} | Predicate |
| (ii) | NP | <i>wa</i> (TOP) NP <i>o</i> (ACC) | Predicate |
| (iii) | NP | <i>no</i> (GEN) NP <i>wa</i> (TOP) | Predicate |
| (iv) | NP | <i>wa</i> (TOP) NP <i>o</i> (ACC) | Predicate + { <i>ku / ni / yoo ni</i> } <i>omo-u</i> ('think') |

The example in (106a) contains a composite meaning, which can be separated into the two sentences in (106b) and (106c). Based on Shibatani's argument, the example in (106a) would be analysed as a triple-subject construction [DOMAIN [DOMAIN [ENTITY LE]]]. However, because a string of [ENTITY LE] does not form a complete sentence, it is posited here, as given in (107), that (106b) is the core structure of the double-DOMAIN sentence in (106a), and the NP *Taroo wa* occupies a clausal subject position, which is labelled as a 'Secondary DOMAIN' position.

(107) [*Taroo wa* [*Nagano ni* *bessoo ga ar-u*]]. [see (106a)]
 DOMAIN 2 DOMAIN 1 ENTITY LE

It is also possible, in theory, to postulate the reverse construction as shown below:

(108) [*Nagano ni* [*Taroo wa* *bessoo ga ar-u*]].
 DOMAIN 2 DOMAIN 1 ENTITY LE

Because Japanese has relatively free word order, the two examples in (109) below are both possible. However, in terms of naturalness (109b) is a more marked expression than (109a).

(109) a. <unmarked expression>
Taroo wa Nagano ni bessoo ga ar-u. [= (106a)]
 Taro TOP Nagano LOC holiday house NOM LE-NPST
 'Taro has a holiday house in Nagano.'

b. <marked expression>

Nagano ni Taroo wa bessoo ga ar-u.

Nagano LOC Taro TOP holiday house NOM LE-NPST

‘In Nagano, Taro has a holiday house.’

The same is true of the pair of examples in (110) in which the two DOMAINS are both place-denoting proper nouns.

(110) a. <unmarked expression>

Nihon wa Tookyoo ni kokkai-gizidoo ga ar-u.

Japan TOP Tokyo LOC Diet-building NOM LE-NPST

‘Japan has its National Diet building in Tokyo.’

b. <marked expression>

Tookyoo ni Nihon wa kokkai-gizidoo ga ar-u.

Tokyo LOC Japan TOP Diet building NOM LE-NPST

‘In Tokyo, Japan has its National Diet building.’

Furthermore, if it is assumed that a clausal subject (Secondary DOMAIN) and a clause ([Primary DOMAIN + ENTITY + LE]) form a TOPIC-COMMENT relation, it is legitimate to consider that in (107) Taro is a TOPIC, and the fact that a holiday house is in Nagano is a COMMENT about Taro. On the other hand, in the case of (108) it seems rather unnatural to consider Nagano to be a TOPIC, and the fact that Taro has a holiday house to be a COMMENT about Nagano. Therefore, it is more plausible to consider that the double-DOMAIN example in (106a) has the internal structure schematised in (107), rather than the structure given in (108). This claim can also be validated by the fact that *Nagano* in (109b) cannot be topicalised, as shown in (111). The same is true of (110b), as illustrated in (111b):

- (111) a. * *Nagano wa Taroo ni bessoo ga ar-u.*
 Nagano TOP Taro LOC holiday house NOM LE-NPST
- b. * *Tookyo wa Nihon ni kokkai-gizidoo ga ar-u.*
 Tokyo TOP Japan LOC Diet building NOM LE-NPST

From the observations in the above, the generalisation can be drawn that when there are two DOMAINS in one sentence, a concrete DOMAIN occupies the Primary DOMAIN position within the bivalent structural schema of the LE, and an abstract DOMAIN occupies the Secondary DOMAIN position outside the schema.

An interesting hypothesis that arises from this argument is that, theoretically speaking, the typical example of a POSSESSIVE sentence given in (112a) below has the internal structure as depicted in (112b). Although this analysis is similar to Shibatani's double-subject analysis, the same sentence is analysed in his framework as shown in (112c), since he considers that the string of [ENTITY + LE] is the base component of the LE sentence.⁶³

- (112) a. *Taroo (ni) wa bessoo ga ar-u.*
 Taro (LOC) TOP holiday house NOM LE-NPST
 'Taro has a holiday house.'
- b. [*Taroo (ni) wa* [\emptyset (= *universal* DOMAIN) *bessoo ga ar-u*]].
- c. [*Taroo (ni) wa* [\emptyset [*bessoo ga ar-u*]]].

⁶³ The view that the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* construction is enfolded in the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* construction is also adopted in Takezawa (2000). However, Takezawa also considers the core of the sentence to be the structure of [ENTITY + LE] as in (112c), following the conventional view that the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* is a monovalent verb.

Assuming that the POSSESSIVE sentence in (112a) has the internal structure as given in (112b), it is possible to give a more precise explanation of why what Nishiyama (1994) refers to as an Absolute-Existential sentence, such as the example in (113a) below, cannot be an exact paraphrase of a POSSESSIVE sentence.⁶⁴

(113) a. *Taroo no bessoo ga ar-u.*
 Taro GEN holiday house NOM LE-NPST
 ‘Taro’s holiday house exists.’

b. [*universal* DOMAIN ENTITY (= *Taroo no bessoo*) LE]

The reason that (112a) and (113a) share a *similar* meaning is because the base component of (112a) is similar to the structure of (113a), as schematised in (113b).⁶⁵ However, (112a) and (113a) do *not* denote the *same* meaning: while *ar-u* in (113a) connects only *Taroo no bessoo* ‘Taro’s holiday house’ and the *universal* DOMAIN, *ar-u* in (112a) connects *Taroo* and *bessoo*, since *Taroo*, which is originally a Secondary DOMAIN, is promoted to the Primary DOMAIN position, as portrayed in (114):

(114) [see (112a)]

[*Taroo (ni) wa* [\emptyset *bessoo ga ar-u*]] → [*Taroo (ni) wa* *bessoo ga* *ar-u*]


To put it in other words, while (113a) only denotes the physical presence of Taro’s holiday house, (112a) denotes not only the physical presence of a holiday

⁶⁴ See Sections 2.3.2 and 3.1.5.

⁶⁵ Note that, as claimed above, an Absolute-Existential sentence such as in (113a) is analysed as an LE sentence with a *universal* DOMAIN, as in (113b).

house, but also an abstract co-existential relation, that is, a POSSESSIVE relation, between Taro and the holiday house.⁶⁶

However, the point to note here is that (112b) only represents the structure of (112a) from a theoretical viewpoint, and it does not imply that when the speaker utters the sentence in (112a), he/she first constructs a double-DOMAIN sentence such as in (107), and then deletes the concrete DOMAIN from it. This is demonstrated by the fact that (112a) is usable even when the speaker does not know the physical LOCATION of Taro's holiday house, and the fact that (112a) is not an elliptical sentence although it lacks a concrete DOMAIN.

⁶⁶ The view that considers the concept of POSSESSION to be the abstract co-existence of two elements is from Ikegami (1975: 414).

3.3 DATIVE case and LOCATIVE case

It is common in the literature to label *ni*-marked NPs as DATIVE NPs when they are grammatical arguments, and as LOCATIVE NPs when they are not. Therefore, scholars who adopt the transitive analysis of the POSSESSIVE *ar-u* usually refer to the *ni*-marked NPs in such POSSESSIVE-LE sentences as DATIVE NPs, and the *ni*-marked NPs in the EXISTENTIAL-LE sentences as LOCATIVE NPs.

In consideration of the above, it is interesting to note that Shibatani's (2001b) recent analysis subsumes LOCATIVE NPs of stative predicates under the group of DATIVE NPs, as shown in (115):

(115) Shibatani (2001b: 309)

<i>ni</i> -marked DATIVE NPs	{	GOAL NPs of ditransitive clauses GOAL NPs of motion verbs SOURCE NPs of transfer verbs AGENT NPs in passive clauses CAUSEE NPs in causative clauses LOCATION NPs of stative predicates
------------------------------	---	---

Because it is claimed in this thesis that DOMAIN NPs in LE sentences, including LOCATION NPs in EXISTENTIAL-LE sentences, are grammatical arguments, it seems appropriate to include the LOCATION NPs of stative predicates in the group of DATIVE NPs. However, it is debatable whether such a uniform treatment is justifiable and indeed productive. In order to examine this point, the examples in (116), which Shibatani gives for each of the DATIVE uses in (115), are considered.

(116) Shibatani (2001b: 309f.)

a. <GOAL NP of ditransitive clause>

Ai ga Ken ni hon o yat-ta.

Ai NOM Ken GOAL book ACC give-PST

'Ai gave a book to Ken.'

b. <GOAL NP of motion verb>

Ken ga Tookyoo ni it-ta.

Ken NOM Tokyo GOAL go-PST

'Ken went to Tokyo.'

c. <SOURCE NP of transfer verb>

Ken ga Ai ni hon o morat-ta.

Ken NOM Ai SOURCE book ACC receive-PST

'Ken received a book from Ai.'

d. <AGENT NP in passive clause>

Ken ga haha-oya ni sikara-re-ta.

Ken NOM mother-parent AGENT scold-PASS-PST

'Ken was scolded by his mother.'

e. <CAUSEE NP in causative clause>

Ai ga Ken ni hon o yoma-se-ta.

Ai NOM Ken CAUSEE book ACC read-CAUS-PST

'Ai made Ken read the book.'

f. <LOCATION NP of stative predicate>

tukue no ue ni hon ga ar-u.

desk GEN top LOC book NOM LE-NPST

'There is a book on the top of the desk.'

On examination of these examples, it becomes apparent that the *ni*-marked NP in (116f) is of a different nature from the others. Apart from (116f), all of the *ni*-marked

NPs co-occur with predicates that express or imply a certain directional sense. Although a strong sense of direction cannot be detected in (116d) and (116e), *haha-oya ni* in (116d) can still be regarded as a SOURCE NP in a broad sense, and *Ken ni* in (116e) as a GOAL NP in a broad sense, if these sentences are construed as denoting abstract transfers of the influence of the actions of *sikar-u* ‘scold’ and *yoma-se-ru* ‘make someone read’. In contrast, only the example in (116f) does not have such a directional sense.

The presence of a directional sense should be used as a basic measure to distinguish between the DATIVE case and the LOCATIVE case. Because the LOCATIVE case has been predetermined to be an oblique case in the literature, when the *ni*-marked NPs exhibit subjecthood, as confirmed by the phenomenon of honorification, such NPs have been of necessity labelled as DATIVE cases. However, such predetermination itself is open to criticism. It is in fact justifiable to state that LOCATIVE NPs serve as subjects. It is frequently observed, particularly in honorific expressions, that in order to avoid referring directly to a respected AGENT, such an AGENT is marked by the LOCATIVE case, instead of the NOMINATIVE case.

(117) a. Ikegami (1981: 199)

tennoo-heika ni oka-se-rare-masi-te wa,
 Emperor-his majesty LOC put-HONO-HONO-POL-CONJ TOP
o-mesiagari ni nari-masi-ta.

eat (HONO)-POL-PST

‘The Emperor ate./His majesty had a meal.’

b. *koosyo no migiri, Sakurada Hanae-sama ni*
 facing heat GEN season Sakurada Hanae-POL LOC

oka-re-masi-te wa, sukoyaka ni o-sugosi de
 put-HONO-POL-CONJ TOP healthily POL-live LOC
irassyai-mas-yoo ka. [NV11:345]
 GE (HONO)-POL-INF Q

‘(lit.) In this season facing the heat, I wonder if Miss Hanae Sakurada would be spending everyday healthily.’

→ ‘Miss Hanae Sakurada, how are you in this hot season?’

c. *Toshiyuki-san no syoosoku ga wakara-zu,*
 Toshiyuki-POL GEN whereabouts NOM know-NEG
go-sinpai-sa-re-te i-ru anata ni wa, nan-te
 POL-worrying-do-HONO-GER GE-PNM you LOC TOP what-QTV
hido-i koto o kak-u no ka to, o-ikari ka
 terrible-PNM thing ACC write-PNM NOMI Q QTV POL-angry Q
mo sire-mas-en ne. [NV11:327]
 EMPH be known-POL-NEG FP

‘(lit.) I suppose you, who are worrying about Toshiyuki whose whereabouts is unknown, will be upset, feeling that I wrote such a horrible thing.’

→ ‘I suppose you will be annoyed to read my inconsiderate letter, as I know you are anxious about Toshiyuki’s safety.’

Although the example in (117a), cited from Ikegami (1981), is an extreme case of honorification that is only used for a distinguished noble personage, the same kind of structure with less honorific embellishment is often used, though mainly in formal letters, as in (117b) and (117c).

The particles *ni* in (117a) and (117b) seem to be assigned by *ok-u* ‘put’. If this is the case, it is necessary to categorise them as DATIVE case markers, according to the directionality criterion, since *ok-u* is a verb that involves a directional sense.

However, the examples of *ok-u* in these sentences are, in fact, highly grammaticalised items that no longer possess the original meaning of ‘put’, and are more or less postpositional elements. That is, they are not full lexical verbs that can assign the DATIVE case to NPs. This is the reason why *ok-u* can be omitted as in (117c). Note also that none of these examples in (117) has a directional sense. Therefore, it is justifiable to judge the *ni*-marked NPs in (117) as LOCATIVE NPs. Consequently, these examples show clearly that LOCATIVE NPs *do* serve as subjects in Japanese.

Once it is acknowledged that LOCATIVE NPs can serve as subjects in Japanese, all *ni*-marked DOMAIN arguments in LE sentences can be treated uniformly as LOCATIVE NPs, including those which trigger honorification of the predicates.

Moreover, the directionality criterion is useful in accounting for the ambiguity of the following example:

(118) Nakau (1998: 14)

kare no kenkyuu-situ ni denwa ga ar-u.
 he GEN research-room LOC/DAT telephone NOM LE-NPST

(i) ‘There is a telephone (handset) in his office.’

(ii) ‘There will be a telephone call (from them) to his office.’

The example in (118) allows two different interpretations as given in (i) and (ii). The interpretation in (i) is of a typical SPATIAL-LE sentence, and there is no sense of direction involved. On the other hand, the interpretation in (ii) does contain a sense of direction. It is also noted that in the latter case, the LE *ar-u* is not in a typical stative use, since the present tense denotes a future event, which is referred to here as

an EVENT-LE.⁶⁷ Using the directionality criterion, the DOMAIN NP *kenkyuu-situ ni* in the interpretation in (i) is classified as a LOCATIVE NP, and the same NP in the interpretation in (ii) is classified as a DATIVE NP. The generalisation can then be drawn that the particle *ni* marks the LOCATIVE case in stative constructions, and the DATIVE case in non-stative constructions, and the two interpretations of (118) can be explained in terms of the difference of the DOMAIN argument cases.

As mentioned previously, if the DOMAIN argument in (118) is topicalised as shown in (119) below, the sentence generates a POSSESSIVE sense.

- (119) *kare no kenkyuu-situ wa denwa ga ar-u.*
 he GEN research-room TOP telephone NOM LE-NPST
 'His office has a telephone (handset).'

Although the particle *ni* is covert, the DOMAIN argument should be analysed as a LOCATIVE in this case, since there is no directional sense and the LE *ar-u* is in its typical stative use. It is not logical to consider *kenkyuu-situ ni* in (118i) to be a LOCATIVE NP on the one hand, and *kenkyuu-situ (ni) wa* in (119) to be a DATIVE case NP on the other.⁶⁸ Sugimoto's (1986) study is of interest in this regard. Like

⁶⁷ Nakau (1998: 13ff.) refers to this kind of non-stative usage of *ar-u* as a PROCESS predicate *ar-u*. EVENT-LE sentences, or PROCESS predicate sentences, will be examined in Chapter 4.

⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that the DOMAIN-topicalised version in (119) does not usually cause the ambiguity that is observed in (118). The generalisation could be drawn from this fact that the DATIVE case marker *ni* has to be overt in EVENT-LE constructions. However, such a generalisation is vulnerable because in fact *ni* can be made covert as in the following example:

- kare no kenkyuu-situ wa yoku denwa ga ar-u.*
 he GEN research-room TOP often telephone NOM LE-NPST
 'He gets a lot of phone calls at his office.'

Therefore, the distinction between stative LEs and non-stative LEs is also essentially a matter of interpretation. In the above example, the adverb *yoku* plays a crucial role in producing the EVENT-LE interpretation.

Shibatani, Sugimoto amended his earlier view in which he judged *ni*-marked NPs in EXISTENTIAL constructions to be LOCATIVE NPs, and those in POSSESSIVE constructions to be DATIVE NPs. In his revised account, the *ni*-marked NPs in both EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE constructions, such as in (120), are collectively labelled as LOCATIVE NPs.

(120) Sugimoto (1986: 337)

a. <EXISTENTIAL-LE>

kono mati ni wa bizyutukan ga ar-u.

this town LOC TOP art gallery NOM LE-NPST

‘There is an art gallery in this town.’

b. <POSSESSIVE-LE>

sensei ni wa kodomo ga san-nin ar-u.

professor LOC TOP child NOM 3-person LE-NPST

‘The professor has three children.’

Sugimoto (1986: 337f.) notes that the differences between the two LOCATIVE NPs *mati ni* and *sensei ni* in the above examples are: (i) the former denotes a concrete LOCATION, while the latter denotes an abstract LOCATION; and (ii) the latter functions as a syntactic subject, while the former does not. Sugimoto’s analysis has several elements in common with the analysis presented in this thesis. It is particularly noteworthy that he acknowledges that LOCATIVE NPs can carry subjecthood. However, I do not concur with Sugimoto in his application of the concept of abstract LOCATION to other *ni*-marked NPs, such as GOAL NPs (indirect objects) of ditransitive verbs and SOURCE NPs of transfer verbs: the various types of NP that Shibatani referred to as DATIVE NPs in (115) are all treated as LOCATIVE NPs in

Sugimoto's view. Sugimoto's approach does have some validity, if Japanese is considered from a diachronic perspective. For example, Ono (1990: 1488f.) points out that *ni* was originally a particle that specified a physical static position; subsequently its function extended to specifying a point in time or in a psychological realm, and then further extended to specifying a goal/objective of an action, a reason/source of an action, and an object of causation/passivisation. However, the appropriateness of classifying all *ni*-marked NPs in the same category is questionable. Although such an abstract view of the LOCATIVE case, which has been employed in the framework of the Localist Theory,⁶⁹ is intriguing, this approach may be too broad to be employed in detailed descriptions of Japanese. Therefore, the most productive approach is to draw a boundary based on directionality between the LOCATIVE case and the DATIVE case, bearing in mind that the boundary is not necessarily clear-cut due to the fact that the two cases share the same historical origin.

Unless the two case categories are properly distinguished, the ambiguity of the example in (118) cannot be logically explained. The following example is also ambiguous, but the two distinct interpretations can be explained by the different function of the case particle *ni*, in the same manner in which the example in (118) was explained.

- (121) *zitu wa Idogawa ni wa sugo-i husai ga at-te*
 truth TOP Idogawa LOC/DAT TOP incredible-PNM debt NOM LE-CONJ
ne, kaes-e-nakat-ta n des-u yo. [NV12:97]
 FP return-POTEN-NEG-PST NOMI COP-NPST FP
 (i) 'To tell the truth, Idogawa had an incredible amount of debt, and he

⁶⁹ For the Localist view of language, see Anderson (1971, 1977).

couldn't repay it.'

- (ii) 'To tell the truth, I was in debt to Idogawa for an incredible amount of money, and I couldn't repay it to him.'

3.4 Contiguity Theory

As discussed in the previous sections, Shibatani (2001a, b) and Sugimoto (1986) both treat the POSSESSIVE-LE construction as equivalent to the EXISTENTIAL-LE construction, although there are a number of differences in the details of their arguments. However, as mentioned above, the homogeneity of the EXISTENTIAL-LE construction and the POSSESSIVE-LE construction is not properly recognised in most studies in the literature. A notable exception to this, in addition to Shibatani, Sugimoto, and Kageyama (1996), which was briefly reviewed in Section 2.2, is Ikegami (1975, 1981). The main points of Ikegami's arguments can be summarised as shown below:

(122) Ikegami (1975, 1981)⁷⁰

- a. The POSSESSIVE sentence 'Y (*ni*) wa X ga ar-u' has the semantic structural frame [WITH Y BE X].
- b. The original form of [WITH Y BE X] is [X BE WITH Y], which is a frame of the EXISTENTIAL expression.
- c. WITH is a contiguity marker, and both [WITH Y BE X] and [X BE WITH Y] are expressions that denote a contiguity between X and Y.
- d. A POSSESSIVE relation between X and Y is, in other words, an abstract co-existential relation between X and Y.
- e. Issatschenko (1974) made a typological distinction between BE-languages and HAVE-languages. Japanese is an example of a BE-language that uses [WITH Y BE X] for the POSSESSIVE expression. In contrast, English is a

⁷⁰ My translation from the Japanese.

typical example of a HAVE-language that uses [Y HAVE X] for the POSSESSIVE expression.⁷¹

In Ikegami's account, which is referred to as Contiguity Theory below, the bivalency of *ar-u* and *i-ru* is recognised. More importantly, as shown below, the POSSESSIVE meaning is considered to be a possible interpretation of the contiguity between two elements X and Y.

(123) Ikegami (1981: 71f.)⁷²

watasi no soba ni tukue ga ar-u.

I GEN near LOC desk NOM LE-NPST

'There is a desk near me.'

The expression above denotes EXISTENCE in the form of [WITH Y BE X]. When something is contiguous to an animate ENTITY, particularly to a human, we naturally construe that the thing in question is under the control of the human; that is, the thing is *possessed* by the human. Based on this semantic interconnection, the EXISTENTIAL expression is used to denote a POSSESSIVE meaning.

Contiguity Theory explains that the pair of examples in (124) below both have the same semantic structure [WITH Y BE X] (or [Y WITH X BE]), and that (124b) produces a POSSESSIVE interpretation because Y is animate and it can carry controlling power over X. The EXISTENTIAL sentence in (123) is analysed as an intermediate sentence between a typical SPATIAL-LE sentence such as in (124a) and a typical POSSESSIVE-LE sentence such as in (124b).

⁷¹ It is noted that, as Ikegami points out, there is another type of POSSESSIVE expression in Japanese that corresponds to the formula of [Y HAVE X]. However, Japanese is still classified as a BE-language since the sentence of [WITH Y BE X] type is readily available to express the concept of possession.

⁷² My translation from the Japanese.

(124) Ikegami (1981: 70f.)

	Y	WITH	X		BE
a.	<u>heya</u>	<u>ni wa</u>	<u>Taroo ga</u>		<u>i-ru.</u>
	room	LOC TOP	Taro NOM		LE-NPST

‘There is Taro in the room.’

	Y	WITH	X		BE
b.	<u>watasi</u>	<u>(ni) wa</u>	<u>kodomo ga</u>	<i>hutari</i>	{ <u>ar-u</u> / <u>i-ru</u> }.
	I	(LOC) TOP	child NOM	two people	LE-NPST / LE-NPST

‘(lit.) There are two children at me.’

→ ‘I have two children.’

Contiguity Theory correctly characterises the fundamentals of Japanese LE constructions. However, the argument in (123) does not account for the fact that a POSSESSIVE interpretation sometimes occurs even when Y is inanimate.

Ikegami (1975: 414ff.) notes that when X and Y have an inalienable relation, as in the example in (125) below, the sentential meaning approximates to the meaning of POSSESSION. Yet, strictly speaking, such a case is excluded from the category of POSSESSIVE-LE constructions in Contiguity Theory since, as Ikegami (1975: 413, 1981: 239) states, the concept of POSSESSION is considered to emerge only when Y is animate.

(125) Ikegami (1981: 108)

	Y	WITH	X		BE
	<u>heya</u>	<u>ni wa</u>	<u>mado ga</u>	<i>hutatu</i>	<u>ar-u.</u>
	room	LOC TOP	window NOM	two pieces	LE-NPST

‘The room has two windows.’

Such a strict categorisation of the POSSESSIVE-LE construction is not adopted in

this thesis. Instead, a prototype approach is taken, which considers an example with an inanimate DOMAIN argument, such as in (125), to be a non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentence, rather than a non-POSSESSIVE-LE sentence.⁷³

⁷³ The example below, which is a *ni*-dropped version of (125), renders it even clearer that an LE sentence with an inanimate DOMAIN argument becomes a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence. The examples given in (91) are also of this type.

(*sono*) *heya wa mado ga hutatu ar-u.*
(the) room TOP window NOM two pieces LE-NPST
'The room has two windows.'

3.5 DOMAINS and ENTITIES that typically produce a POSSESSIVE interpretation

3.5.1 Prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences

Given that the relation between a DOMAIN NP and an ENTITY NP basically controls the interpretation of a given LE sentence, the types of NPs that tend to generate a POSSESSIVE interpretation are now considered.

The prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentence, which has an animate DOMAIN argument, is first considered. As given in (126), Morita (1996) classifies nominals that occupy the ENTITY slot of [*watasi ni wa* <ENTITY> *ga ar-u*] ‘I have <ENTITY>’ into three categories: *hito*-nominals, *koto*-nominals, and *mono*-nominals.⁷⁴

(126) Morita (1996: 314)

- a. <*hito*-nominals> (nominals that indicate a ‘person’)

examples:

kazoku ‘family’, *otto* ‘husband’, *tuma* ‘wife’, *kon'yakusya* ‘fiancé’,
haiguusya ‘spouse’, *kodomo* ‘child’, *siriai* ‘acquaintance’, *desi* ‘pupil’,
buka ‘subordinate’, *mikata* ‘friend/supporter’, *raibaru* ‘rival’, *teki* ‘enemy’

- b. <*koto*-nominals> (nominals that indicate an ‘abstract/intangible thing’)

examples:

yuuki ‘courage’, *kiboo* ‘hope’, *yume* ‘dream’, *kyooyoo* ‘culture’, *zaisan*
‘property’, *omoide* ‘recollection’, *kioku* ‘memory’, *zisin* ‘confidence’,
tikara ‘power’

⁷⁴ *Hito*, *koto*, and *mono* are superordinate nouns that are often utilised as labels in classifying Japanese nouns in terms of their semantic characteristics. As shown in (126), the proximate English translations for these words are ‘person’, ‘abstract/intangible thing’ and ‘concrete/tangible thing’, respectively.

c. <mono-nominals> (nominals that indicate a ‘concrete/tangible thing’)

examples:

me ‘eye’, *mimi* ‘ear’, *sippo* ‘tail’, *tuno* ‘horn’, *ie* ‘house’, *toti* ‘land’

Morita then draws the following generalisations:

(127) Morita (1996: 314)⁷⁵

a. *hito*-ENTITY:

Because it is animate, it is not a POSSESSED item in the literal sense. Rather, it is a person with whom the speaker (= *watasi* ‘I’) cannot disown the relationship; that is, a person with whom the speaker has certain ‘ties’.

b. *koto*-ENTITY and *mono*-ENTITY:

A thing within the speaker’s territory, or under his/her control.

From Morita’s analysis, it can be concluded that a POSSESSIVE interpretation typically occurs when any of the three ENTITY NPs is connected to an animate DOMAIN NP by the LE *ar-u*.

However, the POSSESSIVE-LE *i-ru* is not included in Morita’s discussion, which suggests that Morita, as Shibatani did in his earlier studies, takes the position of accepting only *ar-u* as a POSSESSIVE-LE.

Morita points out that there are certain *hito*-nominals which cannot fill in the ENTITY slot of the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* construction, as shown in (128):

(128) Morita (1996: 314)

a. * *watasi ni wa o-tetudai-san ga ar-u.*

I LOC TOP POL-helper-POL NOM LE-NPST

(intended to express: ‘I have a maid.’)

⁷⁵ My translation from the Japanese.

- b. * *ano untensyu ni wa zyookyaku ga ar-u.*
 that driver LOC TOP passenger NOM LE-NPST
 (intended to express: ‘That driver has passengers.’)

Because *i-ru* is precluded from the discussion, his study does not lead to the comparison of *ar-u* and *i-ru*. For instance, the example in (128a) becomes acceptable if *ar-u* is replaced with *i-ru*, as shown in (129a):

- (129) a. *watasi ni wa o-tetudai-san ga i-ru.*
 I LOC TOP POL-helper-POL NOM LE-NPST
 ‘I have a maid.’

- b. ?? *ano untensyu ni wa zyookyaku ga i-ru.*
 that driver LOC TOP passenger NOM LE-NPST
 ‘That driver has passengers.’

On the other hand, (128b) still sounds unnatural, even if *ar-u* is replaced with *i-ru*, as in (129b). This fact indicates that the two nominals *untensyu* ‘driver’ and *zyookyaku* ‘passenger’ do not usually allow a POSSESSOR-POSSESSED interpretation, which in turn confirms the claim proposed in this thesis that the two nominals control the interpretation of an LE sentence.⁷⁶

Shibatani (2001a: 30f.) presents an interesting observation on the difference between the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* and the POSSESSIVE-LE *i-ru*. He claims that in the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* construction the ENTITY nominal *must* be someone or

⁷⁶ It is noted that the example in (128b) can be used as a non-stative LE expression to mean that that driver will have some passengers in the future. In this case, *ar-u* is an EVENT-LE that is distinguished from a POSSESSIVE-LE.

something that is highly dependent on the DOMAIN nominal, while in the POSSESSIVE-LE *i-ru* construction the ENTITY nominal can be someone or something that exists independent of the DOMAIN nominal. The following examples are given in Shibatani. Note that the examples have been arranged in order, to demonstrate a gradation in the acceptability of *ar-u*.

(130) Shibatani (2001a: 30f.)

- a. *Ken ni wa yo-i tomodati ga takusan {i-ru / ar-u}*.
 Ken LOC TOP good-PNM friend NOM many LE-NPST / LE-NPST
 ‘Ken has many good friends.’
- b. *Ken ni wa yo-i siensya ga {i-ru / ? ar-u}*.
 Ken LOC TOP good-PNM supporter NOM LE-NPST / LE-NPST
 ‘Ken has good supporters.’
- c. *Ken ni wa inu ga san-biki mo {i-ru / ?? ar-u}*.
 Ken LOC TOP dog NOM 3-CLS EMPH LE-NPST / LE-NPST
 ‘Ken has as many as three dogs.’
- d. *Ken ni wa takusan huan ga {i-ru / * ar-u}*.
 Ken LOC TOP many fan NOM LE-NPST / LE-NPST
 ‘Ken has many fans.’
- e. *Ken ni wa teki ga {i-ru / * ar-u}*.
 Ken LOC TOP enemy NOM LE-NPST / LE-NPST
 ‘Ken has enemies.’

Although Shibatani’s analysis based on the concept of dependency is interesting, his acceptability judgements in (130) are not definitive, because there are considerable disparities among generations and individuals in the use of the POSSESSIVE-LEs. For instance, Morita, as shown in (126a), accepts the nominal *teki*

‘enemy’ as co-occurring with *ar-u*, while Shibatani does not, as shown in (130e).⁷⁷ It is also noted that ‘ties’ in Morita’s explanation in (127a) and ‘dependency’ in Shibatani’s account are both extremely subjective notions; for example, it is difficult to prove that *o-tetudai-san* in (128a) has no ties with, or has no dependency on, the speaker.⁷⁸

Therefore, it is not possible to account objectively for the selection of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in POSSESSIVE-LE constructions. The only comment that can be made with assurance is that *i-ru* is always permissible when the POSSESSED NP is animate, except for a case such as in (129b), where the DOMAIN nominal and the ENTITY nominal do not form a POSSESSOR-POSSESSED relationship.

3.5.2 Non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences

POSSESSIVE-LE sentences with inanimate DOMAIN arguments are now considered. Although such non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences are rarely discussed in the study of Japanese EXISTENTIAL and POSSESSIVE expressions, it is significant that Nishiyama includes them in his investigation of Japanese LE sentences. As discussed in Chapter 2, Nishiyama refers to the following type of examples as

⁷⁷ In the writer’s personal view as a native speaker of Japanese, the use of *ar-u* in all the examples in (130) sounds unnatural. Although it is difficult to specify the degree of unnaturalness of each example, using *ar-u* in (130c) sounds more unnatural than using *ar-u* in (130e), in contrast to Shibatani’s view.

⁷⁸ Although I concur with Morita (1996) in rejecting the example in (128a), there is no guarantee that there are no speakers who find it perfectly acceptable.

semi-POSSESSIVE sentences.⁷⁹

(131) Nishiyama (1994: 134)

a. *Yoko no tikoku ni wa seitoo-na riyuu ga ar-u.*
Yoko GEN tardiness LOC TOP fair-PNM reason NOM LE-NPST
'(lit.) Yoko's tardiness has a good reason.'

→ 'There is a good reason for Yoko's tardiness.'

b. *kono kaisyā ni wa Amerika-zin no zyūyaku ga*
this company LOC TOP America-national GEN executive NOM
i-ru. [= (37f)]

LE-NPST

'There is an American executive in this company.'

or 'This company has an American executive.'

The example in (131a) illuminates the types of DOMAIN and ENTITY nominals that produce a POSSESSIVE interpretation. When an abstract noun such as *tikoku* 'tardiness' stands as a DOMAIN argument, a SPATIAL-LE reading is eliminated, and only an abstract noun is allowed to stand as the ENTITY argument. When two abstract nouns are connected by an LE, the sentence expresses what Ikegami referred to as an "abstract co-existential relation" in (122d). Therefore, such a sentence typically produces a POSSESSIVE interpretation. The following examples also generate POSSESSIVE meanings because both the DOMAIN and the ENTITY arguments are abstract nouns:

⁷⁹ Nishiyama distinguishes examples such as those in (131) from POSSESSIVE sentences on the grounds that the DOMAIN nominals in these examples do not indicate physical/spatial LOCATIONS. Therefore, his criterion is not identical to the criterion used in this thesis for distinguishing between prototypical and non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE constructions, although what Nishiyama refers to as semi-POSSESSIVE sentences are placed in the category of non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE construction.

- (132) a. *Okinawa no maisoo mo, dokutoku no syuukan ga*
 Okinawa GEN burial also unique GEN custom NOM
at-te omosiro-i n des-u yo. [TK01:85]
 LE-CONJ interesting-PNM NOMI COP-NPST FP
 ‘Okinawa burials also have unique customs, and they are interesting, you know?’
- b. *bunretubyoo ni wa hoka ni mo husigi-na ten*
 schizophrenia LOC TOP other LOC also puzzling-PNM point
ga iroiro ari-mas-u. [TK03:87]
 NOM variously LE-POL-NPST
 ‘Schizophrenia has various puzzling aspects other than these.’

What is of interest is the fact that the example in (131b) generates a POSSESSIVE meaning, despite the fact that the DOMAIN argument appears to be a concrete noun. Nishiyama claims that the DOMAIN argument *kono kaisyā* ‘this company’ in this example does not indicate a company as a concrete (SPATIAL) LOCATION but a company as an organisation or a system, on the grounds that the proposition of the sentence remains true even if the American executive is not physically in the company building. This suggests that certain concrete nouns, such as *kaisyā*, can be interpreted as abstract LOCATIONS. In contrast, nouns such as *kaigi-situ* ‘conference room’ and *huro-ba* ‘bathroom’, as in the following examples, do not allow such an interpretation. Accordingly, these examples in (133) are typically interpreted as SPATIAL-LE sentences, rather than POSSESSIVE-LE sentences.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ This is not to say that the nouns such as *kaigi-situ* and *huro-ba* never become POSSESSOR arguments.

(133) a. *kono kaigi-situ ni wa Amerika-zin no*
 this conference-room LOC TOP America-national GEN
zyuuyaku ga i-ru.
 executive NOM LE-NPST

?? ‘This conference room has an American executive.’
 ‘An American executive is in this conference room.’

b. “*huro-ba ni kegani ga i-ru n des-u*
 bath-room LOC hairy crab NOM LE-PNM NOMI COP-NPST
kedo ne.” [NV09:43]
 CONJ FP

?? ‘The bathroom has a hairy crab, you know?’

‘There is a hairy crab in the bathroom, you know?’

Because the noun *kaisya* is not intrinsically an abstract noun, there is the possibility that a concrete noun may stand in the ENTITY position in (131b), which consequently leads to a SPATIAL-LE interpretation. In other words, the nature of the ENTITY nominal plays a more crucial role in (131b) than in (131a). I consider that the example in (131b) generates a POSSESSIVE meaning because the DOMAIN nominal *kaisya* and the ENTITY nominal *zyuuyaku* can form a GROUP-MEMBER relation, which is a subtype of the POSSESSOR-POSSESSED relation.

Nishiyama, who attaches great importance to whether or not a given ENTITY NP is a referential expression,⁸¹ claims that because the ENTITY NP *zyuuyaku* in (131b) is non-referential, the sentence should be classified as a semi-POSSESSIVE sentence, rather than a SPATIAL-LE sentence. However, this is not a relevant factor. For example, consider the sentence in (134):

⁸¹ See also Nishiyama (1988) for his discussion on referential and non-referential NPs.

- (134) *kono kaisya ni wa kyonen kaigi de siri-at-ta*
 this company LOC TOP last year conference LOC get acquainted-PST
Amerika-zin no Zyon to i-u zyuyaku ga i-ru.
 America-national GEN John QTV say-PNM executive NOM LE-NPST
 ‘This company has in its employees the American executive called John
 whom I met at the conference last year.’

The ENTITY NP in (134) is clearly referential, yet it does not reject a POSSESSIVE interpretation. As Nishiyama claimed with reference to (131b), the proposition of this sentence also remains true even if the American executive called John is not physically in the company building. If the example in (131b) is treated as a semi-POSSESSIVE, the example in (134) should also be treated as a semi-POSSESSIVE.

I consider that the crucial factor is whether or not the DOMAIN and the ENTITY can form a GROUP-MEMBER relation, rather than whether or not the ENTITY NP is referential, as Nishiyama claims. The reason that the example in (135a) below does not generate a POSSESSIVE interpretation is because *soori-daizin* ‘the Prime Minister’ is not considered to be a MEMBER of a private company.

- (135) a. *kono kaisya ni wa soori-daizin ga i-ru.*
 this company LOC TOP Prime-Minister NOM LE-NPST
 ‘The Prime Minister is in this company.’
 * ‘This company has a Prime Minister.’

- b. *kono kaisya ni wa supai ga i-ru.*
 this company LOC TOP spy NOM LE-NPST
 (i) ‘There is a spy (from another company) in this company.’
 (ii) ‘This company has a spy (to send to another company).’

The two interpretations that the example in (135b) allows can also be explained in terms of the GROUP-MEMBER relation. If *supai* ‘spy’ is from another company, *kono kaisya* and *supai* do not form a GROUP-MEMBER relation. Therefore, the sentence is interpreted to be a SPATIAL-LE sentence as in (i). On the other hand, if the spy is an employee of *kono kaisya* ‘this company’ who will be sent to another company, *kono kaisya* and *supai* form a GROUP-MEMBER relation, and the sentence is interpreted to be a POSSESSIVE-LE sentence as in (ii). Note that, in either interpretation, whether the nominal *supai* is referential or non-referential is irrelevant.

The examples examined above are cases in which the DOMAIN argument is an abstract noun, or a concrete noun that is viewed as an abstract DOMAIN. There are also cases in which a POSSESSIVE interpretation occurs despite the fact that the DOMAIN argument is a concrete noun that is viewed as a concrete DOMAIN, as in the following example:

- (136) “*Burakkupuuru ni rekisi ga ar-u yoo ni, kono*
 Blackpool LOC history NOM LE-PNM like this
booru-ruumu ni mo sorenari no rekisi wa ar-u to
 ball-room LOC also certain GEN history TOP LE-NPST QTV
omoi-mas-en ka.” [SC15:45]
 think-POL-NEG Q
 ‘Don’t you think this ballroom also has a certain history, just in the same way as Blackpool has?’

As is signalled clearly by the demonstrative *kono* ‘this’, the DOMAIN NP *kono booru-ruumu* ‘this ballroom’ indicates a physical building in which the speaker and

the interlocutor are situated. Nevertheless, the sentence produces a POSSESSIVE interpretation due to the abstract ENTITY nominal *rekisi* ‘history’.

It follows from the observations in the above that a POSSESSIVE reading occurs even when the DOMAIN argument is inanimate. However, there are certain conditions: (i) the DOMAIN and the ENTITY are both abstract nominals, as in (131a) and (132a), or at least the ENTITY is a typical abstract nominal, as in (136); or (ii) the DOMAIN and the ENTITY, if they are not intrinsically abstract nominals, form a GROUP-MEMBER relation, as in (131b), (134), and (135b-ii). It can be generalised, in consideration of these conditions, that an LE sentence with an inanimate DOMAIN nominal produces a POSSESSIVE interpretation when the ENTITY is an abstract nominal or a concrete nominal that allows abstract interpretation.

3.6 Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE constructions in linguistic-typological studies

As noted in Chapter 1, the characteristics of the Japanese LE constructions have not been correctly understood in linguistic-typological studies. This section investigates how the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE construction has been treated in linguistic-typological studies that specifically deal with POSSESSIVE expressions.

It has already been noted that Ikegami (1981) claims that Japanese is an example of a BE-language using the typological distinction between the BE-language and the HAVE-language established by Issatschenko (1974). However, since Issatschenko (1974), the cross-linguistic study of POSSESSIVE expressions has made considerable progress. Heine (1997) has made a significant contribution to this field. The treatment of Japanese in his study is outlined below.

Heine postulates the following eight major schemata of predicative POSSESSIVE expressions.

(137) Heine (1997: 47)

	Formula	Label of event schema
a.	X takes Y	ACTION
b.	Y is located at X	LOCATION
c.	X is with Y	COMPANION
d.	X's Y exists	GENITIVE
e.	Y exists for/to X	GOAL
f.	Y exists from X	SOURCE
g.	As for X, Y exists	TOPIC
h.	Y is X's (property)	EQUATION

Heine classifies the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE sentence within the category of GOAL Schema, which he explains in the following way:

(138) Heine (1997: 59ff.)⁸²

The GOAL Schema:

This schema typically consists of a verb of existence or of location, where the possessor is encoded as a dative/benefactive or goal case expression and the possessee typically as a subject constituent. Since dative/benefactive markers are frequently derived from allative/directional markers, the latter functions may also be part of the case marker figuring in the Goal Schema. This applies, for example, to the suffix *-ni* occurring in the Japanese example below.

Japanese (Korean-Japanese, Altaic; Makino 1968: 4)

Zyon (ni) wa kuruma ga ar-u.

John to car is

‘John has a car.’

In order to determine the schema of Japanese POSSESSIVE expressions Heine consulted Makino (1968). This work by Makino is a Transformational Grammatical study of Japanese LE constructions, in which Makino analyses the *ni*-marked NPs in POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* sentences as DATIVE NPs, as in Shibatani’s earlier studies. However, Makino (1968) differs from Shibatani (1978) in the respect that he does not assume the existence of two distinct verbs, that is, the EXISTENTIAL *ar-u* and the POSSESSIVE *ar-u*. He considers that the verb *ar-u* always denotes the existence of an ENTITY, and the concept of POSSESSION is a possible interpretation of an LE construction.⁸³ The question then arises as to how and why Makino (1968) judges *ni*-marked NPs in POSSESSIVE-LE sentences to be DATIVE NPs, rather than LOCATIVE NPs. Makino justifies his claim by means of the following tests of

⁸² The glosses given to the Japanese example are Heine’s.

⁸³ In Makino (1978: 250), he states more explicitly that the EXISTENTIAL sentence and the POSSESSIVE sentence share the identical structure of [Space + Subject + LE].

paraphrasability.

(139) Makino (1968: 3f.)

a. *Iri-noi-daigaku wa Iri-noi-syuu ni ar-u.*
Illinois-university TOP Illinois-state LOC LE-NPST
'The University of Illinois is in the State of Illinois.'

b. *Iri-noi-syuu ni ike-ba, Iri-noi-daigaku ga ar-u.*
Illinois-state LOC go-COND Illinois-university NOM LE-NPST
'If you go to the State of Illinois you'll find the University of Illinois.'

