Syntax of Japanese dish names on restaurant menus: An emerging structure

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Japanese dish names on restaurant menus are normally presented in a simple noun phrase, as in *Tenpura soba* '*Soba* [buckwheat noodle] with tempura'. But according to Toratani (2018), some recent dish names take a peculiar structure, where they end in *TE* as in (1).
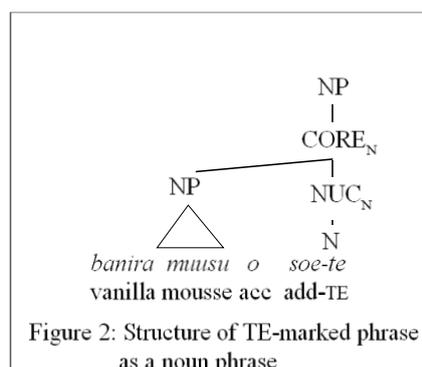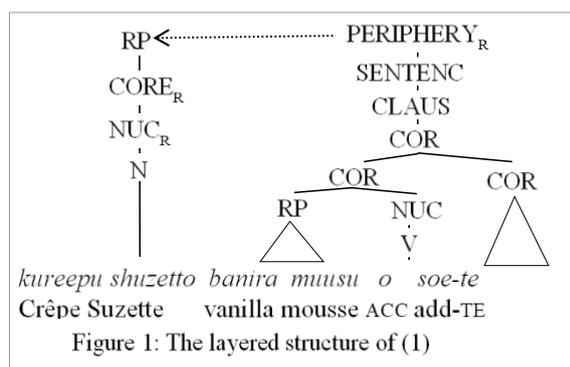
(1) *kureepu   shuzetto   banira muusu o   soe-te*
     Crêpe   Suzette   vanilla mousseACC   add-TE
     'Crêpe Suzette, adding vanilla mousse-TE'   (Toratani 2018: 289)

In narrative, *TE* normally functions as a clause linkage marker requiring a matrix predicate such as *o-dashi-shimasu* 'serve' as in (2).

(2) *banira muusu o   soe-te   o-dashi-shimasu.*
     vanilla mousseACC   add-TE   HONORIFIC-serve-POL
     'I will <u>serve</u> (it to you), adding vanilla mousse.'

However, the dish name in (1) cannot overtly realize the matrix predicate, as it will turn the dish name into a sentence, rendering it inappropriate as a dish name (#'I will serve Crêpe Suzette to you, adding vanilla mousse'). Toratani (2018: 290) speculates that the *TE*-marked unit in (1) is a nominal phrase. This paper argues it is a sentential adjunct, drawing on Van Valin (2005).
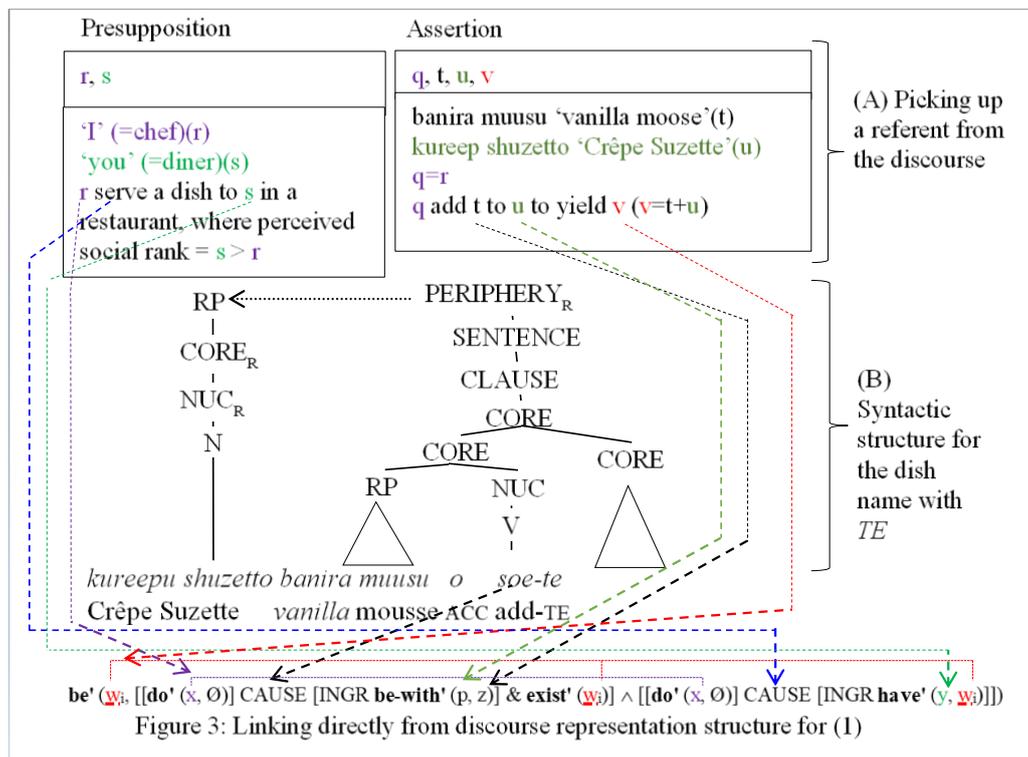
The structure of (1) must look like Figure 1, where the *TE*-marked unit occurs in the Reference-Phrase[RP]-level periphery, modifying the "head" (the main dish name, 'Crêpe Suzette'). It parallels that of English non-restrictive relative clauses, since the *TE*-marked phrase adds only additional information about the main dish (see Van Valin 2005: 222-223).

Figure 1: The layered structure of (1)

Figure 2: Structure of TE-marked phrase as a noun phrase

Contra Toratani (2018: 290), the unit ending in *TE* cannot be nominal phrase, as it will provide no place for the matrix predicate (see Figure 2), even if it is not overtly realized. In (1), the *TE*-marked phrase is "inference-intensive" (Ohoti 1995: 213), whereby a limited set of matrix predicates is inferred to follow after *TE*, such as *o-dashi-shimasu* '(I will) serve' (cf. (2)). The unit containing the *TE*-marked phrase is posited to be an instance of core cosubordination (Hasegawa 1996: 197), since a core-level modal operator (e.g. *-nakerebanaranai* 'must') would have scope over both cores: one containing *soe-te* 'adding' and the other containing the matrix predicate 'serve', albeit inferred (i.e., what the chef must do is: 'serve by adding', not just 'serve'). It is critical to recognize the presence of the inferred matrix predicate, as it instantiates

the proper construal of (1): "Crêpe Suzette, which I [the chef] will serve to you [the diner] by adding vanilla mousse.'.

Following Van Valin (2005: 173), this paper proposes to use discourse representation structure to account for the construal of (1), along the lines represented in Figure 3. It will (i) enable us to directly link event participants and the inferred predicate to semantics, and (ii) provide a place (in "presupposition") to detail the perceived social relations of the chef relative to the diner, where the latter is higher than the former, implying that the matrix predicate must be honorific-marked, if it is ever realized.

Figure 3: Linking directly from discourse representation structure for (1)

This paper presents evidence from predicate-less phrases, such as (1), on restaurant menus to argue that RRG is architecturally well-equipped to offer an account of the "missing" elements, in agreement with Shimojo (2008).

References

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