

Exploring the Effect of Register on the Distribution of Polysemous Vocabulary Items: A Case Study with Japanese Lexical Compound Verbs

Laurence Newbery-Payton

Faculty of Social Innovation, Seijo University
Seijo 6-1-20, Setagaya Ward, Tokyo, Japan
laurence@seijo.ac.jp

Abstract

Compound verbs are recognized as forming an important part of the Japanese lexicon, yet their characteristics across registers remain relatively unexplored. This study analyses the use of lexical compound verbs in spoken and written Japanese, with a focus on polysemous items. Compound verb use is found to be more frequent in written corpora, with variation among spoken corpora seemingly based on the degree to which speech is planned or spontaneous. Comparison of sense distribution in written and spoken corpora reveals a general trend towards a greater concentration of uses of polysemous items in a subset of all attested senses. Analysis of a learner corpus (I-JAS) reveals that CV use is limited not only among learners but also among native speakers. The register-related factors influencing the inter-corpus differences are discussed. This study's findings have implications for the development and refinement of resources for learners and educators, as well as underlining the need for further research into differing usage patterns of compound verbs across written and spoken L1 and L2 Japanese.

Keywords: compound verb, polysemy, register

1. Introduction

Japanese lexical compound verbs (CVs) typically consist of two verbs (V1 and V2) joined with the adverbial (*ren'yo*) form of V1. Thousands of CVs are attested in Japanese¹ and they are reported to make up approximately 40% of the verbal lexicon (Morita, 1978, p. 71). These items pose acquisitional challenges for learners of Japanese, as they can exhibit collocational restrictions, non-compositional meaning, and polysemy. As a result, non-use, underuse, and non-nativelike use of or acceptability judgements of CVs by learners have been reported in previous studies (Matsuda, 2004; Chen, 2010; Kang, 2015; Shiga, 2017; Shiga, 2018; Ishikawa, 2021; Yoshinari, Mano, Eguchi and Matsumoto, 2021).

Despite their abundance in L1 and their acquisitional difficulties, relatively few resources specifically focused on compound verbs have been developed for learners. The CoPe List (Newbery-Payton, 2026) provides the first publicly available list of high-priority CVs specifically designed for use by learners and educators. Inclusion on the list is based not only on the frequency of individual compound verbs, but on the productivity of V2 within high frequency compound verbs².

The CoPe List also provides a breakdown of the sense distributions of polysemous CVs, which account for 92 of its 214 items. The use of these items in the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ)³ is generally concentrated in a subset of attested senses, echoing findings concerning English phrasal verbs (Garnier and Schmitt, 2015). The present study examines the use of the same polysemous items across written and spoken registers, motivated by research on English phrasal verbs identifying

different sense distributions in written and spoken corpora (Liu and Myers, 2020).

It is generally accepted that phrasal verbs are a feature of spoken language. In addition to this quantitative trend, Liu and Myers (2020) identified a qualitative difference between phrasal verb usage in spoken and written language. They reported that sense distributions of polysemous phrasal verbs differed in written and spoken corpora.

The situation for CVs is less clear. In contrast to phrasal verbs, CVs are not described by previous studies as being more prevalent in spoken or in written language. Furthermore, for polysemous items, sense distribution in written language has largely remained unreported until Newbery-Payton (2026), and register-related differences remain unexplored⁴.

2. Research Questions and Methodology

This study sets out to answer the following questions about polysemous lexical compound verbs (CVs).

1. To what extent does the use of CVs differ across different spoken and written corpora?
2. To what extent are sense distributions of polysemous items in written corpora replicated in spoken corpora?
3. To what extent do learners of Japanese (NNS) resemble native speakers (NS) in their use of CVs?

Data was sourced from six corpora: the BCCWJ1, the BCCWJ2, the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (CSJ), the Corpus of Everyday Japanese Conversation (CEJC), the Nagoya University Conversation Corpus (NUCC) and the

¹ Chen and Matsumoto (2018) includes an appendix of 3,847 CVs.

