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INTRODUCTION

0. General Considerations

When a person linguistically describes a situation where it started raining, it is possible to describe it in Japanese with at least three different sentences: (1) *ame ga furi-hajime-ta*. (2) *ame ga furi-dashi-ta*, and (3) *ame ga fut-te ki-ta*. Morphologically the former two sentence involve compound verbs such as *furi-dasu* and *furi-hajimeru* and the last sentence involves a combination of *te* conjunction and *kuru* aspectual auxiliary verb. The question which arises here, however, is whether depending on the context the speaker distinguishes these three sentences: whether these formally different sentences indicate the speaker’s different ways of perceiving the situation.

When talking about the completion of a situation, say, where a person completed writing a thesis, (s)he can say *ronbun o kai te-shimat-ta* or *ronbun o kaki-owat-ta*. Again the question is whether the speaker uses these two formally different sentences to express the same or two different meanings: whether the two sentences indicate two different evaluations by the speaker of a given situation. An important assumption is that a sentence consists not only of an objective and but also of a subjective element: that is, an element which is concerned only with description of a situation and an element which expresses the speaker’s attitudes to the situation, how (s)he treats the situation. In some cases, a situation can be
described by different linguistic forms depending on the way the speaker commits him/herself to a situation or how he conceives it.

In this paper I will investigate the ways to refer to the inception and the completion of a situation in Japanese keeping always in mind the relationship between the linguistic form and the speaker’s evaluation. I will investigate how this relationship works in Japanese aspect in the inceptive aspect and the completive aspect. The aims of this paper are to show how aspect in Japanese is related also to the speaker’s ways of viewing a situation, and to describe some features of aspect in Japanese which have not yet been sufficiently explored. Accordingly, some problems with aspect which learners of Japanese as a second language might be faced, could be solved if we paid more attention to this relationship between the speaker and the aspectual forms. Although it is controversial whether aspectual compounds such as -HAJIMERU, -DASU, etc, can be viewed as "true" aspectual forms, I believe that the present study will be helpful to learners of Japanese.

It will be necessary to clarify what the relationship between the speaker and the aspectual forms means here. When some process begins, the beginning can be conceived by the speaker to be abrupt and sudden, or deliberate and gradual. Naturally the speaker will describe the beginning of the process in a form which best fits the way (s)he views that beginning. Where the beginning is viewed as abrupt, the speaker will use an aspectual form that expresses "surprise". When the speaker describes the completion of a process, (s)he can express it with or without reference to his/her attitudes towards that
completion, and consequently would use two different forms: one which objectively describes the completion, or one which shows his/ her attitudes towards the completion. I will inquire into three problems concerning the relationship between the aspectual system and the speaker (in this paper this relationship is viewed as expressing communicative function). First, which aspectual forms are associated with the speaker’s attitudes and which aspectual forms are not. Secondly, which attitudes are realized in terms of aspectual forms. Thirdly, other factors in the sentence, for example, the presence of adverbs, which specify the speaker’s attitudes. Consequently, by addressing ourselves to these problems, we can provide a more systematic analysis of aspect in Japanese expresses the beginning and the end.

0.1 Studies on Aspect in Japanese

In this section I will summarize the current linguistic theory about aspect in Japanese and will explicate the problems with Japanese aspect. Current linguistic studies on aspect in Japanese started with Kindaichi (1950) and Kindaichi (1955). In Kindaichi (1950) verbs were divided into four categories tense and aspect. In Kindaichi (1955) aspect was classified into two groups, aspect which represents "state" and aspect which represents "activity" or "process": furthermore, aspect was examined in relation to tense. These two studies were the first attempt to describe the holistic system of aspect in Japanese. In these works of Kindaichi, however, aspect was not studied from a morphological perspective: in these studies, the morphological system which realizes aspect was not developed.
though the aspectual meanings were described.

Within Kindaichi’s orientation, there have been a numbers of theories on aspect in Japanese. See Suzuki (1957) and (1958), Fujii (1966), Morita (1968a), Takahashi (1969), Yoshikawa (1971), etc. In Suzuki (1957) and (1958) aspect was studied from the perspective of the verb; (1) verbs which carry aspectual characteristics (including both the inherent lexical characteristics and the categorial characteristics) (2) compound verbs which denote aspectual characteristics and (3) verbs which express aspect.

In Yoshikawa (1973) verbs were classified into the following categories:
In Yoshikawa's study, the classification of verbs was done in reference to the aspectual verbs in the combination [verb + te conjunction + aspectual auxiliary verbs], such as *shi-te iru, shi-te kuru, shi-te iku, shi-te aru* and *shi-te oku*. The aspectual meanings of each aspectual notion such as *te-iru, te-iku, etc* and the conditions under which the
the aspectual meanings of the notion above are realized and were explored in his study.

In summary, aspect in Japanese has been studied mainly focused on the combination [verb + te conjunction + aspectual auxiliary verbs]. Possible issues for future studies would be (1) the characterization of other aspectual forms (such as aspectual compounds, etc), (2) the relationship between aspect and other grammatical categories such as tense and modality, and (3) the relationship between the grammatical and the lexical characteristics of aspect.
1.0 The Semantic Structure of Aspect

As mentioned in the introduction of the present paper, it is possible to realize aspect in terms of compounds and the combination of the \textit{te} conjunction and an aspectual auxiliary verb. Regardless of morphological differences, the function of aspectual forms can be divided into two groups: (1) \textbf{SUBJECTIVE} and (2) \textbf{OBJECTIVE}. Subjective aspectual forms indicate the speaker's psychological states or attitudes and objective aspectual forms simply describe the state of affairs. This distinction is related to the fact that some syntactic elements are associated with modality (the speaker's attitudes) and others are used to objectively describe a situation. Taking adverbs for example, some such as \textit{mattaku} 'really', \textit{sukkari} 'completely', etc are associated with the speaker's psychological attitudes or states: other adverbs such as \textit{nayaku} 'fast', \textit{yukkuri} 'slowly', etc, describe how the situation is rather than how the speaker feels towards the situation. Such psychological states include surprise, unexpectedness, regret, emphasis, etc: in some cases they include some perceptive or sensory states as well. In this paper the term aspect is
used to "characterize the internal temporal structure of the event" (S. Chung and A. Timberlake. 1985. Tense, Aspect and Mood in T. Shopen, ed., p. 202). In this chapter I will discuss the semantics of inceptive and completive aspect in Japanese from the perspective of different functions of aspect. This structure is based on the distinction between the **OBJECTIVE** and the **SUBJECTIVE** functions of aspectual forms. I will show that each aspectual form has its own semantic properties. In the following chapters it will be shown that the semantic structure of the aspectual form proposed in this chapter can influence the structure of the sentence as a whole.

1.1 The Inceptive Aspect

While every aspectual form refers to the internal temporal structure of the event, some aspectual forms can also denote the speaker's attitudes at the speech moment. Here I will introduce the term "modality" in a broad sense: that is, the speaker's attitudes towards a situation or the speaker's perceptive evaluations.

It is possible to capture a certain aspectual form from an aspectual and from a modal point of view. For example, the inceptive aspect can be realized through -TE KURU, -DASU and -HAJIMERU. However, the interpretation of these three forms differs from each other depending on the context. The semantics of the verb to which one of these three aspectual forms is added, is not the primary reason for the difference in interpretation, since the same verb can be combined with all of
the forms above. Rather, the difference in interpretation follows from aspectual and the modal meaning of these aspectual form. In the following sections I will compare -HAJIMERU and -TE KURU first and illustrate the difference in their semantic structure.
1.2 -HAJIMERU and -TE KURU

As indicated in the previous section, -HAJIMERU and -TE KURU can be distinguished in terms of objectivity and subjectivity. First of all, -HAJIMERU is used to objectively describe the start or beginning whilst -TE KURU in some cases can be used to describe it from the speaker’s standpoints. With the former the speaker describes a situation like an observer. The latter implies the speaker’s direct involvement in the situation.

Secondly, -TE KURU is different from -HAJIMERU form in that the former is possible only with verbs which entail change in the subject, or with [-agentive] verbs WHEN IT DENOTES THE INCEPTION; the latter, on the other hand, is possible not only with these but with other verbs as well. In this paper an agent denotes an entity which initiates a situation or can act under its own control.

Thirdly -TE KURU, because of the lexical meaning of KURU ‘come’, is deictic; that is, TOWARDS A PERSON/ PLACE or UP TO A CERTAIN POINT IN TIME. (NOTE1). In some cases it refers to a situation where the new state does not imply duration. In some cases it can be used to refer to a certain point along process (but not necessarily the beginning of the process). In these cases, this form occurs with adverbs (or adverbial phrases) of degree or extent such as daibu ‘considerably’, issoo / masumau ‘more’, etc. In others it refers to a situation where the new state does not
1.2.1 Objectivity and Subjectivity

We will see the first distinction between -HAJIMERU and -TE KURU. With -HAJIMERU it sounds odd when the sentence refers to a change in the speaker at the speech moment or when it does not imply that the changed state will continue. The following pairs of sentences indicate that -TE KURU only can be used when the sentences denote the speaker’s spontaneous or natural utterances:

(1) a. nantonaku onaka ga sui-te
   a little bit stomach NOM become hungry-
   ki-ta naa.
   COME-PAST PART
   'I feel hungry a little bit.'

   b. ?*nantonaku onaka ga suki-
      a little bit stomach NOM become hungry-
      hajime-ta naa.
      START-PAST PART
      'I started to be hungry a little bit.'

(2) a. nandaka kanashiku nat-te ki-ta wa.
   for some reason sad become-COME-PAST PART
   'I feel sad for some reason.'

   b. ?* nandaka kanashiku nari-hajime-ta wa.
      for some reason sad become-START-PAST PART
      'I started to be sad for some reason.'
-HAJIMRU, on the other hand, is appropriate when the speaker is recalling: the sentence does not denote the speaker's **PRESENT** condition or feelings:

(3) a. taisetsuna koogi-chuu onaka ga
important during lecture stomach NOM
sui-te ki-ta-n-desu. (recalling)
become hungry-COME-PAST-COP

'During an important lecture, I started feel hungry.'

b. taisetsuna koogi-chuuni onaka ga
important during lecture stomach NOM
suki- hajime-ta-n-desu.
become hungry-START-PAST-COP

The intended meaning is the same as in (2a).

(4) a. haha o mi-te, kanashiku nat-te ki-ta-n-desu.
mother ACC see-CONJ sad become-COME-PAST-COP

'At the sight of my mother, I felt sad.'

b. haha o mi-te, kanashiku nari-hajime-ta-n-desu.
mother ACC see-CONJ sad become-START-PAST-COP

'At the sight of my mother, I started to feel sad for some reason.'

The distinction among the sentences above is whether the sentence perceptively expresses the speaker's condition or not. -TE KURU here can be viewed as being deictic and implying
TOWARDS ME: that is, a certain feeling or emotion came towards me.

1.2.2 Agentivity

The second difference in interpretation between -HAJIMERU and -TE KURU form is that -HAJIMERU is possible with the transitive verbs which imply the speaker's volition or control; -TE KURU is possible only with the verbs which does not imply the speaker's volition or control. Compare the pairs of sentences below:

(5)a. doo-shiyoo-mo-naku hara ga tat-te ki-ta zo.
   uncontrollably feel angry-COME-PAST PART
   'I cannot control my anger, really.'

b.* doo-shiyoo-mo-naku hara ga tachi- hajime-ta zo.
   uncontrollably feel angry-START-PAST PART

The intended meaning is the same as in (3a).
The adverbial phrase doo-shiyoo-mo-naku ‘uncontrollably’ indicates a situation that lacks volition. The ungrammaticality of examples with -TE KURU below can be explained for the same reason: -TE KURU form is possible only with [-agentive] verbs when the speaker is the subject of the sentence. -HAJIMERU form is possible with volition verbs and also in uncontrollable situations as long as it is used to refer to the situation which is remote from the speech moment (that is, objectively described).

(6) a.*watashi wa kanojo o aishi-te ki-ta.
I TOP she ACC love-COME-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (4b).

b. watashi wa kanojo o aishi-hajime-ta.
I TOP she ACC love-START-PAST

'I fell in love with her.'

(7)a.*watashi wa kare o nikun-de ki-ta.
I TOP he ACC hate-COME-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (5b).

b. watashi wa kare o nikumi-hajime-ta.
I TOP he ACC hate-START-PAST

'I felt hatred for him.'

The verbs in the examples above, *aisuru ‘love’ and nikumu ‘hate’ are transitive verbs in Japanese: they denote the positive mental attitudes of the speaker rather than the spontaneous and natural emotions (NOTE2). As examples (6a) and (7a) indicate, -TE KURU cannot refer to the beginning of a
situation denoted by transitive verbs. -HAJIMERU, on the other hand, is grammatical because the form is to be combined with volitive or transitive verbs, and because the speaker is not referring to a specific emotion at the speech moment but the beginning of the emotion in the past. The following sentences show that -TE KURU is possible with perception verbs which entail that the speaker is an experiencer; when it denotes the beginning, the form cannot be used with perception verbs entailing the volition of the speaker:

(8)a. koogi-chuu hen-na oto ga kikoe-te ki-ta.  
During the lecture strange sound NOM can hear-COME-PAST  
'During the lecture I heard a strange sound.'

b. *ima rekoodo ongaku o kii-te ki-ta.  
now record music ACC listen to-COME-PAST  
The intended meaning is 'I have just begun listening to record music.'

(9)a. Fuji san ga mie-te ki-ta.  
Mt. Fuji NOM can see -COME-PAST  
'I could see Mt. Fuji.'

b.*himatsubushi-ni terebi o mi-te ki-ta.  
killing time T.V. ACC watch-COME-PAST  
The intended meaning is 'I have began to watch T.V. to kill time.'

Examples (8) and (9) show that -TE KURU is possible only with the perception verbs which imply the speaker's non-volition. It should be noted that examples (8b) and (9b)
are possible when -TE KURU does not function as a notion of inceptive aspect: the predicates in these examples can be interpreted as 'and come'. For example, sentence (8b) can be interpreted as 'I have just come from listening to some records' Sentence (9b), likewise can be interpreted as 'I come from watching T.V. to kill time'.

The corresponding sentences involving -HAJIMERU form are possible in either case above:

(10)a. koogi-chuu hen-na oto ga kikoe-hajime-ta.
   during the lecture strange sound NOM can hear-START-PAST
   'During the lecture, I started to hear a strange sound.'
b. rekoodo ongaku o kiki-hajime-ta.
   record music ACC listen to-START-PAST
   'I began to listen to record music.'

(11)a. Fuji san ga mie-hajime-ta.
   Mt. Fuji NOM can see-START-PAST
   'I began to see Mt. Fuji.'
b. himatsubushi-ni terebi o mi-hajime-ta.
   killing time T.V. ACC watch-START-PAST
   'I began watching T.V. to kill time.'

In the (a) versions above, the situations such as 'hearing a strange sound' in sentence (10) and 'seeing Mt. Fuji' in (11) happened before the speech moment; the speaker is recalling it objectively.
With cognition verbs, only -HAJIMERU is possible as a notion of inceptive aspect for the reason given. Cognition verbs imply the volition or agentivity, and consequently -TE KURU cannot occur with. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(12) a.* watashi wa omoshiroi koto o kangae-te ki-ta.
I TOP interesting thing ACC think-COME-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (10b).

b. watashi wa omoshiroi koto o kangae-hajime-ta.
I TOP interesting thing ACC think-START-PAST
'I began to think about an interesting thought.'

(13) a.* kare no itta koto o shinji-te ki-ta.
he POSS said thing ACC believe-COME-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (11b).

b. kare no itta koto o shinji-hajime-ta.
he POSS said thing ACC believe-COME-PAST
'I started to believe what he had said.'

Again, just as -TE KURU form with emotion verbs is possible in a different context, so is also the case with cognition verbs. For example, sentence (12a) is possible when it is interpreted as 'I have been thinking about something interesting (up to now)'. Sentence (11a) also can be interpreted as 'I have believed what he said (up to now)'. Either of these sentences does not imply inceptive aspectual meaning.

I have shown that in a situation involving the speaker in
sentence, -TE KURU is can occur with non-volitional verbs such as emotion predicates involving *naru* (become) verb, and sensory verbs such as *zutsuu ga suru* 'have a headache', etc. I have also shown that -HAJIMERU is possible with both volitional and non-volitional verbs. When -HAJIMERU occurs with non-volitional verbs such as certain verbs of perception or emotion the understanding is that the speaker is describing the situation objectively.

Both TE KURU and HAJIMERU can be used where not the first person subject but the perceived object becomes the subject of sentence: However, the implications are different when the speaker uses -HAJIMERU or -TE KURU. When the speaker uses -TE KURU, he/she is describing as if he/she were at present the moment it occurred; when the speaker uses -HAJIMERU, he/she is describing from a remote position.

1.2.3 Directionality

The third distinction is that -TE KURU is associated with directionality whilst -HAJIMERU is not. -TE KURU is used with reference to not only space but also time. When first person subject is involved, the sentence implies the direction "towards me/us" or "up to the present". The situation, however, is more complex when the speaker is not the subject of the sentence. Both of the notions can occur with verbs which denote [+process/ +change in subject] or [+activity/ -agentive]. Thus the following sentences are possible:

(14) a. koori ga toke-te ki ta.
ice NOM melt-COME-PAST

'The ice is melting.'

b. koori ga toke- hajime- ta.

ice NOM melt-COME-PAST

'The ice started to melt.'
(15) a. ame ga fut-te ki-ta.
   rain NOM fall -COME-PAST
   'It started to rain.'

b. ame ga furi-hajime-ta.
   rain NOM fall-START-PAST
   The intended meaning is the same as in (15a).

(16) a. inu ga Taro ni natsui-te ki-ta.
   dog NOM DAT get used to -COME-PAST
   'The dog is getting used to Taro.'

b. inu ga Taro ni natsuki-hajime-ta.
   dog NOM DAT get used to-START-PAST
   'The dog began getting used to Taro.'

(17) a. gakusei no kazu ga fue-te ki-ta.
   student POSS number NOM increase-COME-PAST
   'The number of students has increased.'

b. gakusei no kazu ga fue-hajime-ta.
   student POSS number NOM increase-START-PAST
   'The number of students began to increase.'

Sentences (14) to (17) above imply a process or a change in the subject. Different from cases where subjective verbs such as sensory, emotion, etc, are used, -HAJIMERU can be used even when the beginning of the change happened at the speech moment. For example, in sentence (15) the speaker can use -HAJIMERU to refer to the changing state of the ice at the speech moment, not in the past. -HAJIMERU, however, is not compatible
with the adverbs of degree such as *dandan* 'gradually',
*masumasu* 'more', *kanari* 'considerably', etc.

(18) a. koori ga dandan toke-te ki-ta yo!
   ice NOM gradually melt-COME-PAST PART
   'The ice has gradually started to melt.'
   
b.* koori ga dandan toke-hajime-ta yo.
   ice NOM gradually melt-START-PAST PART
   The intended meaning is the same as in (18a).

(19) a. (ame ga) daibu fut-te ki-ta ne.
   (rain NOM) a lot fall-COME-PAST PART
   'It is raining a lot, isn’t it?'
   
b.* (ame ga) daibu furi-hajime-ta ne.
   (rain NOM) a lot fall-START-PAST PART
   The intended meaning is the same as in (19a).

(20) a. roosoku no hi ga dandan kie-te ki-ta
   candle POSS light NOM gradually die out-COME-PAST
   yo.
   PART
   '(Look!) The light of the candle is gradually dying out.'
   
b.*roosoku no hi ga dandan kie-hajime-ta yo.
   candle POSS light NOM gradually die out-START PART
   The intended meaning is the same as in (21a).

The sentential particles in the examples indicate that these sentences deal with the direct observation by the speaker. The
speaker perceives the gradual change and is perceptively expressing the change using -TE KURU. The adverb *dandan* 'gradually' implies that the change of state here had already started or been perceived by the speaker before the speech moment. In other words, the speaker uses the adverb *dandan* referring to the change of state which continued "up to the present" (or the speech moment). Thus -TE KURU in the sentences above indicate a temporal direction. It should be noted that there is a difference in the speaker's standpoint between -TE KURU and -HAJIMERU sentences above. As pointed out immediately above, -TE KURU implies that the speaker had perceived the change of state before the speech moment. -HAJIMERU, on the other hand, implies that the speaker refers to the point where the change entailed by a predicate is realized. Thus sentence (19b) is inappropriate because the situation does not denote the exact beginning of raining. The verb *kieru* 'die out' in sentences (20) is normally classified as [-process] verb and entails a single change from *tsui-te iru* 'be lit' to *kieru* 'die out'. The situation in (21), however, refers to the transitory process of the light of candle leading to the changed state "dying out". -TE KURU here can indicate a point along the transitory process, while -HAJIMERU cannot. -HAJIMERU in this case refers to the moment the light of the candle died out and results in the ungrammatical sentence. This difference between -HAJIMERU and -TE KURU can be illustrated with the following diagram:
*: the point where the change of state realized

X1: the speech moment (with -HAJIMERU)
X2: the speech moment (with -TE KURU)

(1) TOKERU 'MELT'

\[
\text{change(1) \ldots change(2) \ldots \ldots \ldots .}
\]

X1* \hline X2

melt away

(2) KIERU 'DIE OUT'

\[
\text{light \hline die out}
\]

Thus -TE KURU refers to a gradually changing state of affairs implying "up to this point". -HAJIMERU indicates that a new state of affairs started implying that the state will continue.

The following sentences with -TE KURU also imply directionality rather than beginning, and therefore -HAJIMERU is not possible:

(21) a. danzokuteki-ni tsuyoi ame ga fut-te ki-ta.
intermittently strong rain NOM fall-COME-PAST
'Intermittently there was a sudden heavy shower.'
b.*danzokudeki-ni tsuyoi ame ga furi-hajime-ta.
intermittently strong rain NOM fall-START-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (21a).

(22) a. haha no kao ga chirat-to ukan-de ki-ta.
mother POSS face NOM transitorily come up-COME-PAST
'my mother’s image flashed.'
b.*haha no kao ga chirat-to ukabi-hajime-ta.
mother POSS face NOM transitorily come up-START-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (22a).

*Danzokuteki-ni* in (21) and *chirat-to* 'transitorily' in (22) indicate that the situation does not imply duration, and therefore -HAJIMERU is inappropriate. -TE KURU is appropriate because the form here denotes the realization of a change implying directionality: "to this place" in (21) and "towards me" in (22).

1.3 **Summary**

In this chapter -TE KURU and -HAJIMERU have been compared: three semantic differences have been examined. I argued that these differences come from the inherent meanings of -KURU. While -HAJIMERU denotes only the beginning of process, -TE KURU indicates not only a point along process but also the realization of a change (without implying the continuity of the changed state).
1. -TE KURU means "come to existence" or "continuation of a state of affairs" as well:

(a) atarashii aidea ga umare-te ki-ta.
   new idea NOM born-COME -PAST
   'A new idea came out.'

(b) watashi wa kare ni kyooryoku shi-te ki-ta.
   I TOP he DAT cooperation do-COME-PAST
   'I have been cooperative to him.'

These examples are deictic and imply "up to this point" rather than inception.

2. For example, aiṣuru 'love' and nikumu 'hate' are not compatible with a adverb nantonaku 'for some reason' which implies non-volition.
CHAPTER 2

-HAJIMERU AND -DASU COMPOUNDS

The aims of the present chapter are (1) to compare -DASU and -HAJIMERU semantically as well as syntactically, and (2) to characterize the aspectual properties of -DASU and -HAJIMERU.

2.1 -DASU Compounds

In this section I will show (1) that in DASU compounds there is not a clearly defined border line between the lexical and the aspectual meaning, and (2) that the semantic characteristics of -DASU are bound with the semantic properties of the verbs with which it compounds.

The lexical meanings of -DASU are: 'to put out', 'to show', 'to exhibit', 'to produce', etc. As these lexical meanings indicate, the basic semantic properties of -DASU in compounds imply 'out' or 'away' meaning (for example, toridasu 'take out', mochidasu 'take away', etc). The aspectual meaning of -DASU in compounds, on the other hand, refers to the start or inception of the situation. Aspectual -DASU compounds will be classified depending on the semantics of the first verb. The first verbs will be classified into the following six groups depending on their semantic properties:

(1) verbs denoting motions, activities in general such as aruku 'walk', hashiru 'run', furu 'rain', etc.
(2) verbs denoting verbal activities in particular such as hanasu 'talk', iu 'tell', etc. These verbs can be seen as
belonging to (1), but they deserve special mention.

(3) verbs denoting expressions of emotions such as warau 'laugh', naku 'cry', okoru 'get angry', etc.

(4) verbs denoting human activities such as hataraku 'work', tsutomeru 'be employed', oshiru 'teach' and kaku 'write' (in a specific context).

(5) verbs entailing control by an agent (except verbs in groups (2)) such as hiku 'play', arau 'wash', etc.

(6) verbs entailing on-going changing states such as tokeru 'melt', futoru 'become fat', etc.

As Figure 1 below shows, some -DASU compounds preserve the lexical meaning of -DASU stronger than the aspectual meaning; some have only an aspectual meaning; while others are somewhere between these two groups.

-----------------------------

FIGURE 1 HERE

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FIGURE 1. The Meaning of -DASU in Compounds

THE LEXICAL MEANING OF -DASU

Gr. 1 + -DASU
Gr. 2 + -DASU
Gr. 3 + -DASU
Gr. 4 + -DASU
Gr. 5 + -DASU
Gr. 6 + -DASU

THE ASPECTUAL MEANING OF -DASU
-DASU compounds involving Groups 1 and 2 preserve the lexical meaning of -DASU stronger, whereby they syntactically behave like one single lexeme. Compounds involving Groups 5 and 6 represent only the aspectual meaning of -DASU: thus the syntactic behavior of -DASU is aspectual rather than lexical. In the following sections I will compare -DASU aspectual compounds with -HAJIMERU aspectual compounds and will show how the semantic differences among these -DASU are related to syntactic behavior.

2.2 Semantic and Syntactic Properties of -DASU Compound

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the semantic properties of -DASU compounds vary depending on the semantics of the first verb. The question here is how the semantic properties of each type correspond to the syntactic properties. For example, -DASU aspectual verbs normally are not compatible with the first person subject when the the first verb entails [+agentive]: because they denote a situation which is initiated beyond the control of the speaker, or which starts "suddenly". First person subjects are permissible when the -DASU aspectual and lexical meanings of -DASU overlap. The semantic properties of each group are presented in Figure 2 together with some examples:

---------------------------------------------
FIGURE 2  HERE
---------------------------------------------
FIGURE 2. The Type of the First Verb of -DASU Compounds and Its Semantic Properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Verb</th>
<th>Semantic Properties When compounded with -DASU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (1) Group 1 and Group 2 | (a) 'out' or 'away'  
               (b) 'show' or 'come to existence' |
| (2) Group 3 | (a) abrupt onset  
               (b) non-volitional or uncontrollable  
       (especially in the case of first person subjects)  
               (c) realization or focus on the starting point |
| (3) Group 4 | (a) definite starting point |
| (4) Group 5 | (a) abrupt onset  
               (b) attention drawn to the starting point |
| (5) Group 6 | (a) a sudden change of state of affairs  
               (b) focus on the changing point |
EXAMPLES

(1) a. Taroo wa imooto toisshoni aruki-dashi-ta. (Gr.1)
   TOP sister with-together walk-OUT-PAST
   ’Taro walked away with his sister.’

   b. watashi kara sore o ii-dashi-ta. (Gr.2)
   I from that ACC talk-OUT-PAST
   ’I put forward that proposition.’

(2) kanojo wa totsuzen naki-dashi-ta. (Gr.3)
   she TOP suddenly cry-OUT-PAST
   ’She suddenly burst into tears.’

(3) Hanako wa saikin ginkoo ni tsutome-dashi-ta. (Gr.4)
   TOP recently bank LOC work-OUT-PAST
   ’Recently Hanako started working for a bank.’

(4) Taroo wa totsuzen teeburu no ue no ringo o
   TOP suddenly on the table POSS apple ACC
   tabe-dashi-ta.
   eat-OUT-PAST
   ’Taro suddenly ate the apple that was on the table.’

(5) kyuu-ni sora ga kumori-dashi-ta. (Gr.6)
   suddenly sky NOM become-OUT-PAST
   ’All of a sudden the sky became cloudy.’

As Figure 2 and the examples show, -DASU in some cases can
be viewed as subjective in that it represents the speaker’s attitudes toward the inception of a situation (for example, sentences (1) to (5) may express the speaker’s surprise at the unexpected).

When -DASU refers to the inception of a process, it describes the starting point as a complete event rather than a part of process. Put it in another way, -DASU captures the start as a single change and does not imply its continuity. This characteristic of -DASU results in its stylistic nuances such as the speaker’s concern with the moment of change, unexpectedness, or surprise.

Take taberu ‘eat’ as an example, it is possible to postulate some contexts where -DASU is appropriate. ‘Eat’ represents an activity which normally entails [+process]. However, this verb can be used without actually referring to the process. For example, the speaker gave some food to a bird and was waiting for the moment when the bird would start to eat. In this case the inceptive moment itself is important to the speaker; -DASU indicates such speaker’s attention to the inception. Another example could be where the verb, ‘eat’ is used with no thought of its lexical property [+process] when somebody started to eat suddenly or unexpectedly; the speaker may express the suddenness by using -DASU.

There are differences between -DASU and -HAJIMERU since -HAJIMERU does not have such subjective interpretations as -DASU has. The significant aspectual differences between -DASU and -HAJIMERU is that the former implies a punctual or momentary start whilst the latter does not. The distinction between -DASU and -HAJIMERU depends on the semantics of the first verb, as I
will try to show in the following sections.

Although when used as an independent verb, -BAJINERU is a transitive agentive verb, when used in compounds it is the first verb that determines whether the whole is to be taken as transitive agentive, or intransitive non-agentive. In either case, the -BAJINERU compound is used to aspectually describe the beginning of a process, and this aspectual meaning is not to be associated with the speaker's personal attitude towards this beginning.

The lexical meaning of -BAJINERU, as mentioned above, is 'to present', 'to send', 'to show', etc., which normally do not imply a process, but only "a single change of state". This lexical meaning of -BAJINERU is reflected in its aspectual meaning. -BAJIN is an aspectual compound refers to the inceptive meaning. In other words, the inception described by -BAJIN aspectual implies "punctual", "sudden", or "dynamic". This leads to the extended uses of -BAJIN such as the speaker's surprise, unexpectedness or focusing on the inceptive aspect.

Compared with -BAJINERU, -BAJIN is more restricted in (1) unless things are not under the subject's control -BAJIN cannot occur with first-person subjects (2) -BAJIN cannot be used when the inception implies the speaker's expectation and (3) -BAJIN is inappropriate where the beginning implies "slowly", "carefully", or "attentively".

-BAJIN describes the situation vividly, e.g., "emotions. He became angry", or, more descriptive than "become angry" or "cause the
2.3 -HAJIMERU and -DASU

Although when used as an independent verb, -HAJIMERU is a transitive agentive verb, when used in compounds it is the first verb that determines whether the whole is to be taken as transitive agentive, or intransitive non-agentive. In either case, the -HAJIMERU compound is used to objectively describe the beginning of a process; and this aspectual meaning is not to be associated with the speaker's personal attitudes towards this beginning.

The lexical meaning of -DASU, as mentioned above, is 'to present', 'to send', 'to show', etc, which normally do not imply [+process], but only "a single change of state". This lexical meaning of -DASU is reflected in its aspectual meaning: -DASU in aspectual compounds refers to the inceptive moment. In other words, the inception described by -DASU aspectual implies "punctual", "sudden", or "dynamic". This leads to the extended uses of -DASU such as the speaker's surprise, unexpectedness or focusing on the inceptive moment.

Compared with -HAJIMERU, -DASU is more restricted in that (1) unless things are not under the subject's control -DASU cannot occur with first person subjects (2) -DASU cannot be used when the inception implies the speaker's expectation, and (3) -DASU is inappropriate where the beginning implies "slowly", "carefully", or "attentively".

-DASU describes the situation vividly. For example, odoroki-dashi-ta 'became angry' is more descriptive than odoroki-hajime-ta 'started being angry' in causing the
hearer to visualize the situation. -DASU, thus, can be used to subjectively describe an inception. The following pairs of sentences show how -DASU can be used to express the characteristics just mentioned above.

(1) a. *imooto ga minna no mae de piano o hiki-dashi-ta.
   sister NOM in public piano ACC play-OUT-PAST
   The intended meaning is 'My sister began to play the piano in public.'.
   
   b. imooto ga totsuzen piano o hiki-dashi-ta no-de
      sister NOM suddenly piano ACC play-OUT-PAST since
      minna odoroi-ta. 
      everyone were surprised
      'Since my sister suddenly started playing the piano everyone was surprised.'

Examples above show that -DASU is permissible when a situation started abruptly or when it started unexpectedly or surprisingly to the speaker. -HAJIMERU form is used without such implications which -DASU has. Compare sentences (1a) and (1b) with sentences (2a) and (2b):

(2) a. imooto ga minna-no-mae-de piano o hiki-hajime-ta.
    sister NOM in public piano ACC play-START-PAST
    'My sister started playing the piano in public.'

   b. imooto ga totsuzen piano o hiki-hajime-ta node
      sister NOM suddenly piano ACC play-START-PAST since
      minna odoroi-ta. 
      everyone surprised
'Everyone was surprised because my sister suddenly played the piano.'

As sentence (2a) illustrates, -HAJIMERU does not inherently entail a sudden beginning or speaker's surprise. However, it can be used in the context where a situation started suddenly as well, but without focusing on its suddenness. Depending on the other contextual clues, -HAJIMERU can be used where a situation implies 'a sudden beginning' or 'speaker's surprise'. In other words, -HAJIMERU itself is neutral in respect to a sudden beginning: the form itself does not imply a sudden beginning or speaker's surprise. Thus (3a) is appropriate whilst (3b) is not:

(3a) hakushu ni kotaete imooto wa piano o
applause DAT in response to sister TOP piano ACC
hiki-hajime-ta.
play-START-PAST

'In response to the applause my sister started to play the piano.'

(3b) *hakushu ni kotaete-te imooto wa piano o
applause DAT in response to sister TOP piano ACC
hiki-dashi-ta.
play-OUT-START

The intended meaning is the same as in (3a).

Sentence (3b) is not appropriate because the situation implies a certain expectation on the part of speaker. -HAJIMERU is appropriate in this context because it is neutral This
distinction between -DASU and -HAJIMERU explains why normally -DASU is not compatible with first person subjects (later we will discuss the different cases from this): -DASU is appropriate when a situation is innitiated suddenly (in some cases unexpectedly or surprisingly to the speaker). There is no such restriction on -HAJIMERU:

(4)a. *watashi/ kare wa kabe ni penki o nuri-dasu

I/ he TOP wall DAT pait ACC paint-OUT-PAST
the intended meaning is 'I/ He started painting the wall.'

b. watashi/kare wa kabe ni penki o nuri-hajime-ta.
I /he TOP wall DAT paint ACC paint-START-PAST
'I / He started painting the wall.'

I / he TOP magazine ACC read-OUT-PAST
The intended meaning is 'I / He started reading a magazine.'

b. watashi/ kare wa zasshi o yomi-hajime-ta.
I /he TOP magazine ACC read-START-PAST
'I / He started reading a magazine.'

_Nuri-dasu 'start painting' and yomi-dasu 'start reading' are possible when the sentence implies a sudden beginning or abrupt onset or when the sentence implies the uncontrollability of the subject. In sentences (4a) and (5a) -DASU is inappropriate in that the first person subject of sentence implies the controllability of the situation._
Thus -DASU cannot be used in sentences which represent "commands", "requests", or "suggestions": because such sentences entail the controllability of a person who will perform the commands, requests, or suggestions.


eat-OUT-REQUEST  
The intended meaning is 'Please start eating'.

b. tabe-hajime-te kudasai.

eat-START-REQUEST  
'Please start eating.'

(7)a. * arai- dashi mashoo.  
wash-OUT-let's  
The intended meaning is 'let's start washing'.

b. arai-hajime mashoo.  
wash-START-let's  
'Let's start washing.'

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, -DASU is appropriate where the speaker is concerned with the changing moment of state of affairs. The following sentences must be understood in this light.

(8)a. sono otoko no mabuta ga furue-dashi-ta.  
the man POSS eyelid NOM jitter OUT-PAST  
'The eyelids of the man started jittering.'
b. sono otoko no mabuta ga furue- hajime-ta.
the man POSS eyelids NOM jitter-START-PAST
'The eyelids of the man started jittering.'

(9)a. sono otoko no mabuta ga imanimo furue-dashi-soo-ni-
the man POSS eyelids NOM at this moment jitter-OUT-like
nat-ta.
become-PAST
'The eyelids of the man looked as if they would start
jittering at any moment.'
b.*sono otoko no mabuta ga imanimo furue-hajime-
the man NOM eyelids NOM at this moment jitter-START-
soo-ni nat-ta.
like become-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (9a).

(10)a. sono otoko o mite, chichi ga okori-dashi-ta.
that man ACC looking at father NOM get angry-OUT-PAST
'At the sight of the man, my father got angry.'
b. sono otoko o mite, chichi ga okori-hajime-ta.
that man ACC looking father NOM get angry-START-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (10a).
(11) a. sono otoko o mite, chichi ga okori-dashi-sooni-nat-ta.
likely-become-PAST
'Looking at the man, my father looked as he was about to get angry.'
b.*sono otoko o mi-te, chichi ga okori-hajime-sooni-nat-ta.
likely-become-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (11a).

(12) a. onaka ga nari-dashi-ta.
stomach NOM make sound-OUT-PAST
'My stomach made a sound.'
b. onaka ga nari-hajime-ta.
stomach NOM make sound-PAST
'My stomach started making a sound.'

(13) a. onaka ga nari-dashi-sooni-nat-ta.
stomach NOM make sound-OUT-likely-become-PAST
'My stomach almost made a sound.'
b.* onoka ga nari-hajime-sooni- nat-ta.
stomach NOM make sound-START- likely-become-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (13a).

The examples above indicate that -HAJIMERU is not possible where the speaker is concerned with the changing point; -DASU is, on the other hand, is quite appropriate. Sentences (8), (10)
and (12) show that -DASU and -HAJIMERU are possible to express the inception, but there are differences between them: -DASU versions are more vivid descriptions.

Sentences (9), (11) and (13) imply that a change of state is about to occur: here the change itself or the changing moment is the speaker’s concern. In this context, only -DASU is appropriate.

As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, normally aspectual -DASU do not occur with first person subject. However, there are some cases where first person subject is compatible with -DASU. We will see these cases in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Emotional Activities and Inception

First, we will discuss the verbs which denote human emotional activities such as warau 'laugh', naku 'cry', etc. Naku and warau can be used in both non-volitional and volitional (deliberate) contexts, but sentences with naki-dasu or warai-dasu are more vivid than the corresponding -HAJIMERU ones. Naki-hajimeru and warai-hajimeru compounds used with first person subjects imply the deliberate beginning, but they are not possible when the sentence implies the uncontrollability or non-volition of the speaker / subject. Compare the following sets of sentences:

(14) a. watashi wa sore o kiite warai-dashi-taku
   I TOP that ACC hearing laugh-OUT-want
   nat-ta.
'On hearing that, I felt like bursting out laughing.'

b.*watashi wa sore o kiite warai-hajime-taku
I TOP that ACC hearing laugh-START-want
nat-ta.

The intended meaning is the same as in (14a).

(15) a. watashi wa gaman-dekizu waa-waa naki-dashi-ta.
I TOP beyond control ONOMAT cry-OUT-PAST
'I could not help crying in a loud voice.'

b.*watashi wa gaman-dekizu waa-waa naki-hajime-ta.
I TOP beyond control ONOMAT cry-START -PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (15a).

Thus only naki-dasu and warai-dasu can be followed by -TE SHIMAU which emphasize the speaker/subject's non-volition or uncontrollability:

(16)a. watashi wa sore o kii-te warai-dashi-te shimat-ta.
I TOP that ACC hearing laugh-OUT-DONE-PAST
'On hearing that, I couldn't help laughing.'

b.*watashi wa sore o kii-te warai-hajime-te shimat-ta.
I TOP that ACC hearing laugh-START-DONE-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (16a).

(17)a. watashi wa naki-dashi-te shimat-ta.
I TOP cry-OUT-DONE-PAST
‘I burst into tears.’

b. *watashi wa naki-hajime-te shimit-ta.

I TOP cry-START-DONE-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (17a).

These two sentences imply that the speaker laughed or cried beyond his/her control. In the (b) versions of sentences (16) and (17) -HAJIMERU is not possible when the sentence implies "beyond the speaker’s control".
2.3.2 Motion or Verbal Activities and Inception

The second exception where DASU does not entail sudden or unexpected inception is: (1) combination of -DASU and motion/activity verbs such as *aru*ku 'walk', *hashiru* 'run', etc, and (2) in the combination of -DASU and the verbs which denote verbal activities such as *uta*u 'sing', *hanasu* 'talk', *i*u 'tell/say', etc: both cases are associated with the lexical meaning of -DASU (that is, 'out' or 'away' meaning). The inherent meanings of -DASU entail a change in the position or location of object. Furthermore such change entails the directionality (for example, -DASU takes the *ni* particle which specifies a certain direction or location). Thus *aru*ki-*dasu* and *hashiri-* *dasu* correspond to 'get away the place by walking or by running', respectively. These compound verbs refer to the realization of a certain motion, but rather to the beginning of a continuous motion, with no concern with its direction:

(18) a. Taroo wa iw-are-ta-toori 3 k.m o hashiri-hajime-ta.
   TOP as instructed 3 k.m. ACC run-START-PAST
   'As instructed, Taro started running the 3 k.m.'
   b.*Taro wa iw-are-ta-toori 3 k.m. o hashiri-dashi-ta.
   TOP as instructed 3 k.m. ACC run-OUT-PAST
   The intended meaning is the same as in (18a).

(19)a. watashi wa hitori-de kooen no naka o aruki-hajime-ta.
I TOP alone park-of-inside ACC walk-START-PAST
'I began walking alone in the park.'

b. watashi wa hitori-de kooen no naka o aruki-dashi-ta.
I TOP alone park-of-inside ACC walk-OUT-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (19a).

The pairs of sentences (18) and (19) indicate that -DASU compounds such as aruki-dasu and hashiri-dasu are not possible when the sentence implies a bounded process (not movement in a certain direction). But note that aruki-dasu and hashiri-dasu are possible when sentence entails a certain direction:

(20) watashi wa ie ni mukatte hashiri-dashi-ta.
I TOP in the direction of the house run-OUT-PAST
'I dashed running in the direction of the house.'

(21) watashi wa gakkoo mezashite aruki-dashi-ta.
I TOP school aiming at walk-OUT-PAST
'I started walking towards the school.'

-Ni mukatte in sentence (20) and mezashite in (21) express the directionality. Sentences (20) and (21) indicate that aruki-dasu and hashiri-dasu imply "realization of a motion (or movement) towards" rather than the beginning of a process.

The corresponding -HAJIMERU compounds, aruki-hajimeru and hashiri-hajimeru are possible in either case. These compounds refer to the beginning of a process rather than to
'out', 'away', or 'off'. The third exception is that the first person subject is possible with -DASU in compounds when the first verb denotes verbal activities:

(22) a. watashi wa jijitsu o ii-das-e-nakat-ta.
   I TOP truth ACC tell-OUT-able-NEG-PAST

b.*watashi wa jijitsu o ii-hajimer-are-nakat-ta.
   I TOP truth ACC tell-START-able-NEG-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (22a).

(23) a. watashi kara hanashi-das-e-nai.
   I from tell-OUT-able-NEG-PRES

'(From me) I cannot tell him.'

b.*watashi kara hanashi-hajimer-are-na-i.
   I from tell-START-able-NEG-PRES.

The intended meaning is the same as in (23a).

The (a) versions of these two sentences indicate that the first person subject can occur with -DASU when the first verb denotes verbal activities. However, as the (b) versions above illustrate, -DASU here appear to have different meanings from the corresponding -HAJIMERU.
This can be explained in terms of different semantics of -HAJIMERU and -DASU compounds. As already mentioned, -HAJIMERU refers to the beginning of a process whilst -DASU refers to a single change of state. For example, a significant point in sentence (23) is whether the speaker could express a fact or not: not whether the speaker could start expressing the fact. -DASU here can be paraphrased as 'reveal', 'disclose', 'propose', etc, which imply a single change (not a process) and "come to existence". Likewise, sentence (23a) does not imply a process but a single change: the sentence does not refer to the beginning of a process, but to the realization of a single change, 'propose', 'introduce', etc.

2.3.3 Others

Finally, -DASU compounds which denote the start of a career, work or writing, are also exceptional (for example, nataraki-dasu 'start to work/labor', tsutome-dasu 'start a career', oshie-dasu 'start a career as a teacher/instructor' and kaki-dasu 'make a start in one's writing').

However, these compounds seem to have different types of meaning from those of the corresponding -HAJIMERU compounds. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(24)a. moo sorosoro isha to-shite hataraki-dasoo to omou.
soon as a doctor work-OUT-will COMP think
'I intended to start my career as a doctor.'

b. moo sorosoro isha to-shite hataraki-hajime-yoo to omou.
soon as a doctor work -SATRT-will COMP think
I will soon start working as a doctor.

tomorrow TOP 7-o'clock from work-OUT-IMP
The intended meaning is the same as in (25b).
b. ashita wa shichi-ji - ni hataraki-hajime-te-kudasai.
tomorrow TOP 7-o'clock-at work-START-IMP
'Please start working at 7 o'clock tomorrow.'

There are differences between (24) and (25): example (24) denotes 'to commence a career' whilst example (25) denotes 'to start a routine (which implies a set process). As the examples show, hataraki-dasu is appropriate when the speaker refers to the commencement of a career or the moment when somebody starts working: however, these compounds sound strange when the speaker presumes work of duration and refers to 'one's starting of work'.

The meaning of tsutomeru is 'to be employed (by a company)' or 'to take up service'. Again there are differences between tsutome-hajimeru and tsutome-dasu:

(26)a. watashi wa ginkoo ni tsutome-dashi-ta.
I TOP bank-LOC work-OUT-PAST
'I started working for a bank.'
b. watashi wa ginkoo ni tsutome-hajime-ta.
I TOP bank-LOC work-START-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (26a).

(27)a.* watashi wa sude-ni ginkoo ni tustome-dashi-te iru.
I TOP already bank-LOC work-OUT-ASPECT

The intended meaning is the same as in (27b).

b. watashi wa sude-ni ginkoo ni tsutome-hajime-te iru.

I TOP already bank-LOC work-START-ASPECT
'I have already started working for a bank.'

As examples (26a) and (27b) show, both tsutome-dasu and tsutome-hajimeru can be used to refer to the commencement of a career. However, when the sentence denotes the beginning state of affairs (not the commencement itself), like in examples (26a) and (26b), tsutome-hajimeru is appropriate.

A set of sentences, (27a) and (27b) imply that the speaker already has worked over a period of time. In this respect, tsutome-dasu can be used when the speaker refers to the commencement of work itself but not when sentence refers to the on-going state after the commencement.

Oshie-dasu and oshie-hajimeru are also different.

Compare sets of sentences below:

(28)a. watashi wa ni-nen mae kara eigo o oshie-dashi-ta.
'I commenced my career teaching English 2 years ago.'

b. watashi wa ni-nen mae kara eigo o oshie-hajime-ta.
'I started teaching English two years ago.'

(29)a. *watashi wa sorosoro seito ni ressun-san o oshie-

I TOP soon student DAT lesson 3 ACC teach-
dasu- tsumori-da.
The intended meaning is the same as in (29b).

b. watashi wa sorosoro seito ni ressun-san o oshie- hajimeru-tsumori-da.

'I will start teaching lesson 3 to my students soon.'

As sentences (28a) and (29b) indicate, both oshie-dasu and oshie-hajimeru are possible when the sentence implies the commencement of a career. Sentences (29a) and (29b), on the other hand, show that oshie-dasu is not possible when the sentence implies 'a process which is supposed to be completed'. Oshie-hajimeru can be used in either case.

Likewise, kaki-dasu 'to commence writing something' is different from kaki-hajimeru in that kaki-dasu refers to the commencement of a paper, novel, etc (such commencement being of particular significance to the speaker, or the subject).

(30)a. kinoo ronbun o kaki-dashi-ta.

'yesterday paper ACC write-OUT-PAST

'Yesterday I started writing my thesis.'

b. kinoo ronbun o kaki-hajime-ta.

'yesterday paper ACC write-START-PAST

'Yesterday I started writing my thesis.'

(31)a.?* chichi ni tegami o kaki-dashi-ta.

'father DAT letter ACC write-OUT-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (31b).
What is significant in these two sets of sentences is that *kaki-dasu* does not imply 'to start writing something as a process and continue'. Sentence (31b), on the other hand, implies 'start/ begin a process towards the completion' (rather than the commencement itself).

Thus *kaki-dasu* refers to the point where the commencement of some writing is realized; *kaki-hajimeru* can refer to the starting point and can imply that 'one starts writing and will continue (in some cases towards the completion).
2.4 Morphological Differences between -DASU and -HAJIMERU

-DASU and -HAJIMERU aspectual compounds are different morphologically as well: -DASU is more tightly linked with the verb stem than -HAJIMERU. This indicates that the -DASU compound itself has independent lexical meanings.

(32)a. kodomo ni naki-das-are-te, komat-ta.

child DAT cry-OUT-PASS-CONJ embarrassed-PAST

'I felt embarrassed because my child started to cry.'

b.*kodomo ni naki-hajimer-are-te, komat-ta.

child DAT cry-START-PASS-CONJ embarrassed-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (32a).

(33)a. sore o kare ni hanashi-das-are-tara, doryoku ga

that ACC he DAT tell-OUT-PASS-CONJ effort NOM

muda-ni-naru.

will become useless

'If this is disclosed by him, my efforts will all be in vain.'

b.*sore o kare ni hanashi-hajimer-are-tara, doryoku ga

that ACC he DAT tell-START- PASS-CONJ effort NOM

muda-ni-naru.

will become useless

The intended meaning is the same as in (33a).

As shown in sentences (32) and (33), the (r)are passive morpheme does not precede but follow -DASU, while it precedes...
(34)a. *watashi wa kodomo o pub de hatarak-ase-dashi-ta.

I TOP child ACC pub in work-CAUS-OUT-PAST

The intended meaning is the same as in (34b).

b. watashi wa kodomo o pub de hatarak-ase- hajime-ta.

I TOP child ACC pub in work-CAUS-START-PAST

'I started to make my child work in a pub.'
Examples (34) and (35) indicate that -DASU compounds, because of their lexical characteristics, cannot be preceded by the causative morpheme *ase*: -HAJIMERU compounds, on the other hand, can.

It should be also noted that -HAJIMERU is compatible with adverbs such as *sukoshizutsu* 'little by little', *hitotsuzutsu* 'one by one', etc (adverbs denoting the continuity), and that the form can entail the volitional initiation by the agent.

-DASU compounds are not compatible with such adverbs: they are compatible with adverbs which imply punctuality, such as *totsuzen* 'suddenly / abruptly', etc.

2.5 Summary

I have shown that -DASU aspect is more restricted than -HAJIMERU aspect in that -DASU compound verbs represent both
aspecatual and lexical characteristics. DASU represents an inchoative aspect strongly when it is combined with [+process] and [+agentive] verbs; it can imply a punctual, sudden, or dynamic beginning. -DASU compounds represent lexical characteristics strongly when the first verb is a motion verb, a verb which denotes a emotional expressions such as laugh and cry, a verb which denotes a verbal activity, and a verb which refers to the commencement of a career or writing.

-HAJIMERU compounds, on the other hand, may imply an agent, a durative beginning or a continuity of state of affairs.

3.1.1 Process and Boundedness

A situation is a process if "the dynamic and "extended in time" of dynamic is the opposite concept of static and static situation is something that happened. we consider (cohen 1972) In this case the situation can be bounded (that is, one be terminated) or unbounded (that is, can not have a termination point). Sentences such as the following are defined as process and t-bounded).
3.1 The Semantics of -OWARU and -TE SHIMAU

In this chapter I will show how -OWARU and -TE SHIMAU are semantically different. -OWARU form and -TE SHIMAU are different in that (1) the former is always combined with a verb entailing a process and boundedness whereas the latter does not have such a restriction on the possible combination with the verb, (2) the former occurs only with a verb which implies the agentivity whereas the latter is not restricted on agentivity of the verb (3) the latter form can be used to cancel the agentivity of the subject of the sentence or the speaker, and (4) the former does not express the speaker’s /subject’s attitudes towards a situation whereas the latter does.

3.1.1 Process and Boundedness

'A situation is a process if it is dynamic and "extended in time": dynamic is the opposite concept of stative and a dynamic situation is something that happened'. (See Lyons 1977, p 438) In this case the situation can be bounded (that is, can be terminated) or unbounded (that is, can not have a termination point). Sentences such as the following are defined as [+process] and [-bounded].
(1) a. watashi wa kinoo oyo-ida.
'I swam yesterday.'

b. kare wa futot-ta.
'He became fat.'

c. kare wa ishhookenmei hashit-ta.
'He ran hard.'

It should be noted that the sentences (1a) to (1c) do not entail certain ending point or completion of a situation; that is, how far 'I' ran eventually or (2) how much weight he put on. Normally the predicates such as futoru 'become fat', kumoru 'become cloudy', oyoqu 'swim', hashiru 'run', etc do not entail the ending point at the lexical level. These predicates refer to processes consisting of continuous stages or degrees of change of state leading from state 1 to state N. Stage or degree N does not imply the completion or natural termination but just one state in the continuity of change. Still, hashiru 'run' or aruku 'walk' are different from kumoru 'become cloudy' or futoru 'become fat' in that the former predicates can be bounded or terminated by an agent whereas the latter predicates are only natural process and cannot be bounded. Here in terms of boundedness it is possible to postulate three types of [+process] predicates: (1) [+process] predicates which entail boundedness at the lexical level ( eg. kiru 'put on', waku 'become boiled', kawaku 'become dry', etc ) (2) [+process] predicates which do not entail any terminating point but can be
bounded at the sentence level; that is, the situation is bounded by some other elements (eg. *san kiro hashiru* 'run 3 km.', *ni kiro aruku* 'walk 2 km.', etc) and (3) [+process] predicates which do not entail the boundedness nor have the possibility of boundedness (eg. *kumoru* 'become cloudy', *futoru* 'become fat', etc).

Thus the boundedness of a situation is subject not only to predicate but also to other syntactic elements such as quantifiers, adverbial phrases, etc. Sentences (1a) and (1c) do not entail a certain ending or terminating point at the lexical level but can be bounded by inserting some quantifier:

(2) a. watashi wa kinoo san-kiro oyaoi-da.
I TOP yesterday 3 k.m. swim-PAST
'I swam 3 km. yesterday.'

b. kare wa ishokenmei ni-kiro hashit-ta.
he TOP hard 2 k.m. run-PAST
'He ran 2 km. hard.'

There are other predicates which are bounded at the sentence level and have a bounded interpretation:

(3) a.*watashi wa ichi-jikan wain o ippon non-da.
I TOP 1-hour wine ACC a bottle drink-PAST
(Lit.) 'I drank a bottle of wine for one hour.'

b. watashi wa ichi-jikan-de wain o ippon non-da.
I TOP in 1 hour wine ACC a bottle drink-PAST
(Lit.) 'I drank a bottle of wine in one hour.'
The sentences above imply that the situation is bounded. For example, sentences (3) imply that 'I' finished a bottle of wine. Likewise, sentences (4) imply that the subject will finish reading three books.

These examples indicate that terminal points or ending points are to be set in terms of other syntactic factors. For example, the quantifiers such as ippou 'a bottle', san satsu 'three', etc or the temporal suffix kande 'in' indicate
the boundedness of the situation. Thus we will call these elements "bouning" quantifier or temporal suffix. As the (a) versions above show, the sentence will have an unbounded meaning when it involves the temporal suffix, kan: because normally the suffix gives an unbounding reading to the sentence. (NOTE 1) There are some predicates which are bounded at the lexical level and are no ambiguity between a bounded and an unbounded interpretation. For example, (fuku o) kiru 'put on (clothes)', (ieo) tateru 'build (a house)', (gohan o) taku 'cook rice', etc, are bounded at the lexical level and are compatible only with a bounding adverbial phrase.
(7) a. * watashi wa nijupp-pun -kan fuku o ki-ta.
   I TOP for 20 minutes clothes ACC put on
   The intended meaning is the same as in (9b).
   b. watashi wa nijup-pun-de fuku o ki-ta.
   I TOP within 20 minutes clothes ACC put on-PAST
   'I put on the clothes within 20 minutes.'

(8) a. * kare wa ikkagetsu jibun no ie o tate-ta.
   he TOP for one month his own house ACC build-PAST
   'He built his house for one month.'
   b. kare wa ikkagetsu de jibun no ie o tate-ta.
   he TOP in one month his own house ACC build-PAST
   'He built a house in one month.'

(9) a. * watashi wa sono himo o go-fun toi-ta.
   I TOP that string ACC 5 minutes untie-PAST
   * 'I untied the rope for 5 minutes.'
   b. watashi wa sono himo o go-fun-de toi-ta.
   I TOP that string ACC in 5 minutes untie-PAST
   'I untied the string in 5 minutes.'

So far we have argued that some predicates can be neutral
between a bounded interpretation and an unbounded one while others
are not. For -OWARU in compounds, the form is possible only where
the bounded interpretation is appropriate.

(10) a. watashi wa ni-jikan de sono hon o
    I TOP in 2 hours that book ACC
    yomi-owat-ta.
read-FINISH-PAST
'I finished reading the book in 2 hours.'

b.* watashi wa ni-jikan sono hon o yomi-owat-ta.
'I finished reading the book for 2 hours.'

(11) a. watashi wa ichinichi de sore o shirabe-owat-ta.
'I finished examining that in one day.'

b.* watashi wa ichinichi-juu sore o shirabe-owat-ta.
'I finished examining that for a whole day.'

(12) a. watashi wa is-shuukan de seetaa o ami-owat-ta.
'I finished knitting a sweater in one week.'

b.* watashi wa is-shuukan seetaa o ami-owat-ta.
'I finished knitting a sweater for one week.'

As these examples show, -OWARU is possible as long as a
situation entails process and a specific terminating point or goal to be achieved. Thus -OWARU cannot occur in the following examples which do not imply such a goal or termination point.

(13)a. watashi wa ni-jikan mat-ta.
   I TOP in 2 hours wait-PAST

   b.*watashi wa ni-jikan de mat-ta.
   I TOP in 2 hours wait-PAST
   'I waited in 2 hours.'

   c.* watashi wa ni-jikan machi-owat-ta.
   I TOP for 2 hours wait-FINISH-PAST
   '*I finished waiting for 2 hours.'

(14)a. kare wa ichi-jikan ason-da.
   he TOP for one hour play-PAST
   'He played for one hour.'

   b.* kare wa ichi-jikan de ason-da.
   he TOP in one hour play-PAST
   '*He played in one hour.'

   c.*kare wa ichi-ji-kan asobi-owat-ta.
   he TOP for one hour play-FINISH-PAST
   '*He finished playing for one hour.'

Examples (13) and (14) linguistically do not entail a goal or a termination point: these predicates do not tell what will be achieved or when the situation will cease. They imply a single change of state and the homogeneous continuity of the new
state: the new state does not entail any change of quality or of degree. For example, *matsu* 'wait' implies a single change of state. The inception of waiting is the changing point. The state of waiting does not imply any change of degree but implies the continuity of the homogeneous state of waiting. As the (b) versions of sentences (13) and (14) indicate, the predicates which imply a single change and the homogeneous continuity of the new state (without changes of degree or extent) cannot be bounded (in terms of the concept of quantity): they are not compatible with the elements which bound a situation. Compared with the predicates which imply a single change of state and the homogeneous continuity of the resulting state, those which consist of indefinite changes and are possible with -OWARU:

(15) a. Taroo wa san- kiro o jup- pun de hashit-ta.
   TOP 3 km ACC in 10 minutes run-PAST
   'Taro ran 3 km in 10 minutes.'

   b. Taroo wa san- kiro o jup- pun-de hashiri- owat-ta.
   TOP 3 k.m. ACC in 10 minutes run-FINISH-PAST
   'Taro finished running 3 km in 10 minutes.'

(16) a. Hanako wa sono koosu o ichi- jikan de arui-ta.
   TOP that course ACC in 1 hour walk-PAST
   'Hanako walked the course in one hour.'

   b. Hanako wa sono koosu o ichi- jikan de aruki- owat-ta.
   TOP that course ACC in one hour walk-FINISH-PAST
   'Hanako finished walking the course in one hour.'

In these examples above we can tell a goal or termination
in terms of the bounding elements such as 3 k m. in sentence (15) and the course in (16). Thus sentences (15b) and (16b) are bounded because the situations described in these two sentences denote the definite change of state.

3.1.2 Agentivity

From the previous sections we concluded that -OWARU in compounds is possible only in a sentence which implies [+process] and [+bounded] However, the following examples indicate that these two conditions are not sufficient to specify all the possible aspectual combinations with -OWARU:

(17)a. sono hana wa ni-shuu-kan de kare-ta.
that flower TOP in 2 weeks became dry
'That plant became dry in 2 weeks.'

b.*sono hana wa ni-shuukan de kare-
that flower TOP in 2 weeks become dry-

FINISH-PAST
*'The plant finished drying.'

(18)a. san-kagetsu de ni kiro yase-ta.
in 3 months 2 kilo lost weight
'I lost 2 kilos in 3 months.'

b.* san-kagetsu- de ni kiro yase-owat-ta.
in 3 months 2 kilo lose weight-FINISH-PAST
'*I finished losing 2 kilos in 3 months.'

(19)a. ato jup-pun gurai de fuku wa kawaku deshoo.
about after 10 minutes clothes TOP become FUTURE
'After about 10 minutes, the clothes will become dry.'

b.*ato jup-pun gurai de fuku wa kawaki-
about after 10 minutes clothes TOP become dry-
owaru deshoo.
FINISH FUTURE
'*'After about 10 minutes the clothes will finish drying.'

(20)a. koori wa jup-pun gurai de tokeru deshoo.
ice TOP in about 10 minutes melt FUTURE
'The ice will melt in about 10 minutes.'

b.* koori wa jup-pun gurai de toke-owaru deshoo.
ice TOP in about 10 minutes melt-FINISH FUTURE
'*'The ice will finish melting in about 10 minutes.'
The predicates in examples (16) to (20) entail a process and a natural termination. In this respect the predicates can be viewed as entailing the definite change of state, thereby being compatible with -OWARU. However, they are not compatible with -OWARU because this form is not compatible with a predicate which implies an undergoer as a subject: a subject that will undergo some change (NOTE2). In other words -OWARU is not possible where a sentence lacks agentivity. In this and other cases when there is no process or the process is not bounded, the form to use is -TE SHIMAU as will be shown in the following pages.

-TE SHIMAU, contrary to -OWARU, is possible with the predicates which entail [-agentive] and [+process]:

(21) koori wa sukkari toke-te shimat-ta.
    ice TOP completely melt-DONE-PAST
    'The ice has completely melted.'

(22) banana wa mikka-kan de kusat-te shimat-ta.
    banana TOP in 3 days become rot-DONE- PAST
    'The bananas have rot in three days.'

(23) suupu ga kanzenni same-te shimat-ta.
    soup NOM completely become cool -DONE-PAST
    'The soup has become cold.'

-TE SHIMAU in these examples indicates a completely changed state of affairs. For example, the predicate tok eru 'melt' denotes a changing states of melting. The combination of tok eru and TE SHIMAU in (21), then refers to the last state
of melting. It can be emphatically used to specify the completion of the process. Thus this form is possible where a change of state of affair is completely done.

3.1.3 The Speaker or Subject’s Attitudes

In this section I will show the third distinction between -OWARU and -TE SHIMAU from the point of view of the speaker/subject’s attitudes towards a situation. -TE SHIMAU is different from -OWARU in that (1) only -TE SHIMAU can be used to indicate the uncontrollability or non-volition of the speaker or subject, (2) only -TE SHIMAU can be used to express the speaker or subject’s positive attitudes towards the realization/completion of the situation, and (3) only -TE SHIMAU can be used to express the speaker’s attitudes at the speech moment (specifically, surprise, regretful or adversive feelings, etc). -OWARU is neutral in this respect: the form just denotes the completion of a process which is supposed to be done.

The following sets of sentences show that -TE SHIMAU can cancel the volition or agentivity of a predicate whilst OWARU cannot:

(24)a. *machigatte Hanako wa tamago o zenbu wat-ta.
   by mistake TOP egg ACC all break-PAST
   'By mistake Hanako broke all the eggs.'

b.* machigatte Hanako wa tamago o zinbu wari-owat-ta.
   by mistake TOP egg ACC all break-FINISH-PAST
By mistake Hanako finished breaking all the eggs.

My mistake Hanako broke all the eggs.

Inadvertently I told all I knew.

Inadvertently I used all the money.

Unconsciouly I used all the money.
   uncontrollably pop-corn one bag eat-PRES
   'Uncontrollably I (always) eat a bag of pop-corn.'
   uncontrollably pop-corn one bag eat-FINISH-PRES
   'Uncontrollably I (always) finish eating a bag of pop-corn.'
c. doo-shite-mo pop-corn hito-fukuro tabe-te shima-u.
   uncontrollably pop-corn one bag eat-DONE-PRES
   'Uncontrollably I (always) eat a bag of pop-corn.'
The situations in these examples the agentivity or the volition of subject. Such a semantic property of these situations, however, can be cancelled by -TE SHIMAU. As the adverbs in examples (24) to (27) indicate, the situation here implies non-volition or uncontrollability of the subject/speaker. In these situations only -TE SHIMAU is possible. -OWARU is not possible here because it requires an agentive subject. The following sets of sentences show that -TE SHIMAU can express the subject/speaker's positive/definite attitudes towards the final state of affairs:

(28) a. sono himitsu o zenbu i-oo.
    that secret ACC all tell-will
    'I will tell the whole secret.'

b. sono himitsu o zenbu it-te shima-oo.
    the secret ACC all tell-DONE-will
    'I will tell the whole secrets.'

c.*sono himitsu o zenbu ii-owar-oo.
    the secret ACC all tell-FINISH-will
    'I will completely finish telling all the secrets.'

(29) a. haha ga kuru mae-ni heya o katazuke-yoo.
    mother NOM come before room ACC clean-will
    'I will clean the room before my mother comes.'

b. haha ga kuru mae-ni heya o katazuke-te shima-oo.
    mother NOM come before room ACC clean-DONE-will
    'I will have the room cleaned before my mother comes.'

c.*haha ga kuru-maeni heya o katazuke-owar-oo.
    mother NOM come-before room ACC clean-FINISH-will
    'I will finish cleaning the room before
my mother comes.'

(30)a.nandemō-ii-kara Hanako ni tegami o kak-e!
   whatever it is DAT letter ACC write-IMP
   (Lit.) 'Whatever you tell her, write a letter to Hanako!

b.nandemō-ii-kara Hanako ni tegami o kai-te shima-e.
   whatever it is DAT letter ACC write-DONE-IMP
   (Lit.) 'Whatever you tell her, have that letter to Hanako
   written! (Be more positive to do so.)'

 c.*nandemō-ii-kara Hanako ni tegami o kaki-
   whatever it is DAT letter ACC write-
   owar-e.
   FINISH-IMP
   (Lit.) ?* 'Whatever you tell her, finish writing
   a letter Hanako.'

(31)a. tamago o zenbu tabe-yoo.
   egg ACC all eat-will
   'I will eat all the eggs.'

b. tamago o zenbu tabe-te shima-oo.
   egg ACC all eat-DONE-will
   'I will eat all the eggs.'

c.*tamago o zenbu tabe-owar-oo.
   egg ACC all eat-FINISH-will
   'I will finish eating all the eggs.'

Still, there are uses of this type where -OWARU is possible, but with a different connotation:
a. mada zenbu iwa nai uchi-ni, maiku ga koware-ta.
   yet all talk NEG while microphone NOM break -PAST
   'The microphone broke before I said it all.'

b. mada zenbu it-te shimaw anai uchini, maiku ga
   yet all talk-DONE NEG while microphone NOM
   break-PAST
   '(To my regret) The microphone was broken
   before I talked all.'

c. mada zenbu ii-owar anai-uchini, maiku ga
   yet all talk-FINISH NEG while microphone NON
   break-PAST
   'The microphone broke before I finished saying it all.'

(33) a. gozenchuu-ni sono tegami o kai-ta.
    in the morning that letter ACC write-PAST
    'I wrote the letter in the morning.'

b. gozenchuuni sono tegami o kai-te shimat-ta.
    in the morning that letter ACC write-DONE-PAST
    'I finished the letter in the morning.'

c. gozen-chuuni sono tegami o kaki-owat-ta.
    in the morning that letter ACC write-FINISH-PAST
    'I finished writing the letter in the morning.'
In sentences (28) what is significant to the speaker is the distinction whether he/she tells all the secrets or not. The speaker is not concerned with the process. Sentences (29) also expresses the speaker's concern with the completed state of the room: the process of cleaning is not in the speaker's mind. Likewise, in sentences (30) and (31) the speaker is concerned with the resulting state or the change of state itself, not the completion of the process which was presupposed. The (a) versions of (28) to (31) without -TE SHIMAU do not express such connotations. Thus the (b) versions of sentences (NOTE3) (30) and (31) express the speaker's concern with the realization of 'writing something to Hanako' and his/her attitudes toward 'eating all the eggs', respectively. In sentence (30b) the speaker is expecting that 'writing something' would be realized as soon as possible. In sentence (31b) the process of eating all the eggs is not important. These sentence express the speaker's positive attitudes towards the situation. -OWARU in the (c) versions of (28) to (31), on the other hand, refers to the completion of a process which is already started and to be completed, but does not express the speaker/subject's attitudes. Thus this form is not appropriate in these examples. This form, however, is appropriate where the speaker presumes a certain process which is already started and to be completed, as shown in examples (32) and (33). -TE SHIMAU can be used to express the speaker's attitudes at the speech moment when a situation happened unfavorably or against his/her expectations (NOTE4). Here are some examples which express such speaker's attitudes:
(34)iya-na kyaku ga ki-te shimat-ta.
    disliked guest NOM come-DONE-PAST
    '(Regretfully) A guest whom I don't like has come.'

(35)tsuyoi kaze no tame booshi ga ton-de shimat-ta.
due to the strong wind hat NOM blow away-DONE-PAST
    '(Regretfully) Due to the strong wind, my hat has blown away.'

(36)chichi ga kureta tokei o kowashi-te shimat-ta.
father NOM gave watch ACC break -DONE-PAST
    '(Regretfully) I had the watch broken, which my father gave me.'

(37)Taro ga wareware no himitsu ni kizui-te shimat-ta.
    NOM our secret DAT notice-DONE-PAST
    '(Regretfully) Taro has noticed our secret.'

In sentence (35) the speaker implies that he/she does not want 'the guest' to come. Likewise, sentence (36) to (37) express the speaker's regretful feelings because of unfavorable happenings.

The situations described in sentences (34) to (37) are possible without -TE SHIMAU. However, without this form the sentences sound like just objective descriptions, they does not imply that the speaker feels regretful or is negatively affected.

Examples (34) to (37), thus, illustrate that -TE SHIMAU can be extendedly used to express the speaker's feelings at the speech moment. Because of this extended usage of -TE SHIMAU, the
following sets of sentences may carry different connotations:

(38) a. neko ga sakana o tabe-te shimat-ta.
    cat NOM fish ACC eat-DONE-PAST
    '(Regretfully) A /The cat has eaten the fish.'

    b. neko ga sakana o tabe-owat-ta.
    cat NOM fish ACC eat-FINISH-PAST
    'The cat finished eating the fish.'

(39) a. Hanako ga sono ichiban utsukushii kimono o
    NOM that the most beautiful kimono ACC
    ki-te shimat-ta.
    put on-DONE-PAST
    '(To my regret) Hanako wore the most beautiful Japanese
    kimono.'

    b. Hanako ga sono ichiban utsukushii kimono o ki-
    NOM that the most beautiful kimono ACC put on-
    owat-ta.
    FINISH-PAST
    'Hanako finished putting on the most beautiful
    Japanese kimono.'

(40) a. Taroo ga sono wain o non-de shimat-ta.
    NOM that wine ACC drink-DONE-PAST
    '(Regretfully or Suprisingly) Taro has drunk the wine.'

    b. Taroo ga sono wain o nomi-owat-ta.
    NOM that wine ACC drink-FINISH-PAST
    'Taro finished the wine.'
(41) a. Hanako wa skoon o hyak-ko mo yai-
TOP cake ACC 100 emphasis bake-
te shimat-ta.
DONE-PAST
'(Stupidly) Hanako has made 100 scones. (too many!)'
b. Hanako wa skoon o hyak-ko mo yaki-
owat-ta.
TOP cak ACC 100 emphasis bake-FINISH-PAST
' Hanako has (already) finished making
100 scones. (so many within such a short period)'

As mentioned already, each set of sentences can have
different readings because of the extended usage of -TE SHIMAU.
As the English translations indicate, the (a) versions of
sentences (38) to (41) can express the speaker's psychological
attitudes towards the situation. For example, sentence (38a)
implies that 'the fish was eaten by a cat: the speaker feels
regretful for that (maybe because he/ she lost his/ her dinner).
Sentence (38b), on the other hand, does not express such
regretful feelings of the speaker: for example, the sentence may
imply that 'the cat finished the fish which the speaker gave'.

Sentence (39a) may imply that 'the speaker feels regretful
because Hanako wore the most beautiful Japanese *kimono* which
the speaker wanted to wear'. Sentence (39b) may imply that
'Hanako finished putting on the most beautiful Japanese
*kimono* which she was supposed to wear'. Sentence (40a) may
imply that 'Taro has finished the wine which the speaker did not
want anybody to drink'. Sentence (40b) may imply that 'Taro
simply finished the wine'. Sentence (41a) may imply that
'the speaker feels regretful or surprised because Hanako made too many scones and most of them would be wasted'. The (b) version of the sentence may imply that 'Hanako was supposed to bake a certain number of scones (or many scones); the speaker emphasized the number of scones Hanako baked because Hanako baked 100 scones within such a short period. The emphasis morpheme, *mo*, here can be interpreted in various ways. *Mo* in sentence (41a) is used to express the speaker’s negative mental attitudes towards the situation. *Mo* in (41b) is used to emphasize the number in the light of a process which Hanako was supposed to complete.
In other words, the more situation is predictable to the speaker, the more appropriate -OWARU is. This will explain the ungrammaticality of -OWARU and the grammaticality of -TE SHIMAU:

(42)a.* shiranai neko ga ikinari sono sakana o tabe-owat-ta.
   FINISHI-PAST
   'A strange cat finished the fish all of sudden.'

b.shiranai neko ga ikinari sono sakana o tabe-te shimat-ta.
   DONE-PAST
   'A strange cat ate the fish all of sudden.'

(43)a.* naisho de Hanako ga hayak-ko mo skoon o tsukuri-owat-ta.
   ACC make-FINISH-PAST
   'Without letting me know Hanako finished making 100 scones.'

b.watashi ni naisho de Hanako ga hyak-ko mo skoon o tsukut-te shimat-ta.
   ACC make-DONE-PAST
   'Without letting me know Hanako has made 100 scones too many!'.

These examples indicate a subjective connotation such as
surprise or regret. Sentence (42a) is inappropriate because the adverb *okinari* 'unexpectedly/ all of a sudden' indicates the speaker is not assuming that 'the cat will start eating and finish it': the speaker's concern is only with the even that 'an strange cat ate the fish', not the process of starting and ending eating'. Sentence (43a) also sounds odd because the situation here is an unexpected event to the speaker. Consequently, only -TE SHIMAU is appropriate. This distinction whether the speaker is concerned with just the point where a process is completed or the change itself discussed below in more details.

3.2 A Single Change and Process

In the previous section it was shown that -TE SHIMAU expresses the speaker's attitudes towards a situation. When this form expresses such attitudes, a process which is entailed in the predicate is not in the speaker's mind: the speaker expresses himself towards a happenning.

-OWARU, on the other hand, assumes a process: that is, the form implies that the speaker or subject commits him/ herself to the whole process. The following sets of sentences illustrates this distinction:

(44)a. kekka to shite garakuta o atsume-te shimat-ta.  
    as a result rubishes ACC collect-DONE-PAST  
    '(Regretfully) As a result I have collected only rubbish.'

b.*kekka to shite garakuta o atsume- owat-ta.
as a result rubishes ACC collect- FINISH-PAST
* 'As a result I finished collecting rubbish.'

(45)a. ano otoko ga zenbu hanashi-te shimat-tara, watashi no that man NOM all tell -DONE-if, my seiji-seimei wa owari da. life as politician TOP will be over 'If the man should talk about all of that, my life as a politician will be over.'
b.*ano otoko ga zenbu hanashi-owat-tara, watashino seiji- that man NOM all talk-FINISH-if my politics seimei ga owari da. life NOM will be over *
' If the man finishes talking about all of that, my life as a politician will be over.'

(46)a. moshi Taroo ga sono dokuiri juusu o nomi- if NOM that poisoned juice ACC drink-de shimat-tara, watashi no sekinin-desu. DONE-CONNECTIVE my responsibility-COP 'If Taro should drink the poisoned juice, I am responsible for that.'
b.*moshi Taroo ga sono dokuiri juusu o nomi- if NOM that poisoned juice ACC drink- owat-tara, watashino sekinin-da. FINISH-CONNECTIVE my responsibility-COP 'If Taro finishes drinking the poisoned juice, I am responsible for that.'
In sentences (44) to (47), -OWARU is not possible because the completion of the process is not a central issue to the speaker. For example, sentence (44b) is inappropriate because 'collecting rubbish' is not the speaker's original intention (NOTE5); rather, this sentence implies that the speaker feels regretful because of an unpredicted outcome. In sentences (45), the speaker is not worrying about the whole process but afraid of the possibility that the person may tell unfavorable things. In the context referred to in sentences (46), what is in the speaker's mind is not the process of Taro's drinking the poisoned juice to the end but the possibility of Taro's drinking any of it; the possibility that Taro may drink the poisoned juice. Similarly, in sentences (47a) and (47b) what is significant to the speaker is the fact that Hanako wore her dress, not the process which was completed by Hanako.
Thus -TE SHIMAU may view the resulting state or completed state as an event or happening: the important thing to the speaker is not what was completed but what happened. This distinction between -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU is further shown in the following sets of sentences:

(48) (Answering to the question: Can I have some candy?)
   a. otoosan ga tabe-te shimai-mashi-ta.
      father NOM eat-DONE-POLITE-PAST
      'Father ate them all.'
   b.*otoosan ga tabe-owari-mashi-ta.
      father NOM eat-FINISH-POLITE-PAST
      (Lit.) 'Father finished eating them all.'

(49) a. odoroita koto-ni, Hanako ga Taroo no ranchi o
       surprisingly NOM POSS lunch ACC
       sukkari tabe-te shimat-ta.
       completely eat-DONE-PAST
       'Surprisingly Hanako has completely eaten Taro’s lunch.'
   b.*odoroita koto-ni Hanako ga Taroo no lanchi o
       surprisingly NOM POSS lunch ACC
       sukkaru tabe-owat-ta.
       completely eat-FINISH-PAST
       'Surprisingly Hanako finished eating Taro’s lunch.'

The examples with -TE SHIMAU express the speaker’s attitudes: (1) emphasis in sentence (48a) and (2) surprise in (49a).
3.3 Adverb and Completive Aspect

In this section I will show the semantic characteristics of -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU by the adverbs which are compatible with these two forms. The following figure shows the various meanings of -TE SHIMAU, together with the types of adverbs that are compatible with these meanings. This will help clarify the differences between -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU.

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HERE FIGURE 3

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FIGURE 3  -TE SHIMAU AND ADVERB MODIFIERS

-TE SHIMAU

(1) Completion Realization of An Event
   - kanzenni 'completely'
   - hayaku 'early/
   - sudden 'already'
   - saigo made 'to the end'
   - zenbu, etc. 'all'

(2) Non-Volitional Uncontrollable Unconscious
   - mushooni 'noncontrollably'
   - ukkari 'by mistake'
   - shizenni, etc. 'spontaneously'

(3) Modality (Speaker’s Attitudes)
   - tsui 'uncontrollably'
   - fukoo-ni-mo 'unfortunately'
   - zannen-ni-mo 'to my regret'
   - etc.

-TE SHIMAU

Sentential 'uncontrollably'

-TE SHIMAU

Modality (Speaker’s Attitudes)
It should be noted that some adverbs belonging to (1) above can express the speaker’s attitudes at the speech moment. For example, *sukkari* ‘completely’, *kanzenni* ‘perfectly/completely’, etc can be viewed as denoting just a state of affairs and also the speaker’s attitudes such as emphasis, surprise, etc. *-OWARU* can occur with adverbs belonging to (1) in that these adverbs refer to the completion of a process. This form, however, sounds awkward with such adverbs when they express modality. See the examples below:

(50)a. Hanako ga sono keeki o sukkari tabe-te shimat-ta.

*NOM* that cake ACC completely eat-DONE-PAST

‘Hanako has eaten up the cake.’ (implying that there is no cake left; the speaker feels sorry, etc.)

b.*Hanako ga sono keeki o sukkari tabe-owat-ta.

*NOM* that cake ACC completely eat-FINISH-PAST

‘Hanako completely finished eating the cake.’

(51)a.Taroo wa kirei-sappari okano o tsukat-te shimat-ta

*TOP* completely money ACC use-DONE-PAST

‘Taroo has used up his money.’ (implying how stupid Taro is, or the the speaker feels regretful because (s)he cannot borrow money from Taro, etc.)

b.*Taroo wa kirei-sappari okane o tsukai-owat-ta.

*TOP* completely money ACC use-FINISH-PAST

* ‘Taro completely finished using money.’

It should be also noted that *-TE SHIMAU* might require
certain adverbs or other syntactic elements in order to express the completion. -OWARU, on the other hand, expresses the completion of a process by an agent even without such adverbs or other syntactic elements. In other words, -TE SHIMAU can be viewed as expressing continuing relevance of completed action or realized even: "continuing relevance to the speaker or the speech moment" (like English perfect). Thus -OWARU sentences sound odd when the sentences imply such continuing relevance, or when the sentences include some syntactic elements implying such relevance:

(52)a. *gooka sugiru ryoori o tabe-owat-ta.
    too luxurious dish ACC take-FINISH-PAST
    The intended meaning is the same as in (52b).

b. gooka sugiru ryoori o tabe-te shima-ta.
    too luxurious meal ACC take-DONE-PAST

    'What a luxurious dish I have had!'
(53) a. *yatara-ni karai caree o tabe-owat-ta.
    incredibly hot carry ACC eat-FINISH-PAST
    The intended meaning is the same as (60b).
    b. yatara-ni karai caree o tabe-te shima-t-ta.
    incredibly hot curry ACC eat-DONE-PAST
    'I ate incredibly hot curry.'

(54) a. ?*kuchibeni o amarinimo akaku nurí-owat-ta.
    lipstick ACC too much red put on-FINISH-PAST
    The intended meaning is the same as in (61b).
    b. kuchibeni o amarinimo akaku nut-te shima-t-ta.
    lipstick ACC too much red paint-DONE-PAST
    '(To my regret) I have put on too much red lipstick.'

These examples indicate the continuing relevance of the situation to the speaker. The modifiers in examples above denote the speaker's objective evaluation and also the subjective attitudes towards the situation. For example, sugiru 'excessively', yatara-ni 'excessively/incredibly' and amarinimo 'too much' in the sentences above are emphatically used and express the speaker's subjective attitudes towards the situation. -OWARU is possible in the following sentences.

(55) watashi wa sono gookana ryoori o tabe-owat-ta.
    I TOP that splended dish ACC eat-FINISH-PAST
    'I finished eating the splended dish.'
(56) karai karee o tabe-owat-ta.

hot curry ACC eat-FINISH-PAST

'I finished eating the hot curry.'

(57) watashi wa kuchibeni o akaku nur-owat-ta.

I TOP lipstick ACC red put on-FINISH-PAST

'I finished putting on the lipstick red.'

-OWARU is appropriate here because the sentences do not include modifiers which are associated with the speaker's psychological attitudes. There is an interesting distinction between -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU in the interpretation of an adverb modifier: whether the scope of adverb is under control of the subject or of the speaker. Throughout the discussion so far, it is possible to postulate that the adverb with -TE SHIMAU will tend to be under the scope of the speaker. Compare the following sets of sentences:

(58) a. Hanako wa seetaa o chiisaku ami-owat-ta.

TOP sweater ACC small knit-FINISH-PAST

'Hanako finished knitting a sweater small.'

b. Hanako wa seetaa o chiisaku an-de shimat-ta.

TOP sweater ACC small knit-DONE-PAST

'(To my regret) Hanako has knit a sweater too small.'
(59) a. Hanako wa komugiko o tsukawazuni karee o
    TOP flour ACC without using curry ACC
tsukuri-owat-ta.
    cook-FINISH-PAST
    'Hanako finished cooking curry without using flour.'
b. Hanako wa komugiko o tsukawazuni karee o
    TOP flour ACC using curry ACC
tsukut-te shimat-ta.
    cook-DONE-PAST
    '(Stupidly) Hanako has made curry without using flour.'

The (a) versions of sentences above are ambiguous with respect to their interpretation. For example, sentence (58a) can be interpreted as 'Hanako knitted a small sweater with that intention' and also as 'the sweater which Hanako knitted is small'. The former obviously expresses Hanako's intention and the latter expresses the speaker's objective evaluation about the sweater and disregards Hanako's intention.

The (b) versions with -TE SHIMAU are not ambiguous here. They first express the speaker's evaluation of the state of affairs and then extendedly his/ her psychological attitudes as shown in the translations above.
3.4 Morphological and Syntactic Characteristics of -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU

In this section I will show (1) characterize the morphological differences between them, (2) show their syntactic differences and (3) discuss the relationships of their morphological and syntactic differences with their semantic ones.

