1. Introduction

This paper will discuss the hypothesis that the verbal morpheme *dasu* [literally ‘be out; come out; begin; give; serve,’ and so forth] within lexical compounds in Japanese undergoes a grammaticalization process. This analysis is supported by the discussion with respect to the grammaticalization of another verbal morpheme *komu* within lexical compounds in Takahashi (2009).

Kageyama (1993, 1996) suggests that there are exceptions to the Transitivity Harmony Principle regarding lexical compounds in Japanese. The rule points out that verbal morphemes in lexical compounds are amalgamated according to certain regulations based on argument structure. One of the regulations indicates that a transitive verb, such as *dasu*, can be combined with an unergative verb or another transitive verb, but not with an unaccusative verb. Some of the lexical compounds with the morpheme *dasu* are exceptions to these amalgamation processes. This paper assumes that the *dasu*-compounds does not follow the Transitivity Harmony Principle because the morpheme *dasu* undergoes grammaticalization within its lexical compounds. In order to prove this assumption, this paper will investigate the syntactic and semantic properties of this morpheme within...
its compounds.

First, Section 2 will analyze the data with dasu-compounds by examining the transitivity and unaccusativity of dasu itself and its compounds. In Section 3 we will investigate the interpretations and aspectuality of dasu. Section 4 will show the Lexical Conceptual Structures (LCSs hereafter) of the lexical compounds with dasu. Section 5 will discuss whether the morpheme dasu in lexical compounds can be treated as a suffix-like bound verb that indicates directionality like komu does as discussed in Takahashi (2009). Finally, Section 6 will summarize this paper.1

2. Syntactic properties of dasu-compounds

This section will examine dasu-compounds that provide evidence that some lexical compounds in Japanese undergo grammaticalization in terms of their syntactic behaviors.

The verbal morpheme dasu can either be a free morpheme or a bound morpheme. When it is used as a free morpheme, it normally behaves as a transitive verb. There are many interpretations of dasu, such as ‘give; utter; make; be out; come out; hold out; put out; stick out; expose; show; take out; produce; send; post; mail; pay; contribute; donate; invest; serve; hand in; send in; publish; issue; open; begin; start; operate (e.g., a machine); turn on (e.g., gas); make [have] speed,’ and so forth. Some examples are shown below:

(1) a. Taro-ga piano-no oto-o das-u.
   Taro-Nom piano-Gen sound-Acc emit-Pre
   ‘Taro emits the sound of a piano.’

   b. Taro-ga hon-o das-u.
   Taro-Nom book-Acc publish-Pre
   ‘Taro publishes a book.’
c. Taro-ga tegami-o das-u.
   Taro-Nom letter-Acc send-Pre
   ‘Taro sends a letter.’

Although this morpheme has many interpretations, it generally denotes
one of two main interpretations when it is used in compounds. They are
(1) ‘be out; come out’ and (2) ‘begin.’ The following examples show dasu-
compounds with the meaning of ‘be out; come out.’

(2) transitive verb + dasu [transitive]
   a. nuke-das-u
      slip.out-dasu-Pre
      ‘get [sneak; slip] out; pass; get ahead (e.g., of a person)’
   b. omoi-das-u
      think-dasu-Pre
      ‘remember; recall; recollect; be reminded of’

(3) unergative verb + dasu [transitive]
   a. tobi-das-u
      fly-dasu-Pre
      ‘fly out [away]; jump [rush; run] out of; run away from’
   b. nige-das-u
      escape-dasu-Pre
      ‘run away; flee; escape; sneak away; evade [shirk]; back out
       (of)’

(4) unaccusative verb + dasu [transitive]
   a. shimi-das-u
      soak-dasu-Pre
      ‘ooze [seep] out’
   b. nagare-das-u
      flow-dasu-Pre
      ‘flow out; leak (out); seep’

Before we examine the syntactic properties of dasu-compounds in more
details, let us consider those with the meaning of ‘begin.’ It is important to
notice that dasu with this interpretation creates syntactic compounds rather
than lexical compounds. Some diagnostic tests, such as the ones associated
with constituency, subject honorification, and passivization, can distinguish syntactic compounds from lexical compounds as discussed in Kageyama (1993). These tests show whether or not components in compounds can be syntactically independent. The data below shows that dasu-compounds with the meaning of ‘begin’ belong to syntactic compounds:

(5) Do-substitution tests with dasu-compounds with the meaning of ‘begin’:

a. Transitive *kaku* ‘write’ + dasu

    Taro-ga tegami-o kaki-dashi-ta.
    Taro-Nom letter-Acc write-begin-Past

    Soshite Hanako-mo soo-shi-dashi-ta.
    and Hanako-also so-do-begin-Past

    ‘Taro began to write a letter. And Hanako-did so, too.’

b. Unaccusative *naku* ‘cry’ + dasu

    Taro-no akachan-ga naki-dashi-ta.
    Taro-Gen baby-Nom cry-begin-Past

    Soshite Hanako-no akachan-mo soo-shi-dashi-ta.
    and Hanako-Gen baby-also so-do-begin-Past

    ‘Taro’s baby began to cry. And, Hanako’s baby began to cry, too.’

c. Unergative *hashiru* ‘run’ + dasu

    Taro-ga hashiri-dashi-ta.
    Taro-Nom run-begin-Past

    Soshite Hanako-mo soo-shi-dashi-ta.
    and Hanako-also so-do-begin-Past

    ‘Taro began to run. And, Hanako began to run, too.’

(6) Honorification test with dasu-compounds with the meaning of ‘begin’:

    teacher-Nom letter-Acc write-begin-Past

    ‘The teacher began to write a letter.’
(7) Passivization tests with *dasu*-compounds with the meaning of ‘begin’:

a. *kaki-das-u* ‘begin to write’ $\rightarrow$ *kak-are-das-u* ‘begin to be written’
   write-begin-Pre write-Pass-begin-Pre

b. *naki-das-u* ‘begin to cry’ $\rightarrow$ *nak-are-das-u* ‘begin to be cried’
   cry-begin-Pre cry-Pass-begin-Pre

c. *hashiri-das-u* ‘begin to run’ $\rightarrow$ *hashi-rare-das-u* ‘begin to run’
   run-begin-Pre run-Pass-begin-Pre

The above tests illustrate that *dasu*-compounds with the meaning of ‘begin’
have to be treated as syntactic compounds rather than lexical compounds.
Therefore, attention needs to be paid to which interpretation each *dasu-
compound holds. Since we focus on lexical compounds in this paper, we
will deal with only *dasu*-compounds that have the other meaning ‘be out;
come out.’

As mentioned previously, Kageyama (1993, 1996) argues that some of
the *dasu*-compounds violate the Transitivity Harmony Principle. *Dasu* is
typically a transitive verb, and the combination of an unaccusative morpheme
and a transitive *dasu* should not be allowed under the principle. More
than 120 samples of dasu-compounds exist (Daijirin 2005), and we selected nine cases below in which the first verbs (V1s hereafter) are unaccusative. Based on Kageyama’s analysis, it might be assumed that these cases do not comply with the principle:

(8) a. shimi-das-u
    soak-dasu-Pre
    ‘ooze [seep] out’

b. Chi-ga hootai-kara shimi-das-u.
    blood-Nom bandage-from soak-dasu-Pre
    ‘blood oozes [seeps] out from the bandage.’

(9) a. seri-das-u
    compete-dasu-Pre
    ‘push (a thing) out; rise out of a trap door; stick out; project; protrude’

b. Hon-ga tana-kara seri-das-u.
    book-Nom shelf-from compete-dasu-Pre
    ‘Books sticks out from the shelf.’

(10) a. tobi-das-u (unaccusative tobu)²
    project-dasu-Pre
    ‘project; protrude’

b. Kugi-ga ita-kara tobi-das-u.
    nail-Nom board-from project-dasu-Pre
    ‘The nail is projected from the board.’

(11) a. nagare-das-u
    flow-dasu-Pre
    ‘flow out; leak (out); seep’

b. Kawa-ga yama-kara nagare-das-u.
    river-Nom mountain-from flow-dasu-Pre
    ‘The river flows out from the mountain.’

(12) a. waki-das-u
    gush-dasu-Pre
    ‘gush (out); flow’

b. Izumi-ga yama-kara waki-das-u.
    spring-Nom mountain-from gush-dasu-Pre
    ‘The spring gushes out from the mountain.’
(13) a. uki-das-u
float-dasu-Pre
‘appear clearly’

b. Moyou-ga kami-kara uki-das-u.
design-Nom paper-from float-dasu-Pre
‘The design appears clearly from the paper.’