² See Newbery-Payton (2026) for details on the construction of the CoPe List.

³ At the time of writing, the BCCWJ has recently been renamed to BCCWJ1, due to the release of the BCCWJ2.

⁴ Murata (2022) identifies 11 V2s whose frequencies of use distinguish three written genres: academic papers, newspaper editorials and literature. Some of these V2s form polysemous CVs, but to the best knowledge of the author, no existing studies systematically address the issue of sense distribution of polysemous CVs across different registers.

International Corpus of Japanese as a Second Language (I-JAS). An overview of each corpus is provided in Table 1.

For each of the corpora listed in Table 1, concordance lines were extracted for each of the 92 polysemous CVs contained in the CoPe List and adjusted frequencies were calculated. Corpus searches were conducted through the Chunagon Portal provided by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. For I-JAS, NS and NNS data were analysed separately.

Corpus	L1/L2	Size	Content
BCCWJ1	L1	104,911,460	General written
BCCWJ2	L1	23,382,489	Published books
CSJ	L1	7,576,046	Monologues & dialogues
CEJC	L1	2,419,171	Dialogues
NUCC	L1	1,135,329	Dialogues
I-JAS	L2/ L1	3,401,898/ 264,190	Primarily spoken (monologues & dialogues)

Table 1: Overview of the corpora used in the study

In Newbery-Payton (2026), sense distribution was analysed using a sample of 50-100 concordance lines. For items with fewer than 100 concordance lines, all concordance lines were analysed, while analysis was not attempted for items with fewer than 50 concordance lines. The present study adopted the same criteria.

Of the 92 polysemous items in CoPe, 20 appeared with a frequency of 50 or more in CSJ. In contrast, only two items appeared with a frequency of 50 or more in CEJC or NUCC. For practical reasons, therefore, concordance lines were extracted from CSJ and analysed for sense distribution by the author.

3. Results

3.1 Characteristics of CV use across spoken and written corpora

Table 2 summarizes the average adjusted frequency of (a) all 92 items; and (b) the 20 items subject to further analysis for RQ2. There is a trend towards more frequent CV use in the written L1 corpora, followed by the spoken L1 corpora, then finally by the I-JAS data. In fact, for 79% of the 92 items, the highest adjusted frequency was observed in either the BCCWJ1 or BCCWJ2.

Correspondence analysis⁵ was conducted to further examine usage patterns across the seven groups. The Eigenvalues for dimensions 1 and 2 are 40 and 28 respectively. In dimension 1, CSJ forms a group with the

written corpora. The other two spoken corpora, CEJC and NUCC, are positioned relatively close to one another. I-JAS and I-JAS NS appear to form a third grouping.

Corpus	Av. Adjusted Frequency (92)	Av. Adjusted Frequency (20)
BCCWJ1	9.87	19.63
BCCWJ2	10.76	22.98
CSJ	5.61	18.29
CEJC	3.54	7.34
NUCC	4.00	8.28
I-JAS NS	3.28	6.79
I-JAS	1.09	2.20

Table 2: Average adjusted frequencies of CVs

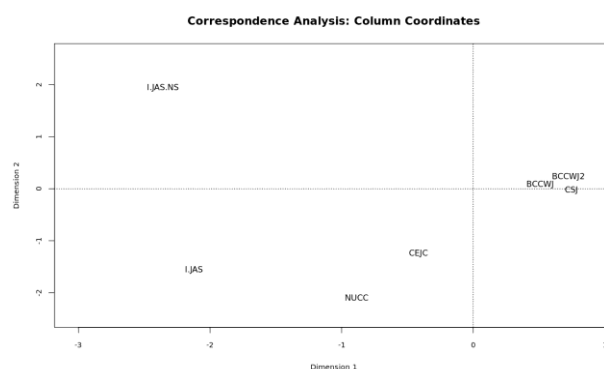


Figure 1: Correspondence analysis (column coordinates)