(140) Makino (1968: 4)

a. *tukue ni (wa) asi ga ar-u.*
desk DAT (TOP) leg NOM LE-NPST
'A desk has legs.'

b. * *tukue ni ike-ba, asi ga ar-u.*
desk LOC go-COND leg NOM LE-NPST

According to Makino, the *ni*-marked NP *Iri-noi-syuu ni* in the LOCATIVE-LE sentence in (139a) is a LOCATIVE NP, because it can be paraphrased as *Iri-noi-syuu ni ike-ba* 'if you go to Illinois State' as shown in (139b), whereas the *ni*-marked NP *tukue ni* in the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence in (140a) is a DATIVE NP, because it cannot be paraphrased as *tukue ni ike-ba* 'if you go to the desk', as shown in (140b). However, these tests of paraphrasability lack validity for the following three reasons.

First, as noted in Section 3.3, the semantic role of a *ni*-marked NP, such as a GOAL, SOURCE, or LOCATION, varies according to the co-occurring verb. Therefore, it is inappropriate to introduce a different verb such as *ik-u* into the discussion of *ni*-marked NPs in LE sentences.

Second, the *ni*-marked NP that co-occurs with the verb *ik-u* ‘go’ is a GOAL NP. This is demonstrated by the fact that the particle *ni* in (139b) can be replaced with the GOAL-orientation marker *e*, as shown in (141b):

- (141) a. * *Irinoi-daigaku wa Irinoi-syuu e ar-u.*
 Illinois-university TOP Illinois-state to LE-NPST
- b. *Irinoi-syuu e ike-ba, Irinoi-daigaku ga ar-u.*
 Illinois-state to go-COND Illinois-university NOM LE-NPST
 ‘If you go to Illinois State, the University of Illinois is there.’

It is important to note that the particle *ni* in (139a) cannot be replaced by the particle *e*, as shown in (141a). This asymmetry is a clear indication of the fact that the two *ni*-marked NPs in the two examples in (139) are not the same NPs.

Third, given that indicating a GOAL is one of the typical functions of the DATIVE particle *ni*, the results of the tests of paraphrasability in (139) and (140) can be interpreted to suggest that the *ni*-marked NP in (139a) is a DATIVE NP, whereas the one in (140a) is not, contrary to Makino’s claim.

As argued in Section 3.3, the boundary between DATIVE and LOCATIVE should be drawn in terms of directionality. Although the *ni*-marked NP in (139b) involves a directional sense, it has no relation to the *ni*-marked NP in (139a). In fact, as claimed in Section 2.3.2, a sentence such as in (139b) should be analysed as a DOMAIN ellipsis version of the sentence in (142):

- (142) (*Irinoi-syuu ni ike-ba,*) *soko ni Irinoi-daigaku ga ar-u.*
 (Illinois-state DAT go-COND) there LOC Illinois-university NOM LE-NPST
 ‘(If you go to Illinois State) The University of Illinois is there.’

Moreover, the unacceptability of (140b) should be explained in terms of the inalienable relationship between the DOMAIN NP and the ENTITY NP.⁸⁴ The fact that (140a) cannot be paraphrased as (140b) is irrelevant to the DATIVE-LOCATIVE identification of the *ni*-marked NP in (140a).

As is evident in the above observations, the validity of Makino’s (1968) arguments in reference to the DATIVE-LOCATIVE distinction does not stand up under examination. It is more appropriate to consider, as claimed above, that *ni*-marked NPs that co-occur with LEs, including both LOCATIVE-LEs such as in (139a), and POSSESSIVE-LEs such as in (140a), are LOCATIVE case NPs. Therefore, it is not justifiable to classify the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE construction in the category of the GOAL Schema in (137e). The most appropriate alternative category is the LOCATION Schema in (137b), which Heine explains as follows:

- (143) Heine (1997: 50f.)

The LOCATION Schema:

The extension pattern of this schema can be described with the following formula, where X stands for the possessor, Y for the possessee, and *is at* for a locative copula or a stative verb (‘be at’, ‘stay’, ‘sit’, etc.).

Y is at X’s place > X has, owns Y

⁸⁴ See Fillmore (1968: 61 ff.) for a discussion on inalienable possession.

In accordance with its source form, the syntactic structure of possessive constructions derived from this schema is such that the possessee is encoded as the subject and the possessor as a locative complement.

There is considerable overlap between the explanation for the GOAL Schema in (138) and the explanation for the LOCATION Schema in the above. However, Heine asserts the importance of the distinction, as follows:

(144) Heine (1997: 69)

Instances of the Location and the Goal Schemas may have strikingly similar structures, in that (a) the possessee is encoded as the sentence subject, (b) the possessor noun phrase has a form that resembles the locative morphology, and (c) the predicate consists of a copula-like verb. That, nevertheless, the two must be distinguished is suggested by observations such as the following: first, if both schemas are associated with a locative morphology to mark the possessor, then the locative concept expressed is static (to be translated by ‘at, by’, etc.) in the case of the Location Schema, while it expresses some goal-orientation (‘to, for’, etc.) in the case of Goal Schema. Second, the possessor is presented as a complement in the former but as an adjunct in the latter case. Third, while in many languages verbs expressing location (‘be at’) and existence (‘exist, be there’) are homophonous, some languages do distinguish the two.

The three criteria presented in (144) all support the LOCATION-Schema analysis of the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE construction. The crucial factor is that the LOCATIVE concept in the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE construction does not involve a directional sense, that is, it is static. Therefore, it is appropriate to classify the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE construction in the category of the LOCATION Schema.

In addition, it is noted that, as Makino (1968) points out, there is another type of POSSESSIVE expression in which the verb *mot-u* 'take, have' is used.⁸⁵

(145) Makino (1968: 5)

Zyon wa kuruma o mot-te i-ru.
John TOP car ACC have-GER GE-NPST
'John has a car.'

The above example shows that not only the LOCATION Schema but also the ACTION Schema in (137a) is used in Japanese.⁸⁶

Structurally, the example in (145) has a typical transitive construction in which the POSSESSOR (subject) is marked by the NOMINATIVE *ga*, and the POSSESSED item (object) is marked by the ACCUSATIVE *o*; that is, it has a completely different structure from the POSSESSIVE-LE construction.⁸⁷ Viewed in this light, the transitive analysis of the POSSESSIVE-LE construction can also be criticised in the respect that it fails to distinguish the LOCATION Schema from the ACTION Schema.

It is also important to note that, although both the LOCATION Schema and the ACTION Schema are available for predicative POSSESSIVE expressions in Japanese, they are not always interchangeable. For example, in a context such as that where the speaker offers to drive the interlocutor home, the LOCATION Schema sentence is

⁸⁵ Because the verb *mot-u* generally denotes an instantaneous action, it is usually stativised by the GE *i-ru*. Therefore, the *i-ru* in *mot-te i-ru* in (145) is not an LE but a GE. GEs of this type are discussed in Chapter 6.

⁸⁶ Makino's (1968) description in reference to the example in (145) has been ignored by Heine (1997) in his classification of Japanese POSSESSIVE expressions, although he recognises that one language may use two, or more, schemata.

⁸⁷ The POSSESSOR NP is usually topicalised as in (145). If it is not topicalised, the sentence becomes a marked expression that emphasises who the POSSESSOR is.

selected in preference to the ACTION Schema, as shown in (146):⁸⁸

(146) a. “*kyoo wa kuruma ga ar-u kara okur-u yo.*”
 today TOP car NOM LE-NPST because send-NPST FP
 ‘I’ll drive you home, because I’ve got a car (here) with me today.’

b. ?? “*kyoo wa kuruma o mot-te (i-)ru kara okur-u yo.*”
 today TOP car ACC have-GER (GE-)NPST because send-NPST FP
 ‘I’ll drive you home, because I own a car today.’

The example in (146a) is more appropriate than the example in (146b) in the given context, because the former simultaneously denotes the concept of POSSESSION (‘I have/own a car’) and the concept of EXISTENCE/LOCATION (‘my car is here’), whereas the latter denotes only the literal sense of POSSESSION.⁸⁹

Because it is not the aim of this thesis to elucidate the nature of the Japanese POSSESSIVE expression in general, the semantic/pragmatic differences between POSSESSIVE-LE constructions and the *mot-te i-ru* constructions are not investigated further.⁹⁰ However, comparison of the pair of examples in (146) reveals that

⁸⁸ As in the example in (146b), ‘*i*’ is often dropped from *V-te i-ru*, which becomes *V-te ru*, particularly in conversation.

⁸⁹ If a POSSESSED item is something that the speaker carries, *mot-te i-ru* can also denote the concept of POSSESSION and the concept of EXISTENCE/LOCATION simultaneously. Therefore, either of the following examples can be used in a context where the speaker offers to treat the interlocutor to a meal.

(i) “*kyoo wa o-kane ga ar-u kara mesu ogor-u yo.*”
 today TOP POL-money NOM LE-NPST because meal treat-NPST FP
 ‘I’ll treat you to a meal, because I’ve got some money with me today.’

(ii) “*kyoo wa o-kane o mot-te (i-)ru kara mesu ogor-u yo.*”
 today TOP POL-money ACC have-GER (GE-)NPST because meal treat-NPST FP
 ‘I’ll treat you to a meal, because I have some money with me today.’

⁹⁰ Although selection between the LE *ar-u* and the verb *mot-te i-ru* is a complex issue, which demands case-by-case investigation, the following generalisation is found in Kikuchi (2000):

Kikuchi (2000: 149f.) (My translation from the Japanese)

(A) to use [*X (ni) wa Y ga ar-u*], either of the following two conditions must be satisfied:

POSSESSIVE-LE constructions and *mot-te i-ru* constructions not only have different structures, corresponding respectively to the schemas [Y is located at X] and [X takes Y] in Heine's classification in (137), but also have differing degrees of usability in particular contexts.

-
- (i) Y is an inalienable factor/aspect of X, and the existence of Y is an attribute of X
 - (ii) The existence of Y indicates X's circumstance or a factor that affects X

(B) to use [X *wa* Y *o mot-te i-ru*], one of the following three conditions must be satisfied:

- (i) At the time of the speech, X physically carries Y (a concrete object)
(In this case, Y does not have to be a thing owned by X)
- (ii) X owns Y (either a concrete object or an abstract thing) as his/her asset
(In this case, Y must be a thing owned by X)
- (iii) Y serves under X, and X is responsible for Y

3.7 Summary of Chapter 3

The main observations and arguments of this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- i. In syntactic studies, particularly within the Generative Grammatical framework, the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence is generally analysed as a transitive construction, because the subjecthood of the DOMAIN argument is confirmed by the phenomenon of subject honorification. However, the objecthood of the ENTITY argument in the same sentence is not proven.
- ii. The view that *ar-u* is the only POSSESSIVE-LE leads to an inappropriate analysis of the LE *i-ru* sentence that denotes the concept of POSSESSION.
- iii. Because of its *ni-ga* case alignment, the POSSESSIVE-LE *ar-u* is often included in the same predicate group as verbs such as *wakar-u* ‘understand’ and *nom-e-ru* ‘can drink’. However, *ar-u* differs from the other verbs in this group due to the fact that the LE is not associated with the concept of transitivity.
- iv. The delineation of a clear boundary between the EXISTENTIAL-LE sentence and the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence is not justified. The concept of POSSESSION and that of EXISTENCE (or LOCATION) are sometimes expressed simultaneously in one sentence.
- v. The procedure of DOMAIN-topicalisation helps to generate a POSSESSIVE interpretation, although this is not always the case. The procedure is essentially the same as ENTITY-topicalisation, which is often employed to generate a LOCATIVE interpretation, in the respect that both involve the construction of a TOPIC-COMMENT structure by extracting one of the two arguments in the LE construction.
- vi. Shibatani’s (1999, 2001a, 2001b) double-subject analysis of the LE

construction is regarded as invalid in the respect that it is based on the monovalent view of the LE. However, the basic concept of his framework is applicable to the analysis of LE sentences with two DOMAIN arguments.

- vii. The distinction between the LOCATIVE case and the DATIVE case should be drawn in terms of directionality. *Ni*-marked NPs in both EXISTENTIAL-LE and POSSESSIVE-LE sentences should be treated as LOCATIVE NPs because they do not imply a directional sense.
- viii. A POSSESSIVE interpretation occurs even when the DOMAIN NP is inanimate. Therefore, the scope of the study of POSSESSIVE-LE constructions should not be limited to cases in which the DOMAIN NPs are animate.
- ix. In Heine's (1996) eight major schemata of predicative POSSESSIVE expressions, the Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE sentence should be classified in the LOCATION Schema, rather than the GOAL Schema. The expression that corresponds to the ACTION Schema is also used in Japanese.

Chapter 4 The EVENT-LE Construction

In the previous chapter, the problems inherent in the view that considers the EXISTENTIAL-LE and the POSSESSIVE-LE to be homonyms were discussed, and it was claimed that whether a given LE sentence is EXISTENTIAL or POSSESSIVE is a matter of interpretation. In this chapter, another type of LE *ar-u* construction that produces an interpretation which is distinct from the three LOCATIONAL interpretations is examined.⁹¹

4.1 LE *ar-u* as a PROCESS predicate

(147) Nakau (1998: 8f.)

a. *hon-dana* { *ni* / * *de* } *tikyuu-gi* *ga ar-u.*
book-shelf LOC / LOC globe-model NOM LE-NPST
'There is a globe on the bookshelf.'

b. *dai-koodoo* { * *ni* / *de* } *sotugyoo-siki* *ga ar-u.*
big-hall LOC / LOC graduation-ceremony NOM LE-NPST
'There will be a graduation ceremony at the auditorium.'

The example in (147b) differs from the SPATIAL-LE sentence in (147a) in the respect that the DOMAIN NP is not marked by *ni* but by *de*, and that the sentence as a whole anticipates the existence of a future EVENT, rather than the existence of an

⁹¹ LE *i-ru* does not have the usage which is discussed in this chapter.

ENTITY at the present moment.

Nakau (1998) gives the following explanation with reference to the LE construction of the (147b) type.

(148) Nakau (1998: 15)⁹²

Ar-u can be used not only as a STATIVE predicate but also as a PROCESS predicate. While the STATIVE *ar-u* denotes the existence of an ENTITY, the PROCESS *ar-u* denotes the occurrence of an EVENT. Therefore, while the former co-occurs with ENTITY and LOCATION arguments, the latter co-occurs with SITUATION/EVENT and LOCUS arguments. The LOCUS is the generic term for SOURCE, GOAL, LOCATION, ROUTE, DIRECTION, etc., and the PROCESS *ar-u* takes one, or sometimes more than one, of these.

What is of particular interest is how the LOCATION argument is marked. It is marked by the particle *de* in the PROCESS *ar-u* sentence, which is in sharp contrast to the case of the STATIVE *ar-u* sentence in which the LOCATION argument is marked by the particle *ni*. The lexical and grammatical distinction by means of the case particles *ni* and *de* directly reflects the semantic predicative distinction between STATIVE and PROCESS.

Nakau's recognition of the bivalency of the LE leads him to treat the *de*-marked NP in the PROCESS *ar-u* sentence as a grammatical argument. This gives a new perspective on the *de*-marked NP, given that it is usually treated as an adjunct, whereas the *ni*-marked NP is often treated as an argument.⁹³ Although it had been recognised prior to Nakau (1998) that the LE *ar-u* has the function of denoting the

⁹² My translation from the Japanese.

⁹³ For example, Kageyama's (1996) LCS study of Japanese considers the *ni*-marked NP in the LE sentence as an argument, as discussed in Section 2.2. However, the argument status of the *de*-marked NP in question is not appropriately recognised.

existence of an EVENT,⁹⁴ it is significant that Nakau extended the scope of his observation to include the co-occurring NPs, as shown in (149):

(149) Nakau (1998: 19)

a. *gozen zyuu-zi ni koodoo de syuuryoo-siki*
 a.m. 10-o'clock LOC hall LOC course completion-ceremony
ga ar-u.

NOM LE-NPST

‘There will be a course completion ceremony in the hall at 10 a.m.’

or ‘The course completion ceremony will be held in the hall at 10 a.m.’

b. \emptyset *koodoo de syuuryoo-siki ga ar-u.*

c. *gozen zyuu-zi ni* \emptyset *syuuryoo-siki ga ar-u.*

d. * \emptyset \emptyset *syuuryoo-siki ga ar-u.*

Nakau generalises, from the fact that both (b) and (c) in (149) are grammatical, that the *de*-marked LOCATION NP and the *ni*-marked TIME NP serve functions of equal grammatical status in the PROCESS *ar-u* sentence.

When discussing the ordinary LE construction in Section 2.3.2, it was claimed that there is grammatical inequality between the SPACE expression and the TIME expression, and argued that the TIME expression has only the superficial role of occupying the DOMAIN slot of the LE argument structure. Nakau’s claim above suggests that this grammatical inequality between the SPACE expression and the TIME expression is no longer in effect in the PROCESS *ar-u* sentence, which is referred to as the EVENT-LE sentence in this thesis.

⁹⁴ For example, Muraki (1991: 217) distinguishes *ar-u* that refers to a future event from *ar-u* that refers to a present state, labelling the former ‘*kinoo doosi*’ (‘functional verb’) and the latter ‘*zissitu doosi*’ (‘substantial verb’).

In the following discussion, I attempt to present an explanation for the asymmetry between the STATIVE-LE construction and the EVENT-LE construction in terms of the status of the co-occurring NPs.⁹⁵

4.1.1 The concept of *KOTO*

In this section the concept of *KOTO*, that is, the concept of EVENT in a very broad sense, is introduced, in addition to the concepts of ENTITY, SPACE, and TIME.⁹⁶ According to Ikegami (personal communication, 2002), the fundamental relation linking the four elements, an ENTITY NP, a SPACE NP, a TIME NP, and *KOTO*, in the LE construction is summarised as follows:

- (150) a. an ENTITY NP and a SPACE NP constitute a *KOTO*
b. a TIME NP relates to a *KOTO*, rather than to an ENTITY NP or a SPACE NP

According to the propositions above, the structural formula for the STATIVE-LE construction can be drawn, as given in (151):

- (151) STATIVE-LE construction
[TIME [_{*KOTO*}{ SPACE ENTITY } LE]]

⁹⁵ The term STATIVE-LE is used as the generic term for EXISTENTIAL-LE, LOCATIVE-LE, POSSESSIVE-LE, SPATIAL-LE, and SUBSET-LE.

⁹⁶ The Japanese term *KOTO* is used because it is a more abstract term than the English term 'event', and it encompasses not only dynamic situations but also static situations. I am indebted to Yoshihiko Ikegami (personal communication, 2002) for drawing my attention to the idea of utilising the concept of *KOTO* in order to account for the grammatical inequality between the SPACE DOMAIN and the TIME DOMAIN.

As shown in (148), Nakau claims that the *ga*-marked NP in the EVENT-LE construction is a SITUATION/EVENT NP, which he distinguishes from an ENTITY NP. However, I consider that the *ga*-marked NP in the EVENT-LE construction is an ENTITY NP that has a [+*KOTO*] feature, and hypothesise that if an ENTITY NP is [+*KOTO*], the NP alone can represent a *KOTO*. The following structural formula for the EVENT-LE construction can then be drawn:

- (152) EVENT-LE construction
 [TIME SPACE *KOTO*{ ENTITY } LE]

By positing the structure in (152), the equality in status of the TIME NP and the SPACE NP in the EVENT-LE construction can now be explained: the supremacy of the SPACENP over the TIME NP diminishes when the ENTITY NP is [+*KOTO*], due to the fact that the SPACE NP is not a constituent of the *KOTO*.

However, the LE in (152) is the same lexeme as the LE in (151); that is, the LE in (152) is also a bivalent verb, which cannot form a complete sentence with an ENTITY NP alone, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the example in (149d). In other words, the EVENT-LE requires at least one DOMAIN NP, either a SPACE NP or a TIME NP, as shown in (153) below, in order to construct a grammatical sentence.⁹⁷

- (153) a. [SPACE *KOTO*{ ENTITY } LE]
 b. [TIME *KOTO*{ ENTITY } LE]

⁹⁷ In terms of pragmatics, it is desirable to have both a TIME NP and a SPACE NP in the expression, as shown in (152). However, in terms of grammaticality, only one of them is obligatory, as shown in (153).

4.1.2 ENTITY NPs with a [+KOTO] feature

The typical noun with a [+KOTO] feature denotes an event in a literal sense; for example, *sotugyoo-siki* ‘graduation ceremony’ in (147b) and *syuuryoo-siki* ‘course completion ceremony’ in (149). Nouns such as *ziko* ‘accident’, *ziken* ‘incident’, and *zisin* ‘earthquake’ also have a [+KOTO] feature. However, it is important to note that some nouns are used as both [+KOTO] and [-KOTO]. A typical example of this is the noun *denwa* ‘telephone’. As noted in Section 3.3, a sentence such as the example in (154) allows both a STATIVE-LE interpretation and an EVENT-LE interpretation, because the noun *denwa* allows both a [-KOTO] interpretation, that is, a telephone handset, and a [+KOTO] interpretation, that is, a telephone call.

(154) Nakau (1998: 14)

kare no kenkyuu-situ ni denwa ga ar-u. [= (118)]

he GEN research-room LOC/DAT telephone NOM LE-NPST

(i) ‘There is a telephone (handset) in his office.’

(ii) ‘There will be a telephone call (from them) to his office.’

Although the interpretation in (ii) in the example above appears to contradict Nakau’s claim that the SPACE NP is marked by *de* in the EVENT-LE sentence, Nakau argues that the *ni*-marked SPACE NP that co-occurs with the [+KOTO] noun *denwa* is not a LOCATION NP but a GOAL NP, as demonstrated by the fact that the sentence allows the insertion of a *kara*-marked NP that denotes a SOURCE, as in (155):⁹⁸

⁹⁸ The status of a TIME DOMAIN NP, such as *go-zi ni* ‘at five o’clock’ in (155), is discussed below.

(155) Nakau (1998: 14)

kare no kenkyuu-situ ni go-zi ni Hanako kara
he GEN research-room GOAL 5-o'clock LOC Hanako from
denwa ga ar-u.
telephone NOM LE-NPST

‘There will be a telephone call from Hanako to his office at five o’clock.’

This is a valid analysis, which confirms the claim made in Section 3.3 of this thesis that directionality is the fundamental concept that distinguishes the particle *ni* that marks a DOMAIN argument in the STATIVE-LE construction from the *ni* that marks other types of NPs, such as a GOAL NP.

Another example of a noun that allows both [+KOTO] and [-KOTO] interpretations is *kyaku* ‘guest/customer’. It is interesting to observe that in the case of an animate ENTITY, or more precisely a [+self-control] ENTITY, such as *kyaku*, the selection of *ar-u* and *i-ru* corresponds to the two types of interpretation:

(156) a. <STATIVE-LE construction>

kyoo wa o-kyaku ga i-ru.
today TOP POL-guest NOM LE-NPST
‘We have a guest today.’

b. <EVENT-LE construction>

kyoo wa o-kyaku ga ar-u.
today TOP POL-guest NOM LE-NPST
‘We will have a guest today.’

In (156a), *o-kyaku* is a [-KOTO] noun, and the example denotes that

guests/customers are present at the time of the speech. On the other hand, *o-kyaku* is a [+KOTO] noun in (156b), and the example denotes the speaker's anticipation of guests/customers in the future. In other words, *o-kyaku* in (156b) represents the (abstract concept of) visitation by the guests/customers, rather than (the concrete existence of) the guests/customers themselves. Therefore, the selection of *ar-u* or *i-ru* depends on how the speaker perceives the ENTITY NP. *Ar-u* is primarily used to denote the abstract existence of a [+self-control] ENTITY, whereas *i-ru* is used to denote the concrete existence of a [+self-control] ENTITY. Therefore, *ar-u* is used for the [+KOTO] perception of *o-kyaku* as in (156b). The example in (156b) is similar to the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence in the respect that it expresses the abstract existence of an ENTITY NP. The two constructions differ in the respect that the former denotes an EVENT that will occur *after* the time of the speech, whereas the latter denotes the existence of a POSSESSIVE relation *at* the time of the speech, even though in both cases the LE *ar-u* is used in the same non-past form.

It is also important to note that the example in (156a) sounds complete only if there is a presupposed SPACE DOMAIN, whereas the example in (156b) sounds complete even if there is no such presupposed SPACE DOMAIN. The reason for this is that the TIME DOMAIN NP *kyoo* 'today' can fully occupy the DOMAIN slot of the LE in the EVENT-LE construction, whereas the same NP cannot occupy this slot in the STATIVE-LE construction.

Furthermore, if the SPACE NP *kenkyuu-situ* 'office' is inserted in the examples in (156), it is marked by the same particle *ni* in both, as in the case of the example in (154). However, as shown in (157) below, Nakau's *kara*-marked NP acceptability tests confirm that the NP *kenkyuu-situ ni* is a LOCATIVE case NP in (157a), whereas

the same NP is a DATIVE (GOAL) NP in (157b).

(157) a. * *kyoo wa enpoo kara kenkyuu-situ ni o-kyaku*
today TOP distant place from research-room LOC POL-guest
ga i-ru.
NOM LE-NPST

b. *kyoo wa enpoo kara kenkyuu-situ ni o-kyaku*
today TOP distant place from research-room DAT POL-guest
ga ar-u.
NOM LE-NPST

‘Today there will be a guest from a distant place in my office.’

4.1.3 Marginal nouns

As observed in the above, the [+KOTO] and [-KOTO] interpretations of nouns such as *denwa* and *o-kyaku* are explained in terms of the structural difference between the STATIVE-LE and the EVENT-LE constructions. However, there are also some marginal nouns that permit both [+KOTO] and [-KOTO] interpretations, which cannot be explained by this structural difference. An example of such a marginal noun is *kaze* ‘wind’. Because *kaze* is generally considered to be a [+KOTO] noun, it can be used in an EVENT-LE sentence, as shown in (158a). This is in contrast to the fact that the noun *taihuu* ‘typhoon’, which also denotes a weather condition, does not allow such a [+KOTO] interpretation, as shown in (158b):

(158) a. *asita wa tabun kaze ga ar-u.*
 tomorrow TOP probably wind NOM LE-NPST
 ‘There will probably be a wind tomorrow.’

b. * *asita wa tabun taihuu ga ar-u.*
 tomorrow TOP probably typhoon NOM LE-NPST
 (intended to express: ‘There will probably be a typhoon tomorrow.’)

The marginality of the noun *kaze* is due to the fact that *kaze ga ar-u* can represent the current situation at the time of the utterance, as shown in (159a). This is in contrast to the fact that a typical [+KOTO] noun such as *sotugyoo-siki* ‘graduation ceremony’ does not indicate an event that is in progress at the time of the utterance.

(159) a. *kyoo wa kaze ga ari-mas-u nee.*
 today TOP wind NOM LE-POL-NPST FP
 ‘There is a wind today.’
 (the wind is blowing now)

b. *kyoo wa sotugyoo-siki ga ari-mas-u nee.*
 today TOP graduation-ceremony NOM LE-POL-NPST FP
 ‘There will be a graduation ceremony today.’
 (ceremony is *not* in progress now)

Although it might seem appropriate to analyse the example in (159a) as a STATIVE-LE sentence because it indicates a present state, the fact that a SPACE NP such as *kono atari* ‘around here’ can be marked by the particle *de* in this sentence, as shown in (160) below, renders such an analysis inconclusive.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Note that the use of *ni* in (160) indicates the DOMAIN where the wind is blowing, rather than the GOAL to which the wind is directed.

(160) *kyoo wa kono atari { ni / de } wa kaze ga ari-mas-u*
 today TOP this place LOC / LOC TOP wind NOM LE-POL-NPST
nee.

FP

‘There is a wind around here, today.’

The SPACE NP is also marked by *de* in the following example, although the sentence denotes the static existence of a *huusyuu* ‘custom’ at the present time. The particle *de* in this example is also interchangeable with the particle *ni*, as in the case of (160).

(161) “*Zairu no Kivu-ko no tikaku { de / ni } saru*
 Zaire GEN Kivu-lake GEN near LOC / LOC monkey
no ti o abi-te sei-kooi o su-ru to i-u
 GEN blood ACC bathe in-CONJ sex-act ACC do-NPST QTV say-PNM
huusyuu ga ar-u soo des-u.” [SE05:154]
 custom NOM LE-NPST SFE (report)-NPST

‘I heard that there is a custom, around Lake Kivu in Zaire, that people pour monkey blood over themselves, and engage in a sexual act.’

From the observations above, it follows that the selection of the case particles *ni* and *de* does not always reflect the distinction between the STATIVE-LE and the EVENT-LE, contrary to Nakau’s claim in (148). Therefore, it is more appropriate to make the generalisation that the SPACE DOMAIN in the EVENT-LE construction is *prototypically* marked by *de*. Moreover, given that the noun *kaze* can be interpreted as an event in progress at the time of the speech as shown in (159a), it is also appropriate to make the generalisation that an LE sentence can denote the

anticipation of a future event, when the ENTITY NP allows a [+KOTO] interpretation. The reason that the example in (161) does not produce the EVENT-LE interpretation, in spite of the fact that the SPACE NP is marked by *de*, is because the ENTITY NP *huusyuu* only allows a [-KOTO] interpretation.

4.2 Monovalent use of the EVENT-LE

In Chapter 2, it was argued that there is a *universal* DOMAIN in a STATIVE-LE construction that appears to be a monovalent construction on the surface. In this section, the relation between the EVENT-LE and the *universal* DOMAIN is explored, through examination of the [... *koto ga ar-u*] sentence construction.

The [... *koto ga ar-u*] construction is frequently used in Japanese, and is relevant to the present discussion because the use of the nominal *koto* is generally an indication of the [+*KOTO*] feature of the NP.

First, the case where *koto* in *koto ga ar-u* is an ordinary noun that denotes a ‘thing/affair/matter’ is examined.

- (162) “*soo i-u no wa kotoomukei-na hanasi daroo tte*
 so say-PNM NOMI TOP absurd-PNM story SFE (inference) QTV
iwa-re-te (i)ta n da keredomo, yokuyoku
 say-PASS-GER (GE-)PST NOMI COP but carefully
sirabe-te ik-u to, doomo hontoo ni, soo i-u
 check-GER go-NPST CONJ somehow really so say-PNM
koto ga at-ta rasi-i.” [TK05:45]
 thing NOM LE-PST SFE (report)-NPST
 ‘It has been said that it is a made-up story, but it turned out, after careful
 research, that such an event did really occur.’

Because the NP *soo i-u koto* ‘such a thing/incident’ in (162) is obviously a

[+KOTO] ENTITY, the sentence is typically interpreted as an EVENT-LE sentence.¹⁰⁰

Since *at-ta* in (162) is an EVENT-LE, it can be replaced by the verb *okot-ta* ‘occurred’, as shown in (163):

- (163) *yokuyoku sirabe-te ik-u to, doomo hontoo ni, soo i-u*
carefully check-GER go-NPST CONJ somehow really so say-PNM
koto ga okot-ta rasi-i.
thing NOM occur-PST SFE (report)-NPST
‘It turned out, after careful research, that such an event did really occur.’

It is noted that there is neither a SPACE DOMAIN argument nor a TIME DOMAIN argument in the example in (162). However, it should not be assumed that there is a covert *universal* DOMAIN argument because the example sounds complete in its own right and it does not have a rhetorical sense. It is important to focus on the fact that the LE is used in the past form. By using the past form, a broad TIME DOMAIN, such as *izen* ‘before’ and *mukasi* ‘in the old days’, is automatically implied in the sentence. This claim is demonstrated by the fact that the sentential meaning of (162) is maintained, even if such a TIME DOMAIN is expressed overtly, as shown below:

- (164) *yokuyoku sirabe-te ik-u to, doomo hontoo ni,*
carefully check-GER go-NPST CONJ somehow really

¹⁰⁰ However, it is noted that there is also a case where the ENTITY NP is construed as [-KOTO] despite the fact that the NP has the noun *koto* in its head position, as in the following example:

“*puraibasii wa zettai mamori-mas-u-si, go-soodan ni*
privacy TOP absolutely keep-POL-NPST-CONJ POL-consultation DAT
nor-e-ru koto mo ar-u ka mo sire-na-i.” [SC15:27]
get on-POTEN-PNM thing EMPH LE-NPST Q EMPH be known-NEG-NPST
‘I will definitely maintain your privacy, and there could be a matter on which I can give you some advice.’

Because the ENTITY NP is [-KOTO], the example in the above is interpreted as a STATIVE-LE sentence.

{ *izen / mukasi* } *soo i-u koto ga at-ta rasi-i.*

before / old days so say-PNM thing NOM LE-PST SFE (report)-NPST

‘It turned out, after careful research, that such an event did really occur before/in the old days.’

From the above observation, the generalisation can be made that when the TIME DOMAIN is a broad DOMAIN of ‘the past’, it need not be overtly expressed as long as the LE takes the past form. As argued in Chapter 2, the more abstract a DOMAIN is, the more likely it is that the LE is used monovalently.¹⁰¹ The same principle seems to be at work in the EVENT-LE construction.

Next, the [... *koto ga ar-u*] construction in which *koto* serves as a NOMINALISER is examined.

(165) a. *watasi wa izen, sakka-gyoo to heikoo-si-te,*
 I TOP before writer-profession with parallel-do-CONJ
ziken-kisya o, go-nen-kan hodo tutome-ta koto
 case-reporter ACC 5-year-for about serve-PST NOMI
ga ar-u. [TK01:16]

NOM LE-NPST

‘At the same time as I was working as a writer, I worked as a police reporter for about five years.’

b. “*ano aki no ame no yoru o, watasi wa ima demo*
 that autumn GEN rain GEN night ACC I TOP now still
omoidas-u koto ga ari-mas-u.” [SC06:247]

remember-PNM NOMI NOM LE-POL-NPST

‘I still remember (from time to time) that rainy night in the autumn.’

¹⁰¹ See (47) in Chapter 2.

It is usually maintained that this type of sentence denotes the speaker's past experience when the verb preceding the NOMINALISER *koto* is in the past form as in (165a), and that it denotes the repetition of an event when the verb preceding *koto* is in the non-past form as in (165b).¹⁰² However, it should be noted that the sentence does not always produce the meaning of experience when the verb preceding the NOMINALISER *koto* is in the past form. The concept of experience implies the existence of two elements: a person and an event in which the person is directly involved. The example in (165a) produces the meaning of experience, because it is construed that the speaker himself was involved in the event/action of working as a police reporter. If the speaker is not considered to have been directly involved in the event described, the meaning of experience does not occur, as shown in the following example:¹⁰³

- (166) *tuti-hanmyoo tte musu ga i-ru no ne. ma,*
 blister beetle QTV insect NOM LE-PNM NOMI FP well
kanpoo-yaku ni tukawa-re-ta koto mo ar-u
 Chinese-medicine DAT use-PASS-PST NOMI EMPH LE-PNM

¹⁰² See, for example, Masuoka and Takubo (1992: 184).

¹⁰³ Because the example in (165a) denotes the meaning of experience whereas the example in (166) does not, the NOMINALISER *koto* in the former can be replaced by the noun *keiken* 'experience', whereas it cannot be replaced in the latter, as shown below:

- (i) *watasi wa izen, sakka-gyoo to heikoo-si-te, ziken-kisya o,*
 I TOP before writer-profession with parallel-do-CONJ case-reporter ACC
go-nen-kan hodo tutome-ta keiken ga ar-u.
 5-year-for about serve-PST experience NOM LE-NPST
 'I had the experience of working as a police reporter for about five years, at the same time as I was working as a writer.'
- (ii) * *ma, kanpoo-yaku ni tukawa-re-ta keiken mo ar-u n da*
 well Chinese-medicine DAT use-PASS-PST experience EMPH LE-PNM NOMI COP
kedo sa.
 CONJ FP

(168) a. * *ma, (tuti-hanmyoo tte musu ni wa) kanpoo-yaku ni*
 well blister beetle QTV insect LOC TOP Chinese-medicine DAT
tukawa-re-ta koto mo ar-u n da kedo sa.
 use-PASS-PST NOMI EMPH LE-PNM NOMI COP CONJ FP

b. *ma, (tuti-hanmyoo tte musu { ga / wa }) kanpoo-yaku ni tukawa-re-ta*
 [+KOTO] ENTITY

koto mo ar-u n da kedo sa. [see (166)]

Consequently, the example in (166) is considered to have a *universal* DOMAIN in its DOMAIN slot. However, it is important to recognise that the examples in (165a) and (166) do not produce EVENT-LE interpretations, despite the fact that the ENTITY NPs have a [+KOTO] feature. These examples only relate the past events denoted by the ENTITY NPs to the time of the utterance, and they do not express the speaker's anticipation of a future event. Therefore, it is confirmed that an LE sentence with a [+KOTO] ENTITY does not always generate the EVENT-LE interpretation, although the EVENT-LE interpretation is only possible when the ENTITY is [+KOTO].

In (165b), the ENTITY NP is [+KOTO], and the sentence generates the EVENT-LE interpretation. The example expresses the idea that the event of 'remembering that rainy night in the autumn' occurs. The argument *watasi* is not a DOMAIN argument licensed by the LE *ar-u* but a subject NP licensed by the verb *omoidas-u* 'remember' in the subordinate clause. This is demonstrated by the fact that *watasi* in (165b) allows neither *ni*-marking nor *de*-marking:

(169) *ano aki no ame no yoru o, watasi { *ni / *de }*
 that autumn GEN rain GEN night ACC I LOC / LOC
wa ima demo omoidas-u koto ga ari-mas-u.
 TOP now still remember-PNM NOMI NOM LE-POL-NPST

Therefore, the example in (165b) is analysed as an EVENT-LE sentence, the DOMAIN argument of which is a *universal* DOMAIN, as shown in (170):

(170)
 [*universal* DOMAIN _{KOTO} { *watasi ga ano aki no ame no yoru o omoidas-u koto* } LE]]
 ENTITY
 [see (165b)]

Due to the presence of the adverbial phrase *ima demo* ‘even now’, the example in (165b) stresses the fact that the event of remembering has occurred in the past, and still occurs in the present. However, such an adverbial phrase is an adjunct, and is not in the core structure as given in (170). Therefore, the concepts of SPACE and TIME are abstracted and, as a result, the focus of the sentence is centred upon the existence, or more precisely, the occurrence, of the event. The following examples, which contain no TIME adjuncts such as *ima demo*, clarify this claim:

(171) a. “*aruiwa massaazi-su-ru-to, iki o huki-kaesi-tari*
 or message-do-NPST-CONJ breath ACC blow-return-CONJ
su-ru koto mo ari-mas-u ne.” [TK01:141]
 do-PNM NOMI EMPH LE-POL-NPST FP
 ‘They sometimes come back to life when we give them (heart) massage.’

b. “*sihan de, siin ga wakar-u koto*
 death spots by cause of death NOM understand-PNM NOMI

mo ar-u n des-u ka.” [TK01:144]

EMPH LE-PNM NOMI COP-NPST Q

‘Are there cases when the cause of death is identified from the death spots?’

From the observations above, it follows that the [... *koto ga ar-u*] sentence is construed as a STATIVE-LE sentence when the verb preceding *koto* is in the past form, and construed as an EVENT-LE sentence when the verb preceding *koto* is in the non-past form. The question arises as to why the verb form in the subordinate clause controls the sentential interpretation.

The construction of [V(past) + *koto ga ar-u*] is a usage that transgresses the basic rule that the main clause predicate is put into the past form when denoting an event in the past. In other words, the LE in this construction has the function of relating an event in the past to the moment at the time of the utterance.¹⁰⁵ Through this function of the LE, a dynamic event in the past, that is, [+*KOTO*] ENTITY, is viewed as a static event once it is related to the present moment. The following pair of examples illustrates this claim.

(172) a. Dynamic EVENT [*watasi wa Nihon ni it-ta.*]
I TOP Japan DAT go-PST

‘I went to Japan.’

b. *watasi wa* Static EVENT [*Nihon ni it-ta koto*] *ga ar-u.*
I TOP Japan DAT go-PST NOMI NOM LE-NPST

‘(lit.) I have (the experience) that I went to Japan.’

→ ‘I have been to Japan.’

¹⁰⁵ The STATIVISER-GE, which will be examined in Chapter 6, inherits this function from the LE.

On the other hand, in the case of the [V(non-past) + *koto ga ar-u*] construction, the dynamic event is viewed simply as a dynamic event, due to the fact that [V(non-past) + *koto*] is construed as an infinitive and infinitives contain no sense of a specific time. For example, the sentence in (173b) presents the dynamic event of ‘going to Japan’, and accordingly the whole sentence produces the EVENT-LE interpretation. Moreover, because the TIME domain of the sentence is universal, it does not specify whether the event occurred in the past, or will occur in the future, or both.

(173) a. Dynamic EVENT [*watasi wa Nihon ni ik-u.*]
 I TOP Japan DAT go-NPST
 ‘I’ll go to Japan.’

b. Dynamic EVENT [*watasi { wa / ga } Nihon ni ik-u koto] ga ar-u.*
 I TOP / NOM Japan DAT go-PNM NOMI NOM LE-NPST
 ‘(lit.) There is (the occasion) that I go to Japan.’
 → ‘I occasionally go to Japan.’

Viewed in this light, it is considered that the verb form in the subordinate clause controls the sentential interpretation of [... *koto ga ar-u*], because the past form leads to the static view of the *KOTO*, and the non-past form leads to the dynamic view of the *KOTO*.

It was noted above that the DOMAIN NP and the ENTITY NP jointly form a *KOTO* in the STATIVE-LE construction. A *KOTO* formed in this way is static. Therefore, it is considered that what differentiates the EVENT-LE construction from the STATIVE-LE construction is, essentially, how the *KOTO* expressed in the LE sentence is *viewed*.

4.3 Assimilation of STATIVE-LE sentences and EVENT-LE sentences

The complex [... *koto ga ar-u*] construction was discussed in the previous section. In this section, the simplex EVENT-LE construction is compared with the simplex STATIVE-LE construction.

As Smith (1997: 32) claims, the initial and final endpoints of a STATE are not part of the STATE. In other words, the concept of STATE is not intrinsically related to the concept of TIME. Therefore, a non-past STATIVE-LE sentence without a TIME DOMAIN expression is normally interpreted as referring to the *present* STATE. If the present TIME DOMAIN is specified overtly by, for example, *ima* 'now', as shown in (174), the sentences become marked expressions that emphasise the present moment.

- (174) a. *ima, tukue no ue ni hon ga ar-u.*
now desk GEN top LOC book NOM LE-NPST
'There is a book on the top of the desk, (*right*) now.'
- b. *ima, asoko ni Taroo ga i-ru.*
now over there LOC Taro NOM LE-NPST
'There is Taro over there, (*right*) now.'

However, once the LE changes from the non-past form to the past form, the presence of a TIME expression becomes more important. Although, from the viewpoint of the bivalent LE schema, the TIME expression is not regarded as an obligatory grammatical argument, it is, at least pragmatically, more appropriate to

specify the TIME, as shown in (175):

- (175) a. *sakki, tukue no ue ni hon ga at-ta.*
a short time ago desk GEN top LOC book NOM LE-PST
'There was a book on the top of the desk, a short while ago.'
- b. *sakki, asoko ni Taroo ga i-ta.*
a short time ago over there LOC Taro NOM LE-PST
'Taro was over there, a short while ago.'

In contrast, because the EVENT-LE sentence usually refers to an EVENT in the future rather than a STATE in the present when the LE is used in the non-past form, the necessity of TIME specification is high. As discussed above, the TIME expression and the SPACE expression have equal grammatical status in the EVENT-LE construction. However, from a semantic/pragmatic point of view, it seems that the TIME expression plays a more important role than the SPACE expression in the EVENT-LE construction. For example, when a native speaker compares the following pair of examples in (176), the information density is deemed higher in (a) than in (b).

- (176) a. *asita siken ga ar-u.*
tomorrow examination NOM LE-NPST
'There will be an exam tomorrow.'
- b. *daigaku de siken ga ar-u.*
university LOC examination NOM LE-NPST
'There will be an exam at the university.'

The necessity of TIME specification is also high in the case where the EVENT-LE

is used in the past form. As mentioned in the previous section, a broad TIME DOMAIN (past) is automatically implied by using the LE in the past form. However, it is more appropriate to express the specific TIME DOMAIN overtly, as shown in (177a):

- (177) a. *kinoo siken ga at-ta.*
 yesterday examination NOM LE-PST
 ‘There was an exam yesterday.’
- b. *daigaku de siken ga at-ta.*
 university LOC examination NOM LE-PST
 ‘There was an exam at the university.’

