



Semantic analysis of adjectival forms in Japanese: A comparison with Turkish adjectival participles

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APA Citation:

Kır a, E. (2018). Semantic Analysis of Adjectival Forms in Japanese: A Comparison with Turkish Adjectival Participles. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 14(4), 328-341.

Submission Date: 27/10/2018

Acceptance Date: 21/12/2018

Abstract

Adjectival participles have been classified by their syntactic and semantic functions in many languages. Among the semantic functions, it is proposed that "reversible/irreversible interpretation" of those forms have a distinctive property. Like English, German, Greek and Turkish, it is claimed that Japanese adjectival forms have reversible/irreversible distinction as well. This study aims to verify the reversible/irreversible interpretation of Japanese adjectival forms proposed by Morita (1988) and clarify the factors related to this interpretation based on some concrete examples. To verify Morita's (1988) claim, we analyzed Japanese adjectival forms based on some semantic diagnostics proposed in previous studies (Kratzer 2000, Embick 2004, G urer 2014, Kır a 2018). In contrast to previous proposals, our findings indicated that Japanese reversible/irreversible distinction behaves in the same way that Turkish does; reversible/irreversible interpretation is mainly related to the verb to which adjectival forms attach to and the modified noun. Our results obtained in this study are significant in that reversible/irreversible distinction of adjectival forms, which does not only occur in Turkish but also in Japanese, have a possibility to become indispensable semantic diagnostics for future contrastive researches.

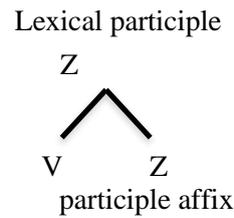
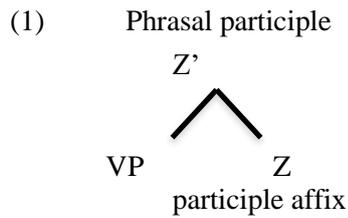
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Keywords: Adjectival forms; reversible/irreversible; semantic analysis; Japanese; Turkish

1. Introduction

Adjectival participles have been classified in terms of their syntactic and semantic functions in many languages such as English, German, Greek and Turkish. According to their internal structures in syntax, Kratzer (1994) classifies the adjectival participles in German into two categories; lexical and phrasal. A lexical participle affix is base-generated as a sister of a lexical category; V, while a phrasal participle affix is base-generated as a sister of a phrasal category; VP as illustrated in (1).

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(Kratzer 1994:5)

Kratzer (2000) further classifies the phrasal participles into two categories as resultant state and target state participles that are the terms referred by Parsons (1990), which are defined below.

Resultant States:

“For every event *e* that culminates, there is a corresponding state that holds forever after. This is “the state of *e*’s having culminated,” which I call the “Resultant state of *e*” or “*e*’s R-state.” If Mary eats lunch, then there is a state that holds forever after: The state of Mary’s having eaten lunch (Parsons 1990: 234).”

Target States:

“It is important not to identify the Resultant-state of an event with its “target” state. If I throw a ball onto the roof, the target state of this event is the ball’s being on the roof, a state that may or may not last for a long time. What I am calling the Resultant-state is different; it is the state of my having thrown the ball onto the roof, and it is a state that cannot cease holding at some later time (Parsons 1990: 235).”

Following Parsons (1990)’s proposal, Kratzer (2000) suggests that resultant state participles denote states corresponding to an event’s being over and they have to hold forever after, hence they are irreversible; while target state participles describe states that are in principle reversible, so-called temporary states.

Ogihara (2004) also mentions Parsons (1990)’s proposal and explains target state and resultant state properties giving some examples as below.

- | | | |
|--------|---|--------------------------|
| (2) a. | utukusii | [adjective] |
| | beautiful-PRS | |
| | ‘beautiful’ | |
| b. | taore-ta | [adjectival] |
| | fall-TA | |
| | ‘lying flat (after having fallen over)’ | |
| c. | CD-o kat-ta | [preterit ²] |
| | CD-ACC buy-TA | |
| | ‘who bought a CD’ | |

(Ogihara 2004:22)

² Ogihara (2004) follows the standard literature such as Comrie (1976) and Smith (1991) in that he uses the term “perfect” to refer to the aspectual meaning associated with the current relevance or resultant state arising from a past event. The term “perfective” is used in the literature to refer to a concept analogous to what he calls “relative past” (Ogihara 1996). In order to avoid confusion, he simply avoids the use of the term “perfective” and instead uses the term “preterit” to refer to “perfective aspect” or “relative past” (Ogihara 2004:21).

