Syntax-semantics discrepancy in deadjectival and inherently-directed motion verbs in Japanese

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Deadjectival verbs (V) in Japanese show two types of transitivity alternation (Sugioka 2001). First, Vs denoting externally-caused CoS A-me(ru) (e.g. heya o atata-me(ru) 'warm up the room') alternate with decausativized CoS A-mar(u) (e.g. heya ga atata-mar(u) 'the room warms up'). A more marked pattern involves internally-caused CoS with Vi and Vt denoting the same type of inchoative event, as follows.

(1) a. Kaze no ikioi ga tuyo-mar-u. b. Kaze ga ikioi o tuyo-me-ru. wind GEN force NOM strong-become-PRS wind NOM force ACC strong-cause-PRS 'The wind's force strengthened.' 'The wind strengthened its force.'

Sentences like (1b) are limited to cases with non-agentive subject NP with inherent control (e.g. natural forces) and its attribute as direct object NP. In contrast, externally-caused CoS Vs cannot engage in this type of alternation to yield *Heya ga kuuki o atata-me-ru. 'The room warms up its air.' The (1a/b)-type alternation can also be observed in constructions with inherently-directed motion Vs (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1995), e.g. agar(u) 'rise' and age(ru) 'raise'.

(1b) notably shows a discrepancy between its transitive V morphology /case marking and the semantic interpretation as an inchoative event of degree achievement, and resists passivization or synthetic compounding that would normally apply to transitive Vs. A pseudo-reflexive LCS can account for such behaviors and aspectual properties, which may shed a light on how CoS constructions with reflexive properties (Koontz-Garboden 2009, a.o.) can manifest in a language without reflexive Vs.

References: • Koontz-Garboden, A. (2009): Anticausativization. In: NLLT 27. 77-138. • Levin, B., and M. Rappaport-Hovav. (1995): Unaccusativity. MIT Press. • Sugioka, Y. (2001): Transitivity alternations in deadjectival verbs. In: Proc. of the COE international symposium, 169-187. Kanda University of International Studies.