

5 The semantic differentiation of *V-te V* complexes and *V-V* compounds in Japanese

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Abstract

Japanese has two different formal types of complex predicates involving two verbs: *V-te V* complex predicates and *V-V* compound verbs. In this chapter I discuss the nature of the former, in comparison to the latter. The examination reveals that the two kinds of multi-verbal complexes are different morphologically, syntactically and semantically. The most interesting finding is that the two crucially differ in whether deictic and honorific verbs, which encode perspectival and interactional meanings, can participate in the complexes. Morphologically tighter *V-V* compounds require same-subject relation between the two verbs, and exclude perspectival or interactional meanings (except V1 in syntactic compounds). Loosely concatenated *V-te V* complexes allow different subjects, typically have perfective/resultative V1, and have V2 as a preferred slot for perspectival/interactional meanings. These observations suggest that Japanese does not have these two options meaninglessly; the different multi-verbal complexes serve different purposes.

5.1 Introduction

Japanese has two different formal types of complex predicates involving two verbs: *V-te V* complex predicates (Type 4 in Chapter 1) and *V-V* compound verbs (Types 1, 2, 3). In this chapter I discuss the formal and functional nature of the former, in comparison to the latter. *V-te V* complexes are exemplified in (1), while *V-V* compounds are exemplified in (2).

(1) *V-te V* complexes

a. Kare wa baggu o dokoka ni mot-te it-ta.
he TOP bag ACC somewhere GOAL hold-TE go-PST
'He took a bag somewhere.'

b. Boku wa kodomo ni hon o yon-de age-ta.
I TOP child DAT book ACC read-TE GIVE-PST
'I read a book for the child (I gave the child the benefit of reading a book).'

(2) V-V compounds:

Kare wa baggu o dokoka ni moti-sat-ta.
he TOP bag ACC somewhere GOAL hold-leave-PST
'He took a bag away to somewhere'

Sentences in (1) exemplify some of the uses of the *V-te V* complexes. (1a) is a case of “complex motion predicates” (Matsumoto 1996, 1997, 2017, in press), and (1b) is a case of benefactive use of *-te age(-ru)* (Shibatani 1978, 2003; Yamada 2004; Sawada 2014, etc.). V-V compounds also exhibit different types (see Kageyama 1993, 2013, this volume (Ch 1); Kishimoto (Ch 3; this volume); Matsumoto 1996). The particular example given in (2) is semantically similar to (1a) and is cited here for comparison. The nature of V-V compound verbs is examined extensively in other chapters and so I will discuss them only in contrast to the *V-te V* complexes (e.g., I will not discuss the distinction between Kageyama’s types 1 and 2). For my own views on the nature of V-V compound verbs, see Matsumoto (1996, 1998) and Chen and Matsumoto (2018).

The coexistence of such two different kinds of multi-verbal complexes in one language calls for the identification of semantic and functional differences with which formal difference is associated, which is the aim of this chapter.

One crucial property of the *V-te V* complexes is that the first verb ends in the form *-te*. The *-te* form is a nonfinite verb form, often called gerundive (e.g., Martin 1975), and treated as a converbial verb form in typological literature (e.g., Alpatov and Podlesskaya 1995; Shibatani 2007). The suffix *-te* has been historically related to perfective *-tu*, whose meaning is claimed to be reflected in the current uses of *-te*. *-Te* triggers certain morphophonological changes to the verb form, depending on the final consonant of the verb stem to which it is suffixed (e.g., stem final /k/, /r/, and /w/ is changed to /t/, leading to a germinate, as in *sit-te* (<*sir+te*)). It has an allomorph *-de*, which occurs when the verb stem ends in a voiced consonant (i.e., /g/, /b/, /m/ or /n/).

The *-te* form is widely used to connect two clauses, both in coordination and in subordination, marking a variety of meanings in which the *-te* clause is related to the final, tensed clause (see Nitta 1995; Hasegawa 1996; Mihara 2011; Yoshida 2012; Masuoka 2014). In subordination it marks meanings such as temporal succession, circumstantiality (simultaneity), and cause/reason, but interestingly purpose is excluded (perhaps reflecting the perfective origin of *-te*). In coordination the *-te* marks succession or contrast. Among those different meanings, temporal succession (completion of *-te* clause event before the main clause event) is often claimed to be the most basic use (e.g., Matsuo 1936; Kuno 1973; Nakatani 2003, 2013; Yoshida 2012), with the form [... V1-*te*] [...V2] meaning ‘E1 and then E2’, as in (3).

- (3) Ginkoo ni it-te, okane o orosi-ta.
 bank GOAL go-TE money ACC withdraw-PST
 ‘(I) went to a bank, and withdrew some money.’

In most cases, the *-te* clause and the main clause share their subjects, but the subjects can be different, especially when *-te* marks the contrastive meaning.

This form is used to form complex predicates with a restricted set of verbs as V2. They fall into different types in terms of their original meanings.

- (4) a. deictic motion verbs: *ik(-u)* ‘go’, *ku(-ru)* ‘come’
 b. existential verbs: *i(-ru)* ‘be’, *ar(-u)* ‘be’
 c. verbs of giving/receiving: *yar(-u)* ‘give’, *age(-ru)* ‘give’, *kure(-ru)* ‘give’,
kudasar(-u) ‘give’, *moraw(-u)* ‘receive’
 d. verbs of manipulation: *simaw(-u)* ‘put away’, *ok(-u)* ‘put’
 e. verbs of vision: *mi(-ru)* ‘look’, *mise(-ru)* ‘show’
 f. adjective of desire: *hosi(-i)* ‘want’

In addition, suppletive honorific forms of some of the verbs above, such as *itadak(-u)* ‘receive’, can be V2 of the *V-te V* complexes, as will be discussed in Section 5.2. Certain verbal nouns such as *goran* ‘look’ and *tyoodai* ‘receive’ also function as V2.

These verbs are used to form *V-te V* complexes to represent different kinds of meanings, as shown in (5) (see Kageyama this volume for a somewhat different classification). In some cases, V2s retain their original meanings, while in others they are used in extended meanings.

- (5) a. **Deictic directionality**
 i. *V-te ik(-u)* [V-TE go-PRS] ‘go Ving’,
 ii. *V-te ku(-ru)* [V-TE come-PRS] ‘come Ving’
 See (1a) for an example.
- b. **Aspectual**
 i. *V-te i(-ru)* [V-TE be-PRS]: resultative
 Ha ga oti-te i-ru.
 leaf NOM fall-TE be-PRS
 ‘Leaves are fallen.’
 ii. *V-te i(-ru)* [V-TE be-PRS]: progressive
 Boku wa hon o yon-de i-ru.
 I TOP hon ACC read-TE be-PRS
 ‘I am reading a book.’

- iii. *V-te ar(-u)* [V-TE be-PRS]: purposeful resultative
 Soko ni hon ga oi-te ar-u.
 there LOC book NOM put-TE be-PRS
 ‘Books are placed there (for some purpose).’
- iv. *V-te ok(-u)* [V-TE put-PRS]: sustentive (volitional sustainment of a resulting state)
 Boku wa hon o kat-te oi-ta.
 I TOP book ACC buy-TE PUT-PST
 ‘I bought a book (in preparation for something).’
- v. *V-te simaw(-u)* [V-TE PUT.AWAY-PRS]: terminative
 Boku wa hon o yon-de simat-ta.
 I TOP book ACC read-TE PUT.AWAY-PST
 ‘I finished reading a book.’
- vi. *V-te ku(-ru)* [V-TE come-PRS]: gradual ingressive
 Sora ga kuraku nat-te ki-ta.
 sky NOM dark become-TE COME-PST
 ‘The sky has come to be (increasingly) darker.’
- vii. *V-te ik(-u)* [V-TE come-PRS]: transitional-continuative
 Sora ga kuraku nat-te it-ta.
 sky NOM dark become-TE GO-PST
 ‘The sky became (increasingly) darker.’

c. **Benefactive**

- i. *V-te moraw(-u)* [V-TE receive-PRS] ‘receive the benefit of someone Ving’/‘ask someone to V’
 Boku wa Marii ni hon o yon-de morat-ta.
 I TOP Mary DAT book ACC read-TE RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I had Mary read a book.’
- ii. *V-te age(-ru)* [V-TE give-PRS] ‘give to someone other than (or not related to) the speaker the benefit of Ving’
 See (1b).
- iii. *V-te kure(-ru)* [V-TE give-PRS] ‘give to (someone related to) the speaker the benefit of Ving’
 Marii ga hon o yon-de kure-ta.
 Mary NOM book ACC read-TE GIVE-PST
 ‘Mary gave me the benefit of reading a book to me/Mary read a book for me.’

d. **Other**

- i. *V-te hosi(-i)* [V-TE want-PRS] ‘want someone to V’¹
Boku wa kare ni hon o yon-de hosi-i.
I TOP he DAT book ACC read-TE want-PRS
‘I want him to read books.’
- ii. *V-te mi(-ru)* [V-TE look-PRS] ‘try Ving (to see the result)’
Kanozyo wa sore o yatte mi-ta.
she TOP it ACC do LOOK-PST
‘She tried doing it (to see the result).’
- iii. *V-te mise(-ru)* [V-TE show-PRS] ‘show the action of Ving’
Kanozyo wa sore o yatte mise-ta
she TOP it ACC do SHOW-PST
‘She did it (for others to see it).’