(2a) is a lexical adjective, which denotes a stative property; typically associated with adjectives and stative verbs. (2b) is an adjectival relative, which describes a target state in that it is reversible, however it describes not just a target state but an event that produces this state as well. On the other hand, (2c) is not an adjectival relative in that it can only receive a preterit reading and describes a resultant state in that it is a property that never goes away once acquired. A temporary (reversible) property is such that one and the same individual can have it only for a limited amount of time at least in principle. It is a very weak condition but is sufficient to distinguish between target states on the one hand and resultant states on the other. (2b) is a temporary (reversible) property. For example, if John has the property (2b) in w_0 at t_0 , then it is perfectly possible for John not to have this property at some time later than t_0 . For instance, there is a possible world in which John is no longer lying down at some future time. Similarly, given that John has the property (2b) in w_0 at t_0 , it is possible (and in fact necessary if he in fact fell) that at some time earlier than t_0 he does not have this property in w_0 . Thus, (2b) is a temporary (reversible) property. On the other hand, relative clauses with a preterit or a future tense such as (2c) are non-temporary (irreversible) properties (Ogihara 2004:21-22-23).

Many researchers have exploited this three-way distinction and classified the adjectival participles in some languages as “lexical/stative”, “resultant state” and “target state” (Kratzer 1994, 2000 for German, Anagnostopoulou 2003 for Greek, Embick 2004 for English, Güler 2014 for Turkish).

This study deals with adjectival forms in Japanese that shares many structural and morphological similarities with Turkish on the ground of SOV languages. In a previous study in Japanese on those forms, it is claimed that Japanese adjectival forms have reversible/irreversible distinction (Morita 1988:169)³. To verify Morita (1988)’s claim, we analyze Japanese adjectival forms semantically based on some diagnostics proposed in previous studies (Kratzer 2000, Embick 2004, Güler 2014, Kıra 2018) and clarify whether they behave in the same way or not with Turkish adjectival participles.

1.1. Theoretical background

1.1.1. Turkish Adjectival Participles

In Turkish, there are mainly eight participles, which are formed with *-En*, *-Er/-mEz*, *-DIK*, *-Ik*, *-mİş*, *-(I)lI*, *-EcEK* and *-EsI*. Among them, *-Ik*, *-mİş* and *-(I)lI* are distinguished as adjectival participles and classified respectively based on some morphological and semantic diagnostics in Kratzer (1994, 2000), Anagnostopoulou (2003) and Embick (2004) by Güler (2014). According to Güler’s classification, as *-mİş* and *-(I)lI* are compatible with event-oriented manner adverbs and can not be complements of “make, become”⁴, they can be categorized as phrasal adjectival participles. On the contrary, since *-Ik* is not possible with event-oriented manner adverbs and it can be a complement of “become, make”⁵ as is the case with underived adjectives, it is a lexical adjectival participle. Semantically, it is proposed that adjectival participles with *-Ik* are lexical/statives denoting characteristic states without making reference

³ “...heizei no koozyooteki zyootai ni wa [ta+meisi] ga, tamatama sono ori ni kotosara torareta ichiziteki zyootai ni wa [teiru+meisi] ga pittari suru (Morita 1988:169).”

“...[ta+noun] is perfectly suited for ordinary constant states, while [teiru+noun] is ideal for temporary states, which occur particularly on that occasion (Morita 1988:169).”

⁴ (1) a. *Bu cetvel eđ-il-miř ol-muř.
this ruler bend-PASS-Mİř become-PST
Lit. ‘This ruler became bent.’

b. *Bu kitabe-ler yaz-ıllı yap-il-miř.
this inscription-PL write-ILI make-PASS-PST
Lit. ‘These inscriptions are made written.’

(Güler 2014:175)

⁵ (2) a. Bu bahçe kapı-sı aç-ık yap-il-miř.
this garden door-POSS.3SG open-İK make-PASS-PST
‘This garden door is made open.’

b. Bu cetvel eđ-ik ol-muř.
this ruler bend-İK become-PST
‘This ruler became bent.’

(Güler 2014:175)

to a prior event; adjectival participles with *-mİş* are resultant states that show irreversible results from prior events and adjectival participles with *-(I)lI* are target states indicating reversible states making reference to prior events.

- (3) a. aç-ık kapı ‘the open door’ (Lexical adjectival participle)
open-İK door
- b. aç-ıl-mİş kapı ‘opened door’ (Resultant state participle)
open-PASS-MİŞ door
- c. sar-ılı kol ‘the bandaged arm’ (Target state participle)
wrap-İLİ arm
- (Gürer 2014:179)

In opposition to the semantic analysis of Turkish adjectival participles proposed by Gürer (2014), Kıra (2018) proposes a new interpretation claiming that not only the participles but also the semantic nature of the verb attached to the participle and the modified noun are related to reversible/irreversible reading. The analysis of Japanese adjectival forms in the present study is based on this semantic approach.