Comparison of the pair of examples in (177) also shows that the information density is higher in the sentence in (a) in which a TIME DOMAIN is specified, than the sentence in (b) in which a SPACE DOMAIN is specified.

From the observations above, it follows that the STATIVE-LE sentence and the EVENT-LE sentence assimilate to a significant extent when the LEs are used in the past form. This occurs because the STATIVE-LE, which does not have initial and final endpoints when used in the non-past form, is given a final endpoint by the past-tense marker *ta*. In other words, the STATIVE-LE is no longer purely a STATIVE predicate when it is used in the past form. This analysis is supported by the fact that the past STATIVE-LE example in (178a) denotes a meaning very similar to that of the example in (178b) in which the past-form of the ACTIVE verb *mituke-ru* ‘find’ is used.

- (178) a. *sakki, tukue no ue ni hon ga at-ta.* [= (175a)]
 a short time ago desk GEN top LOC book NOM LE-PST
 ‘There was a book on the top of the desk, a short while ago.’

- b. *sakki, tukue no ue ni hon o mituke-ta.*
 a short time ago desk GEN top LOC book ACC find-PST
 ‘I found a book on the top of the desk, a short while ago.’

Therefore, the past LE *at-ta* in (178a) approximates to a past EVENT-LE *at-ta* such as in (179):

- (179) *zyuu-nen hodo mae ni Kobe de dai-zisin ga at-ta.*
 10-year about before LOC Kobe LOC big-earthquake NOM LE-PST
 ‘There was a big earthquake in Kobe about ten years ago.’

Given that the STATIVE-LE and the EVENT-LE assimilate when they are used in the past form, the only difference that distinguishes between the two types of usage is whether the LE in the non-past form refers to a *present* STATE or a *future* EVENT. However, as observed in the previous section, there are cases such as *kaze ga ar-u* which can refer not only to a *future* EVENT but also to an EVENT in progress at the time of the utterance. Therefore, whether the non-past LE refers to a *present* STATE or a *future* EVENT is not considered to be an absolute measure. Ultimately, it is the nature of the NPs that determines, in each case, the STATIVE-LE reading or the EVENT-LE reading. The distinction between the two is not as clear-cut as Nakau (1998) claims.

4.4 Summary of Chapter 4

The main observations and arguments of this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- i. The EVENT-LE sentence has a [+KOTO] ENTITY NP, and can refer to a future event.
- ii. In the EVENT-LE construction, a SPACE DOMAIN NP is prototypically marked by the particle *de*. Although *de*-marked NPs are generally classified as adjuncts, those in the EVENT-LE construction are grammatical arguments.
- iii. *Ni*-marked SPACE NPs in the EVENT-LE construction are DATIVE (GOAL) NPs.
- iv. The grammatical inequality between the SPACE DOMAIN NP and the TIME DOMAIN NP, which is observed in the STATIVE-LE construction, is not in effect in the EVENT-LE construction, due to the [+KOTO] feature of the ENTITY NP in the latter.
- v. Because some nouns allow both [+KOTO] and [-KOTO] interpretations, the same sentence sometimes produces both a STATIVE-LE interpretation and an EVENT-LE interpretation.
- vi. Although the selection of the case particles *ni* and *de* for marking a SPACE NP basically reflects the distinction between the STATIVE-LE and the EVENT-LE, there are marginal cases between the two.
- vii. Although the EVENT-LE interpretation presupposes a [+KOTO] ENTITY NP, not all LE sentences with a [+KOTO] ENTITY generate an EVENT-LE interpretation.
- viii. A sentence that contains the construction of [V(past) + *koto ga ar-u*] is a subtype of the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence. In contrast, a sentence that contains

the construction of [V(non-past) + *koto ga ar-u*] is generally an EVENT-LE sentence, the DOMAIN slot of which is occupied by a *universal* DOMAIN.

- ix. The STATIVE-LE and the EVENT-LE assimilate to a significant extent when they are used in the past form.

Chapter 5 The VERBALISER-GE Construction

This chapter provides a detailed examination of the VERBALISER-GE construction. The *de ar-u* construction is first discussed and the *de* is identified, using Yamada's Particle Analysis. The bivalency of the VERBALISER-GE construction is then investigated. This is followed by an examination of the *Eel*-sentence using Ikegami's Contiguity Theory. The monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE is then examined, followed by a discussion of the [quantifier + *ar-u*] construction, including an investigation of what is labelled here as the *Persimmon*-sentence. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the *de i-ru* construction.

5.1 The *de ar-u* construction

In this section, the [NP *de ar-u*] construction as illustrated in (180a) is examined.¹⁰⁶

- (180) a. *watasi wa gakusei de ar-u.*
I TOP student *de* GE-NPST
'I'm a student.'
- b. *watasi wa gakusei de { wa / mo } ar-u.*
I TOP student *de* TOP / also GE-NPST
'At least I'm a student. / I'm also a student.'

¹⁰⁶ Until the *de* in *de ar-u* has been identified, '*de*' is assigned as its gloss.

This discussion uses the analytical approach that divides *de ar-u* into *de* and the GE *ar-u*. The formal independence of the GE is shown by the fact that a particle such as *wa* or *mo* can be placed between *de* and the GE, as in (180b).

In principle, nominals cannot stand as predicates by themselves, because they do not have a tense-encoding function, and *de ar-u* must be added. In other words, the central function of *de ar-u* is to turn nominals into verbal expressions.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, the GE *ar-u* in *de ar-u* is referred to as a VERBALISER-GE.

Although there are cases in which a nominal expression alone apparently constructs a predicate, such as in (181a), the original form of such a sentence is considered to be a VERBALISER-GE construction, such as that given in (181b):

- (181) a. *haru wa sakura.*
 spring TOP cherry (blossom)
 ‘(lit.) Spring is cherry blossom.’
 → ‘What is typical of the spring season is cherry blossom.’
- b. *haru wa sakura { de ar-u / da / des-u }.*
 spring TOP cherry (blossom) *de* GE-NPST / COP / COP-NPST
 ‘(lit.) Spring is cherry blossom.’
 → ‘What is typical of the spring season is cherry blossom.’

As shown in (181b), *da* and *des-u* perform a function equivalent to that of *de ar-u*. The three forms are basically stylistic variants: *de ar-u* is used in formal (but not polite) writing; *da* is used in informal colloquial conversation and writing; and *des-u* is used in polite colloquial conversation and writing. The reason that this discussion focuses on *de ar-u* is that *ar-u* is morphologically visible in this form.

¹⁰⁷ Ono (1992: 188) expresses a similar idea, referring to *da/des-u* as a sentencehood marker.

Opinion is divided as to the origin of *des-u*. However, it is generally agreed that *da* is a contracted form of *de ar-u*. The historical developmental process is believed to be the following:

(182) Matsumura (ed.) (1971: 412)

<i>ni</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ar-i</i>	→	<i>de ar-i</i>	/	<i>de ar-u</i>	→	<i>dea</i>	→	<i>da</i>
LOC	CONJ	GE-NPST		<i>de</i> GE-NPST	/	<i>de</i> GE-NPST		AUX/COP		AUX/COP

In the literature, *da* is usually treated as a JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary or a copula.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, it is also possible to consider *de ar-u*, the pre-contracted form of *da*, to be a JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary or a copula, without taking the analytical approach that divides *de ar-u* into *de* and *ar-u*.¹⁰⁹ However, as the analytical approach is taken here, the *de* in *de ar-u* is identified below.

5.1.1 Identity of *de* in [NP *de ar-u*]

Most Japanese dictionaries describe *de* in *de ar-u* as the adverbial form of the JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary *da*. Since Japanese also has the particle *de*, there are two kinds of *de*: the auxiliary *de* and the particle *de*. However, it is difficult to intuitively distinguish between the two. For example, having classified *de* in (183a) as a particle, and *de* in (183b) as an auxiliary, the *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten* (Iwanami Japanese

¹⁰⁸ Various labels have been given to *da* in the literature, such as '*dantei no zyodoosi*' ('assertive auxiliary'), '*sitei no zyodoosi*' ('specifying auxiliary'), and '*hantei no zyodoosi*' ('judgemental auxiliary'). However, these labels basically indicate the same concept. Therefore, JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary is used in this thesis as the generic term for these labels. In examples cited from works in which *da* is treated as an auxiliary, the gloss AUX is given to *da*. Elsewhere, the gloss COP is given to *da*, as in (181b).

¹⁰⁹ For example, Yoshida (1971: 408f.) classifies *de ar-u* as an auxiliary.

Dictionary) notes that “the distinction between the two is rather elusive” (p.850).¹¹⁰

(183) *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten*, 6th Edition (2000: 850)

a. <Particle *de*>

mumei no sizin de owar-u.
unknown GEN poet PARTICLE finish-NPST
'(He/she) ends up as an obscure poet.'

b. <Auxiliary *de*>

are ga ume de, kotira ga anzu da.
that NOM ume AUX this NOM apricot AUX
'That is an *ume* (Japanese apricot/plum) and this is an apricot.'

As *da* and *de ar-u* are stylistic variants, the example in (183b) can be rewritten as in (184b).

(184) a. *are ga ume de₁, kotira ga anzu da.* [= (183b)]
that NOM ume *de* this NOM apricot AUX/COP
'That is an *ume* and this is an apricot.'

b. *are ga ume de₂, kotira ga anzu de₃ ar-u.*
that NOM ume *de* this NOM apricot *de* GE-NPST
'That is an *ume* and this is an apricot.'

As shown by the numbering, *de* appears three times in total in the two examples in (184). If the common view that *de* in *de ar-u* is an auxiliary is provisionally ignored, and each *de* in (184) is considered to be either a particle or an auxiliary, in theory the following eight types of analysis are possible.

¹¹⁰ My translation from the Japanese.

(185)

	<i>de</i> ₁ in (184a)	<i>de</i> ₂ in C ₁ of (184b)	<i>de</i> ₃ in C ₂ of (184b)
a	auxiliary	auxiliary	auxiliary
b	particle	particle	particle
c	particle	auxiliary	auxiliary
d	auxiliary	particle	particle
e	auxiliary	auxiliary	particle
f	particle	particle	auxiliary
g	auxiliary	particle	auxiliary
h	particle	auxiliary	particle

C₁ : first clause

C₂ : second clause

In a compound sentence, the predicate of the first clause can generally be omitted if it is the same as the predicate of the second clause, as shown in (186):

- (186) *Taroo wa Nara ni { ik-i / ø } Ken wa Oosaka ni it-ta.*
 Taro TOP Nara DAT go-CONJ Ken TOP Osaka DAT go-PST
 ‘Taro went to Nara, and Ken went to Osaka.’

Because the example in (184b) is a compound sentence, the predicate of the first clause is considered to be *ar-i*, the adverbial form of *ar-u*; and the original complete structure of (184b) is considered to be that given in (187):

- (187) *are ga ume de ar-i, kotira ga anzu de ar-u.*
 that NOM ume de GE-CONJ this NOM apricot de GE-NPST
 ‘That is an *ume* and this is an apricot.’

It follows from this observation that *de*₂ and *de*₃ in (184b) should be regarded as the same element. Therefore, the four types of analysis from (185e) to (185h) are all

considered to be invalid.

The two examples in (184) have identical first clauses. Therefore, justification of the claim that *de*₁ and *de*₂ are different elements must rely on the difference between *da* and *de ar-u* in the second clauses. However, *da* and *de ar-u* are basically stylistic variants, and, as shown in (188), the first clause can take *de ar-i* even when the second clause takes *da*:

- (188) a. *are ga ume de ar-i, kotira ga anzu da.*
that NOM ume *de* GE-CONJ this NOM apricot COP
'That is an *ume* and this is an apricot.'
- b. *kore wa motiron Kazumi no ippoo-teki-na iibun de*
this TOP of course Kazumi GEN one side-like-PNM say *de*
ar-i, madamada zyun de takan-na tamasii no,
GE-CONJ still pure LOC sensitive-PNM soul GEN
tuyo-i omoikomi kara ku-ru, goku waka-i
strong-PNM conviction from come-PNM very young-PNM
'*sinnen*' *da.* [NV05:169]
belief COP
'Of course this is Kazumi's one-sided opinion, and it is a very immature
'belief' that comes from the sincere convictions of her pure and sensitive
soul.'

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that *de*₁ and *de*₂ are the same elements, and consequently the two types of analysis in (185c) and (185d) are also rejected.

This leaves only the two types of analysis in (185a) and (185b). In the following discussion (185a) is referred to as the Auxiliary Analysis, and (185b) as the Particle

Analysis. In the literature, the Auxiliary Analysis seems to be more prevalent than the Particle Analysis, as illustrated by the adoption of the former in most dictionaries. However, the Auxiliary Analysis has some associated problems. In the following section, Tokieda's (1950) account, which uses the Auxiliary Analysis, and Yamada's (1922b, 1936) account, which uses the Particle Analysis, are compared.

5.1.2 Auxiliary Analysis and Particle Analysis

Tokieda (1950) presents the following inflectional table of the JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary *da*:

(189) Tokieda (1950: 183)

inflected forms of <i>da</i>					
irrealis	adverbial	non-past	prenominal	conditional	imperative
<i>de</i>	<i>de / ni / to</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na / no</i>	<i>nara</i>	∅

Tokieda defines the JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary as an auxiliary that denotes the speaker's simple affirmative judgement. He illustrates this with the following examples:

(190) Tokieda (1950: 184)

a. *karada ga kenkoo de ar-u.*

body NOM healthy AUX AUX

'(His/her) body is in good health.'

b. *karada ga kenkoo de, seisitu ga yuka-i da.*

body NOM healthy AUX personality NOM pleasant-NPST AUX

'(His/her) body is in good health and (his/her) personality is pleasant.'

As is evident from these examples, Tokieda considers both *de* in *de ar-u* and *de* in the first clause of a compound sentence to be the auxiliary *da* in the adverbial form.

As mentioned above, it is not easy to draw a line between the auxiliary *de* and the particle *de*. Tokieda does not resolve this problem. Having first identified *de* in the following examples as particles, he states, rather equivocally, that they can also be treated as auxiliaries.

(191) Tokieda (1950: 221)

a. *mimi de kik-u.*
 ear PARTICLE/AUX listen-NPST
 ‘I listen with my ears.’

b. *kenkoo de kuras-u.*
 healthy PARTICLE/AUX live-NPST
 ‘I live healthily.’

Furthermore, if *de* in *de ar-u* is the auxiliary *da* in its adverbial form, the question arises as to the identity of *ar-u*. In Tokieda, *ar-u* is identified as a JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary. Tokieda then claims that *de ar-u* is a double-auxiliary construction that expresses a stronger affirmative judgement than the single-auxiliary construction *da*. However, it is difficult to perceive a stronger judgment in (192a) than in (192b):

(192) a. *watasi wa gakusei de ar-u.* [= (180a)]
 I TOP student AUX AUX
 ‘I’m a student.’

b. *watasi wa gakusei da.*
 I TOP student AUX
 ‘I’m a student.’

Moreover, if Tokieda's claim is correct, the example in (184b) should convey the impression that the speaker is more confident that 'this is an apricot', than he/she is that 'that is an *ume*'. However, no such difference can be discerned in the speaker's assertion in (184b).

In this regard, Narahara's (2002) study is worthy of consideration. In Narahara, *da* is treated as a copula, and *de* is treated as its adverbial form. In a similar manner to Tokieda, Narahara analyses *de ar-u* as a double-copula construction, assuming that *ar-u* is also a copula. Because she defines the copula as a morphological/grammatical feature carrier with no independent meaning, her analysis does not lead to the claim that *de ar-u* expresses a stronger judgement than *da* does. However, the question remains as to why the two copulae are used concurrently. Narahara's double-copula analysis of *de ar-u* parallels her double-copula analysis of the classical Japanese form *ni ar-i*, which largely corresponds to *de ar-u* in contemporary Japanese. When discussing *ni ar-i*, Narahara makes the following statement with reference to the double-copula construction.

(193) Narahara (2002: 126)

Why does it take two copula forms? *Ar-* has two functions. Morphologically, it provides grammatical features to other categories. Syntactically, it functions as a semantically null version of the seem- and sound-type verbs, taking predicative complement. Further, it requires an inflective predicative category complement. . . . Thus, non-inflective categories such as predicative nominal and adjectival nominal have to be a compositional predicate with the copula.

I concur with Narahara's view that *ar-u* takes a predicative complement. However,

this does not necessarily prove that *ni* in *ni ar-i* and *de* in *de ar-u* are not particles but copulae. It is in fact possible to consider that predicative nominals and adjectival nominals require the particle *ni* in classical Japanese, or the particle *de* in contemporary Japanese, in order to construct predicative complements. Therefore, Narahara's explanation does not provide a justification for the double-copula analysis of *de ar-u*.

Yamada's Particle Analysis is now examined.

(194) Yamada (1922b: 248ff.)¹¹¹

Ar-u takes a nominal, a semi-nominal, or an adverbial as its *hinkaku* word 'predicative complement'. These complements are marked by the case particle *de*. . . . There are two types of *ar-u* in Japanese: *ar-u* that denotes the meaning of existence, and *ar-u* that denotes the speaker's assertion. The latter type of *ar-u* takes a predicative complement.

- (i) *kore wa ginkoo-ka de ar-u.*
 this TOP bank-profession PARTICLE GE-NPST
 'This (person) is a banker.'
- (ii) *Kumamoto-zyoo wa sisso de ar-u.*
 Kumamoto-castle TOP plain PARTICLE GE-NPST
 'Kumamoto Castle is austere.'

If Yamada's Particle Analysis is adopted, it is not necessary to posit that *de ar-u* has a double-auxiliary construction, as in Tokieda, or a double-copula construction, as in Narahara. Furthermore, Yamada (1936) provides a more plausible analysis for a

¹¹¹ My translation from the Japanese.

compound sentence such as in (184b), as follows:

(195) Yamada (1936: 725)¹¹²

When *de ar-u*, *da* or *des-u*, which take a predicative complement, are used in the first clause of a compound sentence, they are sometimes replaced with *de*. In such a case, *de* alone assumes the role of predication equivalent to *de ar-u*, *da* or *des-u*.

kore wa kin de kosirae-ta mono de, are wa
this TOP gold with make-PST thing PARTICLE that TOP
gin de kosirae-ta mono de ar-u.
silver with make-PST thing PARTICLE GE-NPST
'This is made of gold, and that is made of silver.'

The view that a particle such as *de* plays a role of predication is not a standard one, given that particles are, in general, case markers. However, Yamada's view is supported by the fact that in classical Japanese copular sentences are constructed with only NPs and particles, as shown in (196):

(196) a. NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *ni (te)*.
TOP LOC (CONJ)
'NP₁ is NP₂.'

b. NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *zo*.
TOP COPULAR PARTICLE
'NP₁ is NP₂.'

It is also noted that, viewed from a diachronic perspective, it is misleading to state that *de* is the adverbial form of the auxiliary *da*. This implies that the auxiliary

¹¹² My translation from the Japanese.

da inflects to *de*. However, this is not the case. The copular sentence construction in (196a) lacks the capacity to indicate the tense, because it does not contain any verbal elements. To supplement this deficiency, the GE *ar-i* was employed, as shown in (197a):

(197) a. NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *ni* (*te*) + *ar-i*
 TOP LOC (CONJ) GE-NPST
 ‘NP₁ is NP₂.’

b. *ni* *te* *ar-i* → *de* *ar-i* / *de* *ar-u*
 LOC CONJ GE-NPST LOC GE-NPST / LOC GE-NPST
 → *dea* → *da* [= (182)]
 AUX/COP AUX/COP

As shown in (197b), the LOCATIVE particle *ni* and the conjunctive particle *te* were fused to *de*, and, later, *de* and *ar-u* were contracted to *da*. In short, the historical appearance of *de*, which is usually referred to as the adverbial form of *da*, precedes the historical appearance of (the non-past/dictionary-entry form of) *da*.¹¹³ Therefore, although *de* appears in the adverbial position instead of *da*, this does not mean that *da* is inflected to *de*. There is then no reason, or necessity, to regard *de* as an auxiliary, even if the view that considers *da* to be an auxiliary is adopted.

As shown in the observations above, Yamada’s analysis is more plausible and more consistent than Tokieda’s and Narahara’s analyses. Therefore, the Particle Analysis, which considers *de ar-u* to be a combination of the particle *de*, or more precisely the LOCATIVE case particle *de*, and the GE *ar-u*, is adopted in this thesis.

¹¹³ I am indebted to Satoshi Kinsui (personal communication, 2002) for this observation on the developmental order of *de* and *da*.

5.2 Bivalency of the VERBALISER-GE construction

The theoretical importance of the Particle Analysis discussed in the previous section is that it enables the VERBALISER-GE construction to be examined in relation to the bivalent structure of the LE construction. In other words, as shown in (198), the GE construction can be viewed as an extension of the LE construction, particularly of the typical LOCATIVE-LE construction, in which the ENTITY NP is topicalised:

- (198) a. [ENTITY DOMAIN LE]
b. [ENTITY DOMAIN-GE]

Nishiyama (1994) referred to the example in (199a) below as a LOCATIVE-copula sentence, and pointed out its semantic similarity to a LOCATIVE-LE sentence such as that given in (199b). If *da* in (199a) is replaced with *de ar-u* as shown in (199c), not only semantic but also structural similarities can be recognised between the VERBALISER-GE sentence and the LOCATIVE-LE sentence. The example in (199d) is also a VERBALISER-GE sentence that exhibits notable similarities to the LOCATIVE-LE sentence.

- (199) a. <LOCATIVE-copula sentence> - Nishiyama (1994: 120)
o-kaasan wa daidokoro da.
POL-mother TOP kitchen COP
'(lit.) Mother is the kitchen.'
→ 'Mother is in the kitchen.'

b. <LOCATIVE-LE sentence> - Nishiyama (1994: 116)

o-kaasan wa, daidokoro ni i-ru. [= (37b)]

POL-mother TOP kitchen LOC LE-NPST

‘Mother is in the kitchen.’

c. <VERBALISER-GE sentence>

o-kaasan wa daidokoro de ar-u.

POL-mother TOP kitchen LOC GE-NPST

‘(lit.) Mother is the kitchen.’

→ ‘Mother is in the kitchen.’

d. *toozen, ore to kanozyo wa hadaka de beddo no*
of course I and she TOP naked LOC bed GEN
naka de ar-u. [NV09:106]

inside LOC GE-NPST

‘Of course, she and I are in bed naked.’

The examples in (199c) and (199d) above have physical DOMAIN NPs. The following example in (200a) is a case in which the DOMAIN NP is abstract. However, it is still paraphrasable as an LE expression, as shown in (200b):

(200) a. *o-kaasan wa byooki de ar-u.*

POL-mother TOP sickness LOC GE-NPST

‘Mother is sick.’

b. *o-kaasan wa byooki no zyootai ni ar-u.*

POL-mother TOP sickness GEN state LOC LE-NPST

‘(lit.) Mother is in the state of sickness.’

→ ‘Mother is sick.’

Because the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* incorporates a DOMAIN NP in order to form a

predicate, as indicated by the hyphen in the schema in (198b), the GE is considered to have lost the bivalent nature of the LE in a strict sense. However, from a broader viewpoint, it can be considered that the GE in question has essentially the same function as the LE, in the respect that it connects an ENTITY NP and a DOMAIN NP.

There is a difference between the LE and the GE constructions in case-marking for the DOMAIN NP: it is marked by the particle *ni* in the LE construction, whereas it is marked by *de* in the GE construction. However, the particle *de* in the GE construction is considered to have lost its original function of denoting a concrete LOCATION, as the existential meaning is *bleached* in the transition from the LE to the GE,¹¹⁴ in the same way that prepositions in English, such as ‘at’ and ‘in’, have lost their original function of denoting a concrete LOCATION in examples such as ‘he is at ease’ and ‘she is in love’. Therefore, it is considered that, in the VERBALISER-GE construction, a concrete LOCATION nominal such as *daidokoro* ‘kitchen’ in (199c) is viewed as an abstract DOMAIN. Because it is viewed as such, the selection between *ar-u* and *i-ru* in terms of the self-controllability of the ENTITY NP, which is effective in the LE construction in (199b), is not applied to the GE construction even if the ENTITY NP is [+self-control] as in (199c).¹¹⁵

From the above, it follows that it is inappropriate to refer to *de ar-u* as a copula. Although *de ar-u* is used in a copular sentence, *de ar-u* itself is not a copula. As Crystal (1992: 85) defines it, a copula is “a verb with little or no independent meaning, whose primary function is to link elements of clause structure, typically the subject and the complement, to show that they are semantically equivalent”.

¹¹⁴ Kiyoharu Ono (personal communication, 2003) suggests that the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* can be referred to as an Identifier.

¹¹⁵ However, it is important to note that *de i-ru* is sometimes used instead of *de ar-u* when the ENTITY NP is [+self-control]. *De i-ru* will be discussed in Section 5.6.

According to this definition, 'linking' is the main function of a copula. The reason that *de ar-u* is used in a copular sentence is because the GE *ar-u*, not *de ar-u*, has the inherent function of linking a DOMAIN NP and an ENTITY NP, as illustrated in (198b). However, strictly speaking, the GE *ar-u* cannot be regarded as a genuine copula, because it does not necessarily show that the DOMAIN NP and the ENTITY NP are semantically equivalent. Therefore, it can be said that the GE *ar-u* has a copula-like function in the respect that it links two NPs.

In addition, it is also deemed inappropriate to refer to *ar-u*, or *de ar-u*, as a JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary.¹¹⁶ It is debatable whether or not examples such as in (199c) and (200a) do in fact express the speaker's judgement. The sense of 'judgement' involves extra-linguistic factors, such as context, intonation, and evidentiality. For example, in the case of (200a), if the speaker has been informed by the doctor that his/her mother is sick, then the sentence is considered to be merely a simple statement of the fact that the speaker's mother is sick. However, if the speaker has conjectured, from his/her mother's appearance, that she is sick, then the same sentence can be interpreted to express the speaker's judgement.

If the speaker is making a purely JUDGEMENTAL expression, *no de ar-u* can be used as a sentence-final expression as shown in (201):¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ What is stated for *de ar-u* also basically applies to *da* and *des-u*. Therefore, it is also, strictly speaking, inappropriate to treat *da* and *des-u* as copulae or JUDGEMENTAL auxiliaries. However, they are labelled as copulae in this thesis, because they cannot be decomposed into finer constituents. The term copula is selected over the term JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary because, as discussed in Chapter 1, the term auxiliary is used for the auxiliary use of verbs, and *da* and *des-u* are not verbs. It should be noted that, although *da* and *des-u* are referred to as copulae, and *de ar-u* is not referred to as a copula, this does not imply that *da* and *des-u* possess a stronger copulative function than *de ar-u*. On the contrary, *da* and *des-u* are weaker than *de ar-u* in terms of the copulative function. This issue will be discussed in Section 5.3.

¹¹⁷ Because *no de ar-u* (or *no da*) does not have a corresponding ENTITY NP, it is difficult to translate it into English, although, in nuance, it is close to English expressions such as 'It is that...' and 'I vow...'.

- (201) *daga, dotanba de, kono syoonen mo siro de*
 but last minute LOC this boy also white (innocent) LOC
ar-u₁ koto ga hanmei-si-ta no de ar-u₂. [TK01:205]
 GE-PNM NOMI NOM become clear-do-PST NOMI LOC GE-NPST
 ‘But at the last minute, this boy also turned out to be innocent.’

Ar-u appears twice in the example above. Although both instances are GEs that verbalise *de*-marked NPs, their syntactic statuses are different. *Ar-u₁* links the ENTITY NP *kono syoonen* ‘this boy’ and the DOMAIN NP *siro* ‘innocent’, whereas *ar-u₂* does not exhibit such a linking function.

Previous studies frequently describe *no de ar-u* as conveying the sense of ‘explanation’ or ‘emphasis’, and note that it occupies the position of modality outside of the proposition.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the example in (201) is considered to have the structure as shown in (202):

- (202) *daga, dotanba de, kono syoonen mo siro de ar-u koto ga hanmei-si-ta*
 proposition
 + *no de ar-u.* [see (201)]
 modality

Viewed in this light, it is reasonable to regard *no de ar-u* as a purely JUDGEMENTAL expression, and this suggests that it is necessary to distinguish between the ordinary VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* and the GE *ar-u* in *no de ar-u*. From the viewpoint of the theory of grammaticalisation, the GE *ar-u* in *no de ar-u* is considered to be a highly grammaticalised item, in the respect that it has lost not only the function of denoting existence, which the LE *ar-u* retains, but also the function of

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Teramura (1984: 261ff.) and Noda (2002: 230ff.).

linking two NPs, which both the LE *ar-u* and the ordinary VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* have.

As demonstrated in the above discussion, the view that divides *de ar-u* into the particle *de* and the GE *ar-u* leads to a systematic account of the Japanese existential constructions, including both the LE construction and the VERBALISER-GE construction. Previous studies, such as Morita (1977, 1989) and Makino (1978), point out the commonalities between the LE construction of [NP₁ *ga/wa* NP₂ *ni ar-u*] and the GE construction of [NP₁ *ga/wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*]. Both Morita and Makino claim that the construction of [NP₁ *ga/wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*] denotes that ‘NP₁ exists in the state of NP₂’. However, Morita and Makino do not present detailed discussion on this matter from a structural point of view. If it is acknowledged that the core function of the LE is to connect an ENTITY NP and a DOMAIN NP, as proposed in previous chapters, then the structure of the GE construction under consideration can be properly comprehended as a structure derived from the bivalent construction of the LE.

However, it is important to note that, as discussed above, the particle *de* in the VERBALISER-GE construction does not mark a LOCATION NP in the literal sense. Therefore, although [NP₁ *ga/wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*] is considered to have the fundamental construction of [ENTITY DOMAIN-GE], the distinction between the ENTITY NP and the DOMAIN NP is not as clear-cut as it is in the LE construction. In other words, although the VERBALISER-GE construction is theoretically analysed as [ENTITY DOMAIN-GE], it is used in practice simply as [NP₁ NP₂-GE], which has the capacity

for wide application in daily use of the language. The versatility of the construction [NP₁ NP₂-GE] leads to the issue of the *Eel*-sentence, which is examined in the following section.

5.3 The *Eel*-sentence

5.3.1 The *Eel*-sentence controversy

The *unagi-bun*, or '*Eel*-sentence', which has the sentence construction of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *da*], has been the focus of heated controversy among Japanese linguists.

The construction of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *da*] can denote not only the concept of [NP₁=NP₂], which corresponds to 'NP₁ is NP₂' in English, but also the concept of [NP₁≠NP₂].¹¹⁹ For example, the sentence in (203a), which is the origin of the label '*Eel*-sentence', can be interpreted to mean that 'I am going to have eel', when used in the situation of ordering a meal at a restaurant.

(203) Okutsu (1978: 8ff.)

a. *boku wa unagi da.*
I TOP eel COP
'I am (going to have/order) eel.'

b. *boku wa Okutsu da.*
I TOP Okutsu COP
'I am Okutsu.'

The controversy focuses on how the example in (203a) produces an [NP₁≠NP₂] interpretation, that is, [*watasi* 'I' ≠ *unagi* 'eel'].

It should be noted that an example such as in (203b), which generally produces

¹¹⁹ The symbol '=' is used to indicate an 'identification' reading, and the symbol '≠' is used to indicate a 'non-identification' reading.

the interpretation of $[NP_1=NP_2]$, can also produce the interpretation of $[NP_1\neq NP_2]$. As Okutsu (1978: 11 f.) points out, the sentence can be interpreted to mean ‘I’ll vote Okutsu’, when it is uttered in a situation where people are discussing who they will vote for. This suggests that the interpretation of $[NP_1 wa NP_2 da]$ is essentially context-dependent, *including* the interpretation of $[NP_1=NP_2]$. In other words, the example in (203b) produces the interpretation of ‘I am Okutsu’ when it is uttered in an appropriate context, such as when people are introducing themselves.

Okutsu (1981) classifies the various hypotheses proposed to explain the origin of the *Eel*-sentence, as follows:¹²⁰

(204) Okutsu (1981)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. Propredication Hypothesis/Ellipsis Hypothesis | - Yamada (1936), Kuno (1978), Okutsu (1978) |
| b. <i>No da</i> Hypothesis | - Martin (1975) |
| c. Copula Hypothesis | - Ikegami (1977), Nitta (1980) |
| d. Cleft-sentence Hypothesis | - Kitahara (1980) |

The origin of the *Eel*-sentence is still under dispute, particularly between those who advocate the Propredication Hypothesis (for example, Okutsu 2001a, b) and those who support the Ellipsis Hypothesis (for example, Noda 2001). These two hypotheses were grouped together in Okutsu (1981), as shown above.

Each hypothesis in (204) is not examined in detail here; rather, the validity of Ikegami’s hypothesis,¹²¹ which has not been given due attention since its rejection by Okutsu (1981), is examined and supported.

¹²⁰ A more detailed categorisation is found in Ono (1992: 189ff.).

¹²¹ Ikegami (1981), which is an expanded version of Ikegami (1977), is used in the discussion here.

5.3.2 The *Eel*-sentence and Contiguity Theory

In Section 3.4, Ikegami's Contiguity Theory, which recognises the bivalency of the LE, and explains the EXISTENTIAL-LE and the POSSESSIVE-LE constructions uniformly based on the semantic structural formula of [Y BE WITH X], was introduced. Ikegami extends his Contiguity Theory to the analysis of the *Eel*-sentence.

Ikegami first divides *da* into *de ar-u*, and claims that the *Eel*-sentence has a typical [Y BE WITH X] structure, as shown in (205):

(205) Ikegami (1981: 35ff.)

Y		X	WITH	BE	
<u>boku</u>	<u>wa</u>	<u>unagi</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>ar-u.</u>	
I	TOP	eel	LOC	GE-NPST	[see (203a)]

Ikegami considers that the structure of the *Eel*-sentence is the most basic construction that denotes the contiguity between X and Y, and that the details of the contiguous relation, such as [X=Y] and [X≠Y], is determined by the context. This analysis is superior to other hypotheses such as the Propredication Hypothesis and the Ellipsis Hypothesis, in the respect that it does not assume a preexistent sentence. For example, Okutsu (2001a), who adopts the Propredication Hypothesis, notes that, although there are several possible answers, as given in B₁ to B₅, to the question in A in (206), only B₂ is the *Eel*-sentence, and claims that *da* in B₂ is the pro-form of *tabe-ru* 'eat' in B₁. In other words, in the Propredication Hypothesis, the formation of the *Eel*-sentence in B₂ implies the preexistence of the non-ellipted sentence in B₁.

(206) Okutsu (2001a: 124)

[context: at a restaurant]

A: *kimi wa nani o tabe-ru?*

you TOP what ACC eat-NPST

‘What are you going to eat?’

B₁: *boku wa unagi o tabe-ru.* (non-ellipted sentence)

I TOP eel ACC eat-NPST

‘I’ll eat eel.’

B₂: *boku wa unagi da.* (*Eel*-sentence [= (203a)])

B₃: *∅ unagi o tabe-ru.* (ellipted sentence)

B₄: *boku wa unagi ∅ ∅ .* (ellipted sentence)

B₅: *∅ unagi ∅ ∅ .* (ellipted sentence)

However, it is possible to answer the same question in the form shown in (207C).

(207) A: *kimi wa nani o tabe-ru?* [see (206A)]

C: *boku wa unagi ni su-ru.*

I TOP eel DAT do-NPST

‘(lit.) I do/decide on eel.’

→ ‘I’ll eat eel.’

This suggests that the fact that the sentence in (208B) can be used as the answer to the question in (208A) does not necessarily prove that *da* in (208B) is the pro-form of *tabe-ru* in (208A) as it is also possible to consider that *da* in (208B) is used as the pro-form of *su-ru* in (207C).

(208) A: *kimi wa nani o tabe-ru?* [see (206A)]

B: *boku wa unagi da.* [see (206B₂)]

As shown in the observations above, the Propredication Hypothesis is open to criticism in the respect that it lays down as an axiom that B_1 in (206) is *the* answer to the question in (206A). The Ellipsis hypothesis has the same problem, as it also postulates a non-ellipted sentence from which an *Eel*-sentence is derived. In contrast, Ikegami's Contiguity Theory does not postulate such a preceding sentence; therefore it does not preclude the possibility that the speaker uses the example in (208B) in order to express the meaning of (207C).

Okutsu (1981) criticises Ikegami's hypothesis on the basis that it requires two arguments: X and Y. According to Okutsu, such an analysis is not viable, because the number of arguments that the *Eel*-sentence takes is not always two. However, it is important to note that Okutsu's study extends its scope to include *da*-sentences in general. Okutsu claims that the following *da*-sentence is a zero-argument *Eel*-sentence:

(209) Okutsu (1981: 206)

[context: when the speaker opens the window and looks outside]

ame da. (← *ame ga hut-te i-ru.*)

rain *da* rain NOM fall-GER GE-NPST

'Rain!' 'It's raining.'

Okutsu does not consider *ame* 'rain' in *ame da* as an argument. Therefore, the zero-argument sentence in Okutsu's study corresponds to the one-argument sentence in Ikegami's study and in this thesis. It is important to notice that *ame da* in (209) is not an example of the *Eel*-sentence. Because the *Eel*-sentence issue relates to the phenomenon that the construction of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ {*da* / *de ar-u*}] produces both

[NP₁=NP₂] and [NP₁≠NP₂] interpretations, it is not justifiable to reject Ikegami's analysis of *Eel*-sentences based on an argument which is based on a different kind of *da*-sentence.

Okutsu (1981: 221) also claims that Ikegami's hypothesis does not take into consideration the idiosyncratic characteristics of *da* in Japanese, because it observes *da* from the viewpoint of Occidental logic and linguistics.¹²² This is not a valid criticism. Although Ikegami's Contiguity Theory holds cross-linguistic implications, it does not assert that *da*, or *de ar-u*, is a copula which expresses that X and Y are semantically equivalent. Moreover, Ikegami's semantic structural formula is [Y BE WITH X], rather than [Y BE X]. In other words, even if the construction of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ {*da* / *de ar-u*}] produces the meaning of [NP₁=NP₂], in Ikegami's framework this is regarded merely as one possible interpretation of the contiguous relation between the two NPs.

In addition, it should be noted that, although a sentence such as in (209) is not an *Eel*-sentence, it can also be plausibly explained within the framework of the Contiguity Theory, as in Ikegami's discussion below:

(210) Ikegami (1981: 49f.)¹²³

- (i) BE X
- (ii) BE WITH X

¹²² As shown in (204c), Okutsu refers to Ikegami's Contiguity Theory as a Copula Hypothesis. However, it should be noted that the term copula is not used in Ikegami (1981).

¹²³ My translation from the Japanese.

In both the structures in (i) and (ii), Y is absent. When a speaker uses these sentence structures in conversation, the interlocutor usually supplements the absence of Y with contextual information. However, the structure in (ii) requires such supplementation more than the structure in (i) does, because what is absent in (i) is [WITH Y], which conveys collateral information, and [BE X] is self-contained to a significant extent, whereas what is absent in (ii) is [Y], which receives the predication of [WITH X].

To give examples, the utterance of '*mizu da!*' ('Water!') by a person who has just found an oasis in the desert has the structure of (i), and the utterance of '*mizu da!*' by a person who has just identified a mysterious liquid as water has the structure of (ii). The former is interpreted to mean that 'water is/exists', whereas the latter is interpreted to mean that '(this liquid) is water.' It is clear that the latter utterance is more heavily dependent than the former on the preceding context.

Although the above explanation is convincing, it leads to the question as to why the first case of *mizu da* above is analysed as [BE X], which does not contain [WITH], given that *da* is a variant of *de ar-u*, and *de* in *de ar-u* corresponds to [WITH] in [Y BE WITH X]. Ikegami (1981: 44) claims that, in contrast to [X *de ar-u*], which literally corresponds to [BE WITH X], [X *da*] is a form in which [BE WITH X] and [BE X] have been neutralised on the surface. This statement prompts a reassessment of the common view that *da* and *de ar-u* are merely stylistic variants. In fact, *mizu de ar-u!* cannot be used instead of *mizu da!* when the speaker has just found an oasis in the desert. The unacceptability of *mizu de ar-u!* in such a context can be attributed to the fact that, stylistically, *de ar-u* is used mainly in written language. However, the following examples show that *da* and *de ar-u* have a significant difference that is more than stylistic:

- (211) a. “*sore wa nan da ka wakari-mas-u ka?*” [NV03:273]
 it TOP what COP Q understand-POL-NPST Q
 ‘Do you know what it is?’
- b. “*nan-da-ka husigi-na kibun nano.*” [NV11:248]
 somehow strange-PNM mood FP
 ‘Somehow I feel in a strange mood.’
- c. * “*nan-de-ar-u-ka husigi-na kibun nano.*”
 what-LOC-GE-NPST-Q strange-PNM mood FP
- d. *izure, kanzya no hitori-hitori ni tuite*
 sooner or later patient GEN a person-a person DAT regarding
sono hito no besuto-koosu wa nan de ar-u
 that person GEN best-course TOP what LOC GE-NPST
ka o omoimir-u koto ga deki-ru yoo ni
 Q ACC consider-PNM NOMI NOM can do-PNM like
nar-u desyoo. [TK03:77]
 become-NPST SFE (inference)
 ‘Sooner or later we will be able to specifically design the best treatment
 course for each of our patients.’

The string of *nan da ka* can be used as part of the [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *da*] construction as shown in (211a). It can also be used as an independent adverbial expression that means ‘somehow/somewhat’, as shown in (211b). On the other hand, as shown in (211c), the string of *nan de ar-u ka* cannot be used as an independent adverbial expression. It can only be used as part of the [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*] construction, as shown in (211d). The disparity above between *nan da ka* and *nan de ar-u ka* is ascribed to the difference between *da* and *de ar-u* in terms of the degree of the bivalent disposition inherited from the LE *ar-u*. It is considered that *da* derives a

usage such as in (211b) because it no longer has a strong bivalent characteristic. On the other hand, it is considered that *de ar-u* cannot be used in the same manner, as shown in (211c), because it preserves a strong bivalent characteristic. The reason that *mizu de ar-u!* cannot express the meaning of ‘water is/exists’ can also be ascribed to the fact that *de ar-u* has a stronger bivalent characteristic than *da*.

Therefore, it is construed that *da* has lost its bivalent nature to a significant extent in the process of phonological contraction from *de ar-u* to *da*, and consequently *da* has become a more versatile element than *de ar-u*. This claim is illustrated in the following structural formulae:

- (212) (LOCATIVE-)LE *ar-u* construction: [NP₁ *wa/ga* NP₂ *ni ar-u*]
 VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* construction: [NP₁ *wa/ga* NP₂ *de ar-u*]
Da-constructions: (i) [NP₁ *wa/ga* NP₂ *da*]
 (ii) [NP *da*]

Although *da* allows the type (ii) construction, this does not signify that it is always used in this way. *Da* can also be used in the type (i) construction, in which it carries the same degree of bivalency as *de ar-u*.

Viewed in this light, it is understandable that Okutsu (1981), who extended the scope of his study from the *Eel*-sentence to *da*-sentences in general, rejected Ikegami’s hypothesis on the grounds that Ikegami’s Contiguity Theory requires two NPs. However, it is essential to recognise that there are two types of *da*: the *da* that maintains a bivalent feature and which is interchangeable with *de ar-u*, and the *da* that has lost the bivalent feature, which is not interchangeable with *de ar-u*. Since *da* in the *Eel*-sentence is of the former type, it is inappropriate to bring the latter type of

da, such as in (209), into the discussion of the *Eel*-sentence.

Okutsu also claims that the *Eel*-sentence can take more than two arguments (more than one, in his counting system). The following is the example given in Okutsu (1981):

(213) Okutsu (1981: 206)

rainen Hukuda-san wa too-taikai de moo iti-do
next year Fukuda-POL TOP party-convention LOC again 1-time
soosai da.
president COP

‘Next year, Mr Fukuda will be re-elected president at the Party Convention.’