Most of these complexes are polysemous, serving different uses. *V-te moraw(-u)* [V-TE receive-PRS], for example, is known to have two senses, one involving an explicit asking of a favor and the other not (see Nakatani 2013). In such cases I will discuss what I take to be the most basic use, which, in the case of *-te moraw(-u)*, the former.

Some of the meanings encoded in *V-te V* complexes and the verbs involved are similar to those found in multi-verbal constructions in other languages. Multi-verbal constructions with a deictic verb are very common among languages (see Sebba 1987; Ross 2004). The constructions with a verb of giving is also common to indicate benefactive relation (see Creissels 2010), so are constructions with verbs of being for aspect (see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1995: 127ff). The meanings expressed have some overlap with those expressed in compound verbs in South Asian languages (see Hook this volume). However, V2s in *V-te V* complexes appear to be less bleached than vector verbs in South Asian languages, and those “adverbial” meanings such as suddenness, violence, and casualness marked by vector verbs are not expressed prominently as V2 in these constructions in Japanese.

Complex predicates involving *-te* verbs in Japanese have been extensively discussed in the literature. Major works treating one or more of those complexes include Sakuma (1936), Kuno (1973), Martin (1975), Yoshikawa (1976), Inoue (1976), Shibatani (1978, 2003, 2007, 2009), Teramura (1984), McCawley and Momoi (1986), Moriyama (1988), Miyagawa (1989), Sells (1990), Matsumoto (1990, 1991, 1996), Kudo (1995), Kajii (1997), Ono (2000), Yamada (2004), Kinsui (2004), Kubota (2007), Shibatani and Chung (2007), Yoshida (2012),

¹ *V-te hosi(-i)* pragmatically has much in common with the complexes with benefactive meanings in that both can be used in expressing the speech act of request.

Nakatani (2013, 2016), Sawada (2014), Mori (2016), and Tsujimura (2017). We will refer to those works when they are relevant to our discussions.

The complex predicate examples of *V-te V* must be carefully distinguished from similar biclausal sentences involving *-te* as a regular clause linkage marker. The following sentences, in which an argument of V2 intervenes between two verbs, are not the instances of complex predicates in question, in contrast to (1).

- (6) a. Kare wa [baggu o te ni mot-te] dokoka ni it-ta.
 he TOP bag ACC hand LOC hold-TE somewhere GOAL go-PST
 ‘Holding the bag in his hand, he went somewhere.’
- b. Boku wa [hon o yon-de] kodomo ni age-ta.
 I TOP book ACC read-TE child DAT give-PST
 ‘Having read a book, I gave it to the child’

In contrast to *V-te V* complex, the V1 of the V-V compound verbs in (2) takes the so-called *ren’yōkei* form (or ‘infinitive’ in other chapters). This is a nonfinite verb form used in a variety of ways. It can be used to mark subordinate or coordinate clause, and in those cases the *ren’yōkei* form is usually interpreted as marking successive, or contrastive meaning. (7) exemplifies the successive reading.

- (7) Ginkoo ni iki, okane o orosi-ta.
 bank GOAL go money ACC withdraw-PST
 ‘(I) went to a bank, and withdrew some money.’

As can be seen above, there is an overlap between *ren’yōkei* and *-te* forms as clause linkage device (see Masuoka 2014 for some discussions on how *ren’yōkei* and *-te* forms are different as clause linkage devices). As is true of *-te* form, the subjects of the *ren’yōkei* verb and the main verb in clausal linkage are usually identical, but can be different when it marks a contrastive meaning.

The organization of the present paper is as follows. I will first identify formal properties of *V-te V* complexes in comparison to V-V compound verbs. Then, I will explore the grammatical and semantic differences between the two kinds of complexes in order to explore the reasons those notions in (5) are encoded in *V-te V* complexes rather than V-V compounds. They include argument sharing patterns, the aspectual property of *-te* marked V1, and the semantics of V2 participating in the complexes, especially deictic (perspectival/interactional) meanings of V2. I will argue that there is a semantic division of labor between the two multi-verbal complexes.

5.2 Formal properties of *-te* complex predicates

The first point to note concerning the formal properties of the *V-te V* complexes is their morphological status. At the surface level of formal realization the *V-te V* complex involves two morphological words rather than one (Matsumoto 1996, Shibatani 2007, Kageyama this volume), except in their contracted forms (see below). Evidence comes from the following results of the tests involving “lexical integrity” (Lapointe 1980, Kageyama 1993, 2009, Bresnan and Mchombo 1995, Booij 2008). First, *-te* complexes allow an intervention of some other element that separates the complex. For example, a particle is allowed to be inserted between V1 and V2 (Sakuma 1936; Martin 1975:510ff; Matsumoto 1996; Kageyama (Ch 1; this volume), as exemplified in *mot-te wa ki-ta* [hold-TE Foc come-PST], unlike V-V compounds (e.g., **moti wa sat-ta* [hold Foc leave-PST]).

Second, a syntactic rule can physically manipulate part of the complex, contra Kageyama (this volume). For example, *-te* complex predicates allow V2 only to be reduplicated, as exemplified in (8a), in contrast to (8b), which shows that this is not possible with a semantically similar V-V compound.²

- (8) a. *baggu o koko ni mot-te kita koto wa mot-te kita ga ...*
 bag ACC here GOAL hold-TE came thing FOC hold-TE came but
 ‘(I) did bring my bag here, but ...’
- b. **baggu o moti-sat-ta koto wa moti-sat-ta ga ...*
 bag ACC hold-leave-PST thing FOC have-leave-PST but
 ‘(I) did leave with the bag, but ...’

In spite of its morphological two-word status seen above, the complex forms some sort of unit. This is seen in the adjacency requirement of the two verbs, exemplified by *V-te age(-*

² Another case in which a part of *V-te V* complex is deleted is question-answer exchange, in which the V2 of a *V-te V* complex can occur alone.

- (i) *Hon o yon-de morat-ta? --- Un, yon-de morat-ta*
 book ACC read-TE receive-PST Yes read-TE RECEIVE-PST
 ‘Did you have him read a book?—Yes, I did.’

Kageyama (Ch 1; this volume) states that it is not possible to delete V1 in the *V-te V* complexes in contradiction to the examples in this section, citing an example like the following.

- (ii) *#Kare wa zibun no gitaa o kowasi-te simat-ta.*
 He TOP self-GEN guitar ACC destroy-TE PUT.AWAY-PST

Acceptable only on the reading of ‘He put away his own guitar.’

The reason (ii) is uninterpretable in the intended reading is because the argument of the *-te* verb cannot be properly interpreted with the verb deleted.

ru in (9). Unlike (9a), (9b) is not interpretable in the benefactive meaning; it could be interpreted in the clause-linkage ‘read and gave’ meaning if there is a pause between *yonde* and *ageta*.

- (9) a. Kinoo kodomo ni sono hon o yon-de age-ta.
 yesterday child DAT the book ACC read-TE GIVE-PST
 ‘I read the book for the child yesterday.’
- b. #Kodomo ni sono hon o yonde kinoo age-ta.
 child DAT the book ACC read-TE yesterday give-PST
 ‘*I read the book for the child yesterday.’
 ‘Having read the book to the child, I gave (it to someone) yesterday.’