(14) a. fuki-das-u
spout-dasu-Pre
‘spout; spurt out; bud; put forth buds [shoots]’

b. Onsen-ga yama-kara fuki-das-u.
spring-Nom mountain-from spout-dasu-Pre
‘The spring spouts from the mountain.’

(15) a. moe-das-u
bud-dasu-Pre
‘bud; put forth buds [shoots]’

b. Shinme-ga kigi-kara moe-das-u.
new.bud-Nom trees-from bud-dasu-Pre
‘New buds come from trees.’

(16) a. fuki-das-u  (This example is different from fuki-dasu in (14).)
blow-dasu-Pre
‘burst out laughing’

John-Nom suddenly blow-dasu-Past
‘John suddenly burst out laughing.’

As we can see in the data above, all dasu-compounds occur with kara
‘from’ except the data in (16). The data in (16) might involve a metaphorical
change of the meaning of the V1 fuku, which is a semantic change from
‘blow’ to ‘start laughing.’ Possibly, that is why fuki-dasu ‘burst out laughing’
does not take kara ‘from.’ Although we can see the exception, Kageyama
(1993:137) suggests that dasu generally denotes a condition in which an
object moves out from the inside to the outside along with kara ‘from’
and it represents the concept of ‘OUT’ in its LCS.

Now, we will examine whether the unaccusative V1s in dasu-compounds
from (8) to (11) keep their transitivity or unaccusativity after the amalgamation with *dasu*. First, we apply the numeral quantifier test (Miyagawa 1989; Tsujimura 1996:270):

(17) Chi-ga hootai-kara takusan shimi-das-u.  
    blood-Nom bandage-from much soak-dasu-Pre  
    ‘Blood oozes [seeps] out from the bandage a lot.’  
    (*Takusan* ‘much’ connects with *chi* ‘blood’ not with *hootai* ‘bandage.’)

(18) Hon-ga tana-kara itsutsu seri-das-u.  
    book-Nom shelf-from five compete-dasu-Pre  
    ‘The five books stick out from the shelf.’  
    (The number *itsutsu* ‘five’ connects with *hon* ‘book’ not with *tana* ‘shelf.’)

(19) Kugi-ga ita-kara mittsu tobi-das-u.  
    nail-Nom board-from three fly-dasu-Pre  
    [unaccusative *tobu*]  
    ‘The three nails project from the board.’  
    (The number *mittsu* ‘three’ connects with *kugi* ‘nail’ not with *ita* ‘board.’)

(20) Kawa-ga yama-kara mittsu nagare-das-u.  
    river-Nom mountain-from three flow-dasu-Pre  
    ‘The three rivers flow out from the mountain.’  
    (The number *mittsu* ‘three’ connects with *kawa* ‘river’ not with *yama* ‘mountain.’)

All of the data above show that numerals connect with the subject in the sentences and these *dasu*-compounds does retain the unaccusativity of V1s above.

However, with the test on resultative construction, it is difficult to see that the resultative phrases describe a state as a result of some processes denoted by the compounds.

(21) Chi-ga hootai-kara takusan shimi-dashi-ta.  
    blood-Nom bandage-from much soak-dasu-Past  
    ‘Blood oozed [seeped] out from the bandage a lot.’

(22) Hon-ga tana-kara ookiku seri-dashi-ta.  
    book-Nom shelf-from widely compete-dasu-Past  
    ‘The books stuck far out from the shelf widely.’
(23) Kugi-ga ita-kara ookiku tobi-dashi-ta. [unaccusative tobu]
nail-Nom board-from widely fly-dasu-Past
‘The nail projected far out from the board.’

(24) Kawa-ga yama-kara ikioiyoku nagare-dashi-ta.
river-Nom mountain-from powerfully flow-dasu-Past
‘The river flowed out from the mountain powerfully.’

According to John Haig (2006 personal communication), these resultative phrases might not be descriptive with respect to the subject. For instance, in (21), the blood did not become “a lot” as a result of soaking. Neither the book in (22) nor the nail in (23) became big as a result of the action which were described by these compounds. Since we have these results, it is might be safe to assume that these dasu-compounds remain as unaccusatives even after the unaccusative V1s and a transitive verb dasu combines.

