Linguistic Insights
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Teruhiro Ishiguro & Kang-kwong Luke (eds)

Grammar in Cross-Linguistic Perspective

The Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics of Japanese and Chinese

Peter Lang

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In this collection of papers on syntax, semantics and pragmatics, linguists specialising in the study of Japanese and Chinese offer fresh ideas and insights on the theme of grammatical categories and structure from a comparative perspective. Against the background of theoretical developments in recent years and individual studies of Japanese, Chinese and English grammar, the papers in this volume are devoted to new in-depth treatments of distinctive aspects of Chinese and Japanese grammar informed by influential theoretical frameworks of the day, including cognitive grammar, construction grammar, information structure, grammaticalization theory, and linguistic typology. Topics of investigation include compounding, verb complementation, tense and aspect, as well as a range of word order phenomena, such as passive constructions, focus-fronting, and right dislocation.

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TERUHIRO ISHIGURO / K.K. LUKE

Preface

The idea of making a collection of papers on the study of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in Japanese and Chinese was first conceived in 2005, when, as part of a student exchange programme, the second editor led a delegation of students of the University of Hong Kong on a visit to Tokushima Bunri University. The two editors had already known each other for many years, but it was on this occasion that they first had a serious discussion of the possibility of a book publication, as a way of adding an element of research and intellectual interflow to the enrichment of students' educational experiences. A year later, the two editors were able to construct a firm plan to set the book project in motion.

The concept of a joint publication was also deemed particularly feasible and attractive due to a shared interest between the teachers of the two universities on the empirical study of spoken language and the exploration of grammatical phenomena from a variety of new theoretical perspectives. The discerning reader will no doubt find within the covers of this book ample evidence of the study of Japanese and Chinese grammar using new methods and insights from such fields as Cognitive Grammar, Information Structure, Natural Language Processing and Conversation Analysis.

According to the original plan, the book was scheduled to come out in 2008. However, due to the second editor's relocation from Hong Kong to Singapore, the book has taken much longer to materialize than expected. For this, the second editor would like to express his sincere apologies to all the authors, and heart-felt gratitude for their patience and confidence. It is very much hoped that the book will not only achieve its aim of promoting an exchange of ideas between the two universities, but will also serve as a memento marking the much treasured friendship between the two universities.

Last but not least, the two editors would like to thank the two universities, particularly President Murasaki of TBU, for their unfailing support of the exchange programme. They are also grateful to their able and diligent colleagues and graduate students for their valuable input into this memorable and meaningful process.

YOICHIRO HASEBE

A Cognitive Approach to Compound *Kango* VNPs in Japanese

1. Introduction

1.1 Phenomenon

This chapter deals with Japanese complex verbal noun phrases of Chinese-origin (complex *kango* VNPs).[1] The complex *kango* VNPs examined are exemplified in (1). These examples and other complex *kango* VNPs meet the syntactic and semantic conditions listed in (2).

(1) a. 情報収集 (*jouhou-shuushuu*, 'information-gathering')
b. 価格高騰 (*kakaku-koutou*, 'price-increase')
c. 分割統治 (*bunkatsu-touchi*, 'divide-rule')
d. 保守管理 (*hoshu-kanri*, 'maintain-administer')

(2) a. Single semantically coherent VNPs are composed of two independent *kango* words.
b. The second element of the compound has both nominal and verbal characteristics.
c. The VNP as a whole has not completely lexicalized into one word, preserving syntactic and semantic analyzability.

From condition (2a), instances such as those in (3) are excluded.

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1 The expression 'Chinese-origin' is not always used accurately. Here, it roughly means that the words in question are conventionally written in Chinese characters; they may or may not be of Chinese-origin. Thus, I prefer to use the term *kango* throughout this chapter.

(3) a. 習慣化 (*shuukan-ka*, 'conventionalization')
b. 日本製 (*nihon-sei*, 'Japan-made')
c. 再挑戦 (*sai-chousen*, 're-try')
d. 初飛行 (*hatsu-hikou*, 'first-flight')

The morphemes *ka* ('-ation'), *sei* ('-made'), *sai* ('re-'), and *hatsu* ('first-') function as suffixes rather than as independent words. Also excluded are VNPs composed of two single *kanji* (Chinese character) morphemes as exemplified in (4).

(4) a. 骨折 (*kossetsu*, 'bone-break')
b. 入院 (*nyuu-in*, 'enter-hospital, hospitalized')
c. 成長 (*sei-chou*, 'become-long, grow')
d. 視聴 (*shi-chou*, 'view and listen')

There are a great number of this kind of Japanese words, and they account for a large part of the overall verbal vocabulary. Many of these words, however, are lexicalized, and accordingly their component morphemes are neither highly independent nor productive. In fact, these two-character *kango* VNPs contribute to the formation of complex VNPs as component structures. Thus, a brief look at the structure of these simple *kango* VNPs is made in Section 2.2. The complex *kango* VNPs that meet the first condition in (2) examined in this chapter consist of two parts, each of which is composed of a smaller unit.

