Japanese: Descriptive Grammar

John Hinds

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JAPANESE

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Japanese

John Hinds



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INTRODUCTION

> At this time the heavenly deities, all with one command, said to the two deities IZANAGI-NO-MIKOTO and IZANAMI-NO-MIKOTO: "Complete and solidify this drifting land!"
>
> Giving them the Heavenly Jeweled Spear, they entrusted the mission to them.
>
> Thereupon, the two deities stood on the Heavenly Floating Bridge and, lowering the jeweled spear, stirred with it. They stirred the brine with a churning-churning sound; and when they lifted up [the spear] again, the brine dripping down from the tip of the spear piled up and became an island. This was the island ONOGORO [apparently near Osaka Bay].
>
> [Philippi 1968:49]

From this auspicious beginning, brother and sister Izanagi and Izanami married and brought forth their offspring, which were the Japanese islands and a large number of deities. Their lives together, and apart, are sensual, and this is explicitly described in the *Kojiki* "Records of Ancient Matters" (712 AD). Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, is in a direct line of descent from Izanagi and Izanami, as is the current Imperial Family.

The relevance of this myth of creation for present-day Japan is that there is a long extant history of the islands and the people who live there. The fact that some of the history is fictional in no way invalidates the tradition that exists. Much as children in the west have an appreciation for the Greco-Roman tradition, and are influenced by it in culture, writing, and grammar, so the Japanese draw on their rich cultural heritage and are influenced by it.

The earliest written records are important as linguistic and cultural documents. According to Miller 1967:91ff, the people of Japan had contact with the Chinese script and language as early as the third century A. D. Adapting the Chinese script to the Japanese language involved considerable difficulties. The differences between the Chinese and Japanese languages, and the tortured adaptation of the Chinese script to the Japanese language, have made the present-day Japanese writing system one of the most complicated in the world. And despite this, there is higher than a 99% literacy rate in Japan today.

The earliest extant document written in Old Japanese, as opposed to Chinese, is an anonymous composition from the late ninth or early tenth century entitled *Taketori monogatari* "The Bamboo Cutter's Tale". Considerable numbers of

documents exist from the tenth century, and the most important document in Old Japanese is *Genji monogatari* "The Tale of Genji", written sometime between 1001 and 1010.

Japan is thus a nation with an established, documented history, and a nation cognizant of that history. These facts play a role in the interpretation and understanding of the modern language.

Japan is the seventh most populous nation in the world. Its 120,000,000 people live on four main islands and more than 4,000 adjacent islands which are strung out along the coast of East Asia, covering a latitude approximately that from Maine to Florida. The island of Honshu, which comprises 61% of the country's total area, holds 80% of the people, most of whom live in sprawling metropolitan centers. The islands combined have an area larger than either Norway or Italy. Placed in perspective, however, we see that not all of this land is habitable. The country is divided between mountainous regions and plains; 71% of the land is mountainous, and 90% of the people live on the remaining 29% of the land which is recognized as plains.

The population is highly educated. Compulsory education lasts for nine years, from the age of 6 when a child enters primary school until graduation from middle school; 99.99% of the population attend primary and middle schools. In 1983, 94% of the middle school graduates opted to continue on to senior high school. This figure, in fact, reflects a drop from the year before in the percentage to continue. Since 1974, 90% or more of the middle school students have continued on to senior high school. In 1983, there were 1,730,000 students studying in 457 national, public, and private universities.

While in school, one of the subjects Japanese children study is *kokugo* [国語] "the national language". This national language is well-defined and codified. It is in fact prescribed by the *kokugo shingikai* [国語審議会] "Japanese Language Council" established by the Ministry of Education. Regardless of geographic origin, children are well-versed in this national, or standard, language and the conventions which apply to it. The language described in this work is therefore standard spoken Japanese (*hyoojungo* [標準語] or *kyootsuugo* [共通語]), an ill-defined set of linguistic patterns based on the educated speech of uptown Tokyo dialect. From time to time, however, dialectal forms are introduced to make a specific point. There are considerable differences between spoken and written forms, but written forms are adduced when they are appropriate to the construction being discussed. Every attempt has been made to use actually occurring forms as illustrations, and this has necessitated the inclusion of both dialect and written forms. My data base, while extensive, is finite. Examples adduced from written materials and data taken from other sources are

referenced. Otherwise no citations are included. There are constructed examples, and these are generally recognized by the "cleanness" of appearance. There are no hesitations or other disfluencies which characterize much of spoken language. One drawback to the approach that I have taken is that in a small number of cases, the example which illustrates a point is not the perfect example; a constructed example would likely illustrate the point more convincingly. I feel strongly enough that grammatical points should be illustrated with real examples that I have chosen to keep my examples as they are, with no editing.

The thorough reader will notice that many example sentences, or portions of sentences, are repeated. This occurs because the same sentence may appropriately illustrate more than one specific point. There is no systematic attempt to crossreference these repetitions.

The Japanese language has always posed a problem for scholars concerned with genetic relationships. Within Japan and without there have been attempts to connect Japanese with a variety of languages and language families, including Tibeto-Burman and Malayo-Polynesian. The quality of this work has varied immensely. Attempts to connect Japanese with the nearby languages of Asia are more solid, though not without controversy.

The strongest connection is between Japanese and Korean. Although their respective phonologies differ considerably, morphological and syntactic similarities abound. Moreover, the traditional tools of historical-comparative method have been applied to the lexicons of these two languages [see Martin 1966], and major sets of sound correspondences have been established. A chain, solid to be sure, but not without criticism, is thereby established linking Japanese genetically to Korean. A somewhat more tenuous chain places Korean within the language group of northeast Asia known as Altaic. Thus, it is not beyond the boundaries of legitimate scientific hypothesizing to investigate an ultimate connection between Japanese and Turkic, Tungusic, and Mongolian.

Present day Japanese has a basic word order of subject, object, verb (SOV). As a result, it has postpositions rather than prepositions, branching is to the left rather than to the right, and inflectional endings are added to the right rather than to the left.

An interesting property of Japanese, which it shares with Korean, is that there is a special postpositional particle *wa* whose function is to indicate the "topic" or the "theme" of an utterance. The distribution of this particle in contrast to the particle *ga*, the "subject" particle, has occupied the attention of native Japanese scholars and non-native scholars for years [see especially Mikami 1960]. There is every reason to believe that this occupation will

continue for years to come.

Another relevant property of Japanese is the widespread phenomenon of ellipsis. Elliptical utterances not only exist, they abound. Not only are major grammatical relationships like subject and direct object routinely left out of utterances, postpositional particles whose function is to identify grammatical relationships may also be left out when subjects or objects remain. Even main clause verbals may be left out. All of these various elisions occur when the meaning of the utterance may be "known from context". Various authors have speculated on the role of silence in Japanese culture, and it might not be remiss to suggest a relationship between silence and total ellipsis.

The interaction of society and language is an important, often neglected, area of study. In Japanese, it is not neglected because there is a direct manifestation of societal conventions in grammatical categories. Although the Japanese verb, for instance, does not inflect for number, person, or gender, there are modifications which occur for honorific distinctions. Martin 1964, in one of the earliest modern treatments of this phenomenon, demonstrated that honorific distinctions are made in Japanese on the basis of two intersecting but distinct axes. The first he termed the axis of address. Along this axis distinctions are made based on the perceived social role of the addressee in relation to the speaker. Utterances are thus obligatorily coded for politeness and nonpoliteness, nonpolite forms being reserved for intimates and inferiors and polite forms being used to all others. The second axis is the axis of reference. Here three basic distinctions are made based on the social role of the "subject" of a sentence. Neutral forms may be used, and these neutral forms can refer to the actions of first, second, or third persons. Honorific forms may be used, and these honorific forms are reserved to describe the actions of someone whom the speaker wishes to "elevate". Humble forms may also be used, and the purpose of these is to "lower" the speaker. Not surprisingly then, honorific forms are never used in reference to oneself or one's family, while humble forms are typically reserved for that function. Older speakers frequently lament that younger speakers are unable or unwilling to use the "proper" honorific language. In a sense they are right, in that honorific usage is tending to level out. Despite that, it is still an amazingly complex, amazingly robust system.

The Japanese writing system consists of several types of symbols, each with its own function. The first type is termed *kanji* [漢字]. These are pictographic or ideographic characters, adopted and modified from Chinese. *kanji* are used to write nouns, nominal-adjectives, verb and adjective stems. The second type is termed *kana*. These are phonetic symbols which developed in Japan from the Chinese script.

Japanese word. To take a concrete example, the character 誓 may be pronounced *sei* when it is read in the Chinese fashion or *chika-u* "swear" when it is read in the Japanese fashion. The hyphen indicates that the verb stem *chika-* is written with the character while the inflectional ending *-u* is written in hiragana. Other characters have more readings than this. Some have more than one Japanese reading. An example of this is 触, which is read *shoku* in the Chinese reading and either *sawa-ru* or *fu-reru* "touch". The character 直 is even more complicated: it is read as *choku* or *jiki* in the Chinese way, and as *nao-su/nao-ru* "fix" or *tadachi ni* "immediately" in the Japanese way. Characters with even more readings are common.

The system is not complete chaos, however. There are some generalizations which can be made for how a given character is to be read. Noun compounds typically are read in the Chinese fashion, but even this is not invariant. The character 辛, for example, is read *shin* in the Chinese way, but *kara-i* in the Japanese. Thus, the compounds 辛抱 *shinboo* "patience, perseverance" and 辛勝 *shinshoo* "win after a hard fight" contain the Chinese readings, but 辛い *kara-i* "be spicy" is pronounced in the Japanese way. The compound 辛味 *kara-mi* "spiciness", in contrast, contains a Japanese reading. To make it even more complicated, some compounds may be pronounced with either reading, often reflecting a difference in meaning. Thus, 風車 is read in the Chinese way as *fuusha* "windmill" or as *kazaguruma* "windmill, pinwheel". Only context will differentiate the readings, and even this does not eliminate ambiguities entirely.

Rendering Japanese script into a romanization is not, in principle, difficult. The choice of romanization is. There are two basic romanizations, each with minor modifications based ultimately on individual preference. The *kunrei-shiki* is patterned after the fifty-sounds table. In this system the initial consonant sound of all five syllables in each row of kana is represented uniformly with the same roman letter, despite any phonetic variation. Thus, even though the phonetic sequences [tu] and [ti] are disallowed in Japanese, these sequences of letters are permitted with the understanding that they are pronounced *tsu* and *chi*, respectively. The major advantage of the *kunrei-shiki* is that inflectional endings are seen to be more regular. The parallel between the inflectional forms of the following verbs is obvious. The same endings are added to an invariant verb stem.

Each symbol represents a single syllable. There are two types of *kana*: *hiragana*, which are used to write inflectional endings, particles, and native words not written in *kanji*; and *katakana*, used to write foreign loan words, telegrams, and words which are emphasized. The third type consists of roman letters. These three types are often mixed within a single sentence. The following advertisement in the weekly magazine *sandei mainichi* "Sunday Everyday" illustrates this. In the romanization under the Japanese orthography, *kanji* are written in upper case, hiragana in lower case, and katakana are underlined.

ドイツ　を 語る　に は 白い　ワイン RM
doitsu o KATAru ni wa SHIROi wain RM
Germany AM speak DT TM white wine
"In speaking of Germany, [speak of] the white wine 'R-M' (i.e. Rudolf Müller)"

I have written this slogan from left to right, as it appeared in the ad, but it must be noted that Japanese has traditionally been written from right to left, top to bottom. The vertical style appears mostly in literary works, while the left to right horizontal style, which is in fact recommended by the Ministry of Education, appears in works dealing with scientific subjects. Newspapers use both styles. It is not uncommon to find horizontal writing which runs from right to left on delivery vans.

Regardless of direction of writing, there are no blank spaces left between words, there is no upper case to signal the beginning of a new sentence, and traditionally there is only one punctuation mark. In recent writing, however, under the direct influence of western languages, various punctuation marks occur [see Hadamitsky and Spahn 1981].

There are approximately 2,000 *kanji* which constitute the *jooyoo-kanji* [常用漢字] "characters for daily use". This list changes from time to time, based on recommendations of the Kokugo Shingikai (Japanese Language Council). Knowledge of these *jooyoo-kanji* is sufficient for reading newspapers, although a knowledge of more is required to read literary works. The *kana* are arranged in the following order, and this system is called the *gojuuonzu* [五十音図] "fifty-sounds table".

The writing system is complicated not only by sheer numbers (approximately 2100 "letters", some with as many as twenty or more prescribed "strokes" which must be memorized) but also by pronunciations. Each character has at least two different pronunciations, or readings. In this way Japanese is very different from Chinese, since in Chinese each character has only one pronunciation. The two readings are referred to as *on-yomi* [音読] "Chinese-derived readings" and *kun-yomi* [訓読] "native Japanese readings", depending on whether the character is read as an approximation of the original Chinese, or whether it is used to write a native

"write"	"wait"	
kak-u	*mat-u*	NONPAST NONPOLITE
kak-imasu	*mat-imasu*	NONPAST POLITE
kak-oo	*mat-oo*	PRESUMPTIVE

The major disadvantage to this system is that there is a tendency for nonnative speakers of Japanese to pronounce certain forms incorrectly. Thus, the competing *hebon-shiki*, or Hepburn system, changes consonants when there is a change in pronunciation. An advantage is gained with respect to eye-ear harmony, but the inflectional system looks much more irregular than it actually is. We can compare the same forms as above, written in *hebon-shiki*.

"write"	"wait"	
kak-u	*mats-u*	NONPAST NONPOLITE
kak-imasu	*mach-imasu*	NONPAST POLITE
kak-oo	*mat-oo*	PRESUMPTIVE

For this book, since many of the readers will be unfamiliar with Japanese, I have elected to use a modified Hepburn system so that the written form will correspond as closely as possible to the actual pronunciation.

There are some other conventions which are followed. Long vowels are written as a sequence of two vowels rather than with a circumflex: *kookoo* "high school" rather than *kôkô*. Next, long consonants are written as two consonants: *rokkagetsu* "six months", *hottodoggu* "hot dog"; alternate systems permit a "*Q*", giving *roQkagetsu* and *hoQttodoQgu*. Syllabic *n* is written *n* unless it immediately precedes a vowel, in which case is is written *n'*. This convention is useful to differentiate, for instance *funin* "sterility" from *fun'in* "short space of time". No upper case letters are used in the transcription system. Contracted forms are indicated with an apostrophe in place of the omitted sounds: *'ppari* when *yappari* "as expected" is so contracted.

The goal of the editors of this series is to provide references works for a number of languages which will be uniform in appearance and content. I am in sympathy with this goal, and feel privileged to be part of this worthwhile project. In hindsight, however, it has become obvious to me that the outline provided by the editors imposed undesirable constraints, not on me, but on the Japanese language. Often I have found myself uncomfortable presenting information in one organization framework rather than another, in one order rather than another. On further reflection, however,

I realized that this "grammar" of Japanese is not meant to be read at one sitting from cover to cover, that scholars will be going to specific sections with specific questions they wish answered. I trust that I have either provided the answers, or have provided a useful guide for how to search further for that answer.

One characteristic property of this grammar is that it is heavily data based. The data consist primarily of audio- and video-taped conversations and interviews, although written sources are also included. With respect to written sources, I have relied heavily on the popular newspaper column *tensei jingo* [天声人語] "Vox Dei, Vox Populi". Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of the *tensei jingo* articles are done by the staff of the Asahi Shimbun.

The conversational data stretch back to 1969, when I first began to examine Japanese conversational interaction. I wish now to thank all of the (mostly) anonymous subjects who have agreed, sometimes with reluctance, to allow me to analyze what they said. I would also like to thank Wako Tawa Hinds, Shoichi Iwasaki, Kazuhiko Nagatomo, Yoshio Enomoto, Mark Thorpe, Takaharu Yamakawa, Shigeru Miyagawa, Kazuko Popplewell, Akiko Okuda, Terry Klafehn, Mami Futagami, Hitomi Herlofsky, Takako Michii, Janet Shibamoto, Senko Maynard, Hiroko Onaha, Masatoshi Tabuki, Yukiko Tsunoda, Charles DeWolf, Reiko Takeuchi, Polly Szatrowzki, Pat Clancy, and Morio Hamada for helping, on various occasions and in various places, to collect and transcribe data, or for generously providing data. To any I have omitted, I offer my sincere apologies.

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I have been fortunate through the years to receive critical guidance in my study of Japanese linguistics. I count among my formal and informal teachers Bart Mathias, Jim McCawley, Don Smith, Matt Shibatani, Yuki Kuroda, Jack Chew, Susumu Kuno, Seiichi Makino, Kazuko Inoue, Seiichi Nakada, Tazuko Uyeno, Masatake Muraki, Gisaburo Kiyose, J. V. Neustupný, Shozo Kurokawa, Ed Quackenbush, Senko Maynard, and Matsuo Soga. I have also been fortunate to have relevant reference works available to me. These are the works of Roy A. Miller, Akira Mikami, Anthony Alfonso, and Eleanor Jorden. Special mention must be made of A Reference Grammar of Japanese by Samuel Martin. He has done it all, though, if the truth be known, he did not follow the outline proposed for the Croom-Helm Series.

This enterprise has continued for an overly long period

of time. One thing which has kept me going is that throughout this period, there have been a large number of people willing and able to discuss matters of Japanese with me, and to offer me suggestions, advice, and direction. In listing these people, I wish to absolve them of blame for any inaccuracies or infelicities. They have each, in their own way, offered to help shape the direction of this book, and there is no doubt that I could have benefited by listening more. I have also decided in listing these names that it is most appropriate to order the names more or less randomly, and that is what accounts for the order you see here. Grateful thanks go to Shoichi Iwasaki, Bob Russell, Kazu Nagatomo, Pamela Downing, Bill Herlofsky, Senko Maynard, Don Smith, Osamu Kamada, Keiji Matsumoto, Machiko Tomiyama, Bernard Comrie, Phil Baldi, Polly Szatrowzki, Reiko Takeuchi, Matt Shibatani, Yoshiko Higurashi, Hiroshi Hiraki, Charles DeWolf, Gene Halleck, Shigeru Miyagawa, Hitomi Herlofsky, Pat Clancy, Norval Smith.

I would like to pay special thanks to Wako Tawa Hinds who, despite her own heavy work load and other adverse conditions, was willing to read the whole manuscript and to offer cogent advice and suggestions. My gratitude to her goes beyond what words can express.

In writing this book I have missed many opportunities to interact with my children Erik, Christina, and John. The time is lost, and there is no reasonable justification for that. They have survived my absence, as children do, and I am lessened by it.

Abbreviations

AC	Accusative particle
COND	Conditional morpheme
COM	Comitative particle
COP	Copula
DESID	Desiderative morpheme
DT	Dative particle
EM	Emphatic particle
H	Hesitation phenomenon
IMP	Imperative morpheme
LC	Locative particle
LK	Linking particle
NEG	Negative morpheme
NM	Nominative particle
NOM	Nominalizer
PASS	Passive morpheme
POT	Potential morpheme
PRES	Present tense morpheme
PROV	Provisional morpheme
QT	Quotative morpheme
QU	Question particle
REP	Representative morpheme
TAG	Tag question
TP	Topic particle
VC	Vocative particle

:(:::)	Indicates lengthening of a vowel
-	Indicates terminated speech

I dedicate this book to

John and Christina

Temporally identical

Temperamentally diverse

I love them for what they are

1. SYNTAX

1.1. GENERAL QUESTIONS

1.1.1. SENTENCE TYPES

1.1.1.1. *DIRECT SPEECH AND INDIRECT SPEECH*

Direct speech is a mode of reporting in which the speech of a character is reported as if in actual deliverance, often separated from the narrative body in written form by graphological marks. Indirect speech, on the other hand, reports the speech of a character in less precise terms, often delivering the gist of the original utterance, and nothing more. In English, this distinction is quite rigidly and purposefully maintained.

(1) Bill said, "I can do it."

(2) Bill said he could do it.

In addition to graphological conventions, pronoun choice and tense choice are indicators of this distinction.

In Japanese, the distinction between direct and indirect speech is less clear. Both typically occur without any special form of the quoted verb, and both are marked by the quotative particle *to*, a less formal quotative particle *tte*, or by one of a number of qualifying phrases whose purpose is to indicate that what has been quoted is, at best, part of what the person actually said. These are illustrated in (3) through (5), respectively.

(3) *biru ga ne, boku no kodomo ja-nai to ittara*
Bill NM EM I LK child not QT say-if
shoomei dekinai deshoo.
prove able-NEG presumptive
"if Bill, you know, says, 'The child is not mine,' [she] can't prove anything, right?"

(4) *anoo, abooshon suru nara dasu tte biru itta rashii yo.*
uh abortion do if pay QT Bill said seems EM
"Bill said that if [she] would have an abortion [he]'d pay for [it]."

(5) *de, da-kara, biru wa, anoo, amerikajin tte*
um so Bill TP uh American QT
daitai furii-sekkusu toka-nan-toka iu kedo sa,
usually free-sex or-something say but EM
"So, Bill, well, Americans rather, usually say 'free sex', or something like that, but"

(6) *un, datte, biru ga **chigatta** to itta*
um but Bill NM different QT said
tte, wakannai yo, sorya.
QT don't-know EM that-TP
"Even if Bill said that [it] wasn't [his], you never know, about that."

In (3), the quotative particle *to* appears immediately before the conditional form of the verb "say" [*ittara*]. The quotation itself is in boldface.

In (4), the quotative particle *tte* is used. Here, the "subject" of the sentence, *biru* "Bill", intervenes between the quotative particle and the past form of the verb "say" [*itta*]. This quotation also is in boldface.

In (5), the expression *toka-nan-toka* functions as the quotative particle. This type of expression, as mentioned above, is used to indicate either indirect speech or a partial representation of what the person said. It appears directly in front of the nonpast form of the verb "say" [*iu*]. Again the quotation is in boldface.

Certainly in these examples, (3) and (4) can be interpreted as examples of direct speech, these are the precise words that Bill is purported to have said. Example (5) is less clear since the expression *furii-sekkusu* "free sex" is perhaps only part of what Americans are wont to say about this subject. The lack of clear syntactic distinctions between the marking of direct and indirect speech is seen in (6), where the boldface expression is purported to be Bill's words, and yet he could not have used the past tense form *chigatta* "[it] was different." Rather he would have had to use the nonpast form *chigau* "[it] is different." Thus it is clear that this is indirect speech, but the reason we know this has nothing to do with structural properties.

The literature on this subject is quite clear in the recognition that, under certain conditions, there is little if any distinction between syntactic properties of direct and indirect speech in Japanese. This fact has led Inoue 1978 to claim that they are often indistinguishable.[1] Despite this obvious overlap, however, there are means to distinguish them in some cases [this topic is insightfully discussed in Nitta 1979, Kamada 1981a, 1981a, Inoue 1982, Maynard 1984]. The following classification is Nitta's, as reported in Inoue 1982.

First, if the main verb of the reported speech is a psychological or perception verb in the nonpast form, this is an indication that it is direct speech rather than indirect speech [the following example is from Inoue 1982:289].

(7) *taroo wa boku ni wa sono kasuka na hikari ga*
Taro TP I to TP that faint LK light NM
mieru to itta.
can-see QT said
"Taro said, 'I can see that faint light'."

Second, if the main verb of the quoted expression is a modal of intention, this too is an indication that this is direct speech rather than indirect speech.

(8) *un, sore ne, da-kara, ippen sono banii no yatsu wa*
un that EM so once that Bunny LK guy TP
shikago ni ai ni itte ne, biru ni ai ni itte,
Chicago to meet to go-and EM Bill to meet to go-and
sonoo, kodomo dekita kara doo shiyoo-ka to ittara
uh child made since how should-do QT when-say
ne,
EM
"Um, about that, one time that Bunny went to Chicago to see [him], to see Bill, and to say, '[I]'m pregnant, so what should I do,' and ... "

Third, if the quoted expression contains a verb which has an imperative inflectional ending or an imperative-like form, this is an indication that this is direct speech rather than indirect.[2] This example is also from Inoue 1982:289.

(9) *hahaoya ga taroo ni, 'hayaku oki-nasai' to itta.*
mother NM Taro to early wake-up QT said
"Mother said to Taro, 'Get up early'."

Fourth, the occurrence of polite forms in the quoted speech is an indication of direct speech.[3] The following example is from Maynard 1984:6.

(10) *yamada-san wa 'ikimasen' to itta.*
Yamada-Mr TP go-NEG QT said
"Mr Yamada said, '[I] won't go'."

Fifth, quoted expressions containing other modals such as *daroo* "probably," *no da* "it's that ... ," and *yoo da* "it seems," or those containing sentence final particles such as *ka, ne, no, yo,* and *wa,* indicate direct speech rather than indirect speech.[4] The following example contains the emphatic particle *wa.* It is taken from *Suna no Utsuwa* [Sand Vessel] by Matsumoto Seichoo [cited by Inoue 1982:291].

(11) *tsuma ga anshin da wa to itta no wa, sono*
wife NM safe COP EM QT said NOM TP that
ryoohoo no kiken ga nai kara de-aru.
both LK danger NM NEG because COP
"The reason why my wife said, '[I] was relieved,' was because there was no danger of either type."

There are also three indicators of indirect speech, the first two attributable to Nitta 1979, the third my own. First, changes of personal nouns, demonstratives, adverbial expressions indicating time or place, and tense agreement of the quoted verb with that of the main sentence or of the time of the event indicate indirect speech. These indicators are similar to those used for English. The following example is taken from Maynard 1984:13; the forms *kyoo* "today", *watashi* "I", and *kite* "come-and" are spoken from the speaker's point of view, rather than the point of view of the person who is being quoted. Note also in this example that there is no overt verb of communication in this example, a fact discussed by Maynard 1984, and further illustrated in example (a) in fn. 2.

(12) *kyoo watashi no uchi e kite uchiakeru to*
today I LK house to come-and confess QT
tameiki o tsuite-ita.
sigh AC released
"[He] sighed (saying) that [he] would come to my house to make [his] confession."

The second indicator of indirect speech is that there is agreement of the quoted phrase tense with that of the main sentence or the time of the event. This has been illustrated in (6), repeated here as (13).

(13) *un, datte, biru ga chigatta to itta*
um but Bill NM different QT said
tte, wakannai yo, sorya.
QT don't-know EM that-TP
"Even if Bill said that [it] wasn't [his], you never know, about that."

Third, the quotative particle *to*, or its less formal variant *tte* may be replaced by a qualifying phrase such as *toka* "or something like", *nanka* "like", *nantoka* "something like", or *nante* "like". The list of such qualifying phrases is quite long, but all achieve the same purpose of making the quoted speech less precise. This is illustrated in (14) [see also (5)].

(14) *nihon ni anoo ita toki ni wa anoo amerika-iki*
Japan in H was time at TP H America-going
ga kimatta toki ni wa i-izure: uchi-no ko
NM decided time at TP eventually our child
ni sonna koto o i- iwareru n ja nai ka nante
by such thing AC be-said NOM TP not Q comp
waraibanashi ni yutte-ta n desu kedo ne.
laugh-talk as said NOM COP but EM
"Uh, when [we] were in Japan, uh, when [we] decided to go to America, [we] used to say jokingly that our child would talk like that eventually, however."

All researchers who have dealt with direct and indirect speech in Japanese have recognized a category of *intermediate speech* [Inoue 1982:288]. This is the parallel to English "*represented speech*, in which the tense and the personal pronoun are changed according to the general rules of English, but the original inverted word order is kept." [Inoue 1982:290] This is illustrated in (15) and (16), where (15) is what someone said, and (16) is the reporting of it.

(15) How can I bear to look any of them in the face?

(16) How could he bear to look any of them in the face?

Inoue 1982:290ff claims that such intermediate speech in Japanese is marked by *to iu* "say that ... ". This construction is frequently used to report what someone, identified or non-identified, has said. Such utterances claimed to be intermediate because they share some properties with both direct and indirect speech. Such constructions do not allow psychological or perception verbs in the non-past tense, modals of intention, imperative inflectional endings, polite endings[5], or sentence final particles. However, they do allow a non-past tense to express past tense and they do allow the modal construction *no da* "it is that ...".

Another situation concerns the fact that conflicting signals can be given. In this case, it is unclear whether direct or indirect speech is being signalled. For example, quoted speech which contains a polite form such as *-masu* is interpreted to be direct speech, while quoted speech which is marked by a qualifying phrase such as *nante* "something like" is interpreted to be indirect speech. As (17) demonstrates, the two forms can cooccur.

(17) ***shitsumon ari-masu ka nante sonna***
question be-polite QU like that-kind
no wa zenzen iwanakatta n da kara.
NOM TP absolute say-not-PAST NOM COP because
"'Are there any questions,' or anything like that, [he] never said anything like that, so ... "

Despite the markers of direct speech, we have seen previously that this could not in fact be direct speech because the person being quoted had spoken in English. Even in cases where the same original language is used, however, there can be conflicting characteristics, as in (18).

(18) ***isshookenmei kangaete-imasu nante-iu-yoo***
diligently thinking in-such-way
na koto kaite-atta.
LK fact was-written
"[She] wrote that [she]'s thinking about it seriously."

Perhaps the most difficult matter with respect to differentiating between direct and indirect speech in Japanese is related to the purposeful and systematic ambiguity which permeates all the language. There are uncountable instances of quoted speech in which it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine where the quoted portion begins. This is illustrated in (19) [this is identical to (8)].

(19) ***un, sore ne, da-kara, ippen sono banii no yatsu wa***
un that EM so once that Bunny LK guy TP
shikago ni ai ni itte ne, biru ni ai ni itte,
Chicago to meet to go-and EM Bill to meet to go-and
sonoo, kodomo dekita kara doo shiyoo-ka to ittara
uh child made since how should-do QT when-say
ne,
EM
"Um, about that, one time that Bunny went to Chicago to see [him], to see Bill, and to say, '[I]'m pregnant, so what should I do,' and ... "

The question is whether the girl has said *kodomo dekita kara doo shiyoo ka* "[I]'m pregnant, so what should I do?" or whether the speaker has given the background information that *kodomo dekita kara* "since [she] got pregnant", she asked what to do.

1.1.1.2. *INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES*

This section discusses interrogative sentences. In brief, interrogative sentences in Japanese do not in general involve any word order changes. Both yes-no questions and

question-word questions are formed by the optional addition of a question particle at the end of the sentence (often *ka*), by rising intonation, or by both. It will be shown, as well, that the major intonational concomitant to interrogative sentences is pitch, and that pitch may be marked in an interrogative sentence as early as the first syllable.

1.1.1.2.1. *YES-NO QUESTIONS*

There are two major styles in Japanese, each of which has its own way of asking questions. These styles are polite and nonpolite. The polite way of speaking is characterized by precision, clarity, and a set of politeness morphemes termed *-masu/desu* forms. This way of speaking is directed toward those people who do not fall within a situationally defined and personalized circle of family and friends. The nonpolite style, not to be confused with impolite, is used to speak in a more relaxed atmosphere with close friends and most family members. It is characterized by more ellipses and omissions, as well as specific conventionalized contractions. Specifically, this nonpolite style does not contain any *-masu/desu* forms.

As with any apparent dichotomous situation, a precise distinction between polite and nonpolite speech in Japanese is more apparent than real. Thus, rather than speak of a strict distinction between polite and nonpolite speech, it is more appropriate to speak of speech which tends toward one category or another; speech which exhibits greater or fewer characteristics of the speech level in question.

With these caveats aside, a description of polite and nonpolite questions can be attempted. Table 1 presents in summary fashion the ways in which the interrogative particle *ka* is added to each verbal category, and to the major tense or aspect distinctions. The examples which follow the table are separated into polite and nonpolite styles. Four types of verbals are illustrated, in both past and nonpast forms. In the (a) sentences the declarative sentence is provided; in the (b) sentences, the appropriate interrogative sentence is presented. At this point only the single interrogative particle *ka* is considered. When *ka* appears in parentheses, this means that it follows the form. When *ka* follows a slash, it means that these forms alternate. Note at this point also that nonpolite questions containing *ka* are considered to be masculine in tone; polite questions containing *ka* are sex-neutral. When *ka* appears, it is accompanied by a sharply rising pitch.

Table 1

		POLITE	NONPOLITE
VERB	nonpast	*-masu (ka)*	*-ru (ka)*
	past	*-mashita (ka)*	*-ta (ka)*
ADJECTIVE	nonpast	*-i desu (ka)*	*-i (ka)*
	past	*-katta desu (ka)*	*-katta (ka)*
NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE	nonpast	NA *desu (ka)*	NA *da/ka*
	past	NA *deshita (ka)*	NA *datta (ka)*
NOMINAL	nonpast	NO *desu (ka)*	NO *da/ka*
	past	NO *deshita (ka)*	NO *datta (ka)*

Polite style

(20a) *akiko san wa isoide tabemasu.*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-polite-nonpast
"Akiko eats quickly."

(20b) *akiko san wa isoide tabemasu ka?*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-polite-nonpast QU
"Does Akiko eat quickly?"

(21a) *akiko san wa isoide tabemashita.*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-polite-past
"Akiko ate quickly."

(21b) *akiko san wa isoide tabemashita ka?*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-polite-past QU
"Did Akiko eat quickly?"

(22a) *kono niku wa katai desu.*
this meat TP tough-nonpast copula
"This meat is tough."

(22b) *kono niku wa katai desu ka?*
this meat TP tough-nonpast copula QU
"Is this meat tough?"

(23a) *kono niku wa katakatta desu.*
this meat TP tough-past copula
"This meat was tough."

(23b) *kono niku wa katakatta desu ka?*
this meat TP tough-past copula QU
"Was this meat tough?"

(24a) *ano heya wa kirei desu.*
that room TP clean copula
"That room is clean."

(24b) *ano heya wa kirei desu ka?*
that room TP clean copula QU
"Is that room clean?"

(25a) *ano heya wa kirei deshita.*
that room TP clean copula-past
"That room was clean."

(25b) *ano heya wa kirei deshita ka?*
that room TP clean copula-past QU
"Was that room clean?"

(26a) *ano hito wa gakusei desu.*
that person TP student copula
"That person is a student."

(26b) *ano hito wa gakusei desu ka?*
that person TP student copula QU
"Is that person a student?"

(27a) *ano hito wa gakusei deshita.*
that person TP student copula-past
"That person was a student."

(27b) *ano hito wa gakusei deshita ka?*
that person TP student copula-past QU
"Was that person a student?"

The corresponding nonpolite statements and questions follow in (28) through (35).

Nonpolite style

(28a) *akiko san wa isoide taberu.*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-nonpast
"Akiko eats quickly."

(28b) *akiko san wa isoide taberu ka?*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-nonpast QU
"Does Akiko eat quickly?"

(29a) *akiko san wa isoide tabeta.*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-past
"Akiko ate quickly."

(29b) *akiko san wa isoide tabeta ka?*
Akiko Ms TP quickly eat-past QU
"Did Akiko eat quickly?"

(30a) *kono niku wa katai.*
this meat TP tough
"This meat is tough."

(30b) *kono niku wa katai ka?*
this meat TP tough QU
"Is this meat tough?"

(31a) *kono niku wa katakatta.*
this meat TP tough-past
"This meat was tough."

(31b) *kono niku wa katakatta ka?*
this meat TP tough-past QU
"Was this meat tough?"

(32a) *ano heya wa kirei da.*
that room TP clean copula
"That room is clean."

(32b) *ano heya wa kirei ka?*
that room TP clean QU
"Is that room clean?"

(33a) *ano heya wa kirei datta.*
that room TP clean copula-past
"That room was clean."

(33b) *ano heya wa kirei datta ka?*
that room TP clean copula-past QU
"Was that room clean?"

(34a) *ano hito wa gakusei da.*
that person TP student copula
"That person is a student."

(34b) *ano hito wa gakusei ka?*
that person TP student QU
"Is that person a student?"

(35a) *ano hito wa gakusei datta.*
that person TP student copula-past
"That person was a student."

(35b) *ano hito wa gakusei datta ka?*
that person TP student copula-past QU
"Was that person a student?"

The scheme presented in Table 1 and exemplified in (20) through (35) may be considered to be the canonical form of yes-no questions in Japanese. In actual conversational interactions, the question particle does not always appear. When it does not occur, there is a rising intonation placed on the final syllable of the final verbal. The particle *ka* is omitted with great frequency in nonpolite speech, less often in polite speech. In either case, the omission of *ka* in a question conveys a more intimate, relaxed style.

There are male-female differences in question formation, with the omission of *ka* considered more feminine. However, both males and females do omit *ka* in either polite or nonpolite speech. As well, both men and women retain *ka* in polite speech. The retention of *ka* in nonpolite is a distinctly masculine phenomenon.

In the first set of examples to follow, nonpolite questions without *ka* are presented. In the second set, polite questions without *ka* are presented. Two points need to be made. First, men do not typically form polite questions without *ka* if the sentence ends in the copula *desu*, although they may do so if the past form *deshita* is used. Second, a final *-u* following a voiceless consonant, [such as *-s-* in *desu*] is usually devoiced, or dropped. When this is the final syllable in a question, however, it remains voiced and exhibits sharply rising pitch. In the third set, nonpolite questions with *ka* are presented. In this last set, only utterances spoken by men are presented.

Nonpolite, no question particle

(36) female

anoo, supootsu nanka yaru? [VERB]
uh sports like do
"Uh, do [you] do any sports?"

male

yumiko moo itta? [VERB]
Yumiko already go-past
"Did Yumiko go already?"

(37) female

anoo, kekkon shitai? [ADJECTIVE]
uh marry do-desire
"Uh, do [you] want to get married?"

male

are, hora, tsumaranai? [ADJECTIVE]
that look boring-nonpast
"Hey, look, is that boring?"

(38) female

anoo, modan wa dame? [NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE]
uh modern TP no-good
"Uh, [you] don't like modern [music]?"

male

moo tsukatta wake? [NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE]
already use-past reason
"Is it that [you] used it already?"

(39) female

hooyooryoku no aru hito? [NOMINAL]
breadth NM be person
"[Is it] a person who is broadminded?"

male

kanojo honto-ni seishin no ko? [NOMINAL]
she really Seishin LK girl
"Is she really from University of the Sacred Heart?"

Polite, no question particle

(40) female

haitte-masu? [VERB]
entering-polite-nonpast
"Is [the tape] running?"

male

kore yoku tsukaimasu? [VERB]
this often use-polite-nonpast
"Do [you] use this often?"

(41) female

omoshiroi desu? [ADJECTIVE]
interesting-nonpast copula-nonpast
"Is [that magazine article] interesting?"

male

NOT ACCEPTABLE

(42) female

ano hito suki desu? [NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE]
that person like copula-nonpast
"Are [you] in love with him?"

male

ano eiga suki deshita? [NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE]
that movie like copula-past
"Did [you] like that movie?"

(43) female

ohitori desu? [NOMINAL]
one-person copula-nonpast
"Are [you here] alone?"

male

sono toki kimi gakusei deshita? [NOMINAL]
that time you student copula-past
"Were you a student at that time?"

Nonpolite, question particle present

(44) *sugu hairu ka?* [VERB]
soon enter QU
"Are [you] going to enter [the bath] soon?"

(45) *soko de tomodachi tsukurinikukatta ka?* [ADJ]
there at friend make-hard-past QU
"Was it hard to make friends there?"

(46) *moo sore-de taihen ka?* [NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE]
already then terrible QU
"So, then, was [it] really tough?"

(47) *itta no wa anta no neesan ka?* [NOMINAL]
went NOM TP you LK sister QU
"The one who went is your sister?"

There are a other question particles which are used for yes-no questions in typical conversational interaction. In the following sections, I present a list of such elements, with illustrations and definitions. I simply mention here that the same list may be used in question-word questions.

kke

The particle *kke* is a retrospective marker, used by both males and females, to confirm a proposition that the speaker is attempting to recall. It may be used either in speaking to a conversational partner or to oneself [see 1.1.1.2.1.2.1, 1.1.1.2.3].

no

There is controversy over the status of *no* as a question particle. Historically, *no* as a question particle clearly derives from the nominalizer *no*. It is possible, then, that questions such as those illustrated in (48a) are actually "derived" from a nominalized clause which has undergone the ellipsis of both the copula *desu* and the question particle *ka*, as presented in (48b).

(48a) *anoo, soko de sodatta no?*
uh there at grow-up-past QU
"Uh, did [you] grow up there?"

(48b) *anoo, soko de sodatta no desu ka?*
uh there at grow-up-past NOM copula QU
"Uh, did [you] grow up there?"

On this analysis, the sequence (49a) through (49c) could be considered the derivational history of a question utterance ending in *no*.

(49a) *kamakura e ikimasu ka?*
Kamakura to go-polite-nonpast QU
"Will [you] go to Kamakura?"

(49b) *kamakura e iku no desu ka?*
Kamakura to go-nonpast NOM copula QU
"Is it that [you] will go to Kamakura?"

(49c) *kamakura e iku no?*
Kamakura to go-nonpast QU
"Will [you] go to Kamakura?"

Despite this compelling "derivation", there are reasons to consider *no* to be a question particle rather than a

nominalizer. First, the *no* in *no desu* does not share all properties of other nominalizers [see Mikami 1950, McGloin 1980]. Second, McGloin 1980:128 claims that a question like (49c) indicates that the speaker assumes the answer is already known to the listener and that the speaker simply wants the listener to articulate the answer. She further claims that sentences like (49a), and the nonpolite equivalent *kamakura e iku?*, indicates that the speaker is ready to discuss the answer with the listener. As a final argument, she points out (footnote 9) that "not all sentence final *no*s in women's speech are equivalent to *no desu*", although she provides no way to distinguish these two *no*s she has identified. A third reason for believing that *no* may be a question particle rather than a nominalizer is that there is no clearcut distinction in meaning between sentences with this particle and those without. In this regard examine the following segment of conversation between two females. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine any difference in "expectation" between the questions asked in H178 and in H184.

(50) H178. *anoo, supootsu nanka yaru?*
uh sports like do
"Uh, do you play any sports?"

W179. *mm, amari yaranai.*
no much do-negative
"No, not very much."

H180. *haikingu gurai?*
hiking about
"Like hiking?"

W181. *nanka, mm, nanka ma, ikkagetsu ni ikkai gurai*
like mm like uh one-month in one-time about
marason shitari-suru gurai ka-na.
run do-representative about wonder
"Well, about once a month I jog or something like that."

H182. *a honto.*
oh real
"Oh really."

W183. *motto nanka yaritai to omou n da kedo ne,*
more like do-want QT think NOM COP but EM
"[I] think [I]'d like to do more, but ... "

H184. *takkyuu nanka yaru no?*
table-tennis like do QU
"Do [you] play table tennis?"

In the final analysis we have to say that it is not clear whether questions which end in *no* should be considered elliptical versions of sentences such as (49a), or whether they should be considered to contain the "question particle" *no*. It should be clear that at the level of description, it does not matter which analysis is preferred.

Nonpolite questions ending in *no* are frequently termed "feminine" or "childish" sounding, since women and children use this construction. There are, as far as I know, no statistics on this, so I must simply point out that males may also use this construction with impunity. Groups (51a) through (51d) present verbs, adjectives, nominal-adjectives, and nominals, respectively.

(51a) female

a, fuyu ni natta no?
oh winter to became QU
"Oh, it was winter?"

male

sore yooikuhi tte dore gurai dasu no?
that expenses QT how about pay QU
"About how much will [he] have to pay in child support?

(51b) female

anata wa sakasama-ni naranakatta no?
you TP upside-down become-NEG-past QU
"[You] didn't turn upside down, [did you]?"

male

aya-chan mo ikitai no?
Aya Ms too go-want QU
"Do you [= Aya-chan] want to go too?"

(51c) female

aa-iu no iya na no?
that-kind NOM dislike copula QU
"Do [you] dislike that kind of thing?"

male

kore dame na no?
this no-good copula QU
"Isn't this any good?"

(51d) female

kare sensei na no? shinjirarenai!
he teacher copula QU believe-able-NEG
"Is he a teacher? [I] can't believe [it]."

male

emi-chan moo kookoosei na no?
Emi Ms already h.s.-student copula QU
"Are you [= Emi-chan] in high school already?"

kai

The particle *kai* is used in nonformal situations, and its use has a distinctly masculine ring. Martin 1975:934ff discusses this form and he claims that it is a contraction formed from *ka + ne*.

(52a) *ano-ne, kimi himitsu ga mamoreru kai?*
say you secret NM keep-able QU
"Say, can you keep a secret?"

[Martin 1975:934]

(52b) *kimi n toko ni sake nai kai?*
you LK place in sake NEG QU
"Don't you have any sake at your place?"