1.1.2. Japanese Adjectival Forms

As in Turkish, there are two morphemes indicating adjectival interpretation in Japanese: *-ta* and *-teiru*. When *-ta* is used in predicate and prenominal positions, it has two readings as “past” and “perfect”. In a relative clause, it additionally represents adjectival reading, so-called “characteristic state” or “result-state” when attached to a certain class of verbs⁶ (Jacobsen 1982, Morita 1988, Abe 1993, Kinsui 1994, Ogihara 2004).

- (4) a. Kanozyo-ga kyonen-no paatii-de ki-ta kimono-o oboe-tei-masu ka? (Past)
she-NOM last year -GEN party-LOC wear-TA kimono-ACC remember-PROG-POL Q
‘Do you remember the kimono she wore in the party last year?’
- b. Kanozyo-wa itido ki-ta kimono-wa nidoto ki-nai. (Perfect)
she-TOP one time wear-TA kimono-TOP never again wear-NEG
‘She never wears the kimono that she has worn before again.’
- c. Rippana kimono-o ki-ta zyosei-ga tikazui-te ki-ta. (Adjectival)
wonderful kimono-ACC wear-TA woman-NOM approach-GER come-PST
‘A woman with a wonderful kimono has come near.’
- (Kinsui 1994:29)

Similarly, *-teiru* has three representative readings as “perfect”, “progressive” and “prospective” and in addition to them, it displays adjectival reading, as indicated in (5) (Kindaichi 1955).

⁶ Those verbs are termed “Class 4 verbs” in Kindaichi (1950)’s terminology, such as *sugureru* ‘to excel’, *doodootosuru* ‘to be august’, and “Change of state verbs” such as *kowareru* ‘to break’.

- (5) a. Yuki-ga tumot-tei-ru. (Perfect)
 snow-NOM pile up-TEI-PRS
 ‘Snow is piled up.’
- b. Kare-wa hon-o yon-dei-ru. (Progressive)
 he-TOP book-ACC read-TEI-PRS
 ‘He is reading a book.’
- c. Kare-wa hon-o yom-oo-to-si-tei-ru. (Prospective)
 he-TOP book-ACC read-VOL-QUOT-do-TEI-PRS
 ‘He is going to read a book.’
- d. Kono miti-wa magat-tei-ru. (Adjectival)
 this road-TOP curve-TEI-PRS
 ‘This road is curved.’

Adjectival *-teiru* can be used both predicatively and prenominaly, while adjectival *-ta* can only be used prenominaly. They also have paraphrase relation depending on the verbs they attach. Kinsui (1994) defines the verbs with *-ta* and *-teiru*, which displays adjectival interpretation as “adjectival verbs” and classifies them regarding to their structural, semantic and paraphrasal relation properties as shown below.

Table 1. Kinsui (1994)’s classification of Adjectival Verbs

	Classes of Verbs	Properties	Example
Adjectival Verbs	Structural	focusing on resultant state	koware-ta omocha break-TA toy ‘A broken toy’
	Lexical	adjectival interpretation without focusing on resultant state	bakage-ta ziken look foolish-TA case ‘An absurd case’

Lexical adjectival verbs (Class 4 verbs in Kindaichi (1950)’s terminology) must be used with *-teiru* in predicate position and are used with *-ta* in prenominal position in general, as indicated in (6). Structural adjectival verbs are used with *-teiru* in predicate position such as *-ta*, however in a relative clause, they can occur with *-ta* or *-teiru*, as shown in (7) (Kindaichi 1955, Teramura 1984, Kinsui 1994).

- (6) Lexical adjectival verbs:
- a. Kono ziken-wa bakage-tei-ru. (Predicative)
 this case-TOP look foolish-TEI-PRS
 ‘This case is absurd.’
- b. Bakage-ta/ *bakage-tei-ru ziken (Prenominal)
 look foolish-TA look foolish-TEI-PRS case
 ‘An absurd case’

(7) Structural adjectival verbs:

- a. Kono omocha-wa koware-tei-ru. (Predicative)
 this toy-TOP break-TEI-PRS
 ‘This toy is broken.’
- b. Koware-ta/ koware-tei-ru omocha (Prenominal)
 break-TA break-TEI-PRS toy
 ‘A broken toy’

Morita (1988) claims that states which *-ta* displays are non-scenic usage of fixed concept, thus it denotes ordinary constant states, namely “irreversible states” in our term. On the other hand, *-teiru* denotes reversible states, which occur particularly on that occasion.