As (2b) stipulates, the second element of complex *kango* VNPs functions either verbally or nominally. For instance, *shuushuu* of *jouhou-shuushuu* in (1a) can be used either as an NP or as a semantically essential part of a VP. Since complex VNPs inherit this characteristic, they can be part of an argument of a VP as in (5a). On the other hand, they can also combine with the light-verb *suru* (roughly meaning 'do') as in (5b) to make up a full-fledged VP construction.

(5) a. 彼に情報収集を任せる。
kare-ni *jouhou-shuushuu-o* *makaseru*
he-DAT data-gathering-ACC leave
'(I) leave data-gathering to him.'

b. インターネットで情報収集する。
intaanetto-de jouhou-shuushuu-suru
Internet-with data-gathering-*suru*
'(I) do data-gathering on the Internet.'

Finally (2c) excludes a certain group of compound *kango* VNPs that satisfy the first two conditions in (2). These are compound VNPs that lack transparency and analyzability at least in the most ordinary Japanese speakers' perception. The reasons for this lack of transparency/analyzability vary. Possible scenarios are as follows: both the form and meaning of the complex VNP were directly borrowed from Chinese and have been frozen since then; the archaic forms have remained unchanged until now, and as a result many speakers barely recognize the original meaning of the component elements; or the complex VNP is always used in a metaphorical sense, making it difficult to evoke the original meaning. These types of complex *kango* VNPs are not addressed, although some of the analyses may be applicable.

1.2 Framework

In the following sections, compound *kango* VNPs meeting the conditions in (2) are analyzed in the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1990, 1991). Cognitive Grammar (CG) takes an approach dissimilar to the more formalistic theories of linguistics such as Generative Grammar, which presupposes the existence of preprogrammed syntactic and semantic modules inside the brain and subscribes to the idea that syntax and semantics of language are composed of explicitly formalized rules and constraints. On the other hand, CG emphasizes fundamental cognitive abilities that figure not only in language but also in basic human activities such as category perception, reference-point construction ability, metaphorical mapping between domains, and so forth. As opposed to the formalistic theories where grammaticality of a sentence is determined based on a certain set of rules and constraints of a binary nature, in CG, every possible sequence of morphemes/words is evaluated according to the construability of the concept invoked by them.

Past attempts to describe word formation and phrase structure in Japanese often utilized a framework referred to as Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS).[2] In fact, many studies carried out in LCS have contributed to clarifying the syntactic and semantics structure of Japanese (cf. Kageyama 1993, 1996). Linguistic phenomena in Japanese, however, have many aspects that defy formalistic approaches, as is the case with English and other languages. CG, on the other hand, abandons the presupposition that there are autonomous syntactic and semantic modules that work independently from one's subjective construal and conceptualization. Thus, it is expected that CG allows us to treat virtually every possible compound VNP with various degrees of acceptability in a unified and coherent way, without abstracting subtle but important connotations that even the most marginal expressions could carry.

1.3 Outline

The outline of this chapter is as follows. In Section 2, I briefly describe the basic nature of *kango* VNPs in a bottom-up fashion. First, the general characteristics of *kango*, or words of Chinese-origin, are considered. Although they were only loanwords when first introduced to Japan, *kango* have been integrated into the syntactic and semantic systems of the language over time. Now they occupy a significant part of Japanese and have acquired structures consistent with the grammar of Japanese. I discuss some conceivable reasons why *kango* VNPs have become so important in Japanese both in number and function. I also make an informal classification of simple *kango* VNPs and point out some notable characteristics of their syntax and semantics.

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2 The foundation of LCS theory was laid by Jackendoff (1990). This theory deals with semantic aspects to language much more than other theories derived from Generative Grammar. Still, LCS presupposes the existence of so-called semantic primitives and assumes that the meanings of words are generated through the process of applying semantic functions to those primitives in combination with other constants and valuables. The latter fact separates the two approaches, CG and LCS, in a fundamental sense, even though they share a strong affinity for the semantic aspects of language.

In Section 3, I attempt to classify compound *kango* VNPs into four types: V+V, Adv+V, Obj+Vt, and Sbj+Vi types. The patterns of complex *kango* VNPs are so varied that the internal structures might seem arbitrary at first sight. A closer look at their form and meaning, however, enables us to categorize most of the instances into one of the four types. I will also analyze each type from a cognitive linguistic perspective and propose a schematization of its conceptual structure.

In Section 4, the way that complex *kango* VNPs combine with the light verb *suru* is considered. Their internal structure is hard to access when observed separately from the syntactic and semantic context. Complex *kango* VNPs can sometimes directly combine with *suru*, and at other times there is a case-marking particle *-o* intervening between the two. I investigate the conditions in which complex *kango* VNPs combine with not only *suru* but also *-o* + *suru*, arguing that such conditions indicate the conceptual autonomousness of complex *kango* VNP structures. Although one grammatical construction seems to refute the validity of the hypothesis, I will demonstrate that such an example can actually support the hypothesis.

