

On *Ni/E* Alternation and Change of Location in Japanese¹

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Abstract

This paper discusses two groups of verbs in Japanese: (i) verbs that allow alternations between *ni* “Dative/Locative” and *e* “Goal” case markers, and (ii) verbs without *ni/e* alternations. I claim that noun phrases with *ni* “Dat”/ *e* “Loc” markers are arguments of the achievement verbs, often of transfer, that allow *ni/e* alternation. In contrast, *ni* “Loc”/ *e* “Loc” marked phrases are adjuncts with stative unaccusative or transitive achievement verbs without *ni/e* alternations. *E* “goal” is more concerned with the physical direction of the goal (Kaiser et al. (2013)) although *ni* and *e* are often interchangeable (Tanaka and Matsumoto (1997)). While the allative case marker *e* entails change of location and does not entail arrival, *ni* refers to a goal/location and entails arrival.

Keywords: *adjunct, unaccusativity, event, arrival, necessary condition*

1. Puzzle

This paper discusses the following examples:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|--------|---------------|
| (1) | Karen-ga | eki- ni/e | it-ta | (koto) | [achievement] |
| | Karen-Nom | station-Dat/Loc | go-Past | fact | |
| | “Karen went to the station.” | | | | |
| (2) | Inu-ga | kainushi- ni/*e | ni-ta | (koto) | [achievement] |
| | dog-Nom | owner-Dat/Loc | resemble-Past | fact | |
| | “The dog resembled the owner.” | | | | |

It is a puzzle why verbs such as *ik* “go” allow both dative *ni*-NP and locative *e*-NP as in (1) while other verbs like *nir* “resemble” do not allow *e*-NP in (2). This paper addresses the following questions: i) What makes *ni/e* alternation present/absent?, ii) Do any distinct verb classes exist?, iii) Is there any distinct syntactic behavior?, and iv) What is the semantic difference between (non)alternation verbs?

2. Classification

According to Kuno (1973), NP-*ni* “Dat” indicates that the NP is the goal of the motion designated by the verb. On the other hand, NP-*e* “Goal” is more concerned with the physical direction of the goal (Kaiser et al. (2013)) although *ni* and *e* are often interchangeable (Tanaka and Matsumoto (1997)).

With verbs of motion *e* can be used to instead of *ni* to mark a core case (dative of direction). Whereas *ni* indicates the goal of a motion, *e* is said to be concerned more

with the direction towards the goal, but in practice two are often interchangeable.

(Kaiser et al. (2013: 72))

Ni and *e* can be swapped when they occur with certain classes of verbs such as (3)-(12) below, while other classes of verbs do not allow alternations, like (13)-(46).

In Table 1, A group lists verbs that allow *ni/e* alternations while B group does not. The intransitive verbs in A1 group, as shown in (3)-(8), are verbs of transfer such as *go*, *return*, *throw*, *come out*, *climb up*, *enter*, *drop* and *proceed*; these allow both *ni* and *e*. Considering that *e* is directional (Teramura (1992)), this is not surprising. Floating quantifiers (FQ) are marginally allowed with *ni*-case, as exemplified in (3b), (4b), (6c) and (7c). Direct passives are not acceptable, and only indirect (adversative/adversity/affective) passives are possible as shown in (6b) and (7b) (Howard (1968), Kuno (1973), McCawley (1972), Imai (1998)).

On the other hand, (9)-(12) in A2 group are verbs that do not allow *e*, and more stative. While direct passives are allowed as in (12b), FQs are not acceptable as illustrated in (9b) and (11b). The verbs in A group are all achievement verbs according to Vendler's verb classification (Vendler (1957), Dowty (1979)).