[Martin 1975:934]

1.1.1.2.1.1. *NEUTRAL*

Questions such as the ones presented in the preceding section may be considered neutral if they are formed through the addition of one of the question particles *ka*, *no*, and *kai*, or if there is no question particle. Such questions are considered neutral in that there is no predisposition to expect the answer "yes" or "no". Although certain nonlinguistic or pragmatic factors might intervene in any specific case to prompt a "yes" or "no" reply, that is beyond the scope of this discussion.

1.1.1.2.1.2. *LEADING QUESTIONS*

1.1.1.2.1.2.1. *EXPECTING THE ANSWER YES*

There is one type of question in Japanese which systematically expects the answer "yes". These are questions which are phrased negatively. Although the actual word

"yes" very rarely occurs in such sentence types [see Hinds 1984:176], the affirmation of the action is expected. These are negative questions. Nakada 1980:126 states:

> As a general rule, it seems that an affirmatively phrased question is susceptible of a negative answer by a 50-50 probability but that a negatively phrased question anticipates an affirmatively phrased answer by significantly more than a 50-50 probability.

This phenomenon may be demonstrated in (53a) and (53b). The preceding linguistic environment of example (53b), in particular, demonstrates that an expectation of affirmation is present.

(53a) K: *moo chot- suggoku shokku de chotto*
more jus- very shock by just
jisatsu shitai na to, koo, yoo na,
suicide do-want EM QT uh way LK
omottari, sonna koto nai?
think-and that fact NEG
"Just a lit- have you ever thought that you'd want to commit suicide because of some great shock, haven't you had that kind of thing?"

A: *aa, soo iu koto wa atta wa-ne.*
oh that say fact TP was EM
"Oh yes, I've had that kind of thing."

(53b) W: *dakara, mattaku nanka kuruma nanka,*
so very like car like
nan-te-iu-ka-na, anoo, ee, sakasama-ni natte
what-should-say uh uh upside-sown become
ne, de, ningen ga naka kara hipparidasareta
EM and people NM inside from pulled-out-pass
tte kanji.
QT feeling
"So, uh, that car, uh, what should I say, uh turned upside down, and the people, uh, were pulled out from the inside."

H: *anata wa sakasama-ni naranakatta no?*
you TP upside-down become-NEG-past QU
"You didn't turn upside down?"

W: *natte-ta. natte-ta.*
became became
"I did! I did!"

There are other question types, however, which anticipate agreement rather than affirmation on the part of the respondent. One such question type contains those questions marked by *kke*, termed a retrospective marker. Examples (54a) through (54e) illustrate this. Note also that such questions may be directed to the self, as in (54c), and that this particle can also be followed by the question particle *ka*, as (54e) illustrates.

(54a) *moo ishida san wa kite, sannenme*
already Ishida Mr TP coming 3rd-year
*deshita **kke?***
copula-past QU
"Did [you say] it's already been three years since you [= Mr Ishida] came?"

(54b) *murakami kun kinoo **kita kke?***
Murakami Mr yesterday came QU
"[Did you say] Mr Murakami came yesterday?"

(54c) *moo **yatta kke?** komatta na.*
already did QU troubled EM
"Did [he] do [it] already? [I forget] Oh, this is a problem."

(54d) *are wa bin da **kke?***
that TP bottle copula QU
"[Did you say that] that is a bottle?"

(54e) *rokugatsu no sue-ni tesuto ga aru n da*
June LK end test NM be NOM copula
kke ka?
QU QU
"[Did you say you] have a test at the end of June?"

Tag questions in Japanese also expect agreement on the part of the respondent. There are three tag question markers, the first two of which have polite and nonpolite variants. The first is *ja nai (ka)*? [polite form = *ja arimasen (ka)*?]. The second is *daroo (ka)*? [polite form = *desho(o) (ka)*?]. The third tag question marker is the soliciting particle *ne*? Questions ending in *ja-nai?* are presented in (55) through (57). Questions ending in *daroo?* are presented in (58) through (60). Questions ending in *ne?* are presented in (61) through (63).

(55) *un, de, biru wa uttaerareru n **ja-nai?***
so so Bill TP sue-PASS NOM TAG
"So, uh, Bill will be sued, won't he?"

(56) *datte, jibun no kodomo ja-nai no-ni saiban*
but self LK child TP-NEG even court
kakerareru to omottara yokei iya ja-nai?
hold-PASS if think-if over bad TAG
"But, even if it's not your own child, if you think you'll be taken to court, it'd be terrible, right?"

(57) *kusuri tte zettai daijoobu ja-nai? nondereba.*
pill QT absolute safe TAG drink-if
"The pill is absolutely safe, isn't it? if you're taking it."

(58) *biru no shuunyuu no nanpaasento ka tte iu fuu-ni*
Bill LK salary LK some-% QU QT say way
kimeru wake daroo?
decide reason TAG
"I guess they'll decide on some percent of his salary, don't you?"

(59) *nihon, hakkiri iwanai kara kotchi ga*
Japan clearly say-NEG since this NM
nanka chotto, anoo, gesu shinai-to-ikenai
like little uh guess must-do
tte koto aru desho?
QT fact be TAG
"Since they don't make their feelings known in Japan, you have to guess at what they mean, right?"

(60) *demo, nanimo nanka kangaeyoo-to-shinai*
but nothing like think-try-not
toki-ni, pinto kuru toki aru desho?
time precise come time be TAG
"But, when you don't try to think of anything, that's when it hits you, right?"

(61) *ja, zutto nihongo bakari shabette-ru wake ne?*
well straight Japanese only speaking reason TAG
"Well, you spoke nothing but Japanese, right?"

(62) *wako san no, ima made-ni ne? anoo, shinu n*
Wako Ms LK now up-to TAG uh die NOM
ja-nai ka to omotta koto nanka aru?
NEG QU QT thought fact like be
"Wako, uh, up till now, right? have you ever thought that you were going to die?"

(63) *ichido wa ne, itsu datta ka-na, ee, tonikaku,*
once TP EM when was wonder uh anyway
noosukaroraina-karoraina ni iru toki ne?
North-Carolina in be time TAG
sugoku chiisa-nn gakkoo datta no ne?
very small school was NOM TAG
sore-de, machi made iku no-ni,
and town to go to
gakkoo kara basu ga, minibasu ga dete-ru wake,
school from bus NM mini-bus NM going reason
tatoeba, ichinichi ni sankai gurai ne?
e.g. one-day in 3-times about TAG
de, aru fuyu datta ka-na
so one winter was wonder
"Well, the first time, when was that? uh, anyway, it was when I was in North Carolina, see? and I was at a really small school, see? and in order to get to town, there's a bus, a minibus that goes from the school, for example, it goes about three times a day, see? So, let's see, it was one winter ... "

It is simple enough to demonstrate that these types of questions anticipate agreement by examining instances when such expectations do not materialize. In the following exchange, A and K are in Hawaii and have been talking about A's past trip to the mainland. A has stated that she only liked San Francisco.

(64) K: *saa, soko dake. maa, donna fuu na inshoo o?*
well there only well what way LK feeling AC
"Well, only there. Well, what kind of impression [did you have]?"

A: *nn, yap- atashi hawai, koko, suki da*
hm of- I Hawaii here like COP
kara ka-mo-shirenai kedo, toku-ni
since probably but especially
hawai ni ni- nite-ru desho? kikoo ga.
Hawaii LC re- resembles TAG climate NM
"Hmm, well, of co- it's probably because I like Hawaii, here, but it resembles Hawaii, doesn't it? the climate."

K: *sanfuranshisuko ga?*
San-Francisco NM
"San Francisco?"

The reaction on the part of K indicates that she is astonished that A expects her to agree with this statement. The look on A's face as K reacts indicates that she is surprised K has disagreed.

The particle *ne* has a variety of functions, only one of which is to indicate expected agreement on the part of the respondent.

(65) *ja, zutto nihongo bakari shabette-ru*
well straight Japanese only speaking
wake ne?
reason TAG
"Well, you spoke nothing but Japanese, right?"

The relationship between this tag particle *ne* and the sentence medial soliciting particle *ne* may be seen as a difference of degree rather than of kind. In the following examples, the sentence medial particle *ne* solicits agreement in much the same way the sentence final tag particle *ne* does in (65). This is evidenced by the fact that the addressee in this case, and in most other cases of this type, responds with a head-nod or with a backchannel expression such as *hai* "yes".

(66) *wako san no, ima made-ni ne? anoo, shinu n*
Wako Ms LK now up-to TAG uh die NOM
ja-nai ka to omotta koto nanka aru?
NEG QU QT thought fact like be
"Wako, uh, up till now, right? have you ever thought that you were going to die?"

In analysis, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether *ne* is a sentence final particle or a sentence medial particle, as may be seen in (63). The problem is that both solicit responses and Japanese sentences contain many elliptical items.

1.1.1.2.1.2.2. *EXPECTING THE ANSWER NO*

For this category, there are no question types which systematically anticipate the answer no. Social pressures, however, will prompt most people to respond negatively to questions (or even statements) which place the self or family in too favorable or sympathetic light. This social pressure even overrides the anticipation of an affirmative response with tag questions. In (67), a question is directed to Y in which the only way she is involved is with the amount of time she spends preparing for courses. As a result, Y can agree that the situation is terrible. In (68), however, the question of marriage ceremony contains personal involvement for W, and so she is socially constrained to minimize by negating. Each of these question-answer sequences must be seen as part of a larger context, although that larger context is not reproduced here.

(67) A. *demo, sonna ironna kyooka o*
but that various course AC
oshienakereba-ikenai to, taihen ja-nai n
teach-must if terrible TAG NOM
desu ka?
copula QU
"But, if you have to teach that many different courses, it must be terrible, isn't it?"

Y. *ee, yoshuu ni sugoku jikan ga kakatte,*
yes preparation in very time NM taking
toku-ni suugaku nanka hijoo-ni zenzen (ha, ha)
special math like very absolute
moo wasurete-shimatte-ru kara ne.
already end-up-forgetting since EM
"Yes, the preparation takes a lot of time, espe cially math, since I've ended up forgetting just about everything."

(68) H: *ja, kekkonshiki nanka mo taihen ne? kore kara.*
well marriage like also tough EM this from
"Well, things like your marriage are going to be tough, aren't they? from here on."

W: *nn, uchi wa ne, sugoku nanka riberaru da kara.*
no we TP EM very like liberal cop since
"No, because my family is very liberal."

1.1.1.2.1.3. *ALTERNATIVE QUESTIONS*

Alternative questions in Japanese are defined as those questions which express two, generally opposite, predications. These predications may take the form of two complete questions, often with an affirmation and a negation of the same concept, or they may take the form of a verbal and its antonym. These are illustrated in examples (69) and (70), respectively.

(69) *sono hon wa furui desu ka furuku-nai desu ka?*
that book TP old COP QU old-not COP QU
"Is that book old or not old?"

(70) *sono hon wa furui desu ka atarashii desu ka?*
that book TP old COP QU new COP QU
"Is that book old or new?"

This, of course, is the canonical form of alternative questions. In actual conversational interactions, rarely are such questions so precisely formulated. Three observations may be made. First, alternative questions typically consist of a brief number of items, usually one or two.

Second, the expression *sore tomo* "or" frequently separates the alternative forms. Third, alternative questions may frequently be separated by a response of the conversational partner.

In (71) and (72), brief segments are offered as alternatives. In (71) these alternatives are verbs while in (72) they are nouns.

(71) *soshite, a, ja, akabanesen tte iu no, urawa*
and ah well Akabane-line QT say NOM Urawa
ni iku desho? ikanai?
to go TAG go-NEG
"So, uh, well, the Akabane Line, it goes to Urawa, right? or doesn't it?"

(72) *uun. isshuukan kurai? are, tooka kurai?*
hmm one-week about that ten-days about
"Yes, is it about one week? or about ten days?"

In the next set of examples, the phrase *sore tomo* "or" functions to set off the alternatives.

(73) *ja, go- anoo, goryooshin wa ne, sonoo, go-*
so uh parents TP EM uh
anoo, goshujin to no kekkon ni-taishite sugoku
uh husband and LK marriage about very
sansei? sore-tomo hantai?
agreement or opposition
"Well, uh, your parents, uh, did they agree to your marriage with your husband? or were they opposed?"

(74) *de, soo iu no-ni wa doo iu fuu-ni kaita*
so that say to TP how say way wrote
wake? gakusei? sore-tomo kankookyaku?
reason student or visitor
"So, for that, what did you put down, that you were a student? or a visitor?"

(75) *de, sanfuranshisuko no naka? sore-tomo, koo, koogai?*
so San-Francisco LK middle or uh suburbs
"So, was it within San Francisco, or in the suburbs?"

The next examples, (76) and (77), demonstrate that the same process is involved in constructing alternative questions whether there is an intervening response or not. In both of these examples, although the speech appears to be linearly ordered, the response overlaps with the second half of the alternative question.

(76) W: *nihon no shinbun?*
Japan LK newspaper
"A Japanese newspaper?"

Y: *dotchi-demo.*
either
"Either one."

W: *sore-tomo hawai hoochi toka?*
or Hawaii Hochi or
"Or the Hawaii Hochi, or something like that?"

(77) A: *kore omokatta?*
this heavy-past
"Was this heavy?"

S: *uun, sonna-ni kanjinakatta.*
no that feel-NEG-past
"No, I didn't feel [it] that much."

A: *omoku-nai?*
heavy-NEG
"Or wasn't it heavy?"

Example (77) is also of interest because it demonstrates that the negative alternative is frequently given in the nonpast form even when the affirmative alternative is given in the past.

The second half of an alternative question may contain a pro-like form. The most common of these pro-like forms is the verb *chigau* "be different".

(78) S: *doodesukaden te kisha no oto*
doodesukaden QT steam-engine LK sound
na n desho?
LK NOM TAG
"'Doo desu ka den' is the sound of a steam engine, right?"

M: *kisha no oto?*
steam-engine LK sound
"The sound of a steam engine?"

S: *chigau no?*
different QU
"Or isn't it?"

1.1.1.2.2. *QUESTION-WORD QUESTIONS*

There is a set of question-words in Japanese which correspond to "WH-words" in English. A list of these

follows.

nan(i)	what	*dore*	which (of 3)
doko	where	*dotchi*	which (of 2)
itsu	when	*nande*	why
dooshite	why	*ikaga*	how
dare	who	*naze*	why
donna	what-kind	*doo*	how

Question-word questions in Japanese are characterized by the fact that the question word does not move, other than coincidentally [see, among others, Kuno 1972]. That is, while question words are brought to the front of the sentence in many languages, in Japanese the question word remains in its canonical position. Thus, if the subject of a sentence is questioned, the question word will be in sentence initial position because the subject is in initial position. If a direct object, an indirect object, or an oblique case is questioned, the question word is not placed in initial position unless that case would normally occur in sentence initial position.

1.1.1.2.2.1. *ELEMENTS WHICH CAN BE QUESTIONED*

1.1.1.2.2.1.1. *MAIN CLAUSE*

Shigeru Miyagawa [personal communication] has pointed out a curious fact. It appears that question words cannot occur in a question which is marked by the question particle *ka* if the verb is nonpolite. Thus, (79a) is perfectly acceptable while (79b) for many speakers is awkward. It must also be pointed out that this constraint is somewhat broader than this, since examples without question words in this style are equally awkward, as (79c) demonstrates.

(79a) *dare ga kimasu ka?*
who NM come-polite QU
"Who will come?"

(79b) *?dare ga kuru ka?*
who NM come-nonpolite QU
"Who will come?"

(79c) *?tanaka-san ga kuru ka?*
Tanaka-Mr NM come-nonpolite QU
"Will Mr Tanaka come?"

With this restriction held aside, any term of a sentence except topics may be questioned. This includes subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, genitives, location, comitative, time, manner, instruments, experiencers, and reasons. Additionally, actions or states may also be questioned.

SUBJECT

(80a) *are wa dare ga yatta no?*
that TP who NM did QU
"As for that, who did it?"

(80b) *anoo, mazu dochira ga?*
uh first which NM
"Uh, who [will go] first?"

DIRECT OBJECT

(81) *nani o benkyoo shite-irassharu n desu ka?*
what AC study doing NOM COP QU
"What are [you] studying?"

(82) *ima nani o shite-rassharu n desu ka?*
now what AC doing NOM COP QU
"What are [you] doing now?"

(83) *ja, anata daigaku de wa nani senkoo nasatta no?*
well you college at TP what major did QU
"Well, what did you major in in college?"

INDIRECT OBJECT

(84) *dare ni ageta no?*
who to gave QU
"Who did [you] give [it] to?"

(85) *kore dare ni okurimashoo ka.*
this who to send QU
"Who should [we] send this to?"

GENITIVE

(86) *kore dare no sukaafu?*
this who LK scarf
"Whose scarf is this?"

(87) *donata no okaasantachi ga ikimasu no?*
who LK mother-plus NM go QU
"Whose parents are going to go?"

LOCATION

(88) *dochira kara irashita n desu ka?*
where from came NOM COP QU
"Where have [you] come from?"

(89) *tokoro-de, shinkonryokoo doko ikareta no?*
by-the-way honeymoon where went QU
"By the way, where did [you] go [to] on [your] honeymoon?"

(90) *doko de umaremashita?*
where at born
"Where were [you] born?"

(91) *are wa doko kara dete-ru no?*
that TP where from leave QU
"Where does that [train] leave from?"

COMITATIVE

(92) *kinoo dare to ita n desu ka?*
yesterday who and was NOM COP QU
"Who were [you] with yesterday?"

(93) *dare to sunde-masu ka?*
who and living QU
"Who are [you] living with?"

TEMPORAL

(94) *hawai wa itsu irashita no?*
Hawaii TP when came QU
"When did [you] come to Hawaii?"

(95) *ja, hawai ni wa itsu kita wake?*
well Hawaii to TP when came reason
"Well, when was it that [you] came to Hawaii?"

(96) *itsu mita no? sore.*
when saw QU that
"When did [you] see [it], I mean that?"

MANNER

(97) *yubiwa ga doo shita no?*
ring NM how did QU
"What happened to the ring?"

(98) *saisho no toki wa doo datta no?*
first LK time TP how was QU
"How was [it] at first?"

(99) *doo desu ka? moo naremashita?*
how COP QU already accustomed
"How is [it]? Have [you] gotten used to [it] already?"

INSTRUMENT

(100) *nan de tabete-n no?*
what with eating QU
"What are [you] eating with?"

(101) *ashita nan de iku tsumori na no?*
tomorrow what by go intend LK QU
"By what means do [you] intend to go tomorrow?"

EXPERIENCER

(102) *dare ga nihongo ga wakaru?*
who NM Japanese NM understand
"Who understands Japanese?"

(103) *dare ga okane ga nai tte?*
who NM money NM NEG QT
"Who [did you say] doesn't have any money?"

REASON

(104) *doo-shite ikite-rareta no?*
why live-potential-past QU
"How were [you] able to survive?"

(105) *demo, nande, nande oniku no ... nande oniku*
but why why meat LK why meat
no are tsuite-ru no?
LK that attached QU
"But, why, why, why is the stuff from the meat on [there]?"

(106) *un, doo-shite, doo-shite, soshitara nande*
un why why if-so why
shibu ga nukeru no?
astringency NM come-out QU
"Yeah, why, why, if that's the case, why does [it] get sweeter?"

(107) *nande kodomo nanka dekita no?*
why child like made QU
"Why did [she] get pregnant?"

(108) *ittai naze, hyakunanajuu mono kuruma ga*
how-in-world why 170 thing car NM
tonneru no naka-ni atta no ka?
tunnel LK inside were NOM QU
"Why in the world were there as many as 170 cars inside the tunnel?"

VARIOUS MODIFIERS

(109) *nan no hanashi shita?*
what LK talk did
"What did [you] talk about?"

(110) *doo iu dooki de eigo o, sonoo, sen- senmon*
how say motive by English AC uh major
ni yaroo ... to omotta n desu ka?
to do QT thought NOM COP QU
"What motivated [you] to major in English?"

(111) *sore-de, hora, kyooshi no hoo mo dono gurai*
and see prof. LK side too what about
no hito o taishoo ni shite-n no ka ne? kurasu de
LK person AC subject to doing NOM QU EM class at
nisannin wakareba-ii to omotte yatte-n no ka?
2-3 if-understand QT think doing NOM QU
tsumari, anoo, jugyoo wa dono teido no reberu?
that-is uh class TP what type LK level
"How does do professors judge their classes? Are [they] satisfied with just a few understanding? That is, what is the level?"

(112) *anoo, donna hito ni kokoro hikareru?*
uh what-kind person by heart pull-PASS
"Uh, what kind of person do [you] like?"

(113) *de, goshujin wa doko no goshusshin?*
uh husband TP where LK home
"Where is your husband from?"

In addition to each of these parts of sentences which may be questioned, another feature of Japanese must be brought up at this time. Following the suggestions of Li and Thompson 1976, Japanese allows topic-comment structures as a neutral sentence type. Although they claim that Japanese is both topic-prominent and subject-prominent, I will diverge from that and say that Japanese is primarily a topic-prominent language. That is, a neutral sentence type

consists of a topic and a comment. It follows then that the most common element in a sentence to be questioned is the comment. What makes this feature so striking in Japanese is that there are a number of questions which are shaped into topic-comment sentences when a subject-predicate structure would appear to suffice.

(114) *amerika- amerika e kita no wa itsu desu ka?*
America America to came NOM TP when COP QU
"When did [you] come to America?"

(115) *eeto, oumare wa dochira?*
uh birth TP where
"Uh, where were [you] born?"

(116) *tte iu koto wa hawai ni ichiban hajime ni*
QT say fact TP Hawaii to first first to
kita no wa nande kita wake?
came NOM TP why came reason
"That is to say, the first time [you] came to Hawaii, why did [you] come?"

(117) *to- tookyoo roppongi ryuu no, ryuu tte na:ni?*
Tokyo Roppongi Ryuu LK Ryuu QT what
"What is Ryuu in Tokyo Roppongi Ryuu?"

(118) *hajimete yatta no wa itsu datta?*
first did NOM TP when was
"When was the first time [you] did [it]?"

Despite the fact that the neutral order of such questions is topic-comment, question words may be fronted for emphasis, as the following demonstrate.

(119) *na:ni, kono hito?*
what this person
"What is this person [while looking at a picture]?"

(120) *yubioo tte iu no? nani sore?*
Ring-King QT say QU what that
"Do you call it "Yubi-oo"? What is that?"

(121) *nani, sono yubioo tte?*
what that Ring-King QT
"What is that "Yubi-oo"?"

Examples (119) through (121) are best seen as examples of "postposing" in that the topic has been placed after the main predication.

There are a number of question words which are constructed by placing a question word such as *nan-* in front of

another word.

(122) *nan-ji ka-shira?*
what-time wonder
"What time is it, [I] wonder?"

(123) *nan-nen ka-shira?*
what-year wonder
"[I] wonder what year [that was]?"

(124) *anoo, itsumo nani-go tsukatte-masu?*
uh always what-language using
"Uh, what language do [you] always use?"

(125) *anata gokyoodai nan-nin?*
you siblings what-person
"How many brothers and sisters do you have?"

(126) *kimi nani-doshi?*
you what-year
"What sign are you?"

(127) *nani-sen de iku no?*
what-line by go QU
"What line are [you] going on?"

One of the most common ways to ask a question-word question often does not even contain a question-word. This apparent anomaly can be explained by understanding how Japanese conversationalists interact. Japanese conversational interactants attempt to read their conversational partners more closely than English speakers do. As a result, there is a tendency in Japanese to ask questions in truncated form. Questions of this type consist of a noun phrase marked by wa. This noun phrase may be taken to be the topic, and the omitted element may be taken to contain a question-word. This is illustrated in (128) through (131), where the omitted information is placed within brackets in the English translation.

(128) *ima wa?*
now TP
"As for now? [what type of place are you living in?]"

(129) *anoo, kyoodai wa?*
uh siblings TP
"As for siblings? [how many do you have?]"

(130) *anata no goshujin no senkoo wa?*
you LK husband LK major TP
"As for your husband's major? [what is it?]"

(131) *nihongo wa?*
Japanese TP
"As for Japanese? [how well does he speak it?]"

It is sometimes the case that the people involved in the conversation do not click, and what starts out as a truncated question of this type is miscommunicated. In that event, speakers will leak out successive details of their question until the addressee is able to comprehend the question. This is illustrated in (132) and (133).

(132) *mm, shumi wa, ... donna?*
hm hobby TP what-kind
"As for [your] hobby, what kind? [of thing is it?]"

(133) *nn, anoo, senkoo wa, ... nan, nan?*
hm uh major TP what what
"Um, as for [your] major, what, what? [is it?]"

1.1.1.2.1.2. *SUBORDINATE CLAUSE*

The interpretation of what element is questioned in subordinate clauses is obfuscated when that element is in the subject position because of the role that ellipsis plays in speech and writing. That is, in a complex sentence, it is highly unlikely that there will be an overt manifestation of two coreferential subject noun phrases, one in the subordinate clause and one in the superordinate clause. Because question words can be fronted, there is no way to tell if the question word belongs to the subordinate clause or to the superordinate clause. Thus, example (134a), which has the same subject in both clauses, is acceptable. It is not clear, however, whether the question word *dare* "who" is associated with the subordinate or the superordinate clause. In the case of (134b), in which there is a different subject in the superordinate clause, the sentence is questionable. We can thus conclude that subjects in subordinate clauses may not be questioned.

Other than subject position, the same constituents which can be questioned in dependent clauses can be questioned in subordinate clauses.

SUBJECT

(134a) *dare ga mise ni itta toki waishatsu o*
who NM store to went time shirt AC
katta n desu ka?
bought NOM COP QU
"When who went to the store did [he] buy a shirt?"

(134b) ?*dare ga eki o deta toki tomodachi ga*
who NM station AC left time friend NM
matte-imashita ka?
was-waiting QU
"When who left the station was his friend waiting?"

DIRECT OBJECT

(135a) *masako-san ga nani o tabete sonna-ni kibun ga*
Masako Ms NM what AC ate that feeling NM
waruku natta no desu ka?
bad became NOM COP QU
"When Masako ate what did [she] become sick?"

(135b) *naoko-san ga dare o butte sensei ni*
Naoko Ms NM who AC hit teacher by
shikararemashita ka?
scolded-PASS QU
"Because Naoko hit whom was [she] scolded by [her] teacher?"

INDIRECT OBJECT

(136) *kazuhiko-kun ga dare ni purezento o okutte*
Kazuhiko Mr NM who to present AC sent
yorokobaremashita ka?
was-happy-PASS QU
"When Kazuhiko sent a present to whom was that person pleased?"

INSTRUMENT

(137a) *nan de yakisoba o tabete tomodachi ni*
what by yakisoba AC ate friend by
warawaremashita ka?
laughed-PASS QU
"When [you] ate yakisoba with what were you laughed at by [your] friend?"

(137b) *nan de jibun no namae o kaite hito*
what by self LK name AC wrote person
ni warawaremashita ka?
by laughed-PASS QU
"Because [you] wrote [your] name with what were you laughed at?"

The element which appears next to the subordinating conjunction is a form of the verb. Since the verb carries tense and aspect while interrogative words do not, the element in the position next to the subordinating conjunction cannot be questioned.

Appropriate elements in nonfinite clauses can be questioned. A typical nonfinite clause in Japanese places the stem of the verb in front of the particle *ni* and a verb of motion to express the concept "to go to do something".

SUBJECT

(138) ***dare ga hashiri*** *ni ikimashita ka?*
who NM run to went QU
"Who went to run?"

DIRECT OBJECT

(139) *yoshiko-san wa* ***nani o tanomi*** *ni ikimashita ka?*
Yoshiko TP what AC order to went QU
"What did Yoshiko go to order?"

INDIRECT OBJECT

(140) *ken'ichi-san wa okusan o* ***dare ni shookai-shi***
Ken-ichi Mr TP wife AC who to introduce
ni kimashita ka?
to came QU
"To whom did Ken-ichi come to introduce [his] wife?"

INSTRUMENT

(141) *sanroku-san wa* ***nan de kyooto made no kippu***
Sanroku Mr TP what by Kyoto up-to LK ticket
o kai *ni ikimasu ka?*
AC buy to go QU
"With what is Sanroku going to go to buy the tickets to Kyoto?"

The situation with nominalized clauses is somewhat different, since these sentences are questionable. Nominalized clauses in Japanese are formed by placing a finite form of the verb directly in front of a nominalizer [typi-

cally *no*, *koto*, or *mono*].

SUBJECT

(142) ?***dare ga saifu o nusunda no o mimashita ka?***
who NM wallet AC stole NOM AC saw QU
"Did [you] see who stole the wallet?"

DIRECT OBJECT

(143) ?***michiko-san ga nani o tabeta no o***
Michiko Ms NM what AC ate NOM AC
shinjiraremasu ka?
can-believe QU
"Can [you] believe what Michiko ate?"

INDIRECT OBJECT

(144) ?***hiroshi-san ga dare ni omiyage o ageta no***
Hiroshi Mr NM who to present AC gave NOM
o kikimashita ka?
AC heard QU
"Have [you] heard to whom Hiroshi gave a present?"

INSTRUMENT

(145) ?***sono daikusan ga nan de kugi o utta no***
that carpenter NM what by nail AC hit NOM
o mimashita ka?
AC saw QU
"Did [you] see what that carpenter hit the nails with?"

1.1.1.2.2.1.3. *WHICH ELEMENTS OF NOUN PHRASES CAN BE QUESTIONED*

A noun phrase in Japanese is defined as a bare nominal, a nominal plus a preceding relative clause, or a noun with a preceding possessor. A relative clause contains no overt markers such as relative pronoun or verb ending. Nominal possession is indicated by the linking particle *no*. Elements within relative clauses can be questioned. They may be questioned when the head noun does not refer to an item of unique reference. Thus, the purpose of questioning such elements in a relative clause serves the function of determining which one of several possible referents the head noun refers to.

Lasnik and Saito 1984 point out that within a noun phrase, reasons may not be questioned. This means that sentences of the type presented in (146) are not acceptable.

(146) *taroo ga naze katta hon o yonde-iru no?*
Taro NM why bought book AC reading QU
"Are [you] reading the book that why did Taro buy [it]?"

Examples of various elements in relative clauses being questioned follow.

SUBJECT

(147) ***dare ga*** *hirotta okane desu ka?*
who NM found money COP QU
"Is this the money that who found?"

DIRECT OBJECT

(148) ***nani o*** *tabeta hito desu ka?*
what AC ate person COP QU
"Is this the person who ate what?"

INDIRECT OBJECT

(149) *ane* ***ga dare ni*** *ageta omiyage desu ka?*
sister NM who to gave present COP QU
"Is this the present my sister gave to whom?"

LOCATION

(150) ***doko e*** *iku densha desu ka?*
where to go train COP QU
"Is the train that goes where?"

INSTRUMENT

(151) ***nan de*** *tabeta sushi desu ka?*
what by ate sushi COP QU
"Is the sushi that [you] ate with what?"

POSSESSION

(152) ***dare no*** *kuruma desu ka?*
who LK car COP QU
"Whose car is [this]?"

1.1.1.2.1.4. *WHICH ELEMENTS OF POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES MAY BE QUESTIONED*

Grammatical relationships such as subject, direct object, and indirect object are indicated by postpositional phrases. Those oblique relationships normally indicated by prepositional phrases in English, relationships such as in-

strumental, comitative, location, etc, are also indicated by postpositional phrases. As well, more discourse oriented relationships such as topic are indicated by postpositional phrases.

Elements in the first two categories listed here can be freely questioned. These are amply illustrated in section 1.1.1.2.2.1. Elements contained within a topic construction, that is, a noun phrase marked by the postpositional particle *wa*, however, may not be questioned.

1.1.1.2.2.1.5. *WHICH ELEMENTS OF COORDINATE STRUCTURES MAY BE QUESTIONED*

Coordination in Japanese is frequently difficult to distinguish from subordination. Kuno 1973, among others, has indicated that there is not a strict dichotomy between subordination and coordination, but rather that there are degrees of subordination. The same syntactic structures may, in fact, be interpreted as one or the other, given different circumstances. Coordination may be indicated by placing the medial verb(s) in either the nontensed gerundive form [= stem] or in the nontensed participial form [= *-te* form], in which case no other marking is required. There are two coordinating particles *ga* and *shi*. These follow either the polite or nonpolite tensed forms of any medial verbs to signal coordination.

An element which has a scope extending over all conjuncts may be questioned with impunity. This is shown in (153). Elements whose scope is restricted to a single conjunct may not be questioned if they are in the nonfinal conjunct [ie, are not in the same conjunct as the question particle]. These are illustrated in (154) and (155), respectively. Elements which are in the final conjunct may be questioned even though the scope is restricted to that conjunct. This is illustrated in (156) and (157).

(153) *dare ga terebi o mite sugu*
who NM TV AC look-and soon
nete-shimaimashita ka?
fell-asleep QU
"Who looked at television and fell fast asleep?"

(154) *dare ga sushi o tabete uchi o*
who NM sushi AC eat-and house AC
katazukemashita ka?
cleaned QU
"Who ate sushi and cleaned the house?"

(155) ***dare ga** sushi o tabete rei-chan ga*
who NM sushi AC eat-and Rei Ms NM
uchi o katazukemashita ka?
house AC cleaned QU
"Who ate sushi and Rei cleaned the house?"

(156) *kore wa amerika no desu ga, sore wa*
this TP America NOM COP but that TP
***doko no** desu ka?*
where NOM COP QU
"This is an American one, but that is which country's one?"

(157) ***kore wa doko no** desu ga, sore wa*
this TP where NOM COM but that TP
nihon no desu ka?
Japan NOM COP QU
"This is which country's one, but that is a Japanese one?"

1.1.1.2.2.1.6. *QUESTIONING MORE THAN ONE ELEMENT IN A SENTENCE*

The questioning of more than one element in a sentence is quite common. Typically this involves the questioning of two elements, as illustrated in (158) and (159), although three or more elements could conceivably be questioned, as illustrated in (160). Though there are no statistical studies available, it appears that it is common to question two elements, much less common to question more than two. There are no constraints on what combinations are possible.

(158) ***nanji** **ni doko** **de** aimashoo ka?*
what-time at where at meet QU
"**Where** should [we] meet **at what time**?"

(159) ***dare ga dare to** ikimashita ka?*
who NM who and went QU
"**Who** went **with whom**?"

(160) ***dare ga dare to doko e** ikimashita ka?*
who NM who and where to went QU
"**Who** went **where with whom**?"

1.1.1.2.2.2. *POSITION OF THE QUESTIONED ELEMENT*

The questioned element occupies the same position in the sentence as it would in the corresponding declarative sentence. This is also the case when more than one element is questioned. There is one type of exception to this general tendency, and this concerns clefting.

In addition to questions in which there is no word order change for questioned elements, there are clefted versions in which the questioned element becomes the head noun in a copular construction, and the remainder of the sentence is placed in a nominalized construction which is topicalized. The pairs of questions in (161a) through (161d) have identical propositional content; there is a difference in pragmatic interpretation. Questions (161b) and (161c) were taken from transcripts, questions (161a) and (161d) were constructed.

(161a) *itsu amerika e kimashita ka?*
when America to came QU
"When did [you] come to America?"

(161b) *amerika- amerika e kita no wa itsu desu ka?*
America- America to came NOM TP when cop QU
"When was it that you came to America?"

(161c) *gakkoo de, ja, anata daigaku de wa nani*
school at well you college at TP what
senkoo nasatta no?
major did QU
"At school, well, what did you major in in college?"

(161d) *anata daigaku de senkoo nasatta no wa nani?*
you college at major did NOM TP what
"As for your major in college, what [was it]?"

1.1.1.2.2.2.1. *NO CHANGE*

Frequently there is no change in the position of the questioned element.

1.1.1.2.2.2.2. *INITIAL POSITION*

A questioned element can appear in sentence initial position, but it is misleading to state that it has been "moved" there as a consequence of the question formation process. Scrambling, a process which permutes noun phrases in front of the verb, often applies to put constituents in sentence initial position for pragmatic reasons [see Kuno 1972, 1973, Muraki 1979, Hinds 1982a]. It is this same process which allows some questioned elements which are not normally in sentence initial position to appear there.

1.1.1.2.2.2.3. *PREVERBAL POSITION*

Questioned elements are not moved to preverbal position, although, again, they may end up in preverbal position

for other reasons.

1.1.1.2.2.2.4. *CLEFTED*

Questioned elements may end up to be the focused element of a clefted construction, although they do not have to be [see 1.1.1.2.2.2].

1.1.1.2.2.2.5. *INTONATION NUCLEUS*

In normal contexts, the intonational contour of a question and of a corresponding declarative sentence are identical. In these cases questioned elements do not form the intonation nucleus of the sentence.

Abe 1955 states that a slight rise in intonation accompanying a question word signifies pleading, wheedling, or importunity. He further states that a heightened tune superimposed upon a question signifies intensified feelings--animation, anger, irony, or exultation. Finally, if the question word is accompanied by a heavy stress and a rapid decrescendo of voice, along with a falling sentence-final intonation pattern, this indicates a note of accusation.

1.1.1.2.2.2.6. *OTHER POSSIBILITIES*

Nothing else may happen to the questioned element.

1.1.1.2.2.2.7. *MOVEMENT OF QUESTIONED ELEMENT*

The questioned element is not moved, except as explained above.

1.1.1.2.2.2.8. *MULTIPLY QUESTIONED ELEMENTS*

This is a relatively common occurrence in Japanese. In the event that more than one element is questioned, those forms simply remain where they would normally have been if they hadn't been questioned.

1.1.1.2.3. *ECHO-QUESTIONS*

1.1.1.2.3.1. *YES-NO ECHO-QUESTIONS*

Yes-no echo-questions require that the addressee repeat all or part of what the speaker has said, followed by the quotative particle *tte* and rising intonation. Nakada 1980:143 points out that politeness distinctions may be obliterated in echo-questions, that it is the content rather than the form which is reproduced. Nakada's example (93) illustrates this.

(162) A. *foodo wa saisen saremasu ka?*
Ford TP reelect do-PASS-polite QU
"Will Ford be reelected?"

B. *foodo wa saisen sareru ka tte?*
Ford TP reelect do-PASS QU QT
"Will Ford be reelected, did you say?"

1.1.1.2.3.2. *QUESTION-WORD ECHO-QUESTIONS*

Question-word echo-questions are formed in the same general way that yes-no echo-questions are formed: the quotative particle *tte* follows all or part of what the speaker has said, with rising intonation. In addition, that part of the utterance which is questioned is replaced by a question-word. As with normal question-word questions, the question-word is not necessarily moved.

(163) H *hitoguchi de ittara kotchi, kono hoo ga tsuyoi*
one-word by say-if this this side NM strong
tte iu kanji suru no ne.
QT say feeling do NOM EM
"If [I] say it in one word, [I] feel that these, the [girls] here are strong."

Y *tsuyoi tte? doo iu fuu ni tsuyoi?*
strong QT how say way in strong
"You say strong? What do [you] mean strong?"

1.1.1.2.3.3. *YES-NO QUESTION ECHO-QUESTIONS*

These are formed exactly as yes-no echo-questions are. Again, it is not necessary for the politeness level to remain constant.

(164) T *konban shebon ni ikimasu no?*
tonight Chez-Yvonne to go QU
"Are [you] going to Chez Yvonne tonight?"

J *shebon ni iku tte? moo yameta*
Chez-Yvonne to go QT already quit
n da yo.
NOM COP EM
"Did you say am I going to Chez-Yvonne? [I]'ve stopped going there."

1.1.1.2.3.4. *QUESTION-WORD QUESTION ECHO-QUESTIONS*

These too are formed with the quotative particle accompanied by a repetition of the relevant question-word.

(165) Y *soko wa donna tokoro?*
there TP what-kind place
"What kind of place is that place?"

H *donna toko tte ne.*
what-kind place QT EM
"What kind of place do you say?"

1.1.1.2.3.5. *ELEMENTS SUBJECT TO ECHO-QUESTIONS*

The major elements of the sentence may be subject to echo-questions.

1.1.1.2.3.6. *NUMBER SUBJECT TO ECHO-QUESTIONS*

Since echo-questions in Japanese do not involve changes in stress patterns, it is difficult to determine which of several elements is subject to echo-questioning. Thus, in (162), it is difficult to tell out of context whether *foodo* "Ford" or *saisen* "reelection" is being questioned. This means that multiple elements might be questioned but that it is a matter of interpretation to say whether this is true.

1.1.1.2.3.7. *DIFFERENT WORD TYPES*

All echo-questions are formed in the same way.

1.1.1.2.4. *ANSWERS*

1.1.1.2.4.1. *SPEECH ACT STATUS*

Answers do not form a distinct speech act.

1.1.1.2.4.1.1. *YES-NO QUESTIONS*

Answers to yes-no questions in Japanese frequently repeat all or a part of the question, with perhaps minor changes in lexical choice.

(166) H. *haikingu wa demo dekiru desho?*
hiking TP even able COP-presumptive
"[You]'re even able to go hiking, right?"

W. *dekiru desho ne.*
able COP-presumptive EM
"Yes, [I] can."

(167) H. *ja, zutto nihongo bakari shabette-ru*
well straight Japanese only speaking
wake ne?
reason EM
"Well, you spoke nothing but Japanese, right?"

W. *zutto nihongo bakari hanashite-ru.*
straight Japanese only speaking
"Right, nothing but Japanese."

1.1.1.2.4.1.2. *QUESTION-WORD QUESTIONS*

Answers to question word questions are required to focus the response. This may be done by placing the answer into the same slot the question word had or by focusing the specific response with another construction such as clefting.

(168) H. *doko de umaremashita?*
where at was-born
"Where were [you] born?"

W. *ano-ne, anoo, ehime-ken no oomishima tte iu*
uh uh Ehime LK Omishima QT say
chitcha-na shima de umaremashita.
small island at was-born
"Uh, let's see, [I] was born on a small island in Ehime Prefecture called Omishima."

(169) H. *nani-go tsukatte-sodat- sodachimashita?*
what-language use-gro- grew-up
"What language did [you] use when [you] were growing up?"

W. *sodatta?*
grew-up
"When [I] was growing up?"

W. *sodatta no wa dakara zutto nihongo.*
grew-up NOM TP so straight Japanese
"When [I] was growing up [I] used nothing but Japanese."

Notice in particular the tendency for the person being questioned to repeat part of the question in an attempt to clarify the meaning of the question.

1.1.1.2.4.1.3. *ECHO-QUESTIONS*

To the extent echo-questions are responded to, these are usually answered by a brief affirmative response, if

that is appropriate.

1.1.1.2.4.2. *INCOMPLETE ANSWERS*

This question is a difficult one to answer since the Japanese language has so many utterances which might be described as incomplete. The role of ellipsis, perhaps even more in answers than in statements which are not answers, is pervasive. What is more interesting for an analysis of Japanese, considering the general role of ellipsis, is the extent to which answers are not incomplete.

1.1.1.2.4.2.1. *YES-NO QUESTIONS*

1.1.1.2.4.2.1.1. *WORDS FOR YES, NO, MAYBE*

There are words for "yes", "no", and "maybe". These are *hai, iie,* and *tabun*, respectively. It is well-documented that a single word response to a negative question may be misleading to an English speaker [see, for example, Alfonso 1966, Shibatani 1972, Soga 1973, Kitagawa 1980]. Explanations for this boil down to the fact that the Japanese terms *hai* and *iie* do not actually mean "yes" and "no" but rather "that's correct" and "that's incorrect".

Not surprisingly, *hai* and *iie* occur as responses to questions infrequently. Hinds 1984:176 reports that in an examination of 560 clauses in two conversations, there were only twelve negative questions, and none of these elicited a *hai* or *iie* response.

This is not to suggest that single word answers to yes-no questions are nonexistent. When they occur, however, the typical response is *soo* "that's right" for "yes" and a form of *soo ja-nai* "that's not right" for "no", or a repetition of the correct form of the verb.

(170) H. *sore-kara amerika ni kita wake?*
and-then America to came reason
"And then [you] came to America?"

W. *soo.*
right
"Yes."

(171) H. *hawai ga saisho?*
Hawaii NM first
"Hawaii was the first?"

W. *nn, ja-nakute,*
un not-and
"No, it wasn't, ... "

(172) H. *anata wa sakasama-ni naranakatta no?*
you TP upside-down didn't-become NOM
"You didn't turn upside down, did you?"