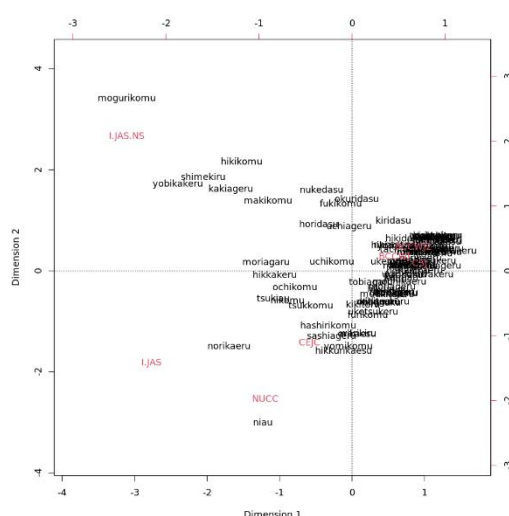


Figure 2: Correspondence analysis biplot

⁵ Correspondence analysis was conducted using the online tool at Langtest (<https://langtest.jp/shiny/corresp/>)

The biplot in Figure 2 shows a concentration of CVs around the right-hand grouping of the BCCWJ1, BCCWJ2, and CSJ data. This is an indication that use of the majority of the CVs in this study is associated with these corpora. There are very few CVs associated with I-JAS, I-JAS NS, or NUCC.

Based on Figures 1 and 2, it appears that CV use is conditioned by factors such as spontaneity, formality, and the distinction between dialogue and monologue. Although CSJ is a spoken corpus, it includes transcripts of academic presentations and sample speeches, for which content was likely prepared beforehand. In fact, the CV *yomiageru* ‘read out’, appears more frequently in CSJ than in any of the other corpora. Another CV, *toriageru* ‘take up’, which can function to announce the topic the speaker is about to discuss, also appears most frequently in CSJ. The frequent use of both these verbs is consistent with CSJ including presentations of prepared texts.

Perhaps most remarkable in Figure 1 is the position of the I-JAS NS data. Given the findings of previous research referred to in section 1, it is perhaps unsurprising that NNS show different usage patterns to L1 corpora. However, it appears that the use of CVs by NS under the same conditions is also highly distinctive. In other words, there appear to be considerable task-related effects on the use of CVs in I-JAS. Characteristics of CV use in I-JAS by NS and NNS will be described in more detail in section 3.3.

3.2 Sense Distribution

The correspondence analysis in section 3.1 indicated similarities in the frequency of use of CVs among the BCCWJ1, BCCWJ2, and CSJ data. However, this does not necessarily mean that the use of these items is comparable: sense distributions may differ, e.g. between written and spoken language.

Concordance lines in CSJ for 20 high-frequency items were categorized by sense and compared to patterns observed in the BCCWJ1 by Newbery-Payton (2026). Overall, sense distributions in the two corpora bear significant similarities but also notable differences. In the BCCWJ the most frequent sense accounted for an average of 71% of all uses, while in the CSJ this rose to 82%. In other words, uses of polysemous CVs were concentrated in a subset of attested meaning senses to a greater degree in the CSJ data.

While in most cases the relative proportions of each sense were maintained or entrenched (e.g. *ochikomu*, *hikidasu*, *toriageru*), relative proportions were reversed for a small number of items (e.g. *kiridasu*, *tsukkomu*, *uchikomu*). An example of each pattern is provided in Tables 3 and 4 below.

Next, we consider the relationship between sense distribution and the order of senses as they are listed in the Compound Verb Lexicon. Using data from the BCCWJ1, Newbery-Payton (2026, p. 13) reported that 42% of items in CoPe displayed a concentration of uses in senses other than the first listed sense⁶. The example of *ochikomu* in Table 3 follows this pattern. The trend is comparable in the CSJ data, with 45% of items not appearing most frequently in the first listed sense.

