

Case-marking and the nexus-juncture type of the *TE aru* predicate in Japanese

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York University



Section 2: Valence-Maintaining vs. Valence-Changing

1. Realizability of the actor

2. Meaning

3. *Da-so*



Section 3: Layered Structure of Clause (LSC)

1. Diagnostic tests with negation

2. Passivization



Section 4: Linking from semantics to syntax



Section 5: Concluding remarks

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1. Introduction



- Japanese:
→ The *TE aru* predicate:
Transitive base verb + *TE* (linker) + *aru* '(lit.) exist'

(1) *Naomi ga hana o kazat-te aru.*
Naomi **NOM** flower **ACC** decorate-TE exist.NPST
'Naomi has decorated the flowers (there).'



[Valence-Maintaining]
(Hasegawa 1996)
→ Syntactically
bivalent

(2) *Hana ga kazat-te aru.*
Flower **NOM** decorate-TE exist.NPST
'(Some) flowers are decorated (there).'

[Valence-Changing]
(Hasegawa 1996)
→ Syntactically
monovalent

(3) *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru.*
I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST

'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'
(modified from Sugioka (1984: 185))

- 2 types of structures:

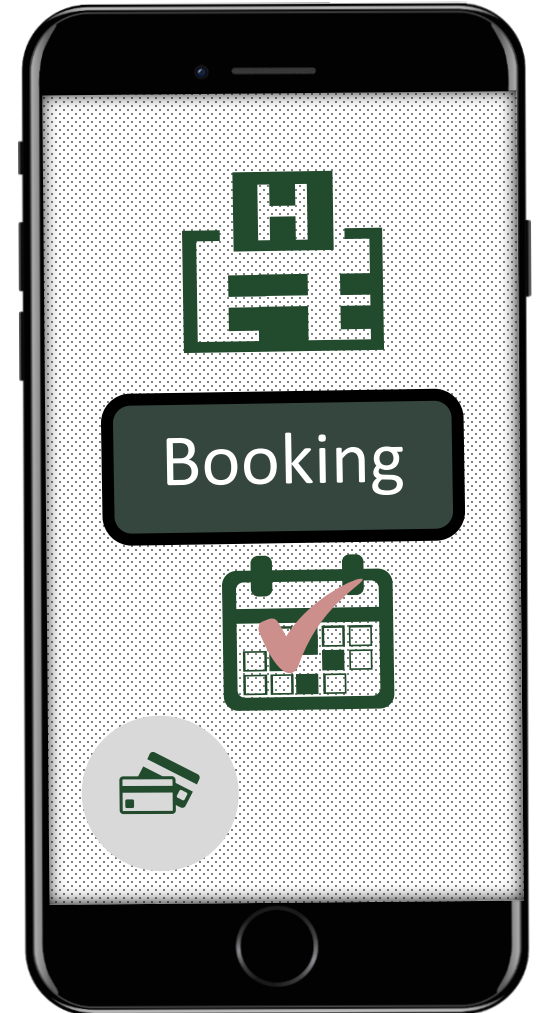
Valence-Maintaining & Valence-Changing

Miyagawa and Babyonyshev [M&B, henceforth] (2004)

- Undergoer:

o 'accusative' → Valence-Maintaining

ga 'nominative' → Valence-Changing



Goal:

(3) *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru.*
I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'

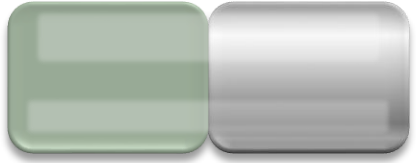
1) Structure type of (3): Valence-Maintaining

- Contra Valence-changing (M&B 2004)
 - 1. realizability of the actor, 2. meaning of the predicate, 3. *do-so* test
 - NOM on the undergoer in (3): morphological case (Kishimoto 2004) assigned to the “pragmatic peak” (Imai 2005)

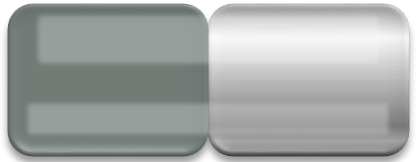
2) Structure of Valence-Maintaining: core subordination

- Contra “nuclear subordination” (Hasegawa 1996)