Da in the example above is the type which preserves a bivalent feature. Although Okutsu counts adverbial elements, such as *rainen* ‘next year’, *too-taikai de* ‘at the Party Convention’, and *moo iti-do* ‘again’, as arguments, it is clear that the core structure of the sentence is the bivalent construction [*Hukuda-san wa soosai da*] ‘Mr Fukuda is the president’. That is, the number of adverbial elements is irrelevant to the discussion of the *Eel*-sentence. Therefore, the example in (213) does not constitute a strong piece of counterevidence to Ikegami’s claim that the *Eel*-sentence has the structure of [Y BE WITH X].

As observed in this section, Ikegami’s Contiguity Theory is credible both in relation to the use of the *Eel*-sentence, as well as on the use of the *da*-construction.

B in (208) utters *boku wa unagi da* because the information that B wishes to convey to A is *boku* ‘I’ in reply to *kimi* ‘you’, and *unagi* ‘eel’ in reply to *nani* ‘what’.

Although the two-word utterance, *boku unagi*, and the one-word utterance, *unagi*, can also convey sufficient information in this situation, it is considered that B uses the *Eel*-sentence because it is one of the most economical, yet complete, sentence constructions in Japanese. In other words, to use the *Eel*-sentence construction is to embellish two pieces of information with an appropriate frame as a sentence. Okutsu's claim that *da* in *boku wa unagi da* in (208B) is the pro-form of *tabe-ru* reflects the conventional view which attaches great importance to verb-contained sentences.¹²⁴ However, such a view does not offer much insight into the study of the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* construction or the *da*-construction. It is essential to recognise that it is the NPs that play crucial roles in these constructions, and that (*de*) *ar-u* and *da* are merely devices that turn NPs into predicates.

¹²⁴ Ono (1992: 207ff.) refutes Okutsu's pro-form analysis of *da* in terms of three arguments: (i) *da* is a bound form; (ii) *da* is semantically vacuous and syntactically optional; (iii) *da* in the *Eel*-sentence and *da* in ordinary *da*-constructions behave in exactly the same way in their optionality.

5.4 Monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE

When the LE construction was discussed in previous chapters, it was argued that the LE has a covert *universal* DOMAIN in its DOMAIN slot when it appears accompanied only by an ENTITY argument on the surface of a sentence. This section examines whether or not the VERBALISER-GE construction has such a monovalent usage.¹²⁵

As claimed in the previous section, the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* preserves a strong bivalent feature inherited from the LE. A screening of the Original Corpus reveals that when the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* takes only one NP (that is, NP₂ of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*]) in the sentence, another NP (that is, NP₁) is found in the preceding sentence, as in (214a) or in the following sentence, as in (214b):

- (214) a. *Gudooru-san no kenkyuu wa sen-kyuuhyaku-rokuzyyuu-nen*
 Goodall-POL GEN research TOP 1960-year
no siti-gatu ni hazimat-ta. sitagatte yonzyuu-nen ga
 GEN July LOC start-PST therefore 40-year NOM
tat-te i-ru. mottomo naga-i kenkyuu de ar-u. [SE04:4]
 past-GER GE-NPST most long-PNM research LOC GE-NPST
 ‘Dr Goodall’s research started in July 1960. Therefore forty years have passed. It is the longest research project.’

¹²⁵ As mentioned in Section 5.2, the sentence final expression *no de ar-u* occupies the position of a modality, which is outside of a proposition. Therefore, the GE *ar-u* in *no de ar-u* is considered to take the preceding proposition, which is nominalised by *no*, as a sole argument. Therefore, the usage of *ar-u* in *no de ar-u* is deemed to be an instance of the monovalent use of the GE *ar-u*. However, this section investigates the monovalent use of the ordinary VERBALISER-GE which is not part of a sentence-final expression.

b. sono yokuzitu no koto de ar-u. Kazuhiko ni
 that next day GEN NOMI LOC GE-NPST Kazuhiko DAT
segama-re-te sakkaa-booru o kai ni dekake-ta
 beg-PASS-GER soccer-ball ACC buying DAT go out-PNM
disukaunto sutoa de, Kyoko ga uwasa no
 discount store LOC Kyoko NOM rumour GEN
tyoohonnin, Sibata Norio to hatiawase o
 person in question Shibata Norio with running into ACC
si-ta no wa. [NV10:221]
 do-PST NOMI TOP

‘(lit.) It was the next day. When Kyoko went to the discount store, pestered by Kazuhiko to buy a soccer ball, she ran into Norio Shibata, the guy that they were talking about.’

→ ‘It was the next day that Kyoko ran into Norio Shibata, the guy they had been talking about. She was in the discount store, buying a soccer ball for Kazuhiko.’

However, although rare, there are cases, such as in (215), where the GE *ar-u* takes only an NP₂:

(215) *syokuba no senpai-doosi no kekkon-siki*
 workplace GEN senior colleague-between GEN marriage-ceremony
de ar-u. [NV11:167]
 LOC GE-NPST

‘It is a wedding ceremony for co-workers from my company.’

The example above is the opening sentence of a short story: therefore, there is no preceding sentence and, in contrast to (214b), the sentences that follow this example do not contain the corresponding NP₁.

The sentence in (215) introduces the situation in which the story develops.

Therefore, it is possible to consider that the ‘story’ that is going to be unfolded is the NP₁-equivalent. However, from the viewpoint of structural analysis, this example is a clear instance of the monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE construction. The author appears to aim for a rhetorical effect by breaching the bivalent regulation of the VERBALISER-GE construction.

The monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE construction seems to be limited to this kind of ‘situation set-up’ purpose. Consider another example in (216):

(216) Zire no musume no Zya ni yoru sen-kyuuhyaku-hatizyuu-hati-nen

Jire GEN daughter GEN Ja by 1988-year
san-gatu no episoodo de ar-u. Bossou ni wa uki
 March GEN episode LOC GE-NPST Bossou LOC TOP wet season
 to kanki ga at-te, kanki no owari ni
 and dry season NOM LE-CONJ dry season GEN end LOC
 ooame ga hur-u. zutto mizu ga tobosi-i
 heavy rain NOM fall-NPST for a long time water NOM scarce-PNM
 ziki ga at-te, ooame ga hut-ta ato no
 period NOM LE-CONJ heavy rain NOM fall-PST after GEN
saisyo no hi de ar-u. [SE04:55]

first GEN day LOC GE-NPST

‘This is an episode concerning Jire’s daughter, Ja, in March 1988. In Bossou we have the wet season and the dry season, and at the end of the dry season we have a heavy rain. Water has been scarce through the dry season, and it is the next day after the first heavy rain.’

In the example above, the reader senses the author’s intention to create an effect, using the monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE construction. First, the author sets up a broad time frame of ‘March 1988’, and then narrows the time frame down to

‘the next day after the first heavy rain’.

The monovalent usage of the VERBALISER-GE construction can serve as a ‘situation set-up’ sentence because NP₂ of [NP₁ NP₂-GE] is intrinsically a DOMAIN argument, and to express a DOMAIN is essentially to set up a situation. Although, as argued above, the distinction between the ENTITY argument and the DOMAIN argument in the VERBALISER-GE construction is not as clear-cut as it is in the case of the LE construction, the original nature of NP₂, which is to indicate a DOMAIN, is considered to persist, at least partially, in the monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE construction. However, the monovalent usages of the LE and the VERBALISER-GE are considered to be of a different nature: in the former the DOMAIN argument is covert, whereas in the latter the ENTITY argument is absent. This observation accounts for the fact that examples of the type of use of the VERBALISER-GE illustrated in (215) and (216) are rare. This is because, in principle, the ENTITY argument must be present in the existential expression, except for in cases of the discourse phenomenon of ellipsis.

5.5 The [quantifier + *ar-u*] construction

5.5.1 Non-genuine NP arguments

The basic structural formula of the VERBALISER-GE construction is [NP₁ NP₂-GE]. However, there are cases in which non-genuine NPs stand in these NP slots. Okutsu presents the following example in which the adverb *yukkuri* ‘slowly’ occupies the NP₂ slot:¹²⁶

(217) Okutsu (1978: 38)

uti no katyoo wa zuibun yukkuri da.
 inside GEN section chief TOP very slowly COP
 ‘Our section chief is never in a hurry.’

As the focus of this discussion is the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u*, the example above is rewritten replacing *da* with *de ar-u*, as shown in (218a):

(218) a. *uti no katyoo wa zuibun yukkuri de ar-u.*
 inside GEN section chief TOP very slowly LOC GE-NPST
 ‘Our section chief is never in a hurry.’

¹²⁶ Okutsu also gives the following examples in which non-genuine NPs occupy the NP slots:

Okutsu (1978: 24f.)

(i) *kono zetto wa Sanhuransisuko made da.*
 this jet TOP San Francisco until COP
 ‘This jet plane is bound for San Francisco.’

(ii) *Sidonii kara wa Kuraaku-kun da.*
 Sydney from TOP Clark-SUFFIX COP
 ‘From Sydney is Mr Clark.’

Although these examples, including the sentence in (217), are *da*-sentences, *da* is interchangeable with *de ar-u* in all of them.

b. * *uti no katyoo wa zuibun yukkuri* \emptyset *ar-u.*
 inside GEN section chief TOP very slowly GE-NPST

Without *de*, the sentence becomes ungrammatical as shown in (218b). This is in contrast to the fact that quantifiers, which are generally adverbial-equivalents, construct a grammatical sentence with or without *de*, as shown in (219):

(219) a. *kono kaki wa hatizyuu-guramu de ar-u.*
 this persimmon TOP 80-gram LOC GE-NPST
 ‘This persimmon is eighty grams.’

b. Kushima (2002: 132)

kono kaki wa hatizyuu-guramu ar-u.
 this persimmon TOP 80-gram LE-NPST
 ‘This persimmon weighs eighty grams.’

It is assumed that *ar-u* in (219b) is an LE. In fact, the meaning of the example in (219b) resembles that of the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence in general. However, the example does not accept the typical case-marking of the LE construction, as shown in (220), which suggests that the structure of the sentence is not a prototypical LE construction:

(220) a. * *kono kaki { ni / ni wa / wa } 80-guramu ga ar-u.*
 this persimmon LOC / LOC TOP / TOP 80-gram NOM LE-NPST

b. * *kono kaki { ga / wa } 80-guramu ni ar-u.*
 this persimmon NOM / TOP 80-gram LOC LE-NPST

Little attention had been paid in the literature to the *Persimmon*-sentence construction in (219b),¹²⁷ until Kushima (2002). In the following discussion, Kushima's analysis is examined.¹²⁸

5.5.2 Number and size

Kushima first introduces the distinction between the concept of 'quantity in number' ('*number*') and the concept of 'quantity in size/bulk' ('*size*'). According to Kushima, *number* is a mode of existence, that is, how many ENTITIES exist in a certain place, whereas *size* is a direct attribute of a given ENTITY. He explains the acceptability and unacceptability of the following examples, including the *Persimmon*-sentence in (d), based on this distinction.

(221) Kushima (2002: 129ff.)

a. *kaki ga koko ni zyuk-ko ar-u.*
 persimmon NOM here LOC 10-piece LE-NPST

'There are ten persimmons here.'

b. * *kaki ga koko ni hatizyuu-guramu ar-u.*
 persimmon NOM here LOC 80-gram LE-NPST

(note: referring to a single persimmon which weighs eighty grams)

¹²⁷ Since the example in (219b) is frequently referred to in the following discussion, it is labelled as the *Persimmon*-sentence, for the sake of convenience.

¹²⁸ The discussion of the *Persimmon*-sentence would be more appropriate in the context of the study of the LE construction in previous chapters. However, it is discussed in this chapter for the purpose of comparison with the VERBALISER-GE construction.

- c. *kaki ga koko ni san-kiro ar-u.*
 persimmon NOM here LOC 3-kilogram LE-NPST
 ‘There are three kilograms of persimmons here.’
- d. *kono kaki wa hatizyuu-guramu ar-u.* [= (219b)]
 this persimmon TOP 80-gram LE-NPST
 ‘This persimmon weighs eighty grams.’
- e. *kono kaki wa hatizyuu-guramu da.*
 this persimmon TOP 80-gram COP
 ‘This persimmon is eighty grams.’

Kushima argues that in (221a), the quantifier *zyuk-ko* ‘ten pieces’ indicates *number*, which is a mode of existence; therefore, *zyuk-ko* co-occurs with the type of *ar-u* that denotes the literal meaning of existence. In contrast, the quantifier *hatizyuu-guramu* ‘eighty grams’ in (221b) indicates the *size* of a single persimmon; therefore, this quantifier cannot co-occur with the type of *ar-u* that denotes the literal meaning of existence. However, when the quantifier indicates a collective weight of plural persimmons, it co-occurs with *ar-u* as in (221c), because such a quantifier is not interpreted as *size*, but as *number*. Although the example in (221b) is ungrammatical, the example in (221d), the *Persimmon*-sentence, is grammatical because *ar-u* in the *Persimmon*-sentence does not denote the literal meaning of existence, and such a non-existential *ar-u* allows the co-occurrence of a quantifier that represents *size*. *Ar-u* in the *Persimmon*-sentence has the same function as *da* in (221e).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ The only difference between the *ar-u* sentence in (221d) and the *da*-sentence in (221e) that Kushima mentions is that the former is more usable than the latter when the speaker has carefully and precisely measured the weight of a persimmon. However, such a difference in usability in the context that Kushima describes is debatable.

Incorporating the terms LE and GE, Kushima's explanation can be rephrased as follows: *number*-denoting quantifiers co-occur with LEs, whereas *size*-denoting quantifiers co-occur with GEs.

Although this is an interesting account, Kushima does not provide sufficient justification for his claim that *ar-u* in the *Persimmon*-sentence and *da* in (221e) have the same function. The view that considers that *da* and *ar-u* have the same function leads to the assumption that *de ar-u* and *ar-u* also have the same function, since *da* in (221e) can be replaced with *de ar-u* as given in (219a). Furthermore, it leads to the assumption that *de* in (219a) is an optional item, the presence or absence of which does not cause a significant difference to the meaning of the sentence. This assumption is proved invalid by the fact that the presence or absence of *de* affects the grammaticality of the pair of examples in (218). Although (219a) and (219b) are both grammatical and denote similar meanings, it should not be assumed that *de ar-u* and *ar-u* have the same function based on the similarity in the meanings. Importance should rather be attached to the fact that the meanings of the pair of examples in (219) are similar, but *not identical*. Therefore, it is necessary to investigate these examples more closely from the syntactic point of view.

5.5.3 The covert argument in the *Persimmon*-sentence

In order to understand the syntactic nature of quantifiers, the examples in (221) are examined from the viewpoint of Quantifier Float, which considers that

quantifiers are floated off NPs that they modify.¹³⁰

As shown below, the quantifiers in (221a), (221b), and (221c) can be restored to the NP-modifying position:

(222) a. zyuk-ko no kaki ga koko ni ar-u.
10-piece GEN persimmon NOM here LOC LE-NPST
'Ten persimmons are here.'

b. hatizyuu-guramu no kaki ga koko ni ar-u.
80-gram GEN persimmon NOM here LOC LE-NPST
'A persimmon which weighs eighty grams is here.'

c. san-kiro no kaki ga koko ni ar-u.
3-kilogram GEN persimmon NOM here LOC LE-NPST
'Three kilograms of persimmons are here.'

It is interesting to observe that the example in (222b) is acceptable as a statement referring to a (single) persimmon that weighs eighty grams, whereas its quantifier-floated version in (221b) is not. This suggests that Kushima's argument based on the distinction between *number* and *size* is only applicable to quantifier-floated sentences.

In contrast to these examples, the original sentence cannot be reconstructed from the *Persimmon*-sentence in (221d), due to the presence of the demonstrative *kono* 'this', as shown in (223a):

¹³⁰ See Shibatani (1977) and Ono (1984a, 1992) for discussions of Quantifier Float in Japanese.

- (223) a. * hatizyuu-guramu no kono kaki wa ar-u.
 80-gram GEN this persimmon TOP LE-NPST
 or
 * kono hatizyuu-guramu no kaki wa ar-u.
 this 80-gram GEN persimmon TOP LE-NPST
- b. hatizyuu-guramu no kaki wa ar-u.
 80-gram GEN persimmon TOP LE-NPST
 ‘A/the persimmon that weighs eighty grams exists.’

If the demonstrative is absent, the sentence becomes grammatical, as shown in (223b); however, it no longer denotes the same meaning as the *Persimmon*-sentence. Therefore, it is confirmed that the *Persimmon*-sentence has a different construction from the examples in (221a) to (221c).

The example in (224a), which has the same structure as the *Persimmon*-sentence, is now considered.

- (224) a. ?? *kono hako wa sanzyuugo-senti ar-u.*
 this box TOP 35-centimetre LE-NPST
 ‘(lit.) This box has thirty-five centimetres.’
- b. *kono hako wa { takasa / haba / okuyuki } ga sanzyuugo-senti*
 this box TOP height / width / depth NOM 35-centimetre
ar-u.
 LE-NPST
 ‘This box is thirty-five centimetres high/wide/deep.’

The example in (224a) does not sound complete. As shown in (224b), it must be

specified which dimension of the box: height, width, or depth, the quantifier *sanzyuugo-senti* ‘thirty-five centimetres’ is referring to. This observation leads to the assumption that the *Persimmon*-sentence, which has been reproduced in (225a) below, also has the original structure as given in (225b):

(225) a. *kono kaki wa 80-guramu ar-u.* [= (219b), (221d)]

this persimmon TOP 80-gram LE-NPST

‘This persimmon weighs eighty grams.’

b. *kono kaki wa omosa ga 80-guramu ar-u.*

this persimmon TOP weight NOM 80-gram LE-NPST

‘(lit.) For this persimmon, the weight is eighty grams.’

→ ‘This persimmon weighs eighty grams.’

c. *kono kaki wa 80-guramu no omosa ga ar-u.*

this persimmon TOP 80-gram GEN weight NOM LE-NPST

‘This persimmon has a weight of eighty grams.’

Therefore, it makes sense that a non-quantifier-floated sentence cannot be reconstructed directly from the *Persimmon*-sentence, because the sentence is not in its complete form. From its complete form given in (225b), a non-quantifier-floated sentence can be reconstructed, as shown in (225c). Note that the three examples in the above denote essentially the same meaning.

To put it simply, the *Persimmon*-sentence is an ellipted version of (225b). The question then arises as to why, unlike (224a), the *Persimmon*-sentence sounds complete despite the fact that it is structurally an ellipted sentence. This is considered to be a matter of pragmatics: first, it is unnecessary to express the NP *omosa ga* ‘weight + NOM’ explicitly, because the unit of weight, *guramu* ‘gram’, is present in

the quantifier phrase; second, ‘eighty grams’ is a reasonable quantity for the weight of a single persimmon. If the quantity is beyond reasonable expectation for the weight of a persimmon, the sentence sounds highly elliptical, as shown in (226):¹³¹

(226) ?? *kono kaki wa ni-miriguramu ar-u.*
 this persimmon TOP 2-milligram LE-NPST
 ‘This persimmon weighs two milligrams.’

Therefore, it is considered that the *Persimmon*-sentence in (225a) sounds complete, because certain pragmatic and extra-linguistic factors lead to the identification of the covert NP argument *omosa ga*.

The structure of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *ga* QT *ar-u*] is a typical LE construction, or more precisely, a POSSESSIVE-LE construction. Therefore, NP₁ is a DOMAIN argument, and NP₂ is an ENTITY argument. By assuming that the *Persimmon*-sentence [NP *wa* QT *ar-u*] is the ellipited version of [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *ga* QT *ar-u*], the NP in the former is identified as a DOMAIN argument since it corresponds to NP₁ in the latter. However, it is more appropriate to refer to the NP in the *Persimmon*-sentence as a DOMAIN NP-equivalent, rather than a DOMAIN NP, since *ni* (*wa*)-marking makes the sentence highly unnatural, as shown below:

¹³¹ The example in (226) is usable only in a specific situation such as where laboratory technicians are measuring the mass of a substance of some kind (substance X) contained in the persimmon. Therefore, the complete version of (226) is considered to be as follows:

kono kaki wa X no omosa ga ni-miriguramu ar-u.
 this persimmon TOP X GEN weight NOM 2-milligram LE-NPST
 ‘(lit.) For this persimmon, the weight of X is two milligrams.’
 → ‘This persimmon has/contains two milligrams of X.’

(227) ?? *kono kaki ni (wa) 80-guramu ar-u.*
 this persimmon LOC (TOP) 80-gram LE-NPST
 ‘This persimmon weighs eighty grams.’

Given the fact that the *Persimmon*-sentence produces an interpretation similar to that of the POSSESSIVE-LE sentence in general and the fact that the NP in the *Persimmon*-sentence is a DOMAIN NP-equivalent, it is assumed that the QT in the *Persimmon*-sentence is an ENTITY NP-equivalent. The following analysis supports this assumption.

The operation of Quantifier Float turns a prenominal quantifier into an adverbial quantifier. Therefore, it is considered that *80-guramu* in the *Persimmon*-sentence occupies the syntactic position of an adverbial. Because it is an adverbial, it does not require a case particle in order to establish a relation with the LE *ar-u*, and consequently it rejects the attachment of *ga*. However, the quantifier in question is not an adjunct, although it syntactically occupies an adverbial position. This is because the quantifier *80-guramu no* ‘80 grams + GEN’ comprises an essential part of the ENTITY NP in the original, non-quantifier-floated, sentence in (225c). Since it is an essential part of the ENTITY NP, *80-guramu no* cannot be deleted from (225c), as shown in (228):

(228) * *kono kaki wa omosa ga ar-u.*
 this persimmon TOP weight NOM LE-NPST

Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that the QT in the *Persimmon*-sentence is an ENTITY NP-equivalent which corresponds to [QT *no* ENTITY *ga*], as schematised

- (231) a. kono kaki wa 80-guramu de ar-u.
 [ENTITY DOMAIN-GE]
- b. kono kaki wa 80-guramu ar-u.
 [DOMAIN ENTITY LE]

It is interesting that the two distinct structures in (231) denote similar meanings. This is partially due to the fact that the distinction between the ENTITY NP and the DOMAIN NP is not very clear-cut in the VERBALISER-GE construction, as claimed in Section 5.2, and the fact that the NP and the QT in the *Persimmon*-sentence are not genuine DOMAIN and ENTITY arguments respectively, as claimed in this section. However, I consider that the principal factor which leads to similar interpretations is the fact that the verb *ar-u* has a copulative function in both its LE and VERBALISER-GE usages. I wish to emphasise here that it is not *de ar-u* but the GE *ar-u* that has essentially the same function as the LE *ar-u* in the *Persimmon*-sentence.

5.6 The *de i-ru* construction

In this final section of Chapter 5, the [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de i-ru*] construction is examined. This construction has received little attention in the literature.¹³³ This is probably due to the fact that *i-ru* in *de i-ru* has not been grammaticalised to the extent that it fuses with the preceding particle *de*, in contrast to the fact that *de ar-u* has *da* as its contracted form. In other words, *i-ru* in *de i-ru* has been tacitly regarded as an LE. Such a view seems tenable for an example such as in (232):

- (232) “*ore wa hitori de { i-ru / * ar-u } no wa*
 I TOP one person LOC LE-PNM / LE-PNM NOMI TOP
sonnani iya-zya-na-i kedo, itumo hitori wa
 not very dislike-COP-NEG-NPST but always one person TOP
iya-na n da na.” [TK02:39]
 dislike-PNM NOMI COP FP
 ‘I don’t mind being alone, but I don’t want to be alone all the time.’

In the case above, it is more reasonable to assume that *hitori de* ‘one person + LOC → alone’ modifies the LE *i-ru*, than to assume that the GE *i-ru* verbalises the *de*-marked NP *hitori de*. That is, the example in (232) is analysed to have the structure as given in (233a), rather than the structure as given in (233b):

- (233) a. [ENTITY adverbial LE]
 b. [ENTITY DOMAIN-GE]

¹³³ A short description is found in Kinsui (2000: 52f.) with reference to *V-na-i de i-ru*. However, in this section the type of *de i-ru* that follows an NP is examined, not the type of *de i-ru* that follows the negative form of a verb.

This claim is supported by the fact that the *i-ru* clause in (232) accepts the addition of a DOMAIN argument, as shown below:

(234) *ore wa uti { ni / de } hitori de i-ru.*
 I TOP home LOC / LOC one person LOC LE-NPST
 ‘I’m at home alone.’

The fact that *i-ru* in (232) cannot be replaced with *ar-u* due to the self-controllability restriction, also suggests that it is an LE.

Next, the example in (235) is considered.

(235) “*watasi wa ne, zibun ni syooziki de*
 I TOP FP myself DAT honest LOC
 { *i-ta-i* / *ari-ta-i* } *dake nano.*” [NV10:31]
 GE-want-NPST/ GE-want-NPST only FP
 ‘I just want to be honest to myself.’

In this example, it is not justifiable to consider that *syooziki de* ‘honest + LOC’ modifies the LE *i(-ta-i)*, because an adjectival noun such as *syooziki* normally receives *ni*-marking when it modifies a lexical verb, as shown below:

(236) *Taroo wa Hanako ni syooziki { ni / * de } hanasi-ta.*
 Taro TOP Hanako DAT honest LOC/DAT / LOC talk-PST
 ‘Taro told Hanako (about it) honestly.’

Moreover, the example in (235) does not accept the addition of a DOMAIN

argument, as shown below:

- (237) * *watasi wa uti { ni / de } zibun ni syooziki*
 I TOP home LOC / LOC myself DAT honest
de i-ta-i.
 LOC GE-want-NPST

It should also be noted that *i(-ta-i)* in (235) is replaceable with *ari(-ta-i)*.

These observations lead to the assumption that the *i-ru* sentence in (235) has the VERBALISER-GE construction illustrated in (233b), rather than the LE construction in (233a).

It is plausible to consider that *i-ru* has a verbalising function comparable to that of *ar-u*, because it is often observed that *irassyar-u*, an honorific variant of *i-ru*, is used instead of *ara-re-ru* and *o-ari ni nar-u*, honorific variants of *ar-u*, when a VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* requires honorification. In (238), both (b) and (c) are acceptable as honorific expressions of (a). Note that, as in (d), *irassyar-u* is selected in the original text.

- (238) a. *Yooroo-san wa sooritu-menbaa de ar-u.*
 Yoro-POL TOP founding-member LOC GE-NPST
 ‘Mr Yoro is a founding member.’
- b. *Yooroo-san wa sooritu-menbaa de* [(i) *ara-re-ru.*
 Yoro-POL TOP founding-member LOC GE-HONO-NPST
 (ii) *o-ari ni nar-u.*
 GE (HONO)-NPST
 ‘Mr Yoro is a founding member.’

c. *Yooroo-san wa sooritu-menbaa de irassyar-u.*
 Yoro-POL TOP founding-member LOC GE (HONO)-NPST
 ‘Mr Yoro is a founding member.’

d. “*Yooroo-san wa Keihin kontyuu dookookai no*
 Yoro-POL TOP Keihin insect club GEN
sooritu-menbaa de irassyai-mas-u ne.” [TK04:25]
 founding-member LOC GE (HONO)-POL-NPST FP
 ‘Mr Yoro, you are one of the founding members of the Keihin Insect Club,
 aren’t you?’

The fact that *irassyar-u* can be used as in (238c) indicates that, in theory, the non-honorific *i-ru* can be used in the manner shown in (239):

(239) *Yooroo-san wa sooritu-menbaa de i-ru.*
 Yoro-POL TOP founding-member LOC GE-NPST
 ‘Mr Yoro is a founding member.’

Such a usage of *i-ru* can in fact be found, as shown in (240):

(240) “*boku wa geinin de i-ru toki mo zutto butudoo*
 I TOP entertainer LOC GE-PNM time also always Buddhism
e no akogare ga at-ta n des-u.” [TK05:130]
 to GEN admiration NOM LE-PST NOMI COP-NPST
 ‘I always admired Buddhism even when I was an entertainer.’

However, it is also observed that the GE *i-ru* implies a volitional sense. In this respect, the GE *i-ru* is considered to preserve, to a significant extent, the volitional

feature of the LE *i-ru*, which was discussed in Section 2.5.3.6.

The meanings of the examples in (238a) and (239) are not considered to be equipollent, in spite of the fact that the examples in (238a) and (238c) are logically equivalent expressions, and the examples in (238c) and (239) are stylistic variants. This is because, when the GE *i-ru* is used as in (239), a volitional sense is implied. It seems that *irassyar-u* can be used as an honorific alternant of the GE *ar-u*, because the volitional sense is muted when *i-ru* is used in the honorific form *irassyar-u*.

The volitional sense of the GE *i-ru* is clearly observed in the following examples:

- (241) a. *Aberu mo Kubodera mo onazi to mie-te,*
 Abel also Kubodera also same QTV can see-CONJ
kuti o tugun-da mama de
 mouth ACC close-PST continuous state LOC
 { *i-ru* / *ar-u* }. [NV11:376]
 GE-NPST / GE-NPST
 ‘Both Abel and Kubodera have continued to keep quiet, seemingly sharing the same feelings.’
- b. *izure kikai o mi-te, keisatu ni soosaku-negai o*
 soon chance ACC see-CONJ police DAT search-request ACC
*das-u tumori de { *i-ta* / *at-ta* }. [NV10:239]*
 submit-PNM intention LOC GE-PST / GE-PST
 ‘I was waiting for a suitable moment to request the police to search (for my missing husband).’

Because *i-ru* produces a volitional sense, the use of *i-ru* in (241a) implies that Abel and Kubodera have been quiet *intentionally*. Such intentionality is not implied

by using *ar-u*. In the case of (241b), the nominal element *tumori* ‘intention’ entails a volitional sense. Therefore, even if *ar-u* is selected, the sentence still expresses a volitional sense. However, the use of *i-ru* expresses a stronger intention on the part of the speaker to request the police to search for her missing husband, than the use of *ar-u* does. Therefore, it is considered that the GE *i-ru* is used in (241a) and (241b) in order to express a subtle nuance which cannot be expressed by the GE *ar-u*. That is, *i-ru* is selected over *ar-u* for semantic reasons in these examples.

There are also cases where the GE *i-ru* is used instead of the GE *ar-u* for morphosyntactic reasons:

- (242) a. “*watasi ga kuruma ga suki-na no wa, kuruma*
 I NOM car NOM like-PNM NOMI TOP car
ni not-te (i-)ru kagiri, watasi wa, hutuu de
 DAT ride-GER (GE-)PNM as far as I TOP normal LOC
 { *i-rare-ru* / ?? *ar-e-ru* } *kara.*” [SC14:229]
 GE-POTEN-NPST/ GE-POTEN-NPST because
 ‘The reason why I like cars is that I can be normal as long as I am in a car.’
- b. *ano koro no mama no kanozyo de*
 that time GEN continuous state GEN she LOC
 { *i-sase-te* / * *ara-se-te* } *age-takat-ta.* [NV09:14]
 GE-CAUS-GER / GE-CAUS-GER give-want-PST
 ‘I wanted to let her be the same as she had been in those days.’

As noted in Section 2.5.3, the LE *ar-u* does not accept attachment of the potential suffix *e* or the causative suffix *se*. The GE *ar-u* preserves these morphosyntactic

characteristics of the LE. Therefore, *i-rare-ru* and *i-sase-ru* are used instead of *ar-e-ru* and *ara-se-ru*, as shown in the examples above, when the speaker wishes to add a potential meaning or a causative meaning to GE *ar-u* sentences such as the following:¹³⁴

(243) a. *kuruma ni not-te (i-)ru kagiri, watasi wa,*
 car LOC ride-GER (GE-)PNM as far as I TOP
huttu de ar-u.
 normal LOC GE-NPST
 ‘I’m normal as long as I’m in a car.’

b. *ano koro no mama no kanozuyo de ar-u.*
 that time GEN continuous state GEN she LOC GE-NPST
 ‘She is the same as she was in those days.’

¹³⁴ It is noted that there are speakers of Japanese who accept the use of *(de) ar-e-ru*. Although there was no example of *(de) ar-e-ru* found in the Original Corpus, examples can be found elsewhere, such as those shown below:

(i) [source: Chiba Junior College Open Lecture 2002. (Retrieved 11 April 2003, from <http://www.ef.cuc.ac.jp/EXTENSION/CJCKOUKAI/H14/contents.html>)]
kodoku de ar-e-ru tuyo-i zibun o tukur-u
 lonely LOC GE-POTEN-PNM strong-PNM self ACC make-NPST
 ‘Train yourself so that you can be in solitude’

(ii) [source: St. Marianna University News on the Web, issue 52, 2000. (Retrieved 11 April 2003, from <http://www.marianna-u.ac.jp/sinbun/52/52-1.htm>)]
moo hitotu wa, hitobito no kokoro ya itami ni tuneni binkan
 another one TOP people GEN mind and pain DAT always sensitive
de ar-e-ru yoo, samazama-na hito ya monogoto to no
 LOC GE-POTEN-NPST in order to various-PNM person and things with GEN
deai o taisei ni zyuunan-na kansei o migai-te ik-u
 encounter ACC cherish DAT flexible-PNM sensitivity ACC refine-GER go-PNM
koto da.
 NOMI COP
 ‘Another thing I want to do is to refine my sensibilities through encounters with various people and events, so that I can always sense the feelings and pain of others.’

However, note that the use of *ar-e-ru* is limited to the GE usage; it always follows *de*. Moreover, *(de) ar-e-ru* is used only in the non-polite form, i.e. it does not accept the polite *mas-u* form as in **(de) ar-e-mas-u*. Although it is often observed, as argued in Section 2.5.3, that the restrictions imposed upon the LE are loosened for the GE, the use of *(de) ar-e-ru* is rather anomalistic, and opinions regarding acceptance of the use of the form vary.

The use of *i-ru* in (242a) and (242b) leads to a volitional sense, which is not expressed by the use of *ar-u* in (243a) and (243b). However, since the use of *i-ru* in these particular cases in (242) is not due to the speaker's conscious choice, but due to morphosyntactic restrictions, markedness caused by the use of *i-ru* is not as clear as in the earlier cases in (241), in which the selection between *ar-u* and *i-ru* is fully available for the speaker, and the use of *i-ru* is regarded as the speaker's conscious choice.

However, this is not to say that *i-ru* and *ar-u* always construct a marked expression and an unmarked expression respectively in terms of volitionality, when the selection between *ar-u* and *i-ru* is available. For example, in the case of (244) below, the use of *i-ru* does not produce a volitional sense, because *onazi kimoti de i-ru* '(lit.) be in the same feeling/share the same feeling' cannot be a volitional act.

- (244) *dedasi ga amari ni mo yokat-ta tame ni, totuzen*
 start NOM so EMPH good-PST because sudden
no hookai ni, konsaato masutaa mo dan'in-tati mo onazi
 GEN collapse DAT concert master also member-PL also same
kimoti de { i-ru / ar-u } no ga wakar-u. [NV07:147]
 feeling LOC GE-PNM / GE-PNM NOMI NOM understand-NPST
 'Because I made such a good start, I can see that the concert master and the members of the orchestra are equally stunned by the sudden collapse (of my performance).'

It is clear from the observations presented in this section that *i-ru* has a similar function to the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u*. (*De*) *i-ru* and (*de*) *ar-u* are in substantial

complementary distribution, in the respect that the former covers certain areas which the latter cannot, such as expressing volition, and expressing a potential or causative meaning with the relevant suffix.¹³⁵

However, the observations above also suggest that it is not appropriate to categorically describe *i-ru* in the [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de i-ru*] construction as a VERBALISER-GE: it still preserves the characteristics of the LE to a significant extent, although the degree of persistence of these characteristics differs in each example. Therefore, it is considered that the type of *i-ru* discussed above should be analysed as a quasi-VERBALISER, which is an intermediate usage between the prototypical LE and the prototypical VERBALISER-GE usages.

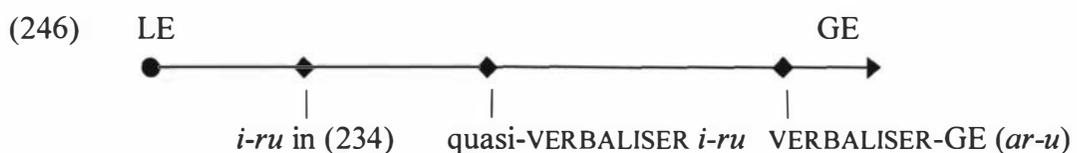
At the beginning of this section, it was claimed for the example in (232), that it is reasonable to assume that *hitori de* is an adverbial modifier to the LE *i-ru*. However, it is important to note that *hitori de* in (232) is not an adverbial in the strict sense, because *hitori de* is not an adjunct but an argument, as evidenced by the fact that it cannot be omitted, as shown below:

(245) * *ore wa* **∅** *i-ru no wa sonnani iya-zya-na-i*
 I TOP LE-PNM NOMI TOP not very dislike-COP-NEG-NPST
kedo, itumo hitori wa iya-na n da na.
 but always one person TOP dislike-PNM NOMI COP FP

This observation suggests that *i-ru* in (232) also plays, at least partially, the role of verbalising the preceding NP. Therefore, it is considered that [NP₂ *de i-ru*] in (232)

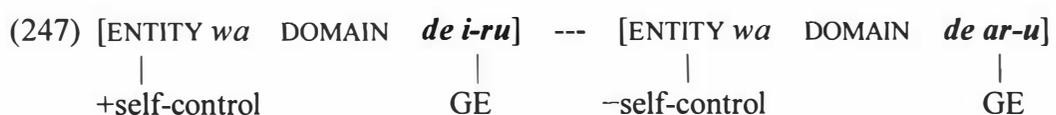
¹³⁵ However, the type of use of the GE *i-ru* discussed here is still rare, when compared to the use of the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u*, as evidenced by the ratio 1:32 in the frequency of use of the two elements in the Original Corpus. See Chart 5 in Appendix 2.

and [NP₂ *de i-ru*] in the other examples presented in this section differ in the degree of tightness of linkage between NP₂ *de* and *i-ru*. Because the linkage is relatively weak in (232), *i-ru* in this example exhibits stronger LE-properties than *i-ru* in the other examples. In this thesis continuity between the LE and the GE is postulated. On this continuum, *i-ru* in (232) is considered to occupy an intermediate position between the prototypical LE *i-ru* and the quasi-VERBALISER *i-ru*, as illustrated in (246):



Viewed in a wider perspective, the quasi-VERBALISER usage of *i-ru* explored in this section is considered to be part of the diachronic extension of the function of *i-ru* from denoting concrete existence to denoting abstract existence, which was discussed in Section 2.5.2.

Currently, the quasi-VERBALISER *i-ru* maintains the volition-denoting feature of the LE *i-ru*. However, if the abstraction of the lexical meaning of *i-ru* proceeds, and its volitional sense diminishes in future, it is possible that the quasi-VERBALISER *i-ru* will become the VERBALISER-GE *i-ru*, leading to complementary distribution in a true sense; that is, (*de*) *i-ru* used for ENTITY NPs with the [+self-control] feature, and (*de*) *ar-u* used for ENTITY NPs with the [-self-control] feature, as shown below:



The complementary distribution in (247) is still hypothetical. However, it should be noted that, as observed in (238), *(de) irassyar-u*, an honorific variant of *(de) i-ru*, has already been extending its sphere, to the extent that it is used as an honorific expression of *(de) ar-u*. If such extension occurs in the use of *(de) i-ru*, it is possible that the sentence in (239) will be used by speakers of Japanese in future, in order to convey what is currently expressed by the sentence in (238a).

5.7 Summary of Chapter 5

The main observations and arguments of this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- i. The [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*] construction is theoretically analysed as [ENTITY DOMAIN-GE]. Although *de* is usually regarded as the adverbial form of *da*, it should be treated as a LOCATIVE case particle.
- ii. Because the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* incorporates a DOMAIN NP in order to form a predicate, the GE has lost the bivalent nature of the LE in a strict sense. However, in the respect that it connects an ENTITY NP and a DOMAIN NP, it has essentially the same function as the LE.
- iii. Although *de ar-u* is used in a copular sentence, *de ar-u* itself is not a copula. *De ar-u* is used in a copular sentence because the GE *ar-u* has a copula-like function.
- iv. The GE *ar-u* should not be treated as a JUDGEMENTAL auxiliary, except for *ar-u* in *no de ar-u*, which is used as a sentence-final expression.
- v. The [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de ar-u*] construction can be used for the *Eel*-sentence. Ikegami's Contiguity Theory presents a plausible explanation for the structure and the usage of the *Eel*-sentence.
- vi. There is more than a stylistic difference between *de ar-u* and *da*. The bivalent characteristic is weak in *da*, whereas it is strong in *de ar-u*.
- vii. Quantifiers sometimes form a [NP(=DOMAIN) QT(=ENTITY) *ar-u*] construction, which produces a similar meaning to the VERBALISER-GE construction. However, *ar-u* in this construction is an LE.
- viii. *I-ru* can be used as a quasi-VERBALISER, that is, a semi-LE and semi-GE, in the [NP₁ *wa* NP₂ *de i-ru*] construction. The quasi-VERBALISER *i-ru* implies a

volitional sense, whereas the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* does not. The quasi-VERBALISER *i-ru* accepts attachment of the potential suffix and the causative suffix, which the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* does not accept.

Chapter 6 The STATIVISER-GE Construction¹³⁶

6.1 STATIVISER and ASPECTUALISER

In this chapter, the GEs *ar-u* and *i-ru*, which follow the GERUNDIVE *te* form of verbs, such as those shown in (248), are examined.

(248) a. *sigoto-ba ni mo tiisana terebi ga oi-te ar-u.* [= (6a)]

work-place LOC also small TV NOM put-GER GE-NPST

‘(lit.) A small TV set has been put also in the workshop.’

→ ‘There is a small TV set in the workshop too.’

b. *mada Tooko no heya no aikagi wa*

still Toko GEN room GEN duplicate key TOP

mot-te i-ru. [= (6b)]

have-GER GE-NPST

‘I still have the duplicate key to Toko’s room.’

The [V-*te* GE] construction is extensively used in Japanese. Consequently, there is a large body of linguistic literature on the nature of this construction. In previous studies, [V-*te* GE] is usually divided into V and *te* GE, and *te* GE is treated as an ASPECTUALISER.¹³⁷ However, in this discussion [V-*te* GE] is divided into V-*te* and GE. The morphological independence of the GE is confirmed by the fact that a

¹³⁶ This chapter is an expanded and revised version of Murata (2000, 2001b, 2001c).

¹³⁷ In the Japanese literature, the term ‘*asupekuto-keisiki*’, the literal translation of which is ‘aspectual form’, is usually used. However, the term ASPECTUALISER is used in this thesis, in order to avoid confusion between the aspectual form of the verb (V-*te* GE, including V) and the aspectual form (*te* GE), which is attached as a grammatical form to the preceding lexical verb.

particle such as *wa* or *mo* can be inserted between *V-te* and the GE, as given in (249):

- (249) a. *terebi ga oi-te { wa / mo } ar-u.*
 television NOM put-GER TOP / also GE-NPST
 ‘A TV set *has* been put there. / A TV set has also been put there.’
- b. *aikagi o mot-te { wa / mo } i-ru.*
 duplicate key ACC have-GER TOP / also GE-NPST
 ‘I do have the duplicate key. / I also have the duplicate key.’

Although I acknowledge that the primary function of the [*V-te* GE] construction is to denote an aspectual meaning, the GE is not referred to as an ASPECTUALISER in this thesis, because, as Kinsui (1983, 1993, 1994) argues, the aspectual meaning is considered to result from ‘stativising’ the concept of the act/change denoted by a verb. Accordingly, the GE in this construction is referred to as a STATIVISER-GE.¹³⁸

Because it is assumed in most studies in the literature that *ar-u* and *i-ru* are ASPECTUALISERS rather than STATIVISERS, it is sometimes observed that non-aspectual usages of [*V-te* GE], modal usages in particular, cannot reasonably be explained solely in terms of the concept of aspectuality. In contrast, by assuming that *ar-u* and *i-ru* are STATIVISERS, their modal usages can be considered in a more flexible manner, treating them as secondary usages of the same construction.

