

Verbal negative forms with the affix adjusted with the juncture consonant¹

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¹It is a revised title of 'Negative forms with the thematically-adjusted affixal stem /raN/'.

Outline

- 1 Phenomenon
 - The extra /ra/ in verbal negative forms
- 2 A previous study
 - Sasaki 2012, which is based on the ‘conjugation’ framework
- 3 An restrictive and falsifiable analysis
 - Framework: Koga 2012 and Koga and Ono 2010, which are basically based on Kiyose 1995
 - A proposal (Part I): Associated another allomorph with its selectional constraint in morphology
 - A proposal (Part II): three (3) violable surface constraints
 - Predictions

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The extra /ra/ in verbal negative forms

- The extra /ra/'s are descriptively /ra/'s occurring in the verbal negative forms in Japanese-Saga western dialect, as in Table 1, and not occurring in their standard counterparts, as in Table 2.²

V-class	V-stem	neg. forms		V-stem	neg. forms	
C-final	ok 'put'	okaN	*okaraN	nok 'give way'	nokaN	*nokaran
/e/-final	n(e) 'sleep'	?neN	neraN	tab(e) 'eat'	tabeN	*taberaN
/i/-final	ki 'wear'	*kiN	kiraN	oki 'wake'	?okiN	okiraN
strong	k(o) 'come'	koN	*koraN			
strong	s(e) 'do'	seN	*seraN			

Table: Verbal negative forms in Saga western dialect

²The extra /ra/ will be analyzed as the juncture consonant /r/ and the initial segment of the allomorph of the negative affix /aN/ in our proposal.

V-class	V-stem	neg. forms		V-stem	neg. forms	
C-final	ok	okanai	*okaranai	nok	nokanai	*nokaranai
/e/-final	ne	nenai	*neranai	tabe	tabenai	*taberanai
/i/-final	ki	kinai	*kiranai	oki	okinai	*okiranai
strong	k(o)	konai	*koranai			
strong	s(i)	sinaï	*siranai			

Table: Verbal negative forms in standard Japanese³

³I happened to hear a high school student in Saga City uttering [kiranai-de] to intend [kinai-de] ‘wear-not-Comp [inf]’ and to mean ‘Please do not wear it’. This error may not be stable.

Within the so-called ‘vowel /e/-final’ base verbs

Observations of Koga’s 2011 report of the negative forms of 266 verbs in Japanese-Saga western dialect are:

- (1) a. The extra /ra/ will occur in the negative form if the verbal stem is equal to or shorter than one consonant plus one vowel (CV), as exemplified by /ne-ra-N/ ‘not sleep’ (cf. /ne-nai/ in standard).
- b. It will not occur in the negative form if the verbal stem is longer than CV, as exemplified by */tabe-ra-N/ (cf. /tabe-nai/ ‘not eat’ in standard).

Within the vowel /i/-final base verbs and the strong base verbs

- (2) The extra /ra/ occurs in the negative forms of all the 'vowel /i/-final' base verbs, as exemplified by /ki-ra-N/ 'wear-not' /oki-ra-N/ 'get up-not'.
- (3) The extra /ra/ never occurs in the negative forms of the strong base verbs, as exemplified by */ko-ra-N/ (cf. /ko-N/) 'come-not' */se-ra-N/ (cf. /se-N/ 'do-not').

Further observations

- (4) If and only if its shorter negative counterpart is either completely ungrammatical or grammatical but inappropriate, the extra /ra/ can occur in the negative form, as exemplified by:
- */kiN/ and /ki-ra-N/ ‘wear-not’,
 - ?/ne-N/ ‘sleep-not’ and /ne-ra-N/,
 - ?/oki-N/ ‘get up-not’ and /oki-ra-N/, and
 - /tabe-N/ ‘eat-not’ and */tabe-ra-N/.

- (5) If the verbal stem consists only of one CV sequence, then their shorter negative forms with the stem vowel /i/ are sound worse than the others with the stem vowel /e/.
- */ki-N/ ‘wear-not’, */mi-N/ ‘watch-not’ and */ni-N/ ‘resemble-not’
 - ?/ne-N/ ‘sleep-not’, ?/he-N/ ‘pass-not’ and ?/de-N/ ‘go out-not’

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A theoretical inconsistency in 'reanalysis' and 'overgenerations'

morph. group	C-final	/e/-final	/i/-final	strong base	
V. Stem#Affix	oka#N	ne#N	ki#N	ko#N	se#N

Table: The 'conjugation' analysis of negative forms for Saga western dialect

(6) Verbal Root – Theme Vowel # Affix
Verbal Stem

morph. group	C-final	/e/-final	/i/-final	strong base	
VR-TV # Affix	ok-a#N	ne#N	ki#N	k-o#N	s-e#N

Table: The pattern of Root-Theme Vowel and Affix of negative forms in Saga western dialect

The ongoing research of Sasaki 2012 proposes a 'reanalysis' of a theme vowel and an affix as another morpheme of the affix.