In cases where complex predicates with *-te* and their clause-linkage counterparts are closer in meaning, as in *V-te ik(-u)*, the difference requires a more careful justification. When V1 and *ik(-u)* are adjacent, certain phenomena can be observed that suggest a complex predicate status of the sequence. It has been argued that a particle *sika*, which means ‘only’ when used with a negative marker, can only be added to a phrase that is in the same clause as its associated negative marker (Muraki 1978; Oyakawa 1975). This claim is based on the contrast between sentences like (10a) and (10b).

- (10) a. Zyon wa Tookyoo e sika ik-anakat-ta.
 John TOP Tokyo GOAL only go-NEG-PST
 ‘John went to Tokyo only.’
- b. *Biru wa [Zyon ga Tookyoo e sika itta] to iw-anakat-ta.
 Bill TOP John NOM Tokyo GOAL only went COMP say-NEG-PST
 ‘Bill said that John went to Tokyo only.’ (intended)

V-te ik(-u) complexes allow the argument of V1 to be marked with *sika*, with negation placed on V2, as in (10a), suggesting a monoclausal nature of this sentence. This is not observed when the two verbs are not adjacent, as in (10b) (Matsumoto 1991, 1996; Shibatani 2007; see also Nakatani 2013 for other examples involving negative polarity items).³

³ Note that (ia) can be interpreted in both ways, in contrast to (ib). In (ia), a *-te* verb is adjacent to the main verb, but the *-te* verb and its nonsubject argument is not interrupted by other element.

- (11) a. Kare wa hon sika gakkoo ni mot-te ko-nakat-ta.
 he TOP book only school GOAL hold-TE come-NEG-PST
 ‘He brought only books to school.’
- b. *Kare wa [hon sika mot-te] gakkoo ni ko-nakat-ta
 He TOP book only hold-TE school GOAL come-NEG-PST

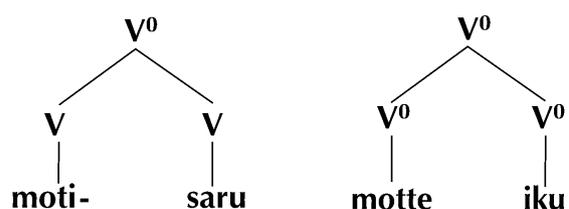
Further evidence for a closely knit status of the *V-te* V complex lies in its phonology. *-Te* complex allows an accent pattern of a phonological word (see also Shibatani and Chung 2007). For example, the complex predicate *mot-te iku* is pronounced in H’LLLH’ pitch pattern (with two accentual nuclei), but it can also be pronounced as H’LLLL or LHHHH’ (with a single nucleus). Similarly, *yon-de age(-ru)* [read-TE GIVE-PRS] is usually pronounced as H’LLLHH’, but it can also be pronounced as H’LLLLL. In the latter case, the reading of ‘read and gave’ is ruled out.

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- (i) a. Kare wa gakkoo ni hon o mot-te ki-ta.
 he TOP school GOAL book ACC hold-TE come-PST
 ‘He brought books to school/He came to school, taking books.’
- b. Kare wa hon o gakkoo ni mot-te ki-ta.
 he TOP book ACC school GOAL hold-TE come-PST
 ‘He brought books to school.’

The particle *sika* can be placed on *hon* with negation on the verb in (ia), suggesting that the complex predicate status is possible, but at the same time nothing prevents assigning a biclausal *-te* structure to this sequence of words as well, with [PRO *hon o mot-te*] in the subordinate clause. However, (ib) can only be an example of a complex predicate, given that an argument of V2 *gakkoo ni* intervenes V1 and its alleged argument (see Miyagawa 1987 for a similar case in *V ni ik(-u)*). I will therefore use only sentences like (ib) (with *V-te* V pronounced as a single phonological word) for the discussion of *V-te* V complex in this chapter.

The discussion of the present section leads to the surface structures of V-V compound verbs and V-*te* V complexes shown in (12). The difference between the two is that while V-V compounds involve the morphological combination of Vs to form a V⁰ (=the smallest unit in surface syntax), while V-*te* V complex involves the syntactic combination of V⁰. The mother node for V-*te* V complexes is treated as V⁰, after Sells (1995) and Iida and Sells (2008), although this is not crucial in this paper.⁴

(12)



X⁰ = the smallest unit in (surface) syntax

V-*te* V complexes can optionally take contracted forms, with the two morphological words amalgamated into one, when V2 starts with a vowel. More specifically, if the V2 initial vowel is /i/, the vowel drops (e.g., *yondek(-u)* < *yonde ik(-u)*), and if it is /a/ or /o/, the /e/ of *-te* drops (e.g., *yondage(-ru)* < *yonde age(-ru)*) (See Kubozono 1999 for a formulation of these in terms of a general rule of avoiding vowel sequences in Japanese). Interestingly, such amalgamation is not allowed in a clause linkage counterpart, even when the two verbs are adjacent. Thus, (13a) is interpretable in the benefactive reading as well as clause-linkage “V1 and then V2” reading, but (13b) is interpreted in the benefactive reading only.

- (13) a. Boku wa kare ni hon o yon-de age-ta.
 I TOP he DAT book ACC read-TE GIVE-PST
 ‘I read a book for the child/I read him a book and then gave (it to him).’
- b. Boku wa kare ni hon o yond.age-ta.
 I TOP he DAT book ACC read.TE.GIVE-PST
 ‘I read a book for the child.’

⁴ A word-like constituency of V-*te* V complexes also applies to V-*te moraw(-u)* and V-*te hosi(-i)*, based on the possibility of assigning one-word accent to the complex. In this respect, this analysis departs from the one taken in Matsumoto (1996), in which the adjacency of V-*te* and *moraw(-u)* and *hosi(-i)* was licensed by a word order restriction, which is pointed out to be problematic (Nakatani 2013).

5.3 Two types of *V-te V* complexes

I would like to argue that *V-te V* complexes can be classified into two different types in terms of their grammatical status, calling for a subdivision of Type 4 *V-te V* complexes (Chapter 1). Some *V-te V* complex predicates function as one predicate, creating a monoclausal structure, while other *V-te V* complexes involve two grammatical predicates, with V1 heading a clause representing the predicative complement argument of the V2 (in some level of representation). In this respect, *V-te V* complex predicates can be classified into syntactic ones and lexical ones, in a way similar to compound verbs, which can be classified into syntactic compounds and lexical compounds.⁵

A representative example of grammatically lexical *V-te V* complex predicate is *-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)*. Evidence comes from adverbial modification, passivization and replacement by a proform (Matsumoto 1991, 1996). First, in *V-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)*, the adverbial modification of V1 only is restricted, unlike its clause linkage counterpart, which is biclausal. Thus, adverb *sikkari* ‘tightly, steadily, for sure’ can modify V1 alone in (14a) in the meaning of ‘tightly’, it is interpreted as modifying the whole event in (14b) in the meaning of ‘for sure’, especially when *mot-te it-ta* is pronounced in a single phonological word accent.

- (14) a. [sore o sikkari mot-te] gakkoo ni it-ta.
 it ACC tightly hold-TE school GOAL go-PST
 ‘Holding it tightly, (he) went to school.’
- b. sore o gakkoo ni sikkari mot-te it-ta.
 it ACC school GOAL tightly hold-TE go-PST
 ‘(He) brought it to school for sure.’

Second, VP proform *soo suru* cannot replace V1 and its arguments, unlike its clause-linkage counterpart. Thus, (15a) is possible but (15b) is not.

- (15) a. Taroo wa [hon o mot-te] gakkoo ni it-ta.
 Taro TOP book ACC hold-TE school GOAL go-PST
 Hanako mo soo si-te gakkoo ni it-ta.
 Hanako too so do-TE school GOAL go-PST
 ‘Taro went to school, taking a book. Hanako went to school, doing the same.’

⁵ Nakatani (2013) argues against the monoclausal vs. biclausal distinction within *V-te V* complex predicates, chiefly discussing my treatment of negative polarity items in Matsumoto (1996). However, he is silent on the differences in adverbial interpretation, preform, and passivization discussed in this chapter.