	ni/e alternation		no ni/e alternation	
groups	A1	A2	B1	B2
transitivity	intransitive	transitive	intransitive	transitive
aspect	achievement		state	achievement
alignment	unergative		unaccusative	unergative
FQ	?ni/*e	*	*	*
direct passive	*	OK	*	OK
change of location	yes		no	
verbs	ik "go" kaer "return" der "go out" nobor "climb" hair "enter" shingaku-sur "enroll"	nager "throw" nagekom "throw in" horikom "damp in" otos "drop" okurikom "send"	ar "exist" nir "resemble" ochiir "fall" umarer "born" ukab "float" sakara "rebel" maker "lose" nurer "get.wet" nor "appear (in newspaper)" utsur "reflect" seichosur "grow" sum "live" a "meet" tats "stand" suwar "sit" chakusekisur "get.seated" tomar "stay" doisur "agree" norikom "ride" hashiridas "start.running"	oki-wasurer "leave" waker "divide" kazar "decorate" yukaisur "kidnap" nyuryokusur "input" mazer "mix" tsuker "park" bunkai-sur "disassemble" tsuke-tas "add" chunyu-suru "insert" kak "write" karir "borrow" nor "ride" egak "draw/illustrate"

Table 1. Classification of verbs based on *ni/e* alternation

A. Verbs with ni/e alternations: X(goal)(theme?)(agent)

A.1. Unergatives X(location) (agent)

achievement

(3) a. Karen-ga (*5-fun-de) eki-ni/e it-ta (koto) [achievement]
 Karen-Nom 5-minute-by station-Dat/Loc go-Past fact
 “Karen went to the station (within five minutes).” go(location)(agent)

b. Karen-ga fiirudo asurechikku-ni/e 2-kasho it-ta.
 Karen-Nom field athletics-Dat/Loc 2-Cl go-Past
 “Karen went to two field athletics.”

(4) a. Karen-ga 30-pun-de ie-ni/e kaet-ta (koto) [achievement]
 Karen-Nom 30-minutes-by home-Dat/Loc return-Past fact
 “Karen returned home in 30 min.” return(goal)(agent)

b. Watari-dori-ga su-[?]ni/*e 2-kasho kaet-ta.
 migratory-bird-Nom nest- Dat/Loc 2-Cl return-Past
 “Migratory birds returned to two nests.”

(5) Watashi-mo roka-ni/e de-ta. [achievement]
 I-also corridor-Dat/Loc come.out-Past
 “I also came out to the corridor.”

(e-example is from BCCWJ LBi9_00192, via Chunagon search of “noun+e+verb” sequences)
 come-out(goal)(agent)

(6) a. Yama-ni/e (1-jikan-*(de)) nobor-e-ta. [achievement]
 mountain-Dat/Loc 1-hour-by climb-can-Past
 “(I) was able to climb the mountain ((within) one hour).” (e-example, ibid. PB29_00130)
 climb(goal)(agent)

b. Fuji-san-ga kanko-kyaku-ni noborare-ta.
 Fuji-mt.-Nom tourism-guest-Dat climb-Past
 “Mt Fuji was climbed by tourists.”

c. Tozanka-ga yama-ni/e 2-yama nobot-ta.
 climber-Nom mountain-Dat/Loc 2-Cl climb-Past
 “The climbers climbed two mountains.”

(7) a. Karen-ga o-furo-ni/e hait-ta. [activity]
 Karen-Nom Hon-bath-Dat/Loc enter-Past
 “Karen took the bath (lit. enter the bath).” enter(location)(agent)

b. Onsen-gakanko-kyaku-ni hai-rare-ta.
 spa-Nom tourism.guest-Dat enter-Pass-Past
 “The spa was used by tourists.”

c. Karen-ga onsen-^{OK}ni/*e 2-kasho hait-ta.
 Karen-Nom spa-Dat/Loc 2-Cl enter-Past
 “Karen went to two spas.”

(8) Karen-ga daigaku-ni/e 1-nen-kan-*(de) shingakushi-ta.

[accomplishment]

Karen-Nom university-Dat/Loc 1-year-period-by enroll-Past
 “Karen enrolled a university.” enroll(location)(agent)

A.2. Transitives X(loc)(theme)(agent)