Therefore, in the following discussion, a general view of the primary usages, that is, aspectual usages, of the STATIVISER-GE construction is first presented, referring to comprehensive works on the topic, such as Kudo (1995) and Kinsui (2000). Then the

¹³⁸ The term STATIVISER derives from Kinsui’s (1983) term ‘*zyootai-ka zi*’.

combinations of [STATE verb + GE *i-ru*] and [PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + GE *i-ru*], which should be explained in terms of the concept of modality in addition to the concept of aspectuality, are investigated. Finally, the sentential structure of the STATIVISER-GE construction is examined, comparing it to the LE construction and the VERBALISER-GE construction, which have been discussed in previous chapters.

6.2 The STATIVISER-GE and aspectual meaning

6.2.1 Aspectual meanings of *V-te i-ru*

Kudo (1995) provides the following table that illustrates the basic tense-aspect system of Japanese:¹³⁹

(250) Kudo (1995: 161)

	PERFECTIVE	DURATIVE	PERFECT	ITERATIVE
Future	<i>V-ru</i>	<i>V-te i-ru</i>	<i>V-te i-ru</i>	∅ / <i>V-ru</i>
Present	∅	<i>V-te i-ru</i>	<i>V-te i-ru</i> / <i>V-ta</i>	<i>V-te i-ru</i> / <i>V-ru</i>
Past	<i>V-ta</i>	<i>V-te i-ta</i>	<i>V-te i-ta</i>	<i>V-te i-ta</i> / <i>V-ta</i>

Kudo (1995) claims that the opposition between the PERFECTIVE and the DURATIVE is the most fundamental aspectual distinction in Japanese, and that the PERFECT and the ITERATIVE are derivative meanings that arise from the PERFECTIVE or the DURATIVE under certain syntactic and contextual conditions. Therefore, in the following consideration of the function of *V-te i-ru* (or *V-te i-ta*), the DURATIVE is taken to be the basic usage, and the PERFECT and the ITERATIVE are regarded as derivative (secondary) usages.

The DURATIVE aspect denoted by *V-te i-ru* is further divided into two aspects: the PROGRESSIVE and the RESULTATIVE, as illustrated in the following examples:

¹³⁹ The table in (250) has been simplified from the original table presented in Kudo. *V-ru* and *V-ta* in the table indicate the verb in the non-past form and the past form, respectively.

(251) a. <PROGRESSIVE>

“kanozyo mo taikai ni de-ta-i kara
she also competition DAT participate-want-NPST because
aite sagasi-te (i-)ru no yo.” [SC15:41]
partner look for-GER (GE-)PNM NOMI FP

‘She is looking for a partner because she too wants to participate in the competition.’

b. <RESULTATIVE>

“go-syuzin wa moo dansu ni aki-te
POL-husband TOP already dance DAT get tired-GER
i-ru.” [SC15:35]
GE-NPST

‘Your husband has already lost interest in dance.’

Kinsui (2000) claims that the following factors determine whether the PROGRESSIVE or the RESULTATIVE interpretation is made:

(252) Kinsui (2000: 16)¹⁴⁰

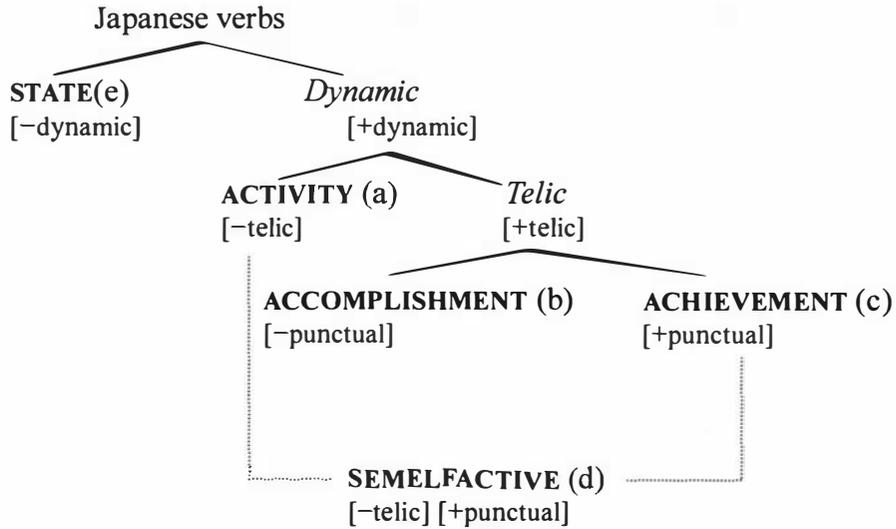
- a. Inherent lexical-aspectual characteristics of the verb
- b. Morphosyntactic conditions (for example, passive, causative, grammatical argument structure, adverbial modifier)
- c. Contextual conditions (for example, situation/locale, preceding text)

In relation to the first factor in (252a), Shirai (2000) serves as a useful reference. Following Smith’s (1997) five-way categorisation of English verbs based on their inherent lexical-aspectual characteristics such as [±telic] and [±punctual], Shirai describes the typical aspectual meanings produced through an interaction between such inherent lexical aspects of a verb and a STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* (or, an ‘aspect

¹⁴⁰ My translation from the Japanese.

marker *-te i-*, in Shirai's term), as follows:

(253) Shirai (2000)¹⁴¹



(a) <ACTIVITY: action in progress>

Ken ga utat-te i-ru.

Ken NOM sing-GER GE-NPST

'Ken is singing.'

(b) <ACCOMPLISHMENT: action in progress>

Ken wa isu o tukut-te i-ru.

Ken TOP chair ACC make-GER GE-NPST

'Ken is making a chair.'

(c) <ACHIEVEMENT: resultative state>

asoko ni booru ga oti-te i-ru.

there LOC ball NOM fall-GER GE-NPST

'The ball is there as a result of having fallen.'

¹⁴¹ The tree diagram has been constructed based on Shirai's (2000) argument.

- (d) <ACHIEVEMENT-SEMELFACTIVE: iterative action-in-progress>

Ken wa doa o tatai-te i-ru.

Ken TOP door ACC bang-GER GE-NPST

‘Ken is banging on the door.’

- (e) <STATE: vividness, temporariness>

Huzi-san ga mie-te i-ru.

Fuji-mountain NOM can see-GER GE-NPST

‘We can see Mt. Fuji (at this moment).’

- (f) <STATE: anomalous>

* *o-kane ga it-te i-ru.*

POL-money NOM need-GER GE-NPST

(intended meaning: ‘Money is being needed.’)

cf. *o-kane ga ir-u.*

POL-money NOM need-NPST

‘Money is needed.’

Shirai’s study shows that the ACTIVITY, ACCOMPLISHMENT, and SEMELFACTIVE verbs produce PROGRESSIVE interpretations with the STATIVISER-GE *i-ru*, and the ACHIEVEMENT verb produces the RESULTATIVE interpretation. However, it should be noted that a large number of verbs are usable as both ACTIVITY verbs and ACHIEVEMENT verbs. Consequently, such verbs produce both PROGRESSIVE and RESULTATIVE readings, as Kinsui demonstrates in (254):¹⁴²

¹⁴² Shirai is aware of this fact. Note that Kindaichi (1950), in his own four-way categorisation of Japanese verbs from the lexical-aspectual point of view, also points out that there are some verbs which are cross-categorical.

(254) Kinsui (2000: 24)

a. <PROGRESSIVE>

Tanaka-san wa ima mo dondon hutot-te i-ru.

Tanaka-POL TOP now also rapidly gain weight-GER GE-NPST

‘Mr Tanaka is still rapidly putting on weight.’

b. <RESULTATIVE>

Tanaka-san wa kyonen to kurabe-te sukkari

Tanaka-POL TOP last year with compare-CONJ really

hutot-te i-ru.

gain weight-GER GE-NPST

‘Mr Tanaka has put on a lot of weight compared with last year.’

The pair of examples above show that, even if the factor in (252a) is indecisive, that is, *V-te i-ru* itself is ambiguous, it is still possible to select one reading over another, based on the factors in (252b) or (252c).¹⁴³ In this particular case, the adverbial elements determine whether the PROGRESSIVE or the RESULTATIVE interpretation is made.

This observation, together with Kudo’s claim that the PERFECT and the ITERATIVE

¹⁴³ However, there are cases, such as in the following example of dialogue, in which it is not possible to select definitively between the PROGRESSIVE and the RESULTATIVE, even if all the factors in (252) are taken into consideration.

A: “*Sunaga-san wa keisatu-byooin des-u ka.*”
Sunaga-POL TOP police-hospital COP-NPST Q
‘Is Mr Sunaga in the police hospital?’

B: “*aa. ima goro nan-nin ka kaketuke-te i-ru to omo-u.*
yes now about some-person Q rush to-GER GE-NPST QTV think-NPST
soo i-u zyootai da ga . . .” [NV08:15]
such say-PNM situation COP CONJ

‘Yes. I think {some are rushing to the hospital at the moment/some will be arriving at the hospital by now}. That is our situation.’

In this dialogue, B tells A that Mr Sunaga, who has been admitted to the police hospital, is on the brink of death. However, it is uncertain from the utterance of B and the context whether Mr Sunaga’s friends and family are rushing to the hospital at the time of the utterance, that is, the PROGRESSIVE aspect, or if everyone is already beside Mr Sunaga’s deathbed, that is, the RESULTATIVE aspect. It is even possible to interpret that some are on their way to the hospital, and others are already in the hospital, that is, the PROGRESSIVE-cum-RESULTATIVE.

meanings occur under certain syntactic and contextual conditions, suggests that the aspectual meanings of *V-te i-ru* are controlled in considerable measure by syntactic and contextual factors.

The PERFECT aspect is considered next. Kinsui provides the following example:

(255) Kinsui (2000: 38)

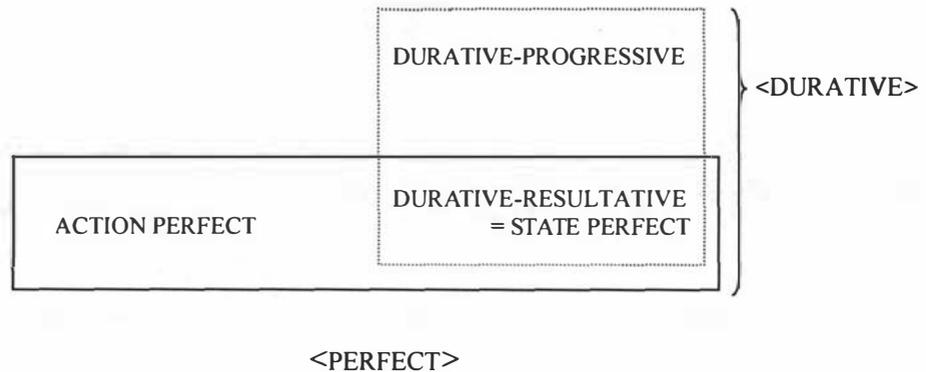
<PERFECT>

<i>kono hookokusyo</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>yore-ba,</i>	<i>yoogisya</i>	<i>wa</i>
this report	DAT	according to	suspect	TOP
<i>san-ka-getu</i>	<i>mae</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kono ryokan</i>	<i>ni</i>
3-CLS-month	before	LOC	this Japanese-style inn	DAT
<i>tatuyot-te</i>	<i>i-ru.</i>			
drop by-GER	GE-NPST			

‘According to this report, the suspect stopped at this inn three months ago.’

As Kinsui (2000: 37) points out, an example of the PERFECT sentence such as in (255) is often treated as an EXPERIENCE-denoting, or a RECORD-denoting usage of the RESULTATIVE sentence. Given that the PERFECT derives from the DURATIVE, it stands to reason that there are significant similarities between the PERFECT and the RESULTATIVE. Kudo (1995: 117) argues that the RESULTATIVE can be reworded as STATE PERFECT, if the concept of PERFECT is interpreted in a broad sense. She then claims that the DURATIVE and the PERFECT are related as in the following diagram, with the area of overlap occupied by the STATE PERFECT (= RESULTATIVE):

(256) Kudo (1995: 117)



The following pair of examples is given in Kudo. Note that both of these examples express an action in the past, that is, ‘got married’, and its relevance to the present point in time, which is the basic conceptual frame of the PERFECT aspect.

(257) Kudo (1995: 119)

a. <PERFECT (ACTION PERFECT)>

*kanozyo wa Suisu no kyookai de **kekkon-si-te**
 she TOP Switzerland GEN church LOC marriage-do-GER
i-ru.
 GE-NPST*

‘She got married at a church in Switzerland.’

b. <RESULTATIVE (STATE PERFECT)>

*kanozyo wa **kekkon-si-te** ***i-ru.***
 she TOP marriage-do-GER GE-NPST
 ‘She is married.’*

The difference between the two examples is that, as Kudo (1995) and Shirai (2000) argue, the focus is placed equally on the past action and its current relevance in the PERFECT construction in (257a), whereas the focus is exclusively placed on the

current relevance/state in the RESULTATIVE construction in (257b). Accordingly, the example in (257b) usually expresses the meaning that *kanozyo* ‘she’ is presently married. In contrast, the example in (257a) only denotes the connection between her action in the past and herself at the present time. In this respect, a parallel can be drawn between the example in (257a) and the [V-*ta koto ga ar-u*] construction, which was discussed in Chapter 4. It is important to note that the adverbial phrase controls the interpretation in (257).

It follows from the review of Kudo (1995), Kinsui (2000), and Shirai (2000) that although an aspectual meaning of the V-*te i-ru* construction, such as PROGRESSIVE and RESULTATIVE, can be predicted from the inherent lexical-aspectual characteristics of the V(erb), a definitive aspectual meaning is obtained through the consideration of multiple factors, including sentence-structural features and contextual information.

6.2.2 Aspectual meanings of V-*te ar-u*¹⁴⁴

Kinsui (2000: 44) explains that V-*te ar-u* has two main usages: (i) the RESULTATIVE usage, as in the example in (258a), and (ii) the PREPARATORY usage, which denotes that the speaker has carried out a certain activity in preparation for something, as in the example in (258b):

(258) Kinsui (2000: 44)

a. <RESULTATIVE>

soo si-te tyoomen no ue no hasi kara
 so do-CONJ notebook GEN top GEN edge from
sita no hasi made, komaka-i zi ga gittiri
 bottom GEN edge to small-PNM letter NOM closely
kai-te ar-u no.
 write-GER GE-PNM NOMI

‘Small letters are closely written in this way from the top edge to the bottom edge of the notebook (pages).’

¹⁴⁴ As mentioned above, in most studies in the literature both (*te*) *i-ru* and (*te*) *ar-u* are regarded as ASPECTUALISERS. However, some scholars oppose the treatment of (*te*) *ar-u* as an ASPECTUALISER (for example, Takahashi 1985). Kudo’s (1995) comprehensive work on the basic tense-aspect system of Japanese, which was consulted in the previous section on (*te*) *i-ru*, also excludes (*te*) *ar-u* from the argument. In Kudo (1995: 31ff.), (*te*) *ar-u* is treated as a quasi-ASPECTUALISER, which does not comprise a part of the *basic* tense-aspect system. Kudo claims that the ASPECTUALISER characteristic of (*te*) *ar-u* is less basic than that of (*te*) *i-ru*, because the former has not been grammaticalised to the same level as the latter: (*te*) *ar-u* involves the concepts of passiveness and volitionality, whereas (*te*) *i-ru* does not. However, Masuoka (2000: 99ff.) asserts that (*te*) *ar-u* should be included, as a second DURATIVE aspect marker, in the basic tense-aspect system of Japanese, because the similarities between (*te*) *i-ru* and (*te*) *ar-u* are greater than the disparities between the two.

Since this thesis does not aim at establishing a description of the basic tense-aspect system of Japanese, the question of where (*te*) *ar-u* should be placed in the system is not examined. However, it is noted that the use of (*te*) *ar-u* is limited compared to the use of (*te*) *i-ru*, as evidenced by the ratio 1:49 in the frequency of use in the Original Corpus. See Chart 6 in Appendix 2. It is also noted that, as shown in Charts 2 and 3 in Appendix 2, more than 90 percent of *i-ru* tokens in the Original Corpus are STATIVISER-GE usages, whereas less than four percent of *ar-u* tokens are STATIVISER-GE usages.

b. <PREPARATORY>

X: “*gakusei-san ka to omot-te (i-)ta wa.*”
 student-POL Q QTV think-GER (GE-)PST FP
 ‘I thought you were a student.’

Y: “*soo i-u koto ni si-te ar-u no yo.*
 such say-PNM thing DAT do-GER GE-PNM NOMI FP
ne, damat-te (i-)te, watasi ga moderu
 INTJ be silent-GER (GE-)GER I NOM model
da tte koto.”
 COP QTV NOMI
 ‘I let everyone think so. Don’t tell anyone that I am a model, will you?’

Kinsui compares the RESULTATIVE usage of *V-te ar-u* with that of *V-te i-ru*, and the PREPARATORY usage of *V-te ar-u* with the PERFECT usage of *V-te i-ru*, based on the assumption that *V-te ar-u* and *V-te i-ru* are in complementary distribution in each case. He claims that the RESULTATIVE *V-te ar-u* forms an Object-centred expression, whereas the RESULTATIVE *V-te i-ru* forms a Subject-centred expression. That is, the former takes a Subject-act-cum-Object-change verb (V_{OC}) in its ‘V’-position, whereas the latter takes a Subject-change verb (V_{SC}), as shown in (259):¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ The trichotomy separating the Subject-change verb (V_{SC}), the Subject-act verb (V_{SA}), and the Subject-act-cum-Object-change verb (V_{OC}) originates in Kudo (1995: 55f.). Kudo asserts that lexical meanings of verbs should be described in terms of the combination of two semantic criteria: (i) whether the verb represents an Act or a Change; (ii) whose Act/Change it is, the Subject’s or the Object’s. Examples of each verb are given, as follows:

- (a) V_{SC} : *ak-u* ‘s.t. opens’, *koware-ru* ‘s.t. breaks’, *tat-u* ‘s.t. stands’, *ori-ru* ‘get off s.t.’
- (b) V_{SA} : *ugok-u* ‘s.t. moves’, *ugokas-u* ‘move s.t.’, *naras-u* ‘sound s.t.’, *nar-u* ‘s.t. sounds’, *mi-ru* ‘see s.t.’, *uta-u* ‘sing s.t.’, *oyog-u* ‘swim’, *nak-u* ‘cry’
- (c) V_{OC} : *ake-ru* ‘open s.t.’, *kowas-u* ‘break s.t.’, *tate-ru* ‘build s.t.’, *oros-u* ‘lower s.t.’

(259) Kinsui (2000: 45)

	<i>V-te ar-u</i>	<i>V-te i-ru</i>
Subject-change verb	n/a	RESULTATIVE
Subject-act verb	n/a	PROGRESSIVE
Subject-act-cum-Object-change verb	RESULTATIVE	PROGRESSIVE

Because both $V_{OC-te ar-u}$ and $V_{SC-te i-ru}$ produce RESULTATIVE expressions, when an intransitive V_{SC} has the corresponding transitive V_{OC} they denote similar meanings, as shown in (260a) and (260b):

(260) Kinsui (2000: 45)

a. $\langle V_{OC-te ar-u} \rangle$

kabe ni e ga kake-te ar-u.

wall LOC picture NOM hang-GER GE-NPST

‘A picture is hung on the wall.’

b. $\langle V_{SC-te i-ru} \rangle$

kabe ni e ga kakat-te i-ru.

wall LOC picture NOM hang-GER GE-NPST

‘A picture is hanging on the wall.’

c. $\langle V_{OC-(ra)re-te i-ru} \rangle$

kabe ni e ga kake-rare-te i-ru.

wall LOC picture NOM hang-PASS-GER GE-NPST

‘A picture is (being) hung on the wall.’

As is shown, the class of the V_{SC} contains only intransitives, and the class of V_{OC} contains only transitives. However, the class of the V_{SA} contains both intransitives and transitives, because the Subject's Acts denoted by transitives such as *ugokas-u* ‘move *s.t.*’ and *naras-u* ‘sound *s.t.*’ do not cause an internal change of the Objects. Kudo uses the Japanese terms ‘*syutai*’ (‘subject entity’) and ‘*kyakutai*’ (‘object entity’), rather than ‘*syugo*’ (‘subject NP’) and ‘*mokutekigo*’ (‘object NP’). Therefore, the Subject and the Object in Kudo's classification, which is adopted in Kinsui (2000), indicate a subject and an object in the semantic sense. It is also noted that verbs such as *ori-ru* ‘get off *s.t.*’ and *sotugyoo-su-ru* ‘graduate from *s.t.*’ are classified as intransitive V_{SC} -type by Kudo, although they take *o*-marked NPs, which are often treated as Object NPs in formalistic studies.

Moreover, as shown in (260c), the V_{OC} can take the GE *i-ru*, if it is passivised by the suffix *(ra)re*. The meaning of the example in (260c) then approximates to the meanings of the other two examples, particularly the meaning of the example in (260a).

However, as shown in (261), the choice between $V_{OC-te ar-u}$ and $V_{OC-(ra)re-te i-ru}$ depends on the context:

(261) Kinsui (2000: 45)

a. $\langle V_{OC-te ar-u} \rangle$

?? *a, kagi ga kowasi-te ar-u.*

oh lock NOM break-GER GE-NPST

‘Oh, someone has broken the lock.’

b. $\langle V_{OC-(ra)re-te i-ru} \rangle$

a, kagi ga kowasa-re-te i-ru.

oh lock NOM break-PASS-GER GE-NPST

‘Oh, the lock has been broken (by someone).’

Kinsui claims that the RESULTATIVE $V-te ar-u$ cannot be used when the event denoted has a negative, unfavourable, or detrimental impact upon the *viewpoint holder* (usually, the speaker himself/herself).¹⁴⁶ Although Kinsui’s claim is applicable to the example in (261), it is an overgeneralisation because the RESULTATIVE $V-te ar-u$ can in fact be used to denote an undesirable event, as in the following example. Note that the example below is structurally identical to Kinsui’s

¹⁴⁶ The term *viewpoint holder* is a literal translation of Kinsui’s Japanese term ‘*siten-sya*’, which indicates the person from whose viewpoint the event denoted in the sentence is described. It is usually the speaker, but not always. Therefore, the distinction between the *viewpoint holder* and the speaker is necessary. This distinction is particularly important in relation to the PREPARATORY usage of $V-te ar-u$, which is discussed later in this section.

example in (258a).

- (262) “*iya-na koto ga kai-te ar-u.*” [TK05:197]
awful-PNM thing NOM write-GER GE-NPST
‘Some awful things are written (there).’

Kinsui also notes that the *V-te ar-u* sentence and the *V-(ra)re-te i-ru* sentence differ syntactically in the respect that in the former the AGENT of the action cannot be represented, whereas in the latter it can be represented by the phrase *ni yot-te* ‘by’, as shown in (263):¹⁴⁷

(263) Kinsui (2000: 46)

- a. * *kabe ni titi ni yot-te e ga kake-te ar-u.*
wall LOC father by picture NOM hang-GER GE-NPST
- b. *kabe ni titi ni yot-te e ga kake-rare-te i-ru.*
wall LOC father by picture NOM hang-PASS-GER GE-NPST
‘A picture has been hung on the wall by my father.’

Whereas the RESULTATIVE *V-te ar-u* only takes a V_{OC} in its ‘V’-position, the PERFECT *V-te ar-u* accepts any of V_{SA} , V_{SC} , and V_{OC} . In this respect there is no difference between the PERFECT *V-te ar-u* and the PERFECT *V-te i-ru*. However, as noted above, the former produces a PREPARATORY interpretation, whereas the latter does not. Kinsui (2000: 47) explains that, for example, the sentence in (264a) below

¹⁴⁷ The sentence structure of the *V-te ar-u* construction will be discussed in Section 6.5.2.

implies that the act of graduating from a specialised training college is a volitional act by the speaker in preparation for job-hunting, which he/she foresaw would occur later on. He then makes the generalisation that, in order to construct the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u*, the verb used must be a volitional verb.

(264) Kinsui (2000: 46)

a. <PERFECT - PREPARATORY [*V_{SC}-te ar-u*]>

senmon-gakkoo o sotugyoo-si-te ar-u kara
 technical-school ACC graduate-do-GER GE-NPST because
syuusyoku ni wa yuuri da.
 getting a job DAT TOP advantageous COP

‘Because I have graduated from a specialised training college, I have an advantage in getting a job.’

b. <PERFECT - PREPARATORY [*V_{SA}-te ar-u*]>

kono niku wa yoku mon-de ar-u kara yawaraka-i.
 this meat TOP well rub-GER GE-NPST because tender-NPST

‘Because this meat has been rubbed well, it is tender.’

However, it is important to note that whether or not a given verb is volitional is largely context-dependent. For example, the verb *nemur-u* ‘sleep’ normally indicates a spontaneous event. However, it is possible to interpret *nemur-u* as a volitional act; therefore, it can be used in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction, as shown in (265):

(265) Morita (1977: 51)

iya tte i-u hodo nemut-te ar-u kara,
 no more QTV say-PNM extent sleep-GER GE-NPST because

ni, san niti tetuya-si-te mo daizyoobu da.
 two three day all night-do-CONJ EMPH all right COP

‘Because I have given myself a really good sleep, I can keep on working without sleeping at all for a couple of days.’

Another good example is the verb *mi-ru* ‘look/watch/see’. Whether or not the verb indicates a volitional act is basically determined by the co-occurring object NP. When the object is a noun such as *hookokusyo* ‘report’, the verb is interpreted as a volitional verb; therefore, it can be used in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction, as shown in (266a). On the other hand, when the object is a noun such as *yume* ‘dream’, the verb *mi-ru* is interpreted to indicate a spontaneous event, rather than a volitional act; therefore, it cannot be used in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction, as shown in (266b).

(266) a. *hookokusyo o mi-ru* → *hookokusyo o mi-te ar-u*
 report ACC see-NPST report ACC see-GER GE-NPST
 ‘read a report’ ‘have read a report’

b. *yume o mi-ru* → **yume o mi-te ar-u*
 dream ACC see-NPST dream ACC see-GER GE-NPST
 ‘have a dream’

In reference to the difference between the RESULTATIVE *V-te ar-u* and the PREPARATORY (PERFECT) *V-te ar-u*, Kinsui points out that although the AGENT of the action cannot be embodied in the RESULTATIVE sentence, as observed in (263a), the AGENT can be explicitly expressed in the PREPARATORY sentence, as shown in

(267):¹⁴⁸

(267) Kinsui (2000: 47)

watasi wa senmon-gakkoo o sotugyoo-si-te ar-u.

I TOP technical-school ACC graduate-do-GER GE-NPST

dakara, syuusyoku ni wa yuuri da.

therefore getting a job DAT TOP advantageous COP

‘I have graduated from a specialised training college. Therefore, I have an advantage in getting a job.’

Kinsui also makes an important observation on the restriction imposed upon the person of an AGENT NP. He claims that the sense of preparation can only be described by the *viewpoint holder*. Therefore, the AGENT is usually the speaker (that is, a first-person), since a speaker is always eligible as a *viewpoint holder*. On the other hand, since a second-person and a third-person are not fully eligible as *viewpoint holders*, neither can act as an AGENT in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction, unless certain grammatical and contextual conditions are met.¹⁴⁹ For example, the *V-te ar-u* sentence with the second-person AGENT in (268a) does not sound natural. However, if it is turned into an interrogative sentence, as in (268b), the sentence becomes fully acceptable as a PREPARATORY expression.

(268) Kinsui (2000: 47)

a. ?? *anata wa moo tyuusyoku o tabe-te ar-u.*

you TOP already lunch ACC eat-GER GE-NPST

‘You have already had your lunch.’

¹⁴⁸ In Section 6.5.2.6 it will be argued that the subject NP in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction is an EXPERIENCER rather than an AGENT.

¹⁴⁹ This observation by Kinsui leads to the discussion of the modal usage of the GE in Section 6.4.

- b. *anata wa moo tyuusyoku o tabe-te ar-u no?*
 you TOP already lunch ACC eat-GER GE-NPST NOMI(Q)
 ‘Have you had your lunch yet?’

Similarly, the sentence with the third-person AGENT in (269a) sounds unnatural; however, it becomes fully acceptable if the sentence is accompanied by a sentence-final expression such as *rasi-i*, which adds the meaning of ‘I heard’, as shown in (269b):

(269) Kinsui (2000: 47f.)

- a. ? *Tanaka-san wa siken-benkyoo o zyuubun si-te*
 Tanaka-POL TOP examination-study ACC enough do-GER
ar-u.
 GE-NPST
 ‘Mr Tanaka has prepared enough for the examination.’
- b. *Tanaka-san wa siken-benkyoo o zyuubun si-te*
 Tanaka-POL TOP examination-study ACC enough do-GER
ar-u rasi-i.
 GE-NPST SFE (report)-NPST
 ‘I heard that Mr Tanaka had prepared enough for the examination.’

From this outline of the aspectual usages of the *V-te ar-u* construction, it can be observed that the usages of *V-te ar-u* are rather limited compared to the usages of *V-te i-ru*.

6.3 The [STATE verb + GE] construction

In the previous section the aspectual meanings denoted by the *V-te* GE construction were outlined, based on Kudo (1995), Kinsui (2000) and Shirai (2000). The aspectual meanings of *V-te* GE are germane to the concept of a change and/or an act denoted by the verb. In this section, the relation between STATE verbs, which involve neither a change nor an act, and the STATIVISER-GE, is explored.

6.3.1 STATE verbs in Japanese

Kindaichi (1950) proposes the following four-way classification of Japanese verbs:

(270) Kindaichi (1950: 7ff.)

- a. STATE verb: *V-te i-ru* → not possible
examples: *ar-u* (LE), *i-ru* (LE), *mie-ru* ‘can see’
- b. CONTINUATIVE verb: *V-te i-ru* → PROGRESSIVE
examples: *yom-u* ‘read’, *aruk-u* ‘walk’, *oyog-u* ‘swim’
- c. INSTANTANEOUS verb: *V-te i-ru* → RESULTATIVE
examples: *sin-u* ‘die’, *todok-u* ‘reach’,
tomar-u ‘s.t. stops’
- d. CLASS IV verb: *V-te i-ru* → mandatory
examples: *sobie-ru* ‘tower’, *sugure-ru* ‘excel’,
ni-ru ‘resemble’

As is shown, verbs are classified in terms of connectivity with the GE *i-ru*. The

labels CONTINUATIVE and INSTANTANEOUS basically correspond to the more general terms of ACTIVITY and ACHIEVEMENT, respectively.

Kindaichi (1950: 7) states that “a verb denotes a present STATE in a broad sense when it is followed by *te i-ru*”.¹⁵⁰ This view leads Kindaichi to treat the verbs that are not used in the form of *V-te i-ru* as STATE verbs, because they denote a STATE without the STATIVISER-GE. The rest of the verbs are then classified into three groups: those which produce the PROGRESSIVE aspect with the GE (CONTINUATIVE verbs); those which produce the RESULTATIVE aspect with the GE (INSTANTANEOUS verbs); and those which do not produce such aspectual meanings, that is, those which denote a STATE with the GE (CLASS IV verbs). Therefore, in Kindaichi’s framework, the STATE verb and the CLASS IV verb are viewed as mirror images in a sense, because they share the characteristic of not having the aspectual distinction between *V-ru* and *V-te i-ru*,¹⁵¹ and the STATE verb is considered to take only the *V-ru* form, whereas the CLASS IV verb is considered to take only the *V-te i-ru* form.

The above classification does not imply that each verb in Japanese belongs to one, and only one, of the four categories. Kindaichi acknowledges that many verbs are cross-categorical.¹⁵² However, there are still problematic aspects in the details. For example, as Kinsui (2000) points out, the assertion that the CLASS IV verb does not take the *V-ru* form holds true only for the case where the verb is used in a tense-coded situation, such as in a main clause. As shown in (271), the CLASS IV verb *does* take the *V-ru* form in a tense-neutral situation, such as in certain kinds of subordinate clause:

¹⁵⁰ My translation from the Japanese.

¹⁵¹ In Kudo (1995), who views the concept of aspectuality as the morphological opposition between *V-ru* and *V-te i-ru* (see (250)), the STATE verbs and the CLASS IV verbs in Kindaichi (1950) are considered to have no aspect.

¹⁵² Kindaichi (1950: 14) points out that the LE *i-ru* shows characteristics of the CONTINUATIVE verb to a significant extent, although it belongs to the STATE verb category.

(271) Kinsui (2000: 89)

haigo ni sobie-ru Rokko-san-kei, toozai ni
rear LOC tower-PNM Rokko-mountain-range east and west DAT
hasir-u kansen-dooro
run-PNM trunk-road

‘the Rokko mountain range that towers up behind, and the trunk road that runs east and west’

Moreover, some of the STATE verbs in Kindaichi’s classification take the *V-te i-ru* form.

To resolve these problems, McClure (1993) proposes that the criterion of connectivity between a verb and (*te*) *i-ru* be more strictly imposed, so that only verbs that never take the *V-te i-ru* form are labelled as STATE verbs. He also proposes creating the category of ‘ACCOMPLISHMENT verb’ for verbs that can be used as both CONTINUATIVE verbs (ACTIVITY verb) and INSTANTANEOUS verbs (ACHIEVEMENT verb). Furthermore, he claims that the CLASS IV verbs are all ACHIEVEMENT verbs. Incorporating these points, McClure revises Kindaichi’s classification, as follows:¹⁵³

(272) McClure (1993: 261)

- a. STATIVE: *V-te i-ru* → not possible
 examples: *i-ru* (LE), *ar-u* (LE)
- b. ACTIVITY: *V-te i-ru* → PROGRESSIVE
 examples: *oyog-u* ‘swim’, *aruk-u* ‘walk’
- c. ACHIEVEMENT: *V-te i-ru* → PERFECTIVE
 examples: *tuk-u* ‘arrive’, *ni-ru* ‘resemble’
- d. ACCOMPLISHMENT: both ACTIVITY and ACHIEVEMENT patterns are possible
 examples: *yom-u* ‘read’, *ake-ru* ‘open s.t.’

¹⁵³ McClure uses the term PERFECTIVE for what is referred to as RESULTATIVE in this thesis.

According to McClure, through the strict application of the connectivity criterion as stated above, only three verbs are identified as STATE verbs: *ar-u* (LE), *i-ru* (LE), and *ir-u* ‘need’.¹⁵⁴ This assertion has implications for the position taken in this thesis that *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the *V-te ar-u/i-ru* construction are STATIVISER-GEs, because, apart from *ir-u* ‘need’, LEs are the only STATE verbs in Japanese. It raises the possibility of an alternative approach that analyses *V-te ar-u/i-ru* as the compound-verb structure [V + LE], rather than [V + GE].¹⁵⁵

However, McClure’s classification in (272) does not give sufficient weight to the fact that some verbs, such as *wakar-u* ‘figure out, understand’ and *mie-ru* ‘can see’, denote the present STATE without the STATIVISER-GE when they are used in the non-past (*V-ru*) form. Such verbs are treated as ACHIEVEMENT verbs in McClure’s framework. These verbs can be used as ACHIEVEMENT verbs as in the use of *wakar-u* in (273a):

- (273) a. *yoku mi-reba, sugu ni betuzin da to*
 well look-COND soon different person COP QTV
wakar-u. [NV05:126]
 understand-NPST
 ‘If you look closely, you’ll soon figure out that she is someone else.’
- b. “*sono kimoti wa yoku wakar-u yo.*” [TK02:128]
 that feeling TOP well understand-NPST FP
 ‘I understand how you feel.’

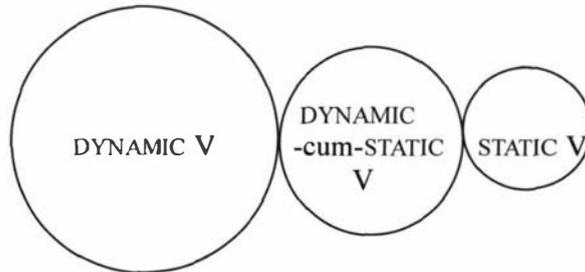
¹⁵⁴ Strictly speaking, since *i-ru* is included in the category of STATE verb, *or-u* should also be included.

¹⁵⁵ Although this is a radical approach, which is not adopted in this thesis, there are scholars, such as Masuoka and Takubo (1992: 17), who refer to *V-te* GE as a compound verb.

However, as shown in (273b), the same verb can also be used to denote the present STATE, which cannot be denoted by typical ACHIEVEMENT verbs, such as *sin-u* ‘die’ and *tuk-u* ‘arrive’. Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider that these verbs have STATE-verb usage as well as ACHIEVEMENT-verb usage, in the same way that McClure considers that ACCOMPLISHMENT verbs have ACTIVITY-verb usage as well as ACHIEVEMENT-verb usage.¹⁵⁶

In consideration of the points raised above, Suzuki’s (1957) semi-prototype-theoretical description of verbs provides an effective model. Suzuki claims that there is a large class of DYNAMIC verbs and a small class of STATIC verbs and that, connecting the two, there is a class of DYNAMIC-cum-STATIC verbs. The following diagram illustrates his claim:

(274)



According to this model, verbs such as *wakar-u* and *mie-ru* are placed in the class of DYNAMIC-cum-STATIC verbs since they are used as STATIC verbs, that is, STATE verbs in Kindaichi (1950), as well as DYNAMIC verbs, that is, INSTANTANEOUS verbs in Kindaichi (1950).

As Suzuki claims, the number of STATIC verbs is rather limited. He gives the following list, which provides confirmation that the typical STATE/STATIC verbs in

¹⁵⁶ Kindaichi (1950) remarks that the verb *wakar-u* is cross-categorical between the STATE verb and the INSTANTANEOUS verb in his classification.

Japanese are LEs:

(275) Suzuki (1957: 71)

STATIC verbs { LEs (*ar-u*, *i-ru*, *irassyar-u*, *gozaimas-u*, *ori-mas-u*, etc.)
[adjective(stem)/adjectival noun + *sugi-ru* 'exceed']
[adjectival noun + *kiwamar-u* 'culminate']

6.3.2 *Mie-ru*

It follows from the review of Kindaichi (1950), McClure (1993), and Suzuki (1957) that it is a complex issue to determine what is a STATE verb and what is not. Verbs such as *mie-ru* 'can see' pose a particular problem in this context.

The fact that there is no need to stativise verbs which are already stative explains why the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* do not accept the attachment of the STATIVISER-GE. However, the same does not hold true for atypical STATE verbs, such as *mie-ru*, since they are used both with and without a GE, as shown in (276):

(276) a. *Huzi-san ga mie-ru.*
Fuji-mountain NOM can see-NPST
'I can see Mt. Fuji.'

b. *Huzi-san ga mie-te i-ru.*
Fuji-mountain NOM can see-GER GE-NPST
'I can see Mt. Fuji (at this moment).'

Questions then arise as to why in (276b) the speaker stativises a verb that can be used as a STATE verb on its own, and what differences there are between the *V-ru* and

the *V-te i-ru* forms. None of the three studies reviewed in the previous section shed light on this question. However, Nakau (1976), Teramura (1984), and Shirai (2000) attempt to provide an answer.

With reference to *mie-ru* and *mie-te i-ru*, Nakau and Teramura respectively state the following:

(277) Nakau (1976: 429)

- a. *mie-ru*: describes a permanent state that exists at the present moment, possibly extending into the future
- b. *mie-te i-ru*: describes a temporary state that continues up to the present but might cease at any moment in the near future

(278) Teramura (1984: 101)¹⁵⁷

- a. *mie-ru*: indicates the speaker's momentary perception of a phenomenon
- b. *mie-te i-ru*: indicates that a phenomenon perceived shortly before by the speaker continues up to the present moment

Shirai (2000) refers to a form such as *mie-te i-ru* as *STATIVE PROGRESSIVE*, and claims that the *STATIVE PROGRESSIVE* often conveys the vividness or temporariness of a situation, which is not implied by the *V-ru* form of the *STATE* verb.¹⁵⁸

Nakau's explanation in (277b) and Teramura's explanation in (278b) imply the *RESULTATIVE* view of *mie-te i-ru*, that is, *mie-ru* in the construction is an *ACHIEVEMENT* verb. In contrast, in Shirai it is analysed as a *STATE* verb followed by

¹⁵⁷ My translation from the Japanese.

¹⁵⁸ See also (253e) in Section 6.2.1.

a PROGRESSIVE marker. Except for this difference in minor detail, the three scholars basically share the same idea. Nakau and Shirai especially are in agreement in the respect that they both consider that *mie-te i-ru* is related to the concept of temporariness.

The explanations above are considered to be essentially correct. However, cases where one form is preferred over the other according to the context also require explanation. For example, *mie-te i-ru* cannot be used unless the speaker is physically present at the scene where he/she can see the thing in question, as shown in (279) below. Note that [-at-the-scene] indicates that the speaker is not at the relevant scene.

(279) [-at-the-scene] (the speaker is not at *zikka* ‘parents’ house’)

watasi no zikka kara wa, Huzi-san ga
 I GEN parents’ house from TOP Fuji-mountain NOM
 { *mie-ru* / * *mie-te i-ru* }.
 can see-NPST / can see-GER GE-NPST

‘From my parents’ house, I can see Mt. Fuji.’

Even when the speaker is at the scene, *mie-ru* sounds more natural than *mie-te i-ru* if Mt. Fuji is not visible at the time of the utterance, as shown in (280) below. Note that [-at-the-moment] indicates that the thing, ‘Mt. Fuji’ in this case, is not visible at the time of the utterance.

(280) [+at-the-scene] [-at-the-moment]

tenki ga i-i hi wa, koko kara Huzi-san ga
 weather NOM good-PNM day TOP here from Fuji-mountain NOM

{ *mie-ru* / ?? *mie-te i-ru* }.
 can see-NPST / can see-GER GE-NPST
 ‘On a fine day, I can see Mt. Fuji from here.’

The implication of temporariness conveyed by *mie-te i-ru*, which Shirai and Nakau identify, can be restated as the implication of [+at-the-moment], which is essentially a TIME-related concept. However, the above observation suggests that the selection between *mie-ru* and *mie-te i-ru* involves not only the TIME-related concept of [+at-the-moment], but also the SPACE-related concept of [+at-the-scene]. To be more precise, *mie-te i-ru* constructs a marked expression, which emphasises both the [+at-the-moment] feature and the [+at-the-scene] feature, whereas *mie-ru* constructs an unmarked expression, which is neutral in terms of these two features.

Being [+at-the-moment] in TIME is often coincident with being [+at-the-scene] in SPACE, and *vice versa*. However, it is important to differentiate between the two, in order to comprehend the nature of the *mie-te i-ru* sentence. For example, the vividness conveyed by the *mie-te i-ru* sentence, identified by Shirai, can only be explained by the combination of [+at-the-moment] and [+at-the-scene]. In the case of (280), *mie-ru* sounds more natural than *mie-te i-ru*, although the use of *mie-te i-ru* in the same situation is not entirely inappropriate. However, the use of *mie-te i-ru* in this case does not produce the vividness effect, contrary to Shirai’s claim. If it is assumed that vividness occurs only when [+at-the-moment] and [+at-the-scene] coincide, the lack of the vividness effect in this case can be explained: the [+at-the-moment] feature, which is normally emphasised by *mie-te i-ru*, is neutralised by the TIME adverbial phrase *tenki ga i-i hi wa* ‘on a fine day’, which carries the [–at-the-moment] feature. However, neutralisation of the

[+at-the-moment] feature does not automatically lead to neutralisation of the [+at-the-scene] feature; therefore, the *mie-te i-ru* sentence in (280) still emphasises the idea that the speaker *was* at the scene when Mt. Fuji was visible, which the *mie-ru* sentence does not. Consequently, the use of *mie-te i-ru* sounds unnatural in this situation.

From the above observations, it is clear that the speaker stativises the verb *mie-ru*, although it can be used as a STATE verb on its own, because he/she wishes to emphasise the features of [+at-the-moment] and [+at-the-scene].

This explanation does not imply that using *mie-te i-ru* is obligatory when the speaker is in a situation of [+at-the-moment] and [+at-the-scene]. For example, it is inappropriate to use it when receiving an eyesight test as in (281), although in such a case the speaker is in the situation of [+at-the-moment] and [+at-the-scene]:

(281) Optometrist: “*kore, mie-mas-u ka.*”
 this can see-POL-NPST Q
 ‘Can you see this?’