(7) Verbal Root # Reanalyzed Affix

morph. group	C-final	/e/-final	/i/-final	strong base	
V. Root#Reanalyzed Affix	ok#aN	ne#N	ki#N	k#oN	s#eN

Table: The pattern of Root and Affix of negative forms in Saga western dialect

- It is stipulated that the reanalysis only applies to those verbal forms with the verbal root consisting of more than one phoneme. The reanalyzed morpheme of the negative affix is /aN/.
- Then, he uses 'analogy' of the /r/-insertion at the negative affix, /raN/ from /aN/, to that of the 'non-past' affix, /ru/ from /u/.
- There is no examination of why not the forms of the pattern of the root plus the theme vowel, for example, /oka/ /ko/ and /se/, combine with the reanalyzed morpheme of the affix /raN/.

- Sasaki's 2012 point out of the theme vowels in case of the consonant-final base verbs as a part of the affix is valuable, and yet the 'reanalysis' nullifies the conjugation, in effect letting another allomorph /aN/ be created for the negative affix.
- If such an analysis like Sasaki's 2012 reanalysis is necessary in order to explain phenomena like the extra /ra/ in the negative forms in the 'conjugation' framework, then it will mean that the conjugation framework will not be appropriate to Japanese.

Inadequacies of an extension of Kobayashi 1995 to Japanese-Saga western dialect

- Sasaki's 2012 use of Ito 1990 is valuable for the phenomena of Japanese-Saga western dialect (as Koga and Ono 2010 uses Ito 1990 for the 'non-past' forms of Japanese-Yanagawa dialect).
- Sasaki's 2012 use of Kobayashi's 1995 instability of the syllabic nasal as the negative affix is on the right track, and it is yet not adequate for explaining the phenomena of Japanese-Saga western dialect.

- (8) a. ?ne#N cf. ne#raN
b. *ki#N cf. ki#raN
- (9) a. tabe#N cf. *tabe#raN
b. ?oki#N cf. oki#raN

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A 'conjugation'-free framework

- The leading idea of Kiyose 1995 is that differently from the inflectional languages, every affix, which is a remnant of adjective or verb, immediately follows the verbal stem in question if it is a head-final language.
- Every 'thematic vowel' in the conjugation assumption, which is the rest of the verbal stem minus its root, is analyzed as a part of the affix in Kiyose 1995.⁴ There is no conjugation in this framework.

⁴The basic allomorphs of the strong base verbs are /ko/ for /k/ 'come' and /se/ for /s/ 'do' in Kiyose 1995.

Allomorphs of affixes and verbal stems

- (10) Every affix is associated with two allomorphs: one beginning with a vowel and the other beginning with a consonant (Kiyose 1995), as the possible patterns of the two allomorphs of each affix are given in (11).
- (11) a. Pattern I: $V[C\dots]_i$ and $[C\dots]_j$
b. Pattern II: $C[V\dots]_k$ and $[V\dots]_k$

Morphological specifications of allomorphs

Extending morphological specifications of allomorphs of verbal lexemes by Koga and Ono 2010 and Koga 2012, we propose:

- (12) The grammar of the agglutinative language Japanese specifies morphological features of the allomorphs of every affix and every verbal lexeme with more than one allomorph, by two dimensions: one, derivationhood and two, length.
- The feature SFORM specification indicates whether the allomorph is basic one (*basic*) or one derived from the basic (*adjstd*).
 - The feature LENGTH specification indicates whether the allomorph is the longer (*longer*) or the shorter (*shorter*).

- (13) The basic allomorphs are i) the morphemes of original verbs or adjectives in case of the affixes and ii) the stems selected by the past affix and the infinitive complementizer in case of the verbal lexemes.⁵

It follows that the basic allomorph of the negative affix in Japanese-Saga western dialect is /N/, and the derived one is /aN/.⁶

⁵We depart here from Kiyose 1995. Kiyose 1995 assumes that /ko/ is the basic allomorph for the verbal lexeme /k(o)/ ‘come’, and /se/ is the basic allomorph for the verbal lexeme /s(e)/ ‘do’.

