

## A Note on the Modal Meaning of *V-te shimau*\*

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### 1. Introduction

This article is concerned with Japanese *V-te shimau*, which consists of a main verb followed by a subsidiary verb, *-te shimau*. It has been pointed out in the previous literature that *V-te shimau* is used as a marker of aspect such as completion and actualization, and sometimes conveys a modal meaning.<sup>1</sup> Let us consider the following pair of examples:<sup>2</sup>

- (1) a. Zenbu tabete-shimat-ta.  
       all eat-Perf-Past  
       ‘(Lit.) I have eaten all.’
- b. Sensei-ni okor-arete-shimat-ta.  
       teacher-Dat scold-Pass-Perf-Past  
       ‘(Lit.) I was scolded by the teacher.’

While *V-te shimau* in (1a) only expresses completion of eating, that of (1b) conveys a modal meaning (i.e. the speaker’s disappointment) in addition to a completive meaning. In this way, modal meanings that express the speaker’s stances or feelings toward described situations are often carried by *V-te shimau*.

The main purpose of this article is to clarify from a semantic perspective why *V-te shimau* carries a modal meaning. Section 2 examines aspectual and modal meanings of *V-te shimau* and reviews Sugimoto (1992). Section 3 explores, by examining the relation between *V-te shimau* and the verb *shimau*, the core meaning of *V-te shimau*, investigates why *V-te shimau* has such a meaning, and is concerned with

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<sup>1</sup> In this article, a ‘modal meaning’ refers to the speaker’s stances or feelings toward described situations.

<sup>2</sup> The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples: Acc = accusative case marker, Assert = assertive morpheme, Dat = dative case marker, Excl = exclamative morpheme, Gen = genitive case marker, Imp = imperative morpheme, Neg = negative morpheme, Nom = nominative case marker, Pass = passive morpheme, Past = past tense morpheme, Perf = perfective morpheme, Pres = present tense morpheme, Q = question marker, Quot = quotative particle, Top = topic marker, Vol = volitional marker.

the question why *V-te shimau* tends to carry negative modal meanings. Section 4 clarifies how aspectual and modal meanings occur from the core meaning. Section 5 offers concluding remarks.

## 2. Aspectual and Modal Meanings of *V-te shimau*

### 2.1. Aspectual Meanings

This subsection examines aspectual meanings of *V-te shimau*. *V-te shimau* has been the subject of a great deal of discussion, and it has been proposed that *V-te shimau* expresses an aspectual meaning (cf. Takahashi (1969), Yoshikawa (1973), Soga (1983), Teramura (1984), and Morita (1989), among others). Aspectual meanings of *V-te shimau* can be divided roughly into two types, i.e. completion and actualization. Let us first consider examples of completive aspect:

- (2) a. Yamada-wa ronbun-o saigo-made  
 Yamada-Top article-Acc end-until  
 yonde-shimat-ta.  
 read-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) Yamada has finished reading the article.’
- b. Mukashi-no-koto-o sukkari  
 old.times-Gen-thing-Acc all  
 wasurete-shimat-ta.  
 forget-Perf-Past.  
 ‘(Lit.) I have forgotten the scene of old times.’

*V-te shimau* in these examples describes completion of acts. In (2a), for example, Yamada’s completion of reading an article is expressed by *V-te shimau*. This type of aspect is called completive aspect.

Let us next turn to the other type of aspect. *V-te shimau* can express the fact that some situation becomes actualized or comes to realize. Take the following, for example:

- (3) a. Kare-wa boku-no isu-o kowashite-shimat-ta.  
 he-Top I-Gen chair-Acc break-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) He has broken my chair.’
- b. Hoshikat-ta baggu-o katte-shimat-ta.  
 want-Past bag-Acc buy-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I have bought a bag I want.’

Both of the examples describe not completion but actualization of some situation. In (3a), *V-te shimau* indicates that the act of breaking a chair or

the situation in which a chair is broken becomes actualized.’ This type is called actualization aspect.

To recapitulate, *V-te shimau* expresses completive or actualization aspect. The former denotes that some act is completed, and the latter that some situation is actualized.

## 2.2. Modal Meanings

It has been reported in the literature that *V-te shimau* has not only aspectual meanings but also modal meanings. *V-te shimau* can convey the speaker’s stances or feelings, which are defined here as modal meanings (cf. Nakau (1994)). They are classified roughly into three types.

First, speakers convey through *V-te shimau* their negative feelings such as disappointment, regret, and criticism.

Consider:<sup>3</sup>

- (4) a. Aa, zenbu koware-chat-ta.  
 Ah all break-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) Ah, all have broken.’
- b. Gomen. Yokeina koto-o itte-shimat-ta.  
 sorry unnecessary thing-Acc say-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) Sorry. I shouldn’t have said that.’
- c. Shinji-rare-nai. Dooshite sonna-mono-o  
 believe-can-Neg why such-thing-Acc  
 katte-shimat-ta-no?  
 buy-Perf-Past-Q  
 ‘(Lit.) I can’t believe it. Why did you buy such a thing?’