In Section 5, I illustrate that the hypothesis suggested is also verified in a typological perspective. Many languages show a strong affinity for one of two natural paths: Action Chain or A/D Layering. English is considered to be based on the Action Chain event construal, for instance. Other languages reflect the other natural path, A/D Layering, if only on some local level of the overall structure. Compound *kango* VNPs of the Obj+Vt type and the Sbj+Vi type have an interesting commonality; that is, they both reflect A/D Layering. I suggest that while Japanese is based on Action Chain in the sentence level, it is based on A/D Layering at the level of phrase-structure of compound *kango* VNPs. This supports my argument that compound *kango* VNPs are constructed in such a way that a certain level of conceptual autonomy can always be achieved. Finally, Section 6 concludes the discussion.

2. Components of *Kango* Complex VNP

2.1 Role and Function of Kango

There are several reasons why *kango* words have become an essential part of the Japanese language. Sato (1987) gives three suggestions. First, Chinese words (*kango*) and their written forms were quite useful in importing and assimilating new concepts from foreign countries having different cultures. In the old and medieval ages, those concepts mainly came from China, and the ways in which they were expressed were directly adopted from China with some necessary (mostly phonological) modifications. In the modern period, words of Chinese-origin and characters were again used in translating the concepts imported from Western culture.

Second, *kango* made it possible to concisely express complex ideas and concepts. Japanese grammar uses post-nominal particles to represent relationships. In Chinese, on the other hand, there is no need for such extra grammatical elements; only word order matters. Moreover, since a semantic unit consists of one character and one syllable in Chinese, *kango* words tend to be more succinct as compared to their non-*kango* counterparts.[3]

Third, the word formation of *kango* is morphologically simple, compared to the original Japanese word formation. Because of the building-block-like characteristics of *kanji*, a variety of meanings can be expressed in a semi-nominal form by constructing a sequence of various character lengths. Because of this characteristic, *kango* can nominalize concepts that are complex enough to be alternatively expressed in a full sentence.[4]

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3 On the other hand, there is a drawback to adopting and coining many *kango* words: it has created a great number of homonyms in Japanese. This is because the Japanese phonological system is simpler than the Chinese system. Chinese can place four different tones on a single vowel type, whereas Japanese does not have such differentiation of vowel tones.

4 One marginal but notable fact is that *kango* words over a certain length are often shortened into contracted forms without losing much of the original symbolic relationship between the form and meaning.

For the purpose of the present research, the last point is quite significant. Japanese, originally an agglutinative language that needs particles placed right after each argument nominal, is equipped also with a characteristic of Chinese, an isolating language, on the level of word formation. The next section will introduce some patterns of *kango* VNP formation.

2.2 Types of Simple Kango *VNs*

Simple *kango* VNs are defined as verbal nouns that are composed of two *kanji* and are able to combine with the light verb *suru* or with the sequence of accusative case marker *o-* plus *suru*. As illustrated in (6), there are broadly four types of simple *kango* VNs. Although each type has its own formal pattern, its instances are rather lexicalized and thus the patterns are not necessarily highly productive.[5]

(6) a. sequence of synonymous verbal morphemes
教育 (*kyou-iku*, 'educate-grow'), 追求 (*tsui-kyu*, 'pursue-want')

b. the first element (adverbial) modifies the second (verbal)
後悔 (*kou-kai*, 'late-regret'), 前進 (*zen-shin*, 'forward-proceed')

c. the second element (adjectival) is complement to the first (verbal)
説明 (*setsu-mei*, 'explain-clear'), 改善 (*kai-zen*, 'modify-better')

d. the second element (nominal) is object of the first element (verbal, transitive)
停戦 (*tei-sen*, 'halt-war'), 殺人 (*satsu-jin*, 'kill-person),
帰国 (*ki-koku*, 'return-country'), 退室 (*tai-shitsu*, 'leave-room')

Among simple *kango* VNs in Japanese, those that contain an argument structure, i.e. those that belong to (6d), have a VO construction that reflects the original Chinese syntax (Arakawa 1988). The argument NP accordingly can take various semantic roles such as theme

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(i) a. 行政改革 (*gyousei-kaikaku*, administration-reform) → 行革 (*gyou-kaku*)
b. 大学卒業 (*daigaku-sotsugyou*, university-graduate) → 大卒 (*dai-sotsu*)

5 The classification in (6) is based on the analysis proposed in Arakawa (1988) for *kango* NPs in general.

(*tei-sen*, 'halt-war'), patient (*satsu-jin*, 'kill-person'), goal (*ki-koku*, 'return-country'), and source (*tai-shitsu*, 'leave-room').

When these simple transitive *kango* VNs combine with an object NP to make up a compound VNP, the newly generated argument structure follows the Japanese instead of the Chinese syntax. In other words, the object and the VNP form an OV construction as seen in (7) instead of a VO construction.

(7) a. 社員募集 (*shain-boshuu*, 'employees-recruit')

b. 記憶喪失 (*kioku-soushitsu*, 'memory-lose')

c. 水泳禁止 (*suiei-kinshi*, 'swimming-ban')

Virtually all simple intransitive *kango* VNs are unaccusative in the sense of Perlmutter (1978).[6] Many have a meaning that concerns the existence, emergence, or disappearance of objects or events. As is the case with transitive *kango* VNs, word formation of this type takes a different order from the one that is most commonly observed in the sentence-level syntax of Japanese. Consider examples (8) and (9) below.