⁶The basic allomorph of the ‘non-past’ affix is /u/, and the derived one is /ru/. The basic allomorph of the causative is /sase/, and the derived one is /ase/. The basic allomorphs of the imperative affix are /e-(yo)/, and the derived ones are /ro-(yo)/. See footnote 7 for the allomorphs of the past affix.

$$\left[\text{STEMS} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stems} \\ \text{SFORM} \textit{ basic} \\ \text{LENGTH} \textit{ shorter} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Figure: The morphological specification of the allomorph /k/ ‘come’ (Koga and Ono 2010)

$$\left[\text{STEMS} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stems} \\ \text{SFORM} \textit{ adjstd} \\ \text{LENGTH} \textit{ longer} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Figure: The morphological specification of the allomorph /ko/ ‘come’ (Koga 2012)

$$\left[\text{STEMS} \begin{array}{l} \text{STEMS} \begin{array}{l} \textit{stems} \\ \text{SF} \text{FORM} \textit{ basic} \\ \text{LENGTH} \textit{ longer} \end{array} \end{array} \right]$$

Figure: The morphological specification of the allomorphs like /ne/ 'sleep' and /tabe/ 'eat' (Koga 2012)

$$\left[\text{STEMS} \begin{array}{l} \text{STEMS} \begin{array}{l} \textit{stems} \\ \text{SF} \text{FORM} \textit{ adjstd} \\ \text{LENGTH} \textit{ shorter} \end{array} \end{array} \right]$$

Figure: The morphological specification of the allomorphs like /n/ 'sleep' and /tab/ 'eat' (Koga and Ono 2010)

The allomorph of the negative affix /N/ contains the morphological specification of that represented in Figure 5, and the other allomorph /aN/ contains that represented in Figure 6.

$$\left[\text{STEMS} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stems} \\ \text{SFORM} \textit{ basic} \\ \text{LENGTH} \textit{ shorter} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Figure: The morphological specification of the allomorph /N/ ‘not’

$$\left[\text{STEMS} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{stems} \\ \text{SFORM} \textit{ adjstd} \\ \text{LENGTH} \textit{ longer} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Figure: The morphological specification of the allomorph /aN/ ‘not’

Architecture of grammar, similar to that in Lee 2004

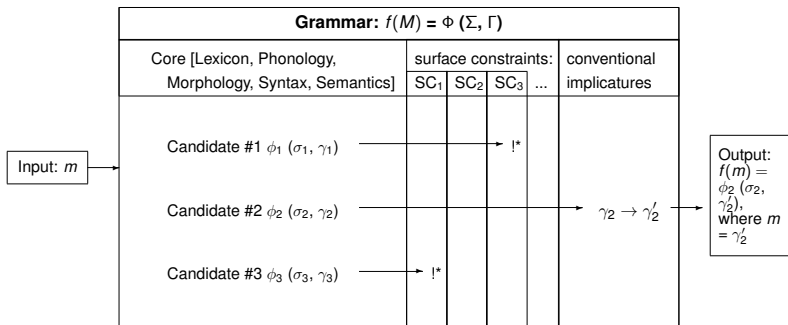


Figure: The assumed architecture of grammar

Another allomorph associated in morphology

- (14) Another allomorph of an affix is associated with the longer allomorph, the same as an allomorph except for a juncture consonant or vowel present at the end of the non-head direction (or at the beginning for the head-final language Japanese).

- (15) a. $C_{\text{Juncture}}-V[C\dots]_i$,
 where the affix is also associated with $V[C\dots]_i$ and
 maybe, $[C\dots]_i$. E.g., *CaN*, *Ce-(yo)*
- b. $V_{\text{Juncture}}-C[V\dots]_k$,
 where the affix is also associated with $C[V\dots]_k$ and
 maybe, $[V\dots]_k$. E.g., *Vru*, *Vro-(yo)*, *Vsase*⁷

⁷ The allomorphs of the past affix, /ita/ and /ta/, have been leveled to /ta/ except in the case of the verbal stems ending with /s/. The juncture vowel for /Vta/ would be /i/ in order to analyze, for example, /kaita/ 'wrote' for /kak-ta/ and /oyoida/ 'swam' for /oyog-ta/.

- (16) The juncture consonant for the affixes is the default one of the language. The default consonant of Japanese is the weakest one, or the dental liquid /r/ (Nasukawa 2005:248).⁸

It follows that the newly associated allomorph of the negative affix is /raN/ ‘not’.