In (4a), the speaker expresses negative feelings such as disappointment through *V-te shimau*: The speaker, who is unfavorable to the state of all being broken, expresses his disappointment with *V-te shimau*. The speaker of (4b) is ashamed of having said something unnecessary: He/she undoubtedly regrets his/her own act performed in the past. The speaker of (4c) casts criticism to the hearer: The speaker does not ask the reason why the hearer bought such a thing but casts criticism on the hearer, and, therefore, the speaker does not need an answer to (4c). As these examples show, *V-te shimau* can convey negative modal meanings such as disappointment, regret, and criticism. It should also be added that most of

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<sup>3</sup> *V-chau* is a colloquial expression of *V-te shimau*. In this article, we will also deal with *V-chau* as examples of *V-te shimau*.

the examples of *V-te shimau* with modal meanings carry these negative modal meanings. We will discuss what is behind this trend later in section 3.

Second, speakers of *V-te shimau* can convey their positive feelings such as delight or astonishment:

- (5) a. Kawaii-net-te iw-are-chat-ta.  
 cute-Excl-Quot say-Pass-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) He/she said that I was cute.’  
 b. Oodisyon-ni gookaku-shi-chat-ta.  
 audition-Dat pass-do-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I have passed the audition.’

The speaker uttered these sentences with obvious pleasure: The speaker is clearly happy to have heard that he/she is cute in (5a) and, on the other hand, the speaker is surprised at his/her passing at the audition in (5b). That is, the speakers in these examples with *V-te shimau* express delight or astonishment. Thus, *V-te shimau* carries not only negative modal meanings but also positive ones, though the number of *V-te shimau* carrying the latter is much smaller in use.

Third, *V-te shimau* often conveys modal meanings that are not classified into the above two types. Speakers sometimes express the firm determination through *V-te shimau*. Let us examine the following examples:

- (6) a. Boku-nara sugu sono-ba-de bunnagutte-shimau.  
 I-if soon that-place-at smash-Perf  
 ‘(Lit.) If I were you, I would smash him/her without hesitation.’  
(Fujii (1992:29))  
 b. Zenbu wasurete-shima-oo.  
 all forget-Perf-Vol  
 ‘(Lit.) I will forget all.’

Unlike (4) and (5), we can see the speaker’s strong determination (i.e. the will to decide on something) in (6). For example, in (6a), the speaker shows the firm determination to smash him/her by using *V-te shimau*.

Since *V-te shimau* can carry various modal meanings shown above, using *V-te shimau* is not considered appropriate for news programs or formal occasions:

(7) (In a news program)

16-nichi, honsha-to jitaku-no katakusoosa-ga  
 16th head.office-and home-Gen house.serching-Nom  
 {okonaw-are-ta/??okonaw-arete-shimat-ta}.  
 do-Pass-Past / do-Pass-Perf-Past

‘(Lit.) Searching was done at the head office and home on 16th.’

As shown above, *V-te shimau* is not appropriate here because it is tend to express the speaker’s stances or feelings (i.e. modal meaning): Using *V-te shimau* leads to the lack of objectivity, which is essential to news reporting.

To sum up the main points we have seen thus far, while *V-te shimau* has two aspectual meanings, i.e. completion and actualization, it also conveys various modal meanings. They are classified roughly into three: (i) negative modal meanings such as disappointment, regret, and criticism, which are most common, (ii) positive ones such as delight or astonishment, and (iii) the one that expresses the speaker’s firm determination. In this article, we argue that these modal meanings are derived pragmatically from the core meaning of *V-te shimau*. In the following subsection, however, we will first review some previous studies concerning aspectual and modal meanings of *V-te shimau*.

### 2.3. Previous Studies and Their Problems

It is worth reviewing some of the previous studies that are relevant to our discussion in this article. Most of the previous studies deal with the aspectual and modal meanings of *V-te shimau*. They can be divided roughly into three types, i.e. (i) studies that count the aspectual meaning as the central one (cf. Takahashi (1969), Yoshikawa (1973), and Sugimoto (1991, 1992), among others), (ii) studies that count the modal meaning as the central one (cf. Fujii (1992) and Suzuki (1998)), and (iii) studies that propose a core meaning from which both aspectual and modal meanings are derived (cf. Nishikawa (1996)).<sup>4</sup> In what follows, we outline the first type

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<sup>4</sup> Suzuki (1998) states that all of the examples of *V-te shimau* carry a modal meaning:

- (i) Koohii, doozo nonde-shimat-te-kudasai.  
 coffee please drink-Perf-Past-Polite  
 ‘(Lit.) Please finish your coffee.’

(Suzuki (1998:42))

She claims that *V-te shimau* in (i) conveys a speaker’s stance (i.e. modal meaning)

of studies, which is mostly related to our analysis here.

The first type of the previous studies assumes that the modal meaning of *V-te shimau* is derived from an aspectual meaning. Here, we will review Sugimoto (1992) briefly. Sugimoto (1992) claims that the function of *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect is to describe actualization of situations that are out of the speaker's control (cf. Sugimoto (1991)). To put it another way, *V-te shimau* describes situations that speakers cannot control when it denotes actualization aspect. Take the following for example:

- (8) a. Watashi-wa kookana kabin-o watte-shimat-ta.  
 I-Top expensive vase-Acc break-Perf-Past  
 '(Lit.) I have broken an expensive vase.'
- b. Watashi-wa omowazu soto-ni  
 I-Top unconsciously outside-Dat  
 tobidashite-shimat-ta.  
 dart-Perf-Past  
 '(Lit.) I unconsciously darted outside.'

When we interpret (8a) as denoting actualization aspect, we usually think that the speaker did not intend to break the vase. That is to say, the situation of the vase being broken is out of the speaker's control. In addition, *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect is perfectly compatible with the adverb *omowazu*, which expresses the speaker's unintentionality, as in (8b). Thus, situations described by *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect are always out of the speaker's control.<sup>5</sup>

This is supported by the following sentences, which tend to be interpreted as denoting actualization aspect (though they can also be interpreted as denoting completive aspect):

- (9) a. Watashi-wa sukkari yotte-shimat-ta.  
 I-Top completely drunk-Perf-Past  
 '(Lit.) I got drunk completely.'

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toward the coffee remaining in the cup; for example, the speaker might worry that the hearer would leave the coffee and go home. However, Suzuki's definition of modal meaning is rather broad and our analysis does not count such a stance as a modal meaning.

<sup>5</sup> We can consider that the speaker in (8a) has an intention of breaking the vase. In that case, we are forced to interpret *V-te shimau* in (8a) as denoting completive aspect. See Sugimoto (1992) in more detail.

- b. Hana-ga chitte-shimat-ta.  
 flower-Nom fall-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit) The flower has fallen.’

(Sugimoto (1992: 65-66))

In (9a), where a non-volitional verb is used, *V-te shimau* is interpreted as denoting actualization aspect rather than completive aspect, despite the fact that there is an adverb, *sukkari*, expressing the completion of action or event. The same holds true for (9b). According to Sugimoto, since natural phenomena such as flowers falling are perfectly out of the speaker’s control, we tend to interpret *V-te shimau* in (9b) as denoting actualization aspect. These clearly show that *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect is strongly related to the speaker’s uncontrollability.

What is important in Sugimoto (1992) is that the modal meaning of *V-te shimau* stems from the property of actualization aspect mentioned above: Since the use of *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect implies that the actualization of the described situation is out of the speaker’s control, the speaker sometimes does not expect it and, in some cases, feels annoyed with it. Hence, *V-te shimau* often carries a modal meaning such as disappointment. Consider the following pair of examples, both of which denote actualization aspect:

- (10)a. Sasaina-koto-kara shinyuu-o ushinatte-shimat-ta.  
 little-thing-from best.friend-Acc lose-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I have lost my best friend at little things.’
- b. Watashi-wa kabu-de oomooke-o shite-shimat-ta.  
 I-Top stock-at make.money-Acc do-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I made big profits from stock markets.’

Both of the examples carry modal meanings: The speaker expresses his/her negative feelings such as disappointment in (10a), and positive feelings such as astonishment in (10b). These modal meanings occur because these described situations are out of the speaker’s control. In (10a), the speaker could not control and expect the loss of his/her best friend, and hence expresses his/her disappointment. In (10b), the speaker is astonished at the success in the stock market, which is out of his/her control and beyond his/her prediction. From these observations, Sugimoto concludes that the modal meaning of *V-te shimau* results from the property of actualization aspect, which is schematized as follows:

- (11) Aspectual meaning  
 ( Completion )  
 ( Actualization )  $\longrightarrow$  Modal meaning

However, there are, at least, two objections that can be raised against his claim. First, we should not overlook the fact that *V-te shimau* denoting completive aspect can also carry a modal meaning. Consider:

- (12)a. Natsuyasumi-no          syukudai-o  
 summer.vacation-Gen homework-Acc  
 ichinichi-de    oete-shimat-ta.  
 one.day-at    finish-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I have finished my homework for summer vacation.’  
(Nishikawa (1996:85))

- b. Boku-no purin      zenbu    tabe-chat-ta-no?  
 I-Gen    pudding whole    eat-Perf-Past-Q  
 ‘(Lit.) Have you eaten my whole pudding?’

Although both examples denote completive aspect, they seem to carry a modal meaning. In (12a), according to Nishikawa (1996), *V-te shimau* carries a feeling of accomplishment. In (12b), we can feel the speaker’s feelings such as criticism or disappointment. As these examples show, it is hardly possible to claim that the modal meaning of *V-te shimau* results only from actualization aspect.

Second, it is impossible to say that *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect always describes situations that are out of the speaker’s control. The described situation in the following example is under the speaker’s control, though *V-te shimau* denotes actualization aspect:

- (13) Watashi-wa    jyamadat-ta-node      sono kookana  
 I-Top            unnecessary-because that expensive  
 kabin-o    watte-shimat-ta.  
 vase-Acc    break-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I have broken the expensive vase, because it is unnecessary.’

The speaker here clearly had his/her own volition to break the vase, i.e., controls the describe situation. That is to say, while, as Sugimoto points out, *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect describes situations that are out of the speaker’s control, it can also describe situations controlled by speakers. This means that the speaker’s controllability in *V-te shimau* denoting actualization aspect is underspecified.



Taking these observations into consideration, we cannot accept Sugimoto's view that the modal meaning of *V-te shimau* is derived from its aspectual meaning. Then, where does the modal meaning of *V-te shimau* come from? In this article, we will propose a core meaning of *V-te shimau*, from which both aspectual and modal meanings are derived. In this respect, we can say that our analysis here is classified into the third type mentioned at the beginning of this subsection.

### 3. Core Meaning of *V-te shimau*

As I mentioned in section 2.2, some studies propose the core meaning of *V-te shimau* from which both the aspectual and the modal meanings are derived (cf. Nishikawa (1996)). I agree with them in proposing the core meaning and accounting for the aspectual and modal meanings. However, as far as I know, they do not give an account of why *V-te shimau* has such a core meaning. In this section, we will not only propose a new core meaning of *V-te shimau* that has not been proposed but also investigate its origin.

#### 3.1. Assumption

We assume here that the core meaning of *V-te shimau* indicates that some situation [*S*] (described by the sentence excluding *te-shimau*) changes into its entailed resulting situation, and that the aspectual and the modal meanings are semantically or pragmatically derived from the core meaning.<sup>6</sup> The assumed core meaning can be represented as follows (F and M stand for a form and a core meaning, respectively):

(14) *V-te shimau*

F: [*S*] + *te shimau*

M: Situation [*S*] comes to an end state

Again, [*S*] represents the situation described by the sentence excluding a subsidiary verb *-te shimau*. Let us take *Denki-ga zenbu kiete shimau*, for example. Based on our representation in (14), we can get [*S*] by excluding *te shimau* from the sentence. The sentence is represented as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> I am using the word *situation* as a technical term covering "actions, events, states, etc." which is based on Lyons (1995) and other authorities. See Lyons (1995) in more detail.

(15) *Denki-ga zenbu kiete shimau.*

F: *s*[denki-ga zenbu kieru] + *te shimau*

M:*s*[denki-ga zenbu kieru] comes to an end state

Then, what is the end state of *Denki-ga zenbu kiete shimau*? Obviously, it is the state in which all the lights are out. Thus, *Denki-ga zenbu kiete shimau* denotes the change of situation from “the lights are on” to “the lights are off.” The core meaning, more generally, denotes a change of situation into an end state.

If our claim is on the right track, we can predict that *V-te shimau* is not compatible with state verbs, which denote states (and hence do not denote a change of situation), because the core meaning denotes a change of situation.<sup>7</sup> Consider:

(16)a. \* Taro-no ie-wa koosokudooro-no

Taro-Gen house-Top highway-Gen

waki-ni atte-shimat-ta.

side-Dat be-Perf-Past

‘(Lit.) Taro’s house is at the side of the highway.’

b. \* Takusan okane-ga itte-shimau.

much money-Nom need-Perf

‘(Lit.) Much money will be needed.’

(Suzuki (1998:51))

As these examples show, verbs such as *aru* ‘be’ and *iru* ‘need’, which denote states, cannot appear in *V-te shimau*. On the other hand, other types of verbs such as action, accomplishment, and achievement verbs are perfectly compatible with *V-te shimau* as follows:

(17)a. Kinoo kat-ta hon-o

yesterday buy-Past book-Acc

yonde-shimat-ta.

read-Perf-Past

‘(Lit.) I have read the book I bought yesterday.’

b. Madogarasu-o watte-shimat-ta

window.glass-Acc break-Perf-Past

‘(Lit.) I have broken the window glass.’

Unlike the verbs shown in (16), verbs such as *kau* ‘buy’ and *waru* ‘break’

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<sup>7</sup> The classification of verbs is based on Kindaichi’s (1950) classification (cf. Vendler (1967)).

can appear with *-te shimau*. As is well known, these types of verbs indicate that something is done, has done, or changes its state. *V-te shimau* is compatible only with these types of verbs. This fact is perfectly compatible with our assumption that the core meaning of *V-te shimau* indicates that some situation comes to an end state.

It is not clear, however, whether our assumption in (14) is plausible. Examining *V-te shimau* in more detail, we find we cannot cancel sentences described by *V-te shimau*. Such a semantic property of *V-te shimau* does not contradict our assumption. Based on our assumption, we can say that the reason is that *V-te shimau* forces the situation described by [S] to come to an end state. Consider:

- (18)a. ??Kagi-o akete-shimat-ta-ga, aka-nakat-ta.  
 key-Acc open-Perf-Past-but, open-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I opened the key, but I couldn’t.’
- b. ??Ryooashi-de tsubushite-shimat-ta-keredomo,  
 both.feet-at squish-Perf-Past-though  
 tsubure-nakat-ta.  
 squish-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I squished it under my feet, but I couldn’t.’

As these examples show, it is hard to cancel the situation represented by the main clause including *V-te shimau*. One might think that this unacceptability results not from the semantic property of *V-te shimau* but from that of the idiosyncratic meaning of the main verb. In fact, it is hard to cancel the meaning of main sentences including these verbs (i.e. *akeru* ‘open’ and *tsubusu* ‘squish’) even if *V-te shimau* is not used:

- (19)a. ??Kagi-o ake-ta-ga, aka-nakat-ta.  
 key-Acc open-Past-but, open-Neg-Past
- b. ??Ryooashi-de tsubushi-ta-keredomo,  
 both.feet-at squish-Past-though  
 tsubure-nakat-ta.  
 squish-Neg-Past

However, I would like to emphasize the fact that verbs which usually accept cancellation (such as *kaku* ‘write’, *okosu* ‘awake’ and *moyasu* ‘burn’) cannot be cancelled when they are used in *V-te shimau* as well.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For more detailed discussion of cancellability of verbs, see Ikegami (1981, 1988), Miyajima (1994) and Kageyama (1996).

Compare the following pairs of examples:

- (20)a. ??Chikaraippai kaite-shimat-ta-ga, kak-e-nakat-ta.  
 hard write-Perf-Past-but write-can-Neg-Past  
 b. Chikaraippai kai-ta-ga, kak-e-nakat-ta.  
 hard write-Past-but write-can-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I wrote hard, but I couldn’t.’
- (21)a. ??Otoosan-wa, okoshite-shimat-te-mo, oki-nakat-ta.  
 father-Top wake-Perf-Past-but wake-Neg-Past  
 b. Otoosan-wa, okoshite-mo, oki-nakat-ta.  
 father-Top wake-but wake-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I woke my father, but I couldn’t.’  
 (Kageyama (1996:288))
- (22)a. ??Sono-shimetta-maruta-wa moyashite-shimatte-mo,  
 that-moist-log-Top burn-Perf-but  
 moe-nakat-ta.  
 burn-Neg-Past  
 b. Sono-shimetta-maruta-wa moyashite-mo, moe-nakat-ta.  
 that-moist-log-Top burn-but burn-Neg-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I burnt the moist log, but I couldn’t.’  
 (Kageyama (1996: 288))

While the main-clause situation in (20b), which does not include *V-te shimau*, can be cancelled by the subordinate-clause situation, the main-clause situation of (20a), which includes *V-te shimau*, cannot. The same holds true for (21) and (22). These comparisons clearly show that *V-te shimau* forces the situation described by [S] to come to an end state.

We can say that our assumption in (14) is perfectly compatible with the facts shown in the above observation. We must, however, admit that the plausibility of our assumption has not been directly confirmed. In order to determine the validity of our assumption, we must answer the remaining question: Why does *V-te shimau* have such a core meaning? We will take up this question in the following subsection.

### 3.2. Relation with the Main Verb Shimau

This subsection seeks to explore the relation between the main verb *shimau* and the auxiliary *shimau* in *V-te shimau* in question from a semantic perspective. I claim here that *shimau* in *V-te shimau* is one of the uses of (or originally stems from) the main verb *shimau* and the core meaning of the former stems from that of the latter. Teramura (1984), referring to

their relation, also states that the meaning of *V-te shimau* comes from that of *shimau*, without discussing how and why the inheritance is done. I would like to focus especially on the semantic mechanism of this inheritance.

As a first step of our analysis, let us consider the basic meaning of the main verb *shimau*. Take the following for example:

- (23)a. Saifu-o kaban-ni shimau.  
 wallet-Acc bag-Dat put.away  
 ‘(Lit.) I put the wallet in the bag.’
- b. Tsukue-no-ue-ni at-ta hon-o hikidashi-ni  
 desk-Gen-top-Dat be-Past book-Acc drawer-Dat  
 shimat-ta.  
 put.away-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I put the book placed on the desk into the drawer.’

Both examples in (23) indicate that the subject changes the position of the object. As these examples show, we can say roughly that the verb *shimau* denotes a change of position: Something is put away from where it is to some destination (i.e. where it is stored).

This is not enough, of course, even for the basic meaning of *shimau*, because we cannot distinguish it from transitive motion verbs such as *ugokasu* ‘move’ and *utsusu* ‘transfer.’ Examined in detail, *shimau* seems to require an “enclosed” place as a destination. In fact, we usually think of such a place as a destination when *shimau* is used and the destination is unspecified. Consider:

- (24) Hon-o shimat-ta.

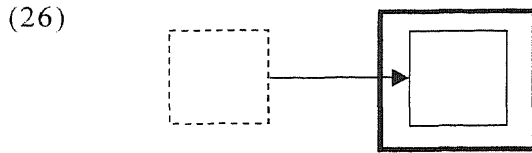
Here, the destination of the movement of the book is not specified, but we would usually regard it as an enclosed place such as a bookcase, a closet, and a bag. Because of this semantic property, *shimau* is hard to be accepted when we cannot regard the described destination as an enclosed place:

- (25)a. ??Tsukue-no-ue-ni hon-o shimat-ta.  
 desk-Gen-top-Dat book-Acc put.away-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I put away the book on the desk.’
- b. ??Kasa-o kuroozetto-no soto-ni shimat-ta.  
 umbrella closet-Gen outside-Dat put.away-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) I put away an umbrella outside of the closet.’

For example, in (25a), it is clear that *shimau* is not compatible with the

place described by *tsukue-no-ue* referring to the destination, because it is not an enclosed place and hence is not appropriate for the destination.

From what has been discussed, we can roughly summarize the basic meaning of *shimau*. It denotes things being put away from where they are to some enclosed destinations, which is schematized as follows:



Here, the square in bold represent a destination, which is an enclosed place. The arrow from the left square to the right square indicates that an object changes its position into the destination. What we would like to claim here is that *V-te shimau* basically shares the meaning schematized in (26). In what follows, we argue how this basic meaning is inherited into *V-te shimau*.

With the basic meaning in mind, let us consider specifically the change from *shimau* to *V-te shimau*. I claim that the change is one of the examples of grammaticalization (cf. Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991), Traugott and Heine (1991), and Hopper and Traugott (1993), among others). The extension is exemplified in (27):

- (27)a. Saifu-o shimau.  
 wallet-Acc put.away
- b. Mise-o shimau./Shigoto-o shimau.  
 shop-Acc close work-Acc finish
- c. Itte-shimau.  
 Go-Perf

As the initial stage of the extension, losing the sense of physical motion, *shimau* is compatible not only with concrete nouns as in (27a) but also with abstract ones like *mise* ‘shop’ or *shigoto* ‘work’, which no longer refer to concrete objects such as buildings and files, as in (27b); it does not describe changes of position of a shop or work, but denotes their change of situation. In the following stage shown in (27c), the verb *shimau* comes to be used as a subsidiary verb *te shimau* and to follow not nouns but verbs. What needs to be asked here is why this extension occurs.

This extension is caused by a metaphorical extension on the basis of a metaphor such as “CHANGES OF STATE ARE CHANGES OF POSITION (cf. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002), among others).

Based on this metaphor, some mapping operations are performed:<sup>9</sup> “Things” and “enclosed destinations” in the basic meaning are replaced by “situations” and “end states,” respectively. The schematized representation in (26), losing the sense of physical motion, indicates that a situation comes to an end state, which is the core meaning of *V-te shimau* shown in (14) (i.e., the two squares, the square in bold and the arrow from the left square to the right square represent situations, an end state, and a change of situation, respectively).

A question still remains: Why are “enclosed destinations” replaced by “end states” in the mapping operation? The answer lies in the fact that using *shimau* often implies that we have finished using an object reference. This might be because the required destinations into which things are put away are enclosed places when *shimau* is used, and, in our empirical knowledge, our putting things away into enclosed places sometimes means their end of use. We use *shimau* mostly when we put away things no longer in use at that time and keep them for future use.<sup>10</sup> For example:

- (28)a. Tsukai-owat-ta-node, hikidashi-ni shimat-ta.  
 use-finish-Past-because drawer-at put.away-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) Having finished using it, I put it away into the drawer.’
- b. Moo tsukawa-nai-kara, fuyufuku-o shima-oo.  
 already use-Neg-because winter.clothes-Acc put.away-Vol  
 ‘(Lit.) Let us put away our winter clothes because we are not going to use them.’

As these examples show, the verb *shimau* tends to imply an end of use. The temporary meaning based on such contexts is, I claim, conventionalized as the part of the meaning of *shimau*. Therefore, thing’s moving into an enclosed place (i.e. the end of use) comes to be interpreted as situation’s change into an end of state: “Enclosed destinations” are replaced by “end states” in the mapping operation between the verb *shimau*

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<sup>9</sup> See Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002) in detail.

<sup>10</sup> We also use *shimau* when we want things to be covered or kept out of sight. In this case, the meaning of *shimau* is similar to that of *kakusu* ‘hide’:

- (i) Hayaku sonna bussoona-mono, shimai-nasai.  
 Immediately such dangerous-thing put.away-Imp  
 ‘(Lit.) Put away such a dangerous thing immediately.’

Such a meaning seems to occur because *shimau* requires its destination as an enclosed place. In this article, we are not concerned with this matter.

and *te shimau*. In fact, in the middle stage exemplified in (27b), *shimau* denotes an “end” of *mise* or *shigoto*, which is a change of situation. The meaning indicating an “end” is also shown in nominalized *shimau*:

- (29)a. Kore-de oshimai.  
           this-at end  
           ‘(Lit.) We’ve come to the end.’
- b. Shimai-ni-wa, zenbu nakunaru-yo.  
           end-Dat-Gen all lose-Assert  
           ‘(Lit.) You’ll end up losing all.’

*Shimai* or *oshimai* denotes an end state of something as in (29a) and (29b). We can conclude from the above observation that all of the examples of *V-te shimau* share the core meaning in (14) because it originally comes from the verb *shimau* by a metaphorical extension.

Further, our claim explains why *V-te shimau* tends to carry negative modal meanings. As I mentioned before, the vast majority of *V-te shimau* examples conveys negative modal meanings such as disappointment, regret and criticism. This property of *V-te shimau* also comes from the basic meaning of *shimau*. As I mentioned above, the verb *shimau* requires its destination to be an enclosed place. It is putting things away into an enclosed place that leads to a negative image. In general, when we put something away, we usually put it into a closed place like a closet or box, the inside of which might be dark, narrow and invisible. Also, we sometimes put away useless junk into such places. This kind of conventional knowledge about places into which we put something away, together with an act of putting away itself, would evoke negative images. Therefore, a change of position into a destination denoted by *shimau* is often regarded as a negative (or undesirable) one. Such a negative image of the verb *shimau* seems to remain in the extended uses (i.e. *V-te shimau*). In fact, when the verb *shimau* is nominalized or used as an exclamation, it tends to carry a negative meaning. Consider:

- (30)a. Kare-ga i-nakere-ba, oshimai-da.  
           he-Nom be-Neg-if end-Assert  
           ‘(Lit.) If he is not there, that’s the end.’
- b. Shimat-ta! Okane-o wasure-ta.  
           put.away-Past money-Acc fail.to.bring-Past  
           ‘(Lit.) Darn it! I failed to bring money.’

In (30a), *oshimai*, which is a nominalized form of *shimau*, clearly expresses



a negative meaning. In the same way, in (30b), *shimattā* is used in a negative situation; the speaker laments that he/she has failed to bring money. It is natural to think that the same holds true for *V-te shimau*. That is to say, *V-te shimau* inherits the negative meaning from the verb *shimau* and result in a tendency to convey negative modal meanings.

Let us summarize the main points that have been made in this subsection. The basic meaning of *shimau* schematized in (26) is inherited into the core meaning of *V-te shimau* shown in (14): While the basic meaning of *shimau* denotes a change of position, the core meaning of *V-te shimau* denotes a change of situation (i.e. changing into an end state). Also, since a destination tends to be regarded as a negative place in the basic meaning of *shimau*, the extended version, i.e. *V-te shimau*, tends to carry negative modal meanings. In the following section, we will examine how aspectual and modal meanings of *V-te shimau* are derived from the core meaning shown in this section.

#### 4. From Core Meaning to Aspectual and Modal Meanings

##### 4.1. Core Meaning and Aspectual Meanings

Before we turn to the discussion of modal meanings of *V-te shimau*, I would like to consider aspectual meanings first. I claim here, as I mentioned before, that the aspectual meaning of *V-te shimau* results from its core meaning shown in (14).

The aspectual meaning of *V-te shimau* is derived through the operation of inserting a concrete act or change of state into the slot [S] of the core meaning. Take the following, for example:

- (31)a. Keeki-o zenbu tabete-shimau.  
           cake-Acc all eat-Perf  
           ‘(Lit.) I have eaten all the cake.’  
       b.  $s$ [keeki-o zenbu taberu] + *te shimau*  
       c.  $s$ [keeki-o zenbu taberu] comes to an end state

*V-te shimau* in (31a) denotes completive aspect and is schematically represented as in (31b). This aspectual meaning results from the operation of inserting the situation, i.e. eating all the cake, into [S] of the core meaning, as shown in (31c). As a result, we interpret (31a) as describing the completion of eating all the cake.

On the other hand, *V-te shimau* can denote actualization aspect as in (32):

- (32)a. Ame-ga futte-shimau.  
 rain-Nom fall-Perf  
 ‘(Lit.) The rain has fallen.’  
 b. <sub>S</sub>[ame-ga furu] + *te shimau*  
 c. <sub>S</sub>[ame-ga furu] comes to an end state

Based on the meaning shown in (32c), we interpret *V-te shimau* in (32a) as denoting not completion but actualization. This requires some further explanation. Unlike *keeki-o zenbu taberu* in (31), since *ame-ga furu* does not have an expressed endpoint, one may ask what its end state is. In such cases, I claim, it is an end state that a situation potentially has; in *ame-ga furu*, we evoke a change from a pre-raining state to a state of raining, and the latter is regarded as an end state. Therefore, *ame-ga furu* coming to an end state is interpreted as an actualization of the rain falling.

The above observation suggests that what divides the type of aspect between completion and actualization seems to be the type of situation inserted into [*S*], i.e. bounded or unbounded (cf. Suzuki (1998)). Consider the following examples:

- (33)a. Gakusei-ga tsugitsugi-ni kaette-shimat-ta.  
 student-Nom one.after.another-Dat go.home-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) Students went home one after another.’  
 b. Gakusei-ga zen-in kaette-shimat-ta.  
 student-Nom all go.home-Perf-Past  
 ‘(Lit.) All of the students have gone home.’

Although the same verb *kaeru* ‘go home’ is used in both of the examples, the type of aspect is not the same: Actualization and completive aspects are denoted in (33a) and (33b), respectively. (33a) tends to be interpreted as describing the actualization of students going home rather than completion of it, due to the adverb *tsugitsugi-ni*, which denotes an unbounded situation. On the other hand, (33b) is interpreted as describing the completion of students going home because of the presence of the adverb *zen-in*, which denotes a bounded situation. Since the verb *kaeru* can be interpreted as bounded or unbounded, *kaette-shimau* can denote completive aspect or actualization aspect.

Generally speaking, an insertion of a bounded situation into [*S*] results in completive aspect, and an insertion of an unbounded situation

results in actualization aspect.<sup>11</sup>

- (34)  $s$ [*bounded situation*] comes to an end state → Completion  
 $s$ [*unbounded situation*] comes to an end state → Actualization

From what has been discussed so far, it follows that the aspectual meaning of *V-te shimau* is derived by the operation of inserting a situation into the slot [S] of the core meaning. We will discuss the other meaning of *V-te shimau*, i.e. modal meanings, in the following subsection.

#### 4.2. Core Meaning and Modal Meanings

Having clarified the semantic mechanism of deriving aspectual meanings of *V-te shimau*, we will proceed to the remaining question: How are modal meanings of *V-te shimau* shown in 2.2 derived? In this article, we assume that they are pragmatically derived from the core meaning shown in (14).