W. *natte-ta. natte-ta.*
became became
"[I] did! [I] did!"

(173) B. *un, de, biru wa uttaerareru n ja-nai?*
so Bill TP sue-PASS NOM NEG-TAG
"Um, so, Bill will be sued, won't he?"

A. *uttaerareru.*
sue-PASS
"Yes, [he] will be."

(174) H. *yatta koto nai?*
did fact NEG
"[You] haven't gone yet?"

W. *nai, mada.*
NEG still
"No, not yet."

1.1.1.2.4.2.2. *QUESTION-WORD QUESTIONS*

Responsive answers to question-word questions must minimally provide the answer to the question word. With respect to the amount of required answer, this is all that is necessary.

(175) H. *anoo, donna hito ni kokoro hikareru?*
uh what-kind person by heart pulled-PASS
"Uh, what kind of a person do [you] like?"

W. *soo ne, yappari nanka kokoro no ookii hito.*
so EM as-expect like heart NM large person
"As you might expect, someone with a large heart."

Despite the tendency to provide truncated answers, there are occasions when the answer is more elaborated than the question. In response to a truncated question of the type "NOUN PHRASE *wa*?", the answer may repeat that information and then provide a response.

(176) H. *anoo, kyoodai wa?*
uh siblings TP
"Uh, [do you have any] brothers or sisters?"

W. *kyoodai?*
siblings
"Any brothers or sisters?"

H. *nn.*
un
"Yes."

W. *kyoodai wa otooto ga hitori.*
siblings TP brother NM one
"[I] have one younger brother."

1.1.1.3. *IMPERATIVE SENTENCES*

Japanese has a distinct verbal inflection which indicates an imperative construction. In this section the properties of imperative constructions will be discussed, though it must be borne in mind that there is a difference between a formal imperative construction, described here, and the typical way that someone requests or orders someone to do something. Imperative constructions are considered quite brusque, and therefore masculine, and are used only by those in clear authority over another. Common instances include military leaders to subordinates, male parents to children, (some) adults to dogs [see also 2.1.3.4.3].

There is a clear morphological marking on the verb. Subject is normally omitted. Most common are second person imperatives, although Martin 1975:959 provides an example of a true third person imperative.[6] Martin also provides an example of a first person imperative, but it is possible to interpret this as a person addressing himself as if he were another person.

1.1.1.3.1. *POSITIVE IMPERATIVE FORMS*

There are two major classes of verbs in Japanese.[7] These are termed consonant verbs and vowel verbs [see, for example, Martin 1975]. Consonant verbs have a stem which ends in a consonant [a euphonic *-i-* is inserted when citing the stem to allow for it to conform to the canonical form (CV)CV] and they have the nonpast tense marker *-u* which corresponds to *-imasu* in the polite form. The *-u* is preceded by one of eight consonants [*k, g, s(h), t(s)/ch, n, b, m, r*] or by a vowel other than *e*. Vowel verbs have a stem which ends in *i* or *e*, and have the nonpast tense marker *-ru* which corresponds to *-masu* in the polite form.

The imperative is formed by adding *-ro* to the stem of vowel verbs and by adding *-e* to the final consonant preceding the *-u* in consonant verbs. Table 2 provides a list of appropriate verbs, listing citation forms, stems, and imperative forms. Note that consonant verbs have subcategories

depending on the consonant which precedes *-u* [see 2.1.3].

Table 2

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Stem	Imperative	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabe*	*tabero*	"eat"
	yameru	*yame*	*yamero*	"quit"
II(A)	*matsu*	*machi*	*mate*	"wait"
	tsukuru	*tsukuri*	*tsukure*	"build"
	tsukau	*tsukai*	*tsukae*	"use"
(B)	*yomu*	*yomi*	*yome*	"read"
	yobu	*yobi*	*yobe*	"call"
	shinu	*shini*	*shine*	"die"
(C)	*kaku*	*kaki*	*kake*	"write"
	oyogu	*oyogi*	*oyoge*	"swim"
(D)	*osu*	*oshi*	*ose*	"push"

1.1.1.3.1.1. *PERSON-NUMBER COMBINATIONS*

Japanese does not distinguish between singular and plural forms in the verb. As well, the imperative is generally used in the second person, although as pointed out in 1.1.1.3, it is possible for a third person imperative to occur.

1.1.1.3.1.2. *DEGREES OF IMPERATIVE*

While tone of voice can be used to make any utterance more urgent, there are no specific means to indicate degrees of imperative. As pointed out in 1.1.1.3, imperative forms are actually quite rare in conversational interaction, and a variety of requests serve this function.

1.1.1.3.2. *NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE FORMS*

There is a specific negative imperative. This obeys the same social constraints as discussed for affirmative imperatives. To form a negative imperative, the negative

imperative morpheme *na* follows the citation form of the verb with sharply falling intonation.

Table 3

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Negative imperative	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*taberu na*	"eat"
	yameru	*yameru na*	"quit"
II(A)	*matsu*	*matsu na*	"wait"
	tsukuru	*tsukuru na*	"build"
	tsukau	*tsukau na*	"use"
(B)	*yomu*	*yomu na*	"read"
	yobu	*yobu na*	"call"
	shinu	*shinu na*	"die"
(C)	*kaku*	*kaku na*	"write"
	oyogu	*oyogu na*	"swim"
(D)	*osu*	*osu na*	"push"

1.1.1.3.2.1. *PERSON-NUMBER COMBINATIONS*

See 1.1.1.3.1.1.

1.1.1.3.2.2. *DEGREES OF NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE*

See 1.1.1.3.1.2.

1.1.1.3.3. *OTHER MEANS OF EXPRESSING IMPERATIVES*

There are no other means to express imperatives, although there is a plethora of forms for requests in varying degrees of politeness and insistence.

1.1.2. SUBORDINATION

1.1.2.1 *MARKERS OF SUBORDINATION*

There are specific markers of subordination in Japanese, and these will be discussed in subsequent sections.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the concept of subordination in Japanese is not absolute. There are degrees of subordination, and therefore specific phenomena may be described as occurring with greater or lesser frequency rather than as occurring or not occurring.

Kuno 1973:200ff discusses subordination in Japanese. He observes that there are a number of constructions which range from what he terms "tight" to "loose" subordination. His concern is somewhat different from the concerns of this section; the only reason his approach is introduced at all is to indicate that the concept of degree of subordination is a fairly well established concept in Japanese linguistic studies. In discussing subordination in Japanese, therefore, it is important to recognize that any markers of subordination will occur with greater or lesser frequency depending on the type of construction that is being discussed. Adjective clauses, or relative clauses, are the most stringent form of subordination in Japanese [see 1.1.2.3], but even here there are different types of relative clauses. Noun clauses, that is clauses which function as noun phrases, range from highly subordinate to mildly subordinate. Kuno's 1973:209 classification of loose and tight subordination, while interesting, contains inaccuracies. It will take us too far afield to address these issues, however.

There are four specific markers of subordination in Japanese, and none of these occurs obligatorily. The first is that dependent clauses typically precede independent clauses. The second is that the verbal in dependent clauses, especially in relative clauses, does not usually appear in the polite form. Third, the "subject" noun phrase in dependent clauses may be marked by the postpositional particle *no* instead of the postpositional particle *ga*; and fourth, "subject" noun phrases in dependent clauses are not marked by the postpositional particle *wa*.

Examples (177) through (180) illustrate the fact that a dependent clause typically precedes the main clause.

(177) ***ma, sono hen chuushin ni ima made yatte-kita***
well that place center to now up-to did-came
kara ne, sono hen ga ichiban yappari
since EM that place NM most as-expect
tsuyoi ka-na.
strong wonder
"Well, since I've concentrated on that up to now, I guess that's my strongest point."

(178) ***nanika, omoshiroi tokoro attara soko***
something interesting place exist-if there
shuuchuu-shite benkyoo dekiru desho?
concentrate-and study be-able right
"If something interesting comes up, I can concentrate on that, right?"

(179) ***motto nanka yaritai*** *to omou n da* ***kedo ne,***
more like do-DESI QT think NOM COP but EM
"I'd like to do more, but "

(180) *dakara,* ***tamago motte-ru*** *hito mo ita* ***shi***
so eggs holding person too were and
juusu mo motte-ru *hito mo ita* ***shi***
juice too holding person too was and
"So, there were people holding eggs, and people holding juice, and "

Under conditions described as "postposing" [see Hinds 1982a:181ff, 1.14.2], the dependent clause can follow the independent clause. This is illustrated in (181).[8]

(181) *ja::, pinpon mo suki desho?* ***tenisu to***
well pingpong too like COP tennis and
nite-ru kara
resemble since
"Well, you like pingpong too, don't you? since it resembles tennis?"

You may note that the verbals in the dependent clauses in (177) through (181) occur in the nonpolite form. Each of these examples, however, contained main verbals in the nonpolite form as well. In examples (182) and (183), the dependent clause verbal appears in the nonpolite form while the independent clause verbal appears in the polite form.

(182) ***nihongo de oshieru kara, gutto nihonjin***
Japanese in teach since strong Japanese
no taido de motte oshierareru kara
LK behavior by holding teach-able since
gutto raku desu.
strong easy COP
"Since I teach in Japanese, since I'm able to maintain my Japanese behavior and teach in Japanese, it's really easy."

(183) *demo, sonna ironna kyooka o*
but that various evaluation AC
oshienakeraba-ikenai to, taihen ja-nai n
must-teach when tough NEG NOM
desu ka.
COP QU
"However, if you have to teach those various kinds of evaluations, isn't it terribly difficult?"

There is considerable pressure to have verbals in dependent clauses appear in the nonpolite form. This may be seen in the case of "repairs" in which a speaker begins to use the polite form of a verbal, realizes that a dependent clause rather than an independent clause is being created, and then repairs to a nonpolite form. Examine (184) in this respect.

(184) *nnn, mada atashitachi hakkiri shite nai*
hm still we clear do-NEG
kedomo, koko n kikoo ga suki desu- suki
but here LK climate NM like COP like
na node, n, ichininen wa mada sunde-ru to omou.
LK since uh one-year TP still living QT think
"Hm, we're still not clear [on where we want to live], but we like this climate- since we like this climate, I think we'll stay here for another year."

The requirement that the verbal in a dependent clause appear in the nonpolite form is relatively strong, but it is not invariant. Examples (185) and (186) demonstrate that this tendency can be suppressed.

(185) *eeto ne, sore ja, kore kara iroiro-to suwan san ni*
uh EM that TP this from various Swann Ms to
shitsumon shimasu kara kotaete kudasai ne.
question do since answer please EM
"Uh, well, from here on I'm going to ask you [=Ms Swann] a number of questions, so please answer [them], OK?"

(186) *mada jinsei wa nagai desu kara, ma, ganbatte*
still life TP long COP since well strive
kudasai.
please
"Well, [you've] still got a long life, so stick with it."

It is more typically the case that the verbal in relative clauses occurs in the nonpolite form. Even this,

however, is not invariant. Martin 1975:1026, for instance, points out examples such as (187) in which the verbal appears in the polite form within a relative clause.

(187) *[koko] de* ***yatte-orimasu*** *shigoto*
here at doing work
"the job I am doing here"

Within relative clauses, noun phrases which would normally be marked by the postpositional particle *ga* may usually be marked by the postpositional particle *no*. This alternation is possible regardless of the grammatical function of the postpositional particle *ga*.[9] Examples (188) through (190) illustrate this; the (b) versions are constructed with the postpositional particle *ga*, based on the (a) versions which originally contained the postpositional particle *no*.

(188a) *dakedo, soo ne, jibun ga kyoodai motsu n*
but so EM self NM siblings have NOM
dattara ***toshi no hanareta*** *oniisan ka oneesan*
COP-if age NM separated brother or sister
ga ita hoo ga ii to omou.
NM was side NM good QT think
"Right, but if I could choose my brothers or sisters, I would want very much older brothers or sisters."

(188b) *dakedo, soo ne, jibun* ***ga*** *kyoodai motsu n*
but so EM self NM siblings have NOM
dattara toshi ***ga hanareta*** *oniisan ka oneesan*
COP-if age NM separated brother or sister
ga ita hoo ga ii to omou.
NM was side NM good QT think
"Right, but if I could choose my brothers or sisters, I would want very much older brothers or sisters."

(189a) *soo ne, yappari nanka* ***kokoro no ookii*** *hito.*
so EM as-expect like heart NM large person
"As you might expect, someone with a large heart."

(189b) *soo ne, yappari nanka* ***kokoro ga ookii*** *hito.*
so EM as-expect like heart NM large person
"As you might expect, someone with a large heart."

(190a) *atashi nanka yappari* ***jibun no yaritai*** *koto*
I like as-expect self LK do-DESI fact
jibun de jiyuu-ni suru hoo ga sugoku suki na
self by freely do side NM very like LK
no ne,
NOM EM
"As you might expect, someone like me likes to do what she wants to do when she wants to do it, "

(190b) *atashi nanka yappari* ***jibun ga yaritai*** *koto*
I like as-expect self LK do-DESI fact
jibun de jiyuu-ni suru hoo ga sugoku suki na
self by freely do side NM very like LK
no ne,
NOM EM
"As you might expect, someone like me likes to do what she wants to do when she wants to do it, "

Harada 1975 has pointed out that there are in fact constraints on what he terms "*ga-no* conversion". The major constraints are (A) the "nounier" the intervening elements between the noun phrase marked with *ga* or *no* and the verbal, the more constrained is the conversion process, and (B) the "nounier" the entire noun phrase in which the "*ga-no* conversion takes place, the more likely the conversion process may take place. These constraints may be illustrated by examples (191) and (192) [Harada's (12) and (16)].

(191) *me* ***no*** *nakanaka denai* *sakura-no-ki wa*
bud NM very go-out-NEG cherry-tree TP
eiyoo *ga warui no deshoo.*
nutrition NM bad NOM presumptive
"Slow-sprouting cherry trees must be ill-fed."

(192) *yamada-kun* ***no*** *kimi kara uketotta hazu no boku*
Yamada-Mr NM you from received must LK I
no hon ga furuhonya *ni atta no wa*
LK book NM second-hand-bookshop in was NOM TP
doo iu wake desu ka?
how say reason COP QU
"Why was that book of mine that Yamada was supposed to receive from you in a second-hand bookshop?"

In (191), the dependent clause in which the conversion takes place is clearly a relative clause, its head noun being *sakura-no-ki* "cherry trees". As well, the only element intervening between the noun phrase *me* "bud" and the verbal *denai* "don't come out" is the adverb *nakanaka* "very".

Both of these factors taken together contribute to allowing the postpositional particle *no* to appear. In (192), on the other hand, the dependent clause is less clearly a relative clause since the "head noun" is not a noun but a nominal adjective. Additionally, intervening between *yamada-kun* and *uketotta* "received" is the noun phrase *kimi kara.*

In all of the conversational data I have recorded, I have no instances of full noun phrases intervening between a relative clause nominal marked by *no* and the verbal. There are a proportionally large number of examples, however, in which the head noun of the noun phrase is the nominalizer *no.* The relevance of this is that such a head noun is less "nouny" than more contentful nouns.

(193) *tiishatsu de gomakasoo-to-omotte, anoo, **fukuroochan***
T-shirt by think-to-make-OK uh owl
***no kawaii** no aru desho.*
NM cute NOM be presumptive
"I was going to try to get away with sending the T-shirt, a small gift. You know the T-shirt with the owls, don't you?"

(194) ***atashi** no itte-ru no wa sugoku, nante-iu-ka-na,*
I NM saying NOM TP very what-say
ii hoo no taido no toki yosugiru wake,
good side LK behavior LK time too-good reason
amerikajin, honto yori-mo.
American real rather-than
"What I'm saying is that, uh, their good behavior is too good, Americans, better than they act."

The final property of dependent clauses is that they do not allow the postpositional particle *wa* to mark noun phrases, unless there is a contrast involved.[10] Again, the degree of dependency appears to be the crucial factor in this, since it is impossible to state this constraint strictly in terms of syntactic structure.

The set of examples provided in (195) through (198) demonstrate the propensity for *ga* to mark the subject of a dependent clause.

(195) ***biru ga** ne, boku no kodomo ja-nai to ittara*
Bill NM EM I LK child not QT say-if
shoomei dekinai deshoo.
prove able-NEG COP
"If Bill, you know, says that the child is not his, she can't prove anything, right?"

(196) *umareta toshi wa ninen, **atashi ga nijuukunen de***
be-born year TP 2-year I NM Showa-29 at
kanojo ga rokunen da kara, unto, ato, gakunen
she NM Showa-26 COP since uh and school-year
wa hitotsu shika chigawanai.
TP one except differ-NEG
"We are two years apart when we think of the year we were born; since I was born in 1954 and she was born in 1951, so uh, we are only one year apart at school."

(197) *Aa, sonoo, ma, nn, **nidome ni ne, anata ga***
so uh uh hm second in EM you NM
***hawai ni kita toki, nyo-** mokuteki wa sore da*
Hawaii to came time reason TP that COP
kedomo, sonoo, aru desho? iroiro-to kakikomu
but uh be presumptive various write
mokuteki ga ne?
purpose NM EM
"So, uh, well, um, the second time you came to Hawaii, the [real] reason was that, right? but, there are lots of things you can write [on your visa application], right?"

(198) *de, **ningen ga naka kara hipparidasareta** tte kanji.*
uh people NM inside from be-pulled-out QT feeling
"Uh, it was like the people were pulled out from the inside."

1.1.2.2. NOUN CLAUSES

Noun clauses are defined, simply, as clauses which function as noun phrases. These may be differentiated from adjective clauses (relative clauses) [see 1.1.2.3] in general, but there is considerable overlap.

1.1.2.2.1. MARKING OF NOUN CLAUSES

Once a noun clause has been formed, it functions exactly as a noun. Therefore, depending on the grammatical function it serves, specific marking is done through various postpositional particles.

1.1.2.2.2. TYPES OF NOUN CLAUSE

There are two basic types of noun clauses. The first type may be termed *complementation* since it consists of a *nominalizer* which functions like a head noun in an adjective, or relative, clause [see 1.1.2.3]. There is a small set of such nominalizers. These include, but are not limited to, *no*, *mono*, *koto*, *wake*, and *yoo*. These forms are

immediately preceded by a tensed verbal. This tensed verbal itself may precede the the complementizer *to/tte iu*.

(199) *soshite mo, sagatta mama koo yatte kodomo ga*
and EM lowered condition uh do-and child NM
nete-ru no ga ne, tottemo kawaisoo da tte.
sleeping NOM NM EM very pitiful COP QT
"And, well, [she] said it was really pitiful seeing the child sleeping like that with its head flopping."

(200) *saisho ni ne nihon ni kaette-mo kirareru mono*
first to EM Japan to return-even wear-able thing
wa nai desu ka tte iu tte.
TP NEG COP QU QT say QT
"[She] said first that even if [they] return to Japan [they] say, There isn't anything to wear, is there?."

(201) *iroiro koo, kiru mono ni tanoshimu tte iu koto ga,*
various uh wear thing to happy QT say fact NM
"The fact that [she] is happy with various things to wear ... "

(202) *sonna nihon mitai-ni shiki ga aru wake*
that Japan like ceremony NM be reason
ja-nai kara.
NEG since
"Since it's not that there is a ceremony like in Japan."

(203) *nihon no hitotachi wa hotondo nihon ni kaette-mo*
Japan LK people TP almost Japan to return-even
kirareru yoo na mono, ne,
wear-able type LK thing EM
"The people from Japan, even if almost all of them return home, the type of things [they] are able to wear, you know ... "

The second type of noun clause consists of a verb stem preceded by any of the appropriate noun phrases and their appropriate postpositional particles. This noun clause is always used in purpose expressions, preceding the directional particle *ni* and a verb of movement.

(204) *sushi o tabe ni ikoo ka.*
sushi AC eat to go-presumptive QU
"Shall we go to eat some sushi?"

(205) *aa, goshujin ga nihon ni wazawaza* ***anata ni ai ni***
oh husband NM Japan to on-purpose you to meet to
dekakete-kita wake.
leave-came reason
"Oh, it's that your husband came to Japan on purpose to meet you."

1.1.2.2.3. *INDIRECT STATEMENTS*

There is little to distinguish direct from indirect speech in Japanese. Thus, indirect statements may be formed in same way that direct statements are formed. This involves placing the quotative particle *to* or *tte* before a verb of saying.

(206) *anoo,* ***abooshon suru nara dasu tte*** *biru*
uh abortion do if pay QT Bill
itta rashii yo.
said seems EM
"Bill said that [he] would pay if [she] would have an abortion."

1.1.2.2.4. *INDIRECT QUESTIONS*

Indirect questions place the question in the nonpolite form before the quotative particle *to* and an appropriate verb of saying.

(207) ***a, doo yatte okuroo ka to*** *iu hanashi.*
oh how doing send-presumptive QU QT say talk
"Oh, talk about how I should send [it]?"

1.1.2.2.5. *INDIRECT COMMANDS*

(208) *ima wa infoumaru ne, koo, koo iu no narubeku*
now TP informal EM uh this say.NOM as-much-as
ki-ni-shinai yoo-ni shite ne.
don't-worry way do EM
"Well, [we will talk informally], please relax as much as possible."

1.1.2.2.6. *TYPE OF CLAUSE*

None of the above types of indirect speech may be nonfinite.

1.1.2.3. *ADJECTIVE CLAUSES (RELATIVE CLAUSES)*

1.1.2.3.1. *MARKING OF ADJECTIVE CLAUSES*

Adjective clauses are not obligatorily marked in any

way. There are certain optional characteristics which adjective clauses have, however, which give clues to their status. The four most salient features are that the nonpast copula has a special form, that the nominative marker *ga* may alternate with the particle *no* under some conditions, that the particle *wa* does not appear in relative clauses unless the element so marked is being contrasted, and that the verbal is usually, though not always, in the nonpolite form.

Adjective clauses precede nominals directly, and they look exactly like regular independent sentences except that the noun phrase which corresponds to the head noun is not present. The adjective clause verbal must be tensed. This is illustrated in (209) where two adjective clauses precede the two instances of the head noun *hito* "person".

(209) *dakara, tamago motte-ru hito mo ita shi,*
so eggs holding person too were and
juusu mo motte-ru hito mo ita shi
juice too holding person too was and
"So, there were people holding eggs, and people holding juice, and ... "

In both of these relative clauses, the verb is in the nonpast tense form, evidenced by the ending *ru*, and the whole clause precedes the head noun with no intervening forms or with no special intonation.

Any form which is tensed--verb, adjective, or copula--can precede a nominal in this fashion. The tense forms of the verb are *-ru* and *-ta*; adjective are *-i* and *-katta*; the tense forms of the nonpolite copula are *da* and *datta*. With the exception of *da*, these are the forms which immediately precede a head noun. For *da*, there are two possible changes. When a nominal-adjective such as *kirei* "pretty" precedes *da*, *da* "changes" to *na*. When a nominal such as *sensei* precedes *da*, *da* changes to *no* in normal speech. In written forms, *no* changes into *de aru*. Adjective, nominal-adjective, and both types of nominal relative clauses are illustrated in (210) through (213) respectively.

(210) *un, nanika sugoi kurai eiga na n da mon.*
yes like very dark movie LK NOM COP because
"Oh yes, like that was a very depressing movie."

(211) *yubioo toka nanka hen na namae ni*
ring-king or like strange LK name to
natte-iru no yo,
became NOM EM
"[It] was called "Ring-king" or some strange name like that,"

(212) *ano-ne, **nihongo** no namae da to ne, ...*
hey Japanese LK name COP if EM
"Hey, if [you] give the Japanese name [i.e. the name which is Japanese] ... "

(213) *makkusu ueibaa wa "shokugyoo to-shite no*
Max Weber TP occupation as LK
seiji" no naka de, seijika ni-totte hitsuyoo
politics LK middle at politician for necessary
na shihitsu to-shite (1) joonetsu
LK qualification as enthusiasm
(2) sekininkan (3) handanryoku no mittsu o
responsibility judgment LK three AC
*ageta ga, **shidoosha de-aru** yakyuu no kantoku mo,*
gave but leader COP baseball LK manager too
jijoo wa onaji daroo.
circumstance TP same COP-presumptive
"In his "Politics as an Occupation," Max Weber listed the necessary qualifications of a politician as (1) enthusiasm, (2) sense of responsibility, and (3) good judgment. These qualifications perhaps also apply to a baseball manager who is the leader of a team."

[Tensei Jingo: 11/9/83]

The second feature of relative clauses is that the nominative marker *ga* may alternate with *no*. In both of the examples which follow, such alternation is permitted.

(214) *ja, anoo, kyoomi **ga** aru no wa gengogaku.*
well uh interest NM exist NOM TP linguistics
"Well, uh, the thing you're interested in is linguistics."

(215) *kutsu ni shumi **no** aru hito?*
shoes to interest LK exist person
"[She]'s person who's interested in shoes?"

Kuno 1973:56 states:

> The distinction between the thematic *wa* and the descriptive *ga* and the exhaustive-listing *ga* becomes neutralized in subordinate clauses. All three are realized as *ga*, ...

(216) *totemo yonjuusansai ni* ***wa*** *mienai wakawakashii*
very 43 as TP look-NEG young
kao to karadatsuki to oyogippuri datta.
face and shape and swim-manner COP-past
"[She] has a youngish face and body in a way which belied her age of 43."

[Tensei Jingo 11/1/83]

The final characteristic of relative clauses is that they do not often take a formal ending on the verbal. Even this, however, may be possible when one wishes to speak politely.

(217) *hidari no ashi ga* ***demashita*** *washuuyama!*
left LK leg NM went-out Washuyama
"[It's] Washuyama whose left leg went [out of the ring]!"

1.1.2.3.2. *RESTRICTIVE AND NONRESTRICTIVE*

There is no formal distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses in Japanese. McCawley 1976:305 has suggested, however, that there might be semantic ramifications of this dichotomy. In particular he claims that restrictive clauses can be formed only by relativization over a noun phrase that corresponds to an instance topic, whereas nonrestrictive clauses can be formed by relativization over a noun phrase that corresponds either to an instance topic or a range topic.

1.1.2.3.3. *POSITION OF HEAD NOUN*

The head noun always follows the relative clause.

1.1.2.3.4. *RELATIVIZED ELEMENT*

1.1.2.3.4.1-2. *PRESERVED OR REPLACED*

In the majority of cases, the element in the relative clause which corresponds to the head noun is omitted. Resumptive pronouns are permitted, however, in the form of demonstrative pronouns, pronouns, and reflexive pronouns.

(218) *sono mae ni kuruma ga tomatte-iru mise*
that front in car NM stopped shop
"the shop which there is a car parked in front of"

[McCawley 1976:296]

(219) ***kare ga kite-iru yoofuku ni kodomotachi ga***
he NM wearing clothes on children NM
inki o kakete-shimatta shinshi
ink AC spill-ended-up gentleman
"the gentleman who the children spilled ink on the suit that he is wearing"

[Perlmutter 1972:94]

(220) ***jibun ga kawaigatte-ita inu ga shinde-shimatta kodomo***
self NM kept-as-pet dog NM died-end-up child
"a child whose pet dog died on him"

[McCawley 1976:296]

1.1.2.3.4.3. *DELETED*

The element in the relative clause corresponding to the head noun is most frequently omitted entirely.

1.1.2.3.4.4. *OTHER TREATMENT*

Kuroda 1975-76 discusses a phenomenon he terms "pivot-independent relative clauses". In these cases, the head noun is the nominalizer *no* and the element in the relative clause corresponding to this head noun is a full-fledged noun phrase. He states that in order for the pivot-independent relative clause to be acceptable, it is necessary that it be interpreted pragmatically in such a way as to be directly relevant to the content of the matrix clause.

(221) *taroo wa **ringo** ga sara no ue ni atta no o totte,*
Taro TP apple NM plate LK top on was NOM AC took
poketto ni ireta.
pocket in put
"Taro picked up an apple which was on a plate and put it in a pocket." [= Kuroda's (3)]

Kuroda further points out that any element in the relative clause may be related to the head noun as long as it is pragmatically possible and presents the following ambiguous example to illustrate this.

(222) *taroo wa binboo na gakusei ga kirei na onna-no-ko*
Taro TP poor LK student NM pretty LK girl
o shookai shite-kita no o yatoiireta.
AC introduce do-came NOM AC hired
"Taro hired the poor student who introduced the pretty girl to him/Taro hired the pretty girl whom the poor student introduced to him." [= Kuroda's (31)]

1.1.2.3.5. *MOVEMENT OF ELEMENT IN RELATIVE CLAUSE*

The element in the relative clause, when it appears, is not moved to any position.

1.1.2.3.6. *HEADLESS RELATIVE CLAUSES*

Since Japanese does not have relative pronouns, it is a moot point whether headless relative clauses can be discovered. There is a relative clause type construction which may be mentioned here, however. These are constructions which conform to the surface requirement of a sentence preceding a noun to which it is linked in some fashion. McCawley 1976, in discussing this type of example, suggests that they might not be relative clauses but constituents of a relative clause.

(223) *seijinshiki ga choodo **atashi ga nihon ni***
coming-of-age-ceremony NM exact I NM Japan to
kaette-ru toki-ni atta no ne.
returned time was NOM EM
"The coming of age ceremony was exactly at the time I was back in Japan."

(224) ***gasu ga moreru** nioi*
gas NM leak smell
"the smell of gas leaking" [= McCawley's (5)]

1.1.2.3.7. *WHAT ELEMENTS CAN BE RELATIVIZED*

In theory any constituent may be relativized. Kuno 1973 has claimed that there are strong similarities in the constraints which apply to both relativization and to thematization (i.e. marking by *wa*) and so he concludes that what is relativized is not a plain noun phrase but rather "a noun phrase followed by the thematic particle *wa*." (p. 243)

1.1.2.4. *ADVERB CLAUSES*

Adverb clauses are taken to be those subordinate clauses which function in a roughly analogous manner to that of an adverb in a simple sentence. What this means is that there will be some clauses I will term adverb clauses because of their functions, but which will have the shape of an adjective (relative) clause [see 1.1.2.4.2.1].

1.1.2.4.1. *ADVERB CLAUSE MARKING*

If it is necessary to specify how adverb clauses are marked in general, it is possible to say that there exists a

"class" of words which serve as the head of an adverb clause. This class of words consists of nominals [*toki* "time"], subordinating conjunctions [*kara* "since"], and postpositional particles. In all cases, the adverb clause precedes the members of this class.

Except in cases of scrambling, adverb clauses precede the superordinate clause.

1.1.2.4.2. *SPECIFIC ADVERB CLAUSE TYPES*

1.1.2.4.2.1. *TIME*

Adverb clauses which specify time are marked by a head word which indicates time. The most common of these is the word *toki* "time" although other words are equally possible. Note in particular that adverb clauses of time are treated syntactically like relative clauses since, as (225) shows, they can be marked by *wa*. In (226), there are two adverb clauses, the first of which is a time adverb clause.

(225) *nanka, anoo,* ***hantai shitai*** *toki toka ne,*
like uh oppose do-DESI time or EM
soo-iu ***toki wa*** *sugoku amerikajin no hoo ga*
that-kind time TP very American LK side NM
hakkiri shite-ru ne?
clear doing EM
"When they want to oppose something, those times, Americans make their feelings known more clearly right?"

(226) *dakara, sonoo,* ***hajimete natta*** *yoru ne,*
so uh first became night EM
moo am- sugoku kurushikatta kara,
already very was-severe since
moo dame ja-nai ka-na to nantonaku omotta
already over not wonder QT any-way thought
koto aru.
fact be
"so, uh, the night [I] got pneumonia, it was really terrible, so [I] thought, this must be it."

The distinctions made with respect to tense are, by and large, the same as those that are made in independent clauses. Past and nonpast are morphologically distinguished. In adverb clauses, however, there are two relevant constraints. Before the head noun *mae* "before", only nonpast tense is permitted, regardless of the time designated. Similarly, before the head noun *ato* "after", only past tense is permitted, regardless of the time designated.

(227a) *tookyoo e* ***iku mae*** *junbi shimasu.*
Tokyo to go before prepare do
"Before [I] go to Tokyo, [I] will prepare."

(227b) *tookyoo e* ***iku mae*** *junbi shimashita.*
Tokyo to go before prepare did
"Before [I] went to Tokyo, [I] prepared."

(228a) *koobe ni* ***tsuita ato*** *tomodachi to gohan o*
Kobe in arrived after friend and rice AC ate
tabeta.
ate
"After [I] arrived in Kobe, [I] ate dinner with [my] friend."

(228b) *koobe ni* ***tsuita ato*** *tomodachi to gohan o*
Kobe in arrived after friend and rice AC eat
taberu.
eat
"After [I] arrive in Kobe, [I] will eat dinner with [my] friend."

1.1.2.4.2.2. *MANNER*

Manner adverb clauses are not distinguishable from participial expressions. They are formed by placing the relevant verb in the *-te* form.

(229a) ***sono basu ni notte*** *dauntaun ni itta wake.*
that bus on board-and downtown to went reason
"I got on the bus and went downtown."

(229b) ***aruite*** *ikimashita.*
walked-and went
"[I] walked (lit. I walked and went)."

1.1.2.4.2.3. *PURPOSE*

Purpose adverb clauses are formed by placing a tensed verb in front of the particle sequence *no-ni*.

(230) ***shibu o nuku no-ni*** *wa mata chigau*
astringency AC take purpose TP again different
hoohoo ga aru deshoo? nanika.
method NM be presumptive something
"In order to get rid of the astringency, again there's a different method, isn't there? or some thing."

1.1.2.4.2.4. *CAUSE*

Cause adverb clauses are formed by placing a tensed verb in front of the forms *kara* or *node* [see Tawa 1974 for a discussion of the difference in meaning between these two].

(231) ***animeeshon da kara*** *kodomo muki*
animation COP since child direction
da to omotta no.
COP QT thought EM
"Since [the movie] was animation [I] thought it was for children."

(232) *shikijoo tte iu ka,* ***are ga kurai node,*** *sugoku*
sexual-desire QT say QU that NM dark since very
"depressed" shichatta nante.
do-ended-up QT
"[The movie was about] sexual desire, or something like that, since it was so oppressive [she] said [she] ended up being very depressed."

1.1.2.4.2.5. *CONDITION*

There are four different ways a condition clause may be expressed. These will be taken one at a time.

1.1.2.4.2.5.1. *(no) nara*

Condition clauses ending in *(no) nara* require that the action in that clause be completed and that the action not originate with the speaker [see Hinds and Hinds 1975-76 for details on this and the other conditional clauses].

(233) *shikashi* ***honki de sore o iu no nara,*** *"seiji*
but truth by that AC say NOM if politician
rinrihoo" arui wa "seijika no shisan
ethics-law or TP politician LK assets
kookaihoo" nado o kyoodo de matomeage,
disclosure-law etc AC cooperation by summarize
sumiyaka-ni teian suru gurai no netsui o
rapidly suggest do about LK enthusiasm AC
shimesu beki de wa nai ka.
show necessary COP TP NEG QU
"But if [they] are really serious, shouldn't [they] show the enthusiasm to speedily and jointly draft a "political ethics law" or a law on politicians making their assets public and submit it to the Diet?"

[Tensei Jingo 10/16/83]

1.1.2.4.2.5.2. *-eba*

This constitutes the provisional form of the verb. It is used when the clause originates with the speaker and the action is not completed.

(234) *meinrando ne, ameri- **koko de ieba** meinrando.*
mainland EM Ameri here at say-if mainland
"The mainland, right? Ameri- if you say [it] here [i.e. in Hawaii] it's the mainland."

1.1.2.4.2.5.3. *-tara*

This constitutes the conditional form of the verb. It is used when the action in the clause is completed.

(235) *de, **gakkoo kara kaettara** nanigo o*
so school from return-if what-language AC
tsukatte-ru?
using
"So, when [you] return home from school, what language do [you] use?"

1.1.2.4.2.5.4. *to*

This follows a nonpast form of the verb.

(236) *da ga, **karitotte-miru to** igai-ni seiseki*
COP but harvest-try if unexpectedly yield
ga warukatta.
NM bad-PAST
"But when [this rice] was harvested, the yield was unexpectedly poor."

[Tensei Jingo 10/31/83]

1.1.2.4.2.6. *RESULT*

There is no separate category of result clause. The intent is usually expressed by cause clauses.

1.1.2.4.2.7. *DEGREE*

1.1.2.4.2.7.1. *COMPARATIVE CLAUSES*

Comparative clauses are placed before the nominal *yori*. They must be tensed.

(237) *dakara, sugoku nanka, nanka* ***tookyoo nanka ni***
so very like like Tokyo like in
wa iru yori wa kotchi no hoo ga shizen ni
TP be rather TP this LK side NM natural to
nareru shi,
can-become and
"So, uh, rather than living in some place like Tokyo, it's easier to act naturally over here, and ... "

1.1.2.4.2.7.2. *EQUATIVE CLAUSES*

Equative clauses are tensed and are placed before the nominal *yoo*.

(238) ***jigenbakudan o achikochi ni umete-iru yoo***
time-bomb AC here-there at buried as
na mono desu.
LK thing COP
"It's like time bombs being buried here and there."

[Tensei Jingo 11/20/83]

1.1.2.4.3. *NONFINITE POSSIBILITIES*

The participial form of the verb, the *-te* form, is nonfinite. The rest of the forms must be tensed.

1.1.2.5. *SEQUENCE OF TENSES*

There is no sequencing of tenses such that a particular tense in the superordinate clause requires a specific tense in the subordinate clause.

1.2. STRUCTURAL QUESTIONS

1.2.1. INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THE SENTENCE

1.2.1.1. *COPULAR SENTENCES*

1.2.1.1.1. *COPULAR SENTENCES WITH NOMINAL COMPLEMENT*

Copular sentences with nominal complements are identical to equative sentences. For details and examples of this construction, see 1.9. In brief summary, copular sentences with nominal complements take the following form:

NP_1 *wa* [*ga*, *Ø*] NP_2 COPULA

1.2.1.1.1.1. *FORM OF THE COPULA*

The copula takes a variety of forms, depending on honorific distinctions. The basic distinction in the copula, as with all other verbals, is between terms of address and terms of reference [see Martin 1964, 1975]. Tables 4 and 5 present the possible forms. Note, of course, that there is overlap in the two tables in that *da* and *desu* appear in both. For those places in which there is a gap in the copula paradigm, an appropriate form exists for other types of verbals. It should also be pointed out that the copula may be omitted both in speech and writing.

Table 4

Terms of address

	Nonpolite	Polite	Deferential
	da	*desu*	----
Formal	*de aru*	*de arimasu*	*de gozaimasu*

Table 5

Terms of reference

	Humble	Neutral	Exalted
Nonpolite	----	*da*	*de irassharu*
Polite	----	*desu*	*de irasshaimasu*

1.2.1.1.1.2. *MARKING OF PREDICATE NOUN*

The predicate noun is not marked in any way.

1.2.1.1.1.3. *ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS*

The canonical order is given in 1.2.1.1.1, reproduced here for convenience.

NP_1 *wa* [*ga*, *Ø*] NP_2 COPULA

This corresponds to the English expression "NP_1 is NP_2".

In conversational interaction, however, this order may be disrupted by the normal rules of "postposing" [see 1.14].

(239) *nani, kore.*
what this
"What is [it], this."

(240) *muri desu yo, sore.*
impossible COP EM that
"[It]'s impossible, you know, that."

1.2.1.1.2. *COPULAR SENTENCES WITH ADJECTIVAL COMPLEMENT*

1.2.1.1.2.1. *OVERT COPULA*

Copular sentences with adjectival complements may be summarized as in the following:

NP *wa* [*ga*, *Ø*] ADJ COPULA

Unlike nominals, the adjective is inflected for tense. This makes the reason for eliminating the copula different. Examples follow. In (241), the NP is marked by *wa*; in (242) it is marked by *ga*; in (243), the NP is not marked by any particle; and in (244), which contains two instances of adjectives, the first is marked by *ga* and the second does not have an overt NP. Only (241) contains an overt form of the copula.

(241) *kore kara ne, mada jinsei wa nagai desu kara,*
this from EM still life TP long COP since
ma, ganbatte kudasai.
uh strive please
"From here on, [your] life is long, so, well, stick with it, OK."

(242) *sono hen ga ichiban yappari tsuyoi ka-na.*
that place NM most as-expect strong wonder
"[I] guess that's [my] strongest point."

(243) *nanka, ochisoo ne. kore, kowai wa.*
like fall-appear EM this afraid EM
"[This] is almost broken too. [I]'m afraid [I] will break this."

(244) *atama ga ookii kara, uun. katai, sugoku.*
head NM large since un stiff very
"[I] have a big head. [This string] is very stiff."

The presence or absence of the copula in this construction is due primarily to decisions made by the speaker centering about the axis of address. If the speaker wishes to be polite, *desu* appears. If the speaker does not wish to

be polite, *desu* does not appear.[11] This is because the adjective itself carries a tense marker, *-i* in the nonpast alternating with *-katta* in the past.

1.2.1.1.2.2. *MARKING OF COMPLEMENT ADJECTIVE*

The complement adjective is not marked in any way.

1.2.1.1.2.3. *ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS*

As is the case of other constructions, postposing may work to change the basic order specified in 1.2.1.1.2.

(245) *oishii yo, kore.*
delicious EM this
"[It]'s delicious, this."

(246) *itai desu ka, sono hen.*
hurt COP QU that place
"Does [it] hurt, that place?"

1.2.1.1.3. *COPULAR SENTENCES WITH ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENT*

There are copular sentences with adverbial complements in Japanese, although these are all derived via a form of proverbalization. Translations of English sentences which might be considered candidates for this construction [The man is here, the boy is at home] use an existential construction in Japanese rather than a copular construction.

There is a group of nonderived adverbials,[12] including *yukkuri* "slowly", *zenzen* "at all", *sokkuri* "exact", *zettai* "absolutely", *hakkiri* "clearly", which may enter into copular constructions.

(247) *saeko-chan wa yukkuri da.*
Saeko Ms TP slowly COP
"Saeko [works, eats, etc] slowly."

(248) *yamamoto-san wa otoosan to sokkuri desu yo-ne.*
Yamamoto Ms TP clearly COP
"Ms Yamamoto [looks like, speaks like, etc] her father."

As may be seen from the translations, the copula *da* has been used in place of a verb with more semantic content.

1.2.1.1.3.1. *BE-COPULA*

There is a BE-copula [see 1.2.1.1.1.1]. Since sentences may exist without an overt copula, it is tempting to say that the copula is optional. A more correct statement,

however, is that the presence or absence of the copula depends on discourse and pragmatic factors which are beyond the scope of description here.

1.2.1.1.3.2. *COMPLEMENT ADVERBIAL MARKING*

There is no special marking for the complement adverbial.

1.2.1.1.4. *WITHOUT OVERT BE-COPULA*

In sentences without an overt BE-copula, tense is not expressed overtly. It is simply assumed that the utterance is nonpast.

1.2.1.1.5. *CONDITIONS FOR OMISSION OF BE-COPULA*

The BE-copula can be omitted for any person. This follows from the fact that verbs in Japanese are not marked for person, number, or gender.

1.2.1.1.6. *TYPES OF COPULA*

The copula *da* and its honorific and polite variants are used for "defining", "identity", and "role". There is an other copula form, however, for "become". The nonpolite form is *naru*. What one becomes is marked by *ni* or *to* if that is a nominal, with *to* sounding more literary. If what one becomes is described by an adjective, the adjectival ending is *-ku*. These are illustrated in (249) through (251).

(249) *yappa' aru teido otona* ***ni nattara*** *...*
of-course certain behavior adult to become-if
"Of course, in a certain sense, when [you] become an adult ... "

(250) *kyoodai de nanka issho-ni yaru tte koto*
siblings by like together do QT fact
to natta *kara,*
to became since
"Since it came about that [we] do things together as brother and sister, ... "

(251) ***sugoi sabishiku natte*** *ne,*
very lonely become-and EM
"[I] became very lonely, and ... "

1.2.1.2. *VERBAL SENTENCES*

1.2.1.2.1. *VERBS WITHOUT SUBJECTS*

Japanese does not have surface dummy subjects. Verbal sentences without subjects are common, and are constrained by discourse principles [see 1.5.1]. In Hinds 1982a, these principles are explained in detail. Essentially, subjects do not appear when their identities may be discerned from discourse context. This most commonly occurs when the subject is one of the participants in a conversation, as in (252), or when the subject has just been mentioned, as in (253). Such ellipsis may be termed optional, since there are environments in which the subject may either be present or not. If a clearer understanding of discourse and social principles were to be had, these cases would no longer appear to be optional but would be obligatory.