- (9) a. Karen-ga boru-o goru-ni/e 5-fun **nage-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom ball-Acc goal-Dat/Loc 5-min throw-Past
 “Karen threw a ball toward the goal.”
- b. *Pureya-ga boru-o goru-ni/e 2-kasho nage-ta.
 player-Nom ball-Acc goal-Dat/Loc 2-Cl throw-Past
 “The player threw the ball into two goals.”
 throw(goal)(theme)(agent)
- (10) Karen-ga jagaimo-o nabe-ni/e **hori-kon-da.** [activity]
 Karen-Nom potatoe-Acc pot-Dat/Loc throw-in-Past
 “Karen threw potatoes into the pot.” throw(goal)(theme)(agent)
- (11) a. Kutsu-o dobu-ni/e **otoshi-ta.** [achievement]
 shoe-Acc ditch-Dat/Loc drop-Past
 “(I) dropped the shoes into a ditch.” drop(goal)(theme)(agent)
- b. *Karen-ga kutsu-o dobu-ni/e 2-kasho otoshi-ta.
 Karen-Nom shoe-Acc ditch-Dat/Loc 2-Cl drop-Past
 “Karen dropped her shoes into two ditches.”
- (12) a. Karen-ga (suieki)-o junishicho-ni/e **okurikon-da.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom pancreatic.juice-Acc duodenum-Dat/Loc send-Past
 “Karen sent pancreatic juice into the duodenum.” (PB14_00126)
 send(goal)(theme)(agent)
- b. Suieki-ga junishicho-ni/e okurikom-are-da. [achievement]
 pancreatic.juice-Nom duodenum-Dat/Loc send-Pass-Past
 “Pancreatic juice was sent into the duodenum.”

In contrast, the following B groups do not allow ni/e alternations. The verbs in B1 group neither passivize nor allow FQs.

B. Verbs without ni/e alternations: X(location)(theme)

B.1. Unaccusatives: X(theme)

- (13) Hon-ga soko-ni/*e **at-ta.** [state]
 book-Nom there-Dat/Loc be-Past
 “The book was there.” exist(location)(theme)
- (14) Karen-ga (1-pun-de) yumeijin-ni/*e **ni-ta** (koto)[achievement]
 Karen-Nom (1-minute-by) celebrity-Dat/Loc resemble-Past fact
 “Karen came to resemble a celebrity (in a minute).” resemble(goal)(theme)
- (15) Karen-ga 1-pun-de/kan sakkaku-ni/*e **ochiit-ta** koto [achievement]

- Karen-Nom 1-minute-by/for illusion-Dat/Loc fall-Past fact
 “Karen cherished the illusion in/for a minute.” fall(location)(theme)
- (16) (Karen-ga) Okayamaken-ni/*e **umare-ta** (koto). [achievement]
 Karen-Nom Okayama Prefecture-Dat/Loc born-Past fact
 “(Karen) was born in Okayama Prefecture.” (OT31_00016) be-born(location)(theme)
- (17) Karen-ga 5-fun-de/*kan aidia-ga atama-ni/*e **ukan-da** (koto)
 [achievement]
 Karen-Nom 5-minute-by/for idea-Nom head-Dat/Loc float-Past fact
 “Karen came up with an idea within/*for five minutes.”
 come-out(location)(theme)
- (18) Jibun-ni/*e **sakarau-mono** [achievement]
 self-Dat/Loc rebel-person
 “those against you” (OB1X_00190)
 rebel(theme)(agent)
- (19) Hanshin-wa Kyojin-ni/*e **make-ta.** [achievement]
 Hanshin-Top Kyojin-Dat/Loc lose-Past
 “Hanshin Tigers was defeated by Kyojin Giants.” (ibid.)
 lose(agent)(patient)
- (20) Taro-ga ame-ni/*e **nure-ta** (koto) [achievement]
 Taro-Nom rain-Dat/Loc wet-Past fact
 “Taro became wet with rain.” get-wet(instrument)(theme)
- (21) Karen-ga shumatsu-no yukan-ni/*e **not-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom weekend-Gen evening.newspaper-Dat/Loc be.put.in-Past
 “Karen was on the evening news on the weekend.” put in(location)(theme)
- (22) June Kay-no kao-ga suimen-ni/*e **utsut-ta.** [achievement]
 June Kay-Gen face-Nom surface-Dat/Loc reflect-Past
 “June Kay’s face is reflected on the surface.”
 (PB59_00290, Chunagon search for “NP-ni NP” sequence)
 reflect(location)(theme)
- (23) Karen-ga otona-ni/*e **seichoshi-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom adult-Dat/Loc grow-Past
 “Karen grew into an adult.” grow(goal)(theme)
- (24) Karen-ga (1-nen-kan) Tokyo-ni/*e **sun-da** (koto) [activity]
 Karen-Nom 1-year-for Tokyo-Dat/Loc live-Past fact
 “Karen lived in Tokyo (for a year)” live(location)(agent)
- (25) Karen-ga shiriai-ni/*e (guzen) **at-ta** (koto) [activity]
 Karen-Nom acquaintance-Dat/Loc by chance meet-Past fact
 “Karen ran into an acquaintance by chance.” meet(theme)(agent)
- (26) Karen-ga 1-jikan(-de) yama-no teppen-ni/*e **tat-ta** koto
 [accomplishment/activity]

