

Contiguity or congruity? – The historical development of Japanese *te* linkage

Studies on grammaticalization have revealed striking similarities across languages. This includes the regularity of semantic relationships between grammaticalized elements and their lexical origins (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, Heine and Kuteva 2002), which can suggest the presence of overarching mechanisms, such as analogy and reanalysis. However, the exact patterning of such mechanisms, which are crucial for the initial grammaticalization stage, remains unknown. To investigate this issue, the present study examines the relationships between two adjacent verbal elements in this ‘combining stage’. In particular, it looks at Japanese *te*-linked complex predicates (V1*te*-V2) involving a transitive verb as V2, focusing on *shimau* ‘to put away’ and *oku* ‘to put’ (both of which have developed into different types of completion markers). One possible hypothesis is that grammaticalization involves the pragmatically motivated reanalysis of contiguous linguistic elements as Hopper and Traugott (1993) claim, in which the English future marker *be going to* involves an association between ‘going to a (syntactically empty) place’ and ‘having a purpose’ (e.g. to visit Bill) resulting in a structural reanalysis from *I [am going ___] [to visit Bill]* to *I [am going to] [visit Bill]*. A similar idea can be applied to the grammaticalization of the Japanese auxiliary *-te-shimau* (Cf. Ono 1992), whereby the association between the transitive verb *shimau* ‘to put away’/‘to finish’ (as in (1a) below) and the preceding main verb was made over time, resulting in the development of the aspectual marker of completion (as in (1b)). Another hypothesis concerns what Shibatani and Chung (2007) call ‘semantic congruity’ in their diachronic analysis of *-te-iku* and *-te-kuru* (from *iku* ‘to go’ and *kuru* ‘to come’ respectively). The authors show that complex predicates like *aruite-iku* (‘walkTE-go’) involve a compounding process resulting from certain types of semantic association such as shared participants and a spatio-temporal overlap between two events, and show that there is no evidence that clause chaining constructions could have been reanalyzed as complex predicates. In the present study, various V1 types, along with the meanings of the lexical origin (e.g. ‘to put away’ and ‘to finish’ for *-te-shimau*) and those of *-te* form (‘by’, ‘and’, etc.; see dual interpretations in (1a) and (2a)), are taken into consideration with respect to the two hypotheses above. For example, the action of ‘reading the book’ does not result in the physical disappearance of the ‘book’, so that ‘putting *it* away’ ((1a), with (a) reading) is possible’, whereas this is not the case with ‘eating the cake’ ((2a), with (a) reading). Historical sources from over thirty works of novels and play scripts (mainly from Early Modern Japanese) show that both contiguity and congruity contribute to the development of the *-te* auxiliaries.

- (1) a. *sono hon o yonde, shimat-ta*
that book ACC readTE put away-PAST
a' ‘I read the book, *and* put it away.’ a" ??‘I finished the book *by* reading it’
- b. *sono hon o yonde-shimat-ta*
that book ACC readTE-ASP-PAST
‘I finished reading the book.’
- (2) a. **sono keeki o tabete, shimat-ta*
that cake ACC readTE put away-PAST
a' *‘I ate the cake, *and* put it away.’ a" ?‘I finished the cake *by* eating it.’
- b. *sono keeki o tabete-shimat-ta*
that cake ACC readTE-ASP-PAST
‘I finished eating the cake.’

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