Organization



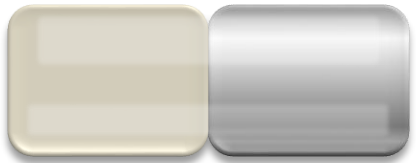
Section 1: Introduction



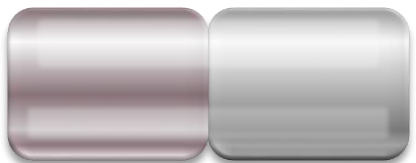
Section 2: Valence-Maintaining vs. Valence-Changing



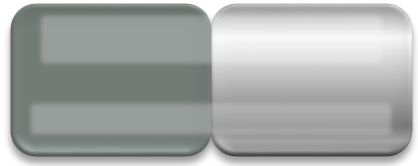
Section 3: Layered Structure of Clause (LSC)



Section 4: Linking from semantics to syntax



Section 5: Concluding remarks



Section 2: Valence-Maintaining vs. Valence-Changing

1. Realizability of the actor

2. Meaning

3. *Do-so*

(4) Naomi **ga** hana **o** kazat-te aru. [Valence-Maintaining]
Naomi NOM flower ACC decorate-TE exist.NPST
'Naomi has decorated the flowers (there).'

(5) Hana **ga** kazat-te aru. [Valence-Changing]
Flower NOM decorate-TE exist.NPST
'(Some) flowers are decorated (there).'

(6) Boku **wa** yado **ga** yoyaku.shi-te aru.
I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'

(7) * Naomi **niyotte** hana **ga** kazat-te aru.
Naomi by flower NOM decorate-te exist.NPST
(intended) '(Some) flowers are decorated by Naomi.'

(6) *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru.*
 I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
 'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'

Ergative case-marking predicate

- Test for detecting case: nominalization by adding *koto* 'event'

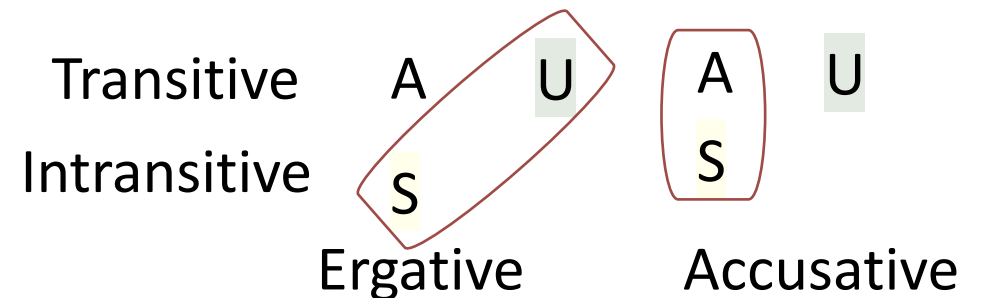
(8) *Boku ga yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru-koto*
 I NOM hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST-EVENT
 '(the fact) that I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'

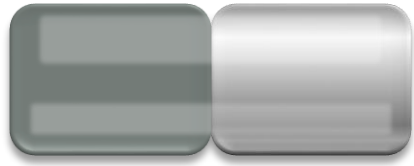
Kishimoto (2004): Double nominative case marking pattern in stative verbs

→ “the ergative case-marking stative predicates”

Marking of Undergoer of the transitive verb =

Marking of Sole argument of the intransitive verb





Section 2: VM vs. VC

1. Realizability of the actor

2. Meaning

3. *Do-so*

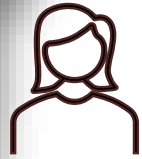
- Valence-Changing: Current state of the object

(9) *Hana ga kazat-te aru.*
Flower **NOM** decorate-TE exist.NPST
'(Some) flowers are decorated (there).'



- Valence-Maintaining: The condition remains

Canonical
case-marking



(10) a. *Naomi ga hana o kazat-te aru.*

Naomi **NOM** flower **ACC** decorate-TE exist.NPST

'Naomi has decorated the flowers (there).'