(252) *dare no kodomo ka wakatta no?*
who LK child QU understood NOM
"Do [you] know whose child it is?"

(253) A. *un, de, biru wa uttaerareru n ja-nai?*
so Bill TP sue-PASS NOM NEG-TAG
"Um, so, Bill will be sued, won't he?"

B. *uttaerareru.*
sue-PASS
"Yes, [he] will be."

1.2.1.2.2. *VERBS WITHOUT OBJECTS*

As with the ellipsis of subjects, direct objects are omitted freely. Again, a clearer understanding of discourse and social principles would allow a formulation of those conditions under which such ellipsis is obligatory. Lacking that clearer understanding, we recognize that the direct object is not present in many cases, although its presence in these cases is also permitted. In (254), the direct object *gengogaku* "linguistics" is introduced in the first clause, and is then omitted in the second.

(254) *demo, yappari ma, gengogaku o*
but as-expected well linguistics AC
chuushin-ni-shite, nanka kore kara
make-central-and like this from
zutto benkyoo shite
straight study do-and
"As you might expect, well, [I] focused on linguistics, and if [I] study [it] from here on, and ... "

1.2.1.2.3. *INDIRECT OBJECT*

There is a category indirect object in Japanese. It is marked by the postpositional particle *ni*. As with other arguments of verbs, the indirect object may be present or absent depending on discourse factors. In (255), the indirect object is present while in (256) it is omitted.

(255) *"maa ooki-na momo da koto. uchi e kaette*
oh big peach COP fact home to return-and
ojiisan ni misete-agenakucha" to iimashita.
old-man to must-show QT said
"[She] said, "Oh what a big peach. [I]'ll take [it] home and show [it] to my husband"."

(256) *da-kara sangatsu kara rokugatsu made wa*
so March from June until TP
issho-ni sunde-ta tte bokura ga chanto,
together lived QT we NM proper
moo, au tanbi-ni yutte-ta n da.
already meet when said NOM COP
"So, both of us used to tell him this every time we saw him from March to June."

1.2.1.2.4. *OTHER VERBAL ARGUMENTS*

Other verbal arguments are temporal and locational (both locative, marked by *ni* or *de*), reciprocal (marked by *to*), dative of benefit (marked by *(no tame) ni*), dative of confrontation (marked by *ni taishite*), dative of reference (marked by *ni totte*), dative of direction (marked by *(ate) ni*), instrumental (marked by *de*), ablative (marked by *kara*), allative (marked by *e*) [see Martin 1975:28ff for details].

1.2.1.2.5. *COMBINATION OF ARGUMENTS*

Because of the Japanese disdain of explicitness, it is highly unlikely that any natural utterance will contain overt manifestations of all verbal arguments.[13] With respect to other combinations, Japanese does not allow double object constructions,[14] although double subject constructions of the type *zoo wa hana ga nagai* "the nose of the elephant is long".[15] It is unlikely that a reciprocal phrase will cooccur with a nondirectional dative or that an allative will cooccur with a directional dative. Other than these mild constraints, all combinations are possible.

1.2.1.2.6. *ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS*

Japanese is described as a free word order language,

meaning that word order has pragmatic rather than grammatical function [see Li and Thompson 1975, Thompson 1978]. Despite this, some patterns appear to be more neutral than others. The following table, taken from Martin 1975:36, illustrates neutral word order. When letters are used after a number, this indicates that these forms do not cooccur.

1 Time

2 Place

3 Subject (N *ga*)

4a Reciprocal (N *to*)

4b Nondirectional datives (N *ni*)

5 Instrumental (N *de*)

6 Ablative (N *kara*)

7a Allative (N *e*)

7b Directional dative (N *ni*)

8 Object (N *o*)

1.2.1.3. ADVERBIALS

1.2.1.3.1. TYPES OF ADVERBIALS

1.2.1.3.1.1. ADVERBS

There is a class of adverbs (*fukushi*). Four semantic subclasses exist, although these are not necessarily exclusive: adverbs of time, quantity, manner, and method. In addition, there is a class of derived adverbs. These adverbs are derived by a regular process from adjectives.

1.2.1.3.1.1.1. ADVERBS OF TIME

Examples are: *chotto* "a little while", *sugu* "soon", *mada* "not yet", *moo* "already", *sassoku* "right away", *tootoo* "finally", *sorosoro* "soon".

1.2.1.3.1.1.2. ADVERBS OF QUANTITY

Examples are: *takusan* "many", *sukoshi* "little", *daitai* "on the whole", *taitei* "almost all".

1.2.1.3.1.1.3. *ADVERBS OF MANNER*

Examples are: *yukkuri* "slowly", *bonyari* "absentmindedly", *barabara* "patteringly".

1.2.1.3.1.1.4. *ADVERBS OF METHOD*

Examples are: *kesshite* "never", *kanarazu* "surely", *kitto* "certainly", *yappari* "as expected".

1.2.1.3.1.1.5. *DERIVED ADVERBS*

Adverbs may be derived from adjectives by dropping the final *-i* and adding *-ku* to the adjective stem.

omoshiroi "interesting" ---> *omoshiroku* "interestingly"

ookii "big" ---> *ookiku* "in a big way"

hayai "fast" ---> *hayaku* "quickly"

1.2.1.3.1.2. *POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES*

Adverbial expressions may be created by combining nouns or nominal-adjectives with the postpositions *ni*. This is also common for onomatopoeic expressions. With onomatopoeic expressions, either *to* or *ni* may follow the expression.

1.2.1.3.1.2.1. *NOUN*

Examples are: *haruka kanata ni* "far away", *nesshin ni* "enthusiastically".

1.2.1.3.1.2.2. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE*

Examples are: *kirei ni* "cleanly", *rippa ni* "handsomely".

1.2.1.3.1.2.3. *ONOMATOPOEIC EXPRESSIONS*

Examples are: *geragera to* "(laugh) uproariously", *gizagiza to* "roughly, notched", *patapata* "patteringly", *busubusu* "splutteringly".

1.2.1.3.1.3. *CASES OF NOUN PHRASES*

See 1.2.1.3.1.2.1.

1.2.1.3.2. *POSITIONAL POSSIBILITIES*

Adverbs typically precede the word they modify. Be-

cause Japanese is a "free word order" language, however, this tendency is not rigidly enforced.

1.2.1.3.3. *OBLIGATORY NATURE OF ADVERBS*

Adverbs are not obligatory in any construction for syntactic reasons. For pragmatic or semantic reasons, an adverb may be considered necessary by a given speaker on a specific occasion.

1.2.2. ADJECTIVE PHRASES

1.2.2.1. *OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF ADJECTIVE PHRASE*

An adjective phrase is defined as any string which ends in an adjective. An adjective is defined formally as an inflected word whose nonpast ends in *-i* and whose past ends in *-katta*. Additionally, a vowel must precede this tense marker, and the vowel may not be *-e-*. By definition then negative forms of verbs and desideratives are adjectives, despite the meanings:

VERB	NEGATIVE	DESIDERATIVE	GLOSS
yomu	*yomanai*	*yomitai*	"read"
taberu	*tabenai*	*tabetai*	"eat"
tsukau	*tsukawanai*	*tsukaitai*	"use"

1.2.2.2. *ARGUMENTS OF ADJECTIVES*

Adjectives in Japanese function as verbs do in that they inflect for tense. Additionally, they readily take any arguments which are compatible with their meanings.

1.2.2.2.1. *ADJECTIVES IN SUBJECTLESS SENTENCES*

Subjectless sentences in Japanese are common. As a result, when the predicate is an adjective, it is quite common for the subject to be missing. The question of whether such subjectless sentences are obligatory or optional is a matter of discourse constraints, and is not answered here. The following two examples both contain the adjective *tsuyoi* "be strong". In the first example, the subject is present, and in the second it is not.

(257) ***sono hen ga ichiban yappari tsuyoi ka-na.***
that place NM most as-expect strong wonder
"I guess that's my strongest point."

(258) H. *ja, sono hito mo kitto, anoo, daibu*
well that person too surely uh very
dokuritsushin no-
independent LK
"Well, of course, that person is also a very independent ... "

W. *soo, tsuyoi tsuyoi.*
so strong strong
"Right, [she]'s really strong."

1.2.2.2.2. *ADJECTIVES WITH DIRECT OBJECTS*

There are nonderived adjectives which allow two noun phrase arguments, the second of which may be termed a direct object. Derived adjectives, such as negatives and desideratives, have a second noun phrase argument if the original form of the verb does. In the case of negatives, the second noun phrase is marked by *o* if the original verb frame requires that. In the case of desideratives, the second noun phrase is marked by either *ga* or *o*. In the case of nonderived noun phrases, the second noun phrase is marked by *ga*. As in any other situation, in normal conversational interaction the particle may be missing or replaced by a particle such as *wa* or *mo*. In the following examples, missing particles are inserted within 〈 〉 to illustrate the points more clearly.

(259) *kore 〈ga〉 kowai wa.*
this NM fear EM
"[I]'m afraid of this."

(260) *kore 〈o〉 yomanai no?*
this AC read-NEG NOM
"Aren't [you] going to read this?"

(261) *jon-san ni are 〈ga/o〉 misetai.*
John-Mr to that NM/AC show-DESI
"[I] want to show that to John."

1.2.2.2.3. *ADJECTIVES WITH INDIRECT OBJECTS*

Nonderived adjectives do not allow indirect objects. Derived adjectives, i.e. negatives and desideratives, do, as is illustrated by (261) in 1.2.2.2.2, and by (262). The obligatory or optional nature of the indirect object in these case as well is determined by discourse principles.

(262) *kare ni zenzen misenai no-yo.*
he to absolute show-NEG EM
"[I] absolutely won't show [the pictures] to him."

1.2.2.2.4. *OTHER KINDS OF ARGUMENTS*

For nonderived adjectives, no other kinds of arguments are permitted. For derived adjectives, the same possibilities as exist for the nonderived verb are possible.

1.2.2.2.5. *POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF ARGUMENTS*

For nonderived adjectives, there are no syntactic constraints on combinations of arguments. Obviously, there are semantic constraints on well-formedness of utterances.

1.2.2.2.6. *ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS*

Again, word order is relatively free and so there are no syntactic constraints on order of constituents. In the neutral case, if that can be found, the subject precedes the direct object. It must be emphasized that it is quite common for one or both of the subject and direct object to be missing from an actual utterance.

1.2.2.3. *WHICH TYPE OF ADVERBIALS CAN MODIFY ADJECTIVES*

1.2.2.3.1. *ADVERBS*

Both derived and nonderived adverbs may modify adjectives.

(263) ***sugoku okashii*** *desho?* ***yappari.***
very funny COP as-expected
"[The Japanese those people speak] is very funny, right? as you might expect."

(264) *ja, goryooshin* ***mada wakai*** *wa-ne.*
well parents still young EM
"Well, your parents must still be young."

(265) *nanka nisannichi:: nanka* ***chotto itakatta*** *kedo.*
like 2-3-days like little hurt-past but
"[My shoulder] hurt a little for a couple of days."

1.2.2.3.2-4. *OTHER TYPES*

Adverbials may be formed as either a noun or a nominal-adjective preceding the postpositional particle *ni* (*nesshin-ni* "enthusiastically" and *kirei-ni* "cleanly", respectively). While these adverbials typically modify verbs, they may also modify adjectives ***rekishiteki-ni wakai*** *daitooryoo* "a historically young president".

Adverbials are not formed by cases of noun phrases, and adverbial clauses do not exist.

1.2.2.3.5. *ORDER*

The adverb usually precedes the adjective it is modifying, unless the adverb has been postposed [see 1.2.2.3.1 for an example].

1.2.3. ADVERBIAL PHRASE

1.2.3.1. *OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF ADVERBIAL PHRASE*

Adverbial phrases may be construed as those adverbs derived from either a noun, a nominal-adjective, or an onomatopoeic expression which is followed by the postpositional particle *ni* or *to*.

1.2.3.2. *ADVERBIAL MODIFYING ADVERBIAL*

Only adverbs may modify adverbials: *moo sukoshi* "a little more"; *chotto yukkuri* "a little slowly"; *moo sugu* "a bit sooner".

1.2.3.3. *ORDER*

The modifying adverb precedes the modified adverbial unless "postposing" occurs.

1.2.3.4. *RESTRICTIONS*

The only type of adverbial modification which is possible is the indication of a degree. Thus, the set of adverbs which may modify an adverbial is restricted to forms such as *moo* "more" or *chotto* "a little".

1.2.4. POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES

1.2.4.1. *OPERATIONAL DEFINITION FOR POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASE*

A postpositional phrase is defined as a noun phrase followed by a postposition. There are three types of postpositional phrases which must be recognized. The first consists of noun phrases followed by what Martin 1975:32 terms "core case markers" [these are equivalent to Kuno's 1973:328ff "inserted case markers"]. These are the postpositional particles *ga*, *o*, and *ni*, and they are roughly equivalent to subject, direct object, and indirect object, respectively. The second type of postpositional phrase consists of noun phrases followed by Martin's "peripheral case markers" [those which, for Kuno, are in the deep struc-

ture of a sentence]. Examples of these are *kara, e, de, to.* The third type of postpositional phrase consists of a noun phrase followed by a "focus postpositional particle". These are the postpositional particle *wa*, which subdues the noun phrase it follows, and the postpositional particle *mo* "too", which highlights the noun phrase it follows.

1.2.4.2. *POSTPOSITIONAL PHRASES AND THEIR ARGUMENTS*

1.2.4.2.1. *POSTPOSITIONS WITHOUT ARGUMENTS*

The core case markers, the peripheral case markers, and the focus postpositional particles cannot occur without arguments. Some postpositions, such as *mae* "before" and *ato* "after" may appear without arguments.

(266) *ore ga mae ne gotoo ga ki o tsukatte sa,*
I NM before EM Goto NM spirit AC use-and EM
"I, before, Goto was really worried, "

(267) *de, ato ichinen de sore ga owatte,*
and after one-year by that NM end-and
"And, after a year that finished, and "

1.2.4.2.2-4. *ARGUMENTS FOR POSTPOSITIONS*

Postpositions cannot have more than one argument, can not occur with arguments other than noun phrases[16], and cannot be stranded.

1.2.4.3. *MODIFICATION OF POSTPOSITIONS*

Postpositions cannot be modified.

1.2.4.4. *MULTIPLE CASE GOVERNING OF POSTPOSITIONS*

Postpositions do not govern more than one case.

1.2.5. NOUN PHRASE (NOMINAL CONSTITUENT)

1.2.5.1. *OPERATIONAL DEFINITION FOR NOUN PHRASE*

A noun phrase is a constituent of a sentence that can stand in a functional relationship to the major predicate of that sentence. It can function as a grammatical term (subject, direct object, indirect object), or it can stand in a case relationship (instrumental, allative, etc) to that predicate. It consists minimally of a single noun or pronoun, and optionally contains modifiers. It may also consist of a noun compound.

1.2.5.2. *MODIFIERS IN NOUN PHRASES*

1.2.5.2.1. *ADJECTIVE*

Both nouns and pronouns can be modified by adjectives. In all cases, the adjective precedes the nominal: *utsukushii kanojo* "beautiful she", *ii mono* "good thing". This is amply illustrated throughout this chapter.

1.2.5.2.2. *RELATIVE CLAUSE*

Relative clauses modify nouns and pronouns exactly as adjectives do, by preceding the nominal. For verbs within relative clauses, the nonpolite form is more common; for the non-past copula, a special form exists (*na* for nominal-adjective [see 1.2.5.2.10] and *no* for nominals). There are strong arguments for considering adjectival modification to be a form of relative clause modification: *tookyoo e itta hito* "the person who went to Tokyo"; *kirei na hito* "the pretty person"; *gakusei no hito* "the person who is a student".

1.2.5.2.3. *POSSESSIVE 'ADJECTIVE'*

Possessive 'adjectives' immediately precede the nominal they possess. In standard Japanese, the linking particle *no* is required: *tookyoo no hito* "person of Tokyo"; *onna no hito* "female person"; *yamada-san no musume* "Mr Yamada's daughter".

1.2.5.2.4. *ARTICLE*

There is no article, although a three-way demonstrative system exists to show definiteness. Indefiniteness may be shown by *aru* "a certain". These all precede the nominal: *sono hito* "that person", *aru hito* "a certain person".

1.2.5.2.5. *DEMONSTRATIVE 'ADJECTIVE'*

The three way demonstrative system is used to indicate definiteness, although definite noun phrases may easily exist without this form. The distinctions are *kono* "this", *sono* "that", and *ano* "that over there". These forms all precede the nominal they modify: *kono booshi* "this hat"; *sono hito* "that person", *ano toki* "that time".

1.2.5.2.6. *QUANTIFIERS AND NUMERALS*

Quantifiers appear in one of three basic positions to modify a noun. They may precede the noun, they may follow the noun (and any postpositional particles), or they may

precede the noun as another nominal does, followed by *no*. These are illustrated in (268) through (270), respectively.

(268) *onigashima no onitachi wa **minna** osake o nonde*
Onigashima LK ogres TP all sake AC drink-and
yopparatte ukaresawagi o shite-imashita.
become-drunk-and make-merry AC doing
"All of the ogres on Onigashima were drinking sake, and becoming drunk, and making merry."

(269) ***zenbu** moo sore shiryoo ni motozuite-iru no.*
all already that data as based NOM
"[He]'s used all that as data already."

(270) *hitori moo ne **hitori no sensei** no koto tsui*
one very EM one LK teacher LK thing easily
mo omoiukabemasu kedomo
already remember however
"Well, one person, [I] remember about one teacher but,"

1.2.5.2.7. *ADVERBIALS*

Adverbials occur within noun phrases only as modifiers of adjectives, nominal-adjectives, or verbals, never as a modifier of a nominal: *hayaku owaritai hito* "a person who wants to finish quickly"; *honto-ni shizuka na hito* "a really quiet person"; *yoku dekiru hito* "a person who can do [some thing] well".

1.2.5.2.8. *EMPHATIC MARKERS*

There are a number of emphatic particles which follow nominals, including *koso*, *sae*, *tomo*. Details are given in 1.11.2.1.2.

1.2.5.2.9. *COMPARATIVE/SUPERLATIVE/EQUATIVE STRUCTURES*

Comparative and superlative structures function exactly as adjectives [see 2.1.4.4]. Equative modification also appears as an adjectival construction, using the adjective *rashii* "like": *otoko-rashii booya* "a man-like boy".

1.2.5.2.10. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE*

When a nominal-adjective modifies a noun, the copula *da* is "replaced" with the linking particle *na*: *kirei na hito* "pretty person"; *suki na hito* "a person [I] like"; *joonetsu teki na hito* "a passionate person".

1.2.5.3. *MULTIPLE MODIFICATION*

It is possible to have more than one of each type of modifier. In the event that this occurs, there is no obligatory or preferred order among any of the types. In the following constructed example, each separate modifier is surrounded by < >. Any other order of modifiers is permitted, as long as they all precede the head noun, giving twenty-four possible orders for these constituents.

(271) *<sono> <kirei na> <nara e itta> <sensei no> musume*
that pretty LK Nara to went teacher LK daughter
"That pretty daughter of the teacher who went to Nara."

1.2.5.4. *NON-ADMISSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF TYPES OF MODIFIER*

There are no syntactic constraints on permitted combinations, but there are semantic constraints. The indefinite marker *aru* "a certain", for instance, cannot cooccur with any of the demonstratives which indicate definiteness.

1.2.5.5. *ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS OF NOUN PHRASE*

As long as the head noun occurs at the end of a phrase, any order of constituents is permitted [see 1.2.5.3].

1.3. COORDINATION

1.3.1.1. *SENTENTIAL COORDINATION*

1.3.1.1.1. *"and"-COORDINATION*

Coordination refers to a relationship which exists between two, or more, elements of a construction in which each element has the same syntactic role and semantic function of the other, or others. These constituent elements are connected by other elements, frequently free forms, which may be termed conjunctions. In Japanese, some of these elements are most appropriately termed coordinating particles.

There are five ways to coordinate sentences in Japanese. Each of these means results in coordinate rather than subordinate structures, and so are discussed here. It should be borne in mind, however, that the distinction between coordination and subordination in Japanese is a cline rather than an either-or situation [see, for instance, Kuno 1973].

The first means to indicate verbal coordination is to use the participial form (the *-te* form) of a verbal for all nonfinal occurrences.

(272) *koobe e* ***itte,*** *tomodachi ni aimashita.*
Kobe to go-and friend to met
"[I] went to Kobe and met a friend."

(273) *koobe e* ***itte,*** *tomodachi ni aimasu.*
Kobe to go-and friend to meet
"[I] will go to Kobe and meet a friend."

Notice that the participial form of the verbal is non tensed. Therefore, the tense of the final verbal in the sequence will determine the tense of all preceding verbals.

(274) *koobe e* ***itte,*** *tomodachi ni* ***atte,*** *issho-ni*
Kobe to go-and friend to meet-and together
tabemashita.
ate
"[I] went to Kobe, met my friend, and [we] ate together."

(275) *koobe e* ***itte,*** *tomodachi ni* ***atte,*** *issho-ni*
Kobe to go-and friend to meet-and together
tabemasu.
eat
"[I] will go to Kobe, meet my friend, and [we] will eat together."

The examples presented so far have all involved true verbs. The participial form of both adjectives and the copula may also be used in verbal coordination.

(276) *kono hon wa* ***takakute*** *wakarinikui.*
this book TP expensive-and hard-to-understand
"This book is expensive and hard to understand."

(277) *uchi no ko wa* ***genki de*** *ganbatte-imasu.*
home LK child TP healthy be-and trying
"Our child is healthy and tries hard."

(278) *ano hito wa* ***sensei de*** *atama ga ii.*
that person TP teacher be-and head NM good
"That person is a teacher and is smart."

A second type of verbal coordination involves the use of the verbal stem. There is a slight difference between the use of the participial form of the verbal and the use of the verbal stem. The basic difference is that coordination with the verbal stem indicates a more formal or prepared expression than coordination with the participle. Therefore, coordination with the verbal stem occurs more frequently in planned or nonspontaneous discourse while coordination with

the participle occurs more frequently in unplanned or spontaneous discourse [see Hinds 1976b, 1979 for details].

(279) *koobe e* ***iki,*** *tomodachi ni aimashita.*
Kobe to go-and friend to met
"[I] went to Kobe and met a friend."

(280) *koobe e* ***iki,*** *tomodachi ni aimasu.*
Kobe to go-and friend to meet
"[I] will go to Kobe and meet a friend."

In the event that both the participial form of the verbal and the stem of the verbal are used in the same sequence, the difference between them involves broad organizational parameters. That is, the use of the verbal stem signals the end of a larger discourse unit, while the participial form signals the maintenance of the same discourse unit. This is discussed in greater detail in Hinds 1976b.

A third type of verbal coordination involves the use of the conjunction *shi*. This conjunction follows the nonpast, the past, and the tentative form of verbals. Its meaning is more than simple coordination, however, since it implies that the first conjuncts are presented as part of a series of statements to lead up to a final conclusion.

(281) *yukie wa atama mo ii* ***shi,*** *(sono-ue) bijin desu.*
Yukie TP head too good and moreover beauty COP
"Yukie is smart, and (moreover) [she]'s beautiful."

(282) *oishii sakana mo tabeta* ***shi,*** *(sono-ue) biiru mo takusan nomimashita.*
delicious fish too ate and moreover beer too much drank
"[I] ate some delicious fish, and (moreover) I drank a lot of beer."

(283) *uchi no ko wa genki da* ***shi,*** *(sono-ue) kinben desu.*
home LK child TP healthy COP and moreover diligence COP
"Our child is healthy, and (moreover) [she] works very hard."

In normal conversational interaction, the final clause is frequently not overtly stated, leaving the listener to fill in the meaning of the utterance.

(284) *kyoo wa atsui* ***shi,*** ...
today TP hot and
"It's hot today, and (moreover) ... "

(285) *kyooto e wa ikanai* ***shi,*** ...
Kyoto to TP go-not and
"[I]'m not going to go to Kyoto, and (moreover) ... "

Another type of verbal coordination involves the representative form of the verbal. The purpose of this construction is to indicate that the actions or states so described are representative of other semantically similar actions or states.

(286) *tookyoo e* ***ittari*** *koobe e* ***kaettari*** *shite-imasu.*
Tokyo to go-and Kobe to return-and doing
"[I] keep doing things like going to Tokyo and returning to Kobe."

(287) *kyoo wa* ***atsukattari samukattari*** *shite-imasu.*
today TP hot-and cold-and doing
"It's alternating between being hot and cold today."

(288) *yuube tomodachi to sake o* ***nondari*** *uta o* ***utattari*** *shimashita.*
last-night friend with sake AC drink-and song AC sing-and did
"Last night [I] drank sake and sang songs and things like that with my friend."

It is not necessary for more than one activity or state to be overtly mentioned. If this subsequent state or activity is not mentioned, it is assumed from context.

(289) *kinoo tomodachi ni* ***attari*** *shimashita.*
yesterday friend to meet-and did
"Yesterday [I] met my friend, and things like that."

(290) *kyonen uchi no ko wa byooki ni* ***nattari*** *shimashita.*
last-year home LK child TP sick to become-and did
"Last year our child kept getting sick and things like that."

Likewise, it is possible that more than two actions or states will occur. As well, while the representative forms are typically followed by a form of the verbal *suru* "do", it is possible for the representative form to be followed by a form of the copula *desu* or by no verb form at all.

(291) *kinoo no paatei de wa, **sake** o **nondari**,*
yesterday LK party at TP sake AC drink-and
***sawaidari**, **odottari** de, moo*
make-noise-and dance-and COP-and already
totemo taihen deshita.
very something COP-past
"At yesterday's party, [we] drank sake, made a lot of noise, and danced, and things like, and it was really something."

(292) *soo iu no ga betchari atama ni **tsuitari***
that say NOM NM stickily head in stick-and
sugokatta kedo.
tough-was but
"That kind of stuff got all stuck in my head and things like that, and [it] was really terrible."

The final means to indicate sentential coordination is with *toka*, a form which is also used to connect nominals. It has the sense of making the predications it conjoins less precise.

(293) *hon o yomu **toka** shukudai o suru **toka** shite*
book AC read and homework AC do and do-and
okimashoo.
do-in-advance
"Let's read books and do our homework and things like that."

(294) *demo, gorira kitto minagara ningen wa kitto*
but gorilla sure look-while human TP sure
*yorokobaseyoo to omoeba kantan da **toka** tanjun da*
happy-cause QT think-if simple COP and simple COP
***toka** omotte-ru n ja-nai?*
and thinking NOM NEG
"But, don't [you] think that human beings think that gorillas are honest and straightforward when they look at [them]?"

1.3.1.1.2. *"BUT"-COORDINATION*

There are five major coordinating particles which juxtapose one sentence with another. Four of these are phonological variants of the same form which differ only in degree of formality. The other is a separate form which is the most polite of the five. These are displayed directly below.

kedo/kedomo *ga*

keredo/keredomo

As with the case of and-coordination, these coordinators are used to connect two sentences, or clauses. Each may connect a true verb, an adjective, a nominal-adjective, or a nominal. In the following examples, *ga* appears, and although each of the other conjunctions could equally well appear, *ga* is preferred.

(295) *mariko wa tookyoo e ikimasu* ***ga,*** *junko wa*
Mariko TP Tokyo to go but Junko TP
koobe e ikimasu.
Kobe to go
"Mariko will go to Tokyo, but Junko will go to Kobe."

(296) *kono hon wa omoshiroi desu* ***ga,*** *sono hon wa*
this book TP interesting copula but that book TP
tsumaranai desu.
boring COP
"This book is interesting, but that book is boring."

(297) *kono heya wa kirei desu* ***ga,*** *sono heya wa*
this room TP clean copula but that room TP
kitanai desu.
dirty COP
"This room is clean, but that room is dirty."

(298) *yamada san wa gakusei desu* ***ga,*** *tamori san wa*
Yamada Mr TP student copula but Tamori Mr TP
sensei desu.
teacher COP
"Mr Yamada is a student, but Mr Tamori is a teacher."

Each of these sentences has appeared in the polite form. This is not necessary, of course. Each of the sentences could also appear in the nonpolite form, as (299) through (302) illustrate.

(299) *mariko wa tookyoo e iku ga, junko wa koobe e iku.*
Mariko TP Tokyo to go but Junko TP Kobe to go
"Mariko will go to Tokyo, but Junko will go to Kobe."

(300) *kono hon wa omoshiroi* ***ga,*** *sono hon wa*
this book TP interesting but that book TP
tsumaranai.
boring
"This book is interesting, but that book is boring."

(301) *kono heya wa kirei da* ***ga,*** *sono heya wa kitanai.*
this room TP clean copula but that room TP dirty
"This room is clean, but that room is dirty."

(302) *yamada san wa gakusei da* ***ga,*** *tamori san wa*
Yamada Mr TP student copula but Tamori Mr TP
sensei da.
teacher COP
"Mr Yamada is a student, but Mr Tamori is a teacher."

Combinations of polite and nonpolite speech may also occur. In these cases, it is most common for the first sentence to end in a nonpolite form, and for the second sentence to end in a polite form. This is illustrated in (303) through (306). In these cases, although I have used *ga* as the conjunction, the variations involving forms of *kedo* are more natural.

(303) *mariko wa tookyoo e iku* ***ga,*** *junko wa koobe*
Mariko TP Tokyo to go but Junko TP Kobe
e ikimasu.
to go
"Mariko will go to Tokyo, but Junko will go to Kobe."

(304) *kono hon wa omoshiroi* ***ga,*** *sono hon wa*
this book TP interesting but that book TP
tsumaranai desu.
boring COP
"This book is interesting, but that book is boring."

(305) *kono heya wa kirei da* ***ga,*** *sono heya wa*
this room TP clean copula but that room TP
kitanai desu.
dirty COP
"This room is clean, but that room is dirty."

(306) *yamada san wa gakusei da* ***ga,*** *tamori san wa*
Yamada Mr TP student copula but Tamori Mr TP
sensei desu.
teacher COP
"Mr Yamada is a student, but Mr Tamori is a teacher."

Thus, a scale of politeness may be created for but-coordination, with exclusive use of polite forms indicating the most polite expression, exclusive use of nonpolite forms indicating the least polite expression, and the mixture of

polite and nonpolite forms indicating an intermediate step. As well, the choice of but-coordination also plays a role in determining the overall politeness of the expression. *kedo* is least polite, *keredo* and *kedomo* are slightly more polite, *keredomo* is more polite, and *ga* is most polite, or at least most closely associated with written style.

One other phenomenon associated with the use of but-coordination in Japanese is that these forms may be used to end sentences. When they do, they imply a slight feeling that the speaker has not committed himself or herself completely to the proposition. Thus, in the question-answer sequence presented in (307), speaker H has left himself an out if he should choose not to attend the year-end party.

(307) T. *boonenkai ni demasu ka?*
year-end-party to go QU
"Are [you] going to the year-end party?"

H. *iku tsumori desu **ga**.*
go intention copula but
"[I] intend to go but."

(308) A *dochira kara irashita n desu ka?*
where from came nominal copula QU
"Where have [you] come from?"

Y *'tashi wa okayama kara na no. anata wa?*
I TP Okayama from LK NOM you TP
tookyoo?
Tokyo
"I'm from Okayama. How about you? [You from] Tokyo?"

A *un. 'tashi wa, umare wa- mo sodachi mo*
yes I TP birth TP too grown too
*tookyoo na n desu **kedo** ne.*
Tokyo LK NOM COP but EM
"Yes. I was born- both born and brought up in Tokyo, but."

In the case of (308), in particular, it is difficult to determine what has been "left out", although it is possible that it is a statement to the effect that even though she herself was not born outside of Tokyo A has some sympathy for people who were.

1.3.1.1.3. *or-COORDINATION*

"Or"-coordination at the sentential level in Japanese typically involves presenting two alternatives in full form, both of which are marked by the particle ka, the question

marking particle. As with other types of sentential coordination, all four verbal types may be coordinated in this way. Examples (309) through (312) illustrate this using polite forms, while (313) through (316) illustrate this with nonpolite forms.[17]

(309) *tookyoo e ikimasu **ka** koobe e ikimasu ka?*
Tokyo to go QU Kobe to go QU
"Are [you] going to Tokyo or to Kobe?"

(310) *kono hon wa omoshiroi desu **ka** tsumaranai desu ka?*
this book TP interesting COP QU boring COP QU
"Is this book interesting or boring?"

(311) *ano hito ga suki desu **ka** kirai desu ka?*
that person NM like COP QU hate COP QU
"Do [you] like that person or dislike [him]?"

(312) *tanaka san wa fudoosanya desu **ka** yaoya desu ka?*
Tanaka Mr TP realtor COP QU grocer COP QU
"Is Mr Tanaka a real estate agent or a grocer?"

(313) *tookyoo e iku **ka** koobe e iku ka?*
Tokyo to go QU Kobe to go QU
"Are [you] going to Tokyo or to Kobe?"

(314) *kono hon wa omoshiroi **ka** tsumaranai ka?*
this book TP interesting QU boring QU
"Is this book interesting or boring?"

(315) *ano hito ga suki **ka** kirai ka?*
that person NM like QU hate QU
"Do [you] like that person or dislike [him]?"

(316) *tanaka san wa fudoosanya **ka** yaoya ka?*
Tanaka Mr TP realtor QU grocer QU
"Is Mr Tanaka a real estate agent or a grocer?"

1.3.1.1.4. *OTHER TYPES*

There are no types of sentential coordination other than those discussed in sections 1.3.1.1.1, 1.3.1.1.2, and 1.3.1.1.3.

1.3.1.2. *NUMBER OF COORDINATORS*

When a coordinating conjunction appears, there is one fewer coordinating conjunction than the number of clauses. This coordinating conjunction appears after each of the clauses except the final.

There is one final point which should be made with

respect to the number of coordinators per clause. For each of the types of coordination--*and, but*, and *or*--there is a sentence type in which the coordinator ends the utterance. While there may be a feeling of lack of closure, this feeling is not necessarily there at all times [see additional examples in 1.3.1.1 and 1.3.1.1.3].

In the following example, the sentence which ends with *ga* is the last sentence in the article. The fact that it also ends with three dots indicates the lack of closure which may be associated with such constructions.

(317) *mottomo, rinrigirai no senryooshoshi ga*
of-course ethics-hate LK representatives NM
mizukara o shibaru nawa o nau hazu
themselves AC tie rope AC twist expectation
*wa nai **ga** ...*
TP NEG but
"Of course, the elected representatives of the people, who hate ethics, could not possibly make "ropes" to bind themselves."

[Tensei Jingo 10/8/83]

In the next example, the first sentence ends in falling intonation. The second sentence is reproduced so the reader can see that it is not a continuation of the first sentence.

(318) *nihon kaette ojisan ii tsuttara unten suru*
Japan return uncle OK QT-say-if drive do
*ka-mo-shirenai **shi**. nihon konde-ru kara wakannai.*
probably and Japan crowded since know-NEG
"When [I] return to Japan if my uncle say it's OK [I]'ll probably drive, and. Japan's crowded, so [I] don't know."

In the final example, the coordinator *toka* appears with falling intonation in answer to a question.

(319) *tatoeba ojiichan ga sh- shinda toki **toka**.*
e.g. grandfather NM died time or
"The time Grandfather died, or."

1.3.1.3. *COORDINATING MAJOR SENTENTIAL CATEGORIES*

The primary means of nominal coordination in Japanese is to add the particle *to* "and" to the first nominal in a pair. This same particle to may also follow the second nominal.[18]

(320) *taroo to akiko (to) wa nara e ikimashita.*
Taro and Akiko and TP Nara to went
"Taro and Akiko went to Nara."

(321) *biiru to sake o takusan nomimashita.*
beer and sake AC lots drank
"[I] drank lots of beer and sake."

In the event that more than two nominals are combined, to typically follows each nominal, again optionally appearing after the final nominal.

(322) *taroo to akiko to jiroo (to) wa nara e ikimashita.*
Taro and Akiko and Jiro and TP Nara to went
"Taro and Akiko and Jiro went to Nara."

As in English, it is possible to conjoin nominals in Japanese without an overt manifestation of the coordinating particle *to*. In writing, such nominals are frequently, but not always, separated by a comma; in speech, intonation clues may be present to differentiate nominal coordination from nominal compounding. Martin 1975:158 provides an interesting example of this phenomenon.

(323) *... mazu bukka - genzei, tsuide daigaku - kyooiku, sanbanme ga noosei datta ...*
first price tax-cuts next university education third NM farm-policy was
" ... first of all it was prices and tax cuts; next, universities and education; third, farm policies ... "

This example was taken from the Shuukan Asahi. The commas in this example were in the original; the hyphens represent a "raised dot", an orthographic convention in Japanese which is similar to the hyphen or comma in English. Martin's point in presenting this example, other than providing an illustration of coordination without an overt *to*, is that when this example was read out loud, the expression *daigaku - kyooiku* "universities and education" was read as *daigaku-kyooiku* "university education".

A second type of nominal coordination involves the coordinating conjunction *ya*. Syntactically, *to* and *ya* are similar in that both may appear between two nouns to indicate conjunction.[19] Semantically, however, they differ. The particle *to* indicates that the nominals so marked constitute the complete set of combined elements. The particle *ya*, on the other hand, indicates that there are other unnamed elements included in the combined set. By modifying (320) and (321) somewhat, this can be illustrated.

(324) *taroo* ***ya*** *akiko wa nara e ikimashita.*
Taro and Akiko TP Nara to went
"Taro and Akiko among others went to Nara."

(325) *biiru* ***ya*** *sake o takusan nomimashita.*
beer and sake AC lots drank
"[I] drank lots of beer and sake and stuff."

Kuno 1973:115 has pointed out that when stative predicates such as *gakusei desu* "be a student" are used, coordination using *ya* is awkward. His explanation for this is that the subject of stative predicates receives an "exhaustive-listing" interpretation, and therefore is not amenable to cooccurrence with *ya*. The grammaticality judgment is Kuno's. Many speakers of Japanese find this sentence to be perfectly acceptable.

(326) *?*taroo* ***ya*** *akiko ga gakusei desu.*
Taro and Akiko NM student copula
"?*It's only Taro and Akiko among others who are students."

A coordinating construction which is similar semantically to *ya* is *toka*. Its function also is to indicate that the expressed elements are representative of a larger class.

(327) *kinoo biiru* ***toka*** *sake* ***toka*** *(o) nomisugimashita.*
yesterday beer and sake and AC drink-excess-past
"Yesterday [I] drank too much beer and sake and things like that."

The major difference between *ya* and *toka* is that *ya* may only be used to conjoin nominals, while *toka* may be used to conjoin nominals and verbals [see also section 1.3.1.1.1].

(328) *hon o yomu* ***toka*** *shukudai o suru* ***toka*** *shite*
book AC read and homework AC do and do-and
okimashoo.
do-in-advance
"Let's read books and do our homework and things like that."

The particle *ni* may also be used in nominal coordination. The major difference in meaning between *ni* and *to* is that coordination with *to* is semantically reversible. Thus, when ordering dinner in a restaurant, either (329a) or (329b) is acceptable. Under normal circumstances, however, only (330a) would be used.

(329a) *tenpura to sake o kudasai.*
tempura and sake AC give-me
"Let me have tempura and sake, please."

(329b) *sake to tenpura o kudasai.*
sake and tempura AC give-me
"Let me have sake and tempura, please."

(330a) *tenpura ni sake o kudasai.*
tempura and sake AC give-me
"Let me have some sake with an order of tempura."

(330b) *sake ni tenpura o kudasai.*
sake and tempura AC give-me
"Let me have some tempura with an order of sake."

As I have tried to indicate with the translation, (330b) would only be appropriate if the primary order were for sake and the secondary order were for tempura. For this reason, when ordering at a bar, (331a) may be more appropriate under normal circumstances than (331b).

(331a) *biiru ni otsumami o kudasai.*
beer and snacks AC give-me
"Let me have some beer and snacks, please."

(331b) *otsumami ni biiru o kudasai.*
snacks and beer AC give-me
"Let me have some snacks and beer, please."

Another method of nominal coordination involves a construction in which the particle *mo* is placed after both nominals to be conjoined. Under rare circumstances one of these particles can be omitted.

(332) *taroo mo akiko mo nara e ikimashita.*
Taro and Akiko and Nara to went
"Both Taro and Akiko went to Nara."

(333) *kinoo biiru mo sake mo nomimashita.*
yesterday beer and sake and drank
"Yesterday [I] drank both beer and sake."

A final type of nominal coordination involves disjunction. When an either-or situation is described, the coordinating particle *ka* connects the nominals in question.

(334) *ashita ka asatte oosaka e ikimashoo.*
tomorrow or day-after-tomorrow Osaka to let's-go
"Let's go to Osaka tomorrow or the day after tomorrow."

(335) *pen **ka** enpitsu o kashite kudasai.*
pen or pencil AC loan give-me
"Please loan me a pen or a pencil."

In the case of forced choice answers, nominals are not usually connected by the coordinating particle *ka*. Instead, a construction of the following type is used.

(336) *eigo to nihongo (to) dotchi ga ii?*
English and Japanese and which NM good
"Which is better [for you], English or Japanese?"

(337) *sukiyaki to tenpura (to) dotchi ga oishii?*
sukiyaki and tempura and which NM delicious
"Which tastes better [to you], sukiyaki or tempura?"

1.3.1.4. *COORDINATION AND COMITATIVE*

The comitative particle *to* functions syntactically very much like the coordinating particle *to*. Taylor 1972 has discussed the differences between these homophones, and he asserts that the comitative particle *to* is always interpreted as meaning "together with". In the comitative sense, the expression *issho ni* "together with" may follow *to*, while, of course, in nominal coordination this cannot happen. Potentially ambiguous utterances abound.

(338) *taroo to akiko (to) wa kekkon shimashita.*
Taro and Akiko and TP marry did
"Taro and Akiko married."

In the strict sense of coordination, a possible interpretation of this sentence is that Taro and Akiko each married someone else, a strange utterance out of context to be sure, but a possible one. In the comitative sense, however, Taro married Akiko. In this comitative sense, there can only be two nominals involved, and they do not have to occur next to one another.

(339) *taroo wa senshuu akiko to kekkon shimashita.*
Taro TP last-week Akiko and marry did
"Taro married Akiko last week."

1.4. NEGATION

1.4.1. SENTENCE NEGATION

Sentential negation in Japanese consists of reverse several types of phenomena, based on the form of the verbal

which appears in the sentence. In every case, a negative element follows the main verbal and immediately precedes, or replaces, the tense marker.

Verbals in Japanese belong to one of four categories: *true verbs, adjectives, nominal-adjectives*, and *noun plus copula*. Each of these categories is determined by formal rather than semantic means. There are both polite and nonpolite forms for each of these categories. This is illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
POLITE			
Verb	*tabemasu*	*tabemasen*	eat
	nomimasu	*nomimasen*	drink
Adjective	*akai desu*	*akaku arimasen*	be red
	aoi desu	*aoku arimasen*	be blue
Nominal-adjective	*kirei desu*	*kirei ja arimasen*	be pretty
	suki desu	*suki ja arimasen*	like
Noun - copula	*hon desu*	*hon ja arimasen*	be a book
	sensei desu	*sensei ja arimasen*	be a teacher

NONPOLITE

Verb	*taberu*	*tabenai*	eat
	nomu	*nomanai*	drink
Adjective	*akai*	*akaku* nai	be red
	aoi	*aoku nai*	be blue
Nominal-adjective	*kirei da*	*kirei ja nai*	be pretty
	suki da	*suki ja nai*	like
Noun - copula	*hon da*	*hon ja nai*	be a book
	sensei da	*sensei ja nai*	be teacher

For true verbs, the politeness morpheme is *-mas-*. This is attached directly to the stem of *-ru* verbs, and to the derived stem of *-u* verbs. All polite verbs are *-u* verbs. The negative is formed by changing the nonpast polite tense marker *-u* into *-en*. For past tense forms, the past copula *deshita* follows the nonpast negative. This is illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*tabemasu*	*tabemasen*	eat
	nomimasu	*nomimasen*	drink
PAST	*tabemashita*	*tabemasen deshita*	ate
	nomimashita	*nomimasen deshita*	drank

When the nonpolite forms of true verbs are changed into negatives, there is a category change from verb to adjective. This is because verbal class is defined on formal rather than semantic criteria. The further declension of the negative form of verbs therefore follows the pattern of adjectives. Nonpolite forms are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*taberu*	*tabenai*	eat
	nomu	*nomanai*	drink
PAST	*tabeta*	*tabenakatta*	ate
	nonda	*nomanakatta*	drank

For *-ru* verbs, such as *taberu*, negation consists in attaching *-nai* to the stem. For *-u* verbs, such as *nomu*, negation consists in attaching *-nai* to the negative base [final consonant of stem plus *-a-*].