Patient: “*mie-mas-u / ?? mie-te i-mas-u.*”
 can see-POL-NPST / can see-GER GE-POL-NPST
 ‘I can see it.’

In this kind of context, the focus is on whether or not the speaker has the ability to see certain things, which can adequately be expressed by *mie-ru*, and there is no need to use a marked expression that emphasises the features of [+at-the-moment] and [+at-the-scene]. However, because of its emphatic nature, *mie-te i-ru* can be used

when the speaker insists on his/her ability to see, as in (282):

(282) Optometrist: "*kore, hontoo ni mie-mas-u ka.*"
this really can see-POL-NPST Q
'Can you really see this?'

Patient: "*ee, tyanto*
yes clearly
{ *mie-mas-u / mie-te i-mas-u* }."
can see-POL-NPST / can see-GER GE-POL-NPST
'Yes, I can clearly see it.'

As demonstrated in this section, it is essential to take into consideration not only the concept of TIME but also the concept of SPACE when investigating the [STATE verb + GE] construction. If the GE in question is predetermined to be an ASPECTUALISER, it is difficult to elicit the feature of [+at-the-scene] from a consideration of GE sentences, since this feature is not related to the concept of aspectuality.

6.4 The [PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + GE] construction

6.4.1 First-person subjects and third-person subjects

As is frequently pointed out in the literature,¹⁵⁹ there is a principle in Japanese that PSYCHOLOGICAL verbs, which denote inner mental states or activities, take the *V-te i-ru* form when the subject NP is a third-person. This is an unexpected phenomenon for a language such as Japanese, which does not have a grammatical agreement system between a subject and a verb. In the following discussion, the question of why such a principle exists in Japanese is considered.

First, it is important to note that each PSYCHOLOGICAL verb exhibits different behaviours. For example, the verb *sir-u* ‘find out’ is a typical ACHIEVEMENT verb, and therefore it almost always takes the *V-te i-ru* form in order to denote a present mental state, irrespective of the person of the subject NP, for example:

- (283) a. *watasi wa Zyon no himitu o sit-te i-ru.*
I TOP John GEN secret ACC find out-GERGE-NPST
‘I know John’s secret.’
- b. *Makkusu mo Zyon no himitu o sit-te i-ru.*
Max also John GEN secret ACC find out-GERGE-NPST
‘Max knows John’s secret, too.’

In contrast, the verb *wakar-u* ‘understand’ sometimes violates the principle

¹⁵⁹ See Nakau (1976, 1979), Makino (1978), Jacobsen (1990), and Shirai (2000).

mentioned above, and takes the *V-ru* form even when the subject NP is in the third-person, as shown in (284a) below. However, as Jacobson (1990: 93) describes, in such a case, it is considered that the verb is used to denote a property of the subject which is objectively observable, rather than his/her mental state. In order to denote a third-person subject's present mental state, *wakar-u* should take the *V-te i-ru* form, in accordance with the principle described above. This difference can be observed in the two examples in (284):

(284) Jacobsen (1990: 93)

a. { *watasi* / *kanozjo* } *wa* *Nihon-go* *ga* *wakar-u*.
 I / she TOP Japanese-language NOM understand-NPST
 'I understand/she understands Japanese.'

b. *kare mo zyoosi no mae de wa kotoba-zukai ni*
 he EMPH boss GEN front LOC TOP language-usage DAT
tyuu-si-nakereba ikena-i to i-u koto ga yoku
 attention-do-must-NPST QTV say-PNM NOMI NOM well
 { *wakat-te i-ru* / * *wakar-u* }.
 understand-GER GE-NPST / understand-NPST
 'He understands as well as anyone that he has to watch his language in front of his superiors.'

The verb *omo-u* 'think' follows the principle more strictly; it does not have the (284a)-type usage observed above for *wakar-u*. More significantly, unlike the verb *sir-u*, it can be used in the *V-ru* form to denote the present mental state of a

first-person subject.¹⁶⁰ In other words, *omo-u* in the *V-ru* form can be used as a STATE verb, in Kindaichi's verb classification, for a first-person subject, but not for a third-person subject. Consequently, the verb *omo-u* is an ideal verb to investigate in order to elucidate why the principle mentioned above exists in Japanese.

6.4.2 *Omo-u*

6.4.2.1 Nakau (1979) and Shirai (2000)

After presenting the following set of examples in (285), Nakau (1979) explains why the verb *omo-u* in the *V-ru* form cannot be used for denoting the present mental state of a third-person subject, as quoted in (286).

(285) Nakau (1979: 227)

a. *watasi wa, An o syooziki da to omo-u.*

I TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-NPST

'I think Ann is honest.'

b. *watasi wa, An o syooziki da to omot-te i-ru.*

I TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-GER GE-NPST

'I think Ann is honest.'

c. * *Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omo-u.*

Max TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-NPST

¹⁶⁰ Basically speaking, a second-person subject exhibits the same behavioural pattern as a first-person subject. However, because the second-person subject is the interlocutor in the discourse, verbs such as *omo-u* normally appear in interrogative sentences. Since it is important to compare the *V-ru* form and the *V-te i-ru* form under the same conditions, except for the person of the subject, the discussion proceeds based on a comparison between declarative sentences with first-person subjects and declarative sentences with third-person subjects.

- d. *Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omot-te i-ru.*
 Max TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-GER GE-NPST
 ‘Max thinks Ann is honest.’

(286) Nakau (1979: 228)¹⁶¹

There is a conceptual difference between *omo-u* and *omot-te i-ru*. *Omo-u* denotes a mental activity that occurs at an instantaneous present point in time, which is simultaneous with the speech time. On the other hand, *omot-te i-ru* expresses a durative mental activity that starts at a certain point in the past, and continues to the present point. . . . Moreover, the relation between the speaker and his/her own mental activity, and the relation between the speaker and a third-person’s mental activity are different. . . . The speaker can take responsibility for his/her own mental activity at the time of speech. However, he/she cannot take responsibility for a third-person’s mental activity at the time of speech, because when the mental activity is an instantaneous occurrence in a third-person’s mind at the present point in time, there is no means for the speaker to get to know the content of the mental activity.

This is why the example in (285c) is not acceptable. The reason that the example in (285d) is acceptable, on the other hand, is because the speaker is able to comprehend the content of the third-person’s mental activity, when the activity has some duration of time between a certain point in the past and the present point.

Given that the STATIVISER-GE primarily functions as a DURATIVE aspect marker, as observed in Section 6.2, the portion in the above argument which refers to the difference between instantaneous activity and durative activity plausibly explains the semantic difference between the examples in (285a) and (285b), both of which have first-person subjects. However, I do not concur with Nakau in considering that the speaker is able to comprehend what a third-person thinks if the act of thinking

¹⁶¹ My translation from the Japanese.

involves a certain duration of time, since what a third-person thinks can never be perceived, irrespective of the length of duration of his/her thinking.

Shirai (2000) argues that there is a nuance of temporariness and an associated tentativeness conveyed in the use of *omou-te i-ru*:

(287) Shirai (2000: 356f.)

Omou 'think' is a stative verb, because its nonpast form can refer to the current state without involving iteration. Also, *omou* allows stative progressive *omou-te i-ru*, for which temporariness is conveyed. When it is used for a third person subject, *omou* cannot be used since Japanese generally disallows the direct expression of other people's internal feelings/states. . . . Strictly speaking, one cannot know the internal status of others, and Japanese is generally sensitive to this restriction. If *-te i-* is used, the violation of this restriction is not so serious, because of the tentativeness that comes from the temporariness conveyed by the stative progressive.

Another possibility is that *omou* and other internal state verbs are construed as Achievement when used with *-te i-*. State verbs of cognition/perception have a sense of entry into state (e.g. *Now I know! Then I knew*). Since *omou* and other Japanese State verbs often have this sense as well, when combined with *-te i-*, they can be used as Achievement to yield resultative/perfect meaning. As has often been noted, perfect is crosslinguistically associated with evidential mood, which is used when the evidence is not directly accessible to the speaker. It has been argued that this is because perfect involves some type of inference regarding the past action, based on the current state.

The first of Shirai's two explanations is in line with his general view towards the [STATE verb + *i-ru*] construction, which was discussed in Section 6.3.2. However, the

connection between temporariness and tentativeness that Shirai presumes is debatable. Shirai explains the nuance of temporariness in the use of the *V-te i-ru* form, as follows:

(288) Shirai (2000: 356)

Although very subtle, the imperfective form *omot-te i-ru* (stative progressive) conveys temporariness. This can be attested by adding the adverbial *ima wa* ‘for now’:

(i) <simple stative>

Naomi wa kawai-i to ima wa omo-u.
Naomi TOP cute-NPST QTV now TOP think-NPST
‘(I didn’t used to, but) now I think Naomi is cute.’

(ii) <stative progressive>

Naomi wa kawai-i to ima wa omot-te i-ru.
Naomi TOP cute-NPST QTV now TOP think-GER GE-NPST
‘I think Naomi is cute for now (but I don’t know if I will have the same opinion in the future).’

This asymmetry arises because the simple form resists temporary meaning, whereas imperfective *-te i-* allows for it.

As Shirai admits, the nuance of temporariness is very subtle. Moreover, even if the difference in terms of temporariness between the two examples in (288) is acknowledged, it is difficult to conceive that this has any relation to a sense of a tentativeness.

Although Shirai’s second explanation in (287) is similar to Nakau’s explanation in (286), it is significant that Shirai refers to the concept of evidentiality. However,

although the inference regarding the past action based on the current state, which Shirai mentions in (287), is a pattern of evidential modality, such an inferential-evidential analysis is not applicable to the example in (285d) because the current state *per se* cannot be perceived in the case of a third-person's mental state, and, since there is no evidence to be drawn from the current state, it is impossible to infer past action.

6.4.2.2 The concept of *witness status*

As observed in the previous section, neither Nakau (1979) nor Shirai (2000) is successful in presenting a convincing explanation for the use of *omot-te i-ru* with a third-person subject. I consider that they are not successful because, apart from Shirai's partial reference to evidentiality, they fail to take into account the modal and pragmatic nature of the *omot-te i-ru* sentence.

Inoue's (1978) observation provides the key to understanding the relation between *omot-te i-ru* and a third-person subject in terms of evidentiality. With reference to the following construction in (289), which frequently appears in journalistic writing, Inoue (1978: 108) claims that "the reporter is quoting someone and *-te i-ru* conveys the feeling that there is evidence to support quotations being made".

(289) Inoue (1978: 108)

... *to*, { *it-te* / *nobe-te* / *kaitoo-si-te* } *i-ru*.
 QTV say-GER/ state-GER/ reply-do-GER GE-NPST
 '... has said/has said (more formal)/has replied ...'

Although the above is not a statement referring to the construction of [PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + *i-ru*], it is a valid observation, which can be extended to the analysis of *omot-te i-ru*.¹⁶² Accordingly, Nakau's example in (285d), which has been reproduced in (290) below, can be considered from the viewpoint of evidentiality.¹⁶³

- (290) *Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omot-te i-ru.* [= (285d)]
 Max TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-GER GE-NPST
 'Max thinks Ann is honest.'

¹⁶² Inoue's (1978) claim is part of her study on the reportative function of *V-te i-ru*, which she refers to as a nature that "prevails universally over all its temporal usages" (p.107). The comparison between *V-te i-ru* and *V-ta* in the following example forms the basis of her argument.

Inoue (1978: 107)
 [context: reviewing John's employment record]
Zyon wa zyuu-nen mae ni Zeneraru Mootaasu o
 John TOP 10-year before LOC General Motors ACC
yame-sase-rare {-te i-ru / ? -ta }.
 quit-CAUS-PASS -GER GE-NPST / -PST
 'John was laid off by General Motors ten years ago.'

Inoue explains that *V-te i-ru* is more appropriate than *V-ta* in the above context, because *V-te i-ru* conveys the sense that the speaker is looking at a record and is making a reportative and objective statement, whereas *V-ta* lacks such an objective and reportative sense. This is a valid analysis; however, it should be noted that the example above has different characteristics from the example in (289).

In the case above, the speaker has a piece of evidence (John's employment record) at the time of the utterance, and, based on this evidence, he/she refers to a past event (John's layoff). This is a type of inferential evidential, which Shirai (2000: 357) explains in (287) as "inference regarding the past action, based on the current state", although it does not involve inference in its strict sense due to the explicitness of John's employment record as a piece of evidence. Shirai notes that the PERFECT aspect is associated with such an inferential evidential. The example above is, in fact, a typical PERFECT-aspect sentence (see (255)).

In contrast, in the case of (289), the acquisition of the evidence occurs *before* the time of utterance; therefore, it is not a case of inferential evidential.

Although Inoue (1978) fails to make this clear distinction between the two examples, the difference should be recognised. It should also be noted that Inoue's claim that the reportative usage of *V-te i-ru* prevails universally over all its temporal usages is open to doubt, given that the inferential evidential is in close association with the temporal concept of the PERFECT aspect.

¹⁶³ Shinzato (1993) discusses the evidential function of *i-ru* in [third-person subject + PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + *i-ru*]. However, as in the case of Shirai (2000) in (287), she also misconstrues it as an inferential evidential. As mentioned above, the concept of inference is not relevant to the use of *i-ru* in [third-person subject + PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + *i-ru*]. The reason for this will be discussed in more detail below.

There is no question as to the grammaticality of the example above. However, as in the case of (289), this sentence produces a strong sense of assertion. In other words, the interlocutor, when he/she hears this sentence, assumes that the speaker is making the statement based on a firm piece of evidence, rather than from mere conjecture. If the speaker does not possess a strong piece of evidence, it is obligatory to indicate this by the use of sentence-final evidential expressions, such as the inferential-evidential marker *daroo* and the reported-evidential marker *soo da*, as shown in (291) below:¹⁶⁴

- (291) [see (290)]
- Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omot-te i-ru*
- | | | |
|---|-------|---------------------------------|
| { | (i) | <i>daroo / hazu da / rasi-i</i> |
| | | SFE (inference) |
| | (ii) | <i>soo da / rasi-i</i> |
| | | SFE (report) |
| | (iii) | <i>yoo da</i> |
| | | SFE (appearance) |
| | (iv) | <i>ka-naa</i> |
| | | SFE (imagination) |

- (i) 'I think/I am sure that Max thinks Ann is honest.'
- (ii) 'I heard that Max thinks Ann is honest.'
- (iii) 'It seems that Max thinks Ann is honest.'
- (iv) 'I wonder if Max thinks Ann is honest.'

In other words, the example in (290), which is not accompanied by an appropriate evidential marker such as in the above, cannot be used in actual discourse, unless the speaker has a strong piece of evidence. This important aspect of the *omot-te i-ru*

¹⁶⁴ As Shibatani (1990: 383) points out, Japanese does not have a grammaticised verbal category of 'evidentials'. Therefore, what are referred to as evidential markers, or evidentials, in this thesis, such as *soo da* and *rasi-i*, do not comprise an independent verbal category; I use the labels only to suggest that they have evidential functions.

sentence is overlooked in Nakau (1979) and Shirai (2000). It is clear from the above observation that the use of *omot-te i-ru* cannot be explained in terms of the concept of inference or tentativeness, since it essentially creates a statement with a strong assertion, which implies the opposite to inference and tentativeness.

The next question to consider is the kind of information that can form a strong piece of evidence which may justify the speaker referring to the thoughts of a third-person. Kamio's (1990) study serves as a useful reference here.

Kamio makes a distinction between the DIRECT-form and the INDIRECT-form. The DIRECT-form basically refers to an assertive sentence form, such as in (292a), which does not contain additional elements such as inferential-evidential and hearsay-evidential markers. On the other hand, the INDIRECT-form refers to an unassertive sentence form, such as in (292b), which contains an evidential marker.

(292) Kamio (1990: 209)

a. <DIRECT-form>

Yosida-san wa byooki da.

Yoshida-POL TOP sickness COP

'Mr Yoshida is sick.'

b. <INDIRECT-form>

Yosida-san wa byooki rasi-i.

Yoshida-POL TOP sickness SFE (hearsay/inference)-NPST

'I heard/suppose that Mr Yoshida is sick.'

Kamio argues that in order to use the DIRECT-form sentence in (292a), the speaker must have a strong piece of evidence which supports his/her statement, such as those

given in (293a) below. He then explains that when the speaker does not have such a strong piece of evidence that justifies him/her using the DIRECT-form, he/she uses the INDIRECT-form sentence in (292b). Examples of such a weak piece of evidence are given in (293b).

(293) Kamio (1990: 209f.)¹⁶⁵

a. Examples of evidence for using the DIRECT-form sentence in (292a):

- (i) The speaker saw Mr Yoshida on his sickbed.
- (ii) The speaker saw the medical certificate of Mr Yoshida, who has been lacking in animation in recent times.
- (iii) The speaker was well informed of Mr Yoshida's medical condition by someone reliable and very close to Mr Yoshida, such as Mr Yoshida's family.
- (iv) The speaker came to the conviction (*ipse dixit*) that Yoshida is sick, from Mr Yoshida's unhealthy appearance and/or unusual behaviour.

b. Examples of evidence for using the INDIRECT-form in (292b):

- (v) The speaker heard the rumour that Mr Yoshida is sick.
- (vi) The speaker formed the conjecture that Mr Yoshida is sick, from his lack of animation and poor job performance.
- (vii) The speaker learned that Mr Yoshida is on serious medication, although Mr Yoshida himself has not explained to anyone about his medical condition.

The *omot-te i-ru* sentence in (290) is a DIRECT-form sentence, using Kamio's criteria. Unlike in the assertion of Mr Yoshida's illness, denoted by the DIRECT-form sentence in (292a), it is difficult for the speaker of (290) to come to the conviction that 'Max thinks that Ann is honest', through observation of Max's appearance or

¹⁶⁵ My translation from the Japanese.

behaviour. Therefore, it is considered that, in the case of (290), the speaker has obtained some other form of direct evidence, such as ‘the speaker was told by Max himself that (he thinks that) Ann is honest’, or ‘the speaker read Max’s diary/letter in which he wrote that (he thinks that) Ann is honest’.

Furthermore, it is noted that there is a significant difference between a DIRECT-form sentence that ends with *V-te i-ru* and a DIRECT-form sentence that ends with *V-ru*. Compare the following examples:

(294) a. *Makkusu wa yoku benkyoo-si-te i-ru.*
 Max TOP hard study-do-GER GE-NPST
 ‘Max is studying hard.’

b. *Makkusu wa yoku benkyoo-su-ru.*
 Max TOP hard study-do-NPST
 ‘Max studies hard.’

c. *Makkusu wa benkyoo-ka da.*
 Max TOP study-person COP
 ‘Max is a studious man.’

The examples in (294a) and (294b) both require a strong piece of evidence, as in the case of the typical DIRECT-form sentence in (294c), which is comparable to Kamio’s example in (292a). However, (294a) and (294b) differ in the respect that in the former the sentence itself implies that the speaker has witnessed, probably on a number of occasions, the scene where Max is studying or the product of Max’s study (for example, an academic paper written by Max), whereas in the latter, and also in the case of (294c), the sentence itself does not imply what kind of evidence there is.

The use of the term ‘*witness status*’ is proposed in order to refer to a person who

As shown in (295a), a PSYCHOLOGICAL adjective, such as *kanasi-i* ‘sad’, cannot refer to a third-person’s mental state in its basic form. It requires a set of morphological operations in order to be used as a legitimate expression: (i) attachment of the suffix *gar(-u)*, which denotes the meaning of ‘show the signs of’, as shown in (295b); and (ii) attachment of the STATIVISER *i-ru*, as shown in (295c).

From the aspectual viewpoint, it is considered that the attachment of the STATIVISER *i-ru* is necessary because the suffix *gar-u* has properties equivalent to a dynamic verb. After stativisation by *i-ru* as shown in (295c), the sentence literally means that ‘Max is (now) showing signs of sadness’. However, it is important to note that, when the utterance in (295c) is made, Max does not necessarily have to be in the sight of the speaker and the interlocutor. In other words, the sentence can be used even if the speaker personally met Max previously, for example, the day before. In such a case, it is considered that by using *V-te i-ru*, the speaker implies that he/she was in a situation the day before when the signs of sadness shown by Max were perceivable. In other words, by using the GE *i-ru*, the speaker marks his/her *witness status*.

The same observation can be applied to a PSYCHOLOGICAL verb such as *kanasim-u* ‘grieve’. Like *kanasi-gar-u* in (295b), the verb *kanasim-u* is a dynamic verb. Therefore, it must be stativised by *i-ru* in order to denote Max’s present emotional state, as shown in (296b):

- (296) a. * *Makkusu wa kanasim-u.*
 Max TOP grieve-NPST

- b. *Makkusu wa kanasin-de i-ru.*
 Max TOP grieve-GER GE-NPST
 (i) ‘(I can see) Max is grieving.’
 (ii) ‘(I know) Max is grieving.’

In this case, there are again two kinds of typical scenarios: (i) Max’s sad look (for example, his tearful face) is observable at the time of utterance; or (ii) prior to the utterance the speaker gained firm evidence, which justifies him/her telling the interlocutor that Max is sad. These two scenarios, or interpretations, are comparable respectively to the following two distinct usages of the sentence-final evidential expression *soo da*: when *soo da* follows the stem of an adjective, it expresses the concept of ‘inference from appearance’, which in English is denoted by verbs such as ‘seem’ and ‘look’; when *soo da* follows the conclusive form of an adjective, that is, ‘stem + *i*’, it expresses the concept of ‘reported information’, which in English is denoted by the verb ‘hear(d)’. Consider the following sentences:

- (297) a. *Makkusu wa kanasi soo da.*
 Max TOP sad(stem) SFE (appearance)
 ‘Max looks sad.’
- b. *Makkusu wa kanasi-i soo da.*
 Max TOP sad-NPST SFE (report)
 ‘I heard that Max is sad.’

In terms of the proposed concept of *witness status*, the ‘appearance’ usage of *soo da* is explained as expressing the speaker’s *witness status* at the time of speech, and the ‘report’ usage is explained as expressing the speaker’s *witness status* prior to the

time of speech.

The fact that the example in (296b) produces the two interpretations that are similar to the meanings of the two examples in (297) clearly shows that the STATIVISER *i-ru* has a quasi-evidential function. In other words, although, due to the absence of an overt (full-)evidential marker, such as *soo da*, the example in (296b) is morphosyntactically classified as a DIRECT-form sentence, it has semantic and pragmatic properties comparable to an INDIRECT-form sentence. Therefore, it is important to draw a distinction between the *V-te i-ru* sentence and the *V-ru* sentence, since the latter is an archetypal DIRECT-form sentence, which carries no INDIRECT-form-like properties.

Given that the GE *i-ru* has the quasi-evidential function of marking the speaker's *witness status*, the fact that the verb *omo-u* obligatorily takes the GE *i-ru* when expressing the thoughts of a third-person can be explained in the following way. *Omo-u* is a PSYCHOLOGICAL verb in the pure sense in the respect that it does not usually entail visible signs. Because there are no visible signs, *omot-te i-ru* does not produce the reading of 'inference from appearance', as can be observed by comparing the following examples:

(298) [context: Max is in sight of the speaker and the interlocutor]

- a. *Makkusu wa kanasi-gat-te (i-)ru ne.*
Max TOP sad-SUFFIX (show signs)-GER (GE-)NPST FP
'(lit.) Max is showing signs of sadness, isn't he?'
→ 'Max looks sad, doesn't he?'

b. *Makkusu wa kanasin-de (i-)ru ne.*
 Max TOP grieve-GER (GE-)NPST FP
 ‘Max is grieving, isn’t he?’

c. ?? *Makkusu wa kanasi-i to omot-te (i-)ru ne.*
 Max TOP sad-NPST QTV think-GER (GE-)NPST FP
 ‘Max thinks that it is sad, doesn’t he?’

This observation indicates that the verb *omo-u* requires reported evidence, or equally direct evidence, which does not involve inference. In other words, when the GE *i-ru* is attached to *omo-u*, it serves as a quasi-evidential marker which specifically corresponds to the ‘report’ usage of *soo da*. The following set of examples illustrates this claim:

(299) a. *Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omot-te i-ru.*
 Max TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-GER GE-NPST
 ‘(I know/heard that) Max thinks Ann is honest.’

b. *Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omo-u*
 Max TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-NPST
soo da.
 SFE (report)
 ‘I heard that Max thinks Ann is honest.’

c. *Makkusu wa, An o syooziki da to omot-te i-ru*
 Max TOP Ann ACC honest COP QTV think-GER GE-NPST
soo da.
 SFE (report)
 ‘I heard that Max thinks Ann is honest.’

It is important to note that when the evidential *soo da* is present, as shown in (299b), the verb *omo-u* does not necessarily take the *V-te i-ru* form. This fact clearly suggests that the *V-ru* form of a PSYCHOLOGICAL verb *can* be used with a third-person subject, as long as the evidentiality is appropriately marked. This, in turn, suggests that the GE *i-ru* in (299a) has a similar evidential function to that of *soo da* in (299b).

It is also noted that, as shown in (299c), the evidential *soo da* can also follow *omot-te i-ru*. Since the evidentiality is marked by *soo da* in this case, there is, in theory, no obligation for the GE *i-ru* to serve as a quasi-evidential marker; therefore, it is considered that the GE *i-ru* functions as a simple DURATIVE aspect marker in this construction, as illustrated in the schema in (300a) below:

(300) *omot-te + i-ru + soo da*

- a. [V-*te* + GE (DURATIVE aspect marker) + evidential]
- b. [V-*te* + GE (quasi-evidential marker) + evidential]

This analysis conforms with the generally held view that the GE *i-ru* is an ASPECTUALISER. Further support is provided by the fact that *omot-te i-ru* in (299c) accepts a duration-emphasising adverbial, such as *zutto* ‘all the time/for a long time’, whereas *omo-u* in (299b) does not, as shown in (301):

(301) *Makkusu wa zutto An o syooziki da to*
 Max TOP all the time Ann ACC honest COP QTV
 { **omo-u* / *omot-te i-ru* } *soo da.*
 think-NPST / think-GER GE-NPST SFE (report)
 ‘I heard that Max has been thinking that Ann is honest.’

However, unless such a duration-emphasising adverbial is present, *omot-te i-ru* itself in (299c) does not produce the DURATIVE aspectual meaning.

In addition, the following observation suggests that it is reasonable to assume that the example in (299c) has the double-evidential structure as schematised in (300b). When *omo-u soo da* is used, as in (299b) above, the interlocutor assumes that the speaker heard directly from Max about his thoughts about Ann, as illustrated in (302a).¹⁶⁸

(302) a. [*omo-u soo da*] in (299b)

Max → **Speaker** (→ Interlocutor)

b. [*omot-te i-ru soo da*] in (299c)

Max → X → **Speaker** (→ Interlocutor)

[X = indefinite number of persons, including zero]

However, when *omot-te i-ru soo da* is used, as in (299c), the interlocutor is uncertain as to whether the information source is Max himself or someone else, as shown in (302b). This observation suggests that, although the selection between *omo-u soo da* and *omot-te i-ru soo da* is available for the speaker, it is obligatory for the speaker to use *omot-te i-ru soo da* if he/she did not hear directly from Max about his thoughts. This ability of *omot-te i-ru soo da* to imply that the information is second-hand for the speaker cannot be explained if it is assumed that *omot-te i-ru soo da* has the structure as given in (300a) above. However, if it is assumed that it has the double-evidential construction as given in (300b), this ability can be explained in the

¹⁶⁸ The fact that *omo-u soo da* connotes the information flow as depicted in (302a) indicates that *omot-te i-ru* in (299a) also connotes the same type of information flow. This point confirms the claim made above that the use of *omot-te i-ru* requires a strong piece of direct evidence.

following way: the GE *i-ru* indicates the *witness status* of 'X' in the diagram in (302b) towards Max, and *soo da* indicates the *witness status* of the speaker towards 'X'.

The series of observations presented in this section show that it is essential to take into consideration the concept of evidentiality when explaining the relation between the third-person subject and *omot-te i-ru*.

However, the claim made above does not imply that when a GE undertakes the function of marking *witness status* it cannot simultaneously undertake the function of aspectual marking, or *vice versa*.¹⁶⁹ The point I wish to emphasise here is that *witness status* marking by a GE *i-ru* is obligatory when the subject of the verb *omo-u* is a third-person and the evidentiality is not marked by other evidential markers.

6.4.3 The [+at-the-scene] feature and *witness status*

Prior to identifying the quasi-evidential function of the GE *i-ru* to mark the speaker's *witness status*, the way in which the [STATE verb + GE *i-ru*] construction (for example, *mie-te i-ru*) is related not only to the concept of [+at-the-moment], but also to the concept of [+at-the-scene] was discussed.

The concept of [+at-the-scene] and the concept of *witness status* can be viewed as different aspects of the same concept and treated accordingly; for example, it can be

¹⁶⁹ In this respect it should be noted that the GE *i-ru* in (301), which produces the DURATIVE aspectual interpretation, simultaneously functions as a *witness status* marker if the evidence that the speaker obtained is second-hand.

considered that *mie-te i-ru* often generates the nuance of temporariness or vividness as in (303b) below, because the GE *i-ru* emphasises the speaker's current *witness status*. It can also be considered that *mie-te i-ru* cannot be used in the context given in (303c), because the speaker does not have *witness status* at the time of speech.

(303) a. *Huzi-san ga mie-ru.* [= (276a)]

Fuji-mountain NOM can see-NPST
 'I can see Mt. Fuji.'

b. *Huzi-san ga mie-te i-ru.* [= (276b)]

Fuji-mountain NOM can see-GER GE-NPST
 'I can see Mt. Fuji (at this moment).'

c. [context: the speaker is not at *zikka* 'parents' house']

watasi no zikka kara wa, Huzi-san
 I GEN parents' house from TOP Fuji-mountain
*ga { mie-ru / *mie-te i-ru }.* [= (279)]
 NOM can see-NPST / can see-GER GE-NPST
 'From my parents' house, I can see Mt. Fuji.'

However, it should be noted that the subject in (303b) is first-person. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the GE *i-ru* undertakes the modal/discourse function of quasi-evidential marking in this case, even though it can be treated as a *witness status* marker. Therefore, the *witness status* in this example is referred to as a '*witness status* (broad sense)', in the sense that the speaker is currently at the scene.

However, it is also observed that *mie-te i-ru* can take a third-person subject. In such a case the GE *i-ru* assumes the quasi-evidential function, that is, marking a '*witness status* (narrow sense)', in the same manner that it does in the case of

[third-person subject + PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + GE], because the way in which the third-person sees things is not directly perceivable by the speaker. Consider the following example:

- (304) *onazi kurasu-nai no kigooso wa tinpanzii ni totte*
 same class-inside GEN symbol TOP chimpanzee LOC to
tagai ni ni-te mie-te i-ru. [SE04:272]
 each other DAT resemble-CONJ can see-GER GE-NPST
 ‘To chimpanzees, symbols of the same class look similar to each other.’

What is of particular interest in this example is that the third-person NP is not a human. As the speaker cannot hear directly from chimpanzees prior to the time of speech as to how they see the symbols, the sentence reflects the strong confidence of the speaker (note: he is a primatologist) in the truth of the above statement. By using the *V-te i-ru* form, the speaker clearly indicates that he witnessed convincing scientific data (evidence) to support his assertive statement. If the assertion was based on mere conjecture or inference, the speaker could not use *mie-te i-ru* as above.

It follows from the argument above that the concept of *witness status* is widely applicable in descriptions of STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* constructions.

As noted above, Inoue claims that the *V-te i-ru* forms given in (305) are frequently used in journalistic writing:

- (305) . . . *to*, { *it-te* / *nobe-te* / *kaitoo-si-te* } *i-ru.* [= (289)]
 QTV say-GER/ state-GER/ reply-do-GER GE-NPST
 ‘. . . has said/has said (more formal)/has replied . . .’

Although the verbs used in (305) are non-stative verbs, it is clear that the GE marks the *witness status* of the writer (journalist). As in the case of the *omot-te i-ru* sentence investigated above, the GE *i-ru* in (305) does not indicate that the act of saying/stating/replying is a DURATIVE action. Therefore, this suggests that the use of *i-ru* as a *witness status* marker is not limited to STATE verbs and PSYCHOLOGICAL verbs.

The usage in (305) is also observed in ordinary conversations, that is, in non-journalistic writing, as shown in (306):

- (306) “*musi wa kodoku no tomo des-u yo. Huransu no*
 insect TOP solitude GEN friend COP-NPST FP France GEN
rekisi-ka no Misyure mo soo it-te (i-)ru.” [TK04:21]
 historian GEN Michelet also so say-GER (GE-)NPST
 ‘Insects are a loner’s companions. The French historian, Michelet, says so too.’

In this example, the use of *i-ru* implies that the speaker read a book written by or about Michelet prior to the time of speech.

Although I do not concur with Inoue’s (1978: 107) claim that the reportative usage of *V-te i-ru* prevails universally over all its temporal usages,¹⁷⁰ it is evident that not all usages of *V-te i-ru* can be explained by the concept of aspectuality alone.

¹⁷⁰ See Footnote 162.

6.4.4 STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* and *witness status*

Having established that the STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* has the function of *witness status* marking, the question of whether or not the STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* also has the same function is examined next.

Masuoka (2000) classified the basic types of V-*te ar-u* sentences in the following way:

(307) Masuoka (2000: 99ff.)¹⁷¹

Passive type (Type-P) <subject = PATIENT of act; sight-describing expression>

the sentence denotes:

Type-P₁: the thing exists in the location, as a result of the act of placement

Type-P₂: the thing comes into existence, as a result of the act of creation

Type-P₃: the state of the thing has changed as a result of the act (and the change is visible)

Active type (Type-A) <subject = AGENT of act; non sight-describing expression>

the sentence denotes:

Type-A₁: the resultant state of the act continues

Type-A₂: the effect of the earlier-completed action is still valid

Masuoka argues that Type-P (Passive Type) above is a more basic and more frequent usage than Type-A (Active Type). This argument suggests that the basic function of V-*te ar-u* is to construct a sight-describing expression, and in order to describe the sight, the speaker must be in a situation where he/she can witness the sight. In this respect, it is clear that the GE *ar-u* is also related to the concept of

¹⁷¹ My translation from the Japanese.

witness status. In the previous section, I referred to being currently at the scene as the *witness status* (broad sense). It is then predicted that the *witness status* (narrow sense), that is, the *witness status* prior to the time of speech, may be related to Type-A usage.

Masuoka's Type-A usage in (307) overlaps with Kinsui's (2000) PREPARATORY usage, which was reviewed in Section 6.2.2.¹⁷² As mentioned previously, Kinsui pointed out that the following example of PREPARATORY usage is inappropriate, due to the *viewpoint holder* restriction.

- (308) ? *Tanaka-san wa siken-benkyoo o zyuubun*
 Tanaka-POL TOP examination-study ACC enough
si-te ar-u. [= (269a)]
 do-GER GE-NPST
 'Mr Tanaka has prepared enough for the examination.'

A consideration of the sentence above, setting aside the connotation of the PREPARATORY sense, reveals that *ar-u* implies the speaker's *witness status* (narrow sense), such as 'the speaker saw Mr Tanaka studying hard for many hours' or 'the speaker heard directly from Mr Tanaka that he studied very hard'. Therefore, it is considered that in theory the GE *ar-u* also has the function of marking the *witness status* (narrow sense).

However, the pragmatic and contextual restrictions imposed upon the PREPARATORY use of the *V-te ar-u* construction markedly reduce the usability of sentences such as (308) in actual situations. Furthermore, it is often observed that,

¹⁷² Strictly speaking, Type A₂ in (307) corresponds to the PREPARATORY usage in Kinsui's study. Type A₁ is an intermediate usage, which is placed between the PREPARATORY and the RESULTATIVE usages in Kinsui's classification. See Kinsui (2000: 49).

when honorification is triggered, the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* is replaced by *V-te i-ru*, as in the following example:

- (309) *Tanaka-sensei wa, kondo no go-happyoo no*
 Tanaka-teacher TOP next GEN POL-presentation GEN
tame no go-kenkyuu o zyuubun si-te
 purpose GEN POL-research ACC enough do-GER
 { *o-ari ni nar-u* / *o-ide ni nar-u* / *irassyar-u* }.
 GE (HONO)-NPST / GE (HONO)-NPST / GE (HONO)-NPST
 ‘Professor Tanaka has done enough research for the next presentation.’

Taking these aspects of the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction into account, it is argued that the GE *i-ru* normally serves as a marker of *witness status* (narrow sense), although the GE *ar-u* also has the potential to assume this function.

6.5 The STATIVISER-GE construction and bivalency

6.5.1 The STATIVISER-GE and the VERBALISER-GE

In Chapter 5, it was argued that the VERBALISER-GE has essentially the same function as the LE in the respect that it connects an ENTITY NP and a DOMAIN NP. The following discussion explores whether or not the same is true of the STATIVISER-GE construction.

First, the following pairs of examples are considered:

(310) a. <VERBALISER-GE>

Ken wa benkyoo-tyuu de ar-u.
Ken TOP study-middle LOC GE-NPST
'Ken is (in the middle) of studying.'

b. <STATIVISER-GE>

Ken wa benkyoo-si-te i-ru.
Ken TOP study-do-GER GE-NPST
'Ken is studying.'

(311) a. <VERBALISER-GE>

Ken wa oobo-zumi de ar-u.
Ken TOP apply-complete LOC GE-NPST
'(lit.) Ken is in the state of having completed the application process.'
→ 'Ken has applied (for it).'

b. <STATIVISER-GE>

Ken wa oobo-si-te { ar-u / i-ru }.
Ken TOP apply-do-GER GE-NPST / GE-NPST
'Ken has applied (for it).'

As shown in each pair of examples, the VERBALISER-GE sentence and the STATIVISER-GE sentence can produce very similar meanings. Given that VERBALISER-GE sentences, such as in (310a) and (311a), have the structure as given in (312a) below, it seems logical to consider the structural formula of STATIVISER-GE sentences, such as in (310b) and (311b), to be that given in (312b):

- (312) a. VERBALISER-GE construction: [ENTITY DOMAIN *de* GE]
 b. STATIVISER-GE construction: [ENTITY DOMAIN-*te* GE]

In fact, in Ikegami's (1975, 1981) Contiguity Theory, with which I concur in many respects,¹⁷³ the STATIVISER-GE construction is analysed in parallel with the VERBALISER-GE construction:

(313) Ikegami (1975: 435)

- a. *Taroo wa isya de ar-u.*
 Taro TOP doctor LOC GE-NPST
 'Taro is a doctor.'

→ *Taroo wa* *isya* *de* *ar-u.*
 Y X WITH BE

- b. *Taroo wa hatarai-te i-ru.*
 Taro TOP work-GER GE-NPST
 'Taro is working.'

→ *Taroo wa* *hatarai* *te* *i-ru.*
 Y X WITH BE

Ikegami (1975: 435) claims that *de* in (313a) and *te* in (313b) are "variants of one

¹⁷³ See Sections 3.4 and 5.3.2.

and the same semantic unit that indicates the concept of contiguity”.¹⁷⁴ In Ikegami’s theory, both *de* and *te* are considered to correspond to WITH in the semantic formula of [Y BE WITH X]. However, this is an exceedingly abstract argument. It has been established that *te* in V-*te* originates in the adverbial form of the PERFECTIVE suffix *tu* in classical Japanese.¹⁷⁵ This historical origin of *te* is considered to be related to the fact that both V-*te i-ru* and V-*te ar-u* can express the RESULTATIVE aspect and the PERFECT aspect. These aspectual concepts involve a completed, that is, PERFECTIVE, action in the past; this means that *te* is not entirely neutral in terms of aspectuality.¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, *de* has its historical origin in the LOCATIVE particle *ni* and is still a LOCATIVE particle.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, *de* has no relation to the concept of aspectuality. The pairs of examples in (310) and (311) above clearly demonstrate this difference between *te* and *de*. In order to express a similar meaning to the V-*te* GE construction, the NP *de* GE construction must be accompanied by aspect-denoting nominals, such as *tyuu* in (310a), which signals an ‘on-going state’, and *zumi* in (311a), which signals a ‘completed state’. In Ikegami’s analysis, *te* and *de* are treated equally despite this significant difference, and consequently the difference in terms of the kind of preceding elements, that is, V in the case of *te* and NP in the case of *de*, is also disregarded. Although such an abstract approach is of theoretical interest, it does not come within the ambit of the present descriptive study. Therefore, in the following discussion, the relations between the STATIVISER-GE and co-occurring NPs, particularly LOCATIVE NPs, are examined, without positing the structural analysis given in (312b).

¹⁷⁴ My translation from the Japanese.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, Kajii (1997: 125ff.).

¹⁷⁶ This claim is not applicable to *te* in the PROGRESSIVE V-*te i-ru*. I consider that *te* in the PROGRESSIVE V-*te i-ru* is a form in which the process of grammaticalisation from the PERFECTIVE suffix to the GERUNDIVE marker is complete.

¹⁷⁷ See (197b) in Section 5.1.2.

6.5.2 *V-te ar-u* and valency

6.5.2.1 STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* and LE *ar-u*

Yamanashi (1995) claims that there is an intermediate usage between the LE usage and the prototypical STATIVISER-GE usage of *ar-u*. He argues that the STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* in (314b) below preserves the strong semantic characteristics of an LE, such as in (314a), whereas the prototypical STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* in (314c) does not.

(314) Yamanashi (1995: 67)

- a. *reizooko ni keeki ga ar-u.*
refrigerator LOC cake NOM LE-NPST
'There is a cake in the refrigerator.'
- b. *memo ga nokosi-te ar-u.*
memo NOM leave-GER GE-NPST
'Someone left a note.'
- c. *kono heya wa kirei ni si-te ar-u.*
this room TOP tidy DAT do-GER GE-NPST
'This room has been left tidy.'

Masuoka (1987, 1992, 2000) presents detailed discussion on this question. According to Masuoka, the five kinds of usages in (307) range, in order, from the GE usage (Type-P₁) that is the most analogous to the LE, to the GE usage (Type-A₂) that is the least analogous to the LE.

In the following sections, the structure of each type of the STATIVISER-GE

construction is examined.

6.5.2.2 Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* construction

The Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* sentence denotes that, as a result of the act of the *placement* of a thing, the thing exists in a certain LOCATION.¹⁷⁸ Masuoka (2000: 101) refers to the Type-P₁ sentence as an “LE sentence in the broad sense”, for the reason that the LOCATIVE expression in a Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* sentence is licensed by *ar-u*, rather than the V(erb).¹⁷⁹ Consider the following example:

(315) Masuoka (1987: 222)

ribingu-teeburu ni wa hana ga kazar-te ar-u.
living room-table LOC TOP flower NOM adorn-GER GE-NPST
'(lit.) Some flowers are, as decoration, on the table in the living room.'
→ 'The table in the living room is adorned with flowers.'

Masuoka claims that the primary meaning of this example is the existence of the flowers, and the act of adorning is the secondary meaning. The sentential meaning of

¹⁷⁸ Masuoka (1987, 2000) uses the term *placement* in the broad sense. He gives the following verbs as examples of *placement* verbs which are typically used in Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* constructions:

kazar-u 'adorn', *ok-u* 'put', *har-u* 'attach', *tumi-age-ru* 'pile up', *narabe-ru* 'arrange'

¹⁷⁹ In addition to this primary reason, Masuoka (1987, 1992, 2000) also presents the following reasons to support his argument that the GE *ar-u* in Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* constructions is an LE in the broad sense:

- (i) the Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* sentence can be coordinated with an LE sentence
- (ii) the Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* sentence can be used as an answer to an LE interrogative sentence
- (iii) the *ga*-marked NP is usually inanimate in Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* construction

Since these reasons are not directly relevant to the structural analysis of the V-*te ar-u* construction, I concentrate on his primary reason.

the example above can justifiably be labelled “LE sentence in the broad sense”; however, this does not necessarily signify that the *ni*-marked NP *ribingu-teeburu ni* ‘on the table in the living room’ is licensed by *ar-u*, as Masuoka claims. Kinsui (2000) points out that it is debatable whether a *V-te ar-u* sentence such as in (315) has the structure given in (316a) below, in line with Masuoka’s claim, or the structure given in (316b).