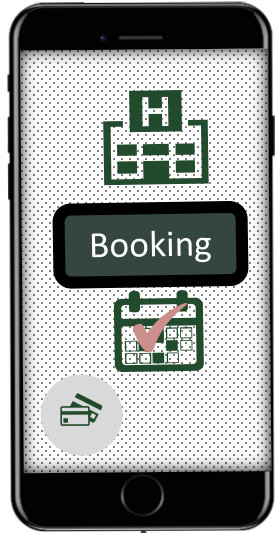
The decorated condition
of the flowers remains

Past

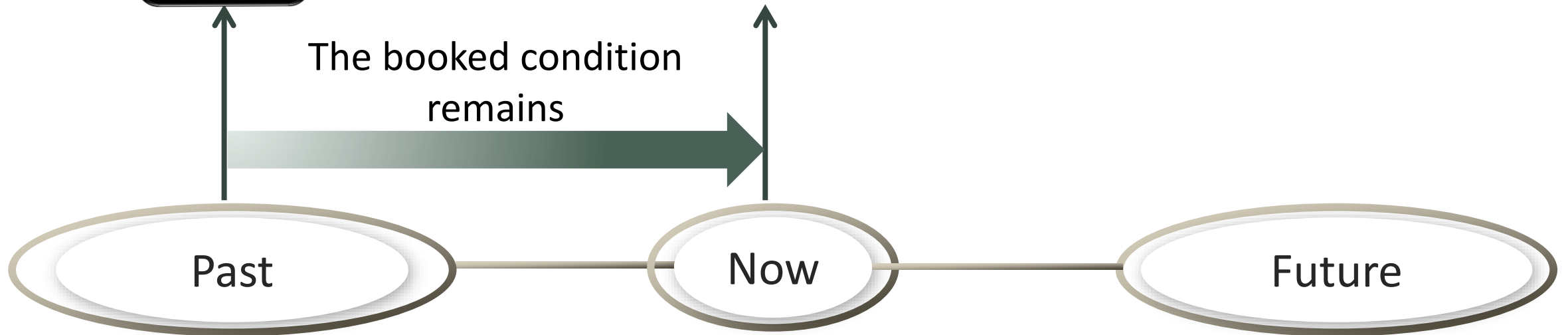
Now

Future

Ergative case-marking



(10) b. *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru. (=3)*
I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'



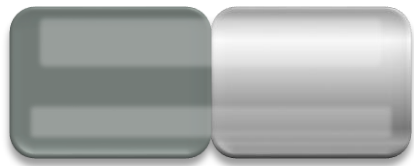
Logical Structure (the Valence-Maintaining type)

(11) The *TE aru* predicate:

remain' (w) (w=LS of the base verb)

a. *kazat-te-aru*: **remain'** ([**do'** (x, \emptyset)] CAUSE [INGR **decorated'** ((z), y)])

b. *yoyaku-shi-te-aru*: **remain'** ([**do'** (x, \emptyset)] CAUSE [INGR **booked'** (y)])



Section 2: VM vs. VC

1. Realizability of the actor

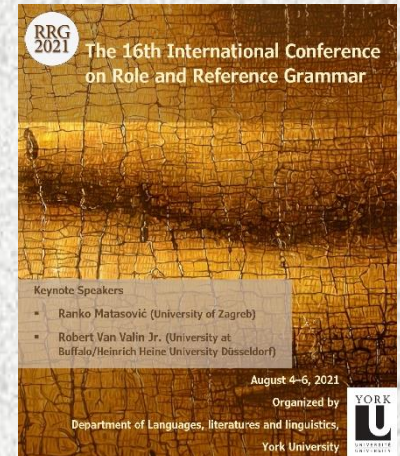
2. Meaning

3. *Do-so* test

Do-so test: *do-so* is to replace “verbal phrases” (Lakoff and Ross 1966)

- Valence-Changing

- (12) a. *A, kabe ni shashin ga hat-te aru.*
 Oh wall DAT photo NOM paste-TE exist.NPST
 “Oh, a photo is pasted on the wall.”
- b. *A, posutaa mo soo shi-te aru.*
 Ah poster FOC so do-TE exist.NPST
 ‘(They) have done the same for the poster, too.’



- Valence-Maintaining

- (13) a. *Naomi ga heya ni hana o kazat-te aru.*
 Naomi NOM room DAT flower ACC decorate-TE exist.NPST
 'Naomi has decorated the flowers in the room.'
- b. *Mika mo soo shi-te aru.*
 Mika FOC so do-TE exist.NPST
 'Mika has (already) done so, too.'