⁶ Newbery-Payton (2026) restricted analysis to polysemous CVs with two (rather than more than two) senses, and listed raw numbers rather than percentages.

Sense	% of Use (BCCWJ)	% of Use (CSJ)
(1) To enter (a hole) by falling	6	5
(2) For the ground to sink (to hollow out)	3	1
(3) To enter a bad situation.	43	15
(4) For the spirits to sink.	47	79

Table 3: Sense distributions for the CV *ochikomu*

Sense	% of Use (BCCWJ)	% of Use (CSJ)
(1) To cut wood or stone and carry away.	28	96
(2) To make the resolve to bring up a topic to another person.	72	4

Table 4: Sense distributions for the CV *kiridasu*

3.3 Characteristics of CV Use in I-JAS

The NNS I-JAS data exhibited the following characteristics. Of the 92 CVs, 64 were unattested. Among the 28 attested items, adjusted frequency was lowest out of all the corpora for 10 items, and highest for none of the items. Based on this data, it might be assumed that NNS are yet to achieve native-like mastery of CVs.

However, NS themselves were similarly restricted in their use of CVs in I-JAS. While the average adjusted frequencies listed in Table 2 are higher for the NS, only 27 items were attested in their data, i.e. fewer than the NNS. In contrast, 61 items were attested in NUCC and 72 in CEJC, which share the features of spoken dialogue.

Assuming the usage trends for the polysemous items in this study are replicated in CV use more generally, the nature of the tasks in I-JAS would appear to be uncondusive to the use of (a wide variety of) CVs. If this is the case, the low frequency of use of CVs by NNS cannot entirely be explained by e.g. a lack of productive vocabulary knowledge.

The remainder of this section briefly considers the specific items used more frequently by the two I-JAS groups. Items used more frequently by NNS include *nikomu*, *sashiageru*, *kikitoru*, *niau*, and *norikaeru*. It is possible to interpret many of these items as being closely linked to specific functions: giving an object to, or performing an action for, the hearer (*sashiageru*); conveying to the hearer (lack of) understanding (*kikitoru*); flattering the hearer (*niau*);

giving the hearer instructions (*norikaeru*). The frequency with which learners are required to carry out these functions (either in real-life or in classroom activities) may have contributed to these CVs becoming established in learners' productive vocabulary.

Some of these items (*sashiageru*, *kikitoru*, *niau*) are unattested in the I-JAS NS data, unlike the other L1 corpora. In contrast, there are 6 items which appear most frequently in the I-JAS NS data: *makikomu*, *hikikomu*, *mogurikomu*, *kakiageru*, *moriagaru*, and *yobikakeru*. In the case of *mogurikomu*, this is likely due to speakers describing manner of motion in a picture-based storytelling task. As shown by Figure 2, this CV is highly characteristic of the I-JAS NS data and as such, non-use of this particular item should not be treated in the same way as non-use of items appearing on the right-hand side of Figure 2.

4. Discussion

This study has found evidence that the use of CVs may be modulated by register. The results of correspondence analysis suggested that the BCCWJ1, BCCWJ2 and CSJ are relatively similar in terms of the use of CVs. This can be explained if the use of CVs is more frequent when speakers/writers are under fewer time constraints and are able to prepare a text beforehand. This is typically the case in written language, but CSJ includes a significant proportion of speech that could be based on partially-prepared texts. In contrast, in I-JAS, participants – both NS and NNS – faced significant time constraints which may have affected their propensity to use CVs, not only in the speaking tasks which account for the majority of the data set but also for the written tasks. Generally speaking, however, written language is typically produced under looser time constraints than spoken language, so in effect, CV use appears to be a feature of written language. This is an interesting contrast with phrasal verbs, which are characterized as frequently appearing in spoken language in particular. One speculative explanation relates to the alternative linguistic expressions which are in competition with each form. CVs can be said to be in competition with (combinations of) simplex verbs, which are in many cases native vocabulary items. In contrast, phrasal verbs are often in competition with Latinate verbs, which may be longer and restricted to particular registers.