(8) a. 花が開く。
hana-ga *hiraku*
flower-NOM bloom
'A flower comes into bloom.'

b. 開花 (*kai-ka*, 'bloom-flower')

(9) a. 雨が降る。
ame-ga *furu*
rail-NOM fall
'Rain falls.'

b. 降雨 (*kou-u*, 'fall-rain')

Interestingly, when an unaccusative VN combines with a subject NP to create a compound *kango* VNP, the word order is in accordance with the sentence-level syntax and shows SV construction.

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6 See also Levin/Rappaport Hovav (1995) for an extensive discussion about unnaccusativity.

(10) a. 景気が後退している。
keiki-ga *koutai-siteiru*
economy-NOM slowdown-*suru*-PROG
'Economy is slowing down.'

b. 景気後退 (*keiki-koutai*, 'economy-slow down')

(11) a. 交通が渋滞している。
koutsuu-ga *juutai-siteiru*
traffic-NOM congestion-*suru*-PROG
'Traffic is congested.'

b. 交通渋滞 (*koutsuu-juutai*, 'traffic-congestion')

The issue of transitivity in compound *kango* VNPs is further discussed in Sections 4 and 5.

2.3 Functions of Kango *VN*

As mentioned in 2.1, *kango* words express concepts of various types and complexity in a concise fashion. *Kango* VNs can represent relational concepts in a nominal-like form, and they can be used as NPs functioning as arguments of the verb. In example (12) below, while the VN *doui* in (12a) functions as a part of the predicate VP, in (12b) the same VN functions as the argument of VP *hitsuyou-da*.

(12) a. 彼は私の案に同意した。
kare-wa *watashi-no* *an-ni* *doui-shita*
he-TOP I-GEN plan-DAT agree-*suru*-PAST
'He agreed to my plan.'

b. この計画の実現には、彼の同意が必要だ。
kono-keikaku-no jitsugen-ni-wa *kare-no* *doui-ga* *hitsuyou-da*
this-plan-GEN realization-DAT-TOP he-GEN agree-NOM necessary-AUX
'His agreement is necessary to carry out this plan.'

Kango VNs are not only alternative expressions of their non-*kango* counterparts in Japanese, they are the only choice available in certain constructions. In general, Japanese non-*kango* verbs can be converted to nominals by conjugating their endings. Sometimes, the converted nominals inherit the argument structure of the original verb as in (13),

whereas other times converted nominals do not inherit the argument structure and are not considered natural expressions as shown in (14). In the later cases, *kango* VNs with corresponding semantic contents often can be used instead as in (14c) (Ito/Sugioka 2002).

(13) a. 上演時間を問い合わせる
jouen-jikan-o *toiawaseru* [verbal]
performance-time-ACC inquire
'to inquire the performance time (of a play)'.

b. 上演時間の問い合わせ
jouen-jikan-no *toiawase* [nominal]
performance-time-GEN inquiry
'inquiry of the performance time (of a play)'

(14) a. 財布をなくす
saifu-o *nakusu* [verbal]
wallet-ACC lose
'to lose (my) wallet'

b. *財布のなくし
**saifu-no* *nakushi* [nominal]
wallet-GEN lose
'loss of (my) wallet'

c. 財布の紛失
saifu-no *funshitsu* [*kango* VN]
wallet-GEN disappearance
'loss of (my) wallet'

An original Japanese verb and its *kango* alternative do not necessarily have the same meaning. The former tends to refer to particular events in real life, whereas the latter is more likely to refer to a generalized, abstract concept of an event. For this reason, original Japanese verbs are preferred in everyday conversations, while *kango* VNs are more often observed in books and articles.

3. Cognitive Structure of Compound *Kango* VNPs

There may seem to be countless ways in which *kango* words combine with each other to produce a compound VNP, but in fact, most compound VNPs can be classified into one of four categories to be described in this section. As shown, Compound VNPs in each type share a schematic conceptual structure. Although there could be some specificity to each instance of *kango* VNP, a common schematic structure still seems to exist.

3.1 Classification of Compound Kango *VNPs*

Compound *kango* VNPs are classified into the four types in (15). Note that the head of the compound is always the second element of the word sequence. Although the head elements are all verbal in (15), the subordinate elements (the first elements) have different characteristics in their part of speech (verbal, adverbial, object nominal, or subject nominal). In this section, I will examine each of the four types of compound *kango* VNPs using the theoretical framework of CG.