Canonical
case-marking

- (14) a. *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru.*
 I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
 'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'
- b. *Taroo mo soo shi-te aru.*
 Taro FOC so do-TE exist.NPST
 'Taro has (already) done so, too.'

Ergative case-
marking

(15) Subsection summary

Valence Changing

a. *Hana ga kazat-te aru.*
Flower NOM decorate-TE exist.NPST
'(Some) flowers are decorated (there).'

Realizability
of the actor

No

Meaning

state

do-so

N/A

Valence Maintaining – Canonical case marking

b. *Naomi ga hana o kazat-te aru.*
Naomi NOM flower ACC decorate-TE exist.NPST
'Naomi has decorated the flowers (there).'

Yes

remaining
condition

Yes

Valence Maintaining – Ergative-case-marking

c. *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru.*
I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'

Yes

remaining
condition

Yes



Section 3: Layered Structure of Clause (LSC)

1. Diagnostic tests with negation

2. Passivization

Hasegawa (1996):

- Valence-Maintaining type: nuclear subordination because, the sentence -can be negated by *nai-de* (claimed to be nuclear-level operator of negation)

Valence-Changing

(16) *Tegami ga dasa- nai-de aru.*
letter NOM send NEG-TE exist.NPST

‘There is a letter which hasn’t been sent out.’ (Hasegawa 1996: 87)

a. * *Tegami ga dasa- nai-de aru.*
letter NOM send NEG-TE exist.NPST

cf. *kazat-te aru.*
decorate-TE exist.NPST

b. *Tegami ga dasa- nai-de aru.*
letter NOM send NEG-TE exist.NPST

- Valence-Maintaining

(17) a. *Naomi ga hana o kazat-te aru.*
 Naomi NOM flower ACC decorate-TE exist.NPST
 'Naomi has decorated the flowers (there).'

Canonical
case-marking

b. * *Naomi ga hana o kazara-nai-de aru.*
 Naomi NOM flower ACC decorate-NEG-TE exist.NPST
 'Naomi exists without decorating the room.'

(18) a. *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru. (=3)*
 I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
 'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'

Ergative case-
marking

b. * *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-nai-de aru.*
 I TOP hotel NOM book-TE NEG-TE exist.NPST
 'I exist without booking the hotel (room).'



Section 3: LSC

1. Diagnostic tests with negation

2. Passivization

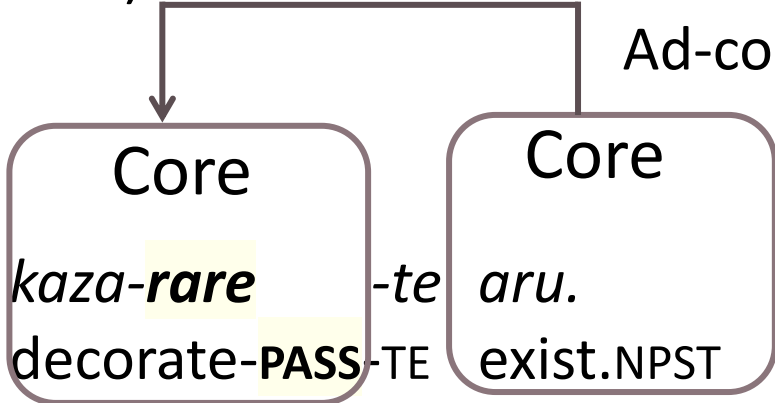
- Bivalent valence-maintaining sentences with *TE aru* predicates can be passivized (Kim 2017; Takakura 2014)

(19) a. *Naomi ga hana o kizat-te aru.*
 Naomi NOM flower ACC decorate-TE exist.NPST
 ‘Naomi has decorated the flowers (there).’

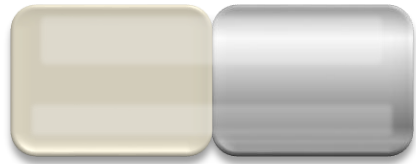
Canonical case-marking

Ad-core subordination

b. *Naomi niyotte hana ga kaza-rare-te aru.*
 Naomi by flower NOM decorate-PASS-TE exist.NPST
 ‘The flowers have been decorated by Naomi.’