- (8) a. Siroi tue-o mot-ta hito
 white walking stick-ACC hold-TA person
 ‘A person with white walking stick’
- b. Siroi tue-o mot-tei-ru hito
 white walking stick-ACC hold-TEI-PRS person
 ‘A person with white walking stick’ (Morita 1988:170)

Morita (1988) explains this semantic distinction by comparing the sentences above as the person referred in (8a) is blind, but it is not certain that the person referred in (8b) is permanently blind. However, this reversible/irreversible distinction of *-ta* and *-teiru* is not based on clear evidence. For this reason, it is worth pointing out the factors involved in these semantical properties.

1.2. Purpose and Research questions

As mentioned in the sections 1.1.1 and 1.1.2, there exists reversible/irreversible distinction of adjectival forms respectively in Turkish and Japanese. Based on this semantic analysis, in line with Kira (2018), this study aims to verify the reversible/irreversible interpretation of Japanese adjectival forms proposed in a previous study (Morita 1988) and clarify the factors related to this interpretation based on some concrete examples.

In this regard, this study attempts to find answer to the following research questions:

RQ1: Does Japanese adjectival form *-ta* denote irreversible states?

RQ2: Does Japanese adjectival form *-teiru* denote reversible states?

RQ3: Do the factors that take roles in reversibility interpretation for Turkish adjectival participles such as the semantic nature of verbs and modified nouns show the same behavior for their Japanese counterparts?

2. Previous Semantic Analysis of Adjectival Participles

To analyze the reversible/irreversible interpretation of adjectival forms in German, Kratzer (2000) uses the adverbial *immer noch* ‘still’ and claims that an adjectival participle denotes a reversible state if it is compatible with that adverbial. Kratzer (2000) entitles those forms as target state participles. If an adjectival participle is incompatible with the same adverbial, it is a resultant state participle and it denotes an irreversible state.

- (9) a. Die Reifen sind immer noch aufgepumpt. (Target state) (Kratzer 2000:1)
 The tires are still pumped up
 ‘The tires are still pumped up.’
 b. Der Briefkasten ist (*immer noch) geleert. (Resultant state) (Kratzer 2000:2)
 The mail box is (*still) emptied
 ‘The mail box is (*still) emptied.’

For English adjectival participles, Embick (2004) points out that an adverbial is possible with a lexical/stative, but a resultative with the same adverbial has an additional reading, as illustrated in (10).

- (10) a. the recently open door
 b. the recently opened door (Embick 2004:357)

In (10a), it is only interpreted that the door was open at a recent point in the past and (probably) is no longer open. (10b) has the same reading, but additionally it has the reading that the door is in the opened state, the opening having taken place recently. From this suggestion, it can be said that the former reading denotes a reversible state, while the latter one denotes an irreversible state.

For Turkish adjectival participles, Gürer (2014) and Kıra (2018) use these two diagnostics above to make a semantic analysis. Gürer (2014) claims that Turkish has the same interpretational difference proposed in Embick (2004); the lexical/stative participle *-ık* only shows a reversible state and resultant state participle *-miş* has the additional reading, which indicates an irreversible state.

- (11) a. Kapı geçenlerde aç-ık-tı, şimdi değil.
 door recently open-İK-PST.COP now not
 ‘The door was open recently, not now.’
 b. Kapı geçenlerde aç-ıl-mış-tı, şimdi değil.
 door recently open-MIŞ-PST.COP now not
 ‘The door was opened recently, not now.’ (Gürer 2014:174)

Gürer (2014) also presents the reversible/irreversible distinction of adjectival participles according to the compatibility with the adverbial *hala* ‘still’ diagnostic. Lexical and target state participles are compatible with the adverbial *hala* ‘still’, hence they denote reversible states, but resultant states which denote both reversible and irreversible states are not grammatical with the same adverbial.

As noted in section 1.1.1, in opposition to this claim, Kıra (2018) proposes that the reversible/irreversible interpretation is also related to the verbs to which the participles attach and the modified noun, but not only the participles. For example, a verb denoting an irreversible property such as “to rot” or “to burn” can indicate an irreversible state (12a), but not a reversible state (12b) even if the participle bears *-miş*. However, with the same verb and the adjectival form, reversible/irreversible interpretation may differ according to the semantic nature of the modified noun (12’). To verify this proposal, Kıra (2018) applies a similar test with Gürer (2014) as illustrated in (11).

