

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

### A Formal and Corpus-based Analysis of Grammaticalization of *ik* ‘go’ in Japanese

This study elucidates the grammaticalization process of the Japanese motion verb, *ik* ‘go’, based on a formal and corpus-based analysis, focusing on i) giving an in-depth semantic-syntactic account of the interrelationship among the three forms appearing in the historical process—*yuk* ‘go’ as a full verb, *V-yuk* ‘V-go’ in which the motion verb follows a verb in infinitival form, and *V-te-yuk* ‘V-CON-go’, the form where the motion verb follows a verb through a conjunctive particle *te*—and ii) explaining the morphophonological change which *V-te-yuk* ‘V-CON-go’ experiences in present-day Japanese, resulting in the linguistic variation between *V-te-ik* and *V-te-k*. (1a–c) are the examples of the three forms in which the Japanese motion verb involves, respectively. (2) is an illustration of the morphophonological change occurring in the *-te* conjunctive form under study.

- (1) a. *yuk* (*ik*) ‘go’ (full verb)  
*Ken-ga yamamiti-o yuk-u.*  
Ken-NOM mountain.road-ACC go-PRES  
‘Ken goes along a mountain road.’
- b. *V-yuk* ‘V-go’ (the infinitival form)
- i. *Ken-ga yamamiti-o hasiri-yuk-u kookee*  
Ken-NOM mountain.road-ACC run-go-PRES scene  
‘The scene of Ken running along a mountain road’
- ii. *Hana-ga kare-yuk-u kookee*  
flower-NOM die-go-PRES scene  
‘The scene of a flower going to die’
- c. *V-te-yuk* (*V-te-ik*) ‘V-CON-go’ (the *-te* conjunctive form)
- i. *Ken-ga yamamiti-o hasit-te-yuk-u.*  
Ken-NOM mountain.road-ACC run-CON-go-PRES  
‘Taro runs along a mountain road.’
- ii. *Hana-ga kare-te-yuk-u.*  
flower-NOM die-CON-go-PRES  
‘A flower is going to die.’
- (2) *Ensoku-e takusan okasi-o {mot-te-ik-u/mot-te-k-u}.*  
excursion-DAT many snack-ACC have-CON-go-PRES  
‘I am going to bring a lot of snacks on school excursion.’

The theses of this study are i) the predominant use of *V-te-yuk* (or *V-te-ik*) ‘V-CON-go’ in present-day Japanese is the consequence of *renewal*, in which the erstwhile *V-yuk* ‘V-go’ has been replaced by the *-te* conjunctive form; ii) what underlies this displacement is the semantic-syntactic correspondence between the older and the newer forms appearing in the grammaticalization process; iii) the morphophonological change in the *-te* conjunctive form is constrained by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Central to this study is approaching to the grammaticalization phenomenon from both a formal analysis employing the theory of Generative Lexicon (Pustejovsky 1995, Kageyama 2005, Hidaka 2012) and a corpus-based analysis within the framework of Variationist Sociolinguistics (Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog 1968, Labov 1969 *et seq*, Tagliamonte 2012, among others) so as

to provide a comprehensive explanation for the grammaticalization process of the Japanese motion verb in question.

In spite of a great deal of research on the motion verb concerned, from the synchronic, descriptive perspective to the historical and the grammaticalizationist perspectives, the issues which this study addresses remain unaccounted for in the literature (Chapter 2). The remaining issues call for two different approaches: namely, a qualitative, deductive method for explaining the interrelationship among the three forms concerned, whereas a quantitative, inductive one for elucidating the morphophonological change in the *-te* conjunctive form. For the former issue, I explore the semantics of the three forms, proposing the semantic representation as in (3), as well as their syntactic structures, following Roberts and Roussou's (2003) formal approach to grammaticalization.

$$(3) \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{lexeme} \\ \text{ARG} = \left[ \text{Syntactic arguments} \right] \\ \\ \text{QUALIA} = \left[ \begin{array}{l} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Truth-conditional Section (TS)} \\ \text{FORMAL: Temporal feature,} \\ \text{Distance function (DIS),} \\ \text{Point-of-view function (POV)} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CONST: Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS)} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Non-truth-conditional Section (NTS)} \\ \text{TELIC: The resultative state in which the verb entails} \\ \text{TRIGGER: The external factors in bringing it about} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

For the latter issue, following the framework of Variationist Sociolinguistics, the present study examines several linguistic and extralinguistic factors which possibly condition the linguistic variation in question (Chapter 3).

