Lexicon meets constructicon:

A FrameNet approach to TO-marked quotative constructions in Japanese

Building upon seminal works on the quotative particle TO in Japanese Philology (Fujita 1986; Yamasaki 1993, etc.) and Author's corpus-based analyses (Author 2002, 2009a, 2009b), this paper presents an analysis of a family of quotative TO constructions, incorporating the lexical information that characterizes each construction, proposing that the constructional polysemy involved can adequately be captured via semantic frames and 'frame-to-frame relations' (*a la* FrameNet, Ruppenhofer *et. al.* 2006). The major purpose of the presentation is two-fold: (i) to lay out the range of uses of bi-clausal constructions marked by the quotative particle TO, and to delineate clusters of predicates (i.e., frame-evoking words) that characterize each construction; (ii) to discuss the essences of both Construction Grammar and FrameNet (and Frame Semantics), addressing their contributions to the integrated analysis of lexicon and construction, and of constructional polysemy.

The target construction (in its abstract formal formulation) is a bi-clausal construction marked by the quotative particle TO (briefly, the quotative TO construction):

In its most typical use (e.g., 2), the TO-marked clause functions as a complement of the main verb syntactically as well as semantically. In this straightforward case, the governing main verb is typically a communication (say, tell, etc.) or cogitation (think, etc.) verb, or an emotion verb (feel-happy, etc.). The TO-marked clause, however, is often <u>not</u> the <u>syntactic</u> complement of the main-clause, but remains <u>semantically</u> motivated by the main-clause predicate (e.g., 3a, cry; 3b, bow), or motivated by the frame-evoking <u>noun</u> (3c, 'send a <u>letter</u>'). TO-marked clauses/phrases also have non-quotative uses (Author 2009). Furthermore, as in (4), a TO-marked clauses is often not an element of the main clause, but rather serves as a clause-external adverbial clause (Author 2002).

Examining over 15,000 tokens of the quotative TO construction, drawn from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (National Institute for Japanese Language, 2008), I subcategorized the uses of the construction by the main-clause predicates — in particular the frame-evoking verbs, verbal nouns, nouns, or adjectives. I further subcategorized the data according to the semantic frame evoked by the main clause predicate. The schematic summary of the results of this frame-based lexical analysis of the construction is given in Figure 1. My analysis further attended to frame-to-frame relations in FrameNet. I obtained the upper (and uppermost) frames which are related to the individual frames evoked by the predicates in particular tokens of the construction. As shown in Figure 1, the frames evoked by the quotative uses of the construction (Category A: e.g., 2, 3) scale up to such highest-order frames as Information, Topic (>Communication), Reciprocality, Emotions (> Judgment), etc. In these uses, the TO-marked clause (or phrase) serves as a core (or non-core) frame element (FEs; e.g., Message, Reason, etc.) of the main clause predicate. Non-quotative uses of the constructions (Categories B & C; examples omitted in this abstract), on the other hand, evoke Expansion, Undergo-change, or Gradable-attribute (> Position-on-a-scale) frames. The clause-external adverbial uses (e.g., 4), by contrast, can be accounted for as cases where the semantic frame of the TO-marked clause are not directly evoked by the predicate, and their evoked frames thus can fall outside of the above frames. In most of these uses, the TO-marked clauses serve as an extra-thematic Frame Element, conveying the feelings of the semantic subject (agent) of the main-clause predicate and his/her motivation for the events expressed.

In this analysis, Fillmore's ideas in Frame Semantics and FrameNet are crucial: not only verbs and adjectives but also nouns and combinations of words evoke semantic frames. Understanding such evoked semantic frames is necessary for accounting for uses of TO-clauses that are not syntactic complements of the predicates. One of the major principles of Construction Grammar is also crucial: constructions should be described in terms of the lexical items that participate in and characterize the construction. This study further shows that the constructional polysemy involving the various functions of the quotative particle TO can be described and captured by the frame-to-frame relations cataloged in FrameNet.

- (2) 2a. Ichiro wa [arigatoo] to itta.
 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO say-PAST
 Ichiro said that (I) thank you.
 - 2b. Ichiro wa [arigatoo] to kaita.
 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO write-PAST
 Ichiro wrote that (I) thank you.
 - 2c. Ichiro wa [arigatoo] to yorokonda.
 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO feel happy-PAST
 Ichiro got happy (saying) that I thank you.
- (3) 3a. Ichiro wa [arigatoo] to namida o nagasita.
 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO tear ACC shed-PAST (=tear-PAST)
 Ichiro shed tears (feeling/saying) that (I) thank you.
 - 3b. *Ichiro wa* [arigatoo] to atama o sageta.

 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO head ACC lower (=bow-PAST)

 Ichiro bowed (feeling/saying) that (I) thank you.
 - 3c. Ichiro wa [arigatoo] to tegami o okutta.
 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO letter ACC send-PAST Ichiro sent a letter (saying) that (I) thank you.
- (4) 4a. Ichiro wa [arigatoo] to tobi-dete itta.
 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO jump-out-PAST
 Ichiro just out (of the room) (saying) that (I) thank you.
 - 4b. *Ichiro wa* [arigatoo] to banana o te-watasita.

 Ichiro TOP [thank you] QUO banana ACC give(hand-give)-PAST Ichiro handed bananas (to somebody) (saying) that (I) thank you.

Intentionally act

Perception
Topic
Information
Emotions

Reciprocality
Judgment
Epectation
Communication
Emotions

Reciprocality
Feeting
Communication
Emotions

Communication
Emotions

Reciprocality
Feeting
Communication
Emotion

Figure 1. Frames evoked by a family of quotative TO construction and their frame-to-frame relations