- (12) a. O ekmek geçenlerde yan-mış-tı, bu sabah kuş-lar-a ver-di-m.
 that bread recently burn-MIŞ-PST.COP this morning bird-PL-DAT give-PST-1SG
 ‘That bread was burnt recently, and I fed it to birds this morning.’
 b. *O ekmek geçenlerde yan-mış-tı, şimdi yan-ık değil.
 that bread recently burn-MIŞ-PST.COP now burn-ADJ not
 ‘That bread was burnt recently, but now it isn’t burnt.’ (Kıra 2018:91)

- (12') a. O tava geçenlerde yan-mış-tı, dün çöp-e at-tı-m.
 that frying pan recently burn-MIŞ-PST.COP yesterday garbage box-DAT throw away-PST-1SG
 'That frying pan was burnt recently, and I threw it away in the garbage.'
- b. O tava geçenlerde yan-mış-tı, dün temizle-di-m.
 that frying pan recently burn-MIŞ-PST.COP yesterday clean-PST-1SG
 'That frying pan was burnt recently, but I cleaned it yesterday.' (Kira 2018:91)

In this paper, we analyze reversible/irreversible interpretation of Japanese adjectival forms *-ta* and *-teiru* by inserting an adjectival phrase (verb+*-ta/-teiru*+noun) in a sentence from which the reading of reversibility can be inferred as exemplified in (12-12'). We also apply the *mada* 'still' test proposed in Kratzer (2000) for compatibility with *-ta* and *-teiru*.

3. Reversible/Irreversible Distinction of Japanese Adjectival Forms

3.1. The Case of Adjectival Form *-ta*

As mentioned above, Morita (1988) claims that adjectival form *-ta* denotes ordinary constant states, which means irreversible states. This can be considered true when a lexical adjectival verb that generally appears only with *-ta* in relative clauses indicates a constant state/property of the subject. Consider the following examples.

- (13) a. Nihonzin-de, aoi me-o si-ta hito-wa mezurashii.
 Japanese-GER blue eye-ACC do-TA person-TOP uncommon
 'Blue-eyed Japanese people are quite uncommon.'
- b. Ningen-no kao-o si-ta inu-o mi-te, bikkuri si-ta.
 human-GEN face-ACC do-TA dog-ACC see-GER be surprised-PST
 'I was surprised when I saw a dog with a human face.'

The examples above with *-ta* denote a stable property of the modified nouns *hito* 'people' and *inu* 'dog'. It can be confirmed by a sentence below, which expresses a reversible interpretation⁷.

- (13') a. *Ano aoi me-o si-ta hito-wa moo aoi me-o si-tei-nai.
 that blue eye-ACC do-TA person-TOP anymore blue eye-ACC do-TEI-NEG
 'The person with blue eyes doesn't have blue eyes anymore.'
- b. *Ningen-no kao-o si-ta inu-wa moo ningen-no kao-o si-tei-nai.
 human-GEN face-ACC do-TA dog-TOP anymore human-GEN face-ACC do-TEI-NEG
 'The dog with a human face doesn't have a human face anymore.'

As long as these verbs are concerned, we agree with Morita's (1988) claim, in which *-ta* denotes ordinary constant/irreversible states. By applying the *mada* 'still' test proposed in Kratzer (2000), it is considered that *-ta* does not denote reversible states.

⁷ The clauses in (13') *aoi me o sita hito* 'the person with blue eyes' and *ningen no kao o sita inu* 'the dog with a human face' exclude the situations which someone wears contact lenses and changes his/her eye color or puts a mask on his/her dog. (13') expresses only innate properties of a body.

- (14) a. *Mada aoi me-o si-ta hito
 still blue eye-ACC do-TA person
 ‘The person still with blue eyes’
 b. *Mada ningen-no kao-o si-ta inu
 still human-GEN face-ACC do-TA dog
 ‘The dog still with a human face’

However, there are some counterexamples to this claim. Compare the examples below.

- (15) a. Sore-wa tyotto komiit-ta hanasi-de, rikai si-nikui-desu.
 that-TOP a little be complicated-TA conversation-GER understand-difficult-POL
 ‘That is a little complicated matter, so it is difficult to understand.’
 b. Kaigi-no zyoban-ni at-ta komiit-ta hanasi-wa kaichoo-no
 meeting-GEN beginning-LOC be-PST be complicated-TA conversation-TOP chairman-GEN
 setumei ni yotte kaiketu sare-ta.
 explanation for owing to be solved-PST
 ‘The complicated matter that took place at the beginning of the meeting was solved owing to the explanation the chairman made.’