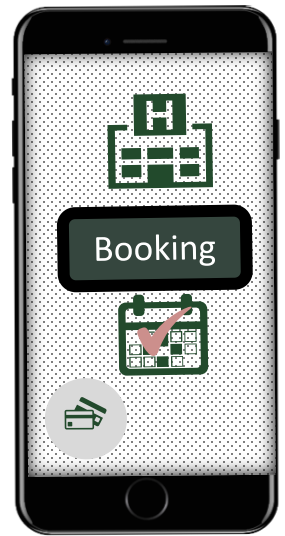
***TE aru* predicate (Valence-maintaining): Ad-core subordination**



Section 4: Linking from semantics to syntax

Linking from semantics to syntax

(20) *Boku wa yado ga yoyaku.shi-te aru.*
I TOP hotel NOM book-TE exist.NPST
'I have (already) booked a hotel (room).'



Step 1

Semantic representation

- LS: *yoyaku-shi-te-aru*: **remain'** ([**do'** (x, \emptyset)] CAUSE [INGR **booked'** (y)])
- ACV: activated: "actively under consideration in the discourse by means of direct mention"
- BNU: brand new – unanchored: "not previously mentioned or related to anything previously mentioned" (Van Valin 2005, p. 79).

(21) <IF DEC <TNS NON-PAST <ASP PERF < **remain'** ([**do'** (*boku*_{ACV}, \emptyset)] CAUSE [INGR **booked'** (*yado*_{BNU})]])>>>>

Step 2

• Dedetermine the actor and undergoer

ACTOR

UNDERGOER

Arg. of	1 st arg. of	1 st arg. of	2 nd arg. of	Arg. of
DO	do' (x, ...	pred' (x, y)	pred' (x, y)	pred' (x)

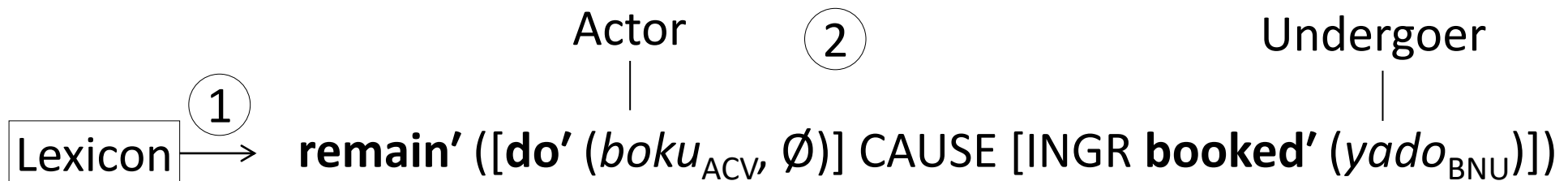
-Actor selection: highest ranking argument in LS

-Undergoer selection:

Principle A: lowest ranking argument in LS (default)

Principle B: second highest ranking argument in LS

Figure 1: Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (Van Valin 2005: 126)




Step 3

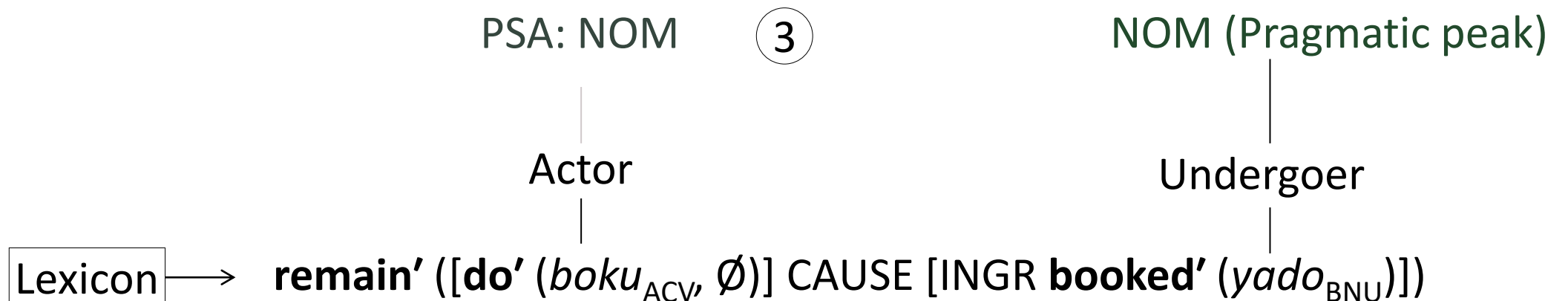
- **Determine the morphosyntactic coding of the argument.**

a. Select the PSA (Van Valin 2005: 100).