- b. Taroo wa hon o gakkoo ni mot-te it-ta.
 Taro TOP book ACC school GOAL hold-TE go-PST
 *Hanako mo soo si-te it-ta.
 Hanako too so do-TE go-PST

Third, passivization can apply to the whole *V-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)* complex (Matsumoto 1991, 1996), as in (16).

- (16) sore wa doko ni mo mot-te ik-are-te i-nai.
 it TOP anywhere GOAL too hold-TE go-PASS-TE be-NEG
 ‘It has not been taken away to anywhere.’

There is also idiomatic combination found in *V-te ku(-ru)*, e.g., *yatte ku(-ru)* [do-TE come-PRS] ‘come over’, in which V1 is used in a sense not identifiable, suggesting a fixed nature of the complex.

Other *V-te V* complexes such as *V-te age(-ru)* and *V-te moraw(-u)* do not exhibit such mono-predicate properties. Adverbial modification of V1 alone is possible, as in (17). The adverbial *oogoe-de* can be interpreted as modifying either *yonde* or *moratta*.

- (17) kare ni oogoe de hon o yon-de morat-ta.
 he DAT loudly book ACC read-TE RECEIVE-PST
 ‘(I) had him read a book in a loud voice’
 ‘In a loud voice (I) had (=asked) him read a book’

Second, VP proform *soo suru* can replace V1 and its arguments (Matsumoto 1996), as shown in (18).

- (18) Taroo wa musuko ni gakkoo ni it-te morat-ta.
 Taro TOP son DAT school GOAL go-TE RECEIVE-PST
 Musume ni mo soo si-te morat-ta.
 daughter DAT too so do-TE RECEIVE-PST
 ‘Taro had the son go to school, and had the daughter do so, too.’

Passivization of the whole complex is not usually possible, as in (19).

- (19) ??Sore wa kat-te moraw-are-te i-na-i.
 it TOP buy-TE RECEIVE-PASS-TE be-NEG-PRS

In the case of *-te moraw(-u)*, dative NP controls the subject of the lower clause (at least in the reading involving an explicit asking of a favor (see Nakatani 2013)). This dative NP exhibits subject properties: it can be an antecedent of SUBJ-oriented reflexive *zibun* (Inoue 1976; Shibatani 1978; Matsumoto 1996; Nakatani 2013), or the target of respect in subject honorific marking (Matsumoto 1996), as shown in (20).

- (20) a. Boku_i wa kare_j ni [PRO zibun_{i,j} no hon o yon-de] morat-ta.
 I TOP he DAT self GEN book ACC read-TE RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I had him read my book (for me),’ or ‘I had him read his book (for me).’
- b. Boku wa sensee ni [PRO hon o o-yomi ni nat-te] itadai-ta.
 I TOP teacher DAT book ACC HON-read COP become-TE RECEIVE-PST
 ‘I had the teacher read a book (for me).’

Most of those *V-te V* complexes indicating aspect and beneficial relationship exhibit biclausal structure, except that at least one type of *-te ar(-u)*, called intransitivizing *-te ar(-u)*, is monoclausal (Matsumoto 1990). The status of *V-te ok(-u)*, which indicates volitional sustentation of a resulting state, is somewhat unclear. (21a) is acceptable, suggesting a monoclausal structure, but (21b) is also acceptable, suggesting a biclausal structure.

- (21) a. Sono hon wa tot-te ok-are-ta.
 the book TOP take-TE PUT-PASS-PST
 ‘The book was kept (for some use).’
- b. Taro wa hon o tot-te oi-ta. Marii mo soo si-te oi-ta.
 Taro TOP book ACC take-TE PUT-PST Mary too so do-TE PUT-PST
 ‘Taro kept a book (for some use), so did Mary.’

The pattern of division between monoclausal and biclausal *V-te V* complexes parallels a similar distinction between monoclausal (lexical) compound verbs (Kageyama’s Types 1 and 2) and biclausal (syntactic) compound verbs (Kageyama’s Type 3). In both cases, V1 in the monoclausal type is semantically a modifier (adjunct) of V2 in most cases; V1 in biclausal cases heads the syntactic complement clause of V2 (at some level of representation).⁶

⁶ In Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bresnan, Asudeh, Toivonen and Wechsler 2015), the biclausal structure of *V-te moraw(-u)* complex is captured by a complex f-structure with PREDs like (i), while the monoclausality of *V-te ku(-ru)*, like (ii).

- (i) *moraw* ‘receive/ask <SUBJ, OBJ, XCOMP>’
 |
motte ‘hold <SUBJ, OBJ>’

	Monoclausal	biclausal
V-V compound	<i>moti-sar(-u)</i> hold-leave Kageyama's Types 1, 2	<i>yomi-hazime(-ru)</i> read-begin Kageyama's Type 3
V-te V complex	<i>mot-te ik(-u)</i> hold-TE go Kageyama's Type 4	<i>yon-de moraw(-u)</i> read-TE RECEIVE Kageyama's Type 4

Table 1 Subtypes of V-te V complexes and V-V compounds

5.4 Some differences between V-te V complexes and V-V compounds

Given the parallelism between V-te V complexes and V-V verbs, a natural question to ask is how they are different semantically. In other words, why does Japanese have these two types of multi-verbal complexes?

5.4.1 Argument sharing

One important property of V-te V complexes as opposed to V-V compounds concerns the constraint on the argument sharing between the two verbs. Compound Verbs in Japanese must respect Subject Sharing. This has been known for lexical compound verbs (Yumoto 1996, Matsumoto 1998). For example, a V-V compound verb in Japanese denoting the act of hitting someone to death is *tataki-koros(-u)* [hit-kill-PRS], rather than **tataki-sin(-u)* [hit-die-PRS], as required by Subject Sharing.⁷ What is perhaps less known is that syntactic compounds also respect Subject Sharing (Matsumoto 1998): syntactic compounds involve either a lower subject raised to an upper subject or a lower subject controlled by an upper subject. Examples of the former include V-*hazime(-ru)* 'begin to V', and V-*sugi(-ru)* 'go

(ii) *mot-te ku* 'bring <SUBJ, OBJ, OBL>'

⁷ For the validity of this constraint over Transitivity Match of Kageyama (1993), see Matsumoto (1998). There are apparent counterexamples to Subject Sharing, such as *uti-agar(-u)* [hit-go.up-NPst] 'go up as a result of someone hitting it', but these are derived from subject-sharing compounds like *uti-age(-ru)* [hit-lift-NPst] 'hit something up in the air'. See Matsumoto (1998) and Chen and Matsumoto (in press) for details.

beyond the limit in Ving, over-V’, while the latter include V *oe(-ru)* ‘finish V-ing’ and V-*kane(-ru)* ‘be reluctant to V’ (see Matsumoto 1996; Kishimoto (Ch 3; this volume)). However, no compounds are found that have a V1 subject controlled by a V2 nonsubject argument, in spite of the availability of such verbs in Japanese. Thus, those in (22) are ruled out.

- (22) **tabe-iw(-u)* [eat-say-PRS] ‘tell ... to eat’, **yomi-tanom(-u)* [read-ask-PRS] ‘ask ... to read’, **iki-motome(-ru)* [go-ask-PRS] ‘ask ... to go’

In contrast, V-*te* V complexes allow ‘different subject’ structures (Matsumoto 1996; Nakatani 2013). Examples include the resultative *-te ar(-u)*, in which the subject of *ar(-u)* is identical with the object of V1 as one option (Matsumoto 1990; Tsujimura 2016), as in (23) (=5biii). (*hon* in (23) can alternatively be in accusative.)

- (23) Soko ni hon ga oi-te ar-u
 there LOC book NOM put-TE be-PRS
 ‘A book is in the state of (someone) having placed it there.’

Other examples include the cases where V2 is one of the verbs of receiving and desire, as in (24) (=5ci, 5di).

- (24) Marii ni hon o yon-de {morat-ta/hosi-katta}.
 Mary DAT book ACC read-TE {RECEIVE-PST/want-PST}
 ‘(I) had Mary read a book/(I) wanted Mary to read a book.’