(15) a. verb + verb (V+V)
b. adverb + verb (Adv+V)
c. object + transitive verb (Obj+Vt)
d. subject + intransitive verb (Sbj+Vi)

3.2 V + V

(16) a. 保守管理 (*hoshu-kanri*, 'maintain-administrate')
b. 輸入販売 (*yunyuu-hanbai*, 'import-retail')
c. 冷凍保存 (*reitou-hozon*, 'freeze-keep')
d. 検査入院 (*kensa-nyuuin*, 'checkup-hospitalize')

Compound VNPs of the V+V type (16) are composed of two *kango* words, both having verbal semantic features. There are several categories among VNPs of this type. First, in VNPs like *hoshu-kanri* ('maintain-administrate'), two similar event concepts are juxtaposed as equals. Second, in VNPs like *yunyuu-hanbai* ('import-retail'), two related but separate events are arranged in chronological order. Third, in VNPs like *reitou-hozon* ('freeze-keep'), the first element expresses the way in which the event in the second element is carried out. Fourth, in VNPs like *kensa-nyuuin* ('checkup-hospitalize') the first element introduces the purpose of the event expressed in the second element.

Even though the first elements of all of the above subcategories in this VNP type have some kind of event frame in their conceptual structures, the degree of saliency is quite varied. The first element of the VNPs in the first type (*hoshu-kanri*) is relatively high in its saliency but not as high as that of the second element, which is the head of the VNP. Still, *hoshu* in *hoshu-kanri* is conceptually prominent enough to be regarded appositional to the head *kanri*. The first element of a VNP in the second category (*yunyuu-hanbai*) can represent an event that is independent of the event depicted by the second element, as *yunyuu* ('import') can be thought of as a separate event preceding the next event *hanbai* ('retail'). Yet the compound VNP as a whole does not profile both of the events equally; it is always the second event that is more salient than the other and thus profiled. For this reason, *yunyuu-hanbai* does not refer to a kind of importing but to a kind of retailing in a default interpretation of the expression.[7] The first elements of VNPs in the third (*reitou-hozon*) and fourth (*kensa-nyuuin*) categories are not highly prominent either. Although events such as *reitou* ('freeze') and *kensa* ('checkup') have concrete semantic contents, they are regarded only as part of the ground against which the main events *hozon* ('keep') and *nyuuin* ('hospitalize') are profiled. Thus, compound *kango* VNPs of V+V type, which feature two related events in their conceptual structure, are varied in terms of the saliency of their first elements. The relationship among the subtypes is schematically captured in Figure 1.

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7 It is possible, however, for *yunyuu-hanbai* to mean 'importing AND retailing' if a tonal segmentation is made between the compound's component elements.

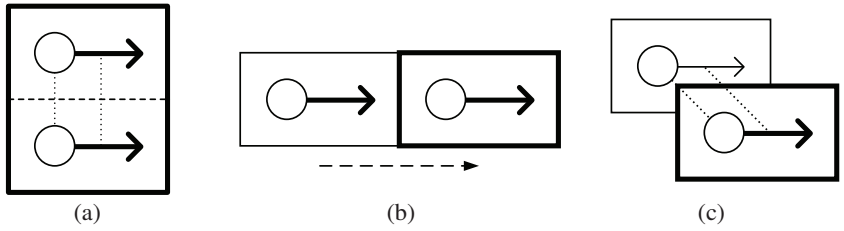

Figure 1.

Figure (1a) illustrates the conceptual structure of VNPs like *hoshu-tenken*. According to the schematic representation of CG, the arrows represent relational structures or events of any kind. In Figure (1a), two arrows drawn in bold lines represent the fact that the two events are equally given explicit linguistic realization. The circles at one end of these arrows represent the trajector, or the primary figure, of an event. Though it is logically supposed that there exists an agent behind the scenes that actively causes the event to take place, such an agent is not profiled in the conceptual structure. The circles in (1a), therefore, are not given bold contours. The overall conceptual structure is thus composed of two relations that syntactically manifest in the expression. It does not mean, however, that the two events are totally separated. Rather, it is conceived that they are strongly related and form a larger, more generic event concept. For that reason, the two circles and two arrows are respectively connected with dotted lines, and the outermost frame is given a bold contour to indicate that this conceptual structure is profiled as a coherent whole.

Figure (1b) illustrates the conceptual structure of VNPs like *yunyuu-hanbai*. The two events are horizontally juxtaposed to one another, and one extra dotted arrow is added below the outside frame of the juxtaposed structures, representing the fact that the two events take place in chronological order. Note that only the box on the right side is drawn in a bold line. Compound VNPs of this type only profile the second of the two component elements.

Figure (1c) shows the conceptual structure of VNPs like *reitou-hozon* and *kensa-nyuuin*, in which the first element is overshadowed by the second element. The conceptual overlap is reflected in the configuration of the boxes and the correspondence lines between the

two component structures. Since the profile of the overall structure is placed on the second element of the pair, the bold contour is given to the box on the right side.

3.3 Adv + V

(17) a. 院内感染 (*innai-kansen*, 'inside hospital-infect')
b. 新規参入 (*shinki-sannyuu*, 'newly-enter')
c. 高速回転 (*kousoku-kaiten*, 'rapidly-rotate')

Compound *kango* VNPs of the Adv+V type (17) are those that are composed of a head VNP and another preceding *kango* that modifies it.[8] There are three subtypes in compound VNPs of this type. First, VNPs like *innai-kansen* ('inside-hospital-infect') have a structure in which the first element specifies the location in which the event described by the second takes place. Second, VNPs like *shinki-sannyuu* ('new-enter [to a business competition]') have a structure in which the first element specifies the nature or quality of the event invoked by the second. Third, VNPs such as *kousoku-kaiten* ('rapidly-rotate') have a structure in which the first element stipulates the degree of the speed, rate, duration, etc. of the event described by the second.