As in the case of aspectual meanings, the core meaning especially plays an important role in deriving the modal meanings. Let us remind ourselves of the core meaning shown in (14), repeated here as (35):

- (35) *V-te shimau*  
 F: [S] + *te shimau*  
 M: Situation [S] comes to an end state

What I would like to emphasize here is that *V-te shimau* has a function to describe a change of situation that is unretrievable or cannot be cancelled, which is discussed through (18) to (22) in 3.1. I claim that the unretrievability (or uncancellability) implied by the core meaning plays an important role in deriving the modal meanings. In addition, we have to note that the proper context is essential in order for *V-te shimau* to convey modal meanings, and that The type of modal meaning seems to be determined on the basis of contexts.<sup>12</sup>

Let us first consider negative modal meanings. Under a context in which the speaker considers a situation [S] as undesirable, *V-te shimau* conveys a negative modal meaning. This is because *V-te shimau* implies unretrievability (or uncancellability): Speakers express negative feelings

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<sup>11</sup> According to Inoue (1976), *V-te shimau* tends to denote completive aspect when used with verbs with a semantic feature [+ perfective] such as *yomu* 'read', *tsukuru* 'make' and *kiru* 'cut', and it tends to denote actualization aspect when used with verbs with a semantic feature [- perfective] such as *furu* 'rain', *matsu* 'wait and *hataraku* 'work.'

<sup>12</sup> Here, contexts are defined according to how a speaker considers a situation inserted into [S] of the core meaning.

such as disappointment, regret, and criticism, because he/she cannot retrieve or cancel an undesirable situation coming to an end state. Consider the case of (4a), which conveys disappointment, repeated here as (36) (C stands for context):

- (36) Aa, zenbu koware-chat-ta.  
 F:  $s$ [zenbu kowareru] + *te shimatta*  
 M:  $s$ [zenbu kowareru] came into an end state  
 C: Speaker considers  $s$ [zenbu kowareru] as undesirable  
 → conveys a negative modal meaning

This shows that *V-te shimau* in (36), which has a core meaning shown in M, comes to convey a negative meaning under the context in which the speaker considers the situation of all being broken as undesirable. That is, since the speaker considers the breakage of all things (i.e. [S]) as undesirable, the speaker expresses his/her disappointment through *V-te shimau*. This negative feeling results from unretrievability (or uncancellability): The speaker is disappointed with the fact that he/she cannot retrieve or cancel the undesirable situation having come to an end state.

Negative feelings such as regret and criticism occur in the same way. Consider (4b) and (4c), repeated here as (37a) and (37b), respectively:

- (37)a. Gomen. Yokeina koto-o itte-shimatta.  
 b. Shinjirarenai. Dooshite sonna-mono katte shimatta-no?

In (37a), the speaker expresses regret, which is caused by the fact that while the speaker wants to retrieve or cancel the undesirable act (i.e. saying unnecessary things), he/she cannot retrieve or cancel it in reality. In (37b), *V-te shimau* here conveys criticism toward the hearer because of the context in which the speaker considers the situation [S] (i.e. the hearer having bought something) as undesirable: Since the speaker cannot retrieve or cancel the undesirable situation caused by the hearer, he/she expresses anger toward the hearer.

Let us next consider positive modal meanings. Under the context in which the speaker regards a situation [S] as desirable, *V-te shimau* conveys the speaker's positive feelings such as delight and astonishment. It seems here that unretrievability (or uncancellability) implied by the core meaning does not play an important role, because we, in general, do not need to retrieve or cancel a desirable situation. Consider (5), repeated here as (38):

(38)a. Kawaii-net-te iw-are-chat-ta.

b. Oodisyon-ni gookaku-shi-chatta.

It is natural that we express some positive feeling when a desirable situation comes to an end state, i.e., be actualized. In (38a), the speaker expresses delight because a desirable situation, i.e. being said that you are cute, comes to an end state. In (38b), there is a little difference from (38a). In order for (38b) to convey astonishment, a context is necessary in which the speaker considers the success in the audition not only as desirable but also as unpredictable. On the basis of such a context, *V-te shimau* conveys astonishment.

Then, where does the speaker's strong determination conveyed by *V-te shimau* come from? Let us examine (6) again, repeated here as (39):

(39)a. Boku-nara sugu sono-ba-de bunnagutte-shimau.

b. Zenbu wasurete-shima-oo.

As I mentioned before, speakers of these examples show firm determination to cause a situation [S] by using *V-te shimau*. This type of modal meaning seems to result mainly from an interaction between the core meaning and unretrievability (or uncancellability) implied by it. Since *V-te shimau* denotes that a situation [S] comes to an end state and implies that a speaker cannot retrieve or cancel it, using *V-te shimau* is sometimes regarded as carrying the speaker's firm determination to cause [S]. For example, in (39a), *V-te shimau* carries the speaker's firm determination to smash him/her.

It follows from what has been discussed that modal meanings of *V-te shimau* result from interactions among the core meaning, unretrievability and contexts, and that contexts play an important role to determine types of modal meanings, i.e. negative or positive.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

In this article, we have clarified motivations for aspectual and modal meanings of *V-te shimau* from a semantic perspective. Our close investigation of *V-te shimau* revealed that both the aspectual and modal meanings result from the core meaning that stems from the basic meaning of the verb *shimau*.

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