Finally, in addition to the unaccusativity in dasu-compounds, we will analyze dasu-compounds in terms of their volitionality. Here, we apply the te-morau ‘have (a person) to do (a thing)’ test to the dasu-compounds from (8) to (11) above. Along with this test, we can examine how much the morpheme dasu affects syntactic properties of the V1s in its compounds. Note that the transitive verb dasu generally carries volitionality and it occurs with adverbs which show emotion:

(25) a. Taro-ga tanoshisooni koe-o das-u.
Taro-Nom cheerfully voice-Acc emit-Pre
‘Taro emits his voice cheerfully.’

b. Taro-ga yorokonde hon-o das-u.
Taro-Nom willingly book-Acc publish-Pre
‘Taro publishes a book willingly.’

c. Taro-ga iyaiya tegami-o das-u.
Taro-Nom reluctantly letter-Acc send-Pre
‘Taro sends a letter reluctantly.’

The sentences in (25) illustrate that the independent morpheme dasu carries the feature of volitionality. Moreover, dasu itself can occur with te-morau
‘have’:

(26) a. Taro-ga piano-no oto-o
    Taro-Nom piano-Gen sound-Acc
    Hanako-ni ‘dashi-te-mora-u.’³
    Hanako-Dat emit-Conj-have-Pre
    ‘Taro has Hanako emit the sound of the piano.’

    b. Taro-ga hon-o Hanako-ni dashi-te-mora-u.
    Taro-Nom book-Acc Hanako-Dat publish-Conj-have-Pre
    ‘Taro has Hanako publish a book.’

    c. Taro-ga tegami-o Hanako-ni dashi-te-mora-u.
    Taro-Nom letter-Acc Hanako-Dat send-Conj-have-Pre
    ‘Taro has Hanako send a letter.’

However, dasu-compounds that have the unaccusative V1s do not occur with either emotional adverbs or te-morau ‘have’; the sentences below demonstrate that they are ungrammatical since the morpheme dasu does not affect its volitionality on the V1s. (Note that we add one agent NP to show causative meanings in the sentences with te-morau ‘have’):

(27) *Chi-ga hootai-kara itaitasooni shimi-das-u.
    blood-Nom bandage-from painfully soak-dasu-Pre
    ‘[lit.] The blood oozes [seeps] out from the bandage painfully.’

    Taro-Nom blood-Dat bandage-from soak-dasu-Conj-have-Pre
    ‘[lit.] Taro has blood ooze [seep] out from the bandage.’

(29) *Hon-ga tana-kara tanoshisooni seri-das-u.
    book-Nom shelf-from cheerfully compete-dasu-Pre
    ‘[lit.] The book cheerfully sticks out from the shelf.’

    Taro-Nom book-Dat shelf-from compete-dasu-Conj-have-Pre
    ‘[lit.] Taro has the books stick out from the shelf.’

(31) *Kugi-ga ita-kara iyaiya tobi-das-u.
    nail-Nom board-from reluctantly project-dasu-Pre
    ‘[lit.] The nail projects from the board reluctantly.’

    Taro-Nom nail-Dat board-from fly-dasu-Conj-have Pre
    ‘[lit.] Taro has the nail project from the board.’
Thus, the unaccusativity V1s in the dasu-compounds above cannot occur with adverbs which denote emotions and te-morau ‘have’; these dasu-compounds do not trigger volitionality despite the fact that dasu generally possesses it. At the same time, none of the compounds above are transitive while dasu itself is transitive as an independent verb. Thus, when the V1s are unaccusative, the morpheme dasu does not affect transitivity or the non-volitional meanings of the V1s in its compounds.

If we test the other data of dasu-compounds where the V1s are either transitive or unergative verbs, all the V1s in these dasu-compounds keep their original transitivity or unaccusativity even after amalgamating with dasu. Accordingly, dasu does not affect the argument structures of the V1s at all and shows fewer syntactic properties than the independent transitive dasu verb does.

Based on the results here, this paper calls dasu in lexical compounds “a bound verb” since the morpheme dasu does not have its argument structure and behaves like a suffix in Japanese, but still carries tense along with certain interpretations. This shows that dasu in its compounds undergoes grammaticalization.

3. Semantic properties of dasu-compounds

We will examine the semantic properties of dasu-compounds in this section. First, we will discuss different interpretations with respect to the morpheme dasu. Second, we will test the aspectual properties of dasu
and its compounds and analyze whether the dasu morpheme affects the aspectual properties of the V1s.