The inflection of adjectives may also be differentiated on the basis of polite and nonpolite forms. There is again a distinction between past and nonpast: nonpast carrying *-i* as the marker and past signified by *-katta*. Nonpolite forms are these, while polite forms are made by following either the past or the nonpast form with the copula *desu*. Table 9 presents nonpolite forms, while Table 10 present polite forms.

Table 9

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*akai*	*akaku nai*	be red
	aoi	*aoku nai*	be blue
PAST	*akakatta*	*akaku nakatta*	was red
	aokatta	*aoku nakatta*	was blue

Table 10

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*akai desu*	*akaku nai desu*	be red
	aoi desu	*aoku nai desu*	be blue
PAST	*akakatta*	*akaku nakatta desu*	was red
	aokatta	*aoku nakatta desu*	was blue

Nominal-adjectives consist of a noninflected form followed by the copula desu. All inflection, therefore, centers around the shape of the copula.[20] The polite-nonpolite distinction also occurs in the copula where *desu* is the polite nonpast form and *da* is the nonpolite form. These are illustrated in Tables 11 and 12.

Table 11

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*kirei desu*	*kirei ja arimasen*	be pretty
	suki desu	*suki ja arimasen*	like
PAST	*suki deshita*	*suki ja arimasen deshita*	liked
	kirei deshita	*kirei ja arimasen deshita*	was pretty

Table 12

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*kirei da*	*kirei ja nai*	be pretty
	suki da	*suki ja nai*	like
PAST	*suki datta*	*suki ja nakatta*	liked
	kirei datta	*kirei ja nakatta*	was pretty

Again, once the nominal-adjective is made into the negative, it becomes an adjective. The negation of nominals follows the same pattern as the negation of nominal adjectives. All inflection occurs in the copula, and a distinction is maintained between polite and nonpolite forms. This is illustrated in Tables 13 and 14.

Table 13

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*hon desu*	*hon ja arimasen*	be a book
	sensei desu	*sensei ja arimasen*	be a teacher
PAST	*hon deshita*	*hon ja arimasen deshita*	was a book
	sensei deshita	*sensei ja arimasen deshita*	was a teacher

Table 14

	AFFIRMATIVE	NEGATIVE	GLOSS
NONPAST	*hon da*	*hon ja nai*	be a book
	sensei da	*sensei ja nai*	be a teacher
PAST	*hon datta*	*hon ja nakatta*	was a book
	sensei datta	*sensei ja nakatta*	was a teacher

There is a literary negative form which is attached to the negative base of verbs to create an infinitive. This form is *-zu (ni)*. Martin 1975:377 points out that the derived form may occur as a precopular noun:

(340) *hitokoto mo* ***wakara-zu*** *desu.*
single-word too understand-not copula
"[I] fail to understand a single word."

(341) *ichido mo yaku ni* ***tata-zu*** *desu.*
one-time too use to stand-not copula
"[It] isn't even effective once."

This form may also be used in stereotyped adverbial expressions in which, frequently, the *ni* follows. This is illustrated in (342) and (343).

(342) *sore-de, sono gatchiri shita toko ga zenzen*
and that firm did place NM absolute
ugokazu-ni ne, sore-de ite,
move-NEG EM and being
"And, that firm place doesn't move, [he]'s like that, and ... "

(343) *koo iu fuu na sukaafu no shikata nanka ii*
this say way LK scarf LK way-to-do like good
n ja-nai, sotogawa ni, naka ni ***irezu-ni.***
NOM NEG outside on inside in put-in-NEG
"This way of wearing the scarf is all right, isn't it, on the outside, without tucking [it] in?"

(344) *doo iu dooki de eigo o, sonoo, sen-*
how say motivation by English AC uh maj-
senmon ni yaroo, aruiwa, sonoo, go- nihon- eigo
major to do-PRES or uh la- Japan- English
to wa ***kagirazu.***
with TP limit-NEG
"What motivated you to major in English, or lang-, Japana-, not only English?"

Another negative suffix is *-nu*. Like *-zu*, *-nu* is a literary suffix. The suffix *-nu* is added to the negative base of verbs. Its use in colloquial spoken Japanese is restricted to set expressions. Examples (345) through (347) are taken from Seidensticker and Matsumoto 1977.

(345) *hi no nai tokoro ni kemuri wa* ***tatanu.***
fire LK NEG place in smoke TP stand-NEG
"Where there's smoke there's fire [(lit) In a place where there is no fire, smoke will not rise]."

(346) *hara ga hette wa ikusa ga* ***dekinu.***
stomach NM being-empty TP war NM able-NEG
"An army marches on its stomach [(lit) The stomach being empty, war is impossible]."

(347) ***toranu*** *tanuki no kawazanyoo.*
take-NEG badger LK unreliable-account
"Count your chickens before they're hatched [(lit) An unreliable account of badgers not taken]."

1.4.2. CONSTITUENT NEGATION

The constituent which is to be negated is marked by the postpositional particle *wa* [see 1.11.2.1.2]. Kusanagi 1971 has discussed this insightfully and has compared the situation in Japanese with that in English in which stress is

used to express constituent negation.

1.4.3. MULTIPLE NEGATIVE ELEMENTS

1.4.3.1. *NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS*

When there is more than one negative element in the sentence the result is a negative expression. There are a number of negative polarity items, such as *kesshite* "never" and *metta-ni* "seldom", which require that the main verb appear in the negative. The resulting expression is negative.

(348) *sono yoo na imi de wa **kesshite nakatta**.*
that way LK meaning COP TP never NEG-past
"... it never meant anything like that."

[Martin 1975:317]

1.4.3.2. *MODAL-LIKE ELEMENTS*

In other instances, double negatives indicate affirmative expressions. With a handful of nominals, including *hazu* "obligation", *wake* "reason", and *koto* "fact", a negative element preceding and following is equivalent to an affirmative expression. Thus, the expression *nai hazu wa nai* "there is no expectation that it not exit", for instance, is roughly equivalent to *aru hazu da* "it ought to exist".

(349) *he? biiru **nai hazu wa nai** yo.*
what beer NEG ought TP NEG EM
"What? There should be beer."

(350) *nan- doozo iwarete-ru **kara kikanai wake** ni*
wha- please be-said since ask-NEG reason DT
ikanai desho?
go-NEG presumptive
"Wha- since [I] was requested [to do this], [I] have to ask, don't I?"

1.4.3.3. *NEGATIVE TAGS*

Japanese has a negative tag *ja-nai?* which occurs with great frequency in normal conversational interaction. The appearance of this element has no effect on the interpretation of negative elements in the rest of the utterance.

(351) *un. so- kono hito hen na hoo muite-ru* ***ja-nai?***
yes th- this person strange LK side facing NEG-TAG
"Yes, th- this person is facing in a strange direction, isn't [he]?"

(352) *demo hawai de konna no o shite-tara atsukute,*
but Hawaii at this NOM AC doing-if hot
shoo ga nai n ***ja-nai***
way NM NEG NOM NEG-TAG
"But, if [you]'re doing this kind of thing in Hawaii, it's hot, and there's nothing [you] can do [about it], is there [(lit) isn't there]?"

1.4.4. COORDINATED STRUCTURES

When negative clauses or sentences are coordinated, each manifests the negative element as necessary, appropriate to the verbal type [see 1.4.1].

(353) *dakara moo* ***marukkiri wakaranakute*** *nee,*
so already complete understand-NEG EM
honto-ni kuroo shita no yo.
really trouble did EM
"So, [I] didn't understand anything all, so [it] was really a problem."

(354) *kono-goro benkyoo ga isogashikute, nanka marason*
recently studies NM busy like marathon
nanka ***shinai*** *mitai ne.*
like do-NEG seem EM
"Recently [I]'ve been busy and [I] haven't gone jogging."

Notice in particular in both (353) and (354) that the scope of negation is restricted to the clause within which it occurs.[21] That is to say, a negative element in the final clause does not extend its scope backward across clause boundaries, nor does it do so in a forward direction.

1.4.5. EXPRESSION OF NEGATION BY VERB IN HIGHER CLAUSE

The quantifier *shika* "except for" requires that a negative element be present.

(355) *murayama san wa* ***manga shika*** ***yomanai*** *mitai ne.*
Murayama Mr TP comic except-for read-NEG seem EM
"It seems that Mr Murayama doesn't read anything but comics."

(356) **murayama san wa* ***manga shika yomu*** *mitai ne.*

The negative element may be in a different clause than *shika*. In (357) the negative element occurs in the lower clause with *shika*. In (358), however, the negative element occurs in the higher clause while *shika* is in the lower clause.

(357) *murayama san wa* ***manga shika*** *yomanai to itta.*
Murayama Mr TP comic except-for read-NEG QT said
"Mr Murayama said [he] only reads comics."

(358) *murayama san wa* ***manga shika*** *yomu to* ***iwanakatta.***
Murayama Mr TP comic except-for read QT said-NEG
"Mr Murayama said [he] only reads comics."

1.5. ANAPHORA

Anaphora, as defined by Halliday and Hasan 1976:14, refers to a form of presupposition which points back to a previous item. In this discussion, a taxonomy of anaphoric devices will be presented, and it will become obvious that such anaphoric devices are not unique to the Japanese language. It will also become clear, however, that different values are placed on anaphoric devices in Japanese than are placed on the same devices in other languages.

1.5.1. MEANS OF EXPRESSING ANAPHORA

Four major types of anaphoric devices may be identified: (1) deletion, or ellipsis [see, in particular Hinds 1982a, Kameyama 1985, Okamoto 1985], (2) personal pronouns, (3) reflexive forms, and (4) special anaphoric pronouns, or "epithets" and quantifiers.

1.5.1.1. *DELETION (ELLIPSIS)*

An especially salient feature of Japanese is its reliance on ellipsis as a major means of coreference. Halliday and Hasan 1976:144 define ellipsis as:

> ... ellipsis occurs when something that is structurally necessary is left unsaid; there is a sense of incompleteness associated with it. But it is useful to recognize that this is an oversimplification, and that the essential characteri stic of ellipsis is that something which is present in the selection of underlying ('systemic') options is omitted in the structure--whether or not the resulting structure is itself 'incomplete'.

Ellipsis emerges as the principle means for indicating

coreference. In fact, the most efficacious description of Japanese syntax recognizes that a departure from continued reference with ellipsis is what requires explanation, rather than vice versa [see, in particular, Hinds 1982a, 1983].

One approach to take is to assume that ellipsis is the unmarked form, and that what must be explained is why a noun phrase would be repeated. This is essentially the approach of Clancy 1980. Noun phrases in Japanese discourse are repeated for a number of reasons, some of which involve matters of style. There are structural reasons, however, and they all involve a change of orientation.

One of the most salient features about ellipsis in Japanese is that there is no marking on the verb to indicate what person has been deleted. That is, verbs do not inflect for person, number, or gender in Japanese [see 2.1.3.6]. There are no clues within the verb therefore to help determine whether the omitted subject is first, second, or third person.

The following brief segments of conversation demonstrate the pervasiveness of ellipsis as a means to indicate coreference. In (359), the subject is consistently unstated, and in the second utterance, W omits the direct object *supootsu* "sports". In (360), the subject and object are both left out, and in the third utterance, the main content of the verb *kekkon* "marry" is also left out. Additional examples may be found in virtually every sentence taken from actual contexts.

(359) H. *anoo, supootsu nanka yaru?*
uh sports like do
"Uh, do [you] play any sports?"

W. *mm, amari yaranai.*
mm very don't-do
"No, [I] don't do [them] very much."

(360) H. *soo-iu hito ga det- itara,*
that-kind person NM ap- be-if
"If that kind of person were to show u-, uh to be here, "

H. *anoo, kekkon shitai?*
uh marry do-DESI
"uh, would [you] want to marry [him]?"

W. *mm, mochiron shitai.*
mm of-course do-DESI
"Of course [I]'d want [to marry] [him]."

1.5.1.2. *MARKING ON THE VERB*

There is no marking on the verb to indicate that ellipsis has taken place.

1.5.1.3. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*

Anaphora may be signalled by personal pronouns, but the use of personal pronouns is not as extensive as it is in European languages [see Hinds 1971, 1975, 1982a, section 2.1.2]. Examples (361) and (362) present cases in which pronouns appear. The pronoun in (361) could be substituted for by a noun phrase such as *sono hitotachi* "those people" or by ellipsis in (362) and retain full grammaticality.

(361) *atakushi no yatte-iru seikatsu to, mata* I
NM doing life and again
kanojotachi ga yatte-iru seikatsu to wa
their NM doing life and TP
chigau desho?
different presumptive
"The life I'm leading, and the life they're leading is different, isn't it?"

(362) *atakushi mo hanashikiku no ga suki* I
too talk-listen NOM NM like
desho? de, kanojo ni nanka ironna
presumptive so she from like various
mondai toka ne, attara kiitari, kanojo wa moo
problem and EM be-if listen she TP even
tenkeiteki-ni yappari nihonjin no goshujin
typical of-course Japanese LK husband
da kara.
COP since
"I also like to listen to [people] talk, you know? So, when she has a problem, [I] listen to [her], she's of course a real typical [one], since there's a Japanese husband."

1.5.1.4. *REFLEXIVE PRONOUN*

There are reflexive pronouns and these may be used to express anaphora [see 1.6].

1.5.1.5. *SPECIAL ANAPHORIC PRONOUNS*

The border between pronoun and noun in Japanese is not easy to define. The pronominal forms discussed in 1.5.1.3, for instance, have all derived historically from nouns, and they maintain many properties of nouns [see Kuroda 1965a].

There is a set of lexical items designating humans,

including *hito* "person", *kata* "person [honorific]", *yatsu* "guy", and *ko* "child", which cooccurs with the deictic forms *kono* "this", *sono* "that", and *ano* "that over there". The resulting forms function as anaphoric pronouns. Each deictic form is illustrated in (363) through (365), respectively. In each case the antecedent appears in the immediately preceding discourse. Note in particular that in (3) Kakuei Tanaka is referred to as both *ano kata* and *ano hito*. The use of *ano kata* is more respectful.

(363) Y. *ara, sakki no hito to onaji hito ne.*
oh before LK person and same person EM
"Oh, [this] is the same person as before."

A. *soo, soo, kitto kono hito atashitachi no*
so so certain this person we LK
hanashi o kiite baka na koto yutte-ru tte
talk AC listen dumb LK fact saying QT
omotte-ru tte funiki ne.
thinking QT feeling EM
"Right, it seems like this person [i.e. he] is listening to what we are saying and is thinking that we're saying some pretty stupid things."

(364) *sugoku kurai eiga datta, moo, koo, sonoo,*
very dark movie was already uh uh
a, nanika o shinjite-ru hito na n da kedo,
ah something AC believing person LK NOM COP but
a, sono hito wa, genbaku ga kowai no ne?
uh that person TP A-bomb NM afraid NOM EM
"[That] was a very depressing movie, uh, uh, [there was] a person who believed in something, but that person [i.e. he] was afraid of the A-bomb."

(365) Y. *a, niigata tanaka kakuei san no ...*
oh Niigata Tanaka Kakuei Mr LK
"Oh, Niigata, Mr Kakuei Tanaka's ... "

M. *un, kamubakku shita no, ano kata wa?*
yes come-back did QU that person TP
"Yes, [he] made a come-back, that person."

W. *kamubakku shita no?*
come-back did QU
"Did [he] make a comeback?"

Y. *kondo rikkooho shite-ru n ja-nai?*
this-time candidacy doing NOM TAG-NEG
"This time [he]'s a candidate, isn't he?"

M. *honto. mada sugoi, niigata no hoo de*
real still powerful Niigata LK side at
wa ano hito shiji shite-ru no ne.
TP that person popular-support doing NOM EM
"Really, [he]'s still powerful, in Niigata that person [i.e. he] has a lot of popular support."

1.5.1.6. *OTHER MEANS*

Especially in writing, compounds formed with the characters *mae* (前), often pronounced *zen* in compounds, and *ato* (後), often pronounced *koo* in compounds, are the equivalent of English *the former* and *the latter*, respectively.

(366) ***zensetsu*** *de koosatsu shita sonkeigo*
former-paragraph in observe did honorific
oyobi kenjoogo hyoogen wa, sorezore-ni sootoo suru
or humble expression TP respective fit do
futsuubun to doogiteki de-aru.
normal-sentence and synonymous COP
"In the former paragraph, the honorific and humble expressions [we] observed are synonymous with the respective non-honorific sentences."

[Shibatani 1978a:63]

(367) *mata, (97), (98) no pataan o mikurabete ki*
again 97 98 LK pattern AC look-compare spirit
ga tsuku koto wa, ***zensha*** *no hobun*
NM attach fact TP former-person LK comp-sentence
no bubun C o ***koosha*** *no "hon o" to iu*
LK part C AC latter-person LK book AC QT say
meishisetsu ni awasereba, sono hoka no bubun wa
noun-phrase to meet-if that other LK part TP
zettai-ni gatchi suru.
absolute correspond do
"Again, what [we] notice if [we] compare the pattern in (97) and (98), is that if we compare part of the former's complement sentence with the latter's noun phrase "hon o", that other part corresponds perfectly [to it]."

[Shibatani 1978a:109]

1.5.2. EXPRESSION OF ANAPHORA

1.5.2.1. *WITHIN THE CLAUSE*

Within the clause, anaphora may be expressed only by

deletion and by reflexive pronouns. The other means of anaphora are restricted to situations beyond the single clause. In (368), the antecedent is the subject and the anaphoric item is a modifier of the direct object. In (369), the antecedent is the subject and the reflexive form is the indirect object [the subject is not overtly expressed in either example, as is common in conversational interaction].

(368) H. *de, kega shinakatta?*
but hurt didn't-do
"But, didn't [you] get hurt?"

W. *n, kata chotto utte*
shoulder just hit-and
"Mm, [I] hit [my] shoulder and ... "

(369) *sore wa nanka amari jibun ni shoojiki ja-nai wake*
that TP like very self to honest be-NEG reason
desho? soo-iu koto yatte-ru to.
COP that-kind fact doing when
"Those are the times when [you]'re not being honest with yourself, when [you]'re doing that."

1.5.2.2. *BETWEEN COORDINATE STRUCTURES*

All of the anaphoric means are possible between coordinate structures, except the use of forms corresponding to "the former" and "the latter". With the exception of deletion, which may operate backwards, these means of indicating anaphora are restricted to forward application. In (370) and (371), deletion is shown to refer to an element in either the preceding or the following clause, respectively.

(370) *atashi hayaku okite [Ø] sugu uchi deta no-yo.*
I early wake soon home left EM
"I woke up early and [I] left the house right away."

(371) *[Ø] ai o kaite, ningen wa ikiru koto ga dekinai.*
love AC lack human TP live fact NM able-NEG
"Lacking love man cannot live."

[Tamori 1976-77:319 (citing Martin 1975:484)]

In (372), the pronoun *kare* "he" refers back to an element introduced in the preceding clause.

(372) *kono-aida hisashiburi-ni jon$_i$ ni aimashita ga,*
recently long-while John DT met and
kare$_i$ *wa ikuraka yaseta yoo desu.*
he TP bit thin appear COP
"[I] saw John$_i$ the other day after a long interval, and he$_i$ appeared to have lost a bit of weight."

[Sato 1983:164]

In (373), the reflexive form *jibun* "self" refers back to an element introduced in the preceding clause.

(373) *toshogakari$_i$ wa machigatte gakusei ni*
librarian TP mistake student DT
jibun$_i$ *no hon o kashite-shimatta.*
self LK book AC loaned
"The librarian$_i$ mistakenly let a student check out his$_i$ book."

[Oyakawa 1973:98]

In (374), there are two anaphoric pronouns which refer back to *nihonjin* "a Japanese". These are *soo iu hito* "that kind of person" and *sono hito* "that person", and they occur in successive clauses.

(374) *nn, eigo shaberitai tte iu hito yori*
um English speak-want QT say person rather
nihonjin$_i$ de ne, ***soo iu hito$_i$*** *no baai wa*
Japanese COP EM that say person LK case TP
eigo de shabetta hoo boku mo kimochi ii shi,
English by spoke side I too feeling good and
sono hito$_i$ *mo kimochi ii desho?*
that person too feeling good presumptive
"Hm, rather than a person who wants to speak English, a Japanese$_i$, see, in that person$_i$'s case, if [we] spoke English, [I]'d feel good, and that person$_i$ [i.e. he] would feel good too, right?"

1.5.2.3. *BETWEEN SUPERORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSES*

1.5.2.3.1. *SUPERORDINATE-SUBORDINATE*

With the antecedent in the superordinate clause, deletion, personal pronouns, and reflexive pronouns may be used in a subordinate clause. In each of the following examples, the coreferential form is in fact ambiguous, referring either to the designated individual, or to someone not mentioned in the sentence.

(375) *jon$_i$ wa [Ø$_i$] byooki da to omotte-iru.*
John TP sick COP QT thinking
"John$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ is sick."

[Oshima 1979:436]

(376) *jon$_i$ wa kare$_i$ ga hirotte-kita koinu o daiji-ni sodateta.*
John TP he NM found puppy AC carefully raised
"John$_i$ brought up carefully the puppy which he$_i$ had picked up on the road."

[Oshima 1979:426 (citing Nakai 1976:16a)]

(377) *taroo$_i$ wa hanako ga jibun$_i$ o ai shite-iru to shinjita.*
Taro TP Hanako NM self AC love doing QT believed
"Taro$_i$ believed that Hanako loves him$_i$."

[Shibatani et al 1982:285]

1.5.2.3.2. *SUBORDINATE-SUPERORDINATE*

Such possibilities exist.

(378) *[Ø$_i$] omoshiroi kara, nihongo$_i$ o yatte-imasu.*
interesting since Japanese AC doing
"Since [it$_i$]'s interesting, [I]'m studying Japanese$_i$."

1.5.2.4. *BETWEEN DIFFERENT SUBORDINATE CLAUSES*

There are no cases of this type. In any situation in which it appears that an antecedent may be in one subordinate clause and the anaphoric form in another, it is in fact the case that the antecedent is in a prior sentence.

1.5.2.5. *BETWEEN DIFFERENT SENTENCES*

All of the means to indicate coreference are possible across sentence boundaries. This is true even for reflexive forms and for ellipsis. In (379), the first reference to the crowd in the second sentence is made through ellipsis, while the second reference to the crowd in that same second sentence is made with the personal pronoun *karera* "they". In (18), the form *jibun* "self" is used to refer to the addressee. The addressee had been introduced by name into the conversation in prior utterances. For an example of an anaphoric demonstrative (*ano kata* and *ano hito*, both meaning

"that person") being used across sentence boundaries, see 1.5.1.5. For an example of *zensha* "the former" and *koosha* "the latter" being used across sentence boundaries, see 1.5.1.6.

(379) *pakisutan no toshi karachi ni aru sakkaajoo ni*
Pakistan LK city Karachi LC be soccerfield LC
atsumatta gunshuu$_i$ wa yaku 3000 nin.
gathered crowd TP about 3000 people
"The crowd$_i$ which gathered at a soccer field in the Pakistani city of Karachi [numbered] about 3000."

betsu-ni sakkaa geemu o kenbutsu shiyoo
special soccer game AC see do-presumptive
to iu no de wa naku, karera$_i$ ga katazu-o-nonde
QT say NOM COP TP NEG they NM anxiously
machikamaete-iru no wa "isuramu-hoo ga gunsei ni
waiting NOM TP Islamic-law NM gov't by
shikoo sareru shunkan" de-aru.
punish do-PASS moment COP
"[They$_i$] had not come to see a soccer match, they$_i$ were waiting anxiously for 'the moment that islamic law would be carried out by the military government'."

[Focus 1/27/84]

(380) *ja, ima made, jibun$_i$ ga shinu n ja nai toka,*
well now to self NM die NOM NEG or
soo iu no kangaeta koto aru?
that say NOM thought fact be
"Well, up until now, have you$_i$ ever thought something like you were going to die?"

1.5.3. *ELEMENTS NEXT TO COMPLEMENTIZERS*

There are no complementizers (subordinating conjunctions).

1.6. REFLEXIVES

1.6.1. WAYS FOR REFLEXIVES TO BE EXPRESSED

1.6.1.1. *INVARIABLE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN*

The matter of reflexives in Japanese has been insightfully discussed in Kuno 1973:291ff [see also Inoue 1976b, Tawa 1975, N. A. McCawley 1976]. Kuno's discussion focuses on major differences between English and Japanese reflexive

pronouns, and so that is the framework within which the following remarks are made.

Kuno states first that although English has varying forms depending on the person, gender, and number of the antecedent, Japanese has a single reflexive form, *jibun*.

(381) *boku wa **jibun** o keibetsu shite-iru.*
I TP self AC hate doing
"I hate myself."

(382) *kazu wa **jibun** o keibetsu shite-iru.*
Kazu TP self AC hate doing
"Kazu hates himself."

(383) *sumi wa **jibun** o keibetsu shite-iru.*
Sumi TP self AC hate doing
"Sumi hates herself."

(384) *kazu to sumi wa **jibun** o keibetsu shite-iru.*
Kazu and Sumi TP self AC hate doing
"Kazu and Sumi hate themselves."

This is surely a misstatement on Kuno's part, since plural forms also exist.[22] This has been recognized by most other researchers.

(385) *midori-san to kaoru-san ga **jibuntachi** no*
Midori Ms and Kaoru Ms NM self-plural LK
shashin o mite-iru.
picture AC looking
"Midori and Kaoru are looking at [their own] pictures."

[Inoue 1976b:189]

(386) *seinen wa soo iu koto ni-yotte **jibuntachi** no*
youth TP that say fact by self-plural LK
sedai o kakunin suru.
generation AC recognize do
"Youngsters recognize their own generation by that kind of thing."

[Tawa 1976:3]

There are also a number of other forms which may be termed *reflexive pronouns*, showing that there is not a single reflexive form. Tawa 1975, 1976, has called attention to the fact that there are a variety of reflexive forms in Japanese. The list includes *jiko, jishin,* and *jitai*, all of which share the character 自, pronounced *ji* "self". Each of these has its own characteristics, though it will take us

too far afield to discuss these. An additional form not discussed by Tawa is *mizukara*, also written with the character 自; this is an alternative pronunciation [see 1.3.1.1.3 for an illustration].

Another way in which reflexives vary is that there are a great many nominals which contain the morpheme *ji-* indicating "self".[23] The translation of many of these Japanese expressions into English contains an overt reflexive form. Needless to say, neither *jibun* nor any of its alternates can simultaneously appear in sentences containing these nominals. In Table 15, a brief list of these forms appears.

Table 15

jiai suru	to love oneself
jichin suru	to scuttle one's own boat
jidoo suru	to move by itself
jifun suru	to decapitate oneself
jigaku/jishuu suru	to teach oneself
jijin suru	to kill oneself with a sword
jikobengo suru	to defend oneself
jisatsu suru	to kill oneself

It is obvious that the morpheme *ji-* has a meaning similar to "self" in English. Additional instances of nominals containing ji- demonstrate this.

Table 16

jichi	self-knowledge
jiei	self-defense
jifu	self-pride
jigun	one's own army
jiha	one's own party
jikaku	self-consciousness

1.6.2. SCOPE OF REFLEXIVITY

Kuno also points out that the antecedent of *jibun* may

not be inanimate, although the antecedent of English reflexives may be.

(387) History repeats itself.

(388) The newspaper unfolded itself in the wind.

Thus, literal translations of (387) and (388) produce ungrammatical sequences in Japanese.

(387a) **rekishi wa **jibun** o kurikaesu.*
history TP self AC repeat

(388b) **sono shinbun wa kaze ni **jibun** o hirogeta.*
that paper TP wind in self AC unfolded

Kuno also demonstrates that the antecedent of a reflexive in English may either be the subject of the sentence, or it may be some other element, such as the object of the sentence. In Japanese, on the other hand, the antecedent of a reflexive must be the subject.[24]

(389) *taroo wa jiroo ni **jibun** no koto o hanashita.*
Taro TP Jiro to self LK fact AC spoke
"Taro spoke to Jiro about himself (=Taro, not Jiro)."

1.6.3. INTRACLAUSE REFLEXIVITY

Kuno points out that although English reflexives must be in the same clause as their antecedents, in Japanese the antecedent may be in a "higher" clause. The "lower" clause is enclosed in brackets in example (390).

(390) *taroo wa [jiroo ga **jibun** o daiji-ni-suru koto]*
Taro TP Jiro TP self AC take-care-of fact
o kitai shite-iru.
AC expect doing
"Taro expects that Jiro will take good care of self [=either Taro or Jiro]."

1.6.4. POSITIONAL POSSIBILITIES WITHIN CLAUSE

Examples of the reflexive form occurring in direct object position, as well as as a possessor, have been adduced [see below for examples of *jibun* as indirect object]. Japanese reflexive forms may also occur as the subject of main clauses. The reason for this is that the major constraint on the use of *jibun* is determined at the discourse level rather than at the sentence level. That is to say, the interpretation of a given reflexive form depends on

discourse context rather than on the narrow perspective of the sentence. Moreover, the use of *jibun*, and especially *jibun de* "by oneself", to refer to a generic or nonspecific person is extremely common.

The first set of examples demonstrates the fact that the reflexive form *jibun* is typically interpreted by discourse context. Examples (391) and (393) are taken from a dialect of northern Kyushu. Example (392) is from Osaka dialect, and example (14) is from Tokyo. For the points being made about reflexivization, the examples are all identical to what would be found in the standard dialect of Tokyo, although other parts of the sentence structure may vary.

(391) *jibun ga wakaran mon ya ken.*
self NM understand-NEG NOM COP because
"Because [he] can't [hear his own voice]."

(392) *jibun wa oboete-nai ka?*
self TP remembering-NEG QU
"Don't you remember [how to say it in Chinese]?"

(393) *san, mae wa, sono hito ga eigo de hanashi*
well before TP that person NM English in talk
shita kedo, jibun wa heta na nihongo de henji shita
did but self TP poor LK Japanese in answer did
tte yutte-ta.
QT saying-was
"Well, before, that person spoke to [her] in English, but she said she answered in poor Japanese."

(394) *nanka, sugoku, ma, jibun de-mo, soo iu toko mo*
like very uh self even that say place too
omoshiroi naa to omou kedo.
interesting EM QT think but
"Like, even she thinks that that is an interesting thing about her."

In examples (391) and (392), the reflexive form is in the subject or topic position of the sentence, and there are no other noun phrases in the sentence. Thus, the interpretation of the reflexive form must be taken to be someone mentioned before in the conversation, as in (391), or someone present in the conversation, as in (392). In (393), although there is a potential antecedent in the sentence itself (*sono hito* "that person"), this interpretation does not make any sense, and so the only possible interpretation is that *jibun* refers to the overall discourse topic. Similarly, in (394), the interpretation of the phrase *jibun de-mo* "even she" depends on a knowledge of the overall topic of conversation.

As demonstrated in (395) and (396), the referent of the reflexive form does not always refer to the addressee if it is interpreted as referring to the participants present in the conversation. In (395), taken from Tokyo speech, the antecedent of *jibun* is the speaker. In (396), taken from a northern Kyushu dialect, the participants are speculating on what it would be like to view the videotape being made of their conversation, and the antecedent of *jibun* must be both the speaker and the addressee.

(395) *dakara, soo iu jibun ni taisuru, jibun no,*
so that say self to concern self LK
sonoo, hirosa tte iu mono o, koo, hirogetai tte
uh breadth QT say fact AC uh expand-want QT
iu koto ga arimasu kara ne.
say fact NM exist since EM
"So, it's because [I] want to increase the breadth [of my training]."

(396) *okashika yaroo, jibun no kao ga atte miemasu.*
funny COP self LK face NM being can-see
"It would be strange, wouldn't it, to see our own faces on TV?"

That the interpretation of *jibun* depends on contextual clues rather than strict syntactic clues may be seen in the following examples where two successive instances of the reflexive form refer to different antecedents. In (397), two different speakers use the same construction. The first speaker has a definite antecedent in mind, while the second generalizes this to an indefinite antecedent. In (398), which is in fact an continuation of (395), the first instance of *jibun* has an indefinite antecedent while the second has a definite antecedent.

(397) A. *jibun no kodomo ja-nakattara ne, sonna-ni,*
self LK child be-COND-NEG EM that-much
yoo-suru-ni, ki-ni-yandari suru koto
in-short become-worried-REP do fact
nai to omou n da ne.
NEG QT think NOM COP EM
"If [it] weren't his own child, [I] don't think [he] would be so worried."

B. *un, sorya wakannai yo. datte, jibun*
yes that-TP understand-NEG EM but self
no kodomo ja-nai noni, saiban kakerareru
LK child NEG despite court hold-PASS
to omottara yokei iya ja-nai.
QT think-COND excess dislike COP-NEG
"Yeah, [I] don't know [about that]. Even if it's not [your] own child, if [you] think [you]'ll be taken to court, [you]'d think it was awful."

(398) *anoo, tada, kotoba o oshieru dake ja-nakute,*
uh just language AC teach only NEG-participle
yappari, koo, nante-iu-n-desu-ka ne, sonoo,
of-course uh what-should-I-say EM uh
jibun no ningen to shite no, koo, hirosa tte
self LK human as LK uh breadth QT
iu no ga hitsuyoo deshoo.
say NOM NM necessary copula-presumptive
"Um, it's not just teaching languages, of course, what should I say, it's necessary to expand oneself as a human being."

The reflexive form *jibun* also enters into a special construction, *jibun de* "by oneself". This is exemplified in (399) and (400) where an additional instance of *jibun* occurs in the same utterance.

(399) *atashi nanka yappari jibun no yaritai koto*
I like of-course self LK do-DESI fact
jibun-de jiyuu-ni suru hoo ga sugoku suki na no ne.
self-by freely do side NM very like LK NOM EM
"Of course, I really like to do the things I like to do by myself when I want to do them."

(400) *de, jibun-de nanka ikenai naa to*
uh self-by like go-POT-NEG EM QT
omoinagara yatte-ru to zettai ikenai hoo
think-while doing when absolute go-POT-NEG side
ni itchau shi ne, sore wa nanka amari jibun
to end-up-going and EM that TP like very self
ni shoojiki ja-nai wake desho, soo iu koto
to honest NEG reason COP-PRES that say fact
yatte-ru to.
doing when
"So, if you do [something] while [you] are thinking [you] can't do [it], no matter what [you]'ll end up not doing [it], and that's not being honest with yourself, if [you] do that sort of thing."

1.6.5. ANTECEDENT AND REFLEXIVE

In 1.6.2 it was pointed out that the antecedent of a reflexive form in Japanese must be in the subject position. The following relationships are possible. Many of the examples adduced have already been presented, and are reproduced here for ease of reference.

1.6.5.1. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = DIRECT OBJECT*

(401) *boku wa **jibun** o keibetsu shite-iru.*
I TP self AC hate doing
"I hate myself."

1.6.5.2. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = MODIFIER OF DIRECT OBJECT*

(402) *midori-san to kaoru-san ga **jibuntachi** no shashin*
Midori Ms and Kaoru Ms NM self-plural LK picture
o mite-iru.
AC looking
"Midori and Kaoru are looking at [their own] pictures."

[Inoue 1976b:189]

1.6.5.3. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = INDIRECT OBJECT (CASE MARKING)*

(403) *de, **jibun-de** nanka ikenai naa to*
uh self-by like go-POT-NEG EM QT
omoinagara yatte-ru to zettai ikenai hoo
think-while doing when absolute go-POT-NEG side
ni itchau shi ne, sore wa nanka amari
to end-up-going and EM that TP like very
***jibun** ni shoojiki ja-nai wake desho,*
self to honest NEG reason COP-PRES
soo iu koto yatte-ru to.
that say fact doing when
"So, if you do [something] while [you] are thinking [you] can't do [it], no matter what [you]'ll end up not doing [it], and that's not being honest with yourself, if [you] do that sort of thing."

1.6.5.4. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = MODIFIER OF SUCH INDIRECT OBJECT*

(404) *dakara **jibun no okaasan** ni iwanakatta yo.*
so self LK mother to say-NEG-past EM
"So [she] didn't tell her own mother."

1.6.5.5.-6. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = INDIRECT OBJECT (APPOSITION)*

This does not exist.

1.6.5.7. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = COPULAR COMPLEMENT*

(405) *nn, soo, shitte-ru no wa **jibun** dake desho?*
um so know NOM TP self only COP-presumptive
"Hm, right, the only one who knows [about it] is himself, right?"

1.6.5.8. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = MODIFIER OF COPULAR COMPLEMENT*

(406) *shinbun yomu toki dake ga **jibun no jikan** ne.*
paper read time only NM self LK time EM
"Only when [I] read the paper is it my own time."

1.6.5.9.-10. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = SUBJECT COMPLEMENT*

This does not exist.

1.6.5.11.-12. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = OBJECT COMPLEMENT*

This does not exist.

1.6.5.13. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = OBJECT OF ADJECTIVE*[25]

(407) *ano ko **wa jibun ga** kowai.*
that child TP self NM afraid
"That child is afraid of himself."

1.6.5.14. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = MODIFIER OF SUCH OBJECT*

(408) *ano ko **wa jibun no inu ga** kowai.*
that child TP self LK dog NM afraid
"That child is afraid of his own dog."

1.6.5.15.-16 *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = AGENT IN PASSIVE CONSTRUCTION*

This does not exist.

1.6.5.17. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = ELEMENT IN OTHER CASE-MARKED MODIFIER*

(409) *atashi nanka yappari* ***jibun*** *no yaritai koto*
I like of-course self LK do-DESI fact
jibun-de *jiyuu-ni suru hoo ga sugoku*
self-by freely do side NM very
suki na no ne.
like LK NOM EM
"Of course, I really like to do the things I like to do by myself when I want to do them."

1.6.5.18. *ANTECEDENT = SUBJECT, REFLEXIVE = MODIFIER OF OTHER ELEMENT*

(410) *sore honto-ni* ***jibun no te de tsukutta no?***
that really self LK hand by made NOM
"Did [you] really make that with your own hands?"

1.6.6. REFLEXIVE RELATIONS WITHIN NOMINALIZED CLAUSES

Reflexive relations exist within nominalized clauses and there are no deviations from the possibilities discussed in the previous questions on finite structures.

1.6.7. REFLEXIVE RELATIONS WITHIN ORDINARY NOMINALIZED CLAUSES

Reflexive relations within ordinary noun phrases exist as the possessor of the head noun.

(411) A. ***jibun*** *no kodomo ja-nakattara ne, sonna-ni,*
self LK child be-NEG-COND EM that-much
yoo-suru-ni, ki-ni-yandari suru koto nai to
in-short become-worried-REPR do fact NEG QT
omou n da ne.
think NOM COP EM
"If [it] weren't his own child, [I] don't think [he] would be so worried."

B. *un, sorya wakannai yo. datte,* ***jibun*** *no*
yes that-TP understand-NEG EM but self LK
kodomo ja-nai noni, saiban kakerareru to
child NEG despite court hold-PASS QT
omottara yokei iya ja-nai.
think-COND excess dislike COP-NEG
"Yeah, [I] don't know [about that]. Even if it's not [your] own child, if [you] think [you]'ll be taken to court, [you]'d think it was awful."

1.6.8. REFLEXIVES WITHOUT ANY OVERT ANTECEDENT

Reflexives do occur without any overt antecedent within the sentence. The antecedent may exist in the prior discourse or may be known by inference [see 1.6.4].

1.6.9. OTHER USES OF REFLEXIVES

Within the Kansai dialect area in general, *jibun* acts as one of the ordinary personal pronouns for "I". Although there are situations in standard Japanese in which *jibun* may mean "I", this is more common in the Kansai dialect area. See 2.1.2.2.7.

1.7. RECIPROCALS

1.7.1. WAYS FOR RECIPROCALS TO BE EXPRESSED

1.7.1.1.-2. *RECIPROCAL PRONOUN*

There is a noun *(o)tagai* [an alternative pronunciation of the character which is used to write this word, 互い, is *katami*] whose meaning is "mutual, reciprocal" [see also 2.1.2.3].

1.7.1.1.3. *VERBAL AFFIX*

Compound verbs may be formed by adding *au* "suit" to the verb stem. The meaning of the derived verbs is reciprocity.

(412) *nanka, koo, sa, shokudoo de chotto mite sa,*
like uh uh cafeteria at just see EM
*soko kara shi- **shiriatta** toka,*
there from know-suited or
"Like, uh, [you] just saw [him] at the cafeteria, and from that point on [you (pl)] knew each other, or something like that?"

(413) *kanojo no hoo ga sono jikan ni ne, sono koro ni*
she LK side NM that time at EM that time at
*hoka-no otoko to-wa zettai-ni **tsukiatte-nakatta***
other man and-TP absolutely attach-suit-NEG-past
tte koto o shoomei sureba sa.
QT fact AC prove do-if EM
"If she could prove that she hadn't been with any other men at that time, "

1.8. COMPARISON

1.8.1. MEANS TO EXPRESS COMPARISON

There is a particle associated with comparison: this is *yori* "rather than". To understand how comparison is expressed, it is easiest to begin with the construction of basic sentence patterns.

A basic way to predicate a quality of an entity is to mark that entity with *wa*, making it the topic of the sentence. The quality is then expressed as the predicate of the sentence.

(414) *yano-san wa + yasashii desu.*
Yano Ms TP kind COP
"Ms Yano is kind."

(415) *imooto wa + genki desu.*
sister TP healthy COP
"[My] sister is healthy."

(416) *tomodachi wa + nihongo ga hanasemasu.*
friend TP Japanese NM speak-POTENTIAL-polite
"[My] friend can speak Japanese."

A noun phrase followed by *yori* may be inserted into the sentence, usually following the topic, in order to express comparisons.

(417) *yano-san wa* ***yanagida-san yori***
Yano Ms TP Yanagida Ms rather-than
yasashii desu.
kind COP
"Ms Yano is kinder than Ms Yanagida."

(418) *imooto wa* ***otooto yori*** *genki desu.*
sister TP brother rather-than healthy COP
"[My] sister is healthier than [my] brother."

(419) *tomodachi wa* ***watashi yori*** *nihongo ga*
friend TP I rather-than Japanese NM
hanasemasu.
speak-POTENTIAL-polite
"[My] friend can speak Japanese better than I [can]."

It is possible to add an adverb of degree to the sentence as well. This adverb of degree typically precedes the quality.

(420) *yano-san wa yanagida-san yori*
Yano Ms TP Yanagida Ms rather-than
motto *yasashii desu.*
more kind COP
"Ms Yano is kinder than Ms Yanagida."

(421) *imooto wa otooto yori* ***zutto*** *genki desu.*
sister TP brother rather-than by-far healthy COP
"[My] sister is far healthier than [my] brother."

(422) *tomodachi wa watashi yori nihongo ga*
friend TP I rather-than Japanese NM
sukoshi *hanasemasu.*
little speak-POTENTIAL-polite
"[My] friend can speak Japanese better than I [can]."

In order to emphasize the person or thing one is comparing (the noun phrase marked by *wa*), it is possible to follow that noun phrase with *(no hoo) ga* "the alternative of" instead of *wa*. In this case, the element followed by *yori* typically, but not invariably, precedes the noun phrase marked by *(no hoo) ga*.

(423) *yanagida-san yori* ***yano-san no-hoo-ga***
Yanagida Ms rather-than Yano Ms alternative
motto yasashii desu.
more kind COP
"Ms Yano is kinder than Ms Yanagida."

(424) *otooto yori* ***imooto no-hoo-ga*** *zutto*
brother rather-than sister alternative by-far
genki desu.
healthy COP
"[My] sister is far healthier than [my] brother."

(425) *watashi yori* ***tomodachi no-hoo-ga***
I rather-than friend alternative
nihongo ga sukoshi hanasemasu.
Japanese NM little speak-POTENTIAL-polite
"[My] friend can speak Japanese better than I [can]."

1.8.2.-4. *OMITTED ELEMENTS*

It is not profitable to ask what elements in the sentence can be omitted under identity between the comparative clause and the clause it is subordinate to. This is because the question assumes that comparisons in Japanese are expressed as a result of juxtaposed clauses. In 1.8.1, it was shown that comparisons in Japanese arise as a result of the

addition of a noun phrase and an optional adverb of quantity.

Elements may be omitted from a sentence which expresses comparison, however, and these omitted elements follow the general rules for ellipsis specified in Hinds 1982a [see also 1.5].