⁸The juncture vowel, on the other hand, is one associated with the affix in question, for example, the first occurring vowel of the basic allomorph of the affix, or others

Selections by the newly associated allomorph of the negative affix /raN/

- (17) A morphological phrase identifies a verbal stem and an affix as a verbal form if the verbal stem satisfies the requirement for its morphological complement by the affix, where the affix may be zero. ⁹

Tense

Non-Head^{Neg} Head

V[bse] Neg

⁹We assume that the juncture between a verbal stem and an affix is either C#V or V#C. The pattern of C#C is used except for the case avoiding /s#/ in the juncture if the affix is the past affix because of its leveling. See footnote 7.

(18) The negative affix selects the longer allomorph of a verbal lexeme. (Koga 2012).¹⁰

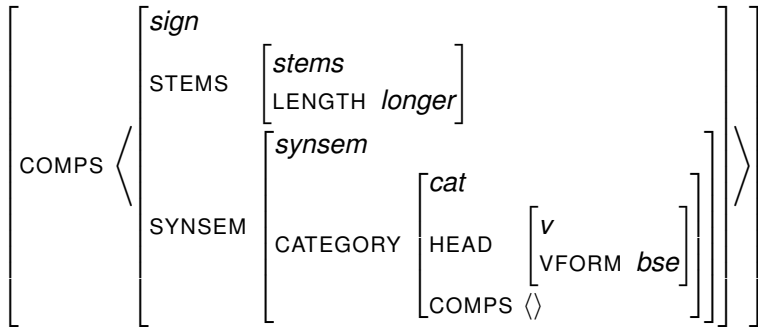


Figure: The morphological complement of the negative affix /N/

¹⁰See Koga and Ono 2010 for an analysis of the ‘non-past’ affix as the tense expletive that selects the shorter allomorphs.

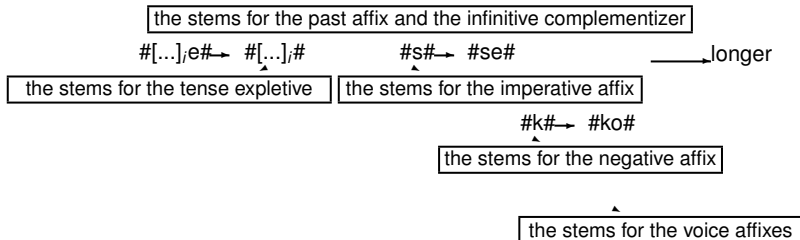


Figure: The verbal stem dependency of Japanese-Saga western dialect (Koga 2012)

- (19) The adjusted allomorph of an affix does not select the adjusted allomorph of a verbal lexeme.

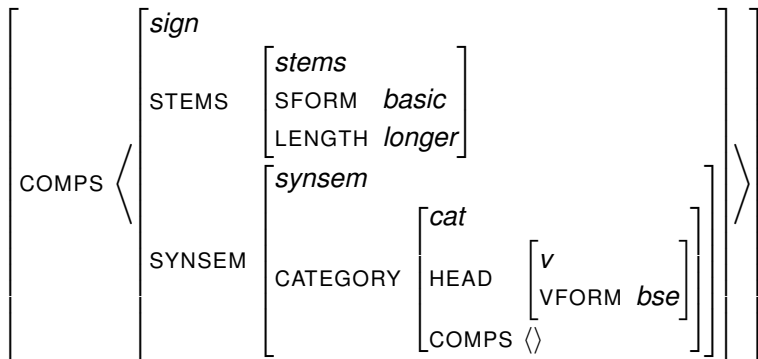


Figure: The morphological complement of the negative affix /raN/

The core components of the grammar ‘generate’ some forms (or allow them as grammatical), as in Table 6 and like /oki#raN/ ‘get up-not’ and */tabe#raN/ ‘eat-not’, and do not ‘generate’ other forms (or disallow them as ungrammatical), as not in (20) and (21).

m-group	C-final	/e/-final	/i/-final	strong base	
Verbal Stem-Negative Affix	ok#aN	ne#N	ki#N	ko#N	se#N

Table: ‘Conjugation’-free analysis of negative forms for Saga western dialect

- (20) a. *n#aN
b. *tab#aN
c. *k#aN
d. *s#aN
- (21) a. *ko#raN
b. *se#raN

Surface constraints #1, Ito 1990, and #2, Kobayashi 1995

- (22) a. The prosodic structure of every tensed verbal form is longer than one syllable with at least the nucleus and the coda filled, or one heavy syllable.
- b. Its violation has effect on native speakers' judgments to judge the form 50% inappropriate.