### 3.1. An interpretation of dasu with ‘be out; come out’

Let us observe the interpretations which dasu denotes carefully. As mentioned previously, dasu has two main interpretations. One is (1) ‘be out; come out’ and the other is (2) ‘begin’. When it has the former interpretation, we can further subcategorize dasu-compounds as follows. In the data, the transitivity and unaccusativity are specified to see whether or not the syntactic properties of the V1s are affected:

(35) Be out; come out; appear
   a. omoi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
      think-dasu-Pre
      ‘remember; recall; recollect; be reminded (of)’
   b. nagare-das-u (unaccusative + dasu) -> unaccusative
      flow-dasu-Pre
      ‘flow out; leak (out); seep’
   c. nige-das-u (unergative + dasu) -> unergative
      escape-dasu-Pre
      ‘run away; flee; escape; sneak away; evade [shirk]; back out (of)’

(36) Go out; leave
   a. kogi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
      row-dasu-Pre
      ‘leave by boat’
   b. nori-das-u (unergative + dasu) -> unergative
      get.on-dasu-Pre
      ‘start; leave; set sail; set about; start; go (into); enter’

(37) Produce; develop
   a. umi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
      produce-dasu-Pre
      ‘develop; produce’
b. tsukuri-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
make-dasu-Pre
‘make; create; manufacture; produce’

(38) Find; discover
a. mitsuke-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
find-dasu-Pre
‘find out; discover’

b. sagashi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
search-dasu-Pre
‘find; locate (a person); hunt out; discover’

(39) Send; submit
a. okuri-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
send-dasu-Pre
‘send; launch; see (a person) off’

b. tsumi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
pile-dasu-Pre
‘ship; send; forward’

(40) Expose; reveal; show
a. utsushi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
describe-dasu-Pre
‘expose; show; describe’

b. egaki-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
describe-dasu-Pre
‘describe (a thing); express (a thing); expose (a figure)’

c. terashi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
light-dasu-Pre
‘light up (a thing) to expose it’

(41) Give; make; offer; propose
a. kashi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
lend-dasu-Pre
‘lend (a thing) out’

b. sashi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
give-dasu-Pre
‘present; submit; tender’
(42) Push; force; thrust out
a. oshi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   push-dasu-Pre
   ‘push [force, thrust] out; launch’

b. tsuki-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   thrust-dasu-Pre
   ‘thrust [push; throw] out; stick (a thing) out’

c. nori-das-u (unergative + dasu) -> transitive
   get.on-dasu-Pre
   ‘lean out’

(43) Eject
a. oi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   drive.away-dasu-Pre
   ‘drive [send; thrust] out; evict; dismiss; fire’

b. keri-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   kick-dasu-Pre
   ‘kick out’

(44) Take out; extract; select
a. erabi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   select-dasu-Pre
   ‘select (a thing)’

b. tasuke-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   help-dasu-Pre
   ‘help (out of); rescue (from)’

c. hakobi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   carry-dasu-Pre
   ‘carry out’

d. mochi-das-u (transitive + dasu) -> transitive
   take.out-dasu-Pre
   ‘take out; remove’

Accordingly, we can summarize that dasu with the meaning of ‘be out; come out’ denotes an outward movement of an object. Again, note that none of the V1s in these dasu-compounds change their transitivity or unaccusativity except nori-dasu ‘lean out’ in (42c). With the data above, we can conclude that syntactic properties of the V1s are not affected.
3.2. Aspectual properties of dasu

In this section, we will analyze the aspectual properties of dasu-compounds. We will utilize the aspectual test of Toratani (1998) in order to examine the properties of both the V1s and their dasu-compounds:

Table 1  Diagnostic tests for determining verb classes of dasu-compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion showing aspectual classes of verbs</th>
<th>1. for-test (occurs with -san-jikan)</th>
<th>2. in-test (occurs with -san-jikan de)</th>
<th>3. owaru-test (forms a compound with owaru 'finish')</th>
<th>4. occurs with yukkuri 'slowly'</th>
<th>5. occurs with jojo-ni 'gradually'</th>
<th>6. te-iru test (compatible with te-iru 'be ~ing')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transitive omou 'think' (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive omoi-dasu 'remember' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaccusative nagareru 'flow' (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaccusative nagare-dasu 'flow out' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unergative nigeru 'escape' (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unergative nige-dasu 'run away' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive kogu 'row' (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive kogi-dasu 'leave by boat' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unergative noru 'ride' (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unergative nori-dasu 'leave; set sail' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No?</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive umu 'produce' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive umi-dasu 'develop' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive mitsukeru 'find' (activity)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive mitsuke-dasu 'find out' (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive okuru ‘send’ (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive okuri-dasu ‘send’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive egaku ‘describe’ (active-accomplishment)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive egaki-dasu ‘describe’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive kasu ‘lend’ (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive kashi-dasu ‘lend out’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive osu ‘push’ (activity)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive oshi-dasu ‘push out’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive ou ‘drive away’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive oi-dasu ‘drive out’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive erabu ‘select’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>transitive erabi-dasu ‘select’ (accomplishment)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OK = The sentence is grammatical, semantically normal.  
bad = The sentence is ungrammatical, semantically anomalous.  
d.n.a. = The test does not apply to verbs of this class.