Given appropriate conditions, the *wa* phrase may be omitted. In S's two utterances which express comparisons in (426) she omits the *wa* phrase both times.

(426) S *shirokuma yori chotto chitchai gurai?*
white-bear rather-than little small about
sonna kanji shita?
that-kind feeling did
"Is [the panda] a little smaller than the white bear? Did [you] feel like that?"

W *warito ookii na tte omotta kedo, konna*
rather big EM QT thought but this-kind
ni natte suwatchatte.
to become sit-down
"[I] thought [it] was rather large, [it] sits like this."

Y *sugoi. issho ja-nai? ha ha ha.*
terrible together NEG
"Oh [that]'s something. Weren't [you] together?"

S *onaji gurai datta. shirokuma to shirokuma*
same about COP-past white-bear and white-bear
to onaji gurai kuroi kuma yori
and same about black bear rather-than
ookii wa yo ne?
big EM EM
"[They] were about the same? [The panda] and the white bear? [The panda] was about the same as the white bear? [The panda] is larger than the black bear, right?"

In the immediately following conversation, presented in (427), S continues to talk about the panda although this noun phrase is not expressed overtly. Moreover, the animal she is comparing it with, some other bear, or even some other bears, is also not expressed. The only way that it is clear a comparison is being expressed is through the adverb *motto* "more". In (428), one of the items of comparison is present, while in (429) neither is.

(427) Y *soo nee. nanka moo, pochaatto shite-ru kanji.*
so EM like already chubby doing feeling
"Right, it's like [the panda] is really chubby."

S *soo, motto marui no ne.*
so more round NOM EM
"Right, [the panda] is more round than [one or both of the other bears]."

(428) ***chihoo no, inaka no hoo wa motto sugoi***
region LK country LK alternative TP more very
kiiro ni mieru wa, watashi wa.
yellow as be-seen EM I TP
"The region, in the country [the sun] looks much more yellow, I [think]."

(429) S *hito ga warui koto shite nageru wake yo,*
person NM bad fact do throw reason EM
nanika.
like
"People do a bad thing and throw [things] [at the monkeys], you know."

Y *nagekaesu no?*
throw-return NOM
"Do [the monkeys] throw [the things] back [at those people]?"

S *datte, **motto unto umai** n da mon. ha ha.*
well more with-force good NOM COP since
"[The monkeys] are better [at throwing] than [the people]!"

Finally, there are instances in which only the element which is being compared remains.

(430) *hitokuchi de ittara **kotchi, kono hoo ga tsuyoi***
one-word by say-if this this side NM strong
tte iu kanji suru no ne.
QT say feeling do NOM EM
"If [I] say [it] in a word, this side [= women in America] are stronger [than women in Japan]."

(431) *watashi wa ne, hantai-ni nanka **amerika no hoo***
I TP EM opposite like America LK side
***ga raku** na no.*
NM easy LK NOM
"Actually, I think it's easier to live in America [than to live in Japan]."

1.8.5. DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMPARATIVE STRUCTURES

Comparative constructions in Japanese do not consist of reduced comparative clauses.

1.8.6. CORRELATIVE COMPARISON

Correlative comparison is formed by using the provisional form of the verbal followed by the verbal in the citation form with *hodo*. This is illustrated in (432) through (435) for verbs, adjectives, nominal-adjectives, and noun plus copula constructions, respectively.

VERB

(432) *aan, **benkyoo sureba suru hodo** h- kirai ni*
ah study do-PROV do extent dislike to
natta no.
became NOM
"Ah, the more I studied [it], the more I hated [English]."

ADJECTIVE

(433) *soo, **chiisakereba chiisai hodo** ii yo.*
so small-PROV small extent good EM
"Right, the smaller [the tape] is, the better."

NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE[26]

(434) *benri **de-areba aru hodo** kaitaku-naru*
convenient COP-PROV exist extent buy-DESI-become
no yo.
NOM EM
"The more convenient [the rice dispensers] are, the more [I] want to buy [one]."

NOMINAL[27]

(435) ***pinku de-areba aru hodo** **suki** ni naru*
pink COP-PROV exist extent like to become
yo, watashi.
EM I
"The more pink [a scarf] is, the more I like [that scarf]."

1.9 EQUATIVES

1.9.1. MEANS TO EXPRESS EQUATIVES

Equative sentences consist of two noun phrases. The

first noun phrase is identified with the second (*that man is Taro*), or it is specified as being a member of the class designated by the second (*Taro is a Japanese citizen*). Lyons 1969:337ff identifies this distinction as one between sortal and characterizing constructions, respectively. Lyons also recognizes the intimate relationship between equative constructions and topic-comment constructions. In a topic-comment construction the topic is "what the utterance is about" while the comment is "what is said about the topic".

It is this intimate relationship between equative constructions and topic-comment constructions which make equative sentences in Japanese so common. The reason for this is that Japanese is predominantly a topic-comment language, in the sense of Li and Thompson 1976.[28] The typical topic-comment structure may be represented by the following formula in which NP = noun phrase, *wa* = the topic particle, and *da* = the copula.[29]

NP *wa* NP (*da*).

This is illustrated in examples (436) through (438).

(436) *kore wa pen da.*
this TP pen COP
"This is a pen."

(437) *amerika e kita no wa itsu desu ka?*
America to came NOM TP when COP QU
"When did you come to America? [(Lit) Coming to America is when?]"

(438) *seidoku shushoo no rainichi wa*
West-Germany P.M. LK Japan-come TP
yonen-buri.
four-years-lapse
"It has been four years since West Germany's Prime Minister has visited Japan. (Lit) West Germany's Prime Minister's Japan-coming (is) four years lapse."

[Focus 11/3/83, page 4]

These examples demonstrate the basic structure of equative sentences, but more importantly they suggest the higher frequency of occurrence of equative sentences in Japanese than in English since the most natural sounding translation of examples (437) and (438) are not equative sentences in English. Equative sentences, such as the literal translations provided directly after the free translation in each example, sound stilted or unnatural out of context.

A particular type of equative sentence is the cleft sentence, as illustrated in example (437). Cleft sentences in Japanese, like their English counterparts, are used to place a constituent into focus position. Unlike cleft sentences in English, which are typically thought to be derived, the use of cleft constructions in Japanese, as in example (437), has been argued to be more basic than the nonclefted variety [see Haig 1982]. The nonclefted variation of (437) is presented in (437a).

(437a) *itsu amerika e kimashita ka?*
when America to came QU
"When did [you] come to America?"

Haig's analysis follows from the fact that Japanese is a predominantly topic-comment language rather than a subject-predicate language. That is, because Japanese tends toward the use of topic-comment structures when other languages opt for subject-predicate structures [see also Rutherford 1983], the use of cleft sentences is common. The question in (437) was taken from a conversation between two females. In the extended answer given by the other participant, two equative sentences are used:

(439) *itta no wa rokujuunana-nen,*
went NOM TP sixty-seven-year
"[I] went in '67, [(Lit) Going (is) 1967],"

(440) *dakara benkyoo ga owatta no wa nanajuuichi-nen.*
so studies NM ended NOM TP seventy-one-year
"so [I] finished studying in '71 [(Lit) so, the ending of studies (is) 1971]."

It might be argued that the use of equative sentences as in (439) and (440) arises as a result of the form of the question in (437). This is always a possibility, and in Hinds 1978a I claim that such conversational "harmony" occurs with frequency. In this same conversation, however, there are numerous examples of equative sentences occurring which (a) have no overt trigger in the immediately preceding context, and (b) are not easily translated into English equative sentences.

In the following example, the question is asked in a subject-predicate frame while the answer comes back in a topic-comment frame.

(441) H *nani-go tsukatte-sodat- sodachimashita?*
what-language use-gro- grew-up
"What language did you use when you were growing up?"

W *sodatta? sodatta no wa dakara zutto nihongo.*
grew-up grew-up NOM TP so straight Japanese
"When I was growing up? When I was growing up I used nothing but Japanese [(Lit) Growing up therefore (is) only Japanese]."

Example (438) is an even more interesting example of the pressure which is exerted on speakers or writers of Japanese to use equative sentences. In this type of example, a compound noun, such as *rainichi* [来日]"come-Japan", is created as the first noun phrase, and then the rest of the equation is placed in the comment position of the sentence. Again, a literal translation of this into English produces an infelicitous string. English opts for a subject-predicate construction with an active predicate.

Martin 1975:250ff has identified six types of equative sentences [his term is "identificational"]. These are listed below with examples.

A: EQUATIONAL

kono shain wa sono onna da.
this employee TP that woman COP
"This employee is that woman."

B. CLASSIFICATIONAL:

sono onna wa shain da.
that woman TP employee COP
"That woman is an employee."

C. DEFINITIONAL

ningen wa doobutsu da.
man TP animal COP
"Man is an animal."

D. DESIGNATIVE

amerika no shuto wa washinton da.
America LK capital TP Washington COP
"America's capital is (called) Washington."

E. EXEMPLARY

sakana wa tai da.
fish TP sea-bream COP
"(When it comes to) fish, (there's nothing like) sea-bream."

F. TAUTOLOGICAL

aite wa aite da.
guy TP guy COP
"Such is the adversary."

In addition to this relatively neutral specification of the equative construction, there is a more focused version. Formally, the postpositional particle *ga* is used instead of the postpositional particle *wa*. Examples (442) through (444) illustrate this.

(442) *kore ga pen desu.*
this NM pen COP
"THIS is a pen."

(443) *hawai ga saisho?*
Hawaii NM first
"You came to Hawaii first? [(Lit) HAWAII (is) the first?]"

(444) *kare ga gakusei desu yo.*
I NM student COP EM
"HE is the student."

The difference between the examples in (442) through (444) and those in (436) through (438) involves "thematization" or "topicalization" [see 1.12].

Other variations on this basic structure are also possible. For instance, it is quite common for the postpositional particle *wa* to be missing entirely [see Hinds 1982a, Tamori 1977, Tsutsui 1981 for a discussion of the ellipsis of postpositional particles]. Examples (445) through (447) illustrate this.

(445) *ano hito dare?*
that person who
"Who (is) that person?"

(446) *sore nani?*
that what
"What (is) that?"

(447) *motto hayaku ikanai no emi-chan no sei.*
more sooner go-NEG NOM Emiko LK fault
"It's Emiko's fault that we didn't go earlier [(Lit) Not going sooner (is) Emiko's fault]."

We see therefore that equative sentences in Japanese may be characterized by the following revised formula:

NP *wa* [*ga*, *Ø*] NP *[da]*.

This formula states that the first NP may be followed by *wa*, *ga*, or that there may be no particle. The copula *da* and any of its alternates may also be omitted. It has also been suggested here that the use of equative sentences in Japanese occurs with more frequency than it does in English. Two additional examples, without comment, illustrate this. In the article from which these examples are taken, the first two sentences in the article contain equative sentences, despite the fact that a similar article written originally in English would begin with a subject-predicate structure rather than with an equational structure.

FUKKATSU SHITA "MUCHIUCHI KEI"
RETURN DID WHIPPING PUNISHMENT
"A RETURN TO FLOGGING"

pakisutan no toshi karachi ni aru sakkaajoo ni atsumatta
Pakistan LK city Karachi in be soccer-field in gathered
gunshuu wa yaku 3000-nin.
crowd TP about 3000-people
"The crowd which gathered at a soccer field in the Pakistani city of Karachi (numbered) about 3000."

betsu-ni sakkaa geemu o kenbutsu shiyoo to iu no de wa
special soccer game AC see do QT say NOM COP TP
naku, korera ga katazu-o-nonde machikamaete-iru no wa
not they NM expectantly awaiting NOM TP
"isuramu hoo ga gunsei-ni shikoo-sareru shunkan" de-aru.
Islam law NM strictly carried-out moment COP
"They had not come to see a soccer match; they were waiting anxiously for "the moment that Islamic law would be strictly carried out" [(Lit) Their anxiously awaiting is "the moment that Islamic law would be carried out"]."

[Focus 1/27/84]

1.10 POSSESSION

1.10.1. CONSTRUCTION OF SENTENCES WITH POSSESSION

There are two primary ways to express possession in Japanese. The first involves a construction in which the possessor is linked to a following possessed item with the particle *no*. The second involves a verbal construction in which the possessor and the possessed become arguments of a small set of verbs which may be used to indicate possession. These will be illustrated here and then discussed in more

detail in 1.10.2 and 1.10.4, respectively. A third way involves the addition of honorific prefixes to nominals, and this will be discussed in this section before anything else.

In order to indicate the possession of an item by someone other than the speaker, the honorific prefix *o-* may be attached to some nominals.[30] The presence of this honorific prefix *o-* indicates that the nominal belongs to some one other than the speaker.[31] Examples are presented in Table 17.

Table 17

Neutral form	Gloss	Honorific form	Gloss
tegami	letter	*o-tegami*	your letter
taku	house	*o-taku*	your house
joozu	skill	*o-joozu*	your skill
seikatsu	life	*go-seikatsu*	your life
kazoku	family	*go-kazoku*	your family
yoo	business	*go-yoo*	your business

In each of these cases, the honorific form is considered to be more polite, and therefore it is easy to attribute the ownership of the item to the addressee or to some person intended to be respected. There is potential for confusion, however, since the same honorific morpheme *o-* may be used simply to add a general feeling of politeness to the conversation, in which case there is no necessary attribution of ownership to the addressee or anyone else. Typical examples of this are presented in Table 18.

Table 18

Neutral form	Honorific form	Gloss
shooyu	*o-shooyu*	soy sauce
hanashi	*o-hanashi*	talk
tenki	*o-tenki*	weather
sashimi	*o-sashimi*	raw fish
tsuri	*o-tsuri*	change
annai	*go-annai*	guide

Possession by marking with *no* involves placing the possessor in front of *no* and the possessed item after *no*. This is illustrated in Table 19 which presents a series of possessed noun phrases. Examples follow.

Table 19

anata no musume	*konshuu no shuukanshi*
you LK daughter	this-week LK magazine
"your daughter"	"this week's magazine"
koobe no sensei	*nihonjin no kangaekata*
Kobe LK teacher	Japanese LK way-of-thinking
"the teacher from Kobe"	"Japanese way of thinking"

(448) *kore wa* ***watashi*** *no enpitsu desu.*
this TP I LK pencil COP
"This is my pencil."

(449) *sore wa* ***anata*** *no enpitsu desu ka?*
that TP you LK pencil COP QU
"Is that your pencil?"

(450) *are wa* ***yamano-san*** *no enpitsu no yoo desu.*
that TP Yamano Mr LK pencil LK appear COP
"It seems like that is Mr Yamano's pencil."

There is potential for ambiguity with this particle, since a homonym which is the post-nominal form of the copula also exists. Such ambiguity, if resolvable at all, can only be resolved in context.[32]

(451a) *sensei no tomodachi*
teacher LK friend
"the teacher's friend"

(451b) *sensei no tomodachi*
teacher COP friend
"a friend who is a teacher"

In Japanese, there are several nominals which are broad and encompassing. They are usually translated into English as "thing". Three of the most common are *mono, koto,* and *no*. It is not my purpose here to differentiate among these three other than to point out that an elliptical process occurs when the third of these, *no*, is possessed.

(452a) *yamada san no mono*
Yamada Mr LK thing
"Mr Yamada's thing"

(452b) *yamada san no koto*
Yamada Mr LK fact
"the fact about Mr Yamada"

(452c) *yamada san no* (<**yamada san no no*)
Yamada Mr thing
"Mr Yamada's (thing)"

What happens in these cases is that the sequence *no no* is generally disallowed, and the two instances of *no* therefore coalesce into one.

The demonstrative pronouns *kono* "this", *sono* "that", *ano* "that over there", and *dono* "which" (Martin's 1975 term is "adnoun") appear before nominals. They may be analyzed as consisting of the demonstrative morpheme plus the genitive particle *no*.

(453a) *kono hon* (< *kore no hon*)
"this book" this LK book

(453b) *sono hito* (< *sore no hito*)
"that person" that LK person

(453c) *ano mise* (< *are no mise*)
"that store" that LK store

(453d) *dono omocha* (< *dore no omocha*)
"which toy" which LK toy

In relaxed speech, the postpositional particle *no* frequently contracts to *n* before the dentals *t* and *n*. This contraction is illustrated in the following examples.

(454a) *ima n tokoro* (< *ima no tokoro*)
now LK place
"right now"

(454b) *ongakka n naka* (< *ongakka no naka*)
musician LK middle
"among musicians"

Following the syllabic nasal *n*, the contracted form *n* will frequently coalesce, and so there will be no overt trace of the possessive marker.[33]

(455a) *teramura san toko* (< *teramura san no toko*)
Teramura Mr place
"Mr Teramura's place"

(455b) *yuujin naka de* (< *yuujin no naka de*)
friend among
"among friends"

Martin 1975:264ff points out that *ga*, rather than *no*, is a literary or archaic possessive genitive, although, of course, *no* may also be used in literary styles. The use of *ga* as a possessive marker in the spoken language is typically restricted to placenames and cliches.

(456a) *wagakuni* (= *watashi no kuni*)
my-country I LK country

(456b) *wagaya* (= *watashi no ie*)
my-home I LK home

(456c) *tsutsujigaoka* (= *tsutsuji no oka*)
Placename azalea LK hill

(456d) *kasumigaseki* (= *kasumi no seki*)
Placename mist LK barrier

Possession is also expressed with the possessor being the experiencer of an existential verb or the agent of an appropriate action verb, and the possessed being the object.

(457) *watashi ni wa kuruma ga aru.*
I to TP car NM exist
"I have a car [(Lit.) To me, a car exists]."

(458) *watashi wa kuruma o motte-iru.*
I TP car AC holding
"I have a car."

(459) *watashi ni wa ani ga iru.*
I to TP brother NM exist
"I have an older brother [(Lit.) To me, a brother exists]."

(460) *watashi wa ani o motte-iru.*[34]
I TP brother AC holding
"I have an older brother."

(461) *watashi wa kabu o shoyuu shite-iru.*
I TP stock AC possess doing
"I possess stock."

1.10.2. ALIENABLE AND INALIENABLE POSSESSION

There is no syntactic distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in Japanese [but see footnote 5].

There are constraints, however, which may be termed semantic or cultural. These constraints dictate that inalienable possession in Japanese is overtly marked less frequently than inalienable possession is in English. This may be seen by comparing Japanese examples with their English counterparts. In the following examples, the Japanese examples do not contain a possessive construction while the English examples do.[35]

(462) *demo nihonjin n' tokuchoo ja-nai kashira.*
but Japanese LK special-point NEG wonder
koo ***kuchi*** *o - ni* ***te*** *o ateru tte ne.*
H mouth AC to hand AC touch QT EM
"But, isn't that a special trait of the Japanese? Like, [they] put [**their**] hands to [**their**] mouths [when they laugh]."

(463) *n,* ***kata*** *chotto utte*
mm shoulder just hit-and
"Mm, [I] just hit [**my**] shoulder and "

(464) ***atama*** *ga ookii n da.* ***atama*** *ga ookii n ja-nai?*
head NM large NOM COP head NM large NOM NEG
"[**The panda's**] head is large. Isn't [**the panda's**] head large?"

1.10.3. TEMPORARY VERSUS PERMANENT POSSESSION

There is no distinction between the expression of temporary and permanent possession.

1.10.4. POSSESSION OF PERSONS, ANIMALS, AND THINGS

There is a basic distinction between animates and inanimates in Japanese. In order to understand this with respect to possession, a somewhat wider perspective must be taken.

Martin 1975:193ff insightfully points out that there is overlap in Japanese (as well as in other languages) among the devices used to express existence, location, and possession. His explanation for this overlap is (p. 193-4):

> in a three-dimensional world, if something exists it must have a location; and in a personalized world OWNERSHIP can be imputed (to supernatural beings if to no one else) for whatever exists. And so the same verbal elements are often used to carry all three meanings, but with subtle differences in the grammar depending on which of the meanings is intended.

Existence, location, and possession may all be indicated with the verb *aru* for inanimates and the verb *iru* for animates.[36] In all of these constructions, the item which is possessed, located, or said to exist is marked with the postpositional particle *ga*, while the possessor is marked by either *ni* or *ga*. Location is only marked by *ni*. Typical case frames for each of these constructions is provided in (465) through (467). Constructions containing possessions are illustrated in (468) through (470).

EXISTENCE

(465) NP *ga iru* (ANIMATE)
NP *ga aru* (INANIMATE)

LOCATION

(466) NP *ni* NP *ga iru* (ANIMATE)
NP *ni* NP *ga aru* (INANIMATE)

POSSESSION

(467) NP *ni/ga* NP *ga iru* (ANIMATE)
NP *ni/ga* NP *ga aru* (INANIMATE)

(468) *anoo, boku wa, anoo, **Iwasaki-san** no ne,*
H I TP H LK EM
*sonoo, eigo o **hanasu chikara** **tte no** **ga aru** to*
H English AC talk competence QT NOM NM be QT
omou n de sono koto ni-tsuite chotto
think NOM and that thing concerning just
okiki-shitai n desu kedo ne.
ask-DESI NOM COP but EM
"Uh, I think, uh, you [= Mr. Iwasaki] have good command of English and so I would like to hear a little about it."

(469) W *hontoo-ni yaru no? ha ha ha ha. ano-ne, terebi*
really do NOM look TV
o miru toka iu gorira? onaji gorira?
AC see QT say gorilla same gorilla
"Does [he] really do [that]? A gorilla that watches TV? Is [it] the same gorilla?"

M *terebi **mo** **aru** n desho?*
TV too exist NOM presumptive
"[He] has a TV too, right?"

(470) *eeto, atakushi no otomodachi hitori kookoo*
uh I LK friend one high-school
*no otomodachi de, **mitsui no onzooshi***
LK friend among Mitsui LK son-of-noble-family
***ni itta hito mo iru** no yo.*
to went person too exist NOM EM
"Well, one of my friends, a high school friend, [I] have a friend [= person] who is the bride of one of the Mitsui heirs."[37]

If any other construction is used to indicate possession, there is no distinction between animate and inanimate possession.

(471) *dakedo, soo ne, jibun ga **kyoodai motsu** n dattara*
but so EM self NM siblings have NOM COP-if
toshi no hanareta oniisan ka oneesan ga ita
age LK separated brother or sister NM exist-PAST
hoo ga ii to omou.
way NM good QT think
"If I can choose my brothers or sisters, [I] want very old brothers or sisters."

(472) W ***anata no kamera** ni chanto poozu shita?*
you LK camera for precise pose did
"Did [he] pose for your camera?"

S *watashi **shashinki motte-nai** no. ha ha ha.*
I camera have-NEG NOM
"I don't have a camera."

(473) *soo desu ne komu- kotchi e kite komatta koto*
so COP EM trouble here to come trouble fact
*tte ieba **uchi no nyoobo to ko tte kodomo ga***
QT say-if house LK wife and chi- H child NM
kot- kotchi e kite narenakatta sei ka yoku
here- here to come get-used-NEG-PAST reason or often
saisho no uchi wa byooki ni kakarimashite ne,
beginning LK time TP sick as get EM
"Let me see, trouble, what was trouble [I] came here was that my wife and chi- child often got sick, probably because [they] were not used to it here."

In (471), when the speaker opts to use a verb of existence to indicate possession, she uses *ita*, the past tense of *iru*. In both (471) and (472), when the speakers use *motsu* "have" to indicate possession, there is no difference between how *kyoodai* "siblings" and *shashinki* "camera" are treated. A comparison with (473) shows that both animate and inanimate possessions are treated the same way with the

"NP *no* NP" construction.

1.10.5. PRESENT VERSUS PAST POSSESSION

There is no difference between present and past possession other than a change in the tense of the verb for those constructions which show possession through a verb construction. This is shown in (474) where the speaker uses both *aru* and *atta*.

(474) H *un, kookoosei mo yappari onaji na n da*
un h.s.-student too of-course same LK NOM COP
naa. sono maa, taishita shingakkoo ja-nai
EM that well greatly prep-school NEG
kara no, soo ja-nai no kamo-shiranai kedo.
since NOM so NEG NOM probably but
"Yes, [I] thought high school students were the same, it is not like prep school, so maybe it doesn't require that much."

O *shingakkoo ja-nai tte koto wa?*
prep-school NEG QT fact TP
"What do you mean by it's not prep school?"

H *anoo, kekkyoku ne.*
H after-all EM
"That means, ... "

O ***ue ga an*** *[< aru] no? soo demo nai no?*
up NM exist NOM so even NEG NOM
"Does [it] have an upper school? Doesn't it?"

H *ma, **ue wa aru** n da. a, **ue atta***
well up TP exist NOM COP a up exist-PAST
ka na, asoko wa?
wonder there TP
"Yes, there is an upper one. Well, did it have an upper one, there, I wonder?"

1.11 EMPHASIS

1.11.1. SENTENCE EMPHASIS

If we proceed with the understanding that a complete utterance may be intensified or made prominent by virtue of its discourse position, we are able to speak of sentence emphasis.

1.11.1.1. *NONCONTRADICTORY EMPHASIS*

There are five methods to indicate noncontradictory sentence emphasis.[38] The first method for indicating noncontradictory emphasis is through repetition of the entire utterance. Since many utterances in Japanese consist of multiple instances of ellipsis, a specific utterance may only be a single word or two in length. This fact may lead to the possibility of using repetition to indicate emphasis, since there is not an undue burden on the speaker to repeat an excessive number of syllables in a brief period of time.

(475) H. *anata wa sakasama-ni naranakatta no?*
you TP upside-down didn't-become NOM
"You didn't turn upside down, did you?"

W. ***natte-ta. natte-ta.***
became became
"[I] did! [I] did!"

(476) H. *ja, sono hito mo kitto, anoo, daibu*
well that person too surely uh very
dokuritsushin no-
independent LK
"Well, of course, that person is also a very independent ... "

W. *soo,* ***tsuyoi tsuyoi.***
so strong strong
"Right, [she]'s really strong."

The second means for indicating sentence emphasis is to add an extension of some type to the main verb.[39] For illustrative purposes I have selected the addition of the verb *shimau* "end up" to the *te* form of a verb.

(477) H. *uuuu. ja, mainichi jitensha de gakkoo e*
uuuu well everyday bicycle by school to
kite-ru no?
coming NOM
"Wow. Well, do [you] come to school by bike everyday?"

W. *nn, demo chikai kara moo* ***mendokusaku-natte.***
nn but close since already become-trouble-and
"No, since [I] live close by it's not worth it, and ... "

H. *aruite-ru. aa.*
walking ah
"Oh, [you] walk."

W. ***aruichau.*** [< *aruite-shimau*]
walk-complete
"[I] end up walking."

The third way to indicate sentence emphasis is through the addition of a small number of sentence final particles, including *ne, sa, yo, wa.* Each has its own emotional coloration [see Uyeno 1971].

(478) Y *un. moo sugokatta no yo. terebi toka*
un already tough-past NOM EM TV or
de- detari shite.
appear-REP do-and
"Yes, it was really something. [I] appeared on TV, and ... "

A *a, soo? terebi mo dechatta no?*
oh really TV too appear-end-up-past QU
"Oh really? [You] ended up on TV too?"

Y ***dechatta no yo.***
appear-end-up-past NOM EM
"[I] ended up [on TV]!"

The fourth way is to modulate the voice quality by giving a breathy quality to the vowels and increasing volume. This may be accompanied by a heightening of pitch, but that is not necessary.

(479) H. *imooto-san wa?*
sister TP
"How about any sisters?"

W. *nn, d-, da-, zenzen inai.*
un absolutely exist-NEG
"No, absolutely none."

H. *huuu, ja, uchi to hantai ne.* ***uchi wa juunin!***
ooo uh us with opposite EM us TP 10
"Oooh, well, [that]'s just the opposite of us. There are ten in our family!"

W. ***takusan!***
many
"Wow, [that]'s a lot!"

The fifth way to indicate sentence emphasis is to disrupt the normal word order of sentential elements by a process such as "postposing" [see 1.14.2]. Note here, in particular, that the verb forms in both sentences are con-

tractions of the *-te shimau* constructions, and this adds to the emphatic nature of the utterances.

(480) *sore-de mat-anoo, kaerimichi ni gake kara*
and uh return on cliff from
otchatta no, sonoo, anoo, kuruma ga ne?
fell NOM uh uh car NM EM
gake kara ochichatta no, nanka, ***untenshu no misu de.***
cliff from fell NOM like driver LK miss by
"So, do-uh, on the way back to school, it fell off a cliff, uh, the car, right? We fell right off a cliff, you know, because of something the driver did."

1.11.1.2. *CONTRADICTORY EMPHASIS*

The same five devices available to mark noncontradictory emphasis may be used to mark contradictory emphasis. The first is repetition.

(481) A *jasetto, a jemuko ka. ja, jemuko no hito*
JACET a JEMCO QU well JEMCO LK person
no hanashi toka saa.
LK talk or EM
"JACET, no JEMCO. O.K. How about the people of JEMCO?"

K *ee?*
huh
"Well?"

S *daremo jemuko no hito kikanai?*
no one JEMCO LK person listen-NEG
"Won't anyone from JEMCO listen [to the tape]?"

A *okuda sensei.*
a Okuda Prof
"[How about] Prof. Okuda?"

K ***dame yo, sonna; dame yo, sonna.***
no-good EM that-kind no-good EM that-kind
"No, no, that kind [of thing] is no good!"

The second is the use of *shimau* (or other extenders) attached to the *-te* form of a verb.

(482) K *zutto uchi ni ita no?*
straight home LC was NOM
"Were [you] home the whole time?"

R *iie! issho-ni itchatta no yo!*
no together go-end-up-past NOM EM
[< *itte-shimatta*]
"No! [We] went together!"

The third way to indicate contradictory sentence emphasis is to use an emphatic sentence final particle.

(483) A *sedai ga chigau. jidai ga chigau*
generation NM different age NM different
n ja-nai kashira, watashi.
NOM NEG wonder I
"The generation is different. [I] wonder if the age isn't different, I [do]."

Y *a, soo kashira? sonna-ni chigawanai yo.*
oh so wonder that different-NEG EM
"Oh, [I] wonder if that's so. It's not that different, you know."

The fourth way is to modulate voice quality.

(484) S *yubiwa ga sa, anoo, sono hanashi, hora,*
ring NM EM uh that talk look
"Tolkien" no are yonda? sugoi muzukashii no yo.
Tolkien LK that read very difficult NOM EM
"The ring, uh, that story, look, did [you] read Tolkien's that [= novel]?"

W *zenzen shiranai.*
absolutely know-NEG
"[I] don't know [it] at all!"

The fifth way is to disrupt normal word order through "postposing" [see 1.14.2].

(485) W *"Girlfriend" tte iu eiga mo kuru desho.*
girlfriend QT say movie too come presumptive
"A movie called "Girlfriend" is coming too, isn't it?"

M *"Girlfriend"? a mada chitchai sugoi kodomo*
girlfriend oh still small very child
no dorama ja-nai?
LK drama NEG
"'Girlfriend'? Oh, [you're still talking about] movies for children, aren't you?"

W *chigau wa-yo, otona no wareware no toshi*
different EM adult LK we LK age
no. sore wa "Friends".
NOM that TP friends
"No! [That]'s [for] adults our age. That [other one] is 'Friends'."

1.11.2.1. *EXPRESSION OF CONSTITUENT EMPHASIS*

Aizawa 1984:415 distinguishes types of emphasis. The major division is between prominence and intensity.[40] Prominence is used to make a word prominent in a sentence, and it is divided into contrast and focus. Intensity is used to heighten the idea of the word itself, and it is used with degree words on one hand and nondegree words on the other.

This discussion will be concerned only with prominence, in Aizawa's sense. Further, within each section, both noncontrastive and contrastive constituent emphasis will be presented when a distinction is observed.

1.11.2.1.1. *STRESS/ACCENT*

Tsuzuki 1984:253 gives examples of an increased degree of loudness (breath force) indicating prominence. I interpret this to mean that stress may be used in Japanese to indicate emphasis:

(486) *"shizuka-ni, seishuku-ni" to gichoo ga*
quietly silently QT chair NM
tsukue o tataita.
desk AC hit
"'Quiet! Silent!' the chair [said while] hitting the desk."

(487) *"soko ni iru no wa **dare da**" to donatta.*
there LC be NOM TP who COP QT scolded
"'Who is it that is there?' [she] said in a loud voice."

Kuno 1973:37ff claims that one of the functions of the particle *wa* is to indicate a contrast. He further claims (p. 47) that noun phrases preceding contrastive *wa* receive prominent intonation. I interpret this also to mean that stress is used to indicate emphasis in contrast.

(488) *oozei no hito wa paatei ni kimashita ga,*
many LK person TP party to came but
omoshiroi hito wa hitori mo imasen-deshita.
interesting person TP one even be-NEG-past
"Many people came to the party indeed, but there was none who was interesting." [= Kuno's (21d)]

Tsuzuki 1984:242 also states, "Prominence can be placed on any word according to the speaker's attitude. Every word with prominence contrasts with every other word that might be substituted for it within the grammatical framework of the particular sentence." He provides examples, in which the words receiving prominence are underlined, which demonstrate both explicit and implicit contrast. These are reproduced as (489) and (490) respectively.

(489) *umi no sachi to yama no sachi wo ajiwatta.*
sea LK products and mountain LK products AC tasted
"[I] tasted the food from the sea and the food from the mountain."

(490) *kanojo wa miai kekkon desu.*
she TP arranged marriage COP
"She has an arranged marriage (not a love marriage)."

1.11.2.1.2. *PARTICLES*

There are a number of particles in Japanese whose only function is to indicate emphasis. Included in this group are *koso* "very", *tomo* "indeed", and sentence-final particles such as *yo, ne, sa*, and appropriate combinations of these sentence-final particles. However, given the appropriate situation, almost any particle may be used to indicate emphasis. The particle *ga*, for instance, normally considered a marker of focus [Martin 1975] may place the constituent which precedes it into emphatic focus:

(491) ***oohashi san ga*** *dekiru ryoori no ne, tsukurikata*
Ohashi Mr NM able cooking LK EM method
o oshiete itadakimasen ka?
AC teach receive-NEG QU
"[I]'d like to have [you] explain the cooking method for something you [= Mr Ohashi] are able to cook."

Martin 1975:930 points out that the particle *ka* is also sometimes used only for emphasis. Thus, along with *moshi* "if", there is *moshika* "if, perchance". He also points out (p. 1007) that the quotative particle *to* may follow directions to emphasize them:

(492) *atchikotchi to urotsuku.*
here-and-there QT wander
"[I] wander around here and there."

The particles *koso* "very" and *tomo* "indeed" are used

for emphasis.

(493) *de, sore:, nn, soo iu no tte, nanka* ***sore koso,***
um that hm that say NOM QT like that very
chotto reikan tte iu no ka-shira.
just spirit QT say NOM wonder
"And, that, um, that kind of thing, something that, just [I] wonder if [you]'d call [it] a spirit."

Particles such as *yo*,[41] *ne*, and *sa* may appear in either sentence final position or in sentence medial position. In both cases they emphasize the constituent they follow.

(494) *dakara yo, gakkoo e yo, ikanai yo.*
so EM school to EM go-NEG EM
"That's why, see, [I]'m not going to school."

(495) ***watashi wa ne,*** *hantai-ni nanka amerika no hoo*
I TP EM opposite like America LK side
ga raku na no.
NM easy LK NOM
"Actually, I think it's easier to live in America."

(496) ***tatoeba sa,*** *anoo, teinei-ni, nante-iu-no-ka-na,*
e.g. EM uh politely what-say
mm, teinei-ni monogoshi yaritai kara,
mm politely movement do-DESI since
"For example, uh, what should [I] say, because [people] want to do things politely,"

The primary particle which is used to indicate contrast is *wa*. This has been explained by a number of researchers [see Hinds et al 1986]. The clearest way to demonstrate this is to determine how the focus of a negative element is marked, since this element is held up to be contrasted with other elements which might go into the same slot. Kusanagi 1971 has contrasted English and Japanese negation and has shown that the noun phrase which receives primary stress in English, marked by boldface type in the following examples, does not receive additional stress in Japanese, but rather is marked by the particle *wa*.[42] Notice that even the verb may be contrasted in this way by placing *wa* after the stem and using a form of *suru* "do" as the main verb.

(497a) I didn't go to the university with friends at 3 by car.

(497b) I didn't go to **the university** with friends at 3 by car.

(497c) I didn't go to the university **with friends** at 3 by car.

(497d) I didn't go to the university with friends **at 3** by car.

(497e) I didn't go to the university with friends at 3 **by car**.

(497f) I didn't **go** to the university with friends at 3 by car.

(498a) *sanji ni jidoosha de tomodachi to*
3:00 at car by friend with
daigaku e ikanakatta.
university to go-NEG-past

(498b) ***sanji ni wa*** *jidoosha de tomodachi to*
3:00 at TP car by friend
daigaku e ikanakatta.
with university to go-NEG-past

(498c) *sanji ni* ***jidoosha de wa*** *tomodachi to*
3:00 at car by TP friend with
daigaku e ikanakatta.
university to go-NEG-past

(498d) *sanji ni jidoosha de* ***tomodachi to wa***
3:00 at car by friend with TP
daigaku e ikanakatta.
university to go-NEG-past

(498e) *sanji ni jidoosha de tomodachi to*
3:00 at car by friend with
daigaku e wa *ikanakatta.*
university to TP go-NEG-past

(498f) *sanji ni jidoosha de tomodachi to*
3:00 at car by friend with
daigaku e ***iki wa shinakatta.***
university to go TP do-NEG-past

1.11.2.1.3. *MOVEMENT WITHOUT DISLOCATION*

Any perturbation of neutral sentence order will create emphasis. Thus, either scrambling or postposing [see 1.14] will result in a display of emphasis.

1.11.2.1.4.-5. *CLEFTING*

There is no distinction between clefting and pseudo-clefting in Japanese. Haig 1982 has argued that clefted sentences are more basic than their nonclefted varieties. Despite this it can be shown that clefted elements are focused; this follows from the perspective that each sentence may have both a focused and a nonfocused part; the nonfocused part being the noun phrase and the following ***wa***.

(499) *itta no wa rokujuunana-nen,*
went NOM TP sixty-seven-year
"I went in '67, [(Lit) Going (is) 1967], ... "

1.11.2.1.6. *DISLOCATION*

An element which is dislocated either right or left is emphasized. This dislocation involves full or partial repetition of the element, itself a means to indicate emphasis.

(500) *dakara, zenbu, saigo-ni,* ***awa*** ***ga*** *dete-kimasu,*
so all last bubbles NM appear-come
awa ga.
bubbles NM
"So, in the end, the bubbles come up, the bubbles."

[Nishimitsu 1977]

(501) ***kono shashin,*** *aa,* ***kore wa*** *saki hodo no*
this picture ah this TP before extent LK
shinkansen no, konoo, okuri no tsuzuki
train LK uh send-off LK continuation
mitai desu kedo ne.
seem COP but EM
"This picture, ah, this one looks like it's a continuation of that send-off picture we saw before."

1.11.2.1.7. *OTHER POSSIBILITIES*

1.11.2.1.7.1. *ADDITION OF EMPHATIC MORPHEME*

Onishi 1962 has discussed the phonetic systematization of Japanese emphatic forms and has shown that there are a variety of ways that new lexical items which themselves are emphatic versions of nonemphatic lexical items may be created.

In the first type, a morpheme is added to the word in one of three positions: initial, medial, and final.

INITIAL

There are three types of prefixes: those consisting of *sokuon* "geminate consonants", *hatsuon* "nasal consonant", and *nissho* "Chinese ideographs ending in specific sounds, such as *chi*". Frequently the initial consonant of the nonemphatic form will undergo predictable modification [see 3.4.10.1].

sokuon

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
sukkorobu	fall down	*korobu*	fall down
koppidoi	severe	*hidoi*	severe
kuttsuku	be attached	*tsuku*	be attached

hatsuon

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
chongiru	chop	*kiru*	cut
honnageru	throw out	*nageru*	throw
bunmawasu	turn around	*mawasu*	turn around

nissho

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
buchiwaru	break, crush	*waru*	break
buchikowasu	crush	*kowasu*	break
shichimendona	troublesome	*mendona*	troublesome

MEDIAL

There are five means to emphasize a lexical item in medial position: prolongation of a consonant, prolongation of a vowel, insertion of a consonant, insertion of a vowel, and insertion of a syllable.

prolongation of consonant

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
kemuttai	be very smoky	*kemutai*	be smoky
futattsu	just two	*futatsu*	two
ossoroshii	terrible	*osoroshii*	frightful

prolongation of vowel

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
jijii	old man	*jiji*	old man
naani	what	*nani*	what
oseeji	flattery	*oseji*	flattery

insertion of consonant

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
bantsoosan	shop assistant	*bantoosan*	shop assistant
matssugu	straight	*massugu*	straight
tongaru	be pointed	*togaru*	be pointed

insertion of vowel

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
kokoira	here about	*kokora*	here about
sokoira	there about	*sokora*	there about
dokoira	where about	*dokora*	where about

insertion of syllable

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
oppesu	push	*osu*	push
damakasu	cheat	*damasu*	cheat
kakunasu	hide	*kakusu*	hide

FINAL

EMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS	NONEMPHATIC FORM	GLOSS
jama-kke	hindrance	*jama*	hindrance
sumi-kko	corner	*sumi*	corner
ha-ppa	leaf	*ha*	leaf
kara-ppo	empty	*kara*	empty
wasure-ppoi	forgetful	*wasure(yasui)*	forgetful
kuro-tchi	black	*kuro(i)*	black
futo-tcho	fat	*futo*	fat

1.11.2.1.7.2. *REPETITION OF NOUN PHRASE*

Constituents may be repeated, in whole or part, creating a situation in which the constituent is therefore emphasized. Martin 1975:1061-2 provides examples in which *sono N* "that N" and adverbs are iterated for emphasis: *sono ba sono ba de* "right then and there", *madamada arimasu* "[we] have lots more".

1.11.2.1.8. *POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF CONSTITUENT EMPHASIS*

By virtue of the fact that the purpose of emphasis is to call particular attention to an element in an utterance, it is not surprising that there is multiple marking of elements to be emphasized. Any combination of two or more of the ways to mark emphasis presented in 1.11.1.1 may occur.

1.11.2.2. *WHICH ELEMENTS CAN BE EMPHASIZED*

1.11.2.2.1.1-4. *NOUN PHRASE, ADJECTIVE, VERB, ADVERBIAL*

All of the means listed to indicate emphasis may be

applied to each category: noun phrase, adjective (predicative and attributive), verb, and adverbial. There are complications for interpretation, of course, when "movement" of constituents is considered since it is not always clear which constituent has moved and which has remained. Similarly, particles may attach to any element, and it is often a matter of caprice to decide whether the particle is sentence final or medial.

1.11.2.2.2.1. *CONSTITUENTS OF MAIN CLAUSE*

Constituents of main clauses may be emphasized by any of the means identified above.

1.11.2.2.2.2. *CONSTITUENTS OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES*

Constituents of any type of subordinate clause may be emphasized by any of the means identified above. In the case of dislocation, the constituent which is dislocated must move to the end of the main clause.

(502) ***sore minakatta kara wakannai yo,***
that see-NEG-past since understand-NEG EM
sono bangumi.
that program
"Since [I] didn't see that, [I] don't know, that program."

1.11.2.2.2.3. *CONSTITUENTS OF NOUN PHRASES*

Constituents of noun phrases may be emphasized by any of the means listed above except clefting and dislocation.

1.11.2.2.2.4. *CONSTITUENTS OF COORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS*

Constituents of coordinate constructions may be emphasized by any of the means listed above. Again, if a constituent is dislocated, it must move to the end of the main clause.

(503) *sore koboshite doo sun [< suru] no, sono miruku.*
this spill-and how do NOM that milk
"[You] spill that and what will [you] do, that milk?"

1.11.2.2.2.5. *MORE THAN ONE CONSTITUENT SIMULTANEOUSLY*

In the event that more than one constituent is emphasized simultaneously, there is every reason to believe that this emphasis is occurring for reasons of contrast. Tsuzuki 1984:247 provides an example from Hagoromo Takeshima's *utsu-*

kushiki tennen which he says demonstrates "quadruple prominence to highlight the speaker's four major focuses [sic]". The underlining is his, and it indicates those parts of the utterance which are emphasized:

(504) *haru wa sakura no ayagoromo,*
spring TP cherry-blossom LK twilled-fabric-clothing
aki wa momiji no karanishiki,
fall TP maple LK Chinese-brocade
natsu wa suzushiki tsuki-no-koromo,
summer TP cool moon-LK-clothing
fuyu wa mashiroki yuki-no-nuno.
winter TP pure-white snow-LK-cloth
"In spring, the cherry-blossom fabric,
In fall, the maple Chinese brocade,
In summer, the cool moon-clothing,
In winter, the pure white snow-cloth."