The example of desiderative *hosi(-i)* ‘want’ is telling. Logically, there is nothing that prohibits this predicate from being used with the same-subject complement. However, such a reading is not possible, as shown in the impossibility of control in (25a) (The sentence is acceptable in the reading of ‘Taro wanted someone to read a book.’ The case of the same-subject complement is coded by the desiderative suffix *-tai*, which creates a morphological word with a *ren’yōkei* V1, as in (25b).⁸

⁸ The same-subject constraint in V-V compounds is “constructional” in nature, in the sense of Booij (2010) (See Chen and Matsumoto 2018). The subject sharing cannot be attributed to the nature of *Ren’yōkei*, since in clause combination it allows different subject in contrastive meaning. It cannot be attributed to the nature of Japanese morphology in general, since the object control of subject is found in Japanese morphological causatives with *-sase*. Thus, this constraint is specific to V-V compound structure.

- (25) a. *Taro_i wa [PRO_i hon o yon-de] hosi-katta.
 Taro TOP book ACC read-TE want-PST
 ‘Taro wanted to read a book.’ (intended reading)
- b. Taro_i wa [PRO_i hon o yomi]-ta-katta
 Taro TOP book ACC read-want-PST
 ‘Taro wanted to read a book.’

Thus, there is a genuine difference between *V-te* V complexes and V-V compound verbs.⁹

However, this difference still leaves a question. The same-subject structure is available for both *V-te* V complexes and V-V compound verbs. Which type of verb-verb complex is adopted for same-subject structure is yet to be accounted for.

5.4.2 The semantics of *-te*

Another possible source of difference comes from the semantics of the *-te* suffix. The *-te* suffix is not without meaning. Most of the meanings that *-te* can mark in clause linkage are related to the notion of perfectivity or resultativity. The choice of *V-te* V forms instead of V-V forms may be attributed to such semantics of *-te* suffix. In fact, many of the *-te* forms in *V-te* V complexes appear to represent perfectivity or resultativity, often involving the after-effects of V1 process (see Martin 1975; Kinsui 2004; Yoshida 2012). This is especially clear in the aspectual *V-te* V complexes: *V-te i(-ru)* (resultative, progressive), *V-te ar(-u)* (purposeful resultative), *V-te ok(-u)* (sustentive), *V-te simaw(-u)* (terminative), *V-te ku(-ru)* (gradual ingressive), and *V-te ik(-u)* (transitory-continuative) (see (5b) above). All of these

⁹ It may seem that complexes such as *o-yomi itadak(-u)* [Hon-read receive(Hon)] ‘receive the honor of (someone’s) reading’ are instances of “different subject” V-V compounds. However, there is evidence suggesting that they are not V-V compounds but in fact o-N V complexes, with a nominalized first element. Unlike V-V compounds, the complexes do not show lexical integrity: *o-yomi itadai-ta koto-wa itadai-ta ga...* ‘(we) did receive the benefit of (someone) reading (it) to (us), but...’. Second, they allow two-word accent patterns, unlike V-V compounds, as a Low pitch on the first mora of *itadak(-u)*. Third, nominal-only forms can appear as the first element. Renyookei verbs can be nominals by themselves and so it is superficially difficult to tell nominals from renyookei verbs, but the complex under consideration can have some nominals that are fossilized renyookei forms of obsolete verbs (or existing verbs in obsolete senses). Examples include *o-demasi itadak(-u)* ‘receive the benefit of (someone) coming over (to us)’ and *o-kosi itadak(-u)* ‘receive the benefit of (someone) coming (to us)’. See Masuoka (2012) for a similar view.

V-*te* V complexes have a perfective/resultative meaning, except that the progressive meaning of *-te iru* is not obviously related to perfectivity/resultativity.

In contrast, aspectual meanings represented by V-V compounds are semantically different. Examples of V-V aspectual compounds are given in (26).

- (26) V-*hazime(-ru)* ‘begin to V’, V-*tuduke(-ru)* ‘continue to V’, V-*owar(-u)* ‘cease to V’, V-*oe(-ru)* ‘finish V-ing’, V-*kake(-ru)* ‘be about to V’.

These represent transitions at different phases of the development of an event, and are not restricted to the ending of an event

A comparison can be made between seemingly similar pair V-*owar(-u)* and V-*te simaw(-u)*. The former represents a simple cessation of an event or completion of an action, while the latter implies a certain after-effect of the completion: the completed state is final (i.e., has been ‘put away for storage’), and so “the state cannot be turned back to a previous one any longer” (Teramura 1984:172). The latter can also carry the sense of regret over the completion of the event.

Some other V-*te* V complexes have also been linked to the aftereffects of V1 (Martin 1975; Kinsui 2004; Yoshida 2012): the complex V-*te mi(-ru)* ‘try Ving’ appears to indicate the examination (“looking”) of the aftereffects of V1, and *-te age(-ru)* indicates the transfer of benefit that is realized only after the action is completed (though this is not clear to me). A fact that can be cited in favor of this view is that V1 in the V-*te* V complex cannot represent the purpose of V2. Such meanings are expressed instead by the V-*ni* V complex, with V1 marked in the purposive *-ni*, as shown in (27). This complex also exhibits single-predicate properties when the two verbs are adjacent, as discussed in Miyagawa (1987) and Matsumoto (1991, 1996).

- (27) Kare wa hon o Kanda ni kai ni it-ta.
 He TOP book ACC Kanda GOAL buy PUR go-PST
 ‘He went to Kanda to buy books.’

This temporal nature of *-te* verbs may account for why V-*te* V complexes are chosen to express meanings of some V-*te* V complexes. However, it is not clear whether this is the sole definitive difference between V-*te* V complex and V-V compound verbs. First, not all instances of V-*te* V complexes involve perfective/resultative meaning of *-te* verbs, as Kinsui (2004) admits. The involvement of perfectivity in the desiderative *-te hosii* ‘want’ is not clear. A counterexample in the aspectual compounds is the progressive meaning of V-*te i(-ru)*. *-Te i(-ru)* also marks stativity with already stative verbs (e.g., *tigaw(-u)* ‘differ’, *tarir(-u)* ‘suffice’), in which perfectivity/resultativity is clearly absent. The perfectivity/resultativity is

also not always seen in complex motion predicates. In *V-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)*, the *-te* verb is interpreted in the progressive as well as resultative readings. *Mot-te ik(-u)* [hold-TE go-PRS] ‘go having, take’ involves the resultative reading of *mot-te*, given that the verb *mot(-u)* is inchoative in meaning ‘take in one’s hand, come to have’, and *mot-te* represents the resultant state of someone having taken up an object. In the case of *hasit-te ik(-u)* [run-TE go-PRS] ‘go running’, in contrast, *hasit-te* refers to an on-going action that co-occurs with the event referred to by *ik(-u)/ku(-ru)*. The latter case does not obviously involve perfectivity/resultativity of *-te*.

One may claim that perfectivity is in fact involved in the progressive. The progressive form of an activity predicate entails that the action has already begun (see Dowty 1977). That is, the progressive *-te i(-ru)* involves the completion of the beginning of the event (see Kudo 1995; Yoshida 2012). The progressive *-te* verbs in *V-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)* (e.g., *kake-te ik(-u)* [run-TE go-PRS] ‘go running’) can also be interpreted in the same way. However, if we regard the progressive *-te* in *V-te i(-ru)* and *V-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)* as involving perfectivity/resultativity in this sense, then the meanings of V1 in the V-V compounds like *kake-agar(-u)* [run-ascend-PRS] ‘ascend running’ can also be interpreted in the perfective/resultative (i.e., the ascending process is preceded by the beginning of running). Then, it remains a mystery why the *V-te V* form is not opted for the meaning of *kake-agar(-u)* in the same way as *V-te ik(-u)/ku(-ru)*.

Second, the sense of perfectivity/resultativity is also found in the V1 of certain V-V compounds. Certain inchoative verbs such as *mot(-u)* ‘hold, take in one’s hand’ and *tat(-u)* ‘stand up’ are interpreted in the resultative sense when they occur in the V1 of lexical and syntactic compounds. The lexical compound *moti-hakob(-u)* [hold-carry-PRS] ‘carry’, for example, represents the action of carrying while one holds an object, and the V1 represents the resulting state of the inchoative process of *mot(-u)*. The syntactic compound verb *tatitudoku(-ru)* [stand-continue] ‘continue to stand’ also represents the continuation of the state of standing, which is the resulting state of the inchoative process referred to by the verb *tat(-u)* ‘stand up’. This is found only with achievement predicates with controllable resulting states. Thus, some V1 in the V-V compounds can be interpreted in the perfective/resultative meaning, though it is not a typical pattern with V-V.¹⁰

These observations suggest that the perfectivity/resultativity of the *-te* verbs cannot be the sole definitive difference between the two kinds of verbal complexes though it certainly accounts for why *most* of the aspectual meanings represented by *V-te V* complexes are related to resultative meaning.