In all of these subtypes, the conceptual structure has two component structures: one contains an indication of a specific point or position in a domain or scale of some kind, while the other contains the event concept that is given the highest degree of prominence within the overall structure. In *innai-kansen*, the domain featured is a spatial/locative one. In *shinki-sannyuu*, a time scale is featured; in *kousoku-kaiten*, the rate/speed scale. The composition process of such a domain expressed by the first element and an event concept expressed by the second element is illustrated in Figure 2.

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8 Since a *kango* VNP has both verbal and nominal aspects, it is equally possible to regard an element modifying it as an adverb or adjective. Since this chapter focuses on the verbal aspects of *kango* VNPs, I refer to this type of VNP in which the first element modifies the second as 'Adv + V Type'. In a different context, it would be appropriate to call it 'Adj+N Type'.

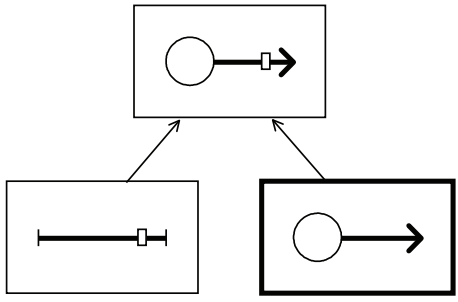

Figure 2.

In Figure 2, the box on the lower left represents the domain/scale and a point within it invoked by the first element of the compound. This abstract structure is merged into a rather concrete event structure in the box on the right, which is invoked by the second element of the compound. Finally, the composite structure depicted in the third box on the top is constructed. Note that the composite structure inherits the basic configuration of the component structure on the right side, which is the profile determinant and is thus enclosed by a bold rectangle.

3.4 Obj + Vt

(18) a. 意見交換 (*iken-koukan*, 'opinion-exchange')
b. 規制緩和 (*kisei-kanwa*, 'regulation-relax')

Compound *kango* VNPs of the Obj+Vt type (18) is composed of a preceding nominal element and a verbal element, with the former being the object of the latter. Some compounds of this type can be paraphrased into a sentence by attaching the accusative marker *-o* at the end of the object element, while others are paraphrased similarly but with the dative marker *-ni* instead of *-o*. Examples of these subtypes and their corresponding sentences are provided in (19) and (20) respectively.

(19) a. 協力依頼 (*kyouryhoku-irai*, ‘cooperation-request’)

b. 私は彼に協力を依頼した。
watashi-wa *kare-ni* *kyouryoku-o* *irai-shita*
I-TOP he-DAT cooperation-ACC request-*suru*-PAST
‘I asked him for his help ’

(20) a. 職場復帰 (*shokuba-fukki*, ‘work place-return’)

b. 彼女は来月職場に復帰する。
kanojo-wa *raigetsu* *shokuba-ni* *fukki-suru*
she-TOP next-month work-place-DAT return-*suru*
‘She will return to work next month.’

CG stipulates that even a case particle or suffix has its own conceptual structure, and different markers must be treated as such. Presently, I will not examine further the unique conceptual structures of each of the case-marking particles *-o* and *-ni*. Compound *kango* VNPs of the Obj+V type are depicted in Figure 3.

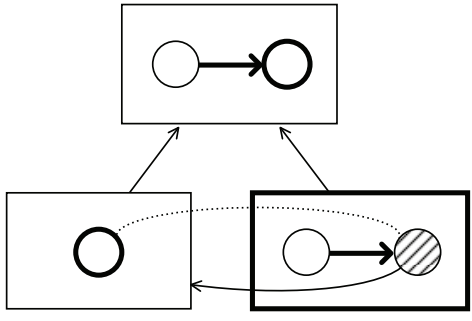

Figure 3.

Figure 3 illustrates the composition of component structures in an Obj+V *kango* VNP. The box in the lower right represents the component structure invoked by the second element of the compound that has the characteristic of a transitive verb. In the second element of the compound, explicit linguistic expression is only given to the event frame and not to particular participants; thus, only the middle arrow appears as a thick line. With the event frame as transitive, the conceptual structure expects to have the schematic object filled by some

concrete information in another component structure; the cross-hatched circle indicates this. The cross-hatched object corresponds to the thing element in the lower-left box; thus, they are connected with a correspondence line, and the fact that the former is dependent on the latter structure is indicated by the curvy arrow from right to left. Finally, the box on top of the two represents the composite structure.