1.11.2.2.3. *MOVEMENT*

In the case of movement, either a copy of the emphasized element may be left behind, or a proform of the emphasized element may be left behind, but they do not have to be [see 1.11.2.1.6]. Particles are never left behind.

1.11.3. *FOCUS OF YES-NO QUESTIONS*

In the most neutral case, the subject or theme of a yes-no question is taken to be the focus.

(505) ***tanaka san wa*** *tookyoo e ikimashita ka?*
Tanaka Mr TP Tokyo to went QU
"Did Mr Tanaka go to Tokyo?"

If it is necessary to shift the focus to anything other than the subject or theme, that constituent is marked by *wa*, similar to the way the focus of negation is marked by *wa* [see 1.11.2.1.2]. This corresponds to the English use of increased stress.

(506) *tanaka san wa* ***tookyoo e*** *wa itta n desu ka?*
Tanaka Mr TP Tokyo to TP went NOM COP QU
"Did Mr Tanaka go to **Tokyo**?"

(507) *kinoo* ***wa*** *tanaka san wa tookyoo e itta n*
yesterday TP Tanaka Mr TP Tokyo to went NOM
desu ka?
COP QU
"Did Mr Tanaka go to Tokyo **yesterday**?"

(508) *tanaka san wa tookyoo e* ***fune de wa*** *itta n*
Tanaka Mr TP Tokyo to ship by TP went NOM
desu ka?
COP QU
"Did Mr Tanaka go to Tokyo **by ship**?"

1.12 TOPIC

Chafe 1976:50 defines topic of the type which exists in Chinese, and by extension Japanese [see also Li and Thompson 1976], as that element of a sentence which "sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds." It is this definition of topic which will be illustrated here. Fuller discussions and analyses of concepts such as topicalization and thematization with respect to Japanese may be found in Kuno 1973, Martin 1975, Hinds et al 1986.

1.12.1. MEANS TO INDICATE TOPIC OF A SENTENCE

1.12.1.1. *PARTICLES*

The primary means to indicate the topic of a sentence in Japanese is to mark the relevant noun phrase with the particle *wa*. This particle follows the noun phrase that it marks. The topic, as the element which sets a framework for the rest of the predication, is typically generic, anaphoric, or deictic, or assumed to be so by the speaker. These are illustrated in (509) through (511), respectively.

(509) *tada, **onna-no-ko wa** ippen dekiru to*
just girl TP once make when
sodatetaku-natchau n ja-nai ka.
raise-DESI NOM neg-tag QU
"[I] think that once a girl gets pregnant [she] wants to raise [the baby]."

(510) S *un. daitai onashi kurai. ja, daitai*
yes largely same about well largely
nenreisoo ga nite-ru no ne.
age-group NM resemble NOM EM
"About the same age. Well then, [we] have similar age differences."

K *soo ne. doo ka-shira.*
so EM how wonder
"Yes. Well, [I] wonder."

S *choodo atashitachi onaji ja-nai, de, otooto*
exact we same NEG so brother
mo onaji gurai ja-nai. uchi wa yokei-ni ane,
too same about NEG we TP excess sister
ane ga hitori iru kedo.
sister NM one be but
"We are the same age, then [our] brothers are also the same age. My family has an elder sister, an extra."

K *un. soo ne.*
hm so EM
"Yes."

S *yappari **sono gurai no kankakukan wa** aru*
of-course that about LK space TP exist
mitai.
seems
"It seems like there is that kind of age difference."

(511) ***watashi wa** choojo desho.*
I TP 1st-daughter COP
"I'm the oldest, you know."

These examples all contain topics which function as subjects. Other grammatical relations and semantic roles may also set the framework for the rest of the predication. Examples (512) through (517) illustrate this for various grammatical relationships and semantic roles.[43]

INDIRECT OBJECT

(512) ***otootosan ni wa** ne, otootosan dattara ne,*
brother to TP EM brother COP-if EM
zettai okutta hoo ga ii to omou.
absolute sent way NM good QT think
"[You] should send it to your brother, [I] am sure."

DIRECT OBJECT

(513) *anoo, **jibun no mono wa** motte-kita n da kedo.*
uh self LK thing TP brought NOM COP but
"[I] brought my own things [=clothes], but ... "

TIME

(514) *anoo, jaa, anoo, kyoo yaru koto desu ka?*
uh well uh today do fact COP QU
*hai. hai. dakara saa, **ima wa** infoumaru ne, koo, koo*
yes yes so EM now TP informal EM this this
iu no narubeku ki-ni-shinai yoo-ni shite ne.
say NOM much worry-NEG way doing EM
"Well, do you mean today's procedure? O.K. O.K. Well, [we] will talk informally, [we] want to talk as naturally as possible."

LOCATION

(515) *demo, **kotchi de wa** hyoodoo no tomodachi mitai*
but here at TP equal LK friends seem
ni yatte-ru desho?
as doing COP
"But [you] are equal friends here, aren't you?"

SOURCE

(516) *honto ne, **kore kara wa** kuri no shiizun da*
real EM this from TP chestnut LK season COP
kedo, nashi takai no.
but pear high EM
"Really, from this point on, it's chestnut season, but pears are expensive."

COMITATIVE

(517) *soo. **otaku no oneesama to wa** ikutsu chigau no.*
so house LK sister and TP how-many different EM
"How many years older [= different] is your sister?"

General properties of ellipsis allow the particle *wa* to be omitted under conditions which cannot be specified here [see Kuno 1973, Hinds 1983, Martin 1975, among others]. While there is sometimes a junctural cue, indicated by a comma, this is not always necessary. Examples in which there is no particle *wa* appear in (518), (519), and (520).[44]

(518) *chotto samui naa. **kore** kite ii desu ka?*
little cold EM this wear good COP QU
"[I]'m a little bit cold. Can [I] put this [= sweater] on?"

(519) S *ja, ooyasan.*
well landlord
"[How about] the landlord?"

K *ooyasan, wakaru ka-shira.*
landlord understand wonder
"[I] wonder if the landlord understands English."

(520) ***atashi*** *tiishatsu katta no.*
I T-shirt bought NOM
"I bought a T-shirt."

There are a number of other particle-like constructions which may mark topic. Included in this group are *nara*, the conditional form of the copula and *to ieba*, the quotative particle followed by the provisional form of the verb *iu* "say" [= if [I] say].[45] This is not to imply that these forms are interchangeable with *wa* [for details see Alfonso 1966, Hinds 1973a, Martin 1975]. Examples of each appear in (521) and (522).

(521) *dakedo soo iu koto iu to mata,* ***sore nara***
but that say fact say if again that COP-if
nande omae no hoo ga yokute, ore no hoo ga
why you LK side NM good-and I LK side NM
ikenai n da to iu koto ni natte sa,
go-POT-NEG NOM COM QT say fact to become EM
"But if [we] say such kinds of things, if that's the case, [one] would ask why you are good and I am bad, "

(522) *toruko de wa,* ***nihon to ieba*** *ima demo nichiro*
Turkey at TP Japan QT say-if now even Japan-Russia
sensoo wo hikini ni dasu hito ga iru,
war AC reference as put-out person NM exist
"Japan is vividly associated in the minds of many Turks with the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 [(Lit) In Turkey, if [one] says Japan, even today there are people who give the example of the Russo-Japanese War]."[46]

[Asahi Evening News 6/7/85: originally translated by Charles M. DeWolf]

1.12.1.2. MOVEMENT WITHOUT DISLOCATION

1.12.1.2.1. INITIAL POSITION

Topics in Japanese typically occur in sentence initial position. It may be seen, however, from the examples presented in 1.12.1.1, that in many cases there are adverbs or interjections preceding the topic.

1.12.1.2.2. *FINAL POSITION*

There is a structure in Japanese termed "postposing" in Hinds 1982a [see also 1.14.2]. This structure allows elements to be placed after the sentence final verbal. This construction has often been termed an "after-thought" construction [see Kuno 1973], but there are more functions than merely the addition of an after-thought. Frequently, ***wa*** marked noun phrases are "moved" to sentence-final position with this structure. Again, there are no constraints on the grammatical role which may be moved.

(523) *anoo, koo iu fuu ni sagatta no ga kawaisoo*
uh this say way to bowed NOM NM pitiful
da toka omowanai deshoo, ***nihonjin wa.***
COP or think-NEG presumptive Japanese-people TP
"Don't [they] think it's a shame when [they] bow like this, the Japanese."

(524) *nihon no daigaku ne,* ***kore wa.***
Japan LK college EM this EM
"[This] is a Japanese college, right, this."

It is also possible for such topics to follow the verb without a particle, as (525) demonstrates.

(525) *aru wa-yo,* ***watashi.***
exist EM I
"[I] have [some pictures like that], I [do]."

1.12.1.3. *DISLOCATION TO*

It is difficult to argue that dislocation in the sense of Ross 1967 actually exists in Japanese. Many examples of what appears to be dislocation may be adduced, but it is quite possible that these are merely stutter starts or other types of disfluency. Appropriate examples will be presented, and the reader may determine whether these are actual dislocations or not. The moved element appears in boldface and the "trace" which has been left behind is underlined.

1.12.1.3.1. *INITIAL POSITION*

(526) ***kono shashin, aa, kore wa saki hodo no***
this picture uh this TP before extent LK
shinkansen no, konoo, okuri no tsuzuki mitai
train LK uh send-off LK continuation seems
desu kedo ne.
COP but EM
"This picture, ah, this one looks like it's a continuation of that send-off picture [we saw] before, doesn't it."

1.12.1.3.2. *FINAL POSITION*

(527) ***kono shashin wa, aa, deeto desu ka, kore wa.***
this picture TP ah date COP QU this TP
"This picture, uh, is [it] a date, this?"

1.12.1.4. *VERB AGREEMENT*

There is no verb agreement with respect to topicalization in Japanese.

1.12.2. WHICH ELEMENTS CAN BE TOPICALIZED

In modern Japanese, nominals, including derived nominals such as verb and adjective stems, the participial form of verbs, and adverbials may be followed by ***wa***.[47] Examples with nominals being topicalized have been presented throughout this section. Examples (528) and (529) show the participial form of verbals entering into this construction while (530) and (531) present adverbials.

(528) ***moyashicha*** *[< moyashite wa] ikenai no yo-ne?*
burn-participial-TP go-POT-NEG NOM EM
gomiyasan no yatsu nanka mo.
garbageman LK thing like too
"[People in Tokyo] have to burn [their garbage], right? Even the garbage man's things [= garbage]."

(529) *noo, boku wa tsurete* ***yukanakucha*** *[< yukanakute wa]*
H I TP take go-NEG-participial-TP
ikenai n de ne,
must NOM COP EM
"Uh, I have to take [my wife and children], so "

(530) ***hayaku wa dekinai ga, jikan o kakete yatte mimasu.***
quickly TP able-NEG but time AC take do try
"[I] can't do [it] quickly, but [I]'ll take some time and try."

(531) ***samuku wa nai.***
coldly TP NEG
"It's not COLD [but it is uncomfortable]."

In earlier stages of Japanese, even verbs could be topicalized, as pointed out by Sansom 1928:262.

(532) ***kono hana usenikeru wa ika ni kaku wa nusumaseshi zo.***
"As to the disappearance of these flowers, how did you let them be stolen in this way?"

1.12.3. TOPICALIZATION AS OBLIGATORY OR OPTIONAL

Topicalization in Japanese must be considered optional in that there are utterances without a topicalized element. A careful consideration of discourse constraints, however, makes it likely that topicalization is obligatory when just one particular meaning as opposed to any other is being uttered.

1.13. HEAVY SHIFT

Heavy shift is defined as any process by which structures consisting of a head with either a large number of adjuncts, or one or more complex adjuncts, are moved to some other position in the sentence than that which they would normally occupy. Sugioka and Faarlund 1980 discuss a rule of Japanese which they term "focus NP fronting". Their point is that the general rule of "scrambling" [see 1.14] obeys a rhythmic principle which helps to avoid center-embedding. This means that when the direct object is "heavy", that is, when it contains complex adjuncts, it may move to sentence initial position, a position normally reserved for anaphoric elements. Example (533) shows the direct object preceding the subject, while (534) shows it preceding the indirect object, which in a more neutral context would precede the direct object. Example (535) shows the direct object preceding the topic, a phenomenon claimed by Sugioka and Faarlund 1983:319 to happen often. This process is perhaps more common in writing than in speaking because of the planning required.

(533) ***kazu no ue demo roodooryoku demo attooteki***
number LK top even labor even overwhelming
tasuu no hihakujin to no kakine o
majority LK non-white and LK fence AC
hakujin ga sukoshi demo kuzusu to, ...
white NM little even demolish if
"From the point of view of numbers or of the work force, if the whites would break down the barrier which separates them from the majority of non-whites even a bit ... "

[*Haikei Nipponjin Dono* "Dear Mr Japanese" by the editorial staff of the Yomiuri Shinbun, Sanshudo: Tokyo, 1983, page 74]

(534) ***rei no "juufuiito-undoo" de tanjoo shita***
example LK 10-feet-drive by birth did
eiga "ningen o kaese" no fuirumu o *ipponzutsu*
movie human AC return LK film AC one-each
gaikoku no hito ni okuroo to iu undoo da.
foreign LK person to send QT say movement COP
"Her [= Keiko Tsuji, mentioned earlier] aims at sending to people in other countries prints of the movie 'The Lost Generation' which is the fruit of the efforts of the '10 Feet Drive'."

[Tensei Jingo 12/12/83]

(535) ***fune kara asabukuro ga orosareru no o***
ship from linen-bag NM be-unloaded NOM AC
otoko wa mainichi mite-ita.
man TP everyday was-looking
"The man watched daily the linen bags being unloaded from the ships."

[Sugioka and Faarlund 1983:319]

1.14. OTHER MOVEMENT PROCESSES

There are two types of movement processes in Japanese. The first is known as "scrambling" and the second is known as "postposing". Scrambling allows any constituents in front of the verb to be moved in any order, as long as they remain in front of the verb. Postposing moves one or more constituents to a position following the verb; the verb often has a sustained intonation in these cases rather than falling in the case of statements or rising in the case of questions.

The canonical sentence pattern for ditransitive verbs is presented in (536). Any of the orders in (537a) through (537e) is acceptable.

(536) NP *ga* - NP *ni* - NP *o* VERB

(537a) NP *ga* - NP *o* - NP *ni* VERB

(537b) NP *ni* - NP *o* - NP *ga* VERB

(537c) NP *ni* - NP *ga* - NP *o* VERB

(537d) NP *o* - NP *ga* - NP *ni* VERB

(537e) NP *o* - NP *ni* - NP *ga* VERB

Actual illustrations of these patterns, however, are difficult to find because of the frequency of ellipsis in Japanese. Thus, even though scrambling exists as a legitimate and used process, this is often blurred because major constituents of the sentence have been omitted. For this reason, the first two examples are taken from written sources, and involve transitive rather than ditransitive verbs. In the next two examples, taken from spoken language, the particles *ga* and *o* are omitted although the particle *ni* remains [see Hinds 1982a:155ff].[48] In example (541), a ditransitive verb, the noun phrase *sono hon* "that book" is postposed rather than scrambled [see 1.14.2].

(538) *hawaian-oopun gorufu no shiai mae, **aoki***
Hawaiian-Open golf LK tournament before Aoki
***isao senshu o fujin ga** hagemashita.*
Isao player AC wife NM encouraged
"Prior to the Hawaiian Open Golf Tournament, golfer Isao Aoki's wife encouraged [him]."

[Tensei Jingo 2/24/83]

(539) ***mitsurin o zoo ga** kooshin suru.*
jungle AC elephant NM parade do
"The elephants parade through the jungles."

[Tensei Jingo 2/23/84]

(540) ***soo-iu no atashi** amari suki ja-nai no.*
that-kind NOM I very like NEG NOM
"I really don't like that kind of thing."

(541) *sore de ne,* ***tomodachi ni sa,*** ***atashi*** *ageta no*
that by EM friend to EM I gave NOM
yo, sono hon.
EM that book
"And so, I gave [it] to my friend, that book."

1.14.2. POSTPOSING

Postposing occurs mainly in conversational interaction, although it may sometimes be found in written texts as well. The motivation for postposing is that the speaker initiates an utterance with a set of assumptions about how the addressee will comprehend the flow of speech. In midstream, the speaker recognizes from some type of verbal or nonverbal feedback, or as a result of some type of internal monitoring, that the addressee is unable to comprehend in the way originally thought. This requires that the element or elements which the speaker now believes to be incomprehensible be inserted into the utterance at the earliest possible place. Since utterances revolve around verbals, the incomprehensible item is usually placed after the verbal.

Like scrambling, all grammatical roles may be postposed. Other elements may also be postposed, including nontensed verbals. The following examples are taken from Hinds 1982a:183ff.

POSTPOSED CLAUSES

(542) *honto-ni gomen ne,* ***motto hayaku ikeru-to-ii noni.***
really sorry EM more quickly better-to-go despite
"Really, excuse me, it would have been better to leave earlier."

(543) *sore wa nanka amari jibun ni shoojiki ja-nai*
that TP like very self to honest NEG
wake desho, ***soo iu koto yatte-ru to.***
reason presumptive that say fact doing if
"As for that, [he]'s not being very honest with [him]self, if [he] does that kind of thing."

(544) *nihon ja soo iu koto amari nakatta,* ***hikaku***
Japan at-TP that say fact very NEG-past compare
shitara.
do-if
"There wasn't much of that kind of thing in Japan, if [you] compare [the two countries]."

(545) *kusuri tte zettai* ***daijoobu ja-nai, nondereba?***
pill QT absolute safe NEG drink-if
"Doesn't the pill make [it] absolutely safe, if [you]'re taking [it]?"

ADVERBIALS

(546) *sugoku okashii deshoo,* ***yappari.***
very strange presumptive as-expected
"[It]'s really strange, as [you] might expect."

(547) *sonna-ni ki ni suru hitsuyoo nai wa-yo,* ***zettai.***
that spirit to do necessity NEG EM absolute
"[It]'s not that much to worry about, at all."

(548) *datte, nodo ga itai mono,* ***hontoo-ni.***
and throat NM hurt thing really
"And, [I] have a sore throat, really."

NOUN PHRASES

(549) *kyonen bikkuri-shita wa; genkan ni haitte-kita*
last-year surprised EM entrance to entered
no yo, ***hebi ga.***
NOM EM snake NM
"Last year [I] was really surprised; [it] came right into the entrance way, a snake."

(550) *sugoku suru to omou,* ***watashi.***
very do QT think I
"[I] think [they] really do [it], I [do]."

(551) *wakannai yo,* ***sorya.***
understand-NEG EM that-TP
"[I] don't know, about that."

(552) *bassuru hoosoku nai n da,* ***nippon ni.***
punish law NEG NOM COP Japan in
"There's no law against [it], in Japan."

(553) *tada, koo, mite-aruku wake,* ***shizen o?***
just uh look-walk reason nature AC
"So, [you] must sort of walk and look, at nature that is?"

1.15. MINOR SENTENCE TYPES

Because of the role of ellipsis in normal conversational interaction, it is difficult to establish a separate category of minor sentence types. Normal sentences exist in which there are no overt verbs, or in which a verb occurs in a nontensed form as a main verb. This is explored in detail in Hinds 1982a:47ff.

1.15.1. MAIN VERB MISSING

The copula, verbs of existence [*iru* for animates and *aru* for inanimates], and the verb *suru* "do" may be missing under a variety of circumstances [see Martin 1975]. In the following examples, taken from transcripts of actual conversations, the missing verb form is inserted into the sentence, surrounded by < >. In example (554), sequences of utterances by K and W have all omitted the copula *desu*. In (555), there is a long sequence of utterances in which speaker K has omitted the copula *desu*, culminating in the omission of the existential verb *iru*.

(554) K *umareta no wa tookyoo <**desu**>.*
was-born NOM TP Tokyo COP
"As for [where I] was born, [it] <is> Tokyo."

W *tookyoo <**desu ka**>? sore kara?*
Tokyo COP QU that since
"<Is> [it] Tokyo? And then?"

K *sore kara, moo zutto tookyoo <**desu**> ne.*
that since already straight Tokyo COP EM
"And then, well, [it] <is> nothing but Tokyo."

W *itsu made tookyoo <**desu ka**>?*
when until Tokyo COP QU
"Until when <is> [it] Tokyo?"

(555) W *a honto. nani shite-rassharu no?*
a really what doing QU
"Oh really. What are [your sisters] doing?"

K *ichiban ue, zenbu kekkon shite-ru no ne?*
most top all marry doing NOM EM
"The oldest, [they]'re all married, see?"

K *de, be, aa, ichiban ue-no-ane wa futsuu*
so be- ah most big-sister TP ordinary
*no okusan <**desu**>, isha no okusan <**desu**>.*
LK wife COP doctor LK wife COP
"So, the oldest <is> an ordinary housewife, a doctor's wife."

K *soshite nibanme wa bareriina <**desu**>.*
and second TP ballerina COP
"And the second <is> a ballerina."

K *soshite sanbanme wa yappari futsuu no*
and third TP of-course ordinary LK
*shufu ⟨**desu**⟩ ne.*
wife COP EM
"And the third is an ordinary wife, as [you] might expect."

W *nn, a honto.*
hm oh really
"Oh really."

K *de, minna tookyoo ni ⟨**imasu**⟩, ima.*
and all Tokyo in be now
"And, all of them ⟨are⟩ in Tokyo, now."

W *a honto.*
oh really
"Oh really."

(556) *aa iu yoo na hito, sore kara supai ni naru*
that say type LK person that from spy to become
mitai na hito ga yappari sukoshi nihongo toka
like LK person NM of-course little Japanese or
*⟨**shite-imasu**⟩.*
doing
"That type of person, the kind of person who intends to become a spy, naturally [they] ⟨do⟩ a little Japanese and other languages."

Not all instances of omitted verbs are restricted to verbs with low semantic content. Others may be omitted, though the intention of the speaker is usually discerned from the context [see Hinds 1982a:59ff]. This may be done even within embedded clauses.

(557) *motto hayaku otegami o ⟨**dasoo**⟩ to omoitsutsu ...*
more quickly letter AC send QT while-thinking
"[I] had intended ⟨to send⟩ [you] a letter sooner, but ... "

1.15.2. UTTERANCE ENDS IN PARTICIPIAL FORM

A common occurrence is for an utterance to end with the participial form of a verbal [the *-te* form]. This is done for a variety of reasons; it gives a feeling there is more to say, and it allows the speaker to avoid making a decision on which form of polite speech to use.

(558) K *soshite anoo, oshiete mimasen ka tte iwarete ne,*
and uh won't-teach QU QT be-said EM
moo, sugu notchau hoo da kara, un, hai
already soon join-end-up side COP since yes yes
hai toka itte.
yes QT say-and
"So, [I] was asked if [I] wouldn't want to teach, and since [I]'m the type who joins [anything] quickly, [I] said, 'Yes, yes yes,' ... "

W *a honto.*
oh really
"Oh really."

(559) *benkyoo ga isogashikute,*
study NM busy-and
"You're busy with your studies, and "

1.15.3. TOPIC-ONLY QUESTIONS

A common means to ask a question is to use a single noun phrase with *wa* following it, accompanied by rising intonation. This results in a question for which the addressee has great latitude in responding.

(560) *anoo, **kyoodai wa?***
uh siblings TP
"Uh, [do you have any] brothers or sisters?"

(561) W *ja, **kookoo wa?***
well h.s. TP
"Well, [what] high school [did you go to]?"

K *a, nihon joshi daigaku fuzoku kookoo.*
oh Japan woman college attached h.s.
"Oh, Japan Women's College's attached high school."

W *a honto. nn, **kyoodai wa?***
oh really um sibling TP
"Oh really. Um, [do you have any] siblings?"

1.16. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS FOR WORD-CLASSES

There is a rich tradition of grammatical studies in Japan, and it would be inconceivable to attempt a definition of word-classes without providing an outline of the previous approaches. Fujitani Nariakira (1738-1779), as reported in Miller 1967:309ff, arranged the forms of Japanese into four major categories, the names of which designate articles of dress:

1)	*na* "name":	all uninflected free forms (nouns).
2)	*yosoi* "decoration":	all inflected forms (verbs, adjectives, and copula)
3)	*kazashi* "hairpin":	bound forms which precede items from either of the first two categories
4)	*ayui* "binding cord":	bound forms which precede items from either of the first two categories

In the more recent Japanese grammatical tradition, reported in Kindaichi 1952, Yamada 1908, Tokieda 1950, Sakuma 1936, ten parts of speech are identified. These are termed *juu-hinshi* 十品詞. Words are distinguished in this system between whether they are independent words [*jiritsugo* 自立語] or whether they are dependent, that is, attached to some other word [*fuzokugo* 付属語]. Eight of these, nouns [*meishi* 名詞], pronouns [*daimeishi* 代名詞], adjectives [*keiyooshi* 形容詞], nominal-adjectives [*keiyoodooshi* 形容動詞], verbs [*dooshi* 動詞], adverbs [*fukushi* 副詞], conjunctions [*setsuzokushi* 接続詞], and interjections [*kantooshi* 感投詞] are independent. Two of these, auxiliary verbs [*jodooshi* 助動詞] and postpositions [*joshi* 助詞 or *tenioha* てにをは], are dependent words [*joji* 助辞].

Notice that the following elaboration of these word classes follows the outline provided by the editors of this series rather than the outline of the native Japanese grammarians.

1.16.1. NOUN [*meishi* 名詞]

Nouns are uninflected for case and gender, although there is an optional pluralizing suffix [see 2.1.1.8.1] and an optional honorific prefix. Matsumiya 1935 distinguishes five types:

1) nouns original in form and nature [*heya* "room", *neko* "cat"]

2) nouns with the same roots as the related verbs and adjectives [*nagare* "current" (cf. *nagareru* "flow"), *aka* "redness" (cf. *akai* "be red")]

3) nouns formed by combing other words: (a) noun plus verb-stem [*kanemochi* "rich man" (cf. *kane* "money", *mochi* "verb stem of *motsu* 'have'")]; (b) noun plus noun [*hondana* "bookshelf" (cf. *hon* "book", *tana* "shelf")]; verb plus verb [*takioki* "left-overs" (cf. *taki* "verb stem of *taku* 'cook'", *oki* "verb stem of *oku* 'place'")]; (c) noun plus adjective-stem [*teara* "rough handling" (cf. *te* "hand", *ara* "adjective-stem of *arai* 'be rough'")]; (d) adjective-stem plus noun [*aozora* "blue skies" (cf. *ao* "adjective-stem of *aoi* 'be blue'", *sora* "sky")]; adjective-stem plus adjective-stem [*nagamijika* "same length" (cf. *naga* "adjective-stem of *nagai* 'long'", *mijika* "adjective-stem of *mijikai* 'short'")]; adjective plus verb [*takatobi* "abscond" (cf. *taka* "adjective-stem of *takai* 'be high'", *tobi* "verb-stem of *tobu* 'fly'")]

4) nouns formed by the repetition of the same word [*yama-yama* "mountains" (cf. *yama* "mountain")]

5) nouns derived from foreign words [*rampu* "lamp", *pen* "pen"]

1.16.2. PRONOUN [*daimeishi* 代名詞]

There are two kinds of pronouns: personal pronouns [*jindaimeishi* 人代名詞] and demonstrative pronouns [*shiji-daimeishi* 指示代名詞]. Each of these has subclasses, and they conform to almost the same syntactic constraints as nouns; that is, they permit plural endings but not honorific prefixes. In the tradition of Japanese grammar, such as that exemplified by Fujitani discussed above, pronouns were not considered a separate class from nouns [see for a detailed treatment of Japanese pronouns Hinds 1971, 1976].

1.16.3. VERB [*dooshi* 動詞]

Verbs are determined by formal rather than semantic criteria. They are inflected forms. All verbs end in *-u* in their nonpast forms and have *-ta* or a morphophonemic variant of that for the past form. Verbs may attach a politeness marker *-masu* to the verb stem. Additionally, most verbs may show specific inflections for humble or honorific distinctions.

In the traditional scheme, verbs were divided into three groups, depending on specific changes in syllabic form. The first form of inflection is called the *yodanka-tsuyoo* [四段活用] "four row inflection. In this form, there are four different terminal syllables in the stem depending on which inflectional ending follows. For example, *yomu* "read" has the four forms listed in (562), with an appro-

priate ending added. These are the only inflections each of the verbs may undergo.[49]

(562) *yomu* "read"

(562a) *yomanai* "do not read"

(562b) *yomitai* "want to read"

(562c) *yomu* "read"

(562d) *yomeba* "if one reads"

The second form of inflection is called the *ichidankatsuyoo* [一段活用] "one row inflection". In this form, all of the terminal sounds are the same. This form is subdivided into *kamiichidankatsuyoo* [上一段活用] "upper one row inflection", whose final sound is *i*, and *shimoichidankatsuyoo* [下一段活用] "lower one row inflection", whose final sound is *e*. These are illustrated in (563) and (564), respectively.

(563) *okiru* "get up"

(563a) *okinai* "do not get up"

(563b) *okitai* "want to get up"

(563c) *okiru* "get up"

(563d) *okireba* "if one gets up"

(564) *taberu* "eat"

(564a) *tabenai* "do not eat"

(564b) *tabetai* "want to eat"

(564c) *taberu* "eat"

(564d) *tabereba* "if one eats"

The third form is called *henkakukatsuyoo* [変格活用] "irregular inflection". There are only two verbs in this form, and they are illustrated in (565) and (566).

(565) *kuru* "come"

(565a) *konai* "do not come"

(565b) *kitai* "want to come"

(565c) ***kuru*** "come"

(565d) ***kureba*** "if one comes"

(566) *suru* "do"

(566a) ***shinai*** "do not do" [also: ***senai***]

(566b) ***shitai*** "want to do"

(566c) ***suru*** "do"

(566d) ***sureba*** "if one does"

1.16.4. ADJECTIVE [*keiyooshi* 形容詞]

Adjectives are also defined formally. They end in the vowel *-i* in the nonpast form, and are preceded by one of four vowels: *a, i, u, o.* There is a specific inflectional system which all adjectives undergo, a salient category being past, in which *-katta* replaces *-i*.

1.16.5. POSTPOSITION [*joshi* 助詞]

Postpositions do not inflect, and they are drawn from a closed class. They have a variety of functions ranging from indicating grammatical relationships to indicating quantification to indicating emotional coloring.

1.16.6. NUMERAL/QUANTIFIER [*suushi* 数詞]

Numerals are drawn from two sets; a native set which ranges from one to ten, and a borrowed set from China. Both are used in combination with an extensive classifier system. The numerals rarely occur without an indication of the classifier, although the Chinese based forms may. Numeral base forms from one to ten are presented in (567).

(567)

GLOSS	Native	Chinese-borrowing
one	*hito-*	*ichi*
two	*futa-*	*ni*
three	*mit-*	*san*
four	*yot-*	*shi*
five	*itsu-*	*go*
six	*mut-*	*roku*
seven	*nana-*	*shichi*
eight	*yat-*	*hachi*
nine	*kokono-*	*kyuu (ku)*
ten	*too*	*juu*

1.16.7. OTHERS

1.16.7.1. *AUXILIARY VERB [jodooshi* 助動詞*]*

Auxiliary verbs account for most of the inflectional endings in the traditional grammatical scheme. Since each of these has been illustrated elsewhere, only the native term, its translation, and a brief explanation will be provided here. Honorific verbs are also considered auxiliary verbs, but they will not be discussed here.

1.16.7.1.1. *futsuu* [普通] "common form"
[polite *-masu* and negative *-nai*]

1.16.7.1.2. *ukemi* [受身] "passive"

1.16.7.1.3. *shieki* [使役] "causative"

1.16.7.1.4. *shieki no ukemi* [使役の受身]
"combination of causative and passive"

1.16.7.1.5. *suiryoo* [推量] "supposition"
(i.e. presumptive)

1.16.7.1.6. *kanoo* [可能] "possibility"
(i.e. potential)

1.16.7.1.7. *kiboo* [希望] "hope" (i.e. desiderative)

1.16.7.1.8. *shitei jodooshi* [指定助動詞] "auxiliary verbs of declaration" (i.e. copula)

1.16.7.1.9. *toki no keizoku no jodooshi* [時の継続の助動詞] "auxiliary verbs of continuation" (i.e. forms after the participle *-te* to indicate action still in progress or continuation of state)

1.16.7.1.10. *toki no kanryoo no jodooshi* [時の完了の助動詞] "auxiliary verbs of completed action" (i.e. forms after the participle *-te* to indicate perfect)

1.16.7.2. ADVERB [fukushi 副詞]

Adverbs are forms which do not decline and which qualify verbs and adjectives. There is a set of adverbs, including *kesshite* "never" and *zenzen* "absolutely", which typically cooccurs with negative verbs. There is a derived form of adjectives in which the adjective-stem is followed by *-ku*.

1.16.7.3. CONJUNCTION [setsuzokushi 接続詞]

Conjunctions appear either at sentence initial position or following a verbal. They may also be used to express an inference or deduction: *dakara* "therefore", *sorede* "therefore", etc.

1.16.7.4. INTERJECTION [kantooshi 感投詞]

In the classification described here, interjections include both forms such as *hai* "yes", but also sentence final particles such as *yo* "you know".

1.16.7.5. NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE [keiyoodooshi 形容動詞]

These forms are noun-like in that they do not inflect, but they are adjectival in meaning. Examples are *suki da* "like, be pleasing", *kirei da* "be pretty, be clean". They immediately precede the copula *da*, and their inflectional endings are created in this way. Since the copula *da* is omitted in many styles of speech and writing, nominal-adjectives may appear with no copula following. When nominal-adjectives modify a nominal, the copula *da* changes to *na*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

[1]Wako Tawa Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that indirect and direct speech are most indistinguishable when the "subject" of the quotation is absent, a very common occurrence in Japanese [see section 1.5].

[2]This cannot be true in the strictest sense. In the following example, the negative imperative which is used is too blunt to be attributed to the mother. It surely must be an example of indirect speech since the mother probably said, *tabenai de ne?* "Please don't eat [it], OK?"

(a) *uchi-no waifu kinoo choonan ni ne,*
my wife yesterday oldest-son DT EM
taberu-na to itta yo.
eat-NEG-IMP QT said EM
"Yesterday my wife told my oldest son not to eat [those crackers]."

[3]This claim is also too strong, since there are numerous occasions when a polite form occurs in a quotation and the quotation cannot possibly indicate direct speech. One such instance, as demonstrated in the following, occurs when a person says something in English and it is reported in Japanese. The person who says, "there is this kind of thing" is a teacher who was teaching in English.

(a) S. *de, saisho-ni 'internal reconstruction' toka ,*
uh first or
anna no zenzen yaranakatta no?
that LK absolute do-NEG-past QU
"Didn't [he] do anything like say 'internal reconstruction' or anything like that in the beginning?"

W. *yatta koto wa yatta kedo, moo, paaatto yatte,*
did fact TP did but already quickly do-and
koo-iu-no ga arimasu yo tte *dake datta no nee,*
this-kind NM exist EM QT only was NOM EM
dakara moo marukkiri wakaranakute nee,
so already absolutely understand-NEG-and EM
honto-ni kuroo shita no yo.
really trouble did NOM EM
"[We] did some, but [it] went quickly; 'there's this kind of thing,' [he] said, and that's all; so [I] didn't understand anything, and [I] was really in trouble."

[4]However, see example (a) in footnote 2 in which the sentence final particle *yo* appears despite the fact that this

was not a direct speech representation.

[5]An alternate construction with the same meaning as *to iu* "they say" consists of the quotative particle *tte* with no overt verb of communication. In this construction it is quite common, especially in the speech of women, to have polite forms.

(a) *a, samoa no hito wa ne, a, samoa datta kashira,*
ah Samoa LK person TP EM ah Samoa was wonder
tahichi datta kashira (no) hito wa ne, e, anoo,
Tahiti was wonder LK person TP EM uh uh
ha ga nanka nukechau n desu tte, wakai hito
tooth NM like pull-out NOM COP QT young person
demo.
even
"Oh, Samoans, uh, was it Samoans? Maybe it was Tahitians, anyway those people, they say they have their teeth pulled out, even the young people."

[6]Martin's example is *onna no mono wa onna ga* **tsukure** "Let women **make** women's things" [my translation: JH].

[7]There are two other classes of verbs which will be presented later. These are the *-aru* class and the irregular class.

[8]Alternative analyses have been presented in which two such utterances are assumed to be two simplex sentences.

[9]Shoichi Iwasaki [personal communication] has pointed out sentences of the following type in which this conversion is not possible:

(a) *muneo ni/ga/*no kimiko ga/o/*no suki na koto wa ...*
Muneo DT NM LK Kimiko NM AC LK like LK fact TP
"The fact that Muneo likes Kimiko ... "

[10]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that utterances such as (a) show little contrast:

(a) *nihongo wa muzukashii kara, daigaku de benkyoo*
Japanese TP difficult since college at study
shinai koto ni shita.
do NEG fact to did
"Since Japanese is difficult, [I] have decided not to study [it] in college."

[11]It must be kept in mind that a decision not to be polite does not mean the speaker will be impolite; the speaker is nonpolite.

[12]A derived adverbial is formed by placing *-ku* as a suffix on the adjectival-stem.

[13]Keiji Matsumoto [personal communication] has informed me that in a count of predications in an extended discourse, he has found an average of slightly more than one overt noun phrase per verb, regardless of the valency of that verb. That is, single argument verbs and triple argument verbs have roughly the same number of arguments specified in actual conversation. The specified argument, of course, may be something other than subject, direct or indirect object.

[14]Jacobsen 1981:38 has discussed a class of sentences, apparently due to Poser 1980, which, on the surface, allow double object constructions. The constraint is that only one of these accusative phrases may be direct objects. The other must be perlative or ablative. This construction always involves sentences which have causative verbs, although sentences with *mawasu* "pass around" and *oidasu* "throw out" are less clearly causative than most others adduced. There is disagreement in the literature whether such sentences are complex or simple. Jacobsen 1981 and Miyagawa 1980 argue that they are simple, while Kuno 1973 and Tonoike 1978 argue that they are complex.

(a) ***yoru no haiwei o kare wa kuruma o hashiraseta.***
night LK highway AC he TP car AC ran-cause
"He ran the car on the night highway."

(b) ***tegami o saakuru no naka o mawashite yomu.***
letter AC circle LK middle AC pass-around read
"[We]'ll pass the letter around the circle and read [it]."

(c) *?tanaka san wa* ***taroo o kinoo sono ie o***
Tanaka Mr TP Taro AC yesterday that house AC
oidashita.
threw-out
"Mr Tanaka threw Taro out of his house yesterday."

[15]This statement too has engendered controversy. Sugamoto 1982 and Shibatani 1977 have claimed that a single sentence may only have one subject. Kuno 1973 has claimed that double subject constructions are permissible.

[16]Sansom 1928:232 shows that in earlier forms of Japanese the subject of a sentence could be a verb or an adjective in its substantival form. He also (p. 233) provides an example of a verb in front of the particle *o* (which he writes as *wo*). These are illustrated in (a) and (b), respectively.

Example (b) also contains an example of a verb *nuru* "sleep" preceding the particle *ga*.

(a) *sho **miru ga** omoshiroshi*
book see NM interesting
"it is pleasant to read books"

(b) *nuru ga uchi ni **miru wo** nomi **ya wa** yume to iwan*
sleep NM we to see AC only VC TP dream QT say-NEG
"shall we call a dream only that which we see during sleep?"

[17]The examples in (313), (315) and (316) are somewhat awkward. In the case of (313), the utterance would be more apt to be stated as in (a). This suggests that (313) might in fact be a subordinate clause in which the superordinate clause has been omitted.

(a) *tookyoo e iku **ka** koobe e iku ka,*
Tokyo to go QU Kobe to go QU
dotchi na n da?
which LK NOM COP
"Are [you] going to Tokyo or to Kobe, which is [it]?"

In the case of (315) and (316), it is more natural for this same type of sentential extension to occur, and as well, the extended form of the nominal-adjective or the nominal [see Jorden 1963] typically occurs.

(b) *ano hito ga suki na no **ka** kirai na no ka,*
that person NM like LK NOM QU hate LK NOM QU
dotchi na n da?
which LK NOM COP
"Do [you] like that person or dislike [him]?"

(c) *tanaka san **wa** fudoosanya na no **ka** yaoya na no ?*
Tanaka Mr TP realtor LK NOM QU grocer LK NOM
ka, dotchi na n da?
QU which LK NOM COP
"Is Mr Tanaka a real estate agent or a grocer?"

[18]The topicalizing particle *wa* is also optional in this construction.

[19]Although the pattern "A *to* B *to* PREDICATE" is possible, a second occurrence of *ya* is not; thus, the pattern "A *ya* B *ya* PREDICATE" is disallowed.

[20]In the Kansai area, the nominal adjective *kirei da* "clean, pretty" is inflected as an adjective: Past = *kirekatta*;

Negative = *kireku nai*. More recently, the form *sukiku nai* "don't like" has appeared as slang among younger speakers of Japanese as the negative form of *suki da* instead of the expected *suki ja nai*.

[21]Kuno 1980:159 proposes an even more restrictive constraint on the scope of negation:

> Only the verbal that immediately precedes the negative morpheme in Japanese falls under the scope of negation except when there is a quantifier in the sentence.

[22]Although plural forms exist, these forms are not always obligatory.

[23]There is another construction which may be used to translate English reflexive constructions. This involves expressions containing the nominal *mi* "body". The following examples are all taken from *Modern Colloquialisms Revised: Japanese-English* (Seidensticker and Matsumoto 1977).

(a) *damatte-iru hoo ga omae no **mi** no tame da zo.*
be-quiet side NM you LK own LK sake COP EM
"Keep your trap shut *for your own good.*"

(b) *motto shigoto ni **mi** o irenakutewa. sonna*
more work to self AC must-insert that
yaru ki ga nai koto de doo suru n da.
do spirit NM NEG fact by how do NOM COP
"You should *put yourself into* your work more. How can you be so lackadaisical?"

(c) *atashi wa sannin no kodomo o daigaku made*
I TP three LK child AC college until
*dashite-yaru tame **mi** o kona ni shite*
gave purpose self AC powder to doing
hataraita noni, sore o ano kotachi ga
worked despite that AC those children NM
kansha shite-ru to omottara oomachigai.
thanks doing QT think-if large-mistake
"I *worked myself to the bone* to put my three kids through college--and do you think they appreciate it?"

[24]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that when the phrase *jibun de* "by oneself" is used, this constraint is not maintained. In the following example, *jibun de* must refer to Jiro and may not refer to Taro.

(a) *taroo wa jiroo$_i$ ni jibun$_i$ de shiro to itta.*
Taro TP Jiro DT self by do-IMP QT said
"Taro said to Jiro$_i$, 'Do [it] yourself$_i$'."

An alternative account of these same facts, of course, could posit an underlying embedded sentence in which *Jiro* is the subject of the verb *suru* "do". This would be the trigger for reflexivization and would be in turn deleted.

[25]Objects of adjectives are marked by the postpositional particle *ga* [see Kuno 1973].

[26]For copula constructions, there is an alternative pattern to the one presented in (434). The pattern in (434) may be represented as:

(a) *[NOMINAL(-ADJECTIVE) de-areba aru hodo]*

The alternative pattern may be represented as:

(b) *[NOMINAL(-ADJ) nara NOMINAL(-ADJ) na/no hodo]*

For nominal-adjectives, the correct linking particle to precede *hodo* is *na*; for nominals, it should be *no* [but see footnote 3]. (434) may be recast as:

(c) ***benri nara benri na hodo** kaitaku naru no yo.*

[27]For whatever reason, it is impossible to recast sentences with nominals using the *naru* construction. Thus, sentences like (a), although not ruled out a priori, simply do not occur.

(a) ***pinku nara pinku no hodo** suki ni naru yo, watashi.*

[28]Li and Thompson 1976 actually say that Japanese is both a topic-comment language and a subject-predicate language. While it is true that Japanese shows both structures with some frequency, I believe that it may effectively be argued that Japanese is actually a topic-comment language.

[29]The copula (COP) *da* in this formula represents all forms of the copula: *da, desu, de aru, de, datta,* etc. Parentheses surrounding the copula indicate that this element is optional. In fact, in both written and spoken forms, equative sentences frequently occur without an overt copula.