(316) Kinsui (2000: 50)

- a. NP₁ (LOCATION) *ni* NP₂ (ENTITY) *ga* [(NP₃ *o*) *V-te*]_{VP} *ar-u* (NP₂ = NP₃)
- b. NP₂ (ENTITY) *ga* [NP₄ (LOCATION) *ni* (NP₃ *o*) *V-te*]_{VP} *ar-u* (NP₂ = NP₃)

I consider that the analysis in (316b) is more accurate in terms of the origin of the *ni*-marked NP, because the *placement* verbs alone all take a *ni*-marked NP.¹⁸⁰ If it is assumed that the *ni*-marked NP is licensed by *ar-u*, then the fact that all the verbs that construct Type-P₁ *V-te ar-u* sentences take a *ni*-marked NP must be considered to be coincidence, which is highly unlikely.

However, the structural schema in (316b) is also considered inappropriate for three reasons: (i) it does not refer to the covert AGENT NP; (ii) it is based on the premise that the GE *ar-u* selects the VP; and (iii) it is based on the premise that the GE *ar-u* selects the ENTITY NP. Consequently, Ono’s (2000) analysis is considered to be more appropriate.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ See Footnote 178 for examples of *placement* verbs.

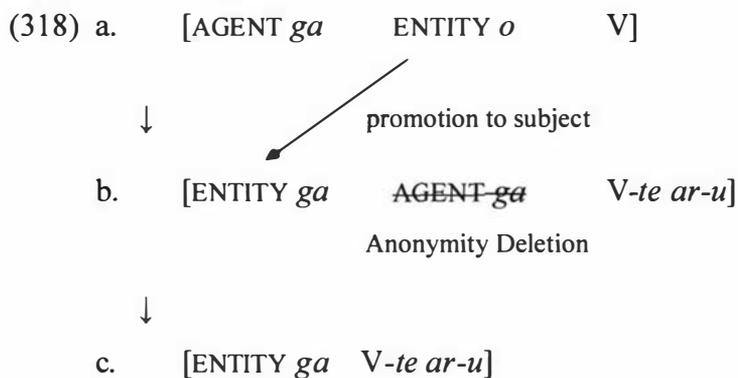
¹⁸¹ Although Ono’s example in (317b) is a Type-P₃ *V-te ar-u* construction in Masuoka’s classification in (307), Ono’s argument is applicable to all the Type-P constructions.

(317) Ono (2000: 57f.)

a. *dare ka ga mado o ake-ta.*
 someone NOM window ACC open-PST
 ‘Someone opened the window.’

b. *mado ga ake-te ar-u.*
 window NOM open-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The window is open.’

Ono claims that the example in (317b) is a sentence in which the underlying object, *mado* ‘window’, in (317a) is promoted to a subject, while the underlying subject, *dare ka* ‘someone’, is deleted by Anonymity Deletion.¹⁸² His claim can be summarised in the following series of schemata:



Based on Ono’s analysis, the production of the Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* construction is posited as follows:

¹⁸² Ono (2000: 57f.) explains that the criterion for Anonymity Deletion is whether or not the speaker is concerned about identifying the AGENT. Therefore, when the speaker is not concerned about the AGENT, Anonymity Deletion may take place even if the AGENT is not in fact anonymous. Ono also argues that V-*te ar-u* is produced through simple attachment of the grammatical element *ar-u* to the main (lexical) verb, although a sentence such as in (317b) has undergone the structural changes stated here.

in (319), it is important to note that the verb *hiyas-u* is not a *placement* verb. In his discussion of these examples, Sugimura (1996) argues that the example in (320b) has the covert *placement* verb *ire-ru* ‘put *s.t.* in’, as shown below:

(321) Sugimura (1996: 69)

reizooko ni biiru ga hiyasi-te (ire-te) ar-u.
 refrigerator LOC (←DAT) beer NOM cool-CONJ (put in-GER) GE-NPST
 ‘The beer has been cooled (and put) in the refrigerator.’

This is a valid argument. However, the position of the verb *ire-ru* in (321) is inaccurate, since the act of putting beer into the refrigerator precedes the act of cooling it. Therefore, the covert verb *ire-ru* should be positioned in front of the verb *hiyas-u*, as shown below:

(322) *reizooko ni biiru ga (ire-te) hiyasi-te ar-u.*
 refrigerator LOC (←DAT) beer NOM (put in-CONJ) cool-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The beer has been (put and) cooled in the refrigerator.’

Consequently, the underlying sentence of the example in (320b) is considered to be that given in (323) below, and the unacceptability of (320a) does not affect the validity of the analysis in (319).

(323) *dare ka ga* *reizooko ni biiru o ire-te hiyasi-ta.*
 someone NOM refrigerator DAT beer ACC put in-CONJ cool-PST
 ‘Someone put the beer into the refrigerator, and cooled it.’

The reason that the *placement* verb *ire-ru* is made covert should be considered

from the viewpoint of pragmatics. The act of cooling beer in the refrigerator naturally implies that the beer has been put into the refrigerator, and it is not necessary to state *reizooko ni ire-te hiyas-u* ‘put (it) into the refrigerator, and cool (it)’. Since to put something into the refrigerator also implies that the thing will be cooled, the verb *hiyas-u* can also be made covert, instead of the verb *ire-ru*, as in the following example:

- (324) *reizooko ni nomi-mono dake wa ire-te at-ta*
 refrigerator LOC (←DAT) drink-thing only TOP put in-GER GE-PST
node, kan no uuron-tya o dasi-te ki-ta. [NV09:251]
 because can GEN oolong-tea ACC take out-GER come-PST
 ‘I’ve brought a can of oolong tea since at least I had put something to drink in the refrigerator.’

Masuoka also presents the following pair of examples in order to justify his claim.

(325) Masuoka (1992: 536)

- a. *ie no mae { ni / de } torakku o tome-ta.*
 house GEN front DAT / LOC truck ACC park-PST
 ‘I parked the truck in front of my house.’
- b. *ie no mae { ni / ?? de } torakku ga*
 house GEN front LOC (←DAT) / LOC truck NOM
tome-te ar-u.
 park-GER GE-NPST
 ‘A truck is parked in front of my house.’

The verb *tome-ru* ‘park’ can take both a *ni*-marked NP and a *de*-marked NP, as

shown in (325a). However, when the verb is used in the *V-te ar-u* construction as in (325b), the particle *ni* is likely to be selected. From this observation, Masuoka claims that the *ni*-marked NP in (325b) is licensed by the GE *ar-u*, rather than the verb *tome-ru*.

This argument is not convincing. The difference between the functions of *de* and *ni* in (325a) should not be overlooked. As mentioned above, the *ni*-marked NP that co-occurs with a *placement* verb such as *tome-ru* indicates the GOAL of the action. On the other hand, the *de*-marked NP indicates the LOCATION where the action takes place, that is, the *ni*-marked NP is an element that comprises part of the action, while the *de*-marked NP is not. The following example illustrates this claim:

- (326) *watasi wa, tyuusya-zyoo de, siro-i kuruma no*
 I TOP park-place LOC white-PNM car GEN
yoko ni, torakku o tome-ta.
 next DAT truck ACC park-PST
 'I parked the truck next to the white car in the parking lot.'

In this example, *siro-i kuruma no yoko ni* 'next to the white car' indicates the GOAL of the action of parking, whereas *tyuusya-zyoo de* indicates the LOCATION where the action of parking takes place, that is, the LOCATION where the AGENT of the action is. As shown in (319), the Type-P₁ *V-te ar-u* sentence is a passive-type construction in which the AGENT is deleted. Therefore, it is logical that the use of *de* in the *V-te ar-u* construction causes unnaturalness, as in (325b), because it is inappropriate to specify the LOCATION of the *deleted* AGENT. Given the intrinsic difference between the *ni*-marked NP and the *de*-marked NP that co-occur with the verb *tome-ru* in (325a), it is not justifiable to draw the conclusion that the *ni*-marked

(328) ? \emptyset hana ga kazat-te ar-u. [see (315)]

ENTITY V-*te* GE

‘(lit.) Some flowers are, as decoration.’

In conclusion, the Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* construction is considered to produce the existential meaning since, when the V is a *placement* verb, the V-*te* GE assumes the derivative function of connecting a DOMAIN and an ENTITY. It is important to note that the existential interpretation is made *after* the attachment of *ar-u* as a grammatical element to the V. Therefore, it is plausible to consider, as argued above, that the DOMAIN NP in the Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u* construction originates in the *ni*-marked GOAL NP licensed by the *placement* verb in the underlying sentence, and that, as Ono (2000) claims, the GE *ar-u* has no independent valency.

6.5.2.3 Type-P₂ V-*te ar-u* construction

The following examples of the Type-P₂ V-*te ar-u* construction are given in Masuoka:

(329) Masuoka (2000: 102f.)

a. *nani yara, gissiri mozi ga hot-te ar-u.*
 some sort of closely letter NOM engrave-GERGE-NPST

‘Some sort of letters have been closely engraved.’

b. *sono ni-satu no hon no tobira ni wa,*
 that 2-CLS GEN book GEN title page LOC (←DAT) TOP
izure mo onazi, ano hyootan-gata no zoosyo-in
 both EMPH same that gourd-shape GEN personal library-stamp
ga osi-te at-ta.
 NOM stamp-GER GE-PST

‘The gourd-shape ownership seals have been affixed, in the same manner, on the title pages of both books.’

The Type-P₂ *V-te ar-u* sentence denotes that, as a result of the act of *creation*, something comes into existence.¹⁸⁵ Masuoka does not refer to this type as an LE sentence in the broad sense. However, semantically speaking, the Type-P₂ *V-te ar-u* sentence produces an existential interpretation, in a similar manner to the LE sentence. In other words, as in the case of *V (placement)-te GE*, *V (creation)-te GE* also assumes the function of connecting a DOMAIN NP and an ENTITY NP. For example, there is considered to be a covert DOMAIN argument, such as *soko ni* ‘there’ in (329a). The DOMAIN argument is made covert because the speaker describes what is in his/her sight, and there is no need to express it overtly. In the case of (329b), the DOMAIN argument is *sono ni-satu no hon no tobira ni wa* ‘on the title pages of both books’.

Some *creation* verbs, such as *kak-u* ‘write’ and *hor-u* ‘engrave’, can take *to*-marked NPs to denote what is written or engraved, as shown in the example below:

¹⁸⁵ In Masuoka (2000), the following verbs are given as examples of *creation* verbs, which are typically used in Type-P₂ *V-te ar-u* constructions:

kak-u ‘write’, *tate-ru* ‘build’, *hor-u* ‘engrave’, *os-u* ‘stamp’

- (330) *soko ni wa Kimura Misa to kai-te ar-u.*
 there LOC (←DAT) TOP Kimura Misa QTV write-GER GE-NPST
 ‘“Misa Kimura” is written there.’

It is interesting to compare the example above with the following example:

- (331) *soko ni wa, 'Oohama syookai, senmu-torisimariyaku, Kimura*
 there LOC TOP Ohama company senior managing director Kimura
Misa' to ar-u. [SC09:49]
 Misa QTV LE-NPST
 ‘It is written as “Misa Kimura, Senior Managing Director, Ohama & Co.”.’

[... *to ar-u*], such as in (331), is usually interpreted to mean ‘it is written as ...’. A comparison of the two sentences suggests that the *V-te* GE in (330) and the LE in (331) have the same function of connecting what is written, that is, an ENTITY, and where it is written, that is, a DOMAIN.

However, as in the case of the Type-P₁ construction, the DOMAIN NPs in the examples in (329) are considered to originate in the DATIVE NPs in the underlying sentences as given in (332), since it is difficult to accept that it is a coincidence that all the *creation* verbs take *ni*-marked NPs.¹⁸⁶

- (332) a. *dare ka ga soko ni nani yara mozi o*
 someone NOM there DAT some sort of letter ACC
gissiri hot-ta.
 closely engrave-NPST
 ‘Someone closely engraved some sort of letters there.’

¹⁸⁶ See Footnote 185 for examples of *creation* verbs.

- b. *dare ka ga sono ni-satu no hon no tobira ni*
 someone NOM that 2-CLS GEN book GEN title page DAT
hyootan-gata no zoosyo-in o osi-ta.
 gourd-shape GEN personal library-stamp ACC stamp-NPST
 ‘Someone affixed his/her gourd-shape ownership seals on the title pages of both books.’

6.5.2.4 Type-P₃ V-*te ar-u* construction

The Type-P₃ V-*te ar-u* sentence denotes that, as the result of an act, the state of a thing changes, and the changed state is visible, as in the following examples:¹⁸⁷

(333) Masuoka (2000: 103)

- a. *kantoo no ni-peezi ga hiki-tigit-te at-ta no*
 opening GEN 2-page NOM tear off-GER GE-PST NOMI
da ga
 COP CONJ

‘But, the first two pages were torn out.’

- b. *kon'ya mo kare ga kaera-na-i to omot-ta*
 tonight also he NOM return-NEG-NPST QTV think-PST
no ka, zyoo ga kake-te at-ta.
 NOMI Q lock NOM lock-GER GE-PST

‘Because she might have thought that he was not coming back tonight either, the door was locked.’

¹⁸⁷ According to Masuoka (2000), verbs that denote a change in the object entity, such as the following, construct Type-P₃ V-*te ar-u* sentences:

hiki-tigir-u ‘tear off’, *kake-ru* ‘lock’, *nur-u* ‘paint’, *tatam-u* ‘fold’

The reason for this is because the verb *kake-ru* ‘lock’ takes a *ni*-marked NP in the underlying sentence, as shown below:¹⁸⁸

- (337) *sono hito ga doa ni zyoo o kake-ta.*
that person NOM door DAT lock ACC lock-PST
‘That person locked the door.’

The question then arises as to why the example in (333b) does not produce the meaning of existence. In order to attempt to answer this, the underlying sentence in (337) and the following underlying sentence of the Type-P₁ sentence in (315) are compared.

- (338) *dare ka ga ribingu-teeburu ni hana o kazat-ta.*
someone NOM living room-table DAT flower ACC adorn-PST
‘Someone adorned the table in the living room with flowers.’

There is an important difference between the two sentences in (337) and (338) in terms of the function of the particle *ni*: the particle *ni* in (337) can be replaced with the particle *no*, whereas the particle *ni* in (338) cannot, as shown below:¹⁸⁹

- (339) a. *sono hito ga doa no zyoo o kake-ta.*
that person NOM door GEN lock ACC lock-PST
‘That person fastened the door-lock.’

¹⁸⁸ Because the AGENT of the action of ‘locking’ in (333b) is not anonymous, the NP *sono hito* ‘that person’ is provided in the underlying sentence in (337).

¹⁸⁹ The particle *ni* in (337) is not considered to be a typical DATIVE case marker, because it does not involve a strong directional sense.

(341) a. <Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u*>
ribingu-teeburu ni hana ga kazat-te ar-u.
 living room-table LOC flower NOM adorn-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The table in the living room is adorned with flowers.’

b. <Type-P₃ V-*te ar-u*>
doa ni zyoo ga kake-te ar-u.
 door LOC lock NOM lock-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The door is locked.’

In (341a), *kazat-te ar-u* is considered to connect *ribingu-teeburu* and *hana*, which do not originally have the DOMAIN-ENTITY relation.¹⁹⁰ Since the meaning of existence is produced when a DOMAIN and an ENTITY are connected, it is natural that (341a) produces the meaning of existence. On the other hand, since *doa* and *zyoo* have a preestablished DOMAIN-ENTITY relation as shown in (340c), *kake-te ar-u* in (341b) cannot connect the two. Therefore, the sentence does not produce the meaning of existence. This claim is supported by the fact that the example in (341a) cannot be paraphrased to the coordinating structure, as shown in (342a) below, whereas the example in (341b) can, as shown in (342b):

(342) a. * *ribingu-teeburu ni hana ga ar-i, sore-ra ga*
 living room-table LOC flower NOM LE-CONJ it-PL NOM
kazat-te ar-u.
 adorn-GER GE-NPST

b. *doa ni zyoo ga ar-i, sore ga kake-te ar-u.*
 door LOC lock NOM LE-CONJ it NOM lock-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The door has a lock on it, and it is locked.’

¹⁹⁰ See also (327).

It follows from the observations above that the Type-P₃ *V-te ar-u* construction does not produce an LE-like interpretation, because it cannot connect a DOMAIN and an ENTITY. The reasons that it cannot connect the two are either: (i) because there is no DOMAIN argument due to the nature of V, as in the case of (334); or (ii) because a *ni*-marked NP and a *ga*-marked NP have a preestablished DOMAIN-ENTITY relation, as in the case of (336).

6.5.2.5 Type-A₁ *V-te ar-u* construction

The Type-A₁ *V-te ar-u* construction denotes a continuous state resulting from a preceding act, as in (343):

(343) Masuoka (2000: 105)

<Type-A₁ *V-te ar-u*>

gakusei to it-te mo daigaku ni seki o
 student QTV say-CONJ although university LOC enrolment ACC
oi-te ar-u dake de
 place-GER GE-NPST only LOC

‘I’m a student, although I’m only enrolled at university (and hardly ever go there).’

The Type-A₁ construction is analogous to Type-P constructions in the respect that it denotes the RESULTATIVE aspect. The difference between the two lies in whether the underlying object NP is marked by *o* or *ga*. Masuoka shows that the Type-A₁ construction in (343) is transformed into Type-P, as in (344) below, by changing the ACCUSATIVE *o* to the NOMINATIVE *ga*.

(344) Masuoka (2000: 105)

gakusei to it-te mo daigaku ni seki ga
student QTV say-CONJ although university LOC enrolment NOM
oi-te ar-u dake de
place-GER GE-NPST only LOC

‘I’m a student, although I’m only enrolled at university (and hardly ever go there).’

This implies that the Type-P₁ sentence in (345a) below is transformed into a Type-A₁ sentence, if the NOMINATIVE *ga* is changed to the ACCUSATIVE *o*.

(345) a. <Type-P₁ V-*te ar-u*>

ribingu-teeburu ni wa hana ga kazat-te ar-u. [= (315)]
living room-table LOC TOP flower NOM adorn-GER GE-NPST
‘The table in the living room is adorned with flowers.’

b. <Type-A₁ V-*te ar-u*>

ribingu-teeburu ni wa hana o kazat-te ar-u.
living room-table LOC TOP flower ACC adorn-GER GE-NPST
‘The table in the living room is adorned with flowers.’

Masuoka argues that Type-P constructions and Type-A constructions differ in the respect that the latter do not have the characteristics of *sight-describing*. However, such a difference cannot be clearly discerned between the pair of examples in (345) above. When the preceding action entails a visible result, the sentence exhibits some degree of *sight-describing* characteristics, even if the ACCUSATIVE *o* is used as in (345b). The reverse is also true: when the earlier action does not entail a visible result, the sentence does not exhibit *sight-describing* characteristics, even if the

NOMINATIVE *ga* is used as in (344). Therefore it is important to note that the distinction between *ga*-marking and *o*-marking does not always reflect the distinction between *sight-describing* and *non-sight-describing*.¹⁹¹

The presence of a *ni*-marked NP is fundamental to the Type-A₁ construction. Both (343) and (345b) sound elliptical without the *ni*-marked NPs:

(346) a. ?? \emptyset *seki* *o* *oi-te* *ar-u*.
 enrolment ACC place-GER GE-NPST
 ‘(lit.) I’m enrolled.’

b. ?? \emptyset *hana* *o* *kazat-te* *ar-u*.
 flower ACC adorn-GER GE-NPST
 ‘(lit.) . . . is adorned with flowers.’

The elliptical sense of the examples above is explained by the lack of a *ni*-marked DATIVE NP in the underlying sentences given below.¹⁹²

(347) a. ?? *watasi* *ga* *seki* *o* \emptyset *oi-ta*.
 I NOM enrolment ACC place-PST
 ‘(lit.) I enrolled.’

b. ?? *dare ka* *ga* *hana* *o* \emptyset *kazat-ta*.
 someone NOM flower ACC adorn-PST
 ‘(lit.) Someone adorned with flowers.’

O-marking implies the existence of an AGENT. However, when the AGENT is

¹⁹¹ Jarkey (2002) also argues that the Type-A construction can be used in a highly objective way to describe a scene or a situation.

¹⁹² Although the AGENT NP is not expressed in the example in (343), it is considered to be the speaker himself/herself.

anonymous, as in the case of (345b), the meaning of the Type-A₁ sentence is assimilated into the meaning of the Type-P₁ sentence in (345a). Therefore, the sentence in (345b) exhibits sight-describing characteristics similar to those of the sentence in (345a).

When the AGENT is *not* anonymous, as in the case of (343), the Type-A₁ construction becomes a PREPARATORY expression in the broad sense, and is assimilated by the Type-A₂ *V-te ar-u* construction (typical PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction), which is discussed in the next section.

6.5.2.6 Type-A₂ *V-te ar-u* construction

The Type-A₂ (PREPARATORY) *V-te ar-u* construction denotes that the effect of the preceding completed act is still valid, as in the following example:

(348) Masuoka (2000: 106)

<Type-A₂ *V-te ar-u*>

watasi-tati wa, nan to nak-u, hutari no otona-tati ga
 I-PL TOP somehow two people GEN adult-PL NOM

arakazime utiawase-si-te ar-u koto o
 beforehand arrangement-do-GER GE-PNM NOMI ACC

sit-te i-ta.

find out-GER GE-PST

‘We somehow knew that the two adults had already made previous arrangements.’

Ono (1984b) argues that the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction has the

follows:

(351) Payne (1997: 49f.)

AGENT: A prototypical AGENT is conscious, acts with volition, and performs an action that has a physical, visible effect. It is a powerful controller of an event.

EXPERIENCER: An EXPERIENCER neither controls nor is visibly affected by an action. Normally an EXPERIENCER is an entity that receives a sensory impression, or in some other way is the locus of some event or activity that involves neither volition nor a change of state.

Given these definitions, it is logical to consider that the semantic role of a subject NP changes from an AGENT to an EXPERIENCER when a volitional verb, such as *utiawase-su-ru* ‘make arrangements’ in (348), is stativised by the attachment of the GE *ar-u*.¹⁹⁵

Kinsui (2000) also considers the subject of the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction to be an EXPERIENCER. However, he claims that the EXPERIENCER NP is neither licensed by the verb, nor by the GE *ar-u*, but is superimposed upon the whole sentence. He then states that such an EXPERIENCER NP is essentially the same element as the POSSESSOR NP in a POSSESSIVE-LE construction, such as in (352a), and the EXPERIENCER NP in a [... *koto ga ar-u*] construction, such as in (352b),

¹⁹⁵ Ono’s (2000) translation of the following *V-te ar-u* sentence accurately represents the EXPERIENCER status of the subject NP:

Ono (2000: 55)
Taroo wa yosyuu o si-te ar-u.
Taro TOP preparation ACC do-GER GE-NPST
‘Taro is in the state of having prepared for the lesson.’

based on the fact that they are usually marked by *wa*.

(352) Kinsui (2000: 51)

a. *watasi* { *wa* / ?? *ga* } { *kazoku* / *kaisya* / *yotei* } *ga ar-u*.
I TOP / NOM family / company / plan NOM LE-NPST
'I have a family/company/plan.'

b. *watasi* { *wa* / ?? *ga* } *zyuu-nen mae ni yuuhuo o*
I TOP / NOM 10-year before LOC UFO ACC
mi-ta koto ga ar-u.
see-PST NOMI NOM LE-NPST
'I saw a UFO ten years ago.'

I concur with Kinsui to the extent of considering the subject NP in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction to be an EXPERIENCER. However, there are problems in Kinsui's argument.

First, the reason that the subject NP in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction is usually marked by *wa*, rather than by *ga*, is simply because the use of *ga* makes the subject NP a focus phrase, and produces a marked interpretation: 'it is the NP who is in the state of ...',¹⁹⁶ whereas the use of *wa* produces an unmarked interpretation of 'the NP is in the state of'.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the fact that *wa*-marking is more commonly used than *ga*-marking does not substantiate Kinsui's claim that the subject NP in question is not licensed by the V in *V-te ar-u*.

Second, as argued in Chapters 3 and 4, the POSSESSIVE-LE construction and the [... *koto ga ar-u*] construction have typical bivalent structures, and the POSSESSOR NP and the EXPERIENCER NP in such constructions accept *ni (wa)*-marking, as in the

¹⁹⁶ This is a usage of the particle *ga* which Kuno (1973a: 37ff.) refers to as '*ga* for exhaustive listing'.

¹⁹⁷ See Ono's example in Footnote 195.

case of the EXISTENTIAL-LE construction. If the EXPERIENCER NP in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction is the same element as these NPs, as Kinsui claims, it should also allow *ni (wa)*-marking. However, this is not the case, as shown below:¹⁹⁸

(353) a. *watasi ni (wa) kazoku ga ar-u.*

I LOC (TOP) family NOM LE-NPST
 'I have a family.'

b. *watasi ni (wa) zyuu-nen mae ni yuuhuo o
 mi-ta koto ga ar-u.*

I LOC (TOP) 10-year before LOC UFO ACC
 see-PST NOMI NOM LE-NPST
 'I saw a UFO ten years ago.'

c. * *Taroo ni (wa) yosyuu o si-te ar-u.*

Taro LOC (TOP) preparation ACC do-GER GE-NPST
 (intended to express: 'Taro is in the state of having prepared for the lesson.')

Therefore, it is not appropriate to regard the EXPERIENCER NP in the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction as the same element as the POSSESSOR NP in the POSSESSIVE-LE construction and the EXPERIENCER NP in the [... *koto ga ar-u*] construction. I consider that the EXPERIENCER NP in (353c) does not allow *ni (wa)*-marking because the original AGENT NP in the underlying sentence in (354) below does not allow *ni (wa)*-marking:

¹⁹⁸ The fact that the PREPARATORY *V-te ar-u* construction does not take a *ni*-marked subject NP is mentioned in Ono (1984b: 32f.).

(354) * *Taroo ni (wa) yosyuu o si-ta.*
 Taro LOC (TOP) preparation ACC do-PST

Consequently, the ungrammaticality of the example in (353c) is considered to be a clear indication of the fact that the EXPERIENCER NP in the *V-te ar-u* construction originates in the AGENT NP in the underlying sentence. Comparison of the examples in (353) also reveals a structural difference between the LE constructions in (353a) and (353b) and the GE construction in (353c): in the former the POSSESSOR NP and the EXPERIENCER NP are DOMAIN NPs licensed by *ar-u*, whereas in the latter the EXPERIENCER NP is not a DOMAIN NP licensed by *ar-u*.

6.5.2.7 STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* and valency

As is clear from the observations presented in the previous sections, the most plausible explanation is to consider that all the argument NPs in the *V-te ar-u* construction, both Type-P and Type-A, are licensed by the V. In other words, it is considered that the fundamental function of the GE *ar-u* in the *V-te ar-u* construction is to stativise the preceding verb together with the co-occurring argument NPs. Stativisation entails a change in the semantic role of the underlying *ni*-marked NP from a GOAL to a DOMAIN as shown in (319), and, in the Type-A construction, a change in the semantic role of the *ga*-marked NP from an AGENT to an EXPERIENCER, as shown in (350). Although an LE-like interpretation is produced in Type-P₁ and Type-P₂ constructions, the reason for this is because, when *placement* and *creation* verbs are stativised, they assume the derivative function of connecting an ENTITY NP

and a GOAL-turned-DOMAIN NP. Therefore, it is concluded that the STATIVISER-GE *ar-u*, including its usages in Type-P₁ and Type-P₂ constructions, has no independent valency.

6.5.3 V-*te i-ru* and valency¹⁹⁹

6.5.3.1 STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* and LE *i-ru*

As in the case of *ar-u*, Yamanashi (1995) also argues that the type of usage of *i-ru* illustrated in (355b) preserves the strong semantic characteristics of an LE, such as in (355a), although it is classified as a STATIVISER-GE usage together with the type of usage of *i-ru* in (355c).

(355) Yamanashi (1995: 67)

a. *yane ni neko ga i-ru.*
roof LOC cat NOM LE-NPST
'There is a cat on the roof.'

b. *sizuka ni suwat-te i-ru.*
quietly sit-GER GE-NPST
'Someone is sitting quietly.'

c. *sudeni sono mondai wa kaiketu-si-te i-ru.*
already that problem TOP solution-do-GER GE-NPST
'The problem has already been solved.'
or 'We have already solved the problem.'

¹⁹⁹ Since what is stated for the V-*te ar-u* construction also basically applies to the V-*te i-ru* construction, it is simply confirmed here that the STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* has no independent valency, avoiding repetition of the same detailed arguments.

6.5.3.2 Intermediate usage of *i-ru*

The following examples correspond to Yamanashi's example of the intermediate usage in (355b):

- (356) a. *mon made susum-u-to, soko ni 'Takanawa*
 gate to proceed-NPST-CONJ there LOC Takanawa
kootoo-gakkoo, Takanawa tyuu-gakkoo' to i-u
 high-school Takanawa middle-school QTV say-PNM
tate-kanban ga tat-te i-ru. [NV11:224]
 built-signboard NOM stand-GER GE-NPST
 'If you proceed to the gate, there is a signboard standing there, which says
 "Takanawa High School, Takanawa Junior High School".'

- b. *soko ni wa Tamako ga tat-te i-ru.* [SC15:13]
 there LOC TOP Tamako NOM stand-GER GE-NPST
 'Tamako is standing there.'

The examples above both contain *ni*-marked NPs. However, as in the case of *V-te ar-u* constructions, it is considered that these NPs are licensed by the *V(erbs)* in the underlying sentences as given in (357). The reason for this is because, if a verb does not take a *ni*-marked NP, the corresponding *V-te i-ru* construction does not take a *ni*-marked NP either, as shown in (358).²⁰⁰

- (357) a. *soko ni tate-kanban ga tat-ta.*
 there DAT built-signboard NOM stand-PST
 '(lit.) A signboard stood there.'
 → 'A signboard was put up there.'

²⁰⁰ There are some verbs which allow (358b)-type constructions even though they do not take *ni*-marked NPs. These exceptional cases are discussed in Section 6.5.3.4.

(360) Masuoka (1987: 222f.)

X: *sono heya ni wa donna mono ga ari-masi-ta ka.*
that room LOC TOP what thing NOM LE-POL-PST Q
'What kind of things were there in the room?'

Y: *huukei-ga ga kazat-te ar-i, piano ga*
landscape-picture NOM display-GER GE-CONJ piano NOM
oi-te ar-i, tooki ga narabe-te ari-masi-ta.
put-GER GE-CONJ china NOM arrange-GER GE-POL-PST
'(lit.) A landscape was displayed there, a piano was placed there, and
some pieces of china were arranged there.'
→ 'There were a landscape, a piano, and some pieces of china.'

In contrast, the following pair of question and answer sentences sounds unnatural, although it is not entirely unacceptable.

(361) X: *ano heya ni wa dare ga i-masi-ta ka.*
that room LOC TOP who NOM LE-POL-PST Q
'Who was in that room?'

Y: ?? *Tamako ga tat-te i-masi-ta.*
Tamako NOM stand-GER GE-POL-PST
'Tamako was standing (there).'

Moreover, in the case of Type-P₁ *V-te ar-u*, the reverse pattern, that is, to answer a *V-te ar-u* question with an LE sentence, is also possible, as shown in (362). However, in the case of *V-te i-ru*, this pattern is not possible, as shown in (363).²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Nakajima (2001: 56) proposes labelling *i-ru*, such as in (361-Y), as an 'existential affix', which mainly designates an existential meaning. However, if *i-ru* in (361-Y) is an 'existential affix' as Nakajima claims, it would be usable as the question in (363-X) and answered by the LE sentence in (363-Y). Since the pair of question and answer sentences in (363) is not acceptable, it is not appropriate to consider *i-ru* in (361-Y) to be an 'existential suffix'.

(362) X: *sono heya ni wa donna mono ga oi-te ari-masi-ta ka.*
 that room LOC TOP what thing NOM put-GER GE-POL-PST Q
 ‘What kind of things were placed in that room?’

Y: *huukei-ga ga ar-i, piano ga ari-masi-ta.*
 landscape-picture NOM LE-CONJ piano NOM LE-POL-PST
 ‘There were a landscape and a piano.’

(363) X: *sono heya ni wa dare ga tat-te i-masi-ta ka.*
 that room LOC TOP who NOM stand-GER GE-POL-PST Q
 ‘Who was standing in that room?’

Y: * *Tamako ga i-masi-ta.*
 Tamako NOM LE-POL-PST
 ‘Tamako was there.’

6.5.3.3 Typical STATIVISER usage of *i-ru*

In order to consider the typical STATIVISER usage of *i-ru*, Yamanashi’s example in (355c), which has been reproduced below, is examined.

(364) *sudeni sono mondai wa kaiketu-si-te i-ru.* [= (355c)]
 already that problem TOP solution-do-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The problem has already been solved.’
 or ‘We have already solved the problem.’

This example corresponds to both Type-P₃ and Type-A₂ *V-te ar-u* constructions

since the verb *kaiketu-su-ru* ‘solve’ in (364) can be used both as a V_{SC} and a V_{OC} .²⁰² Therefore, there are two types of underlying sentences, as given below, for the example in (364):

(365) a. $\langle \textit{kaiketu-su-ru} \rightarrow V_{SC} \rangle$

sono mondai ga kaiketu-si-ta.

that problem NOM solution-do-PST

‘The problem was solved.’

b. $\langle \textit{kaiketu-su-ru} \rightarrow V_{OC} \rangle$

X ga sono mondai o kaiketu-si-ta.

X NOM that problem ACC solution-do-PST

‘X solved the problem.’

X ga in (365b) is an obligatory item; consequently, if it is absent as in (364), it is automatically interpreted to be the speaker himself/herself. When the speaker is not X, X must be explicitly stated, as shown below:

(366) *sudeni sono mondai wa Yamada-san ga kaiketu-si-te*

already that problem TOP Yamada-POL NOM solution-do-GER

i-ru.

GE-NPST

‘Mr Yamada has already solved the problem.’

In Section 6.5.2.6, it was argued that when a verb is stativised by the attachment of the GE *ar-u*, the co-occurring AGENT NP becomes an EXPERIENCER NP. The same is considered to be true of the *V-te i-ru* construction. Moreover, a *V-te i-ru* sentence,

²⁰² See Footnote 145 for explanations of V_{SC} and V_{OC} .

such as in (367a), exhibits similar properties to the corresponding PREPARATORY V-*te ar-u* sentence in (367b), although the PREPARATORY sense is not strongly implied in the former.

- (367) a. *Yamada-san wa sono mondai o kaiketu-si-te i-ru.*
 Yamada-POL TOP that problem ACC solution-do-GER GE-NPST
 ‘Mr Yamada has solved the problem.’
- b. *Yamada-san wa sono mondai o kaiketu-si-te ar-u.*
 Yamada-POL TOP that problem ACC solution-do-GER GE-NPST
 ‘Mr Yamada has solved the problem.’

Structurally, the V-*te i-ru* construction and the V-*te ar-u* construction do not differ significantly, except for the fact that the former can take an intransitive V_{SC} in the V position, whereas the latter cannot. Whether the AGENT NP is necessary, as in (365b), or not, as in (365a), is determined by the nature of V, as in the case of the *ni*-marked NPs in (357). Therefore, it is considered that the STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* does not have an independent valency. That is, neither the STATIVISER-GE *ar-u*, nor the STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* preserves the bivalent nature of the LE.

6.5.3.4 Location and state

The example in (368a) has a similar structure to the V-*te ar-u* sentence in (368b), which was discussed in Section 6.5.2.2.

(368) a. *reizooko ni biiru ga hie-te i-ru.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM cool-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The beer is kept cool in the refrigerator.’

b. *reizooko ni biiru ga hiyasi-te ar-u.* [= (320b)]
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM cool-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The beer has been kept cool in the refrigerator.’

Based on Sugimura (1996), it was claimed above that the *ni*-marked NP *reizooko ni* ‘in the refrigerator’ in (368b) is licensed by the covert *placement* verb *ire-ru* ‘put *s.t.* in’. However, the same analysis is not applicable to the example in (368a), because the insertion of *ire-te* makes the sentence ungrammatical:

(369) **reizooko ni biiru ga (ire-te) hie-te i-ru.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM (put in-GER) cool-GER GE-NPST

It is considered that the ungrammaticality of (369) is partly due to the fact that the verb *ire-ru* is a transitive verb, and the verb *hie-ru* is an intransitive verb. However, altering *ire-ru* to its intransitive counterpart, *hait-u* ‘get in/enter’, does not make the sentence grammatical, as shown below:

(370) **reizooko ni biiru ga (hait-te) hie-te i-ru.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM (get in-GER) cool-GER GE-NPST

Since there is no evidence to show that there is a covert *placement* verb in the example in (368a), one is led to assume that the *ni*-marked NP is licensed by either *hie-ru* or *i-ru*. However, such an analysis is shown to be invalid by the fact that the

following two examples are ungrammatical:

(371) a. * *reizooko ni biiru ga hie-ru.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM cool-NPST

b. * *reizooko ni biiru ga i-ru.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM LE-NPST

Although the structure of the example in (368a) is rather puzzling, it can be elucidated by the following paraphrase, which was used in the discussion of Type-P₃ *V-te ar-u* in Section 6.5.2.4:

(372) *reizooko ni biiru ga ar-i, sore wa hie-te i-ru.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM LE-CONJ it TOP cool-GER GE-NPST
 ‘There is beer in the refrigerator, and it is cool.’

The paraphrase above suggests that the example in (368a) is a special construction which simultaneously denotes both the static *location* of the beer and the *state* of the beer. It is important to note that the example in (368b) does not allow the same pattern of paraphrase, as shown below:

(373) * *reizooko ni biiru ga ar-i, sore wa hiyasi-te ar-u.*
 refrigerator LOC beer NOM LE-CONJ it TOP cool-GER GE-NPST

The observation above shows clearly that the structures of (368a) and (368b) differ, although they denote similar meanings. To be more precise, the NP *reizooko*

and the NP *biiru* in (368a) have a DOMAIN-ENTITY relation prior to the attachment of the GE *i-ru*. This claim is demonstrated by the fact that the particle *ni* in (368a) can be replaced with the particle *no* as shown in (374a), whereas the particle *ni* in (368b) cannot be replaced with *no*, as shown in (374b):²⁰³

(374) a. *reizooko no biiru ga hie-te i-ru.*
 refrigerator GEN beer NOM cool-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The beer in the refrigerator is cool.’

b. * *reizooko no biiru ga hiyasi-te ar-u.*
 refrigerator GEN beer NOM cool-GER GE-NPST

The example in (368a) is considered to be an atypical *V-te i-ru* construction. Although there are similar examples such as those given in (375) below, it should be noted that they are exceptional cases that are not used frequently, and that, in principle, *V-te i-ru* does not take a *ni*-marked NP if the V(erb) does not take a *ni*-marked NP, as observed in (358).

(375)

a. *yo-zora ni hosi ga kagayai-te i-ru.*
 night-sky LOC star NOM twinkle-GER GE-NPST
 ‘The stars are twinkling in the night sky.’

= *yo-zora ni hosi ga ar-i, sore-ra wa kagayai-te i-ru.*
 night-sky LOC star NOM LE-CONJ it-PL TOP twinkle-GER GE-NPST
 ‘There are stars in the night sky, and they are twinkling.’

²⁰³ See also (339) and (340) in Section 6.5.2.4.

b. *Mutumi wa, mada orenzi-iro no nisi-bi ga*
 Mutsumi TOP still orange-colour GEN west-sunshine NOM
sasi-te i-ru ima ni rusuban-denwa no
 shine-GER GE-PNM living room LOC answering machine GEN
ranpu ga tenmetu-si-te i-ru no ni
 lamp NOM flashing-do-GER GE-PNM NOMI DAT
ki ga tui-ta. [NV12:207]
 attention NOM attach-PST

‘Mutsumi noticed that the light on her answering machine was flashing in the living room where the orange light of the afternoon sun was still shining in.’

= *ima ni rusuban-denwa ga ar-i,*
 living room LOC answering machine NOM LE-CONJ
sore wa, ranpu ga tenmetu-si-te i-ru.
 it TOP lamp NOM flashing-do-GER GE-NPST

‘There is an answering machine in the living room, and its light is flashing.’

6.6 Summary of Chapter 6

The main observations and arguments of this chapter can be summarised as follows:

- i. The GE in the [V-*te* GE] construction stativises the V(erb).
- ii. The STATIVISER-GE, together with the preceding verb, produces an aspectual meaning. The most basic aspectual meaning denoted by [V-*te* GE] is the DURATIVE aspect: PROGRESSIVE (*i-ru* only) or RESULTATIVE (*ar-u* and *i-ru*).
- iii. When the STATIVISER-GE *i-ru* follows a STATE verb, it assumes the modal function of indicating the [+at-the-scene] feature, that is, *witness status* (broad sense).
- iv. PSYCHOLOGICAL verbs, which denote inner mental states, take the form of V-*te i-ru* when the subject NPs are third-person. This is because the GE *i-ru* has the quasi-evidential function of marking the speaker's *witness status* (narrow sense), that is, a status in which the speaker has obtained certain evidence, prior to the time of the utterance.
- v. The STATIVISER-GEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* do not preserve the bivalent nature of the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru*, and do not have an independent valency.
- vi. A GOAL NP licensed by a verb becomes a DOMAIN NP, and an AGENT NP licensed by a verb becomes an EXPERIENCER NP, when the verb is stativised by the attachment of a GE.
- vii. Although the STATIVISER-GE construction sometimes produces the meaning of existence, it is considered that the V-*te* GE, rather than the GE itself, assumes the function of connecting the LOCATIVE NP (DOMAIN NP) and the ENTITY NP.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The essential characteristics of the Japanese existentials have not been understood accurately in linguistic-typological studies of existential constructions, such as Clark (1978) and Veselinova (1999). This thesis attempts to remedy this inadequacy in the literature by presenting a descriptive linguistic study of the Lexical Existentials and Grammatical Existentials in Japanese. The study covers a wide range of the main usages of the affirmative forms of the LEs and GEs. Since the study is descriptive in nature, the summaries given at the end of each chapter provide the conclusions for this study. However, several important points arising from this research are addressed below.

7.1 'Existential verbs' as a subcategory of 'verbs'

As argued in Chapter 1, it is not considered necessary to establish the category of 'existentials' for *ar-u* and *i-ru* as an independent part of speech in contemporary Japanese, as in Yamada grammar. However, it is proposed that these two verbs be placed in a subcategory of 'verbs', labelled 'existential verbs', in order to separate them from other verbs. This separation is essential in order to view the behaviour of *ar-u* and *i-ru* accurately, without being influenced by the traditional dichotomy between the monovalent intransitives and bivalent (or multivalent) transitives.

7.2 Incompleteness of the [subject + *ar-u/i-ru*] construction

Ar-u and *i-ru* show significant similarities to the verb ‘be’ in English. However, whereas the verb ‘be’ is often referred to as a verb of *incomplete* predication in the study of English grammar, as it does not normally construct a complete sentence with a subject NP alone,²⁰⁴ the incompleteness of the construction [subject + *ar-u/i-ru*] in Japanese has not been the subject of serious consideration. The examination of *ar-u* and *i-ru* independent of the conventional dichotomy mentioned above enables their bivalent nature to be understood and the existence of the LE-related and GE-related sentence-schemata in Japanese to be recognised,²⁰⁵ independent of the intransitive and transitive sentence-schemata, as discussed in Chapter 2.

7.3 The copula and the copular sentence

The use of the term ‘copula’ in relation to *ar-u* should be reconsidered. Because the copula is an element that connects two sub-elements, the term should not be used for (*de*) *ar-u* and *da* when they take only one argument.

As argued in Chapter 5, the reason that the VERBALISER-GE construction is used for a copular sentence is because the VERBALISER-GE *ar-u* preserves the bivalent nature inherited from the LE *ar-u*. If the LE *ar-u* is considered to be a monovalent verb, the organic relation between the LE sentence and the copular GE sentence cannot be explained.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Chalker and Weiner (1994: 415).

²⁰⁵ See (30) in Section 2.2.

7.4 Evidentiality

In Chapter 6, the quasi-evidential function of the STATIVISER-GE was discussed.