¹⁰ The resultative reading of Renyookei V1 can be seen in syntactic compounds with *-hazime(-ru)* ‘begin’, and *-tudoku(-ru)* ‘continue’, but interestingly not with *-owar(-u)* ‘cease, finish’ or *-oe(-ru)* ‘finish’.

5.5 Semantic restrictions on V2 in V-*te* V complexes

We would like to argue that the most crucial difference between V-*te* V complexes and V-V compounds lies in the semantic nature of V2 verbs.

The starting point for our discussion here is the restrictedness in the V2 of the V-*te* V complexes in comparison to V-V compound verbs. Let us first consider the semantic ranges of V2 in V-V compounds. Among V-V compounds, syntactic compounds exhibit asymmetry of V1 and V2, in that V1 is open in membership but V2 is restricted. This is partially because all V2s in V-V compound verbs are raising or control verbs, and, in addition, not all raising or control verbs can be V2 (e.g., *V-*yame(-ru)* [V-stop-PRS], *V-*tutome(-ru)* [V-endeavor-PRS], and *V-*kokoromi(-ru)* [V-attempt-PRS], suggesting that they are not open in membership. Lexical compounds generally do not exhibit such asymmetry. Although there are restrictions as to which verbs can be used in V1 or V2, neither is closed in membership.

In contrast, V-*te* V complexes are *quite* restricted in V2, both in their biclausal and monoclausal subtypes, as the list in (4) suggests. Why is this the case?

5.5.1 Deictic motion verbs in V-V compounds and V-*te* V complexes

I will discuss this question by first examining the subtype in which the difference between the two types of complexes are most clear: monoclausal subtype. While the whole range of verbs are available for the V2s in V-V lexical compound verbs, only a restricted set of verbs are allowed for V-*te* V complexes: deictic motion verbs.

The semantic domain of the meanings represented by monoclausal V-*te* V complexes, or complex motion predicates is that of spatial motion. Linguistic expressions of spatial motion are known to exhibit interesting patterns (see Talmy 1991; Matsumoto 2003, 2017b). Motion events have several different components such as Manner (e.g., ‘running’), Path (e.g., ‘ascending’), Deixis (e.g., ‘coming’), and Accompanying activity (e.g., ‘singing’), and Japanese verbal complexes are used to describe them in a specific way. Matsumoto (1997, 2017a) has found the following combination of verbs in describing a motion event in V-V compounds in Japanese, in which A stands for Accompanying action; M for Manner; and P for Path.

- (28) A-M: *uri-aruk(-u)* [sell-walk-PRS] ‘walk selling’
A-P: *uri-mawar(-u)* [sell-go.around-PRS] ‘go around selling’
- M-P: *aruki-mawar(-u)* [run-go.around-PRS] ‘walk around’
- P-P: *toori-sugi(-ru)* [go.through-go.past-PRS] ‘go past’

It is sometimes possible to have three verbs in a compound, as in (29) (Chen and Matsumoto 2018).

(29) A-M-P: *uri-aruki-mawar(-u)* [sell-walk-go.around-PRS] ‘walk around selling’

Notably, deictic verbs do not participate in V-V compounds, as shown in (30), although such compounds were observed in older Japanese.

(30) *A-D: *uri-ku(-ru)* [sell-come-PRS]
*P-D: *mawari-ku(-ru)* [go.around-come-PRS]
*M-D: *aruki-ku(-ru)* [walk-come-PRS]

V-V compounds with *ku(-ru)* and *yuk(-u)* (an older form of *ik(-u)*) as V2, such as *watari-yuk(-u)* [cross-go-PRS] ‘go crossing’ used to be common (see Kojima 1999), but most are now archaic. What few that remain (e.g., *sugi-yuk(-u)* [pass-go-PRS] ‘pass away’, *semari-ku(-ru)* [dash.on-come-PRS] ‘come pressing on’) are used only in the nonpast tense form in a prenominal position; in addition, some of them are used chiefly for the passage of time (e.g., *sugi-yuk(-u)* ‘pass away’) or are metaphorical in meaning (e.g., *semari-ku(-ru)* ‘come pressing on’).

The exclusion of deictic motion verbs from V-V compound verbs is in fact seen in V1 of lexical compound verbs as well. It has been pointed out by N. Matsumoto (2009) that compounds with *ik(-u)* as V1 do not have deictic meaning. *Ik(-u)* is found in the following compound verbs:

(31) *iki-tuk(-u)* [go-arrive-PRS] ‘lead to’, *iki-atar(-u)* [go-hit-PRS] ‘come across’, *iki-megur(-u)* [go-go.around-PRS] ‘go thoroughly around’, *iki-watar(-u)* [go-cross-PRS] ‘go widely around’, *iki-kaw(-u)* [go-pass.by.one.another-PRS] ‘go to and fro’, etc.

These verbs do not have contrasting verbs with *ku(-ru)*, as shown in (32).

(32) **ki-tuk(-u)*, **ki-atar(-u)*, **ki-megur(-u)*, **ki-watar(-u)*, **ki-kaw(-u)*

Furthermore, the verbs in (31) can be used when the motion is directed toward the speaker, and therefore do not contain deictic meaning, as evidenced by the acceptability of *boku ni iki-tuk(-u)* [I Go go-arrive-PRS] ‘reach me after all’. This suggests that lexical compound verbs tend to exclude deictic motion verbs. (There is no such restriction on V1 of syntactic compound verbs, with the verbs *ik(-u)* and *ku(-ru)* freely occurring as V1 of syntactic compound verbs.)

V-*te* V complexes representing spatial motion are different. Most importantly, only deictic verbs (and perhaps a few others such as *kaer(-u)* ‘return’ which has a similar meaning) are allowed as V2. Other path verbs, for instance *agar(-u)* ‘go up’, do not function

as V2 in *V-te V* complexes. Such path verbs can be the main verb and co-occur with a *-te* verb, if the *-te* verb is in the subordinate clause in the clause-linkage structure, as in (33a). However, when the *-te* verb is placed in a sentence in which only a complex predicate reading is allowed (because of *sika* interpretation), the nondeictic verb *agar(-u)* is ruled out as V2, as shown in (33b).

- (33) a. [PRO sore o mot-te] nikai ni ki-ta/agat-ta.
 it ACC hold-TE 2F GOAL come-PST/ascend-PST
 ‘Holding it, (he) {came/went up} to the 2nd floor.’
- b. Sono hako sika nikai ni mot-te {ko-nakat-ta/*agar-anakat-ta}
 the box only 2F GOAL hold-TE come-NEG-PST/ascend-NEG-PST
 ‘(He) {brought/carried up} only the box to the 2nd floor.’

Thus, there is something special about the deictic verbs. This observation is consistent with the findings from a crosslinguistic study of motion event descriptions: Deixis is often expressed in a different syntactic and morphological position from other path notions (see Matsuse 2017; Matsumoto 2017b; Matsumoto, Akita and Takahashi 2017).

5.5.2 Other deictic/honorific verbs in V-V compounds and V-te V complexes

The generalization reached concerning deictic motion verbs can be broadened to deictic verbs in general. Generally speaking, deixis is not a preferred element to be expressed in V1 or V2 of lexical compounds, and V2 of syntactic compound verbs, while it is preferred in V2 in *V-te V* complexes.

Verbs of coming and going are not the only verbs that code deixis. Deixis makes a crucial reference to the position or status of the speaker, but this notion of position/status is not limited to a spatial one. Deixis is also involved in the verbs of giving in Japanese. Japanese has a set of deictically conditioned verbs of giving, shown in (33) (see Kuno 1978, 1986; Shibatani 2003; Yamada 2004; Sawada 2014, etc.), a phenomenon that can be seen only in a restricted number of languages.¹¹ The contrast between (34a) and (34b) lies in the difference in the direction of the shift of ownership relative to the speaker.