As we can see from the results in the table, the V1s in these compounds belong to either activity or accomplishment categories. In either case, it seems that their dasu-compounds behave as accomplishment verbs. This shows the same result as the analysis with komu-compounds in Takahashi (2009); the morpheme dasu changes the aspectual properties of the V1s from [-telic] to [+telic]. The summary is shown in the table below:
Table 2 Aspectual relations between *dasu*-compounds and their V1s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V1s in <em>dasu</em>-compounds</th>
<th><em>dasu</em>-compounds denoting</th>
<th>activity [-telic]</th>
<th>accomplishment [+telic]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘be out; come out’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accomplishment [+telic]</td>
<td>accomplishment [+telic]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, regarding the aspectuality of *dasu* and its compounds, V1s obtain or maintain the [+telic] property after amalgamation with the morpheme *dasu*.

4. LCSs of *dasu*-compounds

This section will consider the LCSs of the problematic cases within *dasu*-compounds which do not follow the Transitivity Harmony Principle.

Among the lexical *dasu*-compounds, we will choose the cases with the combinations of the unaccusative V1s and *dasu*. Here, we assume that *dasu* is a bound verb which is a simple accomplishment verb and denotes completeness. We also apply anticausativization processes to the morpheme *dasu*. That makes it possible to combine the upper and lower level in LCSs and we can see how the morpheme *dasu* changes its conceptual interpretations.

(45) LCSs of *dasu*-compounds

   blood-Nom bandage-from greatly soak-dasu-Past
   ‘Blood oozed [seeped] out from the bandage a lot.’

a’. Amalgamation between the upper and lower level (unaccusative accomplishment structure) and the upper level (accomplishment structure)

   *shimiru* ‘soak’: [sub-EVENT \( y_1 \) BECOME \[ y_1 \ BE AT-IN \( z_1 \)\]]
   *dasu* ‘be out’: [[super-EVENT \( x_1 \) ACT (ON \( y_1 \))] CONTROL
   [sub-EVENT \( y_1 \) BECOME \[ y_1 \ BE AT-OUT \( z_1 \)\]]]
The LCSs along with dasu-compounds above provide the evidence that the verbal morpheme dasu is undergoing a grammaticalization process changing from an independent verb to a bound morpheme with its argument structure being lost in the process.

5. Directionality and telicity with komu and dasu

Finally, we will consider the relationship between the meaning of
directionality and the two verbal morphemes, *komu* and *dasu*. As mentioned in Takahashi (2009), the morpheme *komu* indicates a certain type of directionality. The morpheme *dasu* may also indicate directionality. In addition, these two morphemes are associated with some postpositional phrases which can imply directionality; *komu* triggers *ni* ‘to’ phrases, and *dasu* triggers both *ni* ‘to’ phrases and *kara* ‘from’ phrases. The examples of *komu*-compounds and *dasu*-compounds which have these properties are shown below:

(46) with a transitive verb

a. ie ni mochi-kom-u
   house to have-komu-Pre
   ‘bring into the house’

b. gakko kara ie ni mochi-das-u
   school from house to have-dasu-Pre
   ‘take out from the school to the house’

(47) with a transitive verb

a. ie ni hiki-kom-u
   house to pull-komu-Pre
   ‘draw into the house’

b. naka kara soto ni hiki-das-u
   inside from outside to pull-dasu-Pre
   ‘draw out from the inside to the outside’

(48) with an unaccusative/unergative verb

a. kawa ni tobi-kom-u
   river to jump-komu-Pre
   ‘jump into the river’

b. ie kara soto ni tobi-das-u
   house from outside to jump-dasu-Pre
   ‘jump from the house to the outside’

(49) with an unergative verb

a. ie ni nige-kom-u
   house to escape-komu-Pre
   ‘run into the house to hide’
b. ie kara soto ni nige-das-u
   house from outside to escape-dasu-Pre
   ‘run away from the house to the outside’