The adjectival verb *komiitta* ‘complicated’ used in (15) is a lexical and bears *-ta* in prenominal position in principle. (15a) illustrates how “the matter” is and it is uncertain that the state of being complicated is temporary or not. On the other hand, (15b) denotes that there was a complicated matter at the beginning of the meeting, but that matter is not complicated anymore because of the chairman’s explanation. In this regard, since *-ta* is grammatical with this context, we can say that *-ta* does not show invariably constant states. The examples above include lexical adjectival verbs, hence it can be considered that this distinction is an exception, which occurs only with lexical adjectival verbs, but it is not. The same kind of difference of interpretation is held with structural ones such as (16).

- (16) a. Teeburu-no ue-ni at-ta koware-ta rimokon-o gomibako-ni sute-ta.
 table-GEN on-LOC be-PST break-TA remote control-ACC garbage box-DAT throw away-PST
 ‘I have thrown away the broken remote control in the garbage, which was on the table.’
 b. Teeburu-no ue-ni at-ta koware-ta rimokon-wo imaninatte syuuri si-ta.
 table-GEN on-LOC be-PST break-TA remote control-ACC at this point (in time) repair-PST
 ‘I have just repaired the broken remote control, which was on the table.’

The adjectival verb *kowareta* ‘broken’ in (16a) denotes a constant state of the remote control that is still broken and unrepaired, which supports Morita’s (1988) claim. But the same verb in (16b) demonstrates that the remote control is still in use, which is interpreted as a reversible state. At this point, this distinction causes us the following question: is it only *-ta* that shows temporal/reversible states? As illustrated in the Turkish example in (12), not only the adjectival forms but also the complements such as the verbs attached to the adjectival forms and the modified nouns are related to these interpretations. Based on this proposal, we claim that the same phenomenon holds in Japanese. As cited in (16), verbs such as *kowareru* ‘to break’ inhold a reversible function of the action as their lexical aspectual properties, which can be assumed that a broken thing can be repaired and restored to a previous

state. The following example indicates that this proposal is the same for the case of modified nouns in Japanese as well.

- (17) a. Sooko-ni at-ta kusat-ta mokusei-no isu-wa syuuri si-te, moo
 warehouse-LOC be-PST rot-TA wooden-GEN chair-TOP repair-GER already
 tuka-e-ru-yooni nat-ta. (reversible)
 use-ABIL-get to become-PST
 ‘I have repaired the rotten wooden chair, which was in the warehouse, and now it is available for use.’
- b. *Teeburu-no ue-ni at-ta kusat-ta ringo-wa moo kusat-tei-nai. (irreversible)
 table-GEN on-LOC be-PST rot-TA apple-TOP anymore rot-TEI-NEG
 ‘The rotten apple, which was on the table, isn’t rotten anymore.’

Since it is possible to restore to a previous state whether wooden furniture is rotten, (17a) that denotes a reversible state is grammatical, but (17b) that denotes an irreversible state is not. This proves that in Japanese, reversible/irreversible interpretation may differ according to the semantic nature of the modified noun even if the verb and the adjectival form are same as is the case in Turkish.

3.2. The Case of Adjectival Form *-teiru*

Unlike *-ta*, it is claimed that *-teiru* denotes reversible states, which occur particularly on that occasion (Morita 1988:169). As discussed above, this interpretation of *-teiru* can show an alteration with the verb it attaches and the modified noun. In this regard, we apply the same diagnostics with *-ta* to provide clear evidence.

We have called *-teiru* above as one of the Japanese adjectival forms, but the past form of *-teiru*, which is *-teita* has the same function with adjectival *-teiru*, that displays past states of subjects as is the case with underived adjectives such as *siroi-sirokatta* ‘it is white-it was white’ (Kindaichi 1955:47). Since lexical adjectival verbs can bear *-teiru* only in predicate position in general, and for that reason, we try to make clear whether a verb with *-teiru* is compatible with the statement saying that “it was so, but it is not so anymore”. Following Kindaichi (1955), we will use *-teita* with adjectival verbs in predicate position, as illustrated in the following examples.

- (18) a. Kono hon-wa ano zidai-de-wa sugure-tei-ta ga, moo soo de-wa-nai. (reversible)
 this book-TOP that time-LOC-TOP excel-TEI-PST but anymore so COP-TOP-NEG
 ‘This book was excellent at that time, but it is not so anymore.’
- b. Kare-wa doodoto si-tei-ta ga, tosi-o toru niturete kiokure si-te ki-ta. (reversible)
 he-TOP be august-TEI-PST but year-ACC take as be diffident-GER become-PST
 ‘He was august, but he has become diffident as he is getting older.’