- Karen-Nom 1-hour-by mountain-Gen top-Dat/Loc stand-Past fact
 “Karen stood at the top of the mountain in/for one hour.” stand(location)(agent)
- (27) Karen-ga isu-ni/*e **suwat-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom chair-Dat/Loc sit-Past
 “Karen sat on a chair.” sit(goal)(agent)
- (28) Karen-ga isu-ni/*e **chakuseki-shi-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom chair-Dat/Loc sit-do-Past
 “Karen sat on a chair.” sit(goal)(agent)
- (29) Karen-ga hoteru-ni/*e **tomat-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom hotel-Dat/Loc stay-Past
 “Karen stayed in a hotel.” stay(location)(agent)
- (30) Karen-ga teian-ni/*e **doishi-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom proposal-Dat/Loc agree-Past
 “Karen agreed to the proposal.” agree(theme)(experiencer)
- (31) Kare-ga gokato-ni/*e **norikommu-no-o mi-ta.** [achievement]
 he-Nom go-cart-Dat/Loc get.in-Gen-Acc see-Past
 “I saw him get into a go-cart.” hop in(goal)(agent)
- (32) Meros-wa Atene-ni/*e-mukete **hashiridashi-ta.** [achievement]
 Melos-Top Athens-Dat/Loc-for start running-Past
 “Melos started running toward Athens.” start running(goal)(agent)

B.2. Transitives X(theme)(agent), no FQ but passivizable

- (33) a. (Karen-ga) taisetsuna shinamono-o ie-no-naka-ni/*e **okiwasure(-ta).**
 [achievement]
 Karen-Nom important goods-Acc home-Gen-inside-Dat/Loc leave-Past
 “(Karen) left important goods at home.” (e-example, LBJ9_00190)
 leave(location)(theme)(experiencer)
- b. Shinamono-ga okiwasure-rare-ta.
 goods-Nom leave-Pass-Past
 “Goods were left behind.”
- (34) Karen-ga keki-o 2-tsu-ni/*e **wake-ta.** [achievement]
 Karen-Nom cake-Acc 2-Cl-Dat/Loc divide-Past
 “Karen cut the cake in half.” divide(goal)(theme)(agent)
- (35) (Karen-ga) borubuke-o kaijo-no iriguchi-ni/*e **kaza(t-ta).**
 [achievement]
 ball bouquet-Acc hall-Gen entrance-Dat/Loc decorate-Past
 “(Karen) placed a bouquet at the entrance of the hall.” (PM41_00925)
 decorate(goal)(theme)(agent)
- (36) Hannin-ga hitojichi-o kokugai-ni/*e **yukai-shi-ta.** [achievement]
 suspect-Nom hostage-Acc abroad-Dat/Loc kidnap-Past

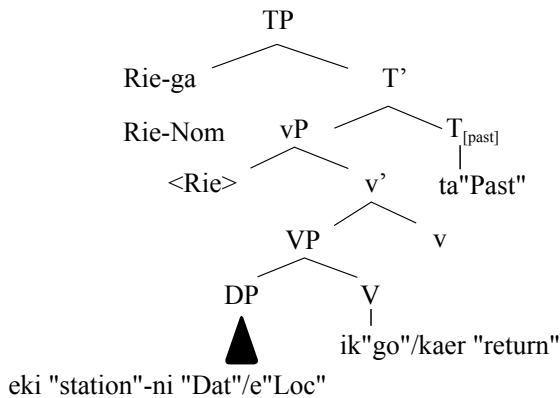
Even though passivization is allowed for the alternation class, passivization is impossible for many verbs without *ni/e* alternations. According to the Unaccusative Hypothesis (Perlmutter (1978)), what appears to be the external argument of this class of verb is in fact base-generated as an internal argument of the verb or VP-complement so that passivization is not allowed.

