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Kishimoto, Hideki

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NOTES ON SYNTACTIC COMPOUND VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN JAPANESE*

Hideki Kishimoto

Kobe University

1. INTRODUCTION

Japanese has a large inventory of compound verbs, to which much attention has been drawn in recent research (see Kageyama 1993, Matsumoto 1996, and many others). While many interesting generalizations are brought to light through recent extensive research on Japanese compound verbs, there still remain many questions that have to be answered. In this paper, I will take up some of the issues that have arisen mainly due to the recent development of the theory of grammar, and attempt to provide answers to the questions.

More specifically, two issues are addressed in this paper. A first one concerns the question of how the varying patterns of subject honorification should be captured. In compound verb constructions, an honorific marker can attach to either the upstairs or downstairs verbs. The place where honorific marking appears may vary significantly depending on the class of upstairs verb. I will push forward an analysis of explicating this phenomenon, crucially relying on the traditional distinction of control and raising. Another issue has to do with the passivizability of compound verbs. I will show that the passivization of upstairs verbs is appropriately characterized with reference to Burzio's generalization.

2. SUBJECT HONORIFICATION

At the outset, it should be mentioned that subject honorification is used to show deference to an individual judged to be worthy of respect. As shown in (1), subject honorification can be directed to subjects (but not to objects), provided they are judged worthy of respect contextually (see e.g. Harada 1976).

- (1) a. *Tanaka-sensei-ga Mary-o o-home-ni-nat-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM Mary-ACC praise-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka praised Mary.’
 b. **Mary-ga Tanaka-sensei-o o-home-ni-nat-ta.*
 Mary-NOM Tanaka-teacher-ACC praise-HON-PAST
 ‘Mary praised Prof. Tanaka.’

In the early days of Japanese generative grammar (Harada 1976, Shibatani 1978, and others), it has been claimed that the target of subject honorification is fixed structurally, even though it is also constrained by some other non-structural conditions. Since the target of subject honorification is confined to subjects, subject honorification is more often than not considered to be one of reliable subject diagnostics.

Even though (1a) is a typical case of subject honorification, it proves that the facts are not so straightforward when cases involving compound verbs are taken into consideration. As discussed by Kuno (1983) and many others, a subject honorific marker *o-...-ni-naru* is allowed to attach to either the main verb or the aspectual verb in certain types of syntactic compound verbs (see Kageyama 1993). This is exemplified in (2).

- (2) *Tanaka-sensei-ga hon-o o-yomi-ni-nari-hazime-ta/o-yomi-hazime-ni-nat-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM book-ACC read-HON-begin-PAST/read-begin-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka began to read a book.’

Notably, in (2), the honorific marker can be associated with the main verb *yomu* ‘read’ or the aspectual verb *hazimeru* ‘begin’, and in either case, the subject is understood as the legitimate target of subject honorification.

It is also discussed by a number of researchers (see e.g. Kuno 1983, Shibatani 1973, Kageyama 1993) that certain restrictions are imposed on the attachment of the subject honorific marker *o-...-ni-naru*. In the case of a syntactic compound verb like *kaki-oeru* ‘finish writing’, Kuno shows that an honorific marker can be attached to the main verb, but not the aspectual verb.

- (3) *Tanaka-sensei-ga tegami-o o-kaki-oe-ni-nat-ta/*o-kaki-ni-nari-oe-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM letter-ACC write-finish-HON-PAST/write-HON-finish-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka finished writing the letter.’

On the other hand, syntactic compound verbs which include *kakeru* ‘about to’, *dasu* ‘start’ and *sugiru* ‘exceed’ as their second verbs exhibit the following pattern of distribution.

- (4) *Tanaka-sensei-ga tegami-o ?*o-kaki-dasi-ni-nat-ta/o-kaki-ni-nari-dasi-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM letter-ACC write-start-HON-PAST/write-HON-start-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka started writing the letter.’

Example (4) shows that in the case of a syntactic compound verb formed with *dasu*, only the main verb can accept subject honorific marking. Obviously, it is not sufficient to say that the target of subject honorification is confined to subjects in order to explain the intriguing behavior of honorific marking in syntactic compound verbs. The question that must be raised here is what conditions the observed patterns of subject honorification.

In addition, it should be kept in mind that with the advent of VP-internal subject hypothesis (see e.g. Fukui 1986, Kuroda 1988, Sportiche 1988), subject positions are split into two distinct positions. This raises the theoretical question of what the term ‘subject’ refers to, since there are two potential subject positions in clause

(5) [TP DP [vP (DP) [VP (V)] V-v] T]

 ↑ ↑

 TP-Subject vP-subject

Given the data (2) through (4), it is reasonable to state, as a first approximation, that raising verbs (*kakeru*, *dasu*, *sugiru*) allow honorific marking to attach to them, and control verbs (*naosu*, *sokonau*, *oeru*) to the main predicates. Some verbs (*hazimeru*, *tuzukeru*) are ambiguous having both uses, which give rise to the dual possibility of honorific marking. This is summarized in (6).

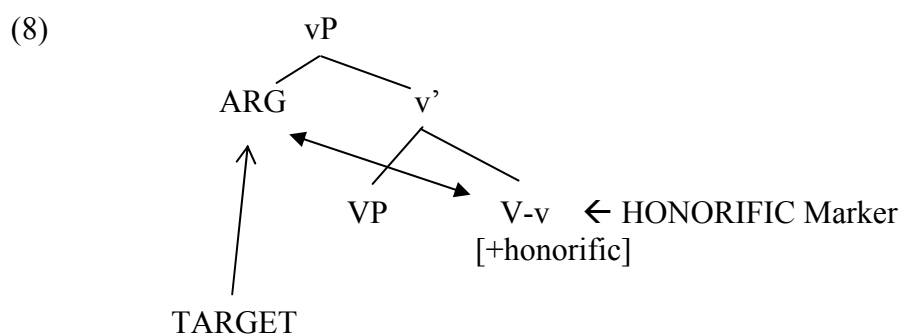
(6)	Honorific marking	V1 (main verb)	V2 (aspectual verb)
	Raising verb	√	*
	Control verb	*	√
	Ambiguous verb	√	√

(7) a. [TP SUBJ [VP [VP (SUBJ) V] V] T]
 [+honorific]
 b [TP SUBJ [VP (SUBJ) [VP PRO V] V] T]
 [+honorific]

Given the structural distinction between ‘control’ and ‘raising’, it is easy to see that a pure raising verb does not allow a subject-honorific marker to be attached to it, because it does not select a subject. In the case of control verbs, both upstairs and downstairs verbs *θ*-mark subjects, but the subject of the lower clause is an unpronounced pronoun

PRO. If it is assumed that PRO does not have a potential for licensing subject honorification (without an honorific feature, as in (7)), it automatically falls out that only the upstairs verb can be associated with a subject honorific marker.

To be more specific, I propose that subject honorification picks out a (lexical) argument located in Spec of vP for its licensing. Since honorific marking appears on a verb, rather than a DP, I assume that this honorific licensing can be made through Spec-head agreement. In the present perspective then, subject honorification is legitimized when the verb (with a subject honorific marker) agrees with an argument with the feature [+honorific], as illustrated in (8).



Now, given the assumption that a lexical verb resides in vP (see Chomsky 1995), subject honorific marking is licensed under the configurations in (9), where the subject enters into a Spec-head relation with the honorific verb.

- (9) a. [TP SUBJ [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{VP} (SUBJ) [_{VP}] o-yomi-ni-nari]] dasi] T]
- b. [TP SUBJ [_{VP} (SUBJ) [_{VP} [_{VP} PRO [_{VP}] o-yomi]] oe-ni-nat] T]

(9a) involves a raising structure, and (9b) a control one. In (9a), the subject is originated from the lower vP, so that the attachment of a subject honorific marker to the downstairs verb is permitted.ⁱⁱ In (9b), the lexical subject is generated in the upper Spec of vP, the honorific marker can be attached to the upstairs verb. On the other hand, the following honorification patterns are not legitimate.

- (10) a. *[TP SUBJ [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{VP} (SUBJ) [_{VP}] o-yomi]] dasi-ni-nat] T]
- b. *[TP SUBJ [_{VP} (SUBJ) [_{VP} [_{VP} PRO [_{VP}] o-yomi-ni-nari]] oe] T]

In (10a), the honorific verb is not licensed in the absence of an argument entering into a Spec-head relation with the verb. In (10b), PRO is the target of honorification, but since PRO lacks the ability to license a subject honorific marker by assumption, subject honorification is not legitimate. Needless to say, if upper aspectual verbs are ambiguous in that they can take raising and control structures, subject honorific marking should be possible on either the upstairs or downstairs verbs.

In the present proposal, subject honorification must be licensed by an appropriate lexical subject with an honorific feature [+honorific] located in some vP projection, but not one in Spec of TP. Notice that if honorification can be licensed by a subject in Spec of TP rather than Spec of vP, it is difficult to explain the different patterns of subject honorification observed above.

Given the patterns of distribution pertaining to subject honorification shown in (6), one might argue that the subject in the pure raising construction is not raised to Spec of TP, and that the failure of subject honorification on the upstairs verb in the raising construction comes from the non-raising of subjects into Spec of TP. This possibility is briefly suggested by Yumoto (2005). Nevertheless, I claim that subjects are located in Spec of TP. Empirical evidence in support of this claim may be adduced by looking at focus constructions associated with the particle *mo* ‘also’.

- (11) a. *John-ga kyoositu-de hon-o yon-da, sosite,*
 John-NOM classroom-in book-ACC read-PAST and
 ‘John read a book in the classroom, and...’
 b. *(sono) kare-ga [tosyokan-de hon-o yomi-mo] si-ta.*
 that he-NOM library-in book-ACC read-also do-PAST
 ‘He also read a book in the library.’
 c. *(sono) kare-ga [kyoositu-de zassi-o yomi-mo] si-ta.*
 that kare-NOM classroom-in magazine-ACC read-also do-PAST
 ‘He also read a magazine in the classroom.’
 d. *#Mary-ga [kyoositu-de hon-o yomi-mo] si-ta.*
 Mary-NOM classroom-in book-ACC read-also do-PAST
 ‘Mary also read a book in the classroom as well.’

The particle *mo* specifies additional information relevant to what has been talked about, and the possibility or impossibility of focusing on a constituent is determined configurationally (provided additional information is not supplied contextually or pragmatically).ⁱⁱⁱ The examples in (11b-d) differ minimally from (11a) in the choice of the underlined constituent, and thus are taken to provide additional information pertaining to the underlined constituents when uttered after (11a). While (11b) and (11c) are judged to be felicitous, (11d) is not. Since we can assume that the focusing domain of *mo* extends over vP, the facts pertaining to *mo*-focusing indicates that the subject is located in Spec of TP, while other constituents are within vP, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) [TP SUBJ [_{vP} LOC OBJ V-v-**mo**] T]

Turning now to cases involving syntactic compound verbs, the following facts suggests that subjects are located in Spec of TP.

- (13) a. *John-ga kono-hon-o yomi-dasi-ta, sosite,*
 John-NOM this-book-ACC read-start-PAST and
 ‘John started reading this book, and...’
 b. *(sono) kare-ga [ano-hon-o yomi-dasi-mo] si-ta.*
 that he-NOM that-book-ACC read-start-also do-PAST

- ‘He also started reading that book.’
 c. #*Mary-ga* [*kono-hon-o yomi-dasi-mo*] *si-ta*.
 Mary-NOM this-book-ACC read-start-also do-PAST
 ‘Mary also started reading this book.’

As indicated in (13), when *mo* occurs to the right of the aspectual verb, *mo* can focus on the object, but not the subject. Note that exactly the same facts obtain for the control constructions.

- (14) a. *John-ga kono-hon-o yomi-oe-ta, sosite,*
 John-NOM this-book-ACC read-finish-PAST and
 ‘John finished reading this book, and...’
 b. (*sono*) *kare-ga [ano-hon-o yomi-oe-mo] si-ta.*
 that he-NOM that-book-ACC read-finish-also do-PAST
 ‘He also finished reading that book.’
 c. #*Mary-ga* [*kono-hon-o yomi-oe-mo*] *si-ta.*
 Mary-NOM this-book-ACC read-finish-also do-PAST
 ‘Mary also finished reading this book.’

When preceded by (14a), (14b) is acceptable, but (14c) is not. The data given above suggest that in both control and raising constructions, the subject must be raised to Spec of TP, as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. [TP SUBJ [_{VP} [_{VP} [_{VP} (SUBJ) [_{VP}] V-v]] V-v] T]
 b. [TP SUBJ [_{VP} (SUBJ) [_{VP} [_{VP} PRO [_{VP}] V-v]] V-v] T]

From the fact that the lexical subject of the raising construction cannot license subject honorification when it is associated with the upstairs verb, it follows that only the subject located in Spec of vP can be the legitimate target of subject honorification. Thus, it can be concluded that the subject in Spec of TP is not accessible for the purpose of licensing subject honorification.

3. PASSIVIZATION AND BURZIO’S GENERALIZATION

In this section, I look at the passivizability of upstairs verbs (aspectual verbs) in the raising and control constructions, and show that raising verbs are not passivizable, whereas control verbs are divided into two types; one which can undergo passivization and the other which cannot. I argue that the tripartite distinction of syntactic compound verbs, which is distinguished primarily by the possibility of passivization, is expected under Burzio’s generalization.

As argued by a number of researchers (Kageyama 1993, Matsumoto 1996, Yumoto 2005, Fukuda 2006), passivization is possible with certain types of the second verbs in the syntactic compound verb constructions. Kageyama (1993) proposes that syntactic compound verb constructions fall into three types, namely, unaccusative, VP-complement, and V’-complement types. The first type of construction comprises raising predicates, and the others control predicates. A number of different phenomena can be treated under Kageyama’s analysis, but of interest in the present

context is the passivizability of upstairs verbs. To begin, pure raising verbs do not undergo direct passivization, as exemplified in (16).

- (16) **Kono-hon-ga ano-hito-niyotte yomi-sugi-rare-ta.*
 this-book-NOM that-man-by read-exceed-PASS-PAST
 ‘This book was exceedingly read by that man.’

Control verbs are, on the other hand, divided into two classes depending on whether or not direct passivization is allowed (see Kageyama 1993, Yumoto 2005). The example in (17) represents a case in which passive can apply to the control verb.

- (17) *Kono-ronbun-ga ano-hito-niyotte kaki-naos-are-ta.*
 this-paper-NOM that-man-by write-fix-PASS-PAST
 ‘This paper was rewritten by that man.’

The example in (18) is a representative case in which passivization is not possible with the control verb.

- (18) **Kono-ronbun-ga ano-hito-niyotte kaki-sokone-rare-ta.*
 this-paper-NOM that-man-by write-fail-PASS-PAST
 ‘This paper was failed to write by that man.’

In the syntactic compound verb constructions, raising verbs cannot undergo passivization, and control verbs are divided into two classes—one which is passivizable and the other which is not.

At this point, a remark is in order with regard to the passivization of ‘downstairs verbs’. The overall generalization is that passivization applying to the downstairs main verb is fully acceptable in the raising constructions, but that in the case of control constructions, it is sometimes allowed, but sometimes gives rise to a deviance (see Yumoto 2005 for discussion on this point).^{iv} Generally speaking, the passivizability of downstairs verbs is determined by the property of upstairs verbs, and the more transparent the meaning of control verbs is, the more easily passivization applies to the lower main verb. There is, however, no principled grammatical reason why passivization should be excluded entirely from the downstairs verbs in control structures (cf. Nishigauchi 1993).

In any event, the question to be asked here is why there is a difference in the passivizability of upstairs verbs—i.e. why passivization is not permitted for raising verbs, and control verbs are partitioned into two types with regard to regular passivization. I suggest here that this pattern of distribution is derived from Burzio’s generalization (Burzio 1986), which states that only verbs selecting external arguments can assign accusative Case.

Regular passivization involves demotion of an external argument and suppression of accusative Case. Raising verbs do not take external arguments, hence do not θ -mark them. Given Burzio’s generalization, this means that raising verbs cannot assign accusative Case, and consequently, regular passivization is not possible with them due to the absence of accusative Case, which should be suppressed under regular passivization. By contrast, control verbs select subjects, so that they are potentially

capable of assigning accusative Case. If control verbs are transitive, they bear accusative Case. With this type of control verb, regular passivization is possible. On the other hand, if control verbs are intransitive, they do not have accusative Case to assign to objects, which entails that passivization is not possible. Thus, the existence of two types of control verbs is naturally expected.

On this hypothesis, the difference that distinguishes between the two types of control verbs lies in their Case assigning ability. In the control constructions that have transitive verbs as main predicates, accusative marking come from either the downstairs or upstairs verb. In (19a), the direct object is assigned accusative Case by the upper verb *naosu* ‘fix’, but in (19b), the lower main verb *kaku* ‘write’ is responsible for accusative Case assignment.

- (19) a. *Ano-hito-ga ronbun-o kaki-naosi-ta.*
 that-man-NOM paper-ACC write-fix-PAST
 ‘That man rewrote the paper.’
 b. *Ano-hito-ga ronbun-o kaki-sokone-ta.*
 that-man-NOM paper-ACC write-fail-can-PAST
 ‘That man failed to rewrite the paper.’

This can be checked by changing the verbs into potential forms. Consider the following examples.

- (20) a. *Ano-hito-ni ronbun-ga kaki-naos-e-ru.*
 that-man-DAT paper-NOM write-fix-can-PRES
 ‘That man can rewrite the paper.’
 b. **Ano-hito-ni ronbun-ga kaki-sokone-rare-ru.*
 that-man-DAT paper-NOM write-fail-can-PAST
 ‘That man can fail to rewrite the paper.’

As shown in (20), a difference in acceptability emerges as a result of a change in verb form. If the verb takes on a potential form, a dative-nominative case array (stative case pattern) is available. Observe that in (20b), unlike (20a), the change on the upstairs verb results in deviance. This shows that in (19b) the case array of *kaki-sokoneru* is not determined by the upstairs verb. The raising verb shows the same pattern as (20b).

- (21) *?*Ano-hito-ni ronbun-ga kaki-das-e-ru.*
 that-man-DAT paper-NOM write-start-can-PRES
 ‘That man can start writing a paper.’

In (21), a stative case array is not permitted.^v This fact suggests that stative case marking should be possible when the accusative Case can be assigned by the upstairs verb. Notice that when the downstairs verb has a potential form, both types of control sentences are ill-formed.

- (22) **Ano-hito-ni ronbun-ga kak-e-naos-u/kak-e-sokone-ru.*
 that-man-DAT paper-NOM write-can-fix-PRES/write-can-fail-PRES

‘That man can rewrite/fail to write a paper.’

The data show that only the upstairs verbs can take potential forms in the control constructions. Here I postulate that the case array of the clause is determined by the predicate that θ -marks the subject. Raising verbs that do not select arguments therefore show a different pattern with regard to the possibility of potential forms.

- (23) *Ano-hito-ni uta-ga umaku uta-e-dasi-ta.*
 that-man-DAT song-NOM well sing-can-start-PAST
 ‘That man can start to sing the song well.’

This suggests that the raising verb is not responsible for the determination of a case array in the clause, behaving like an auxiliary expression. If so, it is reasonable to postulate that in raising constructions, case marking patterns are determined by the downstairs verbs rather than the upstairs verbs.

In a nutshell, passivization involves suppression of accusative Case (plus demotion of subject), and the non-passivizability of raising verbs and some control verbs comes from their inability to assign accusative Case. Regular passivization may apply to control verbs that can assign accusative Case.

4. FURTHER CONFIRMATION

The discussion thus far suggests that passivization and subject honorification receive different treatments, and thus, they are predicted to display different syntactic patterns in some contexts. This prediction is correct. In the following, I will argue that the present account can explain the patterns of distribution pertaining to the combination of passivization and subject honorification, which would otherwise be difficult to explain. The relevant paradigms are given below.

- (24) a. *Tanaka-sensei-ga o-home-rare-ni-nari-hazime-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM praise-PASS-HON-begin-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka began to be praised.’
 b. *?*Tanaka-sensei-ga o-home-ni-nari-hazime-rare-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM praise-HON-begin-PASS-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka began to be praised.’
 c. *Tanaka-sensei-ga o-home-rare-hazime-ni-nat-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM praise-PASS-begin-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka began to be praised.’
 d. *Tanaka-sensei-ga o-home-hazime-rare-ni-nat-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM praise-begin-PASS-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka began to be praised.’

Recall that *hazimeru* ‘begin’ is an ambiguous verb, which can have both raising and control uses. Thus, both subject honorific and passive markers could in principle attach to either of the two verbs. But when these markers appear simultaneously in a clause, one of four possible combinations—where the subject honorific marker is

associated with the downstairs verb and the passive morpheme with the upstairs verb—is ruled out.

The facts are difficult to explain if it is simply assumed, as is done in the early days of Japanese generative grammar (see Shibatani 1978), that the possibility of subject honorification and passivization is simply determined by an ‘intransitive-transitive’ distinction. Under the traditional account, if a control verb is transitive, it can be associated with subject honorific marking and passivization may apply to it. If the upstairs verb imposes an intransitive structure, a reverse pattern should be observed; namely, the downstairs verb can accommodate an honorific marker, and passivization may operate on it. Thus, under the traditional account, there is a contradiction in the status of transitivity in (24b), so (24b) is ruled out. However, if this reasoning is extended to (24c), we will face a paradox. Passivization on the downstairs verb indicates that (24c) involves an intransitive structure, but subject honorific marking on the upstairs verb suggests that it should involve a transitive structure. Under the analysis which takes the possibility of subject honorification and passivization to derive from the intransitive-transitive distinction, the contrast in grammaticality between (24b) and (24c) would come as a surprise.

In contrast, the facts straightforwardly follow from the present account, which posits different conditions on subject honorification and passivization. As discussed in section 2, subject honorification on the upstairs verb is legitimate when it is a control verb. Thus, (24c) and (24d) involve control structures. The upstairs verb *hazimeru* is a control predicate which can assign accusative Case to its object.^{vi} In this case, the control verb can be passivized. Hence (24d) is well-formed. As discussed above, passivization may apply to the main verb in the control construction, suggesting that (24c), where the main verb is passivized, is also well-formed.

When subject honorification applies to the downstairs verb, as in (24a) and (24b), raising structures are obtained, as it targets the lexical subject originated from the lower vP. In this case, if the lower verb is transitive, passivization can operate on it, because it is a subject-selecting predicate, which is capable of assigning accusative Case. This explains why (24a) is well-formed. On the other hand, the upper verb in (24b) cannot select a subject, as an honorific marker is attached to the lower verb. This suggests that passivization cannot apply to the upper verb, since it is not capable of assigning accusative Case due to Burzio’s generalization. If passivization applies, unacceptability results, as in (24b).

In connection with the distinction of control and raising structures, it should be mentioned that ambiguous verbs like *hazimeru* can be disambiguated when clause idioms are used. First, note that clause idioms are often used for the purpose of distinguishing raising from control verbs.

- (25) *Tora-ga kiba-o muki-hazime/tuzuke/*owat/*naosi-ta.*
 tiger-NOM teeth-ACC show-begin/continue/stop/fix-PAST
 ‘The tiger began/continued/ceased/restarted to show his teeth.’

As illustrated in (25), the idiomatic meaning of *tora-ga kiba-o muku*, i.e. ‘someone attacks’, is available with the raising verbs, but not with the control verbs. The standard explanation for the (in)compatibility with raising and control structures is as follows (see Radford 1997, Carnie 2001): In the case of raising verbs, since the

subject originates from the lower vP, as in (26), idiom interpretations are possible even though the subject appears in Spec of TP in overt constituent structure.

(26) [TP [vP [vP Tora-ga kiba-o muki] hazime] ta]

By contrast, when a control predicate is involved, the subject is generated in the upper vP, and PRO is filled in the lower one, as in (27).

(27) [TP [vP Tora-ga [vP PRO kiba-o muki] hazime] ta]

In (27), the sequence which can give rise to an idiomatic interpretation is not available by virtue of an intervening PRO, so that the control structure does not have a clause idiom interpretation. To be precise, however, the idiom test can only exclude pure control verbs. An ambiguous verb is ruled in here, because it can have both raising and control uses.

Nevertheless, I suggest that the ambiguous verb can be disambiguated if idioms are presented in combination with subject honorification. Since subject honorification targets a lexical subject, we predict that an idiom interpretation is not possible when honorific marking appears on the upper verb, but this interpretation should be permitted if honorification applies on the lower verb. This prediction is indeed correct.

(28) *Tora-ga kiba-o o-muki-ni-nari-hazime-ta/?*o-muki-hazime-ni-nat-ta.*
 tiger-NOM teeth-ACC show-HON-begin-PAST/show-begin-HON-PAST
 ‘The tiger began to show his teeth.’

Even though *tora* ‘tiger’ originally refers to a ferocious animal to which honorification cannot be directed, it can refer to a person worthy of honorification when used in an idiomatic sense. Interestingly, if honorific marking appears on the upper predicate, the clause in (28) does not have an idiomatic interpretation, but when it is attached to the lower predicate, the idiom interpretation is available. The presence or absence of an idiomatic interpretation in (28) is expected in the present analysis. That is, when the honorific marker is assigned to the upper verb, a control structure is involved, in which case an idiom interpretation is precluded. On the other hand, when a subject honorific marker is allotted to the lower verb, the clause has a raising structure. In this case, an idiom interpretation is available.

In the case of the clause idiom at issue, the subject does not have to be *tora* ‘tiger’ but could be a human noun. When the subject is replaced with an ordinary human noun, the subject does not constitute part of the idiom. This makes the prediction that the relevant idiom interpretation should be possible regardless of whether honorific marking is attached to the upstairs or downstairs verb. The prediction is also borne out.

(29) *Tanaka-sensei-ga kiba-o o-muki-ni-nari-hazime-ta/o-muki-hazime-ni-nat-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM teeth-ACC show-HON-begin-PAST/show-begin-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka began to show his teeth.’

A comparison of (28) and (29) shows that there arises a difference in the availability of idiom interpretations when subject honorific marking appears on *hazimeru*. Notably, in (29), the subject does not constitute part of the idiom, so that control structure is permitted even with an idiomatic interpretation. The fact confirms that *hazimeru* is an ambiguous verb having both raising and control uses.

5. AN APPARENT PROBLEM

At this point, it should be mentioned that the judgments on subject honorification in the aspectual constructions are reportedly rather subtle, as discussed by Kuno (1983), Kageyama (1993) among others, and consequently, disagreements often arise. Perhaps, *hazimeru* ‘begin’ and *oeru* ‘finish’ represent the clearest cases (see Shibatani 1973, Kuno 1983, 1987). The verb *owaru* ‘stop’ presents a case in which the distinction is less clear, and the judgment seems rather shaky. Matsumoto (1996) reports the following judgments (see also Fukuda 2006).

- (30) *Tanaka-sensei-ga tegami-o *o-kaki-owari-ni-nat-ta/o-kaki-ni-nari-owat-ta.*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM letter-ACC write-stop-HON-PAST/write-stop-HON-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka stopped writing the letter.’

My own survey shows, however, that the number of speakers who detect the reverse patterns of acceptability is larger than that of those speakers accepting the judgments in (30); that is, a larger number of speakers sense that *o-kaki-owari-ni-nata* is acceptable, but *o-kaki-ni-nari-owat-ta* is not, or at least, that the former is more acceptable than the latter. Moreover, another diagnostic used for differentiating between raising and control suggests that *owaru* patterns with *oeru*, which has a control use.

- (31) *Kono-mise-de-wa kankodori-ga naki-tuzuke/hazime/*owat/*oe-ta.*
 this-store-at-TOP cuckoo-NOM sing-continue/begin/stop/finish-PAST
 ‘This shop continued/began/stopped/finished attracting less customers.’