The examples (18a) and (18b) include lexical adjectival verbs with *-teiru* and they are grammatical with a reversible reading as proposed in Morita (1988). However, not all the lexical adjectival verbs with *-teiru* denote reversible reading.

- (19) a. *Kanozyo-wa aoi me-o si-tei-ta ga, moo soo dewanai. (irreversible)
 she-TOP blue eye-ACC do-TEI-PST but anymore so NEG
 ‘She had blue eyes, but she doesn’t have them anymore.’
- b. *Ano inu-wa hitsuzi-no kao-o si-tei-ta ga, moo si-tei-nai. (irreversible)
 that dog-TOP sheep-GEN face-ACC do-TEI-PST but anymore do-TEI-NEG
 ‘That dog had a sheep face, but it doesn’t have it anymore.’

Such as *-ta*, lexical adjectival verbs with *-teiru* are not compatible with reversible reading whether they denote a constant property of the modified noun. They are also not compatible with the adverbial *mada* ‘still’.

- (20) a. *Kanozyo-wa mada aoi me-o si-tei-ru. (irreversible)
 she-TOP still blue eye-ACC do-TEI-PRS
 ‘She still has blue eyes.’
- b. *Ano inu-wa mada hituzi-no kao-o si-tei-ru. (irreversible)
 that dog-TOP still sheep-GEN face-ACC do-TEI-PRS
 ‘That dog still has a sheep face.’

Structural adjectival verbs with *-teiru* show the same behavior. They denote both reversible and irreversible states according to whether those verbs have a property that can reverse to a previous state or not. First, we try to analyze the case in prenominal position. Since *-teiru* shows present states, it is incompatible with the statement that “it was so, but it is not so anymore”, hence the following examples display a prospective reading. Compare the examples below.

- (21) a. Kono shampuu-o tuka-eba, hage-tei-ru hito-demo dondon kami-ga
 this shampoo-ACC use-COND get bald-TEI-PRS people-even gradually hair-NOM
 hae-te ku-ru. (reversible)
 grow-GER come-PRS
 ‘Using this shampoo, even bald people’s hair grows back gradually.’
- b. *Tosi-o tot-tei-ru hito-wa dandan wakaku nat-te ku-ru. (irreversible)
 year-ACC take-TEI-PRS people-TOP gradually become young-GER come-PRS
 ‘Old people get younger back gradually.’

The adjectival verb *hageteiru* ‘being bald’ in (21a) denotes a reversible state, which is taken place particularly on that occasion, because it is considered possible to treat baldness or stimulate hair growth. On the other hand, *tosi o totteiru* ‘being old’ in (21b) is not a reversible state in that it is not a temporary property⁸. Interchanging *-teiru* with *-teita* can prove this assumption, which refers to “it was so, but it is not so anymore”.

⁸ This excludes a fictitious world where rejuvenation is possible for human.

- (22) a. Kare-wa hage-tei-ta ga, moo hage-tei-nai. (reversible)
 he-TOP get bald-TEI-PST but anymore get bald-TEI-NEG
 ‘He was bald, but he isn’t so anymore.’
- b. *Kare-wa tosi-o tot-tei-ta ga, moo tosi-o tot-tei-nai. (irreversible)
 he-TOP year-ACC take-TEI-PST but anymore year-ACC take-TEI-NEG
 ‘He was old, but he isn’t so anymore.’

As illustrated in (20), lexical adjectival verbs with *-teiru* are not compatible with the adverbial *mada* ‘still’, but the same adverbial is possible with structural adjectival verbs with *-teiru* only when those verbs denote a reversible state.

- (23) a. Botan-ga mada hazure-tei-ru. (reversible)
 button-NOM still come off-TEI-PRS
 ‘The button is still undone.’
- b. Mada hazure-tei-ru botan (reversible)
 still come off-TEI-PRS button
 ‘The button that is still undone’
- c. *Pan-ga mada koge-tei-ru. (irreversible)
 bread-NOM still burn-TEI-PRS
 ‘The bread is still burnt.’
- d. *Mada koge-tei-ru pan (irreversible)
 still burn-TEI-PRS bread
 ‘The bread that is still burnt’

Finally, the sentences below show that reversible/irreversible reading differs by modified nouns with the same adjectival verb with *-teiru*.

- (24) a. Kanozyo-wa maeba-ga ore-tei-ru. (irreversible)
 she-TOP front tooth-NOM break-TEI-PRS
 ‘Her front tooth is broken.’
- b. Kanozyo-wa asi-ga ore-tei-ru. (reversible)
 she-TOP leg-NOM break-TEI-PRS
 ‘Her leg is broken.’