In the formal analysis (Chapter 4), this study argues that the semantic-syntactic correspondence between the older *V-yuk* 'V-go' and the newer *V-te-yuk* 'V-CON-go' underlies the renewal process. The reanalysis of the latter in its aspectual use ( $[V-te]-yuk > V-[te-yuk]$ ), where *te-yuk* as a whole base-generates as the head of Deixis Phrase (Nishigauchi 2014), makes the form syntactically, as well as semantically, equivalent to the infinitival form in the same use and thus the aspectual meaning was taken on by the *-te* conjunctive form, in addition to the overlap between these two forms in the transitional use. As a result of the renewal and the gradual increase of the newer form ensued, *V-yuk* 'V-go' has become less productive and been driven to near-extinction in present-day Japanese.

In the variationist analysis (Chapter 5), not only the statistically significant factors are identified but also their effect magnitude and the hierarchy of constraints, which affects the morphophonological change in the *-te* conjunctive form (*V-te-ik* versus *V-te-k*), are examined. As a result, this study contends that the linguistic variation is conditioned by verb frequency, speaker's gender, context, speaker's place of birth, and speech style, and that the last one exerts a larger influence in comparison to others. Thus, with these two different analyses, the present study captures the whole process of the grammaticalization of the Japanese motion verb.

Moreover, this study provides an in-depth account of the semantic-syntactic correspondence underlining the concerning renewal process, proposing the two syntactic features intrinsic to the motion verb in question, the case-assignment feature and the point-of-view feature (Chapter 6). I argue that these features are crucial for explaining the head-movement of the verb in the transitional use and its suppression in the aspectual use of *V-yuk* 'V-go' and *V-te-yuk* 'V-CON-go'. The verb undergoes head-movement from V to Deix in the former case to spell out these features in different syntactic positions, whereas it is suppressed in the latter case because the aspectualized motion verb in the two grammaticalized forms base-generates as the Deix head from the outset of syntactic derivation in

need for only spelling out the point-of-view feature characterizing the deicticity of the expression. Semantically, these two features connect to different qualia: the case-assignment feature to the CONST quale while the point-of-view feature to the FORMAL quale. This is because i) the FORMAL quale is where the deicticity of the verb is specified by **DIS** and **POV** and ii) the CONST quale is where the syntactic arguments of the verb are specified by LCS. Further, given the logical-/non-logical distinction of meaning in a lexical item (Roberts and Roussou (2003) and also von Fintel (1995)), I identify the FORMAL quale as the logical meaning while the CONST quale as the non-logical meaning of the motion verb in question, since the former as well as the point-of-view feature remains constant regardless of grammaticalization while the latter is lost—and the case-assignment feature, too—as a result of the process.

The present formal analysis can also account for other directional expressions such as *ku* ‘come’ and *kure/age* ‘give’ and the *-te* converbialized forms of these verbs, *V-te-ku* ‘V-CON-come’ and *V-te-kurel-age* ‘V-CON-give’. This argumentation is based on the fact that these directional expressions behave in the same way as *yuk* ‘go’ and *V-te-yuk* ‘V-CON-go’ do with respect to the tests, which provide syntactic evidence for the reanalysis of the latter form. I argue that the grammaticalization of these expressions, from the main verb to the *-te* conjunctive form, can be explained semantically as well on par with that of the motion verb under discussion (Chapter 6).

Theoretical implications of this study are i) the framework of Generative Lexicon is versatile in that it provides an account of the interrelationship among the forms in the process of grammaticalization, and ii) employing a formal and corpus-based analysis offers an in-depth account of not only what underlines the process of a lexical verb changing into an auxiliary from both semantic and syntactic viewpoints, but also what causes the reductive change which the grammaticalized morpheme experiences during the process of grammaticalization; in other words, the complementary use of these two approaches can produce fruitful results in exploring the historical phenomenon.

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