In descriptive studies of Japanese, terms such as ‘inference’ and ‘hearsay’ are frequently used. However, although there are some innovative studies, such as Aoki (1986) and Kamio (1990, 1995), further research on these semantic/pragmatic aspects of Japanese is needed, based on the unifying concept of evidentiality. *Witness status* marking by the STATIVISER-GE is just one example of the pervasiveness of the evidential characteristic in Japanese. The observations in this thesis show that it is essential to take into account the concept of evidentiality in linguistic analysis, even when a given predicate, such as *V-te i-ru*, does not appear on the surface to be directly related to this concept.

7.5 Extension of the sphere of *i-ru*

Although this study focuses on contemporary Japanese, the diachronic extension of the sphere of *i-ru* into the sphere of *ar-u*, based on Kinsui (1984), was also discussed in Chapter 2.

In the course of the observations following Chapter 2, it was argued that this extension is still in progress. For example, when the STATIVISER-GE *ar-u* construction is turned into an honorific expression, the GE *ar-u* becomes *irassyar-u*, which is an honorific variant of *i-ru*. The same phenomenon was observed for the

VERBALISER-GE *ar-u*. It will be interesting to observe how the quasi-VERBALISER-GE *i-ru* construction, which was discussed in Chapter 5, will be used in the future.

7.6 *Content-displaying and relation-forming*

In order to summarise the interrelations between the LE, VERBALISER-GE, and STATIVISER-GE, Watanabe's (1971) model of grammatical analysis provides a useful basis. Watanabe considers that a verb has two syntactic functions, as shown in (376):

(376) Watanabe (1971: 26)

Syntactic functions of a verb	[(i)	<i>Content</i> -displaying function
		(ii)	<i>Relation</i> -forming function

The *content* of the LE is very abstract. Therefore, the *content*-displaying function of the LE is deemed rather weak compared to ordinary verbs, such as *sak-u* 'bloom' and *hasir-u* 'run'. Therefore, it is considered that the use of the LE is largely based on the *relation*-forming function. It is important to remember that the basic meaning of a given LE sentence is primarily controlled by the co-occurring ENTITY and DOMAIN arguments. However, the LE is, morphosyntactically, a full verb. Therefore, its *content*-displaying function is not considered to be nil.

It is considered that the VERBALISER-GE is an element which has nil *content*-displaying function. In other words, the VERBALISER-GE is regarded as a usage that specialises in the function of *relation*-forming.

Unlike the VERBALISER-GE, the STATIVISER-GE usage does not exhibit the bivalent nature of the LE. In other words, it has no independent valency. Therefore, it is considered that the STATIVISER-GE is a usage which has nil *content*-displaying function and nil *relation*-forming function, giving it basically the same syntactic status as a suffix, such as *mas-u*.²⁰⁶

Therefore, the three main usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru* can be explained, based on Watanabe (1971), in terms of the attenuation of the *content*-displaying function in the transition from the LE to the VERBALISER-GE, and the attenuation and extinguishment of both *content*-displaying and *relation*-forming functions in the transition from the LE to the STATIVISER-GE, as shown below:

(377)

<i>content</i> -displaying function		
<i>relation</i> -forming function	<i>relation</i> -forming function	
LE	VERBALISER-GE	STATIVISER-GE

7.7 Abstractness of lexical meaning and grammatical multi-functionality

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the LE is often referred to as a substantial verb, and the GE is often referred to as a formal verb. However, the use of these terms was avoided in this study, since substantial-formal opposition and concrete-abstract opposition should be clearly distinguished. In many studies, substantial and concrete

²⁰⁶ In Chapter 5, the judgemental sentence-final expression *no de ar-u* was discussed. Although the GE *ar-u* in the expression is classified as a VERBALISER-GE, it is closer to the STATIVISER-GE in the respect that it has nil *content*-displaying function and minimal *relation*-forming function.

7.8 Final remarks

The fundamental claim of this thesis is that the LE is a bivalent verb. However, the review of literature shows that this analysis has not been recognised in past linguistic studies of Japanese, due to adherence to fixed ideas and previously established concepts. In this study, an attempt has been made to undertake a systematic analysis of the primary usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*, without subscribing to a particular linguistic theory or framework. Although the study has covered a wide range of usages, it is by no means an exhaustive investigation. Further research needs to be undertaken to include the study of more peripheral usages as well as the negative-form usages of the LEs and GEs.

Appendices

Appendix 1: About the Original Corpus

The Original Corpus consists of all the sentences in the materials listed below. (See also Pages xvi–xvii, C-(i) ‘Examples from the Original Corpus’.)

The materials were selected based on the following criteria:

- (i) In order to obtain a balance of samples of written Japanese and spoken Japanese, scenarios and interviews/tripartite talks were included.
- (ii) In order to obtain samples of contemporary Japanese, materials published in the last fifteen years were selected. (Note: for this reason, three short stories in NV10, the original publication years of which are 1976, 1982, and 1984, have been excluded from the corpus.)
- (iii) In order to obtain samples of standard Japanese, materials in which standard Japanese are used were selected. (Note: for this reason, several drama scenarios in the three editions of the “Anthology of scenarios for television dramas”, which contain a significant proportion of Japanese of a particular dialect, have been excluded from the corpus.)

Scenarios

<Drama Scenarios: SC01-SC06>

From: *Terebi dorama daihyosaku senshu (1998-nen-ban)*
Nihon Kyakuhonka Renmei
("Anthology of scenarios for television dramas - 1998 edition",
Writers Guild of Japan)

SC01 - *Koraku*
Written by Shuichi SAE; adapted by Koharu TERAUCHI
Produced by Television Tokyo Channel, Sogo Vision
Broadcast on 1 May 1997

SC02 - *Mo hitotsu no shinzo*
Written by Tomomi TSUTSUI
Produced by Japan Broadcasting Corporation
Broadcast on 11 October 1997

SC03 - *Seizen yoyaku: gendai sogi jijo*
Written by Hiroshi SHIMOKAWA
Produced by Japan Broadcasting Corporation
Broadcast on 15 November 1997

SC04 - *Machi*
Written by So KURAMOTO
Produced by Fuji Television Network, Inc.
Broadcast on 28 November 1997

SC05 - *Uogokoro areba yomegokoro* (the first episode)
Written by Narito KANEKO
Produced by Television Tokyo Channel, Sogo Vision
Broadcast on 7 January 1998

SC06 - *Owari no nai dowa*
Written by Narito KANEKO
Produced by Kanox and Tokyo Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast on 12 January 1998

<Drama Scenarios: SC07-SC10>

From: *Terebi dorama daihyosaku senshu (1999-nen-ban)*
Nihon Kyakuhonka Renmei
("Anthology of scenarios for television dramas - 1999 edition",
Writers Guild of Japan)

SC07 - *Kekkon zenya* (the first chapter - the fifth chapter)
Written by Hisashi NOZAWA
Produced by Japan Broadcasting Corporation, NHK Enterprises 21 Inc., and K
Factory
Broadcast on 22 Jul - 19 August 1998

SC08 - *Yukon*
Written by Shinichi ICHIKAWA
Produced by Chubu Nippon Broadcasting Co., Ltd.
Broadcast on 5 September 1998

SC09 - *Karasugoi*
Written by Shunsaku IKEHATA
Produced by Tokyo Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast on 5 October 1998

SC10 - *Hato obu gorudo*
Written and adapted by Tatsuo OGAWA
Produced by Mainichi Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast on 29 November 1998

<Drama Scenarios: SC11-SC14>

From: *Terebi dorama daihyosaku senshu (2000-nen-ban)*
Nihon Kyakuhonka Renmei
("Anthology of scenarios for television dramas - 2000 edition",
Writers Guild of Japan)

SC11 - *Chatodera de mita yume*
Written by Taka ISAWA; adapted by Kakuko MILLER
Produced by Japan Broadcasting Corporation
Broadcast on 10 April 1999

SC12 - *Dia furendo*
Written by Kiyokazu YAMAMOTO
Produced by Tokyo Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast on 29 November 1999

SC13 - *Shusan to Shuchan to kaze no ressha*
Written by Seigo HATAZAWA
Produced by RAB Aomori Broadcasting Corporation
Broadcast on 30 November 1999

SC14 - *Byutifuru raifu (the first episode - the third episode)*
Written by Eriko KITAGAWA
Produced by Tokyo Broadcasting System, Inc.
Broadcast on 16 Jan - 30 January 2000

<Movie Scenario>

SC15 - *Sharu ui dansu?: Shinario taiyaku*
Written by Masayuki SUO
February 1999, Aikusha

Interviews/Talks

- TK01** - *Shitai no shogen: shisha ga kataru kakusareta dorama*
Masahiko UENO and Masao YAMAMURA
April 1995, Kobunsha bunko - Kobunsha
(originally published in December 1990, Sobunsha)
- TK02** - *Mure Yoko taidanshu: taheru anatomia*
Yoko MURE
May 1998, Shincho bunko - Shinchosha
(originally published in May 1995, Shinchosha)
- TK03** - *Saishu kogi: bunretsubyo shiken*
Hisao NAKAI
May 1998, Misuzu shobo
- TK04** - *Sannin yoreba mushi no chie*
Takeshi YORO, Daizaburo OKUMOTO and Kiyohiko IKEDA
July 2001, Shincho bunko - Shinchosha
(originally published in April 1996, Yosensha)
- TK05** - *Rojinryoku no fushigi*
Genpei AKASEGAWA
September 2001, Asahi bunko - Asahi shinbunsha
(originally published in October 1998, Asahi shinbunsha)

Scientific Essays

- SE01** - *Menekigaku no jidai: jiko to gaikai no ninshiki nettowaku*
Kyoichi KANO
May 1990, Chuko shinsho - Chuokorosha
- SE02** - *Zo no jikan nezumi no jikan: saizu no seibutsugaku*
Tatsuo MOTOKAWA
August 1992, Chuko shinsho - Chuokorosha
- SE03** - *Kaettekita faburu: gendai seibutsugaku hohoron*
Toshitaka HIDAKA
May 2000, Kodansha gakujutsu bunko - Kodansha
(originally published in March 1993, Jinbun shoin)
- SE04** - *Chinpanji no kokoro*
Tetsuro MATSUZAWA
July 2000, Iwanami gendai bunko - Iwanami shoten
- SE05** - *Menekigaku kojiri jugyo*
Tomio TADA and Shinbo MINAMI
January 2001, Shincho bunko - Shinchosha
(originally published in November 1997, Shinchosha)

Novels/Short Stories

<Novels>

- NV01** - *Nerawareta onna kanshikikan*
Tadao SONO
June 1992, Kobunsha bunko - Kobunsha
- NV02** - *Rensa*
Yuichi SHINPO
July 1994, Kodansha bunko - Kodansha
(originally published in September 1991, Kodansha)
- NV03** - *Sumidagawa satsui no genryu*
Rintaro AZUSA
September 1999, Shodensha bunko - Shodensha
(originally published as *Sumidagawa akai genryu* in March 1995, Shodensha non-noberu)
- NV04** - *Tokkyu 'hida sango' sanjubyo no shikaku*
Kyosuke KOTANI
October 1999, Toen bunko - Toen shobo
- NV05** - *R. P. G.*
Miyuki MIYABE
August 2001, Shueisha bunko - Shueisha
- NV06** - *Matsue shinjiko satsujin jiken*
Yoshinori HIROYAMA
October 2001, Kosaido bunko - Kosaido shuppan
(originally published in April 1989, Tenzan shuppan)
- NV07** - *Sagurada famiria: sei kazoku*
Kaho NAKAYAMA
December 2001, Shincho bunko - Shinchosha
(originally published in July 1998, Asahi shinbunsha)

<Short Stories>

- NV08** - *Chi o hau mushi*
Kaoru TAKAMURA
May 1999, Bunshun bunko - Bungeishunju
- (1) *Shuso no hana*
 - (2) *Meguriau hitobito*
 - (3) *Chichi ga kita michi*
 - (4) *Chi o hau mushi*
- NV09** - *Kamikonshiki*
Fumio YAMAMOTO
February 2001, Kadokawa bunko - Kadokawa shoten
(originally published in October 1998, Tokuma shoten)
- (1) *Dogeza*

- (2) *Kodakara*
- (3) *Oshidori*
- (4) *Teishuku*
- (5) *Masuo*
- (6) *Batsuichi*
- (7) *Akinasu*
- (8) *Kamikonshiki*

NV10 - *Watashi wa korosareru*
 Nobutaka YUKI (ed.)
 March 2001, Haruki bunko - Kadokawa Haruki jimusho

- (1) *Fubunritsu*, Miyuki MIYABE (originally published in May 1992)
- (2) *Tsuma to mibojin*, Mariko KOIKE (originally published in June 1993)
- (3) *Makuraga*, Asa NONAMI (originally published in September 1993)
- (4) *Saisei*, Nanami WAKATAKE (originally published in November 1995)
- (5) *Uwasa no dedokoro*, Kiyomi NIITSU
 (originally published in October 1998)
- (6) *Ropu san*, Yoko WATANABE (originally published in August 1999)

NV11 - *Misuteri kessakusen 39 : Kanzen hanzai shomeisho*
 Nihon Suiri Sakka Kyokai (ed.)
 April 2001, Kodansha bunko - Kodansha

- (1) *Raiu no yoru*, Go OSAKA (originally published in February 1997)
- (2) *Doa ≠ doa*, Shogo UTANO (originally published in May 1997)
- (3) *Kako ga todoku gogo*, Kei YUIKAWA (originally published in May 1997)
- (4) *Baddo teisuto torein*, Ko KITAMORI
 (originally published in August 1997)
- (5) *Uramado no arisu*, Tomoko KANO
 (originally published in November 1997)
- (6) *Asagiri*, Kaoru KITAMURA (originally published in November 1997)
- (7) *Kiritoreta egao*, Yoshiki SHIBATA
 (originally published in November 1997)
- (8) *Nanatsu no tegami*, Madara ASAGI (originally published in July 1998)
- (9) *Seikansha*, Takahiro OKURA (originally published in December 1998)

NV12 - *Jiorama*
 Natsuo KIRINO
 October 2001, Shincho bunko - Shinchosha
 (originally published in November 1998, Shinchosha)

- (1) *Deddo garu*
- (2) *Rokugatsu no hanayome*
- (3) *Kumo no su*
- (4) *Idogawa san ni tsuite*
- (5) *Yojireta tengoku*
- (6) *Kuroi inu*
- (7) *Hebitsukai*
- (8) *Jiorama*
- (9) *Yoru no suna*

Appendix 2: Statistical data on usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the Original Corpus

A screening of the Original Corpus revealed 36104 tokens of usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*. The tokens are classified as in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1
Usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru* in the Original Corpus

①	LE <i>ar-u</i>	6517	
②	LE <i>i-ru</i>	2012	
③	VERBALISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> (N <i>de ar-u</i>)	4442	
④	Quasi-VERBALISER-GE <i>i-ru</i> (N <i>de i-ru</i>)	151	
⑤	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> (V- <i>te ar-u</i>)	455	
⑥	STATIVISER-GE <i>i-ru</i> (V- <i>te i-ru</i>)	21681	
⑦	Other usages of <i>ar-u</i>	V- <i>tutu ar-u</i>	39
		adnominal	612
		others	110
⑧	Other usages of <i>i-ru</i>	85	
Total		36104	

The following points should be noted with reference to the classification above:

- (i) N *de ar-u* in ③ does not include its contracted form *da*.
- (ii) The usage of *ar-u* in V-*tutu ar-u* in ⑦ is a STATIVISER-GE usage. However, since V-*tutu ar-u* is not included in the discussion in this thesis, it is classified in the category of ‘other usages of *ar-u*’.
- (iii) The adnominal usage in ⑦ contains not only the ADNOMINAL *aru*, which is discussed in this thesis, but also other types of adnominal usages, such as *toaru* ‘a certain’, *arisi* ‘bygone’, and *arayuru* ‘every’.
- (iv) ‘Others’ in ⑦ and ‘Other usages of *i-ru*’ in ⑧ contain compound words, such as *ari-ka* ‘whereabouts’, *ari-sama* ‘state’, *ari-amar-u* ‘overabound’, *i-basyo* ‘whereabouts’, *i-awase-ru* ‘happen to be present’, and *i-tuk-u* ‘settle down’.

The following six pie charts are based on the data given in Table 1.

CHART 1
Usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*
(total tokens: 36104)

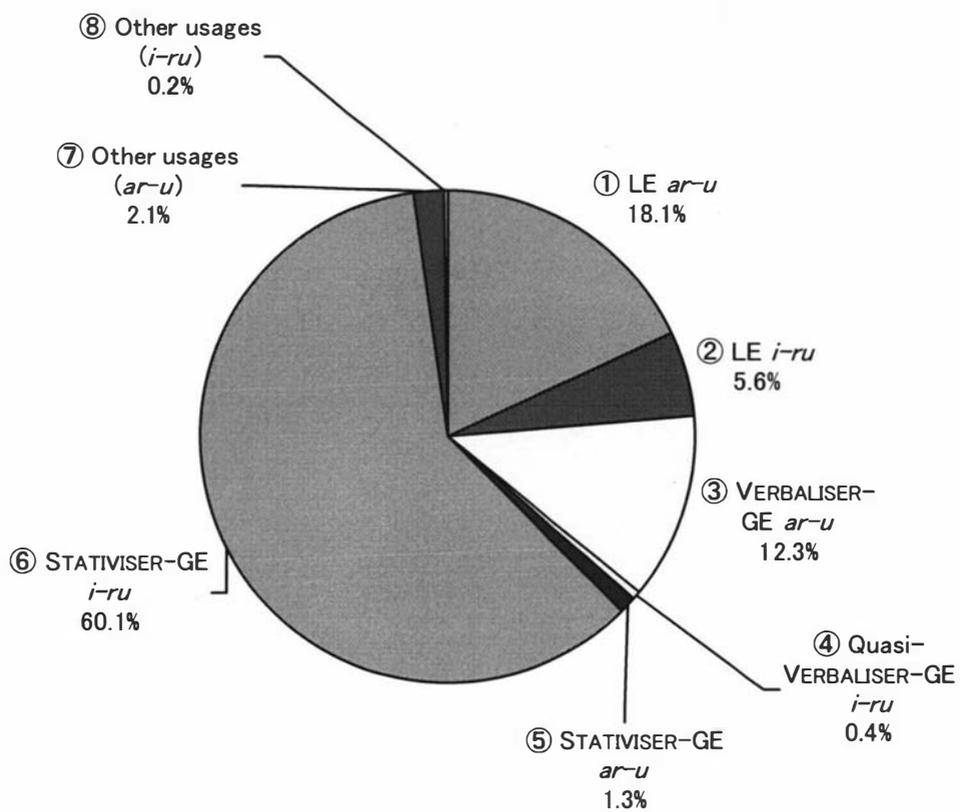


CHART 2
Usages of *ar-u*
(total tokens: 12175)

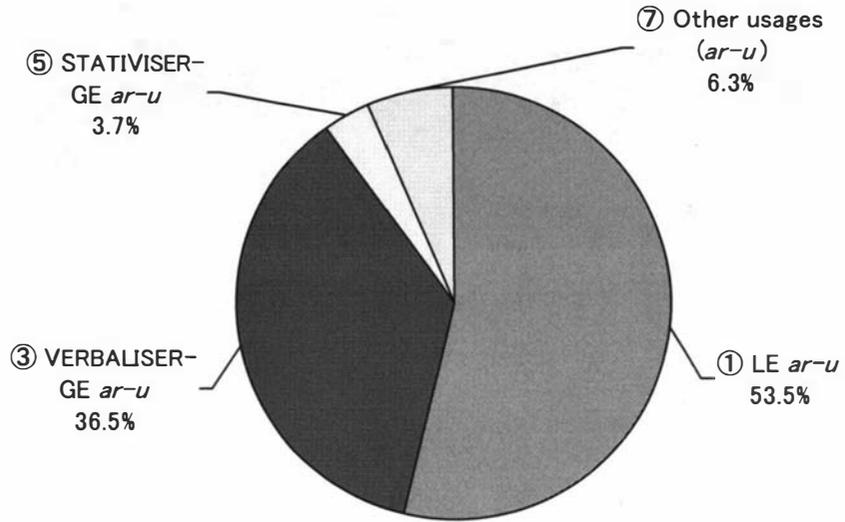


CHART 3
Usages of *i-ru*
(total tokens: 23929)

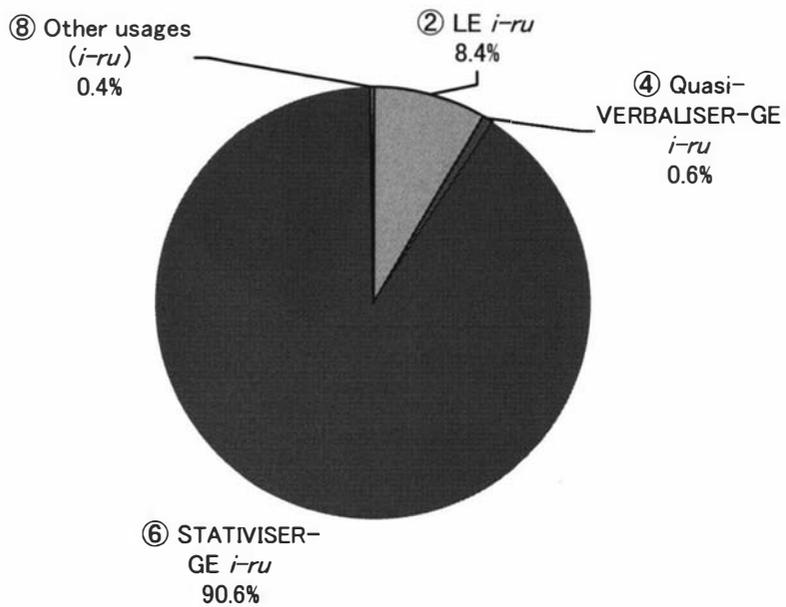


CHART 4
LE usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*
(total tokens: 8529)

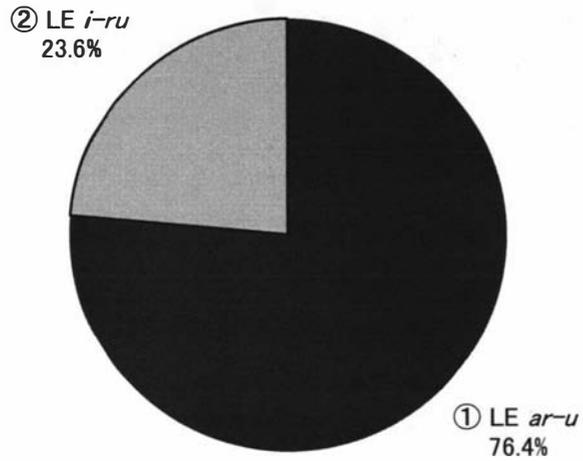


CHART 5
VERBALISER-GE usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*
(total tokens: 4593)

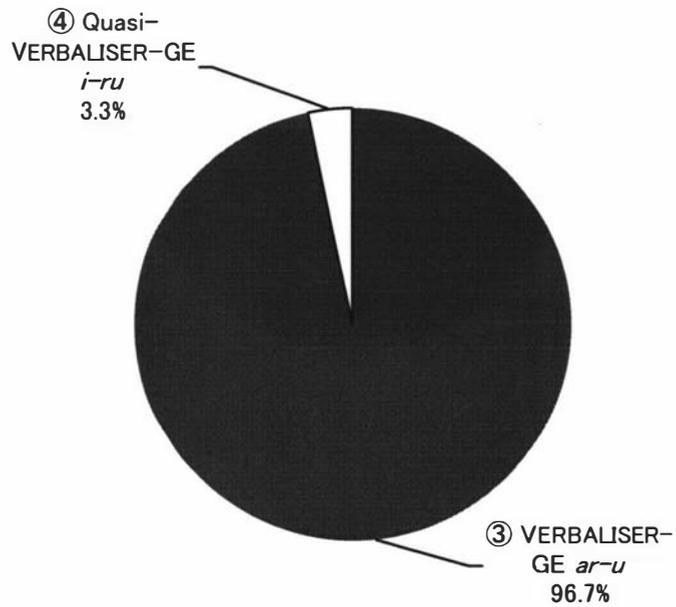
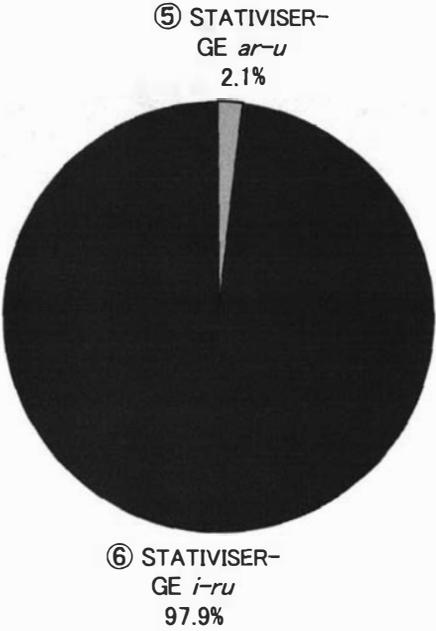


CHART 6
STATIVISER-GE usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*
(total tokens: 22136)



Bibliography

- Alfonso, Anthony. 1966. *Japanese language patterns*. 2 vols. Tokyo: Sophia University L. L. Center of Applied Linguistics.
- Anderson, John M. 1971. *The grammar of case: towards a localistic theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, John M. 1977. *On case grammar*. London: Croom Helm.
- Aoki, Haruo. 1986. Evidentials in Japanese. In Wallace L. Chafe and Johanna Nichols (eds). *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, pp. 223–238.
- Chalker, Sylvia and Edmund Weiner. 1994. *The Oxford dictionary of English grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clark, Eve V. 1970. Locationals: a study of the relations between ‘existential’, ‘locative’ and ‘possessive’ constructions. *Working papers on Language Universals* (Stanford University) 3: L1–L37.
- Clark, Eve V. 1978. Locationals: existential, locative, and possessive constructions. In Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.). *Universals of human language 4: Syntax*. California: Stanford University Press, pp. 85–126.
- Crystal, David. 1992. *An encyclopedic dictionary of language and languages*. London: Penguin Books.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. The case for case. In Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms (eds). *Universals in linguistic theory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., pp. 1–88.
- Fujitani, Nariakira. 1778. *Ayuisho*. Reprinted in Norio Nakada and Masao Takeoka. 1960. *Ayuisho shinchu*. Tokyo: Kazama Shobo, pp. 87–362.
- Furukawa, Naoyo. 1986. Bunpo no taisho: furansugo to nihongo. In Shiro Hayashi (ed.). *Oyo gengogaku koza 2: Gaikokugo to nihongo*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, pp. 214–235.
- Goldberg, Adele E. and Farrell Ackerman. 2001. The pragmatics of obligatory adjuncts. *Language* 77(4): 798–814.
- Hashimoto, Shinkichi. 1934. *Kokugoho yosetsu*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin. Reprinted in *Hashimoto Shinkichi hakase chosakushu 2: Kokugoho kenkyu*. 1948. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, pp. 1–81.

- Hashimoto, Shinkichi. 1935. *Shin bunten bekki jokyū yo*. Tokyo: Tozanbo.
- Hashimoto, Shinkichi. 1937. *Kaisei shin bunten bekki kogohen*. Reprinted in 1948. Tokyo: Tozanbo.
- Heine, Bernd. 1993. *Auxiliaries: cognitive forces and grammaticalization*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Possession: cognitive sources, forces, and grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56(2): 251–299.
- Ikegami, Yoshihiko. 1975. *Imiron*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Ikegami, Yoshihiko. 1977. 'Suru' to 'naru' no gengogaku 2. *Gengo* 6(11): 100–108.
- Ikegami, Yoshihiko. 1981. *'Suru' to 'naru' no gengogaku*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Inoue, Fumiko. 1992. 'Aru', 'iru', 'oru' ni yoru asupekuto hyogen no henshen. *Kokugogaku* 171: 96–105.
- Inoue, Fumiko. 1993. Kansai chuobu ni okeru 'oru', '-toru' keihika no mekanizumu. *Handai nihongo kenkyū* 5: 19–32.
- Inoue, Fumiko. 1998. *Nihongo hogen asupekuto no dotai: sonzaigata hyogen keishiki ni shoten o atete*. Tokyo: Akiyama Shoten.
- Inoue, Kyoko. 1978. Speaker's perspectives and temporal expressions: a case study from Japanese and English. *University of Michigan Papers in Linguistics* 2(4): 105–115.
- Issatschenko, Alexander. 1974. On BE-languages and HAVE-languages. In Luigi Heilmann (ed.). *Proceedings of the eleventh international congress of linguists II*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, pp. 71–72.
- Iwanami kokugo jiten. 2000. [See Nishio, Iwabuchi, and Mizutani (2000)]
- Jacobsen, Wesley M. 1990. The multifaceted character of stativity in Japanese. In Osamu Kamada and Wesley M. Jacobsen (eds). *On Japanese and how to teach it: in honor of Seiichi Makino*. Tokyo: The Japan Times, pp. 76–99.
- Jarkey, Nerida. 2002. Subjectivity and the 'accusative' *-te aru* construction in Japanese. In Peter Collins and Mengistu Amberber (eds). *Proceedings of the 2002 Conference of the Australian Linguistics Society*. Retrieved 4 March 2003, from <http://www.arts.unsw.edu.au/als2002>

- Kageyama, Taro. 1996. *Doshi imiron*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Kajii, Keiko. 1997. *Nihongo no kino hyogen keishiki: 'te kei' no subete*. Tokyo: Bonjinsha.
- Kamio, Akio. 1990. *Joho no nawabari riron: gengo no kinoteki bunseki*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Kamio, Akio. 1995. Territory of information in English and Japanese and psychological utterances. *Journal of Pragmatics* 24: 235–264.
- Kikuchi, Yasuto. 2000. Shoyu no 'aru' to 'motteiru'. *Sekai no nihongo kyoiku* 10: 147–163.
- Kindaichi, Haruhiko. 1950. Kokugo doshi no ichibunrui. *Gengo Kenkyu* 15. Reprinted in Haruhiko Kindaichi (ed.). 1976. *Nihongo doshi no asupekuto*. Tokyo: Mugi Shobo, pp. 5–26.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1983. Jodai, chuko no wiru to wori: jotaika keishiki no suii. *Kokugogaku* 134: 1–16.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1984. 'Iru', 'oru', 'aru': sonzai hyogen no rekishi to hogen. *Yuriika* 16(12): 284–293.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1993. Jotaika keishiki no suii hoki. In Matsumura Akira sensei kiju kinenkai (ed.). *Kokugo kenkyu*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, pp. 262–277.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1994. Nihongo no jotaika keishiki no kozo ni tsuite. *Kokugogaku* 178: 101–107.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1996a. Nihongo no sonzai hyogen no chiriteki bunpu to rekishiteki kaishaku. *Bunkagaku nenpo* 15: 171–189.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1996b. 'Oru' no kino no rekishiteki kosatsu. In Yamaguchi Akiho kyoju kanreki kinenkai (ed.). *Yamaguchi Akiho kyoju kanreki kinen kokugogaku ronshu*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, pp. 108–132.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 1998. 'Ari', 'wiru', 'wori': sonzai no hyogen no igi. *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyozei no kenkyu* 43(11): 62–69.
- Kinsui, Satoshi. 2000. Toki no hyogen. In Satoshi Kinsui, Mayumi Kudo, and Yoshiko Numata. *Nihongo no bunpo 2: Toki, hitei to toritate*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, pp. 1–92.
- Kishimoto, Hideki. 1996. Agr and agreement in Japanese. *MIT working papers in Linguistics* (Formal approaches to Japanese Linguistics 2) 29: 41–60.
- Kitahara, Yasuo. 1980. Okutsu Keiichiro cho "boku wa unagi da" no bunpo: da to

- no'. *Kokugogaku* 120: 67–70.
- Kudo, Mayumi. 1995. *Asupekuto tensu taikai to tekusuto: gendai nihongo no jikan no hyogen*. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1971. The position of locatives in existential sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 2(3): 333–378.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973a. *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1973b. *Nihon bunpo kenkyu*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Kuno, Susumu. 1978. *Danwa no bunpo*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Kushima, Shigeru. 2002. *'Mono' to 'basho' no imiron*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Lyons, John. 1968. Existence, location, possession and transitivity. In Bob Van Rootselaar and J. Frits Staal (eds). *Logic, methodology and philosophy of science III*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, pp. 495–504.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Makino, Seiichi. 1968. Japanese 'be'. In John W. M. Verhaar (ed.). *The verb 'be' and its synonyms 3* (Foundations of Language Supplementary Series 8). Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, pp. 1–19.
- Makino, Seiichi. 1978. *Kotoba to kukan*. Tokyo: Tokai Daigaku Shuppankai.
- Martin, Samuel E. 1975. *A reference grammar of Japanese*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Masuoka, Takashi. 1987. *Meidai no bunpo: nihongo bunpo josetsu*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Masuoka, Takashi. 1992. Nihongo no hojodoshi kobun: kobun no imi no kenkyu ni mukete. In Bunka gengogaku henshu iinkai (ed.). *Bunka gengogaku: sono teigen to kensetsu*. Tokyo: Sanseido, pp. 532–546.
- Masuoka, Takashi. 2000. *Nihongo bunpo no shoso*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Masuoka, Takashi and Yukinori Takubo. 1992. *Kiso nihongo bunpo*. Revised edition. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Matsumura, Akira. (ed.). 1971. *Nihon bunpo daijiten*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Matsushita, Daizaburo. 1901. *Nihon zokugo bunten*. Reprinted in Yasuo Kitahara and Tosaku Furuta (eds). 1997. *Nihongo bunpo kenkyusho taisei: Shintei nihon*

- zokugo bunten*. Tokyo: Benseisha.
- Matsushita, Daizaburo. 1928. *Kaisen hyojun nihon bunpo*. Tokyo: Chubunkan. Reprinted in Masanobu Tokuda (ed.). 1974. *Kaisen hyojun nihon bunpo*. Tokyo: Benseisha.
- Matsushita, Daizaburo. 1930. *Hyojun nihon kogoho*. Tokyo: Chubunkan. Reprinted in Masanobu Tokuda (ed.). 1977. *Hyojun nihon kogoho*. Revised and enlarged edition. Tokyo: Benseisha.
- McClure, William. 1993. A Semantic parameter: the progressive in Japanese and English. In Soonja Choi (ed.). *Japanese/Korean linguistics 3*. California: CSLI Publications, pp. 254–270.
- Mikami, Akira. 1969. Sonzaibun no mondai. *Otani joshi daigaku kiyo 3*: 38–48. Reprinted in Akira Mikami. *Zo wa hana ga nagai*. 4th edition, revised and enlarged. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, pp. 232–246.
- Miura, Tsutomu. 1975. *Nihongo no bunpo*. Tokyo: Keiso Shobo.
- Morita, Yoshiyuki. 1977. *Kiso nihongo: imi to tsukaikata*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Morita, Yoshiyuki. 1989. *Kiso nihongo jiten*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.
- Morita, Yoshiyuki. 1996. *Imi bunseki no hoho: riron to jissen*. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.
- Muraki, Shinjiro. 1991. *Nihongo doshi no shoso*. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.
- Murata, Masami. 1999. Syntax and semantics of the nominals *mono* and *koto* in Japanese. MA thesis. Massey University.
- Murata, Masami. 2000. Functional categories in Japanese. Paper presented at the 6th East Asian Studies Research Seminar Series, Massey University.
- Murata, Masami. 2001a. Jisshitsu to keishiki: mono, koto no yoho kara. *Doshisha kokubungaku 54*: 113–122.
- Murata, Masami. 2001b. Modal meanings of aspectual forms in Japanese. Paper presented at the 14th New Zealand Linguistic Society Conference, University of Canterbury.
- Murata, Masami. 2001c. Aspectual and modal meanings of *te i-ru*, *te ar-u* and *te or-u* in Japanese. Paper presented at the 7th East Asian Studies Research Seminar Series, Massey University.
- Murata, Masami. 2002a. Nihongo no sonzaibun to shoyubun. Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of Japan Summer Institute of Linguistics 2002 (Nagano, Japan).

- Murata, Masami. 2002b. The existential constructions in Japanese. Paper presented at the 8th East Asian Studies Research Seminar Series, Massey University.
- Nakada, Norio and Masao Takeoka. 1960. *Ayuisho shinchu*. Tokyo: Kazama Shobo.
- Nakajima, Heizo. 2001. Verbs in locative constructions and the generative lexicon. *The Linguistic Review* 18: 43–67.
- Nakau, Minoru. 1976. Tense, aspect, and modality. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.). *Syntax and semantics 5: Japanese generative grammar*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 421–482.
- Nakau, Minoru. 1979. Modariti to meidai. In Hayashi Eiichi kyoju kanreki kinen ronbunshu kanko iinkai (ed.). *Eigo to nihongo to*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, pp. 223–250.
- Nakau, Minoru. 1998. Kukan to sonzai no kozu. In Minoru Nakau (ed.). *Nichieigo hikaku sensho 5: Kobun to jisho kozo*. Tokyo: Kenkyusha Shuppan, pp. 1–106.
- Narahara, Tomiko. 2002. *The Japanese copula: forms and functions*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nishio, Minoru, Etsutaro Iwabuchi, and Shizuo Mizutani (eds). 2000. *Iwanami Kokugo Jiten*. 6th edition. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Nishiyama, Yuji. 1988. Shijiteki meishiku to hi-shijiteki meishiku. *Keio gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyusho kiyo* 20: 113–134.
- Nishiyama, Yuji. 1994. Nihongo no sonzaibun to henko meishiku. *Keio gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyusho kiyo* 26: 115–148.
- Nitta, Yoshio. 1980. *Goironteki togoron*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.
- Noda, Harumi. 2002. Setsumei no modariti. In Kazuhito Miyazaki et al. *Modariti*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, pp. 230–260.
- Noda, Hisashi. 1996. *Wa to ga*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Noda, Hisashi. 2001. Unagibun to iu genso: shoryaku to ‘da’ no atarashii kenkyu o mezashite. *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyozaï no kenkyu* 46(2): 51–57.
- Okutsu, Keiichiro. 1978. ‘*Boku wa unagi da*’ no bunpo: da to no. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Okutsu, Keiichiro. 1981. Unagibun wa doko kara kita ka. *Kokugo to kokubungaku*. 58(5): 76–88. Reprinted in Keiichiro Okutsu. 1983. ‘*Boku wa unagi da*’ no bunpo: da to no. 4th edition, enlarged. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, pp. 203–229.

- Okutsu, Keiichiro. 2001a. 'Unagibun to iu genso' no genso: Noda Hisashi shi e no hanron. *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kyozaï no kenkyu* 46(7): 122–128.
- Okutsu, Keiichiro. 2001b. Setsuzoku no unagibun: yappari jutsugo daiyosetsu. *Nihongo kyoiku* 111: 2–15.
- Ono, Kiyoharu. 1984a. Quantifier Float in Japanese. *Descriptive and Applied Linguistics* 17: 139–153.
- Ono, Kiyoharu. 1984b. *A generative grammatical analysis of Japanese complement constructions*. Nagoya: Chunichi Publishing Company.
- Ono, Kiyoharu. 1992. *A study of syntactic and discourse phenomena in Japanese*. Sydney: Eramboo Press.
- Ono, Kiyoharu. 1999. Intransitive-transitive phrase pairs in Japanese. *Theoretical Linguistics* 25(1): 1–29.
- Ono, Kiyoharu. 2000. Grammaticalization of Japanese verbals. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 20(1): 39–79.
- Ono, Kiyoharu. 2002. On the so-called stative noncanonical constructions in Japanese. Paper presented at the 8th East Asian Studies Research Seminar Series, Massey University.
- Ono, Susumu. 1990. Kihon jodoshi, joshi kaisetsu. In Susumu Ono, Akihiro Satake, and Kingoro Maeda (eds). *Iwanami kogo jiten*. Revised and enlarged edition. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, pp. 1467–1507.
- Otsuki, Fumihiko. 1890. *Goho shinan*. Reprinted in Yasuo Kitahara and Tosaku Furuta (eds). 1996. *Nihongo bunpo kenkyusho taisei: Gohoo shinan*. Tokyo: Benseisha.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing morphosyntax: a guide for field linguists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sakuma, Kanae. 1966. *Gendai nihongo no hyogen to goho*. Enlarged edition. Tokyo: Koseikaku. Reprinted in 1983. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1977. Grammatical relations and surface cases. *Language* 53(4): 789–809.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1978. *Nihongo no bunseki*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1989. Gengo ruikeiron. In Masayoshi Shibatani, Yukio Otsu, and Aoi Tsuda. *Eigogaku taikei 6: Eigogaku no kanren bunya*. Tokyo: Taishukan Shoten, pp. 1–179.

- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1990. *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1999. Dative subject constructions twenty-two years later. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 29(2): 45–76.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2001a. Nihongo no hi-kihanteki kobun ni tsuite. In Masahiko Minami and Yukiko Sasaki Alam (eds). *Gengogaku to nihongo kyoiku II*. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, pp. 1–37.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2001b. Non-canonical constructions in Japanese. In Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, Robert M. W. Dixon, and Masayuki Onishi (eds). *Non-canonical marking of subjects and objects*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 307–354.
- Shinzato, Rumiko. 1993. A unified analysis of Japanese aspect marker *te iru*. *Language Quarterly* 31(1-2): 41–57.
- Shirai, Yasuhiro. 2000. The semantics of the Japanese imperfective *-teiru*: an integrative approach. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32: 327–361.
- Smith, Carlota S. 1997. *The parameter of aspect*. 2nd edition. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Sugimoto, Takeshi. 1986. Kakujoshi. In Keiichiro Okutsu, Yoshiko Numata, and Takeshi Sugimoto. *Iwayuru nihongo joshi no kenkyu*. Tokyo: Bonjinsha, pp. 227–380.
- Sugimura, Yasushi. 1996. Keishiki to imi no kenkyu: te aru kobun no ni-ruikei. *Nihongo Kyoiku* 91: 61–72.
- Suzuki, Shigeyuki. 1957. Nihongo no doshi no sugata (asupekuto) ni tsuite. (Bunpo kenkyukai hokoku). Reprinted in Haruhiko Kindaichi (ed.). 1976. *Nihongo doshi no asupekuto*. Tokyo: Mugi Shobo, pp. 63–81.
- Takahashi, Taro. 1985. *Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyusho hokoku 82: Gendai nihongo doshi no asupekuto to tensu*. Tokyo: Shuei Shuppan.
- Takezawa, Koichi. 2000. Aru no togoteki nimensei: be/have to no hikaku ni motozuku nihongo no ikutsuka no kobun no togoteki kaitai no kokoromi. *Higashi ajia gengo bunka no sogoteki kenkyu* (Tsukuba daigaku tokubetsu purojekuto hokokusho).
- Tamamura, Fumio. 1984. *Nihongo kyoiku shido sankosho 12: Goi no kenkyu to kyoiku*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyusho.
- Teramura, Hideo. 1982. *Nihongo no shintakusu to imi*, vol. 1. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.

- Teramura, Hideo. 1984. *Nihongo no shintakusu to imi*, vol. 2. Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan.
- Tokieda, Motoki. 1941. *Kokugogaku genron*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Tokieda, Motoki. 1950. *Nihon bunpo kogohen*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Veselinova, Ljuba. 1999. Suppletion in the paradigms of copula verbs. In Barbara A. Fox, Dan Jurafsky, and Laura A. Michaelis. (eds). *Cognition and function in language*. California: CSLI Publications, pp. 65–83.
- Watanabe, Minoru. 1971. *Kokugo kobunron*. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobo.
- Willett, Thomas. 1988. A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12(1): 51–97.
- Yamada, Yoshio. 1908. *Nihon bunporon*. Tokyo: Hobunkan.
- Yamada, Yoshio. 1922a. *Nihon bunpo kogi*. Tokyo: Hobunkan.
- Yamada, Yoshio. 1922b. *Nihon kogoho kogi*. Tokyo: Hobunkan.
- Yamada, Yoshio. 1936. *Nihon bunpogaku gairon*. Tokyo: Hobunkan.
- Yamanashi, Masaaki. 1995. *Ninchi bunporon*. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo.
- Yoshida, Kanehiko. 1971. *Gendaigo jodoshi no shiteki kenkyu*. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin.