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Preface

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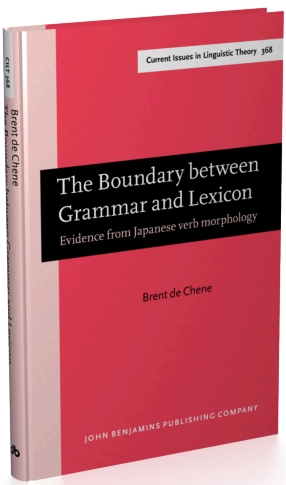

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The Boundary between Grammar and Lexicon: Evidence from Japanese verb morphology
Brent de Chene
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Preface

This book is a defense of weak lexicalist or "split" morphology, according to which the traditional domain of morphology divides into syntactic and presyntactic subdomains. Those two subdomains will be seen to correspond well with inflection and derivation as ordinarily conceived, although the fundamental fact of a division between the syntactic and the presyntactic is independent of just how precise the correspondence with inflection and derivation is. Specifically, I will argue that while inflection is the phonological realization of syntactic terminal elements, at least some derivation has properties that militate against such a treatment. If so, we might do well to keep in mind the possibility that inflection and derivation, in spite of their obvious similarities, are fundamentally different phenomena, as is apparently true of their correlates in languages that have neither of them — roughly, free grammatical words and compounding, respectively.

The book's database is the verbal morphology of Japanese and the closely related Ryukyuan languages. Japanese verbal morphology is an appropriate testing ground for hypotheses about the properties of inflection and derivation because it is relatively rich in suffixes of both kinds. As an example, consider the form *to-g-ar-as-ase-rare-ta* 'was made to sharpen (it)'. The first three suffixes of that form, *-g-*, *-ar-*, and *-as-*, all create verb stems of determinate transitivity or event-type status, transitive (causative), intransitive (inchoative), and transitive, respectively. Strikingly, the second and third suffixes override the transitivity status of their base, so that at each of the three stages *to-g-*, *to-g-ar-*, and *to-g-ar-as-*, only the outermost suffix of the stem counts in determining its transitivity. This is unexpected on the hypothesis that the suffixes in question realize syntactic elements, since, in a syntactic construction, the meaning of each of the parts should be reflected in the meaning of the whole. The remaining suffixes, *-ase-* (Causative), *-rare-* (Passive), and *-ta* (Perfect) conform to this expectation, each composing with its base to produce a predictable interpretation, and are naturally understood as syntactic. I will propose that the contrasting properties of derivational and inflectional suffixes just illustrated are to be explained by the hypothesis that, while (stems and) inflectional affixes have listed or lexical representations, (roots and) derivational affixes do not. It will then be only stems and inflectional affixes that are subject to composition by the syntactic computational system. With inflectable stems lexically listed, but inflected forms syntactically generated, the boundary between lexicon and syntax will coincide with the boundary between derivation and inflection.

Consideration of the distributional and interpretive properties of verbal suffixes occupies Chapters 1 through 4 of the book. Chapters 5 through 8 constitute an extended case study of morphophonological reanalysis and regularization supporting the conclusion that stems and inflectional affixes, but not roots and derivational affixes, are subject to reanalysis of their underlying phonological shape. This generalization, like the contrast between the interpretive properties of inflectional and derivational suffixes seen above, follows naturally from the hypothesis that while stems and inflectional affixes have listed representations, the subconstituents of stems, roots and derivational affixes, do not. The book thus provides evidence from both the syntactic and the phonological branches of the grammar that the morphological units with listed representations are stems and inflectional affixes, with the further implication that the boundary between the listed and the generated falls at the boundary between derivation and inflection.

A note is in order on the book's intended readership. Ideally, I would hope to attract at least the passing attention of any linguist with a serious interest in morphology or morphophonology. At the same time, it must be said that the density of the Japanese and Ryukyuan data in Chapters 2 through 8 means that the text will be easier going for linguists with some prior knowledge of Japanese. I believe, however, that the book's main lines of argumentation can readily be followed without immersion in all the details of the data.

Much of the book's text is based on articles that have been published over the last ten years, and I am grateful to the publishers for permission to reuse the relevant material. The following is a relatively detailed accounting of the sources of individual chapters and sections, referring to articles recorded in the reference list at the end of the volume; in the text itself, I have kept direct reference to earlier work to a minimum. Chapter 1 and the beginning of Chapter 2 are mostly new; Section 2.3 incorporates material from de Chene 2022a, but is based for the most part on de Chene 2020a. Chapter 3 is a substantial expansion of de Chene 2017. Chapter 4 for the most part hews closely to de Chene 2022b. In Chapter 5, Sections 5.2 and 5.7 incorporate material from de Chene 2020b and de Chene 2019, respectively; the remainder of the chapter is largely based on material from de Chene 2016. Chapter 6 corresponds quite closely to de Chene 2019. Chapter 7 combines material from de Chene 2016 and de Chene 2020b, with material from de Chene 2014 introduced in Section 7.4; Section 7.8 is new. Chapter 8 is for the most part based on those elements of de Chene 2020b not incorporated into earlier chapters. The material of the short concluding Chapter 9, finally, is new. Throughout, analyses of individual phenomena have been updated, new material has been added, and earlier material has been regrouped and reorganized. The overarching claim that the distributional and interpretive data of Chapters 1 through 4 and the morphophonological data of Chapters 5 through 8 lead to the

same conclusion regarding the division between the lexically listed and the freely generated, a conclusion that places derivation and inflection on opposite sides of that boundary, is presented here for the first time.

As a graduate student at UCLA many years ago, I had the good fortune to study under two inspiring teachers whose approaches to morphology and morphophonology were both mutually reinforcing and, in productive ways, complementary. Having now completed this book, I am struck and humbled by the degree to which it reflects the deep influence of both of them, far beyond the concrete citations of their work that it contains. Among the many things I learned from Theo Vennemann genannt Nierfeld, who left UCLA in the middle of my graduate career, was always to ask what generalizations speakers have actually made, in particular concerning morphophonology, and Chapters 5 through 8 are an exercise in applying that principle, using ongoing and completed change as the central evidence. Among the many things I learned from my doctoral advisor Stephen R. Anderson, who arrived at UCLA in the middle of my graduate career, was how to draw the distinction between inflection and derivation, and the present book could be viewed as an extended exposition of my version of his answer to that question. It gives me great pleasure to dedicate this book jointly to Steve and Theo.

I am indebted as well to many other people whose feedback and support have been invaluable in developing the ideas that have gone into this book. Prominent among them are the anonymous referees for (in chronological order) *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, Steve's festschrift *On Looking into Words* (Language Sciences Press), *Gengo Kenkyu, Journal of Japanese Linguistics* (twice), *Diachronica*, and *Word Structure*, whose comments reliably resulted in significant improvements in the articles whose contents have been reused and reworked here; the same is true for the two scholars who reviewed the book manuscript for John Benjamins. For comments on conference presentations relevant to the book's contents, I am indebted to Kunio Nishiyama, Junko Ito, Armin Mester, Yoko Sugioka, and Masahiro Yamada, among others. For native speaker judgments on Japanese, the majority of them with respect to the data of Chapter 4, heartfelt thanks go to Sachiko Fujii, Takayuki Fujii, Kikuo Maekawa, Yuji Nishiyama, Masanobu Sorida, Yoko Sugioka, and Hideaki Suzuki. I am grateful to Masahiro Yamada for discussion of the material of Chapter 2 and to Yoko Sugioka for discussion of some of the material of Chapter 4. My former student Takayuki Ikezawa deserves special mention for sparking the discussion that led to the idea for the paper that became the kernel of Chapter 3; several of the formulations in that chapter were later sharpened as the result of online discussion with Dmitri Zelensky. Regarding the material of Chapter 5, I would like to express my appreciation to the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL), formerly known in

English as the National Language Research Institute, and to Takuichiro Onishi in particular for allowing me to view unpublished results of the preparatory survey for the *Grammar atlas of Japanese dialects* and for helpful correspondence on related matters. I am also grateful to NINJAL for permission to use the Chunagon corpus search tool and to Kikuo Maekawa for guidance in that regard. For discussion relating to the material of Chapter 5, I thank Masae Matsuki and Takayuki Ikezawa. The material on Korean in Chapter 7 represents distillation of a larger body of work in connection with which I have benefited from discussion with and/or assistance from Sang-Cheol Ahn, Adam Albright, Jieun Bark, Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, Jae-Woong Choe, Sukhoon Choo, Youngah Do, Yoonjung Kang, Yunjin Nam, Andrew Nevins, and Kevin Tang. Charles De Wolf graciously served as a sounding board for a number of ideas that are reflected in the book. I am deeply grateful to the CILT series editor Joseph C. Salmons for his comments on the manuscript and to him and the entire CILT editorial board for giving the project a vote of confidence at a point when my own feelings about it were still somewhat tentative. Finally, Anke de Looper and Ineke Elskamp of John Benjamins have been unfailingly responsive and supportive guides to the production process. None of the above individuals, it goes without saying, are responsible for any of the remaining shortcomings of the book.