When the verb *owaru* is selected as an aspectual verb, no idiom interpretation is available. As often discussed, if idiom interpretations for clausal idioms are not available for control structures (see Radford 1997), *owaru* should be categorized as a control-type predicate (Kageyama (1993) classifies it as an ambiguous type like *hazimeru*). The verb *owaru* has been treated in a number of different ways in the literature, but in the following discussion, I suggest that *owaru* should be classified as a control-type predicate.

To begin, note that cross-linguistically, aspectual verbs as well as modal and motion verbs are prone to undergo restructuring, as discussed by Rizzi (1982), Koizumi (1999), and others. Given that control and raising constructions at issue comprise aspectual verbs, I submit that the subtlety of the judgments is attributed to restructuring of two verbs into one via restructuring: [Verb + Verb] → Verb. This analysis leads to the prediction that if syntactic compound verbs do not undergo restructuring, the judgments should become clearer. In Japanese, as noted by Kuno (1987), an emphatic particle like *wa* can intervene inside the honorific marker.

- (32) *Tanaka-sensei-ga (ittan) tegami-o o-kaki-ni-wa-nat-ta ga...*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM once letter-ACC write-HON-TOP-PAST but
 ‘Prof. Tanaka (once) wrote a letter, but...’

Furthermore, as discussed in Kishimoto (2005), an emphatic particle blocks restructuring. Notice that an emphatic particle like *wa* is allowed to appear inside syntactic compound verbs when an honorific marker is appended to them.

- (33) a. *Tanaka-sensei-ga (ittan) hon-o o-yomi-ni-wa-nari-hazime-ta/*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM once book-ACC read-HON-TOP-begin-PAST/
o-yomi-hazime-ni-wa-nat-ta.
 read-begin-HON-TOP-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka (once) began to read a book.’
 b. *Tanaka-sensei-ga (ittan) tegami-o o-kaki-oe-ni-wa-nat-ta/*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM once letter-ACC write-finish-HON-TOP-PAST
 **o-kaki-ni-wa-nari-oe-ta.*
 write-HON-TOP-finish-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka (once) finished writing the letter.’

The patterns in (33) are essentially the same as what we observe for the sentences without a *wa*-maker in (2) and (3). Interestingly, in the case of *owaru*, the pattern of acceptability is reserved even for the speaker accepting the judgments in (30), when *wa* is inserted, as illustrated in (34).

- (34) *Tanaka-sensei-ga (ittan) tegami-o o-kaki-owari-ni-wa-nat-ta/*
 Tanaka-teacher-NOM once letter-ACC write-stop-HON-TOP-PAST/
 **o-kaki-ni-wa-nari-owat-ta.*
 write-HON-TOP-stop-PAST
 ‘Prof. Tanaka (once) finished writing the letter.’

Since *owaru* bears similarity to those raising verbs in that its meaning is fairly transparent, the verbal compound can be reanalyzed as having a raising structure (for some speakers), as a result of restructuring. However, if restructuring is blocked in the presence of an emphatic particle, it behaves like a typical control verb. In the latter case, a honorific marker can only be attached to the upper verb, as expected.

Potential forms provide further confirmation on the status of *owaru* as control verbs. As noted earlier, control verbs do not allow the downstairs verb to be turned into a potential form, which gives rise to a stative case array. This is also true with the control verb *owaru*, as shown in (35).

- (35) **John-ni yooyaku robun-ga kak-e-owat-ta.*
 John-DAT finally paper-NOM write-can-stop-PAST
 ‘John was able to finish writing a paper.’

Since *owaru* is an unpassivizable verb, which lacks the ability to assign accusative Case, it cannot be turned into a potential form.^{vii}

- (36) ?**John-ni robun-ga kaki-owar-e-ta.*
 John-DAT paper-NOM write-stop-can-PAST
 ‘John was able to finish writing a paper.’

Incidentally, *oeru* ‘finish’ displays a different pattern because it is a transitive predicate, which can assign accusative Case.

- (37) a. **John-ni robun-ga kak-e-oe-ta.*
 John-DAT paper-NOM write-can-finish-PAST
 ‘John was able to finish writing a paper.’
 b. *John-ni robun-ga kaki-oe-rare-ta.*
 John-DAT paper-NOM write-stop-can-PAST
 ‘John was able to finish writing a paper.’

Recall here that raising verbs, unlike control verbs, allow the downstairs verb to take a potential form.

- (38) *John-ni yooyaku ronbun-ga kak-e-dasi-ta.*
 John-DAT finally paper-NOM write-can-start-PAST
 ‘John was finally able to start writing a paper.’