3.5 Sbj + Vi

(21) a. 経営破綻 (*keiei-hatan*, 'management-fail')

b. 交通渋滞 (*koutsuu-juutai*, 'traffic-congest')

Compound *kango* VNPs of the Sbj+Vi type (21) have an argument structure as those of the Obj+Vt type. In VNPs of the Sbj+Vi type, however, it is the subject NP that is linguistically expressed by the first element of the compound, and the verbal head of the compound is intransitive instead of transitive. Since VNPs of the Sbj+Vi type contain both a subject NP and a verbal element, they can be turned into a sentence by adding the nominative case-marking particle *-ga* to the subject NP and also by adding the light verb *suru*. Consider (22) and (23).

(22) a. 国家崩壊 (*kokka-houkai*, 'nation-collapse')

b. 国家が崩壊した。
kokka-ga *houkai-shita*
nation-NOM collapse-*suru*-PAST
'The nation has collapsed.'

(23) a. 株価上昇 (*kabuka-joushou*, 'stock price-rise')

b. 株価が上昇している。
kabuka-ga *joushou-shiteiru*
stock-price-NOM rise-*suru*-PROG
'Stock prices are going up.'

Only intransitive VNs with unaccusative characteristics are qualified to form a compound *kango* VNP of this type. An unaccusative verb is a verb that takes a subject NP that could also function as the object of a corresponding transitive verb having the same stem (Perl-

mutter 1978). In general, the referent of the subject of an unaccusative verb does not play an active role in the event described by the verb; rather, it is likely that the referent of the subject comes under the influence of the event. To put it in another perspective, the event invoked by an unaccusative verb does not contain an active agent in an explicit way. The cognitive process behind the formation of compound *kango* VNPs of this type is shown in Figure 4.

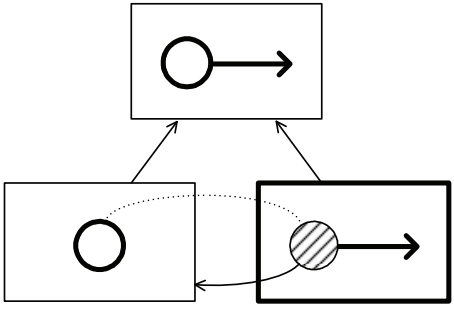

Figure 4.

Figure 4 is somewhat symmetrical to Figure 3, which represents *kango* VNPs of the Obj + Vt type. Most of the details of this figure, therefore, can be understood accordingly. In the box on the lower right, however, it is the trajector of the event that is cross-hatched, i.e. the subject of the event has to be elaborated by a concrete element in the other component structure. Moreover, the arrow in the lower right box representing a schematic event does not point to anything; this means that the event is not recognized as causal but as a more or less spontaneous occurrence. The role of unaccusative VNs in the formation of the Sbj+Vi type compound VNP is further examined in Section 5.

4. "*Kango* VNP + *Suru*" Construction

In Section 3, I classified compound *kango* VNPs into four types and analyzed each from a CG perspective. These types of compound *kango* VNPs all have more complex structures than the simple VNPs that were considered in Section 2. What characteristics do such VNPs display when integrated into a larger linguistic construction? In this section, I will examine the behavior of compound *kango* VNPs when combined with the light verb *suru* (roughly meaning 'do' in English). Then, I will suggest an important cognitive characteristic that compound *kango* VNPs have.

4.1 Composition of Simple Kango *VN and* Suru

Most simple *kango* VNs can be immediately followed by *suru* to become a full-fledged predicate VP. In many cases, it is also possible for a simple *kango* VN to take the accusative case marker directly after it and then *suru*, forming the construction '*kango* VN + *-o* + *suru*'. Examples of this alternation between *suru* and *-o suru* are shown in (24) and (25).

(24) a. 太郎が散歩した。
Taro-ga *sanpo-shita*
Taro-NOM walk-*suru*-PAST
'Taro took a walk.'

b. 太郎が散歩をした。
Taro-ga *sanpo-o-shita*
Taro-NOM walk-ACC-shita
'Taro took a walk.'

(25) a. 太郎が自殺した。
Taro-ga *jisatsu-shita*
Taro-NOM suicide-*suru*-PAST
'Taro committed suicide.'

b. 太郎が自殺をした。
Taro-ga *jisatsu-o-shita*
Taro-NOM suicide-ACC-shita
'Taro committed suicide.'

To a certain group of *kango* VNs, the construction 'VNP + *-o* + *suru*' cannot be applied as naturally as to others, if at all possible. Consider examples (26)-(28).

(26) a. 長女が誕生した。
Choujo-ga *tanjou-shita*
first-daughter-NOM born-*suru*-PAST
'(Our) first daughter was born.'

b. ? 長女が誕生をした。
? *Choujo-ga* *tanjou-o-shita*
first-daughter-NOM born-ACC-*suru*-PAST
'(Our) first daughter was born.'

(27) a. 健康を維持する
kenkou-o *iji-suru*
health-ACC maintain-*suru*
'(I) maintain (my) health.'

b. ? 健康の維持をする
?*kenkou-no* *iji-o-suru*
health-GEN maintain-ACC-*suru*
'(I) maintain (my) health.'