¹¹ Such distinction in the verbs of giving is by no means unique to Japanese, in spite of Yamada’s (2004) claim. See Mohanan (1983), Comrie (2003), and Matsumoto (2010) for an example of a Dravidian language Malayalam. Interestingly, Malayalam deictic verbs of giving can also be used with a verbal complement to indicate the transfer of benefits.

- (34) a. *yar(-u)/age(-ru)*: ‘give to a person other than the Speaker or a person closer to the Speaker than the giver)
 b. *kure(-ru)*: ‘give to the Speaker (or a person closer to the Speaker than the giver)

The hierarchy of relative closeness to the Speaker in these verbs is given in (35).

- (35) Speaker > Speaker’s “IN-group” person > Hearer > Others

Not all verbs of giving are deictically conditioned. Other verbs, such as *atae(-ru)* ‘give’, and *watas(-u)* ‘hand over’, are not deictic. Interestingly, nondeictic verbs of giving are found as V2s in lexical compounds, but deictic ones are not, as shown in (36).

- (36) a. *wake-atae(-ru)* [divide-give-PRS] ‘give (a divided portion) to’, *kasi-atae(-ru)* [lend-give-PRS] ‘lend’, *yuzuri watas(-u)* [yield-hand.over-PRS] ‘yield over’,
 b. **wake-age(-ru)* [divide-give-PRS], **kasi-age(-ru)* [lend-give-PRS], **yuzuri-kure(-ru)* [yield-give-PRS]

Apparent counterexamples can be found with *yar(-u)* ‘give to a person who is not the Speaker’, a somewhat vulgar variant of *age(-ru)*. This verb can occur in V2 in lexical compounds in (37).

- (37) *mi-yar(-u)* [look-give-PRS] ‘give a glance at’, *omoi-yar(-u)* [think-give-PRS] ‘give thoughts to, consider of’

However, these can be used for actions directed to the speaker, and so deictic meaning is absent in such cases.

On the other hand, all of those deictic verbs of giving can occur as V2 in *-te* complexes, to indicate the giving of benefit (Sakuma 1936; Inoue 1976; Shibatani 1978; Kuno 1980; Yamada 2004; Sawada 2014, etc.), but none of nondeictic verbs of giving can, as shown in (38). Note that (38c) has only a sequential reading of ‘read and then gave’.

- (38) a. Ken wa boku ni hon o yon-de kure-ta.
 Ken TOP I DAT book ACC read-TE GIVE-PST
 ‘Ken read a book for me.’
 b. Boku wa kare ni hon o yon-de age-ta
 I TOP he DAT book ACC read-TE GIVE-PST
 ‘I read a book for him.’
 c. Boku wa kare ni hon o yon-de (sore o) atae-ta

I TOP he DAT book ACC read-TE it ACC GIVE-PST
 ‘I read a book and gave it to him.’

Other verbs are also deictic in that they code social deixis: the social differences relative to the speaker (see Levinson 1983). Honorific verbs, given in (39), are such examples. These represent the speaker’s sense of respect toward either the subject, or other argument of the verb (normally representing the hearer).

- (39) *ossyar(-u)* ‘say’, *nasar(-u)* ‘do’, *sasi-age(-ru)* ‘give’, *kudasar(-u)* ‘give’, *itadak(-u)* ‘receive, eat’, *gozar(-u)* ‘be’, *irassyar(-u)* ‘be, come, go’, *mair(-u)* ‘come, go’, *goran ni nar(-u)* ‘look’

These verbs do not participate in V-V compounds. In older Japanese, a presently obsolete honorific verb *tamaw(-u)* ‘give’ was used in syntactic V-V compounds (e.g., *yomi-tamaw(-u)*, [read-GIVE(HON)-PRS] ‘read (HON)’, but they are now replaced by *-te* complex forms like *yonde kudasar(-u)* [read-TE GIVE(HON) -PRS].¹²

In contrast, many of those honorific verbs occur in the *V-te V* complexes, in order to form honorific variants of *V-te V* complexes, as shown in (40).

- (40) a. *V-te ik(-u)* *V-te irassyar(-u)*
 b. *V-te ku(-ru)* *V-te irassyar(-u)*
 c. *V-te i(-ru)* *V-te irassyar(-u)*
 d. *V-te ar(-u)* *V-te gozar(-u)*
 e. *V-te age(-ru)* *V-te sasi-age(-ru)*
 f. *V-te moraw(-u)* *V-te itadak(-u)*
 g. *V-te kure(-ru)* *V-te kudasar(-u)*
 h. *V-te mi(-ru)* *V-te goran ni nar(-u)*
 i. *V-te mise(-ru)* *V-te goran ni ire(-ru)*

¹² There are sporadic examples of compound verbs used as honorific verbs. Examples are *mesi-agar(-u)* [take-eat-PRS] ‘eat(HON)’ and *sasi-age(-ru)* [hold.up-lift-PRS] ‘give (to a higher person)’. In both cases the meanings of the whole verb is somewhat untransparent.

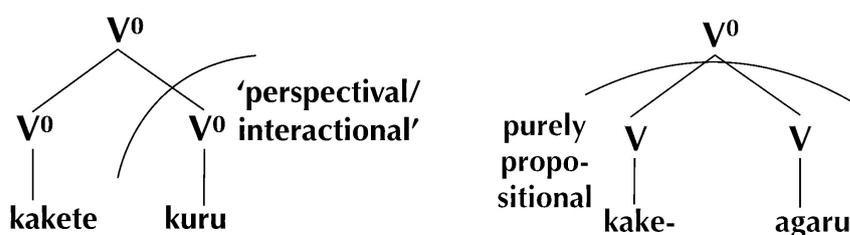
It may seem that expressions such as *o-yomi kudasar(-u)* [Hon-read GIVE(HON)-PRS] ‘give (me) an honor of reading’ are instances of V-V compounds with honorific V2. But these are *o-N V* complexes, with a nominalized element as the first member, as evidenced by phenomena described in footnote 12 above.

Note that the non-honorific verbs in (40c, d, h and i) in this list do not have deictic verbs as V2. By taking the *V-te V* form, these complexes can have the same structure as the socially deictic variants, which are required to be in this form.

Thus, it is generally true that deictic verbs are excluded from lexical compounds, but are preferably used as V2s of *V-te V* complexes. Those deictic verbs are different from nondeictic verbs in that they are not purely propositional in meaning. They do code propositional contents, given that they describe motion, shift in ownership, etc. However, these contents are perspectivized (described from the viewpoint of the speaker) or set in the interactional contexts of utterance (used to convey the speaker’s sense of respect or care to the subject or to the hearer).¹³

The schematic structures of *V-te V* complexes and lexical V-V compound verbs in terms of purely propositional vs. perspectivized/interactional contents are given in (41).

(41)



The V1 of *V-te V* complex is unspecified with respect to perspectivity, and a deictic verb can appear in that slot. (The same is true of the V1 of a syntactic compound verb.)

There are, however, some *V-te V* complexes that have nothing to do with perspectival or interactional V2. The *V-te V* complexes which do not have deictic verbs (or have socially deictic variants) are *V-te simaw(-u)*, *V-te ok(-u)*, and *V-te hosi(-i)*. Interestingly, these are predicates that have perfective/resultative *-te* and/or create different-subject structure. Thus, the three factors in combination appear to account for why *-te* is selected in the attested *V-te V* complexes.

5.5.3 Summary and discussion

¹³ Some of the *V-te V* complexes are interactional in another sense. The uses of benefactive constructions are very often used to express the speech act of request (Mori 2016). Note that *V-te kudasar(-u)* [V-TE give.to.the.speaker-PRS] has a special imperative form *V-te kudasai*, which is used exclusively to express a request.

Table 2 summarizes the findings above, and shows which of the three factors are relevant to each *V-te V* complex. It shows that none of the three is crucial by itself. However, all of the *V-te V* complexes have at least one of the factors that favor *V-te V* complex.