b. Case assignment rules for accusative constructions (Van Valin 2005: 108)

- (22)  1. assign nominative case to the highest ranking macrorole argument.
2. assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument.
0. assign nominative case to “pragmatic peak”.

“pragmatic peak”: “the most salient argument in a simple clause” (Imai 2005: 22).

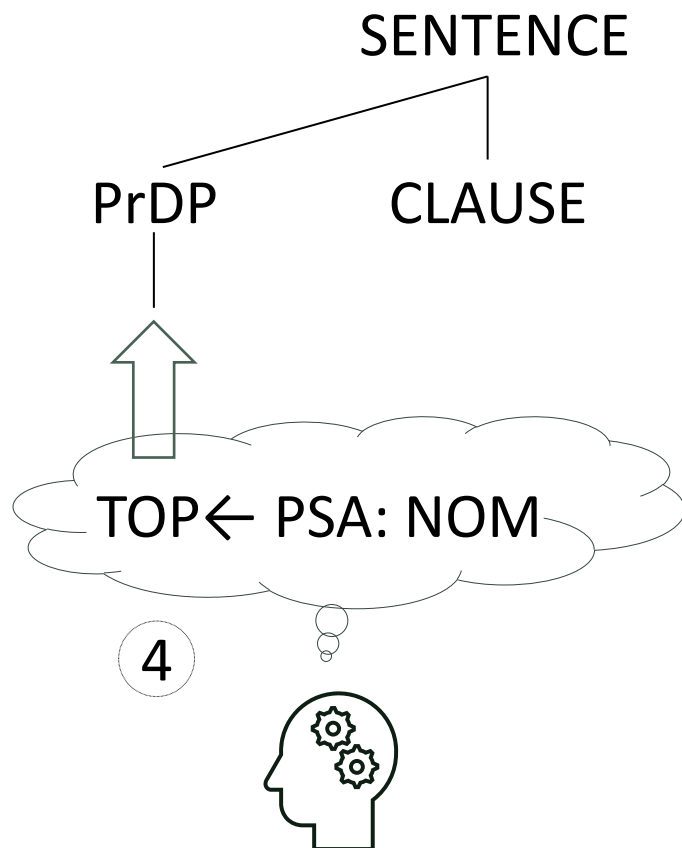


Step 4

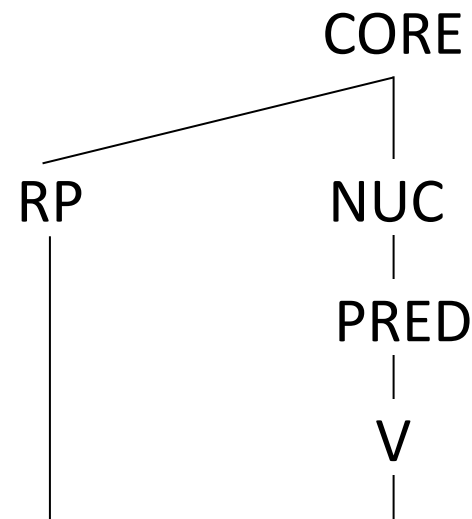
- **Select the syntactic templates (Van Valin 2005: 15).**

1. PrDP template

④



2. Core-4 template



Step 5

- Assign arguments to positions in the syntactic representation of the sentence ('I have (already) booked a hotel (room).')