Analysis of sense distributions found a greater concentration of uses in the CSJ data than the BCCWJ data. If this characteristic is replicated for spoken language more generally, it underlines the fact that from a pedagogical perspective “not all senses are equal”. This is particularly relevant because overall, there is little relation between the order of senses listed in existing resources and their relative frequencies of use. It should also be noted that categorizing different senses revealed the limitations of definitions provided in existing resources. For example, sense 1 of *kiridasu* listed in Table 4 accounted for over 90% of uses in CSJ, but many examples did not refer to “wood” or “stone”, nor to other physical objects. This definition should be generalized to cover actual usage of the item in question.

Finally, this study considered features of I-JAS and how these lead to infrequent use of CVs, even among NS. Why was CV use so limited? One possible contributing factor is

the lack of preparation time afforded to speakers. I-JAS assigns participants with particular tasks with only limited preparation time. Furthermore, the majority of tasks are conducted in a spoken dialogue format, which appears to be relatively uncondusive to compound verb use. Regardless of the cause, given the extent of differences between the I-JAS NS data and the other L1 spoken corpora, caution is required when comparing I-JAS data with other corpora.

Finally, we consider pedagogical implications. What items should learners be expected to learn? All the items in the present study are included in the CoPe List, so are of relatively high priority. With this in mind, are there items which should be particularly prioritised? To give one example, Table 5 lists the CVs whose adjusted frequency was highest in CEJC or in NUCC. Some of these items were attested to varying degrees in the IJAS data, and/or in the IJAS NS data, but not at comparable adjusted frequencies. Such items could be candidates for focused treatment in pedagogical resources.

Corpus	Items
CEJC	<i>tsukkumu</i> , <i>uriageru</i> , <i>moriagaru</i> , <i>hikkakeru</i> , <i>hikkurikaesu</i> , <i>norikaeru</i>
NUCC	<i>yomikomu</i> , <i>niau</i> , <i>tsukiau</i>

Table 5: CVs with highest adjusted frequency in CEJC or NUCC

What information should learners expect in pedagogical resources? Entries could include icons for “written” or “spoken”, or could provide a ratio of written to spoken use. Information about frequency bands could also be provided. Such information is not provided in recent resources, such as Himeno (2023). Finally, sense distributions should be listed so that learners or educators can prioritize certain senses over others. This information is listed for written language in the CoPe List (Newbery-Payton, 2026) and it is hoped that information about spoken language can be added in future.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the effect of register on the use of polysemous lexical compound verbs in L1 and L2 spoken and written Japanese and revealed a number of quantitative and qualitative trends that have particular relevance in pedagogical contexts.

At the same time, the study has a number of significant limitations. First, there are issues related to the corpora used. CSJ cannot be said to accurately represent all spoken Japanese, and was selected due to data size limitations in other available corpora. The academic presentations included in the CSJ data may skew frequencies of particular CVs. More refined methods of calculating the distribution of CVs should be employed in future studies.

Second, different written genres may display different usage trends. Just as the CSJ data appeared to show characteristics more typical of written language, certain sections of the BCCWJ show informal, unedited language use that may share more similarities to spoken language.

The BCCWJ is large enough to allow genre-specific analyses. Based on the results of the present study, it seems plausible that less formal written registers exhibit lower frequency of use of CVs. Analysis of sense distribution should likewise consider different written genres. Ideally, spoken data should also be divided by register, although the relatively low frequencies attested may make this unfeasible.

Third, this paper considered only polysemous items, but the findings have implications about the characteristics of compound verbs more generally. Future studies should analyse a larger set of compound verbs to confirm the findings.

Finally, this study did not consider syntactic compound verbs. There is some evidence from the previous studies mentioned in section 1 that syntactic compound verbs are less challenging than lexical compound verbs for NNS. The results of this study should therefore be combined with analysis of syntactic compound verb usage to provide a more complete picture of CV use in L1 and L2 Japanese.

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