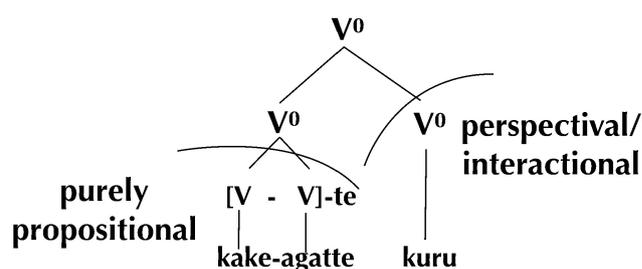
	different subject	perfective/ resultative V1	deictic V2
<i>-te ik(-u)</i>	*	* / ✓	✓
<i>-te ku(-ru)</i>	*	* / ✓	✓
<i>-te i(-ru)</i>	*	*/✓	have a variant
<i>-te ar(-u)</i>	*/✓	✓	have a variant
<i>-te ok(-u)</i>	*	✓	*
<i>-te simaw(-u)</i>	*	✓	*
<i>-te moraw(-u)</i>	✓	?	have a variant
<i>-te kure(-ru)</i>	*	?	✓
<i>-te age(-ru)</i>	*	?	✓
<i>-te hosi(-i)</i>	✓	*	*
<i>-te mi(-ru)</i>	*	✓	have a variant
<i>-te mise(-ru)</i>	*	✓	have a variant
syntactic compounds	*	* / ✓	*
lexical compounds	*	* / ✓	*

Table 2 *V-te V* complexes and the three factors favorable to the choice of their form

Different-subject structure is not allowed in *V-V* compounds, but allowed in *V-te V* complexes. Deictic verbs are not allowed in *V-V* compounds, but typically used in the V2 of *V-te V* complexes. The perfective/resultative reading is typical of V1s of *V-te V* complexes but not so in those of *V-V* compounds.

The separation of deictic information in the structure of a verbal complex can be made clearer in the embedding of a multi-verbal complex in another. Lexical compounds can be embedded in the *V-te V* structure in the V1 position, to form a *V-V-te V* structure, such as *kake-agat-te ku(-ru)* [run-ascend-TE come-PRS]. However, it is not possible to embed *V-te V* complex within a *V-V* lexical compounds (since V1 must cannot be a unit larger than morphological word), and so it is not possible to say **kake-te ki-agar(-u)* [run-TE come-ascend-PRS]. This means that deixis is always at the end as far as lexical compound verbs and monoclausal *V-te V* complexes are concerned. The structure of *kake-agat-te ku(-ru)* is given in (42), together with the kinds of information coded.

(42)



Deictic verbs code meanings that are not purely propositional, but convey perspectival and interactional meanings. Therefore, it is natural that a position outside of the positions for purely propositional contents is assigned to such meanings.

This observation is to some extent consistent with what has been claimed about the general tendencies in the order of elements in Japanese verbal structure. Semantically motivated layering of verbal structure can be seen generally in Japanese. Kageyama (2013) argues that lexical compound verbs in Japanese have a layered structure more complex than is assumed in this chapter, and those verbs representing some sort of aspectuality occur outside the combination of verbs with lexical contents (e.g., *ne-sizumari-kaer(-u)* [sleep-become.silent-return-PRS] ‘become utterly silent due to sleeping’). It has also been suggested that verb suffixes and other post-verbal elements are ordered in semantically and pragmatically motivated ways (Nitta 1991; Minami 1993, Narrog 2010, etc.). Narrog argues that those elements that take a wider semantic scope tend to occur in an outside position (i.e., toward the end).

One has to note that deictic verbs are not always at the end when biclausal *V-te V* complexes and syntactic compound verbs are involved, as shown in (43). In these examples, a *V-te V* complex is embedded as *V1* in another *V-te V* complex or a syntactic compound.

- (43) a. hasit-te ki-hazime-ta.
run-TE come-begin-PST
‘began to come running’
- b. kare ni hasit-te ki-te hosi-i
he DAT run-TE come-TE want-PRS
‘want him to come running’

Note that the *V1* of a biclausal *V-te V* complex and a syntactic compound verb is the head of an embedded complement clause. This suggests that the tendency of deixis occurring at the end of a clause is observed strictly within a single clause, and those in (43) are not counterexamples to this generalization.

5.6 Concluding remarks

The two kinds of multi-verbal complexes are different morphologically, syntactically and semantically. Morphologically tighter V-V compounds require same-subject relation between the two verbs, and exclude perspectival or interactional meanings (except V1 in syntactic compounds). Loosely concatenated *V-te* V complexes allow different subjects, typically have perfective/resultative V1, and have V2 as a preferred slot for perspectival/interactional meanings. These observations suggest that language does not have more than one option meaninglessly; different multi-verbal complexes serve different purposes.¹⁴

What kinds of implications do our findings have in the syntax and semantics of verbal complexes? The present findings from Japanese can be taken to show how different types of multi-verbal complexes exhibit division of labor. One way in which multi-verbal complexes can be different involves different degrees of formal and semantic integration. It is often argued that the degree of syntactic/morphological integratedness is correlated with semantic relatedness (e.g., Foley and Van Valin 1984). The Japanese facts above are consistent with the generalization of the iconicity of form-meaning relation. Different-subject structures involve a less semantic integration than same-subject structures. In addition, the combination of propositional and perspectivized elements in *V-te* V complexes constitutes a less integrated combination than the combination of purely propositional contents. Thus, morphologically tighter complexes can be said to represent semantically more integrated structures.

The second way multi-verbal complexes can be different can come from the semantics of different verb forms involved, as suggested by the perfective/resultative tendency in *V-te* V complexes. This can be more clearly seen in other languages. Altaic languages have a rich set of forms available for nonfinite verbs, differing in such parameters as the temporal relationship of the nonfinite verb to the main verb, and the identity of subjects of the two verbs (see Nedjalkov 1997 for Evenki, and Janhunen 2012 for Mongolian). In Mongolian, such different forms of converbs can participate in forming different kinds of complex predicates (Janhunen 2012; Badema 2012), and the choice of forms reflects the temporal nature of the converb forms to some extent (Badema 2012; see also Baranova 2013 for Kalmyk, and Ibrahim 1995 for Uighur and Uzbek).

Finally, we have identified the sharing of subjects as an important difference that multi-verbal complexes can exhibit. This parameter of the presence/absence of same-subject

¹⁴ The historical development of the division of labor between V-V compounds and *V-te* V complexes in view of the present findings is an interesting topic for study. The latter is a more recent option and, for the appearance of some of the complexes, see Miyaji (1981), Kojima (1999), Fukushima (2011), and Mori (2016).

requirement is an interesting crosslinguistically valid parameter of multi-verbal structures in general. A similar parameter has already been discussed in the serial verb constructions. Crowley (2002) discusses the distinction between same-subject serialization ('hit kill') vs. switch-subject serialization ('hit die'). Aikhenvald (2006) argues that all serializing languages have same-subject serialization, and that they differ in whether they have "switch-function serialization" in addition. Languages that seem to lack switch-subject serializing include Kambera (Malayo-Polynesian; Klamer 1998: 275ff), Lavukaleve (Papuan; Terrill 2003: 373ff), and ||Hoan (Khoisan; Collins 2002), while those which allow it include Thai (Tai-Kadai; Thepkanjana 1986) and Sranan (Creole; Sebba 1987). Bril (2004) also examines what she calls "nuclear juncture" complex predicates (which correspond to compounds) in different Oceanic languages in terms of same-subject/different-subject subtypes, and identifies several languages that require subject sharing and those which do not. The former includes Saliba (Malayo-Polynesian, Papuan Tip; see Margetts 1999:102), Paamese (Malayo-Polynesian, Vanuatu; Crowley 1987), and Tahitian (Malayo-Polynesian, French Polynesia; Paia and Vernaudon 2004). Compounds in Mapudungun (isolate, Chile; Baker and Fasola 2009:601-602) and Tepehua (Totonacan, Mexico; Watters 2017) also appear to be subject sharing, while those in Mandarin Chinese do not have such constraint (e.g., Li and Thompson 1981). The relation of the two Japanese multi-verbal complexes to such parameters in typological literature is worth further investigation.

Abbreviations

ACC: Accusative

COP: Copula

DAT: Dative

FOC: Focus

GEN: Genitive

HON: Honorific

LOC: Locative

NOM: Nominative

OBL: Oblique

PRS: Present (Non-Past)

PST: Past

PUR: Purposive

TOP: Topic

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