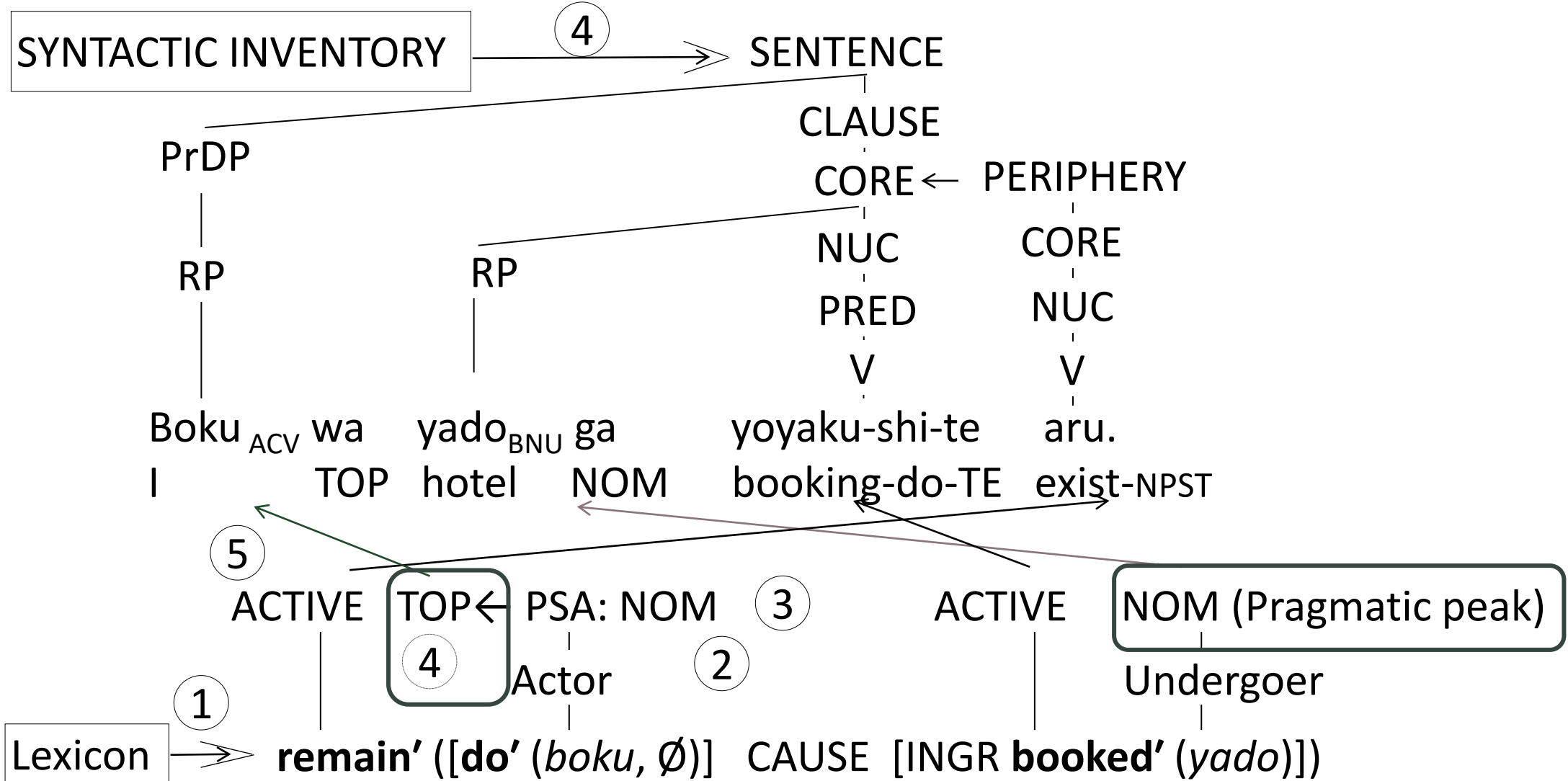
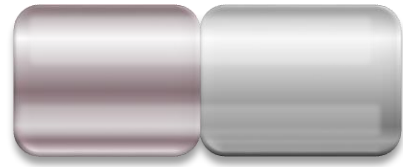


Figure 2: Ad-core subordination with *TE aru*



Section 5: Concluding remarks

• Case-
marking &
the nexus-
juncture type
of the *TE aru*
predicate in
Japanese



Topic-nominative marked arguments:

- Valence maintaining type (contra M&B 2004),
- Ad-core subordination (contra Hasegawa 1996)

With the *TE aru* predicate, *ga* can be a morphological case, distinct from the structural nominative case.

A pattern, consistent with that found in the “ergative-case-marking predicate” (Kishimoto 2004).

T h a n k
Y o u !

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