As mentioned in the Introduction, one of the ways for aspect to be realized in Japanese is by a compound verb. For example, -OWARU, combined with a verb which entails certain semantic properties, indicates completive aspect. Another way for aspect to be indicated is by the use of the -TE conjunction and *iru, shima, kuru, or iku*. Normally *iru, shima, kuru* and *iku* in conjunction with -TE are viewed as aspectual auxiliaries. This distinction in the realization of aspect between -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU form leads to their different syntactic behavior.

-TE SHIMAU and -OWARU are different in that (1) for -OWARU, the passive or causative morphemes cannot precede OWARU whilst they can precede -TE SHIMAU, and (2) -TE SHIMAU can follow -OWARU compound whilst -OWARU cannot follow a compound with TE SHIMAU.

3.4.1 Passive and Causative Constructions

First of all, the following sets of sentences illustrate
that -OWARU and -TE SHIMAU behave differently in terms of the passive construction:

(60)a.* sono juusu wa kodomo ni zenbu nom-are-owat-ta.
that juice TOP child DAT all drink-PASS-FINISH-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (60b).
b. sono juusu wa kodomo ni zenbu nomi-owar-are-ta.
that juice TOP child DAT all drink-FINISH-PAST
(lit.) 'All the juice was finished drinking by the child.'
c. sono kodomo ni juusu o zenbu nomi-owar-are-te shimat-ta.
that child DAT juice ACC all drink-PASS-DONE-PAST
'I had the juice drunk all by the child (so I cannot drink the juice at all, etc.).'

(61)a.* hyakko no skoon ga ichiji-kan-de tsuk-are-owat-ta.
100 POSS scone NOM in one hour make-PASS-FINISH-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (61b).
b. hyakko no skoon ga ichiji-kan-de tsukuri-owar-are-ta.
100 POSS scone NOM in one hour make-FINISH-PASS-PAS
(Lit.) 'One hundred scones were finished making in one hour.'
c. hyakko no skoon ga ichiji-kan-de tsukr-are-te shimat
100 POSS scone NOM in one hour make-PASS-DONE-
ta.
PAST
'One hundred scones have been made in one hour.
(100 scones, so fast! I lost the competition).'

The (a) versions of these examples show that -OWARU cannot
be interrupted by the passive morpheme, are. The reason for this will be that the subject of -OWARU should be an agent: in sentences (67a) and (68a) the subject to which -OWARU refers is not an agent but a patient.

The (b) versions of these sentences, on the other hand, the entity to which -OWARU refers is the subject of the embedded sentence, and semantically indicates an agent.

The (c) versions, as indicated in the English translations, imply that somehow the speaker is psychologically affected. In other words these sentences imply a continuing relevance of an event to the speaker.
There is difference in connotation between the (b) versions and (c) versions above: the speaker in the (c) versions is not concerned with the completion of a process. For example, what is significant in sentence (60c) is not whether the child finished drinking the juice or not but the fact that all the juice was drunk by the child and there is not any left. In sentence (60b), it is important whether the child completed the process.

Just as the passive construction, the causative morpheme cannot interrupt -OWARU compounds whilst the morpheme can occur between verb and TE SHIMAU form:

   DAT dish ACC all wash -CAUS-FINISH-PAST
   The intended meaning is the same as in (62b).
   b. Hanako ni sara o zenbu arai-owar-ase-ta.
   DAT dish ACC all wash-FINISH-PAST
   'I got Hanako to finish washing
   c. Hanako ni sara o zenbu araw-ase-te-shimat-ta.
   DAT dish ACC all wash-CAUS-DONE-PAST
   'I had Hanako wash all the dishes.'

(63) a. *muriyari kodomo ni kusuri o nom-ase-by force child DAT medicine ACC take-CAUS-
   owat-ta.
   FINISH-PAST
   The intended meaning is the same as in (63b).
   b. muriyari kodomo ni kusuri o nomi-owar-ase-ta.
As the (a) versions show, the morpheme *ase* can interrupt the combination of verb and -TE SHIMAU but cannot interrupt -OWARU compounds. This can be explained simply for the reason that -OWARU sentences here imply that the speaker completed a process of causing somebody to do something. However, the causative itself does not entail a process nor "the extended time". For example, *araw-ase-ta* 'caused somebody to wash' can be viewed as involving a single change (*saseru* vs. *sese-nai*), like achievement verbs such as *nakusuru* 'lose', *miseru* 'show', etc.

The (b) versions, however, indicate that -OWARU can occur in the causative constructions if the subject of -OWARU compounds is that of the embedded sentence and the sentence entails a bounded process.

-TE SHIMAU is possible here because the form expresses the speaker’s attitudes towards WHAT (S)HE DID. Thus sentences (62c) and (63c) imply the speaker’s regret, some other feelings or emphatic connotations.

3.4.2 The Order of -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU
The last syntactic difference between -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU is that the former can follow the latter but not vice versa.

(64)a. ootoo wa kinoo katta hon o moo yomi-
brother TOP yesterday bought book ACC already read-
owat-te shimat-ta.
FINISH-DONE-PAST
'My brother has already finished reading the book which he bought.'
b.*otooto wa kinoo kat-ta hon o moo yon-
brother TOP yesterday bought book ACC already read-
de shimai-owat -ta.
DONE-FINISH-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (64a).

(65)a. Taroo wa tattano go-fun-de sono tegami o kaki-
TOP only 5-minute-within that letter ACC write-
owat-te shimat-ta.
FINISH-DONE-PAST
'Taro has finished writing the letter only within 5 minutes.'
b.*Taroo wa tattano go-fun de sono tegami o kai-
TOP only 5-minute in that letter ACC write-
te shimai- owat-ta.
DONE-FINISH-PAST
The intended meaning is the same as in (65a).

The ungrammaticality of -OWARU above can be explained morphologically. As mentioned already, -OWARU must be close to
the verb stem, and -OWARU compounds cannot be interrupted by any morpheme. These sentences, on the other hand, propose an important suggestion about the sequence of completion aspect and the modality aspect: that is, the completion aspect should come prior to the modality aspect.

3.5 Summary

This chapter began with a semantic characterization of -TE SHIMAU and -OWARU. We distinguished -OWARU and -TE SHIMAU depending on their function: (1) completive aspect and (2) modality aspect. Completive aspect refers to the completion of a process. Modality aspect expresses the speaker's psychological attitudes at the speech moment. With -OWARU, the form can be completive aspect because it only expresses the completion of a process by an agent ("agent" here means an entity that can control a situation to its completion). -TE SHIMAU can express either the completion of a process or moddality (remember the interpretation of this form is subject to other elements such as adverbs, etc).
1. In some cases the temporal suffix *kan* 'for', however, can be viewed as neutral because it disregards whether a situation is bounded or not.

(a) watashi wa ni-jikan kanojo ga kureta kukkii o tabe-ta.
   I TOP for 2 hours she NOM gave cukkie ACC eat-PAST
   'I ate the cukkies which she gave to me.'

(b)* watashi wa ni-jikan kanojo ga kureta kukkii hitofukuro
   I TOP for 2 hours she NOM gave cukkie a bag
   o tabe-ta.
   ACC eat-PAST
   '*I ate a bag of cukkies which she gave to me
for two hours.*'

Sentence (a) does not tell whether 'watashi' finished all the cukkies or not. In this respect, *kan* 'for' cannot be a 'bounding' suffix. Sentence (b), on the other hand, indicates that *kan* 'for' is not possible when the boundedness is linguistically specified.

2. These are a few counterexamples to the agentivity of -OWARU compounds:

(a) gakkoo-no beru ga nari-owat-ta.
   school-POSS bell NOM chime-FINISH-PAST
   'The schoolbell ceased.'

(b) kotoshino sakura-no-hana wa saki-owat-ta.
   this year cherry blossoms NOM open-FINISH-PAST
   'The cherry blossoms came into an end this year.'

These examaples, however, can be interpreted as 'the schoolbell started chiming and ceased' in sentence (a) and 'the cherry blossoms started and came to an end'. In these interpretations -OWARU compounds are not aspectual ones.

3. It should be noted that -OWARU cannot occur with *kaku* 'write' when the verb take the dative *ni*.

Compare the following sentences:

(a)* chichi ni tegami o kaki-owat-ta.
   father DAT letter ACC write-FINISH-PAST
   'I finished writing a letter to my father.'

(b) chichi e no tegami o kaki-owat-ta.
   father DIR POSS letter ACC write-FINISH-PAST
   'I finished writing a letter which will be sent to my father.'

The reason for the difference in appropriateness between these two sentences seems to be dependent on the distinction whether the situation implies a process or not. *Ni tegami o kaku* 'write a letter to somebody' in sentence (a) does not imply a process but a single change (*kaita* 'wrote to a person' vs *kak-anakata* 'did not write to the person').

Sentence (b), on the other hand, implies a process (write a letter leading to its completion).
4. As seen so far, -TE SHIMAU is associated with adverative attitudes. However, its colloquial usage *chatta* can be used in favorable situations to the speaker shown in (a), and also in cases where even "the starting of a process" upsets the speaker.
   (a) shiken ni gookaku- shi-chat-ta.
   examination DAT pass-do-DONE-PAST
   '(Surprisingly) I have passed the exam.'
   (b) ah, tabe- chat-ta.
   oh eat-DONE-PAST
   '(Pointing at a person who just took a bite) You took a bite!'

5. If 'collecting rubbish' is the speaker's original intention, -OWARU is possible as seen in sentence (a):
   (a) watashi wa niwa no garakuta o atsume-owat-ta.
   I TOP in the garden rubbish ACC collect-FINISH-PAST
   'I finished collecting the rubbish in the garden.'

   As *niwa no* 'in the garden' indicates, the situation here is bounded. This sentence implies that the speaker originally had an intention of collecting the rubbish in the garden; so (s)he started collecting the rubbish and finished it. In this context, -OWARU is appropriate.
CHAPTER FOUR

AN OVERALL VIEW AND OUTSTANDING ISSUES

This paper has addressed itself to questions of how a certain aspectual meaning is realized in Japanese, and to a lesser degree of how an aspectual notion is related to other categories such as modality and tense.

While dealing with the inceptive aspect and completive aspect, we have seen how certain aspectual notions are associated with the speaker's point of view or attitudes. For example, -TE KURU indicates that the speaker conceives the beginning of a process (which implies an on-going change or natural phenomenon) as "coming to me/us" or "up to the present". -DASU, is associated with a sudden or dynamic start when it functions aspectually: the form, then can be extended to the speaker's surprise or unawareness. -TE SHIMAU denotes not only the completion of a process but also the speaker's attitudes toward the completion (an attitude of regret, for example). Thus it is possible to characterize aspectual forms in Japanese in terms of the function which they have in communication.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, each aspectual form has semantic properties and constraints depending on the possible semantic and syntactic contexts. For example, compare -HAJIMERU and -OWARU. As a lexical meaning, they have inherently contrastive meanings: -HAJIMERU means 'to start' or 'to begin' (transive meaning only); -OWARU means 'to finish' or 'come to an
In this respect, -OWARU and -HAJIMERU are in a semantically complementary relationship. From an aspectual point of view, however, they are not in such complementary relationship. -OWARU is more restricted in its possible contexts than -HAJIMERU: -HAJIMERU can be combined with both [+agentive] and [-agentive] verbs while -OWARU is possible only with [+agentive] verbs. This indicates that the verbs such as hajimeru, dasu, owaru, etc, do not necessarily preserve all their semantic properties when they are used aspectually: they incorporate some new semantic properites and take on abstract meanings in their aspectual function.

Semantic and Syntactic differences between -TE KURU and -HAJIMERU were taken up in Chapter 1. The former is used objectively and indicates the continuity of a new state while the latter can be used subjectively (when the speaker is directly involved in a situation) or can be used without implying the continuity of the new state. These characteristics of -TE KURU can be attributed to the fact that it preserves the inherent meaning of kuru and indicates directionality.

In chapter 2 I argued that -DASU takes on abstract meaning in their aspectual function with a different degree: depending on the first verb with which it is combined. When -DASU takes on abstracter meaning, it tends to be more extendedly used.

Chapter 3 was devoted to -OWARU and -TE SHIMAU. It was shown that -OWARU is more restricted than -TE SHIMAU and that -OWARU can be followed by -TE KURU only when the latter is associated with the speaker's attitudes. More remark is still needed for a number of reasons. Verbs which are used to express
aspect, might have other meanings as well, while are not related to aspect. And even when they do express aspect, due to their polisemic nature, the meaning intended by the speaker must be arrived at having in mind the whole communicative set.
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