One of the differences between *komu* and *dasu* is that *komu* is connected
to an inward or incoming event whereas *dasu* is connected to an outward
or outgoing event. In all cases, it seems that these morphemes inherently
possess the meanings of directionality. In addition, this directionality can
be extended by the event that the first verbal morphemes describe, especially
when the V1s are motion verbs.\(^5\)

Also, we can assume that the interpretation of directionality also affects
the aspectual properties in a certain way as we saw in Tables 1 and 2 in the
previous section. These morphemes *komu* and *dasu* are inherently [+telic].
That is why lexical compounds with these morphemes can belong to the
accomplishment category after their amalgamation with V1s as shown in
the tables.\(^6\)

6. Concluding remarks

This paper has demonstrated that *dasu*-compounds show similar syntactic
and semantic properties as *komu*-compounds do as shown in Takahashi
(2009). *Dasu* in its compounds with the interpretation ‘be out; come out’
originally has transitivity and its argument structure, but these syntactic
properties can be bleached out in its compounds. We concluded that it
is because *dasu* in its lexical compounds with the interpretation ‘be out;
come out’ undergoes grammaticalization and changes from an independent
verb to a bound verb.

Regarding the aspectual properties of *dasu*, we have the same result as
the morpheme *komu* showed; *dasu* triggers [+telic] interpretations. Finally,
we discussed the idea that the two morphemes, *dasu* and *komu* originally
indicate directionality and therefore add the interpretation of directionality to the V1s in their compounds.

In sum, the morpheme dasu in lexical compounds does not behave like a single verb. It may change from an independent verb to a bound verb that has lost its syntactic argument structure. Accordingly, it might be plausible to say that the morpheme dasu can be as productive as another morpheme komu (Takahashi 2009) because it has suffix-like properties and freely attaches to various kinds of verbs.

Notes

1. This is a revised version of one chapter in Takahashi (2006). I am grateful to Dr. John Haig at the University of Hawaii at Manoa for giving me important feedback on this paper. Moreover, I thank Mr. Conrad Bucsis at the Nagoya University of Foreign Studies for his editorial help. Needless to say, all the mistakes and shortcomings in this paper are mine.

2. It seems that tobu ‘fly’ can be either an unergative or unaccusative verb.

(i) Hikooki-ga New York-made tob-u. (unaccusative)
    plane-Nom New York-to fly-Pre
    ‘The plane flies to New York.’

(ii) Taro-ga New York-made tob-u. (unergative)
    Taro-Nom New York-to fly-Pre
    ‘Taro flies to New York.’

When we apply the te-morau ‘have’ test to this data, the result shows the difference between (i) and (ii):

(i’) *Hanako-ga hikooki-ni New Yorl-made ton-de-mora-u. (unaccusative
    Hanako-Nom plane-Dat New York-to fly-Conj-have-Pre tobu)
    ‘[lit.] Hanako has the plane fly to New York.’

(ii’) Hanako-ga Taro-ni New York-made ton-de-mora-u. (unergative tobu)
    Hanako-Nom Taro-Dat New York-to fly-Conj-have-Pre
    ‘Hanako has Taro fly to New York.’
3. The treatment of the te-form seems to be controversial and we treat it as a conjunction in this discussion.

4. It seems that noru in nori-dasu ‘lean out’ behaved differently from noru ‘get on’ historically. The former noru originally had the meaning of leaning (Daijirin 2005). Although we use the same Chinese character currently for these two types of noru, we need to distinguish between them. Possibly, nori-dasu behaves as a transitive compound rather than an intransitive compound because of this.

5. On the other hand, it is important to note that there are some cases in which V1s do not involve directionality but appear in lexical compounds with komu. The V1s in lexical compounds, such as abareru ‘storm into,’ donaru ‘shout,’ and shaberu ‘chat’ are examples of this case. These V1s do not maintain directionality. However, certain directionality interpretations do occur with these V1s once these V1s are amalgamated with komu. We could assume that it is because the morpheme komu has inherent meanings of directionality.

6. Related to this, we can see that komu and dasu amalgamate with verbal morphemes which denote a simple intentional action. This means that the interpretation of directionality along with an intentional action are required before the V1s combine with these morphemes in their compounds.

References


Tsujimura, Natsuko. 1996. An introduction to Japanese linguistics. Cambridge,
Source of Data