Some may argue that verbs such as *sit* or *stay* allow passivization. However, what these predicates allow are better understood as “property reading”: even though a single event of sitting or staying does not allow passivization by the agent, multiple event reading allows passivization, as pointed out by the audience at MLF 2012.

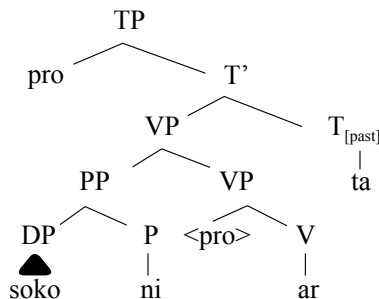
4. Syntax and Semantics

Therefore, the syntactic trees for both classes of verbs are assumed to be as in the following:

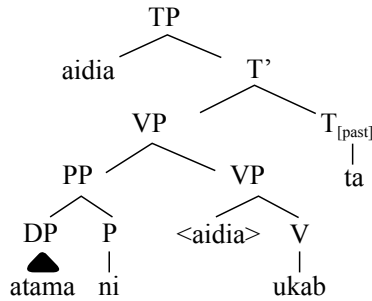
- (i) Alternation class: X(location)(theme)(agent)
(3-4)”



- (ii) No alternation class: X(theme): there is no CAUS v
(13)”



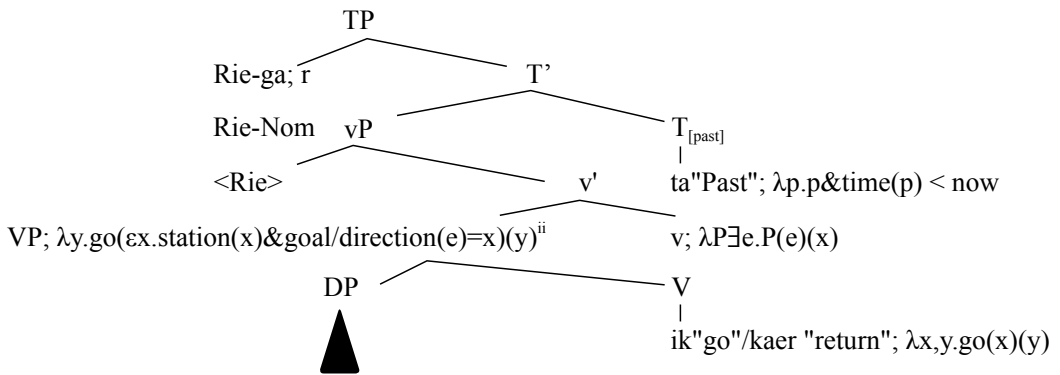
(17)''



Semantics

(i) Alternation class: X(location)(theme)(agent)

(3-4)''



eki "station"- ni "Dat"/"e"Loc"; $\text{ex.station}(x) \ \& \ \text{goal/direction}(e) = x$

$\text{ex.station}(x) \ \lambda x.x \ \& \ \text{goal}(e) = x/\lambda x.x \ \& \ \text{direction}(e) = x$

5. The Meaning of *E* and *Ni*

While *e* “Loc” is said to be directional, *ni* “Dat” focuses on arrival (Tanaka and Matsumoto (1997), Kayser et al (2000)). In this section, I will further argue that *ni* semantically entails arrival while *e* does not. In view of the semantic characteristics of unaccusative verbs—verbs of existence, verbs of appearance and verbs of change of state (Levin and Rappaport (1995))—, stativity is expected. With respect to the directionality of *e* “Goal,” change of location is the necessary condition for the use of *e*.

5.1. Entailment of Arrival

Although *e* does not entail arrival, *ni* refers to a goal and entails arrival as (47-49) indicate.

- (47) Jun-wa ie-**ni*/^{*e*} kaet-ta-ga mada tsui-tei-nai.
 Jun-Top home-Dat-to return-Past-but yet arrive-Prog-Neg

“Although Jun left to return home, he has not yet arrived there.”

- (48) Boru-o goru-**ni*/^{*ni*}-mukatte/^{*e*} nage-ta-ga todoka-nakat-ta.

- ball-Acc goal-Dat/Dat-toward/Goal throw-Past-but reach-Neg-Past
 “I threw the ball toward the goal but it did not reach it.”
- (49) Nihontaishikan-[/]ni/[/]ni-mukatte/[/]e obutsuiri pettobotoru-o
 Japan.embassy-Dat/Dat-toward/Goal with.excrement PET.bottle-Acc
 nageru-ga todoka-zu.
 throw-but reach-Neg
 “threw a PET bottle containing excrement toward the Japanese Embassy but it did not reach it.”

(e-example, toriton.blog2.fc2.com/blog-entry-2020.html, via Google)

Without consideration of the event semantics (Davidson (1967)), the semantic entries for each lexical item in the sentence (50) would be as in (51). The composition requires application of the Predicate Modification to compose the predicate *suwaru* “sit” and the dative phrase *isu-ni* “on the chair” which are both predicate types (Heim and Kratzer (1998)).

- (50) Naomi-ga isu-ni suwaru.
 Naomi-Nom chair-Dat sit
 “Naomi sits on the chair.”
- (51) [] Naomi [] = n
 [] suwaru “sit” [] = $\lambda x.sit(x)$
 [] isu “chair” [] = $\epsilon x.chair(x)$ ⁱⁱ
 [] ni “DAT” [] = $\lambda x,y.in(x)(y)$
 [] isu-ni “on the chair” [] = $\lambda y.in(\epsilon x.chair)(y)$

Given the entailment of arrival, the semantics of *ni* should incorporate the event and time. In application of Neo-Davidsonian semantics, there is an additional event argument with the predicate *sit* (Davidson (1967), Parsons (1990)). At time of event, the location of Naomi should be on the chair.

- (52) [] suwaru “sit” [] = $\lambda x,e.sit(x)(e)$
 [] isu-ni “on the chair” [] = $\lambda y,e.[in(\epsilon x.chair)(y)(e) \ \& \ in(\epsilon x.chair)(y) \ \text{at } t \ \text{where } time(e) = t]$
 [] isu-ni suwaru “sit on the chair” [] = $\lambda x,e.sit(x)(e) \ \& \ in(\epsilon x.chair)(y)(e) \ \& \ in(\epsilon x.chair)(y) \ \text{at } t \ \text{where } time(e) = t]$

5.2. Change of Location for the Alternation Class

On the other hand, *e* should be used only with a change of location.

- (53) JR-e/ni hairu-no-wa kodomo-no-koro-kara-no yume-dat-ta.
 JR-to/Dat join-Gen-Top child-Gen-time-from-Gen dream-be-Past
 “Joining JR has been a dream from my childhood.”

The speaker of (53) had evidently not been at JR before he joined them; thus, his location changes from elsewhere to JR. In (54), the ball had not reached the goal before being kicked by Jun.

- (54) Jun-wa boru-o goru-e/ni ket-ta.
 Jun-Top ball-Acc goal-to/Dat kick-Past

“Jun kicked the ball toward the goal.”

- (55) Jun-wa suwat-teiru isu-ni/*e suwat-ta.
 Jun-Top sit-Prog chair-Dat/Loc sit-Past

“Jun sat on the chair he was sitting on.”

In contrast, the verbs with no alternations in (13)-(46) are more stative. On this basis, I would like to formalize the necessary condition for the use of *e*.

(56)[(54)] = 1 if $\neg \text{in}(y)(x)(t) \ \& \ \text{ball}(x) \ \& \ \text{goal}(e) = y \ \& \ t < t_i \ \& \ \text{time}(e) = t_i \ \& \ \text{kick}(e)$,
 undefined otherwise.

(56) is true if the ball was not in the goal prior to the time when the event of kicking occurred (cf. Davidson (1967)).

6. Conclusion

Since *e* “allative case marker” implies a change of location, *ni/e* alternation class verbs are agentive activity verbs, often of transfer. In contrast, no-alternation verbs are stative and often accusative predicates. In them, *ni* indicates arrival.

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Corpora

Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ), National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.
 Chunagon 1.05, <https://chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp/login>, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics.

Endnotes

- ⁱ I would like to thank the audience at MLF 2012 and ELSJ 38 Workshop for helpful suggestions.
- ⁱⁱ The application of the epsilon operator ε results in an arbitrary entity of type e .