(28) a. 山田は車を所有している
Yamada-wa *kuruma-o* *shoyuu-shiteiru*
Yamada-TOP car-ACC own-*suru*-PROG/STATE
'Yamada owns a car.'

b. ? 山田は車の所有をしている
?*Yamada-wa* *kuruma-o* *shoyuu-o-shiteiru*
Yamada-TOP car-ACC own-ACC-*suru*-PROG/STATE
'Yamada owns a car.'

Tanomura (1988) proposes a set of semantic conditions that a *kango* VN must meet in order to form a 'VNP + *-o* + *suru*' construction in addition to a 'VNP + *suru*' construction.

(29) a. The VNP represents an event that is intentionally carried out by an agent.

b. The VNP represents an event that has specific starting and ending points.

c. The VNP does not represent an event that is emotional/psychological.

(Tanomura 1988, my translation with minor modifications)

Condition (29a) states that a non-intentional event cannot be expressed by the 'VN + *-o* + *suru*' construction, and it successfully predicts that *tanjou* [be born] does not perfectly fit in this construction. (29b) states the aspectual requirement of the 'VNP + *-o* + *suru'* construction; that is, the event described by the VNP is telic but not atelic. This predicts that *iji* [maintain] is not appropriate for the construction. Finally, (29c) excludes psychological VNs like *shoyuu* from the group of words most appropriate for the construction.

Now let us move on to compound *kango* VNPs and examine whether Tanomura's conditions in (29) are applicable. Two examples from each of the four types from Section 3.1 are combined to *suru* and *-o-suru* respectively, producing the results listed in (30) - (33).

(30) V + V Type
a. 保守管理する (*hoshu-kanri-suru*, 'maintain-administrate')
保守管理をする (*hoshu-kanri-o-suru*, 'maintain-administrate')
b. 冷凍保存する (*reitou-hozon-suru*, 'freeze-keep')
冷凍保存をする (*reitou-hozon-o-suru*, 'freeze-keep')

(31) Adv + V Type
a. 院内感染する (*innai-kansen-suru*, 'inside hospital-infect')
?院内感染をする (*innai-kansen-o-suru*, 'inside hospital-infect')
b. 新規参入する (*shinki-sannyuu-suru*, 'newly-enter')
新規参入をする (*shinki-sannyuu-o-suru*, 'newly-enter')

(32) Obj + Vt Type
a. 意見交換する (*iken-koukan-suru*, 'opinion-exchange')
意見交換をする (*iken-koukan-o-suru*, 'opinion-exchange')
b. 規制緩和する (*kisei-kanwa-suru*, 'regulation-relax')
規制緩和をする (*kisei-kanwa-o-suru*, 'regulation-relax')

(33) Sbj + Vi Type
a. 経営破綻する (*keiei-hatan-suru*, 'management-fail')
?経営破綻をする (*keiei-hatan-o-suru*, 'management-fail')
b. 交通渋滞する (*koutsuu-juutai-suru*, 'traffic-congest')
?交通渋滞をする (*koutsuu-juutai-o-suru*, 'traffic-congest')

Among all of the compound *kango* VNPs in the above examples, those that express some kind of intentional event show a perfect match with the 'VNP + *-o* + *suru*' construction. Other VNPs that express events having unintentional connotations, however, do not display a perfect combination with *-o-suru*, if not impossible (31a, 33a, and

33b). Thus, it can be said that the condition regarding the combination of simple *kango* VNs and the *-o-suru* sequence is also valid when applied to complex VNPs.

It is now clear that compound *kango* VNPs combine with *-suru* and *-o-suru* just as simple *kango* VNPs do, as long as the conditions in (29) are met. This is quite impressive given that compound VNPs have rather complex structures both syntactically and semantically. For a VNP to have *-suru* (roughly meaning 'do') immediately following it, the VNP must be describing something that the speaker can conceive of as one single conceptual unit. Moreover, the particle *-o* is reasonably considered to evoke a relationship between the vantage point of a conceptualizer and a view directed at the target object, requiring the VNP preceding it be a 'coherent whole'. Thus, it is suggested that a well-formed compound VNP has a conceptual autonomousness that gives it a status as a coherent unit. How can a compound VNP, which sometimes is composed of a structure as complex as an argument structure, be perceived as a single, coherent conceptual unit? This problem is further investigated in Section 5.

*4.2 Transitivity of "*Kango *VNP* + Suru*" Construction*

In this section, I introduce a phenomenon that appears to be a counterexample to the argument made in the preceding section that compound VNPs have a conceptually autonomous structure. However, I will provide a cognitive explanation of this phenomenon to show that it does not actually challenge the validity of the previous argument.

Compound *kango* VNPs of Obj+Vt type and Sbj+Vi type contain an argument structure. In either type, VNPs function in sentences as intransitive VPs: the Sbj+Vi type obviously has an intransitive quality to it, and the Obj+Vt type also is regarded as intransitive because the transitivity of the verbal head is saturated when it combines with the first element, which is conceived as the object of the event described by the verbal head. As intransitive VPs in general do not take syntactically explicit object NPs, compound *kango* VNPs having an argument structure are not supposed to take external NPs as their objects.