(24a) and (24b) include the same adjectival verb *oreteiru* ‘broken’ with different modified nouns. Since “teeth” do not have inherent property to recover themselves, the state of being broken in (24a) is interpreted as an irreversible state. On the other hand, because bone regeneration is possible, we can say that the state of being broken in (24b) is reversible. This clearly indicates that in Japanese, reversible/irreversible interpretation may differ in respect to the modified noun even if the verb and the adjectival form are the same such as *-ta*, as is the case in Turkish.

4. Conclusions

Present study aimed to verify the reversible/irreversible interpretation of Japanese adjectival forms proposed in a previous study (Morita 1988) and clarify the factors related to this interpretation based on some concrete examples.

It could be confirmed that Japanese adjectival form *-ta* does not denote irreversible states in all cases (RQ1), and likewise adjectival form *-teiru* does not denote reversible states in any case (RQ2). Consequently, it can be claimed that Morita's (1988) proposal is inadequate. Moreover, it could be clarified that Japanese shows the same behavior with Turkish, in which reversible/irreversible distinction of adjectival forms is mainly dominated by the aspectual property of the verbs and modified nouns, regardless of the kinds of adjectival verbs such as lexical or structural (RQ3). Furthermore, it was demonstrated that the “still” test proposed by Kratzer (2000) for German is not appropriate for Japanese to distinguish reversible/irreversible interpretation in that *mada* ‘still’ is incompatible with adjectival *-ta* and that there exists both compatible and incompatible cases with adjectival *-teiru*, which differ by the aspectual property of verbs.

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Japonca sıfat fiil eklerinin semantik analizi: Türkçe sıfat fiil ekleriyle karşılaştırması

Öz

Eklendiği fiile sıfat fonksiyonu yükleyerek, o fiilin, bir ismin niteleyicisi olarak kullanılmasını sağlayan sıfat fiil ekleri pek çok dilde sözdizimsel ve anlamsal özelliklerine göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Bu anlamsal sınıflandırmada sıfat fiil eklerinin “kalıcılık/geri dönüştürülemezlik” ve “geçicilik/geri dönüştürülebilirlik” anlamları rol oynamıştır. Farklı dil gruplarına ve yapılarına sahip İngilizce, Almanca, Yunanca ve Türkçe’de olduğu gibi, Japonca’da da sıfat fiil eki olarak kullanılan *-ta* ve *-teiru* biçimbirimlerinin, *-ta*’nın kalıcı/geri dönüştürülemez durumları gösterdiği ve *-teiru*’nun geçici/geri dönüştürülebilir durumları gösterdiği belirtilerek anlamsal açıdan ayrımı yapılmıştır (Morita 1988). Türkçe’de de yapılan bu ayrım ile ilgili olarak, bu iki anlamın yalnızca sıfat fiillerden değil, sıfat fiilin eklendiği fiilin ve o fiilin nitelediği isim ile gösterdiği görünüş özelliğiyle doğrudan ve temelden bağlantılı olduğu savunulmuştur (Kıra 2018). Bu öneri doğrultusunda, bu çalışmada Japonca’daki sıfat fiil eklerinin de anlamsal bir analizinin yapılması amaçlanmıştır, *-ta* ve *-teiru*’nun geçmiş araştırmada belirtildiği gibi bir ayrım gösterip göstermediği ve bunda fiilin ve nitelenen ismin rolünün olup olmadığı somut örneklerle ortaya konmuştur. Analizin yöntemi için, Almanca sıfat fiillerini ele alan Kratzer (2000)’in sıfat fiillerle “still” zarfının uyumu testi ile, Embick (2004), Gürer (2014) ve Kıra (2018)’de uygulanan geri dönüştürülebilir/geri dönüştürülemez anlamına yönelik cümle bağlamı testinden faydalanılmıştır. Bu çalışmadan elde edilen sonuçlar, İngilizce, Almanca ve Yunanca’da sıfat fiillerin gösterdiği “kalıcılık/geri dönüştürülemezlik” ve “geçicilik/geri dönüştürülebilirlik” anlamlarının sadece Türkçe’de değil Japonca’da da fiilin görünüş özelliğine bağlı olduğunu ve bundan sonraki karşılaştırmalı çalışmalarda bu yaklaşımın göz önüne alınması gerektiğini kanıtlaması açısından önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: sıfat fiil; kalıcılık/geri dönüştürülemezlik; geçicilik/geri dönüştürülebilirlik

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