The impossibility of forming a potential form with the downstairs verb in (35) therefore indicates that the upstairs verb *owaru* ‘stop’ should be classified as a control verb. Overall, the data considered so far point to the conclusion that *owaru* is a control predicate of an intransitive type.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this article, I have addressed two issues related to syntactic compound verb constructions. One issue has to do with the condition which governs the placement of honorific marker. It has been argued that subject honorification is made legitimate by way of the verb’s agreement with an argument located in Spec of vP. Since a control verb can have a lexical argument in the upper vP, the upstairs verb (i.e. the control verb) allows the addition of honorific marking. The addition of honorific marking to the main verb is not allowed, however, since the legitimate target of subject honorification is a lexical argument, but not PRO. On the other hand, the subject in the raising construction originates from the lower vP. Thus, the addition of an honorific marker to the downstairs verb (i.e. the main verb) is permissible. Honorific marking on the aspectual verb is not allowed, since this verb does not select a subject.

Another issue concerns passivization. In particular, I have argued that the passivizability of upstairs verbs is naturally expected under Burzio’s generalization, which states that only verbs selecting external arguments can assign accusative Case. Raising verbs resist passivization, since these verbs do not select external arguments, hence do not assign accusative Case. On the other hand, control verbs selecting external arguments are divided into two types, depending on whether they can assign accusative Case. When control verbs can assign accusative Case, passivization may

operate on them. But when control verbs do not assign accusative Case, they cannot undergo passivization.

NOTES

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ⁱ This distinction holds true for English, since *begin* has a dual use of raising and control. See Perlmutter (1970) and Newmeyer (1975).

ⁱⁱ The possibility of subject honorification is not affected by an argument by A-bar movement. If an object is moved out of the lower clause via A-bar movement, it should stop at the edge of vP in the upper clause, but still, the moved object cannot be the target of subject honorification. In view of this fact, I assume that the legitimate target of subject honorification is confined to arguments with an unchecked Case feature. Such arguments undergo A-movement rather than A-bar movement, so that we can explain the distribution of the subject honorification in an appropriate manner.

ⁱⁱⁱ Note that the subject DP (*sono*) *kare* in (11b) and (11c) does not provide additional information, since it refers to the same individual *John* in the preceding sentence (11a). This can be confirmed by the fact that (ib) is not felicitous when preceded by (ia).

- (i) a. *Mary-ga John-o sikat-ta, sosite*
 Mary-NOM John-ACC scold-PAST and
 ‘Mary scolded John, and...’
 b. *#Mary-ga [(sono) kare-o sikari-mo] si-ta.*
 Mary-NOM that he-ACC scold-also do-PAST
 ‘Mary also scolded him.’

The particle *mo* cannot focus on (*sono*) *kare* located within vP, which indicates that the expression referring to the same individual as the preceding DP does not serve to provide additional information.

^{iv} Kageyama (1993) proposes an account for the passivizability of downstairs verbs using the notions of unaccusative, as well as VP- and V'-complement types. Attractive though the proposal seems, Yumoto (2005) points out a number of empirical problems.

^v With the verb *dasu* ‘start’, a non-stative case array is permissible, as shown in (i).

- (i) *John-ga (itudemo) ronbun-o kaki-das-e-ru.*
 John-NOM anytime paper-ACC write-start-can-PRES
 ‘John can start writing a paper (anytime).’

This shows that the potential form is permissible with the raising verb *dasu*, but that (21) is ruled out on the grounds that a stative case array is assigned.

^{vi} The control verb *hazimeru* is a transitive predicate, because it can be turned into a potential form, as shown in (i).

- (i) *John-ni uta-ga utai-hazime-rare-ru.*
 John-DAT song-NOM sing-begin-can-PRES
 ‘John can begin to sing a song.’

We can also confirm that *hazimeru* has a raising use, in the light of the following example.

- (ii) *John-ni uta-ga uta-e-hazime-ta.*
 John-DAT song-NOM sing-can-begin-PRES
 ‘John began to be able to sing a song.’

The examples above show that *hazimeru* is ambiguous in that it can be construed as a raising or control predicate.

^{vii} The second verb *owaru* can have a potential form if the sentence has an original non-stative case array, as shown in (i).

- (i) *John-ga mikka-de ronbun-o kaki-owar-e-ta.*
 John-NOM three.days-in paper-ACC write-finish-can-PAST
 ‘John was able to finish the paper in three days.’

Still, it is not possible to have the potential form of the lower main verb, suggesting that *owaru* does not have a raising use.

- (ii) **John-ga mikka-de ronbun-o kak-e-owat-ta.*
 John-NOM three.days-in paper-ACC write-can-finish-PAST
 ‘John was able to finish the paper in three days.’

The example in (i) suggests that control verbs can potentially be turned into potential forms even when they do not assign accusative Case.

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