日本語複動詞文における事象の概念化：事象的緊密性は単節性に関わるか

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Event Conceptualization in Japanese Multiverb Expressions: Is Event Packaging Related to the Monoclausality of its Linguistic Representation?

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Abstract

This study investigates the relationship between event packaging conceptualization and linguistic representation in specific Japanese multiverb sequences expressing successive Action + Motion events. Focusing on whether spatio-temporal continuity is required in monoclausal and biclausal structures, this study involves an empirical analysis with native Japanese speakers, examining how spatio-temporal interruptions, as well as the interpretation of the *te*-marked action verb in the sequence (resultative vs. perfective), influence the appropriateness of monoclausal converbal complex predicates versus their biclausal counterparts. The findings suggest that the monoclausal converbal complex predicate is disfavored, compared to its biclausal counterpart, when the spatiotemporal continuity of the event complex it represents is interrupted. Moreover, spatiotemporal continuity was found to be interrupted more in the monoclausal expressions with perfective V1s than it is with resultative V1s. This indicates that the choice of linguistic representation aligns with the cognitive processes of event segmentation and integration. This study extends the understanding of monoclausality beyond syntactic considerations and highlights its cognitive underpinnings. In addition, it introduces a novel experimental design using visual stimuli with spatio-temporal interruptions to test linguistic appropriateness, offering new insights into the conceptualizations of event packaging in Japanese. By linking language use to cognitive processes, this study provides a new perspective on how language structures represent events, revealing the cognitive foundations of linguistic structures.*

Keywords: event packaging conceptualization, monoclausality, V1 variations in complex predicates, Japanese converbal complex predicates, language-cognition mapping

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1. Introduction

This study investigates the relationship between events and their representations in language. This study takes Japanese converbal complex predicates (hereafter "JCCPs") and their biclausal counterparts that represent successive events as its focuses, investigating the connection between monoclausality of JCCPs and their event conceptualization as well as the relationship between V1 variations in JCCPs and their event packaging.

"Complex predicate" refers to the grammatical construction that "involves two or more predicational elements … [whose] arguments map onto a monoclausal syntactic structure" (Baker and Harvey 2010). "JCCP" in this paper refers to the construction with an action V1 and a motion V2, specifically *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go, leave', and *kaeru* 'return'. Examples of a JCCP and its biclausal counterpart are provided in (1) and (2).

(1) monoclausal *hon-o* *koko-ni* [*mot-te* *kita*].
book-ACC here-GOAL take-CONV come-PST
'I took books and came.'

(2) biclausal [*hon-o* *mot-te*], [*koko-ni* *kita*].
book-ACC take-CONV here-GOAL come-PST
'I carried/held books, and then came here.'

In the biclausal sentence (2) the verb *motsu* 'take' takes the object *hon* 'book' and the verb *kuru* 'come' takes a goal argument separately. In (1), the monoclausal nature of the complex predicate allows *motte kuru* to be taken as a whole, which allows the goal argument to appear between *motte* 'hold, take' and its object *hon* 'book'. Further details regarding monoclausality and its judgments are presented in Section 2.1.

When describing an event complex with two component events in successive relations, as in (1), how would one choose what kind of sentence to represent the event? How would this person conceptualize the event and express it in words? Furthermore, is the conceptualization process related to grammatical features such as monoclausality?

This study empirically explores the relationship between event conceptualization and its linguistic representation. By examining how clausehood and the semantics of participating verbs reflect event packaging, this study aims to reveal the mechanisms by which event complexes are represented. It differentiates between monoclausal and biclausal sentences and explores how different verbs contribute to language representation choices in the minds of native Japanese speakers.

2. Background

2.1 Japanese converbal complex predicates and their event conceptualization

Among the JCCPs that express successive events, V-*te iku* 'V and go' and V-*te kuru* 'V and come' are the most discussed. In these JCCPs, the V2s hold the most basic meaning of motion. In these cases, the V2s function as the main verb, not only syntactically but also in terms of meaning. Additionally, according to previous studies on the Japanese language, the V2 *kuru* in V-*te kuru* can also be grammaticalized as an inverse voice marker and an inchoative aspect marker, while *iku* in V-*te iku* can serve as an aspect marker for the successive or gradual occurrence of an event (Shibatani 2003, Teramura 1984, Imani 1990, Sakahara 1995, 2012, etc.). However, this study focuses on the basic motion meaning of V2, with an emphasis on successive readings of the event

complex.

Matsumoto (1996) reviews the characteristics of the JCCPs V-*te iku* and V-*te kuru*, focusing on their syntactic properties and features of monoclausality. According to Matsumoto, JCCPs form a syntactic unit, demonstrating monoclausality, which can be tested using the "*shika* + *nai*" test. This test asserts that the particle *shika* 'only' can be placed only in a phrase that is in the same clause as the negation (e.g., *nai* 'not') (Oyakawa 1975). When this test is applied, (3) is acceptable, while (4) is not, indicating that *sono hon* ('the book') and *iku* ('go') are in the same clause in (3), but not in (4).

(3) Taroo wa sono hon shika gakkoo ni motte ik-anakat-ta.
Taro Top the book school Goal have go-Neg-Past
'Taro brought only the book to school.'

(4) *Taroo wa [PRO sono hon shika motte] gakko ni ik-anakat-ta.
Taro Top the book take school Goal go-Neg-Past
'Taro went to school, taking only the book.' (intended reading)

(Matsumoto 1996: 240)

Matsumoto also mentioned the semantic constraints on the JCCPs, which indicate that JCCPs cannot have two or more locational arguments.

Discussing the many similarities between JCCPs and serial verb constructions (hereafter "SVCs"), Shibatani (2009) provides the following characteristics of JCCPs. First, JCCPs form units of phonological words. He demonstrates this by showing the pitch contours of the benefactive JCCP *te yaru* with its two phonological word readings and one phonological word reading. Second, JCCPs are monoclausal. He claims that JCCPs are not distinguishable from SVCs in terms of clausehood and argument sharing, a special kind of complex predicate which is explained in Section 2.3. However, Shibatani points out that the realization of JCCPs and SVCs has not yet been proven to be the same. This remains an unresolved issue with potential for new studies, and as such, explored in the current study.

Using a comparative framework, Shibatani and Chung (2007) scrutinize JCCPs and their parallel constructions in Korean. They propose grammaticalization patterns for JCCPs, and claim that grammaticalization is facilitated in the context in which there is less semantic congruity. Regarding the semantic differences between JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts, they mentioned that JCCPs such as *tabe-te kuru* 'eat and come' and *non-de kuru* 'drink and come', which hold less semantic congruity, lose their lexical property of expressing motion and cannot simply describe a single scene of someone moving toward the deictic center after eating, drinking, etc. without providing some relationships between the action and the motion, whereas their biclausal counterparts are deemed appropriate in the deictic motion reading. Matsumoto (1996) also reports the semantic differences between JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts and argues that, based on the condition that a participant of the semantic structure be shared by both verbs ("the shared participant condition"), one of the events must hold a determinative causal relation or be coextensive with a purpose/effect/result relation to the other event in a JCCP.

V-*te kaeru* 'return', although less mentioned, is also monoclausal. It passes the "*shika* + *nai*" test and follows the shared participant condition mentioned above. It is interpreted as biclausal when a pause is inserted between *te* and the V2 *kaeru*, and it has its own monoclausal accent

pattern, similar to the more discussed V-*te iku* and V-*te kuru*.

2.2 V1 variations in semantics and their event conceptualization

As cited in the previous section, both Matsumoto (1996) and Shibatani and Chung (2007) mentioned the semantic differentiation between JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts. For the purpose of this study, it is essential to determine whether such semantic differences are connected to the conceptualization process. In this paper, I argue that a JCCP represents one event complex, in which each verb of the JCCP represents a part of the event complex that forms a successive temporal relationship. In other words, the current study only examines event complexes in which the two segments of the event are represented correspondingly by V1 and V2 of the JCCP. In these cases, the V1 refers to an action, and the V2 to the motion verbs *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go, leave', or *kaeru* 'return'.

V1s of JCCPs can be divided into two types with regard to event conceptualization in this paper. The first type is resultative. Resultative V1s refer to those that create visible results or effects in the first event segment, and the results (or effects) remain visible in the latter motion event segment. For instance, in Figure 1, the result of taking the box remains in the second motion of coming to the woman. Such an event is represented by the JCCP *mot-te kuru* 'bring'.

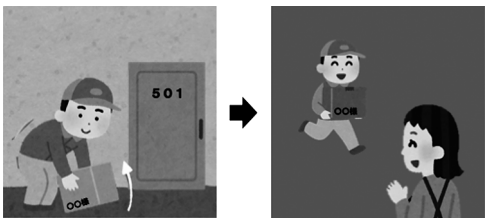


Figure 1. Event illustrating *mot-te kuru* 'bring'

The second type is perfective V1. Perfective V1s do not leave a noticeable result or effect in the latter motion event segment. As presented in Figure 2, the protagonist is taking a shower in the first image, but the result of showering is not visible in the second motion image. The JCCP description for this event is *shawaa-o abi-te iku* 'take a shower and leave'.

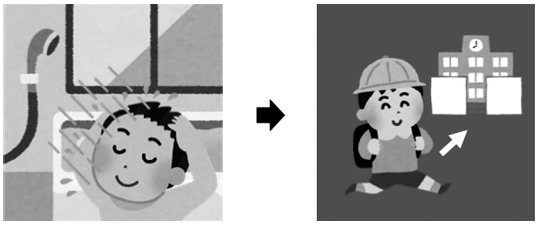


Figure 2. Event illustrating *shawaa-o abi-te iku* 'take a shower and leave'

As demonstrated above, resultative verbs are those whose effects or results remain visible or noticeable to the conceptualizer, whereas the effects or results of perfective verbs are barely noticeable or not activated by the conceptualizer. Consequently, JCCPs with resultative V1s

that present the remaining results/effects of the first event segment are conceptualized with a visible connection throughout the event complex. Meanwhile, JCCPs with perfective V1s that contain no visible continuation in the event complex may hold a weaker sense of continuation in conceptualization.

2.3 Serial verb constructions and their single-eventhood

As mentioned in Section 2.1, SVC has many similarities with JCCP. Meanwhile, SVC is the type of complex predicate that has received the most attention in the literature on event conceptualization. In this section, I describe previous efforts made to explore the connection between SVCs and event conceptualization.

An SVC is a sequence of several verbs that function as a single unit. It "contain[s] no overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort," and is primarily found in West Africa, Oceania, and Southeast Asia, also present in Creole languages that have European roots (Aikhenvald 2018: 1). Aikhenvald characterizes SVCs as acting like one word, representing a single predicate, sharing arguments, and, most importantly for this study, describing a single event. SVCs are typically considered a special type of complex predicate.

It is frequently claimed that SVCs are construed as representing a single event (Aikhenvald 2006, 2018, Bisang 2009, Durie 1997, Pawley 1987, 2011; see Lovestrand 2021 for an overview, among others). However, some scholars argue that single eventhood is no different from single clausehood. Haspelmath (2016) critiques the vagueness of the term "single event" and contends that this conceptualization aligns with the formal distinctions between monoclausality and biclausality (Givón 1991 and Crowley 2002 hold similar views). However, scholars continue to seek evidence to support cognitive unification in SVCs.

Defina and Majid (2012) examined SVCs and their event conceptualization by comparing Avatime and native English speakers' responses in a memory task. Their results show that Avatime speakers handle take-put episodes differently. Specifically, when describing events that involve a specific take-put SVC, Avatime speakers are prone to mistakes in recalling tasks. In contrast, English speakers do not exhibit this tendency. They claim to be the first to verify the connection between SVC and single eventhood, leaving future research opportunities to explore language cognition mapping.

Defina (2016) related multimodal elements, such as co-speech gestures, to the conceptualization of SVC. According to her findings, Avatime speakers tend to use a single gesture unit when using SVCs in their speech. In addition, nonfinite complement constructions are reported to be accompanied by single gestures in a way similar to SVCs, in comparison to other complex constructions (i.e., adjuncts, relative clauses, and coordinate clauses) in Avatime. Defina's findings reveal the single-event conceptualization in Avatime SVCs and point to the potential in pursuing investigations of other constructions.

In summary, SVC studies actively discuss the connection between events and their linguistic representation. Previous works have provided some evidence supporting the relationship between the construction and conceptualization of event packaging, which encourages further studies, including the current study, to delve into the possibility of a relationship between event conceptualizations and their linguistic representations, such as monoclausality.

2.4 Event conceptualization in cognitive science

As mentioned in the previous section, studies of SVCs have linked cognitive processes with language, specifically in the context of event representation. In cognitive science, an event is defined as "a segment of time at a given location that is conceived by an observer to have a beginning and an end" (Zacks and Tversky 2001). According to Zacks and his colleagues (Zacks and Tversky 2001, Zacks et al. 2001, Zacks and Swallow 2007), event segmentation is closely related to our memory patterns, with events construed in terms of partonomic (part-whole) and taxonomic hierarchies. Radvansky and Zacks (2014) identify several categories that affect event segmentation, including time, space, participants, causal relations, and goals. These factors can have mixed effects on event segmentation. For example, changes in time and space may influence how observers segment an event, and such changes in conceptualization may be reflected in language.

3. Research questions, hypotheses, and their rationales

In Yin (2024), I clarified the correlation between monoclausality and conceptualization, specifically with combinations of action V1s and *kuru* 'come' as the V2. However, the evidence was insufficient to draw firm conclusions, because the text stimuli used in the prior study did not include the interruption event. The appropriateness contrast found between sentences with JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts could originate from not mentioning the interrupting event in Set B. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct an experiment that excludes the possibilities from omitting the descriptions. In addition, building on the foundation set by Yin (2024), this study further investigates the following issues, using combinations of action verbs in the V1 position and *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go, leave', and *kaeru* 'return' in the V2 position in both JCCP and biclausal forms.

3.1 Research question 1

The first research question focuses on the relationship between the conceptualization of event packaging and monoclausality with respect to combinations with resultative and perfective V1s. Cognitive studies have revealed that time and space are key factors that affect event segmentation in cognition (Section 2.4). However, are such cognitive processes observable in language representations of the events? Specifically, is the spatiotemporal continuity within an event complex related to the choices of linguistic representations of the event complex? Based on these points, the following question is formulated.

RQ1: How does monoclausality relate to the conceptualization of event complexes with spatio-temporal interruptions in JCCPs with combinations of action verbs in the V1 position and *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go, leave', or *kaeru* 'return' in the V2 position and their biclausal counterparts?

Hypothesis for RQ1: JCCPs with combinations of action verbs in the V1 position and *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go, leave', or *kaeru* 'return' in the V2 position are conceptualized with requirements on spatio-temporal continuity in the event complex, while their biclausal counterparts do not require such continuity.

Hypothesis for RQ1 can be tested by comparing the appropriateness judgments made by Japanese speakers on JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts describing the same event complex. Event complexes can be represented using pictorial stimuli, with multiple images illustrating the series of events. It is predicted here that, by interrupting the event complex with a spatiotemporal

change, the monocalusal descriptions (JCCPs) will have lower appropriateness ratings than the biclausal descriptions on the same set of images. Spatio-temporal interruptions can be depicted by inserting an extra image between the images of the original event complex.

3.2 Research question 2

The second research question focuses on semantic variations and their influences on event conceptualization. In Section 2.2, I discussed how JCCPs with resultative V1s leave results or effects in the later event and how those with perfective V1s do not. The event conceptualization of a combination with different types of V1s is also nuanced. A stronger continuation, provided by a resultative V1, within the event complex may accentuate continuity in the conceptualization process, whereas a less obvious continuation, provided by a perfective V1, may moderate such continuity. As such, do JCCPs with resultative V1s have a subtle difference in conceptualization compared to JCCPs with perfective V1s?

RQ2: Do different types of V1 in JCCPs with combinations of action verbs in the V1 position and *kuru* 'come', *iku* 'go, leave', and *kaeru* 'return' in the V2 position act the same in requiring spatio-temporal continuity in their event conceptualizations?

Hypothesis for RQ2: The target JCCPs with combinations of perfective V1s perform differently from those with resultative V1s when a spatiotemporal change is applied to the event complex. It is most likely that a disruption in spatiotemporal continuity affects JCCPs with perfective V1s more than those with resultative V1s.

Hypothesis for RQ2 can be tested by comparing the appropriateness of JCCPs with resultative V1s and those with perfective V1s. Similar to the first hypothesis, the event complex can be illustrated using images, in which a spatio-temporal interrupting event can be inserted. My prediction for this hypothesis is that the target JCCPs with resultative V1s are more appropriate than those with perfective V1s when used to describe the same interrupted event complexes.

3.3 Different scopes of Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2

It should be noted that Hypothesis 1 looks for a general connection between a grammatical feature, monoclausality in this case, and event conceptualization. Hypothesis 2 emerges specifically from my analysis of JCCPs and is therefore language-specific. For example, the difference between resultative and perfective V1 does not apply to Chinese symmetrical SVCs because they do not allow resultative verbs to be their V1s. Chinese SVCs such as *ná shū huí jiā* [take book return home] 'take book and return home' refers to a perfective event segment succeeded by a motion event segment. In short, the scope of Hypothesis 1 is wider and more generalizable than that of Hypothesis 2.

4. Method

4.1 Participants

A total of 20 participants, who are native Japanese speakers, answered 78 questions. Among them, 16 are women and four are men. The average age of the participants is 31.61 years, with a standard deviation of 10.28 years.

4.2 Procedures

A question in the experiment proceeded in the following order. Stimuli were presented on presentation slides.

Step 1: A computer screen displays a set of pictorial stimuli representing a daily event.
Step 2: After 5 s, text stimuli describing the event appear on the screen, and an auditory stimulus of the text is played simultaneously.
Step 3: Participants answer the question, *Kono e-no jookyoo-wa kono bun-de ie masu ka?* ('Can the sentence describe the situation in these images?'), using a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = *Mattaku ienai* ('it cannot describe') and 5 = *Mondainaku ieru* ('it describes with no problem'). Participants are given 10 s to respond.
Step 4: The screen automatically transitions to the next set of stimuli.

A practice section was presented before the experiment to familiarize the participants with the procedure. This practice section contained five questions that were similar in style, but different in content from the actual experiment. To mitigate potential order effects, the 10 participants answered the questions in reverse order. A 5-min break was provided midway through the experiment, between questions #39 and #40.

4.3 Materials[1]

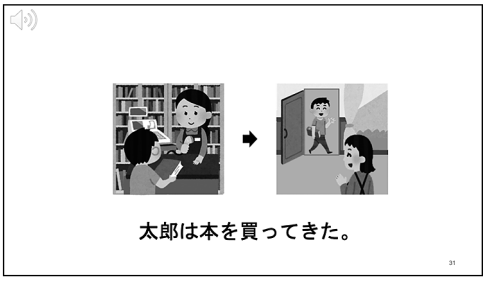
The experiment used three different types of visual stimuli that were mixed and presented randomly. The first type, Set A, consists of stimuli that depict two successive events without interruptions. The second type, Set B, includes illustrations featuring spatiotemporal interruptions that interfere with the continuity of event interpretation. The third type of stimuli, Set C, was designed to test the effects of interruptions on causal connections, which is not relevant to the current study; therefore, I will not discuss it further in this paper. Detailed information regarding Sets A and B is provided below.

4.3.1 Set A

General introduction

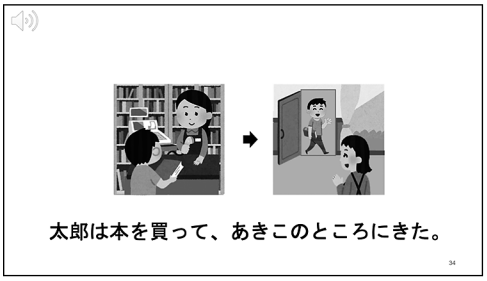
Set A examines the default relationship between successive events and their representation in monoclausal forms, serving as a baseline for conceptualization in Set B. In this part of the experiment, participants viewed a set of two images depicting events in a sequence corresponding to the verbs in sentences shown later. For example, Figures 3a and 3b illustrate the type of stimuli used. Participants first saw an image set showing two illustrations: one depicting a person buying a book and the other showing this person approaching and waving at another person. In this case, the conceptualizer naturally takes the latter person's viewpoint and conceptualizes the motion to be toward the conceptualizer. Next, a sentence describing the illustrations was presented. English translations are provided below the stimuli slides. A total of 17 stimuli were used in Set A.

[1] The current experiment is part of my dissertation project, which involves a comparison of Japanese and Chinese. Given the typological differences between these two languages, designing the pictorial stimuli for the experiment presented challenges, particularly because the illustrations needed to be identical. Although the number of perfective verbs is limited, this was the best possible solution.



'Taro bought the book and came.'

Figure 3a. An example of visual stimulus used in Set A (monoclausal sentence)



'Taro bought the book, and then he came.'

Figure 3b. An example of visual stimulus used in Set A (biclausal sentence)

Visual stimuli

The first illustration in each image stimulus depicts five different daily events within a Japanese cultural context: *hon-o motsu* 'take/hold a book', *daunkooto-o kiru* 'wear a down coat', *hon-o kau* 'buy a book', *toshokan-ni iku* 'go to the library', and *okiru* 'wake up (from bed)'. The second illustration features three different motion events: *kaeru* 'return (home)', *kuru* 'come (venitive motion)', and *iku* 'go (as in andative motion)'. Each stimulus set includes text stimuli presented either as monoclausal sentences (i.e., JCCPs) or biclausal sentences, describing the event complex (the events of V1 and V2).

The text stimuli were selected using the following method. First, I collected V1s that appear in their JCCPs form V-*te* + *kuru* 'come' and V-*te* + *iku* 'go, leave' from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ, data version 2021.3, Maekawa et al. 2014) by Chunagon, version 2.7.2. Most of the combinations, such as *hashi-te iku* 'go by running' or *mi-te kuru* 'started seeing', are not illustratable as two events. Therefore, I filtered out 14 V1s that could be illustrated as a single event segment (see the list in Appendix 1). I then reviewed the combinations by looking at specific sentences extracted from the corpus and chose only those that are comparatively easier to understand with illustrations.

Audio stimuli

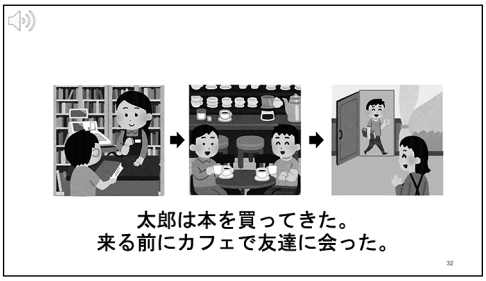
As described in Section 4.2, a voice recording was played when the text stimuli appeared on the screen. In the recording, monoclausal sentences were read without pauses between the *te* and V2, following the natural accent pattern of the converbal complex predicate. For biclausal sentences, a pause was inserted after the *te*. In summary, the narrator read all the expressions in both the monoclausal and biclausal styles.

4.3.2 Set B

General introduction

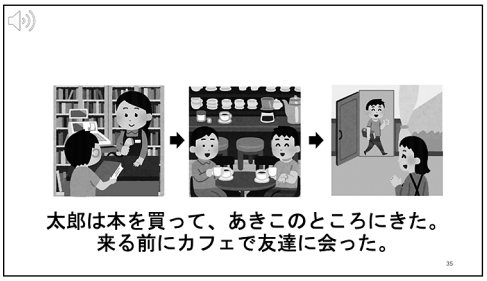
Set B investigates the relationship between events and their representations, with a particular focus on how the interpretation of event sequences is affected when an interrupting event alters the temporal and spatial continuity. In other words, Set B builds on the basic framework of Set A, but introduces additional information that disrupts the temporal and spatial context of the

event complex. Each question in Set B includes both visual stimuli (illustrations and sentences) and auditory stimuli, with both types of stimuli incorporating an interrupting segment. Examples are shown in Figures 4a and 4b.



'Taro bought the book and came.
He met a friend before coming.'

Figure 4a. An example of visual stimuli used in Set B (monoclausal sentence)



'Taro bought the book, and then he came.
He met a friend before coming.'

Figure 4b. An example of visual stimuli used in Set B (biclausal sentence)

In Figures 4a and 4b, for the event where a person purchases a book and comes, an additional piece of information is included, introducing a new event where the person meets his friend. This interrupting event is inserted between the purchase and motion segments, thereby disrupting the temporal and spatial continuity of the entire event complex. Text stimuli describing this interruption are appended to the original sentences from Set A.

Visual stimuli

In Set B, the first and third illustrations are identical to the first and second illustrations in Set A. The second illustration, which depicts the interrupting event, includes various daily activities within the Japanese cultural context: *geemu sentaa-de asobu* 'play at the game center', *haishasan-ni iku* 'go to the dentist', *tomodachi-to koohii-o nomu* 'drink coffee with a friend', *kafe-de tomodachi-ni au* 'meet a friend at a café', *eigakan-ni iku* 'go to the movie theater', and *kooen-de asobu* 'play at the park'. Additionally, the temporal clause V *mae-ni* ('before (doing)', where V refers to the motion) was added at the beginning of the sentence to indicate that the interrupting event occurs before the final motion event. The total number of questions in Experiment B was 17. The text stimuli were selected in the same way as for Set A.

Audio stimuli

As in Set A, voice recordings were played when the stimuli text appeared on the screen. The audio stimuli were used repeatedly, meaning that the audio stimuli for the monoclausal JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts were identical in both Sets A and B. The interrupting sentence was recorded separately from the initial sentences.

4.4 Verbs used in the stimuli

A list of the combinations of verbs used in the current experiment is provided in Table 1. Combinations with V1 *kau* 'buy' can be interpreted in both resultative and perfective forms, depending on the interpretation. In the current experiment, the illustrations presented the result

of *buying* as the protagonist's holding his purchased goods. Therefore, the combinations *kat-te* + *kaeru* 'buy and return' and *kat-te* + *kuru* 'buy and come' are categorized as resultative here.

Table 1. An overview of the combinations and their meanings and V1 types

Combinations	Meanings	V1 types
mot-te + *kaeru*	'carry and return'	Res[2]
mot-te + *kuru*	'take and come'	Res
ki-te + *iku*	'put on (clothes) and go'	Res
ki-te + *kuru*	'put on (clothes) and come'	Res
kat-te + *kaeru*[3]	'buy and return'	Res
kat-te + *kuru*	'buy and come'	Res
it-te + *kuru*	'go and come'	Prf
oki-te + *kuru*	'wake up and come'	Prf

4.5 Predictions

The results are predicted as follows. The prediction for Hypothesis 1 is provided below and summarized in Table 2.

> **Prediction from Hypothesis 1:** Target JCCPs will have a lower rating than their biclausal counterparts in Set B.

Table 2. Prediction from Hypothesis 1 (comparison between monoclausal vs. biclausal sentences)

	Set B (interrupted)
Appropriateness	mono < bi

As discussed above, V1 variations may influence the appropriateness of the JCCPs when event complexes are interrupted. The prediction for Hypothesis 2 is given below and presented in Table 3.

> **Prediction from Hypothesis 2:** (Monoclausal) JCCPs with perfective V1s will have lower ratings than those with resultative V1 in Set B.

Table 3. Prediction from Hypothesis 2 (comparison between resultative and perfective V1s in JCCPs)

	Ratings on JCCPs in Set B
Appropriateness	Prf < Res

[2] Res in the table stands for "resultative," and Prf for "perfective." These abbreviations are used to improve the visual clarity of the data.

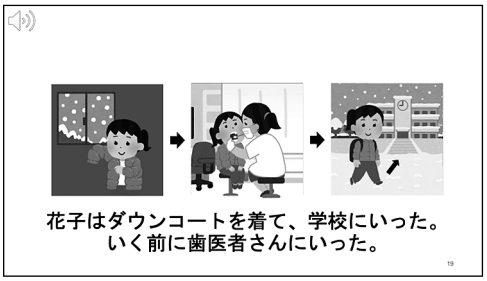
[3] Combinations with V1 *kau* 'buy' can be either interpreted as resultative, when the protagonist is holding her purchased merchandize, or as perfective, when there is no visible remaining result of the purchase. In the experiment, the protagonist Taro was illustrated as holding the purchased book in the motion event (see Figures 3a/b and 4a/b). Therefore, the combination is categorized as Res (resultative) here.

5. Results

First, results of the combination *ki-te* + *iku* 'put on (clothes) and go' and *oki-te* + *kuru* 'wake up and come' were excluded from the calculation. For *ki-te* + *iku* 'put on (clothes) and go', this was due to ambiguous interpretations in Set B. As shown in Figures 5a and 5b below, the motion verb *iku* 'go' was used first in the description of the motion event, and was used again in the description of the interrupting event. This repetition caused ambiguity in matching the motion verb to the designated motion event. The motion verb *iku* 'go' can either refer to the motion of *going to the dentist* or *going to school*. Therefore, all the appropriateness ratings were removed for this combination.

'Hanako put on a down coat and went away.
She went to the dentist before going.'

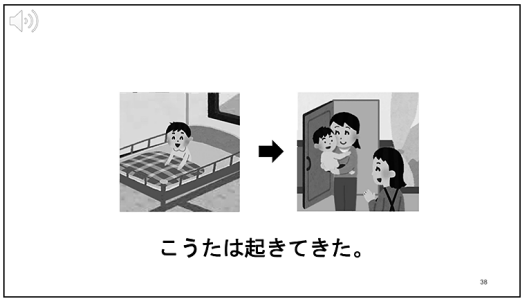
Figure 5a. Set B stimulus for *ki-te* + *iku* 'put on (clothes) and go' (monoclausal sentence)



'Hanako put on a down coat and went to school.
She went to the dentist before going.'

Figure 5b. Set B stimulus for *ki-te* + *iku* 'put on (clothes) and go' (biclausal sentence)

Results of the combination *oki-te* + *kuru* 'wake up and come' were also excluded from the calculation because its Set A with the monoclausal sentence was rated inappropriate (M = 3.45). Interestingly, the biclausal sentence was rated appropriate enough to represent the illustration (M = 4.8). The stimulus for this combination is presented in Figure 6 below.



'Koota woke up and came.'

Figure 6. Set A stimulus for *oki-te* + *kuru* (monoclausal)

5.1 Results for RQ1

Table 4 summarizes the appropriateness ratings for monoclausal and biclausal sentences under the interrupted and uninterrupted conditions. Descriptive statistics, including median, interquartile range (IQR), and minimum and maximum values, were calculated using R (version 4.4.1).

Monoclausal sentences in Set A, under the uninterrupted condition (Set A), had a median rating of 5 (IQR = 1), whereas biclausal sentences had the same median rating of 5 (IQR = 0). For the interrupted conditions (Set B), monoclausal sentences were rated at a median of 4 (IQR = 1), while biclausal sentences were rated at a median of 5 (IQR = 1).

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for appropriateness ratings

Condition	Clausality	Median	IQR	Min	Max
Set A (uninterrupted)	Monoclausal	5	1	1	5
	Biclausal	5	0	2	5
Set B (interrupted)	Monoclausal	4	1	1	5
	Biclausal	5	1	2	5

The data suggest that biclausal sentences consistently received higher ratings across both conditions (Sets A and B) with limited variability, whereas monoclausal expressions showed a reduction under the interrupted condition (Set B) compared with the uninterrupted condition (Set A).

Figure 7, generated using R's ggplot2 package, visually represents the distribution of appropriateness ratings across conditions.

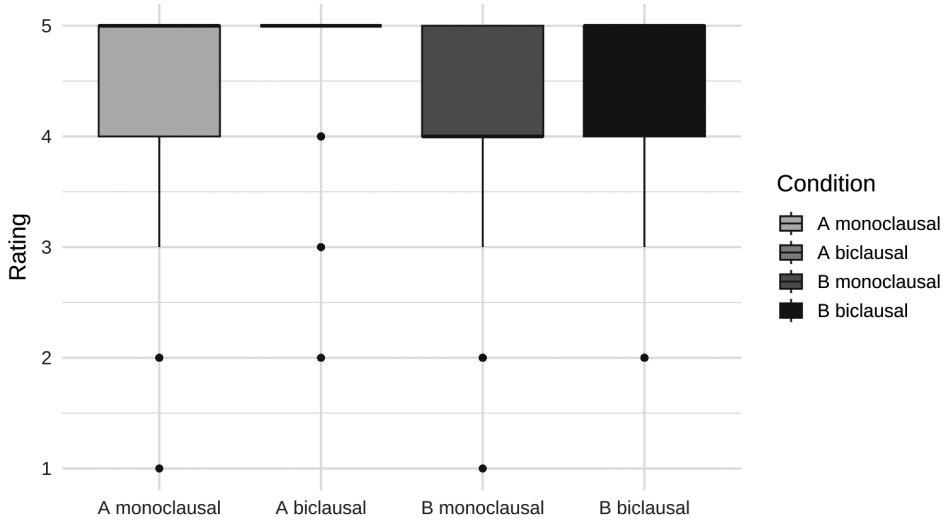


Figure 7. Boxplot of appropriateness ratings across different stimuli

Inferential statistics

Inferential statistics were performed in R (version 4.4.1) using the wilcox.test() function for the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. To test whether biclausal sentences were rated significantly higher than monoclausal sentences, one-tailed Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were conducted for the interrupted condition (Set B). The results are presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Wilcoxon signed-rank test results across different stimuli

Condition	Results[4]	Effect size (r)
Interrupted (Set B)	Monoclausal < Biclausal **[5]	0.28

These results indicate that biclausal sentences are rated as more appropriate than monoclausal sentences under the interrupted condition (Set B). This supports the hypothesis for RQ1, that is, JCCPs are conceptualized with the requirement on spatiotemporal continuity, whereas their biclausal counterparts are not.

5.2 A comparison of results of resultative and perfective V1s

This section provides a further breakdown of the results by V1 property for subsequent analysis. The Wilcoxon signed-rank test was performed using R (version 4.4.1) with the wilcox.test() function. Table 6 and Figure 8 present the results of the combination with the perfective V1 with respect to clausality.

Table 6. Wilcoxon signed-rank test results for the combination with the perfective V1

Condition	Results	Effect size (r)
Prf interrupted (Set B)	Monoclausal < Biclausal **[6]	0.61

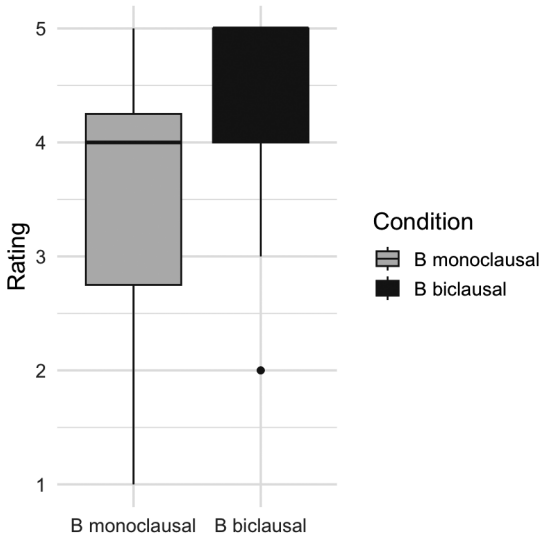


Figure 8. Boxplot of appropriateness ratings of the combination with the perfective V1

Table 7 and Figure 9 present the results of the combinations with the resultative V1s, comparing

[4] The significance of the statistical tests is indicated using the following codes: $p < 0.001$ is denoted as "***," $0.001 \leq p < 0.01$ as "**," $0.01 \leq p < 0.05$ as "*," and $p \leq 0.05$ as "NS" (not significant).

[5] $V = 254, p = 0.001983$

[6] $V = 7, p = 0.006$

the monoclausal JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts.

Table 7. Wilcoxon signed-rank test results for combinations with the resultative V1s

Condition	Results	Effect size (*r*)
Res interrupted (Set B)	Monoclausal < Biclausal *[7]	0.20

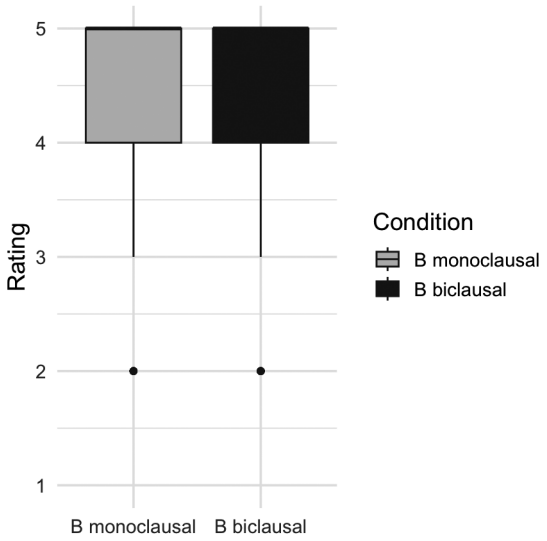


Figure 9. Boxplot of appropriateness ratings of the combination with the resultative V1s

5.3 Results for RQ2

To compare the appropriateness ratings between JCCPs with perfective and resultative V1s under the interrupted condition (Set B), a Wilcoxon signed-rank test was performed. Owing to the imbalance in the number of questions for the perfective (one combination) and resultative (five combinations) forms, the data were aggregated by taking the mean rating for each condition per participant. This ensured that paired comparisons could be conducted while retaining participant-level data.

The test revealed a statistically significant difference between JCCPs with resultative and perfective V1s, as shown in Table 8 and Figure 10.

Table 8. Comparison between resultative and perfective V1s in monoclausal interrupted stimuli

Condition	Appropriateness ratings on JCCPs	*r*
Interrupted condition (Set B)	Prf < Res ***[8]	0.50

[7] V = 174.5, p = 0.0433

[8] V = 37, p = 0.0365

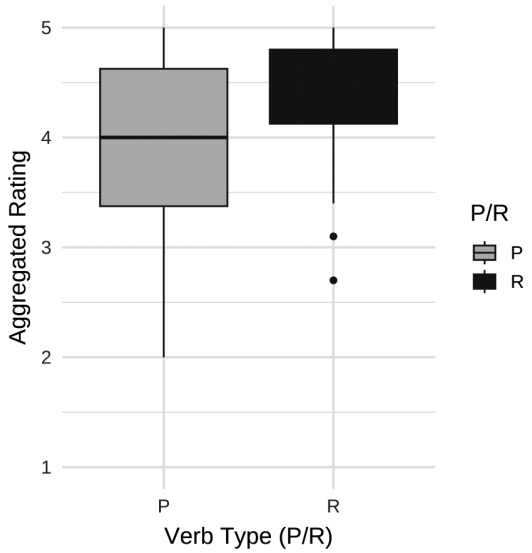


Figure 10. Boxplot of average appropriateness ratings by V1 type

The data suggest that sentences with resultative V1s are rated as more appropriate than those with perfective V1s under the interrupted condition (Set B). This confirms the hypothesis and prediction for RQ2.

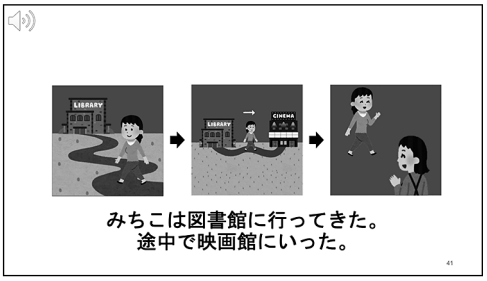
6. Discussion

As unraveled by the results, conceptualization differences were observed between monoclausal and biclausal sentences as well as in combinations with perfective V1s and resultative V1s. This section discusses the results presented above. Section 6.1 takes the combination of the perfective V1 *it-te* + *kuru* as an example and scrutinizes how clausality reflects event conceptualization. Section 6.2 compares a JCCP with resultative V1, *mot-te* + *kuru* 'take and come', and one with perfective V1, *it-te* + *kuru* 'go and come', and discusses how different types of V1 can affect the conceptualization of event packaging within JCCPs. Section 6.3 briefly discusses other factors for event conceptualization in JCCPs, such as common purposiveness in JCCPs and the resultative interpretation of combinations with perfective V1s.

6.1 Comparison of events represented by monoclausal and biclausal sentences

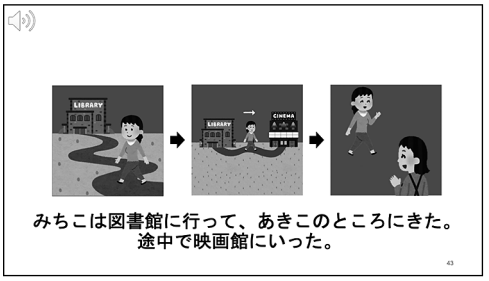
Section 5 suggests a conceptual difference between monoclausal and biclausal sentences. Below, the combination *it-te* + *kuru* 'go and come' is taken as the example to discuss such a difference.

Figures 11a and 11b show the monoclausal stimuli and their biclausal counterparts for Set B, using the combination *it-te kuru*. In both stimuli, the protagonist, Michiko, went to a library and then came to her friend Akiko's location. Both figures show that Michiko's trip from the library to Akiko's location is interrupted by another trip to the movie theater. However, as shown in Section 5, the monoclausal stimuli in Figure 11a receive significantly lower ratings than the biclausal stimuli in Figure 11b.



**'Michiko went to the library and came.
On her way she went to the movie theater.'**

Figure 11a. Set B stimulus for *it-te* + *kuru* 'go and come' (monoclausal sentence)



**'Michiko went to the library, and then came to Akiko's location.
On the way she went to the movie theater.'**

Figure 11b. Set B stimulus for *it-te* + *kuru* 'go and come' (biclausal sentence)

Using the same illustrations for the first and last events from Set A, the interrupting event in Set B was inserted as an indication of the change in time and space in the event complex. In this case, Michiko went to the movie theater on her way from the library to Akiko's location. When an interruption is inserted into the event complex, the conceptualizers (participants) recognized the entire event complex to be separated into two by the changes in time and space. Such interrupted event complexes are less effectively represented by monoclausal sentences.

Shibatani and Chung (2007) argue that two events must exhibit a spatiotemporal overlap to be semantically congruous, which, in the current experiment, was tested to have more possibilities. They refer the spatio-temporal overlap to coextensive events such as Manner + Motion as in *hashit-te iku* 'go runningly', in which the two event segments are inseparable from each other. However, the current study indicates that JCCPs with event segments separable from each other as in *it-te kuru* 'go and come' can be congruous in the sense of spatio-temporal continuity. For JCCPs such as *it-te kuru* 'go and come', there is no overlap (co-extensiveness) in the spatio-temporal parameters, but the boundary between the previous and later events is connected. Cognitively, the two events must be conceptually adjacent to each other to be represented in a monoclausal form, the JCCP. They do not take any interruption in the middle harmoniously. In conclusion, despite the fact that Action + Motion JCCPs are less semantically harmonious than Manner + Motion types, such patterns still represent a more compact event conceptualization than their biclausal counterparts, which require no such spatiotemporal continuity.

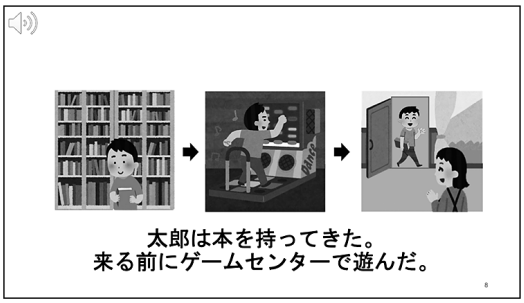
Shibatani and Chung (2007: 38) also point out that semantic congruity in events gravitates toward forming a "juncture." Although there is no connection being made to conceptualization when they mention the term, "juncture" in grammar is partially verified in the current experiment to have connections with juncture in conceptualization, based on the discussed results.

6.2 Comparison of events represented by combinations with perfective and resultative V1s

As analyzed in Section 2.2, two types of verbs were used in this experiment. Both types showed differences in the conceptualization of monoclausal and biclausal sentences under the interrupted condition (Set B), but combinations with resultative V1s were rated higher than those with perfective V1s. The following analysis shows that event conceptualizations (appropriateness ratings) are related to V1 type variations by a focus on the combination with resultative V1 *motte kuru*

'take and come' and the one with perfective V1 *itte kuru* 'go and come'.

First, the differences between types of V1s arise out of the different characteristics of the verbs. The interrupting event represented by combinations with different V1s affects the continuity in conceptualization to different extents. *Motsu* 'take, hold' in its converbal form is *motte*, which indicates the continuation of the result of the action in a JCCP. The object being taken by a person will remain in the person's hand if there is no further action concerning the object. Figure 12 shows the monoclausal stimulus with an interruption (Set B).



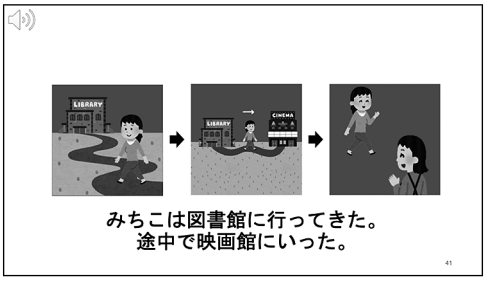
'Taro took the book and came.
Before he came, he played at the game center.'

Figure 12. Visual stimuli for monoclausal *mot-te* + *kuru* in Set B

In Figure 12, the protagonist, Taro, is holding the book when he comes to the woman's location. Although there is a temporal and locational change between the action and motion, the status of Taro holding the book remains unchanged. This creates a sense of continuation in the entire event complex, which strengthens the continuity in conceptualization.[9]

Meanwhile, *it-te* in a JCCP is perfective and leaves no visible results in the later event segment. In Figure 13 (identical to Figure 11a), the protagonist Michiko went to the library first, but changed her route to visit a movie theater (labeled as "cinema" in the illustration), and finally came to her friend's location.

[9] The reviewer made an important point, suggesting that I have not completely ruled out the possibility that participants are judging acceptability based only on the third image, which is contrary to my assumption. Moreover, the reviewer also pointed out that the ratings may be influenced by the unnatural sequence of the two sentences in interrupted stimuli. As for the ambiguity regarding the third image, it was never brought out by the participants and therefore never confirmed. However, it is difficult to entirely dismiss this possibility. To eliminate this possibility, I plan to conduct additional experiments in the future. Regarding the unnaturalness of the sentence sequences, the participants were asked to rate the stimuli as "5" if the sequence is the only unnatural part that they sensed.



'Michiko went to the library and came.
On the way she went to the movie theater.'

Figure 13. Visual stimuli for monoclausal *it-te* + *kuru* in Set B (monoclausal)

According to the results presented in Section 5, the ratings of monoclausal sentences were significantly lower than those of their biclausal counterparts under the interrupted condition (Set B). For a perfective verb, there are no remaining effects visible to the conceptualizer. The spatio-temporal interruption has influenced the continuity of the entire event complex, resulting in a drop in ratings.

Conceptual variations are observed in how event complexes are represented, which in the current study aligns with the semantic diversity of the V1s of JCCPs. When the change(s) in the previous event remains visible to conceptualizers, it provides a sense of continuation in the conceptualization process. This continuation leads conceptualizers to believe that event complexes that are spatiotemporally interrupted remain united. In contrast, when the change(s) in the previous event does not last until the next part of the event complex, it is much easier for the conceptualizers to believe that they have encountered a new event, with time and space being changed. The interrupting event successfully encourages a cognitive operation that draws a noticeable event boundary for events represented by the combination with perfective V1.

6.3 Other factors

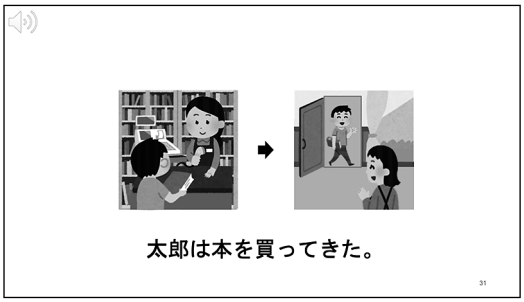
This section describes additional analyses of the results. It was reported in follow-up interviews that (monoclausal) JCCPs encourage a purposive reading, in the way that both segments of the event complex serve as a sub-component contributing to the final purpose of the event complex. It was also reported that perfective V1s and resultative V1s are on a continuum in conceptualization.

6.3.1 Common purposiveness for JCCPs found in qualitative analysis

A participant rated the monoclausal stimulus of *kat-te* + *kuru* 'buy and come' (Figure 14 below, identical to Figure 3a) and reported: "if [the protagonist] bought the book for the woman, I'd give it a higher rating, I think. For example, making the man hand the book to the woman in the second image."[10] This report supports what Shibatani and Chung (2007) proposed as one of the properties concerning semantic congruity in the JCCP: causal connection. According to Shibatani and Chung, three types of connections exist: Motion + Purpose, Cause + Effect, and

[10] All interviews were conducted in Japanese. The English translations were done by me.

Action + Result. The participant quoted above expected a purpose for the first buying event to be realized in the later motion event. In other words, the motion in the later event of *kat-te kuru* 'buy and come' becomes a prior event to the purpose of the man giving the woman the book. In this case, the event complex does not stop at the motion event but extends to the future possible event. Tversky et al. (2011) also state that when observers describe events, they associate goals and subgoals with the events more tightly than when not describing them (as in using linguistic expressions to describe them). In the current experiment, the participants were asked to evaluate the linguistic representations of certain event complexes, which led to the participants' conceptualizations being more related to goals.



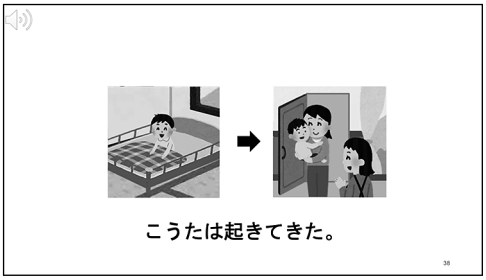
'Taro bought the book and came.'

Figure 14. Visual stimulus for *kat-te kuru* 'buy and come' in Set A (monoclausal sentence)

6.3.2 Resultative reading of perfective V1s reported in qualitative analysis

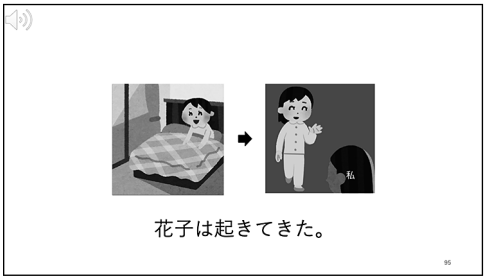
Other than *kat-te kuru* 'buy and come' mentioned in Section 4.4, event representations with perfective V1s are also found to hold a resultative interpretation. In the beginning of Section 5, the stimuli for the combination *oki-te* + *kuru* 'wake up and come' was reported to have a much lower rating on the monoclausal stimulus in Set A. Compared with stimuli used in Yin (2024), the resultative reading of *oki-te* received higher appropriateness ratings than its perfective reading.

Testing the same combination *oki-te* + *kuru*, the current experiment and Yin (2024) obtained a highly contrasted average rating for the monoclausal sentence in Set A. The average rating for this stimulus (Figure 15) is 3.45, whereas in Yin (2024), the stimulus (Figure 16) with identical texts was rated much higher (M = 4.20). However, the difference does not result from factors such as agentivity (i.e., Koota did not come on his own) or specification of the location context (i.e., missing background illustration in Figure 16), based on participants' reports.



'Koota woke up and came.'

Figure 15. Visual stimulus for *oki-te* + *kuru* in Set A (monoclausal)



'Hanako woke up and came.'

Figure 16. Visual stimulus for *oki-te* + *kuru* in Set A (monoclausal) in Yin (2024)

Interestingly, the protagonist in Figure 16 was illustrated to be wearing her pajamas while acting out the motion. It maintains a highly noticeable continuation of the event complex and reduces the possibility of another event dislocating the conceptual congruity. Keeping the pajamas unchanged, in this case, is an indication of how the result of the first event segment lasts through the second, in a way extremely similar to what the resultative V1s represent.

6.4 Reflections

Certain issues encountered while conducting the study, including with regard to experiment design and the calculation of results, are now detailed.

First, some illustrations were not properly designed to represent textual stimuli. As mentioned in Section 6.3, the combination *oki-te* + *kuru* 'wake up and come' in this experiment was rated not appropriate enough to represent the event complex. This helped with the exploration of the semantic congruity properties of JCCPs, but it also sabotaged the analysis of perfective V1s. As mentioned earlier, this experiment was designed to fit both Japanese and Chinese monoclausal expressions, which led to a small number of combinations containing perfective V1s. The limited experiment results call for a more comprehensive study in the future.

In addition, although not the focus of this study, the data collected for V-*te kaeru* '(verb) and return' were insufficient to investigate the V2's similarities to other V2s such as *iku* 'go, leave' and *kuru* 'come'. Interestingly, all the V-*te kaeru* data except for *kat-te* + *kaeru* 'buy and return' in Set A exhibited no significant differences. The missing combination of perfective V1 and *te-kaeru* is another point to pay attention to in the future.

7. Conclusion

The current study investigated how Japanese multiverb expressions, particularly monoclausal JCCPs and their biclausal counterparts, reflect the conceptualization of events in the minds of native speakers. The experiment explored how the way events are packaged linguistically (as a single clause or multiple clauses) is related to people's conceptualization of these events. Specifically, it is revealed that Japanese speakers prefer biclausal counterparts of JCCPs for the description of event complexes that are interrupted by another event spatio-temporally, indicating that there are more constraints tied to (monoclausal) JCCPs in the conceptualization process.

Tversky et al. (2011) and Radvansky and Zacks (2014), when exploring the many factors of event segmentation in cognition, point out that the interpretation of events with a unified goal

encourages a compact reading of event packaging. Indeed, whether the protagonist tended to act/move with a goal had largely affected the appropriateness ratings in the current experiment. However, the specific underlying mechanism remains unclear. Furthermore, whether monoclausality is related to combinations with resultative V1s remains to be clarified, leaving many possibilities for future research.

Glossary

CONV = converb
GEN = genitive
GOAL = goal (of motion)
LOC = location
NEG = negation
TIME = time
TOP = topic

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Used Corpus

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Appendix: A list of V1s extracted from BCCWJ by Chunagon

V1	Frequencies
Motsu 'take, hold'	3900
Miru 'look'	1041
Tsukuru 'make'	819
Oku 'place, put'	462
Toru 'take'	248
Taberu 'eat'	219
Kiru 'wear, put on'	184
Kau 'buy'	131
Kiku 'hear, listen'	114
Wasureru 'forget'	92
Morau 'receive'	34
Yobu 'call, invite'	23
Hirou 'pick up'	22
Kariru 'borrow'	22

日本語複動詞文における事象の概念化
——事象的緊密性は単節性に関わるか——

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要旨

本研究は，〈動作＋移動〉という事象連鎖を表す日本語複動詞文における言語表現とその概念化の関係を考察するものである。本研究では，「本を（ここに）持ってくる」のような単文であるテ形複雑述語と「本を持って，（ここに）くる」のような対応する複文を対象に，単節性（monoclausality）という文法的概念が，概念レベルにおける性質である時空間的連続性と関連するかという問題を，日本語母語話者を対象にした容認度調査により調査した。また，テ形複雑述語における「前項動詞＋て」が動詞によって〈結果の残存〉や〈事象の完了〉を表す場合に呼び起こされる時空間的連続性という認知的制約についても異なるのかという点も調査した。結果として，単文（monoclausal）においては，時空間的連続性が干渉される場合，複文（biclausal）よりも容認度が低い傾向が明らかになった。また，「前項動詞＋て」が〈事象の完了〉類の単文である場合には，〈結果の残存〉類の単文と比べて，時空間的連続性が干渉される際に容認度が低いことも示された。これにより，言語表現は事象分割・統合といった認知処理と一致していることが示唆された。本研究は，単節性という言語的特徴を認知的基盤に結びつける試みである点で，統語的側面にもっぱら注目してきた従来の研究と異なる。また，新しい実験方法を提案し，日本語における事象連鎖の概念化を探究する試みである点にも新規性がある。以上のように本研究は，言語と認知の関係を明らかにし，言語構造の認知的基盤に新たな視点を提供するものである。

キーワード：事象認知，単節性，複雑述語の前項動詞の意味種類，日本語テ形複雑述語，言語表現と意味概念のインターフェース