- ?/ne-N/ [neN] ‘sleep-not’

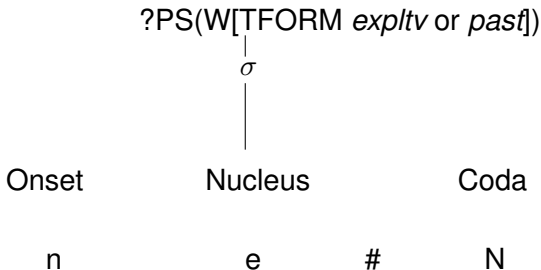


Figure: The PS of the negative verbal form ?/ne-N/ ‘sleep-not’

- ?/de-N/ [deN] ‘go out-not’
- ?/heN/ [heN] ‘past [time]-not’

- /heN/ [heN] ‘strange’
- /ake-N/ [a.keN] ‘open-not’ as in *He opens the door*
- /tome-N/ [to.meN] ‘stop-not’
- */ki-N/ [kiN] ‘wear-not’
- */ni-N/ [niN] ‘resemble-not’
- */mi-N/ [miN] ‘look at-not’
- /ko-N/ [koN] ‘come-not’
- /se-N/ [seN] ‘do-not’

Revising Kobayashi 1995 in order for Japanese-Saga western dialect, we propose:

- (23) a. If the morpheme of the affix is one consonant or vowel, a verbal form will be avoided if the segment of a verbal stem and the morpheme of an affix in its boundary are not distinctively audible.
- b. ? ... $\underbrace{[high+][back-]}_{\text{verbal stem}} \# N$ (syllabic nasal)
Neg
- c. Its violation has effect on native speakers' judgments to judge the form 50% inappropriate.

My speculation is that the place where the tongue for the [+high -back] vowel is raised and the point of articulation where the air flow stopped by the tongue for the syllabic nasal /N/ are too close for each to be distinctively audible.

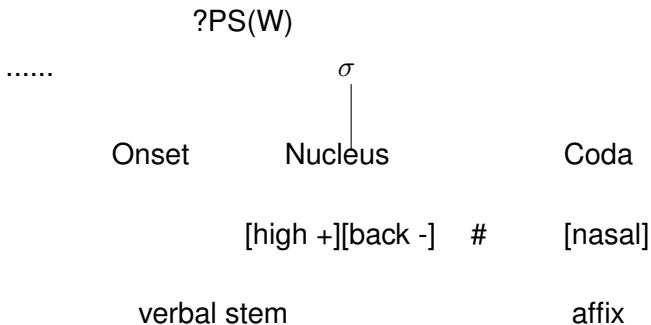


Figure: An inappropriate syllable structure of a boundary between a verbal stem and the negative affix /N/

Surface constraint #3: no juncture element without motivation

- (24) If and only if the verbal stem with the shorter allomorph of the affix is NOT appropriate, the verbal form with another allomorph of the affix adjusted with the juncture consonant or vowel present at the initial will be grammatical.

- (25) The inviolability ranking among the given three surface constraints is *JunctWTOMoti >> ProsMini, ?...i#N.

The surface constraints exclude some grammatical forms, and allow others to be appropriate or marginal.

	[[V Neg] T]	S ₃	S ₁	S ₂		[[V Neg] T]	S ₃	S ₁	S ₂
☞	?ne#N ne#raN		*		☞	tabe#N *tabe#raN	*!		
☞	*ki#N ki#raN		*	*!	☞	?oki#N oki#raN			*
☞	ko#N		*						
☞	se#N		*						

Table: Negative Affix' Selections of Verbal Stems

S₁: ProsMini

S₂: ?...i#N

S₃: *JunctWTOMoti






Conclusion



- Our proposal explained why the extra /ra/ occurs in the verbal negative forms in Japanese-Saga western dialect. Prosodic minimality and verbal stem-affix distinct audibility prevent some verbal stems of CV from being suffixed with the negative affix /N/. Morphology associates the longer allomorph /aN/ with the same except for the default consonant present at its initial /raN/. The verbal stems, prevented from being suffixed with /N/ ‘not’, are suffixed with /raN/ ‘not’. That is, [...i#raN] occurs in place of [...i#N]. The longer verbal form [CV]#raN occurs in place of [CV]#N. All the so-called ‘extra-/ra/’s in the negative forms in Saga western dialect are explained in the ‘conjugation’-free framework.

Implications

- The proposed restrictive and falsifiable grammar, including OT-like accounts with the uses of violable surface constraints, along the line of researches of Koga and Ono 2010 and Koga 2012, can explain the verbal negative forms in Saga western dialect.
- Koga and Ono's 2010 and Koga's 2012 morphological feature specification of the allomorphs of verbal lexemes and affixes in derivationhood and length is valid for explaining the negative forms.
- Most affixes of the agglutinative language Japanese are associated with two allomorphs. Some affix may be associated with three allomorphs for prosodic and phonological reasons in verbal forms.

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