[30]I use the form *o-* as a cover term for the variety of honorific prefixes which exist. The two major prefixes are *o-* and *go-*. *o-* usually precedes native Japanese words while *go-* usually precedes words of Chinese origin [see Martin

1975 for a full discussion]. Other honorific prefixes, with limited use, are *(o)mi-*, as in *o-mi-koshi* "portable shrine"; and *gyo-*, as in *gyo-en* "Imperial Garden.

[31]The attachment of *o-* is done to exalt the person whose actions are being described. It is therefore possible to attach this form to adjectives or verbs to describe the person's actions. In a sense this may be seen to be a matter of possession: *o-isogashii* "be busy (i.e. your being busy)".

There is a second function of the honorific *o-* and this is to create *bikago* "beautiful speech". At times it is difficult to tell whether the prefix is serving the function of indicating "your" or is there to make the whole utterance more elegant. This may be seen with respect to *o-tegami* "letter". In one reading it is clearly "your letter". In another it is simply a more polite way to specify "letter".

[32]It is possible to use the literary form of the copula *de aru* instead of *no*, in which case, of course, there is no ambiguity: *sensei de aru tomodachi* "the friend who is a teacher".

[33]In fact, in the Kansai area, the complete ellipsis of the genitive particle *no* occurs after nominals ending in sounds other than *-n*:

(a) *uchi toko* (< *uchi no toko*)
home place
"our place"

[34]This example has been constructed, and is marginal at best. It is formed on analogy with the actually occurring (471). Shoichi Iwasaki [personal communication] has suggested that the reason *motsu* "have" is possible in (471) is that stative verbs like *iru* "be" cannot be used in hypothetical conditionals.

[35]This is not to suggest that all instances of inalienable possession are unmarked. The following example, taken from an oral rendition of the folktale *momotaroo* "The Peach Boy", has three successive instances of inalienable possession. The first shows a possessive construction, the second shows none, and the third shows a pronominal demonstrative.

(a) *moo saru wa oni no me o hikkaite-imashita.*
already monkey TP ogre LK eye AC was-scratching
"the monkey began scratching at their eyes."

kiji ***wa atama*** *o tsuntsun-to tsuttsuite-imashita.*
pheasant TP head AC sharply pecking
"The pheasant poked their heads."

sore-kara inu wa ***sono aj- ashi*** *ni kuraitsuki ...*
and-then dog TP that leg on bite-and
"And then the dog bit their legs, and ... "

[36]Sato 1985 presents recent views on the difference between these two verbs and shows that the animate-inanimate dichotomy is more properly conceived of as a distinction between volitional movement and nonvolitional movement. He cites well known examples such as (a) and (b) to demonstrate that the animate-inanimate dichotomy is not correct.

(a) *watashi ni wa imooto ga* ***aru.***
I to TP sister NM exist
"I have a sister."

(b) *soko ni watashi no kuruma ga* ***imasu*** *kara,*
there at I LK car NM exist since
notte ikimashoo.
ride go-presumptive
"There's my car there; let's go for a ride in it."

In the case of (b), the sentence is only acceptable on condition that there is a chauffeur in it.

[37]Note here that both the NP *no* NP construction as well as the existential construction is used to refer to the speaker's friend.

[38]Frequently more than one method will occur at the same time to indicate emphasis [see 1.11.2.2.2.5].

[39]One other emphatic sentence extension, from the many which could have been described, is the extended predicate, described by Jorden 1963:52-56, followed by the quotative particle *tte*. Thus, (b) is the emphatic version of (a).

(a) *aruita.*
walked
"[I] walked."

(b) *aruita n desu tte!*
walked NOM COP QT
"[I] walked!"

[40]Aizawa does point out that the boundary between these two classes is not absolute.

[41]Martin 1975:919 points out that *yo* in sentence medial position is limited to country dialects in southwest Kanto.

[42]Kusanagi avoids discussing the phrase *watashi wa* "I (as theme)" since, he claims, there are complications in the use of *wa* as theme or subject marker.

[43]There are relatively low order rules which determine whether the postpositional particle which normally accompanies a noun phrase will be followed by *wa* or will be replaced by *wa*. The particles *ga* and *o* are replaced by *wa*; the particles *ni* and *de* are sometimes replaced by *wa* and sometimes followed by *wa*. All other particles, *kara, made*, etc, are followed by *wa*. There are two relevant morphophonemic rules which operate as well. The sequence *de wa* frequently contracts to *ja*, while the sequence *e wa* sometimes contracts to *ya*. Thus,

(a) *nihon **ja** [< de wa] soo iu koto nai.*
Japan at-TP so say fact NEG
"In Japan that kind of thing doesn't exist."

(b) ***sorya** [< sore wa] ikenai yo.*
that-TP go-POT-NEG EM
"That just won't do."

[44]It is possible, of course, that the missing particle is some other particle, such as *o* in the case of (518) and *ga* in the case of (519) and (520). See in particular Tamori 1977, Hinds 1982a, Tsutsui 1983. This same observation holds for examples (525) and (526).

[45]The less formal quotative particle *tte* may also appear in this construction.

(a) ***kotchi e kite komatta koto tte ieba** uchi no*
here to come trouble NOM QT say-if house LK
nyoobo to ko tte kodomo ga kot- kotchi e
wife and chi- H child NM here- here to
kite narenakatta sei ka yoku
come get-used-NEG-PAST reason or often
saisho no uchi wa byooki ni kakarimashite ne,
beginning LK time TP sick as get EM
"What was trouble since I came here was that my wife and child often got sick probably because they were not used to it here."

[46]In this example it must be recognized that the noun phrase *toruko de wa* "in Turkey" serves as a topic as well. Kuno 1973:48 points out that if a sentence has more than one noun phrase marked by *wa*, only the first can be thematic; all the

rest are contrastive. Given the original interpretation of this sentence in which *Japan* is made the subject of the English sentence, it is highly unlikely that the translator felt that *nihon to ieba* "if [we] say Japan" was meant to be contrastive. Similarly, since the phrase *toruko de wa* is not even translated into English, a strong case may be made for its thematic nature.

[47]The particle *wa* has two overlapping functions. The first is to mark the element which is the topic, the second is to mark a contrastive element. Kuno 1973 claims these are two separate functions, while Maynard 1984, Hinds 1982a among others claim that there is little to differentiate between these two functions. Most of the examples which follow have a strong sense of contrast.

[48]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has correctly pointed out that (540) might be an example of topicalization rather than scrambling. Since the particle is not present, it is impossible to determine which process has taken place.

[49]This account is somewhat simplified in that such phenomena as *onbin* "euphony" are not discussed. As a result of *onbin*, for instance, *nomi-te* "drink-and" becomes *nonde*, *kaki-te* "write-and" becomes *kaite*, etc.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. INFLECTION

2.1.1. NOUN INFLECTION

2.1.1.1. *SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS OF NOUN PHRASES*

2.1.1.1.1. *BOUND AFFIXES*

There are no bound affixes which express syntactic or semantic functions of noun phrases.

2.1.1.1.2. *MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS*

There are no morphophonemic alternations which express syntactic or semantic functions of noun phrases.

2.1.1.1.3. *CLITIC PARTICLES*

Clitic particles do not exist.

2.1.1.1.4. *POSTPOSITIONS*

Postpositions are used to express syntactic or semantic functions of noun phrases. Most studies of Japanese syntax [see Shibatani 1977, 1978b, Kuno 1973, Tonoike 1978 for representative views] have attempted to explain the lack of fit between surface postpositional particles and underlying syntactic and semantic relations. The unexpressed position that these researchers have taken is that by and large, syntactic and semantic relationships are expressed through the use of postpositional particles.

As pointed out in Hinds 1982a, however, there is no reason to believe that syntactic and semantic relationships must be indicated by a single device. Givón 1979b:145 discusses the notion of *redundancy* with respect to this observation:

> One may choose to argue that no absolute need exists in language for marking by overt morphological means the semantic or pragmatic function of the various arguments vis-à-vis the verb. Both the semantic specificity of the various arguments and the pragmatic knowledge of the shared universe and the specific discourse context constitute an immense body of informational *redundancy* from which the case-functions of the various arguments may be presumably recovered.

Details of the way in which postpositional particles indicate grammatical function and semantic relationships are presented in 2.1.1.2. Hinds 1982c:548 points out that the most frequent use of particles to indicate syntactic and semantic function occurs when there has been a disruption of neutral syntactic patterns, usually through a process such as scrambling or postposing.

2.1.1.1.5. *WORD ORDER*

Word order may be used to express syntactic or semantic functions of noun phrases. When particles are not present in an utterance,[1] there is a tendency, though not a rule, that the anterior noun phrase is the subject, agent, or experiencer, while the posterior noun phrase is in a more oblique relationship, such as direct object. Omitted particles are indicated by ⟨Ø⟩.

(568) *watashi ⟨Ø⟩ gorira ⟨Ø⟩ suki ja-nai no-yo.*
I gorilla like NEG EM
"I like gorillas."

(569) *watashi no mite-nai aida uchi no yuu-chan ⟨Ø⟩*
I LK look-NEG interval house LK Yu Mr
kyuu-ni oniisan ⟨Ø⟩ ketta no-yo.
suddenly big-brother kicked EM
"While I wasn't looking, Yu-chan suddenly kicked [his] big brother."

2.1.1.1.6. *DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES*

Derivational processes are not used to express syntactic or semantic functions of noun phrases.

2.1.1.1.7. *OTHER MEANS*

2.1.1.1.7.1. *COGNITIVE FEATURES*

There are times when there are no relevant postpositional particles in an utterance and the word order gives no clue to syntactic and semantic relationships. In these cases, knowledge of cognitive features [Hinds 1982c, Minsky 1975] may be used to determine syntactic and semantic relationships. This approach assumes that each verb specifies a unique case-marking array consisting of "nodes and relations". The nodes specify the particle(s) which are required for a given argument in the event that particle is expressed. The relations indicate the relevant cognitive features--animate being, sentient being, decodable material, etc [see also Miyagawa 1980, Kuroda 1978].

The following examples illustrate how the cognitive features may come into play to differentiate syntactic and semantic relationships.

(570) *ma, atokatazuke wa boku no hoo wa yappari*
well clean-up TP I LK side TP as-expected
shimasu.
do
"Well, as for cleaning up, of course I do [it]."

[Shibamoto 1980:195]

(571) *soo iu no ⟨ø⟩ atashi ⟨ø⟩ amari suki ja-nai no.*
that say NOM I very like NEG NOM
"That kind of thing, I don't like very much."

In (570), both noun phrases are marked by *wa*. Since *wa* "replaces" both *ga* and *o* [see 2.2.6.1.1.1], there are no clues provided by particles to specify subject as opposed to object. Neutral word order, in which subject precedes object, is also disrupted. Yet, the syntactic and semantic relationships in (570) are easily discerned. This is because the verb *shimasu* "do" requires that there be an animate being as subject and an activity as object.[2] Similarly in (571), where there are no particles at all, the nominal-adjective *suki da* requires that there be an animate being as subject and an item of concern as object.

As a final illustration of this, in (572), the case frame of the verb *itadaku* "receive" requires that the subject [more precisely, the recipient] be the speaker, that the source be a sentient being with higher social status than the speaker [or that the speaker give that appearance], and that the direct object be a transferable object. Thus, despite the fact that there are no particles at all and that neutral word order is disrupted, there is no confusion about the identity of the recipient or the source.

(572) *futari ⟨ø⟩ atakushi ⟨ø⟩ mada ne, otegami ⟨ø⟩*
two I still EM letter
itadaite-ru kedo.
receiving but
"I'm still receiving letter from two [of my former students] though."

2.1.1.1.7.2. *"ME-FIRST" PRINCIPLE*

A grammatical principle known as the "Me-first" principle is introduced in Cooper and Ross 1975. This principle dictates that, all other things being equal, the subject of a sentence (the agent or experiencer) will be the speaker, or someone the speaker identifies closely with (a similar

point is made in Kuno and Kaburaki 1977). In situations where particles, word order, or cognitive features do not help with the interpretation of grammatical relationships, this principle may apply.

(573) *okada-san ⟨Ø⟩ zutto, sonoo, ginkoo no mae*
Okada Mr straight uh bank LK front
de ne, atashi ⟨Ø⟩ matte-ta no-yo.
at EM I waited EM
"I waited in front of the bank for Mr Okada for a long time."

In this example, there are no particles, and the verb *matsu* requires two sentient beings as its arguments. Thus, in order to obtain the correct interpretation, that *okada-san* is the object and *atashi* is the subject, recourse must be made to the "me-first" principle.

2.1.1.1.7.3. *KNOWLEDGE OF THE WORLD*

There are some instances of the interpretation of syntactic and semantic relationships which depend solely on our knowledge of the world. In these cases, there are no clear-cut "principles" to fall back on, and yet as members of a society (restricted or expanded) we know that the syntactic and semantic relationships must be one way and not another. In (574), one such example is presented.

(574) *dakedo, rukasu wa, are da ne, bahha shika*
but Lucas TP that COP EM Bach except-for
hikanai ne.
play-NEG EM
"But, Lucas doesn't play anything but Bach."

It might appear that the word order principle allows the correct interpretation that Lucas is the subject and Bach the object since the underlying grammatical particle *ga* and *o* have been replaced by *wa* and *shika*, respectively. It is not the word order principle which allows the correct interpretation, as may be seen by (575), a constructed example based on (574).

(575) *dakedo, bahha wa, are da ne, rukasu shika*
but Bach TP that COP EM Lucas except-for
hikanai ne.
play-NEG EM
"But, no one plays Bach except for Lucas."

In this example, the order of the elements *bahha* and *rukasu* has been reversed, and yet the same grammatical relationship (though not focus) is discerned. This is be-

cause of world knowledge which most members of literate societies share, that Lucas (Foss) is a conductor and that Bach is a composer and that conductors play composers' works rather than the reverse.

In the next example, a more restricted type of knowledge of the world is relevant. Here the relevant knowledge that is shared by two mothers, that Yuki-chan is the daughter of the addressee, allows a correct interpretation despite the fact that the word order and me-first principles would predict the opposite interpretation.

(576) ON THE TELEPHONE:

yuki-chan ⟨ø⟩ kite moraitai tte.
Yuki Ms come receive-want QT
"[She] said [she] wants Yuki to come over."

One noun phrase has been left out of this sentence. It refers to either the one who wants *yuki-chan* to come over, or the one *yuki-can* wants to come over. Under most conditions, *yuki-chan* would be interpreted to be the one who said she wants someone to come over. This is because an omitted particle is more apt to be interpreted as *ga* than *ni* [see again Martin 1975, Hinds 1982a, Shibamoto 1980]. That is, if the particle *ga* follows *yuki-chan*, then Yuki is the one who said this. If the particle *ni* follows *yuki-chan*, then someone else said that she wants Yuki to visit. Because the mothers speaking on the telephone know which family Yuki belongs to, and therefore which child can request her to visit, the correct interpretation is obtained.

2.1.1.1.8. *COMBINATIONS*

The purpose of the immediately preceding exposition has been to advance the position that various combinations of methods to indicate syntactic and semantic relationships are possible.

2.1.1.2. *EXPRESSION OF SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS*

There are two levels at which this discussion can be directed. Japanese has a specific particle *wa* which is used to mark the topic of a sentence. The fact that the topic of a sentence and the subject of a sentence frequently coincide leads to a merging of means to indicate subject, and certain other grammatical relationships. It is possible, therefore, to talk about pre-topicalized structures or post-topicalized structures. Post-topicalized structures are those in which constituents have been marked by *wa*, sometimes obliterating the underlying particle which marks subject, direct object, and certain other relationships. Pre-topicalized structures

maintain the underlying postpositional particle. Thus, although it is always possible to have a subject which is marked by *wa*, that possibility will not be considered in the following discussion.

2.1.1.2.1. *SUBJECT OF INTRANSITIVE VERB*

Intransitive verbs are defined as those verbs which take a single noun phrase argument.[3] Included in this category are true verbs, adjectives, and nominal-adjectives. The subject of an intransitive verb is always marked by the particle *ga*.

(577) *mukashi mukashi aru tokoro ni* ***ojiisan to***
old old one place in old-man and
obaasan ***ga*** *sunde-imashita.*
old-lady NM lived
"Once upon a time, there was an old man and an old lady."

(578) *kondo* ***wa*** ***kiji*** ***ga*** *tonde-kimashita.*
next TP pheasant NM fly-came
"Next a pheasant came flying down [to them]."

It does not matter whether the subject is an agent or a nonagent. This fact is brought home quite clearly in the following example in which the speaker begins to use a verb which requires an agentive subject (*deru* "show up") and then corrects that to use a verb which requires a nonagentive subject *iru* "exist"). The subject marking of *ga* does not change.

(579) ***soo-iu*** ***hito*** ***ga det- itara,*** *anoo, kekkon shitai?*
that-kind person NM ap- be-if uh marry do-DESI
"If that kind of person were to show u-, uh to exist, uh, would [you] want to marry [him]?"

2.1.1.2.2. *SUBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERB*

Transitive verbs are defined as those verbs which take two arguments. The first of these two arguments is called the subject, although it may in fact be either an agent or an experiencer. There are two ways in which subjects of transitive verbs may be marked. For active verbs, the subject marker is *ga*. For stative verbs, the subject marker is either *ga* or *ni*.

(580) *dakedo soo ne,* ***jibun ga*** *kyoodai motsu n dattara,*
but so EM self NM siblings have NOM COP-if
"Right, if I could choose my brothers or sisters,"

(581) *soo ne, **boku ga** wakannai yo, sore.*
yes EM I NM understand-NEG EM that
"Right, I don't know, about that."

(582) ***kimi ni** wakatte-te mo **ore ni** wakaranai zo.*
you DT understand even I Dt understand-NEG EM
"Even if you understand, I don't understand."

In (580), the transitive verb ***motsu*** "have" requires its subject to be marked by ***ga***. In (581) and (582), forms of the verb ***wakaru*** are used. In (581) the subject (experiencer) is marked by ***ga*** and in (582), the contrasted subjects (experiencers) are marked by ***ni***.

For transitive verbs as well, the agency of the subject is irrelevant. Both agents and nonagents are marked with ***ga*** or ***ni*** depending on the stativity of the verb.

2.1.1.2.3. *SUBJECT OF COPULAR CONSTRUCTION*

Subjects of copular constructions are marked with ***ga***.[4] In (583), the copula ***da*** has been omitted. In (584), after the false start, ***atashi*** "I" and ***kanojo*** "she" are held up for contrast.

(583) ***hawai ga saisho?***
Hawaii NM first
"Hawaii was the first [place you came to in America]?"

(584) ***kanojo ga, atashi ga sangatsu de, kanojo ga***
she NM I NM March COP she NM
juunigatsu da kara.
December COP since
"[That's] because she, uh, I was [born] in March, and she was [born] in December."

2.1.1.2.4. *DIRECT OBJECT*

There are three ways to mark the direct object. The direct object is defined as the second of two necessary arguments of a transitive verb. Relevant "case frames" [see Hinds 1982a] are presented in (585) through (587) to show the appropriate particles. These are illustrated in (588) through (591). Examples (589) and (590) illustrate the alternative patterns for (586). Since the subjects of some of these sentences are not present, the missing subjects and the relevant postpositional particles have been inserted within braces < >.

(585) TRANSITIVE

[NP *ga* NP *o*] $\text{VERB}_{\text{TRANSITIVE}}$

(586) STATIVE

[NP *ga/ni* NP *ga*] $\text{VERB}_{\text{STATIVE}}$

(587) INTERACTIONAL

[NP *ga* NP *ni*] $\text{VERB}_{\text{INTERACTIONAL}}$

I have used the terms "transitive", "stative", and "interactional" as labels for each of the categories. These terms are not completely satisfactory, but will do for expository purposes [see Jacobsen 1981, Hinds 1982a, Alfonso 1966, Kuno 1973, Sugamoto 1982].

(588) *ima <goshujin ga> hawai de* ***nani o*** *shite-rassharu*
now husband Hawaii at what AC doing
wake?
reason
"What is it [your husband] is doing in Hawaii now?"

(589) *<anata ni> ichiban* ***kyoomi ga*** *aru wake?*
you DT most interest NM exist reason
"That's the thing [you]'re most interested in?"

(590) *nn, <watashi ga> zettaiteki-ni* ***kurassbiku no hoo***
nn I NM absolutely classic LK side
ga *suki.*
NM like
"Yes, [I] absolutely prefer classic."

(591) *ma, <watashi ga> tokidoki* ***nihonjin ni*** *au*
well I NM sometimes Japanese DT meet
keredomo,
but
"Well, sometimes [I] met people from Japan, but "

2.1.1.2.5. *INDIRECT OBJECT*

The indirect object is marked by the postposition *ni*.

(592) ***otootosan ni wa*** *ne, otootosan dattara ne, zettai*
brother DT TP EM brother COP if EM absolute
okutta hoo ga ii to omou.
sent side NM good QT think
"[You] have to send [a present] to your brother, [I] am sure."

(593) ***suuzan ni*** *kiite miyoo ka-na, ne,* ***suuzan ni*** *hanasu*
Susan DT ask try wonder EM Susan DT speak
wadai ga nai toka itte-ta tokoro da kara
topic NM NEG QT said just COP since
choodo ii kamo.
perfect good probably
"Yes, shall [I] ask her? Right, this is just the perfect since [we] wanted to talk with Susan, but [we] couldn't find any topic."

2.1.1.2.6. *OBJECT OF COMPARISON*

The object of comparison is followed by the postpositional particle *yori* "rather". This particle may also be followed by *wa* "topic marker" or *mo* "also". Example (594) illustrates a typical comparative construction. Example (595) is presented to illustrate the fact that there is no difference between comparative constructions and constructions which would be translated by "rather" in English. Example (596) is presented to show that the object of a comparative functions like any other noun phrase and is susceptible to movement rules such as postposing.

(594) *yappa'* ***nihonjin yori mo,*** *koo, shitashiku-nariyasui*
of-course Japanese rather too uh easy-grow-close
tte iu ka-na.
QT say wonder
"Of course, [they] say that [Americans] are easier to get close to than Japanese, and [I] wonder [if that's true]."

(595) *dakara, sugoku nanka, nanka* ***tookyoo nanka ni wa***
so very like like Tokyo like in TP
iru yori wa *kotchi no hoo ga shizen*
be rather TP this LK side NM natural
ni nareru shi,
to can-become and
"So, uh, rather than living in some place like Tokyo, it's easier to act naturally over here, and ... "

(596) *atashi no itte-ru no* ***wa*** *sugoku, nante-iu-ka-na,*
I NM saying NOM TP very what-say
ii hoo no taido no toki yosugiru wake,
good side LK behavior LK time too-good reason
amerikajin, ***honto yori-mo.***
American real rather-than
"What I'm saying is that, uh, [their] good behavior is too good, Americans, better than reality."

2.1.1.2.7. *OBJECT OF EQUATION*

The object of equation is marked by the postpositional particle *to* "comitative particle" [COM].

(597) *nee.* ***banana to*** *onaji na no, are.*
right banana COM same LK NOM that
"Right, [it]'s the same as a banana, that."

(598) *anoo, onaji yoo-ni amakute,* ***nihon no kaki***
uh same way sweet Japan LK persimmon
to *onaji yoo na aji ga suru no?*
COM same way LK taste NM do NOM
"Uh, [is it] the same sweetness? Does [it] have the same taste as a Japanese persimmon?"

(599) *onaji gurai datta,* ***shirokuma to ? shirokuma to***
same about was white-bear COM white bear COM
onaji gurai? kuroi kuma yori ookii wa-yo-ne?
same about black bear rather large EM
"Was [it] about the same size, as a white bear? The same size as a white bear? [It] really was larger than a black bear, wasn't [it]?"

2.1.1.2.8. *OTHER OBJECTS GOVERNED BY VERBS*

See 2.1.1.2.4.

2.1.1.2.9. *COMPLEMENT OF COPULAR CONSTRUCTION*

The complements of copular constructions precede the copula directly with no postpositional particle attached.

2.1.1.2.9.1. *DEFINING*

(600) *ano hito wa* ***otoko no hito*** *da.*
that person TP male LK person COP
"That person is a man."

2.1.1.2.9.2. *IDENTITY*

(601) *ano kata wa* ***tanaka-san*** *desu.*
that person TP Tanaka Mr COP
"That person is Mr Tanaka."

2.1.1.2.9.3. *ROLE*

(602) *ano hito wa* ***samurai*** *desu.*
that person TP samurai COP
"That person is a samurai."

2.1.1.2.9.4. *OTHER COPULAR VERBS*

The way to express "becoming" is to use the verb *naru* "become". The complement of *naru* is followed by *ni* or *to*. The particle *to* appears more frequently in writing than in speaking. Example (603) is taken from a conversation, while (604) is taken from a written text.

(603) *ano-sa, ugetsu monogatari sono mono ga* ***eiga ni***
look Ugetsu Monogatari that one NM movie Dt
natte-ru deshoo.
became COP
"Look, Ugetsu Monogatari became a movie, didn't it?"

(604) *tabemono o kuchi ni hakobu no ni hashi*
food AC mouth to carry NOM to chopstick
o tsukau iwayuru hashibunkaken wa
AC use that-is chopstick-culture TP
chuugoku, choosenhantoo, betonamu, soshite
China Korean-Peninsula Vietnam and
nihon, to *natte-iru.*
Japan Dt become
"The so-called "chopsticks culture" sphere includes [i.e. becomes] China, the Korean Peninsula, Vietnam, and Japan."

[Tensei Jingo 5/28/82]

2.1.1.2.10. *SUBJECT COMPLEMENT*

The subject complement is marked by the postpositional particle *ni*. For the construction under consideration, it is debatable whether the most appropriate expression is (605), in which a passive form of the verb *suru* "do" is used, or whether it is (606), in which the verb *naru* "become" is used.[5] In either case, the subject complement is marked by *ni*.

(605) *watashi wa* ***oo ni*** *sareta.*
I TP kind DT do-passive-past
"I was made king."

(606) *watashi wa oo ni natta.*
I TP king DT became
"I became king."

2.1.1.2.11. *OBJECT COMPLEMENT*

Similar to the situation with subject complements, it is not clear whether the most appropriate way to describe

the Japanese case is with a verb of doing or a verb of becoming. In either case, however, the object complement is marked with *ni*.

(607) *watashitachi wa ano hito o oo ni shita.*
we TP that person AC king DT did
"We made him king."

(608) *ano hito ga oo ni natta.*
that person NM king DT became
"He became king."

2.1.1.2.12. *OBJECTS GOVERNED BY ADJECTIVES*

The two example sentences provided in the outline concern the English adjectives *be like* and *be different*. The respective translations of these into Japanese involves verbs, *niru* "resemble" and *chigau* "be different". The particle *ni* may mark the "object" governed by both these verbs. In addition, the second noun phrase associated with *niru* may be marked by *to*.

(609) *ano ko wa otoosan ni/to nite-iru.*
that child TP father DT COM resemble
"That child is like his father."

(610) *ano ko wa oniisan to/#ni chigau.*
that child TP brother DT COM different
"That child is different from his brother."

There are adjectives in Japanese which have been termed transitive [Kuno 1973:81ff]. These adjectives allow a second noun phrase, and they always mark this second noun phrase with the postpositional particle *ga*.

(611) *un. sugoku kurai eiga datta, moo, koo,*
yes very dark movie was already uh
sonoo, a, nanika o shinjite-ru hito na
uh uh something AC believing person LK
n da kedo, a, sono hito wa genbaku ga
NOM COP but ah that person TP A-bomb NM
kowai no ne?
afraid NOM EM
"Yes, [that] was a very depressing movie, there was a person who believed in something, but that person was afraid of the atomic bomb."

2.1.1.2.13. *AGENT IN PASSIVE*

The agent in passive sentences is marked by the postpositional particle *ni*.

(612) *anoo, **donna hito ni** kokoro hikareru?*
uh what-kind person by heart pulled-PASS
"Uh, what kind of a person do [you] like?"

2.1.1.2.14. *TOPIC*

See 1.12.

2.1.1.2.15. *EMPHASIZED ELEMENT*

See 1.11.

2.1.1.3. *NONFINITE VERBS*

There are no differences between noun marking with finite and nonfinite verbs.

2.1.1.4. *NONLOCAL SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS*

2.1.1.4.1. *BENEFACTIVE*

Benefactive function is expressed with the postpositional phrase *no tame ni* or with the postposition *ni.* As well, the addition of a verb of giving to the participial form (the *-te* form) of a verb may occur. These are illustrated in (613) through (615), respectively. (615) further demonstrates with two examples that the benefactive recipient is present optionally.

(613) ***mayumi-san no tame-ni** yarimashita yo.*
Mayumi Ms LK sake did EM
"[I] did [it] for Mayumi, you know."

(614) *shiranai kedo, kari no, **kari ni** yatte-ru*
know-NEG but goose LK goose for giving
dake da kara ne.
only COP since EM
"[I] don't know, but [I]'m only giving [them] to the geese."

(615) M. *beebiishittaa, anoo, kikarete-iru no*
babysitter uh was-asked NOM
*ne, kyoo **yatte-kurenai** ka tte.*
EM today do-give QU QT
"[I] was asked to be a babysitter, [they said], 'Won't [you] do [it] [for us] today?'"

Y. *a honto. mata eiga ni ikimasu tte?*
o really again movies to go QT
"Did [they say they] are going to the movies

again?"

M. *futari wa konsaato ni iku kara* ***watashi***
two TP concert to go since I
ni beebiishittaa yatte-kure *nante*
for babysitter do-give like
iwarete-ru no.
be-saying NOM
"The two of them are going to a concert so [they] were saying, 'Won't [you] babysit [for me]'."

2.1.1.4.2. *SOURCE*

Animate source is indicated by either the particle *ni* or *kara*. An inanimate source such as a radio or a newspaper is typically indicated by the particle *de*. It should also be kept in mind that the source noun phrase may be omitted due to ellipsis. These are illustrated in (616) through (617).

(616) *un. nanka shiranai kedo,* ***amerika no hito***
yes like know-NEG but America LK person
ni *kiita no ne.*
from heard NOM EM
"Yes. [I]'m not sure, but [I] heard [that] from an American."

(617) *sore-de ne, anoo,* ***sono hito kara*** *ne,*
and EM uh that person from EM
nanka, anoo, denwa ga kakatte-kita yume
like uh phone NM receive-came dream
mita *wake ne,*
saw reason EM
"and, well, I had a dream that I would get a phone call from that person, "

(618) *soo soo soo. sore wa kiita,* ***rajio de.***
yes yes yes that TP heard radio from
"Oh yes, [I] heard that [on/from] the radio."

(619) *chikagoro wakete-ru n ja-nai?* ***dokka***
lately separating NOM NEG-tag somewhere
de *wakete-ru tte hanashi kiita wa-yo.*
from separating QT story heard EM
"Lately [they]'re separated, aren't they? [I] heard from somewhere that they are separated."

(620) *kono-aida kiita kedo, honto?*
recently heard but true
"[I] heard that [from her] recently, but [is it] true?"

2.1.1.4.3. *INSTRUMENTAL*

Instrument is indicated by the particle ***de***.

(621) ***nihongo de*** *oshieru kara, gutto* ***nihonjin no***
Japanese by teach since strong Japanese LK
taido de *motte oshierareru kara gutto*
behavior by hold-and can-teach since strong
raku desu.
comfortable COP
"Since [I] teach in Japanese, since [I]'m able to teach with Japanese behavior, it's really comfortable [for me]."

2.1.1.4.3a. *NEGATIVE INSTRUMENTAL*

Negative instrumental is formed by the creation of a negative verb phrase which has as its main verb a verb of employment. Two forms of the verb are possible: *-nai de* and *-zu (ni)* [see 1.4.1].

(622) ***hon o minai-de*** *kotaete kudasai.*
book AC look-NEG answer give
"Please answer without looking at [your] book."

(623) ***oyu o tsukawazu-ni*** *kore o aratte ne?*
hot-water AC use-NEG this AC wash EM
"Wash this without hot water, OK?"

2.1.1.4.4. *COMITATIVE*

Comitative is indicated by the particle *to* or the particle combination *to issho ni*. In the broadest sense, just the phrase *issho ni* may be used to indicate comitative.

(624) *tada, kanojo no hoo wa sa, aa, kondo*
just she LK side TP EM ah this-time
wa biru no hoo ga ne, kanojo ga ***dareka to***
TP Bill LK side NM EM she NM someone and
tsukiatte-ta tte koto o sekkyoku-teki-ni
associated QT fact AC actively
shoomei shinai kagiri
prove do-not limit
"It's just that she, well, unless Bill can prove that she had been going with some other guy, "

(625) *un. demo, anoo,* ***oneesantachi to issho-ni***
yes but uh sisters and together
sunde-rassharu to ii wa-nee.
living when good EM
"You are lucky because you live with your sisters."

(626) *da-kara sangatsu kara rokugatsu made wa*
so March from June until TP
issho-ni *sunde-ta tte bokura ga chanto, moo,*
together lived QT we NM proper already
au tanbi-ni yutte-ta n da.
meet when said NOM COP
"So, both of us used to tell him this every time we saw him [since we] lived together from March to June."

2.1.1.4.4a. *NEGATIVE COMITATIVE*

Negative comitative is indicated by the verbal expression *tsurenai de.*

(627) *yahari sarariiman futsuu* ***kazoku tsurenai-de***
of-course white-collar usual family take-NEG
tenkin suru n da yo.
transfer do NOM COP EM
"Of course, white-collar workers usually transfer without [their] families."

2.1.1.4.5. *CIRCUMSTANCE*

Circumstance is indicated with a relative clause construction such as *... (o) shite-(i)ru/shita* or a relative clause construction *... no/ga aru* " ... exists" [see also 2.1.1.4.8].

(628) *nakazawa-kun shitte-ru desho?* ***marumaru no***
Nakazawa Mr know TAG round LK
kuroi me *shite-ru hito.*
black eyes doing person
"[You] know Nakazawa, right? [He]'s a person with round black eyes."

(629) *uchi-no kuruma wa* ***saidobureeki no aru***
my car TP hand-brake NM exist
kuruma desu.
car COP
"My car is a car with a handbrake."

2.1.1.4.5a. *NEGATIVE CIRCUMSTANCE*

Negative circumstance is indicated by a relative clause construction such as *... no/ga nai* "does not have" or a relative clause construction *... (o) shite-inai* "does not have" [see also 2.1.1.4.8a].

(630) *ojisan wa te de hataraite mo* ***kitanai***
uncle TP hand with work even dirty
te o shite-inai *hito desu yo.*
hand AC do-NEG person COP EM
"Even though he works with his hands, [he]'s a person without dirty hands."

(631) *ano ko wa* ***kyooyoo no nai*** *ko da ne.*
that child TP education NM NEG child COP EM
"That child is a child without education."

2.1.1.4.6. *POSSESSIVE*

Possession is indicated by the particle *no* which follows the possessor. Neither the possessor nor the possessed has any special marking. There is no special distinction in the indication of alienable and inalienable possession [see 1.10.2]. These are illustrated in (632) and (633), respectively. The expression *anata no atama no naka* "the inside of your head" in (633) also demonstrates that this same construction is used for inanimate possession.

(632) ***dare no*** *kodomo ka wakatta no?*
who LK child QU understood QU
"Do you know whose child it is?"

(633) *dakara* ***anata no*** *atama no naka, bu- buran-*
so you LK head LK in
nan- kuuhaku ni shite-oku to
blank to do when
"So, when you make your mind a blank ... "

2.1.1.4.7. *POSSESSED*

There is no special marking for the possessed item.

2.1.1.4.8. *QUALITY*

Quality is indicated with the relative clause construction *... ga/no aru* " ... exists" [see also 2.1.1.4.5].

(634) W. *nanka, anoo, nanka,* ***haba no aru*** *hito.*
like uh like broad NM be person
"[He]'s, uh, a broad person."

H. ***hooyooryoku no aru hito?***
capacity NM be person
"You mean a broad minded person?"

2.1.1.4.8a. *NEGATIVE QUALITY*

Negative quality is indicated with a relative clause construction such as ... *no/ga nai* [see also 2.1.1.4.5a].

(635) *uchi-no danna wa, anoo,* ***tsumi no nai hito***
my husband TP uh sin NM NEG person
da kara,
COP since
"Well, my husband is a person without sin, so "

2.1.1.4.8b. *REFERENCE QUALITY*

This concept is expressed in an existential construction rather than in a modification of a head noun.

(636) *ano hito* ***wa giri*** ***ga arimasu.***
that person TP sense-of-duty NM exist
"That person has a sense of duty. [cf. **hito no giri* "the sense of honor of the man"]"

2.1.1.4.9. *QUANTITY*

This is expressed with the same construction as that used for possession, with the descriptor preceding the head. Simple noun phrases will be provided as illustration for this and the succeeding similar examples.

(637) ***senton no*** *fune*
1000-ton LK ship
"a boat of a thousand tons"

2.1.1.4.9a. *REFERENCE QUALITY*

See 2.1.1.4.9.

(638) ***ichikiro no*** *kome*
one-kilo LK rice
"a kilo of rice"

2.1.1.4.10. *MATERIAL*

See 2.1.1.4.9.

(639) ***renga no uchi***
brick LK house
"a house of bricks"

2.1.1.4.10a. *NEGATIVE MATERIAL*

See 2.1.1.4.8a.

(640) ***rengazukuri ja-nai uchi***
brick-built NEG house
"a house without bricks [= a house not made of bricks]"

2.1.1.4.11. *MANNER*

Manner is indicated by adverbial expressions, optionally followed by the particle *de* or *ni*.

(641) ***isshookenmei*** *kangaete-imasu nante-iu-yoo na*
diligently thinking in-such-way LK
koto kaite-atta.
fact was-written
"she wrote she's thinking about it seriously."

(642) *watashi o* ***isshookenmei-de*** *sagashite-ru wa-nee,*
I AC diligently looking EM
"[He] was looking all over for me, and ... "

2.1.1.4.11a. *NEGATIVE MANNER*

Negative manner is expressed using the same adverbial expression as in 2.1.1.4.11 accompanied by the negative form of the verb.

(643) *uchi-no ko doo-shite-mo* ***isshookenmei*** *benkyoo*
my child no-matter diligently study
shinai no yo.
do-NEG NOM EM
"No matter what, my child won't study diligently."

2.1.1.4.12. *CAUSE*

Cause, if nominal in nature, is indicated by attaching the particle *de* to the nominal.

(644) *kyoo* ***zutsuu*** ***de*** *amari fukaku kangaerarenai.*
today headache by much deeply think-can-NEG
"[I] can't think very deeply today because of (= by) [this] headache."

2.1.1.4.13. *PURPOSE*

Purpose is indicated by the particle *ni*.

(645) *sono ten* ***boku no repooto ni*** *tsukatta yo.*
that point I LK report in used EM
"[I] used that point in my report."

2.1.1.4.14. *FUNCTION*

Function is indicated by attaching the particle *to-shite* to the nominal in question.

(646) *sakka wa taipuraitaa o* ***doogu to-shite*** *tsukau*
author TP typewrite AC tool as use
n desu.
NOM COP
"Authors use [their] typewriters as tools."

2.1.1.4.15. *REFERENCE*

Reference is indicating by attaching the particle *ni-tsuite* or *ni-kanshite* to the nominal in question.

(647) *un, dakara,* ***kanningu ni-tsuite*** *wa ne iroiro,*
yes so cheating about TP EM various
ore ima made ichido mo yatta koto nakatta
I now until 1-time even did fact NEG-past
keredomo ne,
but EM
"Yes, so, about cheating, [there's] various, uh, up to now I have never once [cheated], but "

(648) *koko kara ikutsuka suki na no dake pikkuappu*
here from some like LK NOM just pick-up
shite, anoo, ***sore ni kanshite*** *shitsumon o*
do H that of about question AC
kotae, nandemo kotaetai yoo-ni sasete
answer anything answer COMP make-do
kurereba ii wake desu.
give-if good reason COP
"Uh, about that. You can ask in any way so that you can make him answer as he wants to."

2.1.1.4.16. *ESSIVE*

Essive is indicated by the particle *to-shite* following the nominal in question [see 2.1.1.4.14].

(649) *ko:: nante iu n desu ka ne, sonoo,* ***jibun***
H what say NOM COP QU EM H self
no ningen to-shite *no koo hirosa tte-iu*
LK human-being as LK H broadness comp
no ga hitsuyoo desho?
NOM NM necessary COP
"Uh, what should I say, [a teacher] needs to have, uh, broadness as a human being, right?"

2.1.1.4.17. *TRANSLATIVE*

See 2.1.1.4.16.

(650) *hitotsu no riyuu wa sonoo yappari ittan nihon*
one LK reason TP H after-all once Japan
no yoo-na taisei no naka de gogaku no
LK such system LK inside in language LK
sensei to-shite *shigoto ni tsuku to*
teacher as job to get when
nakanaka jibun o migaku chansu ga nai to
hardly self AC brush-up chance NM not QT
iu koto to
say fact and
"One of the reasons is, uh, uh, after all, once you got a job as a language teacher in the Japanese system, you would get a chance to brush up your language, and ... "

2.1.1.4.18. *PART-WHOLE*

See 2.1.1.4.7.

(651) *dakara* ***anata no*** *atama no naka, bu- buran-*
so you LK head LK in
nan- kuuhaku ni shite-oku to
blank to do when
"So, when you make your mind a blank ... "

2.1.1.4.19. *PARTITIVE*

Japanese does not distinguish between partitive and nonpartitive marking for numerals, nor does it make such as distinction for quantifiers.

(652) *watashi wa nee, ofuisu-gai ni tsutomete-ru*
I TP EM office-guy as working
futari no hito ga ne, ohiru ni
two LK person NM EM noon at
machiawasete, shokuji o shite, sono ato ...
wait lunch AC do that after
"Well, I, see, wait for two of the guys who work at the office at noon, and [we] have lunch, and then ... "

(653) *hitori **moo** ne **hitori no sensei** no koto*
one very EM one LK teacher LK fact
*tsui-**mo** omoiukabemasu kedomo,*
easily recall but
"one very, well, one teacher [I] can easily recall, but ... "

There is a form *-zutsu* "each, every" which may attach to numerals and quantifiers to specify sets: *futari-zutsu* "two at a time".

2.1.1.4.20. *PRICE*

Price is indicated by marking the amount with the particle *de*.

(654) *kore **nisenen de** katta yo.*
this ¥2000 for bought EM
"[I] bought this for two-thousand yen."

2.1.1.4.21. *VALUE*

Value is indicated by placing the amount in front of the item and linking with *no*.

(655) ***mada** kono hen no dokka de **hyakuen no***
still this area LK someplace at ¥100 LK
***koohii** utte-nai ka-na.*
coffee sell-NEG wonder
"[I] wonder if [they] still sell one-hundred yen coffee anywhere around here."

2.1.1.4.22. *DISTANCE*

Distance is expressed simply with no accompanying particles.

(656) *kare o **ichikiro** oikaketa n da yo.*
he AC one-kilo chased NOM COP EM
"[I] chased him for a kilo."

2.1.1.4.23. *EXTENT*

Extent is expressed by placing the amount in front of the modified nominal and connecting with the particle *no*. In order to be more precise, it is possible to use the sequence *no takasa/nagasa no* "a height/length of".

(657) ***ichikiro no takasa no tatemono***
one-kilo LK height LK building
"a building a kilo high"

2.1.1.4.24. *CONCESSIVE*

Concessive is indicated by a verbal construction which means "even though". Both verbals and nominals may enter into this construction, and these are illustrated in (658) and (659) respectively.

(658) ***ame ga futte-mo*** *taroo ga kita.*
rain NM fall-even-though Taro NM came
"Even though it rained, Taro came."

(659) ***suto ga atte-mo*** *taroo ga kita.*
strike NM exist-even-though Taro NM came
"Taro came despite the strike."

2.1.1.4.25. *INCLUSION*

Inclusion is indicated through a relative clause construction.

(660) ***jiroo o fukunda mina***
Jiro AC included everyone
"everyone including Jiro"

2.1.1.4.26. *EXCLUSION*

Exclusion is indicated by following the item to be excluded with the phrase *igai no* "excluding".

(661) ***saburoo igai-no mina***
Saburo excluding everyone
"everyone excluding Saburo"

2.1.1.4.27. *ADDITION*

See 2.1.1.4.25.

2.1.1.4.28. *VOCATIVE*

Japanese culture generally discourages the calling of anyone's name in public. As a result, the vocative particles which do exist have special connotations. The first, *yo*, is quite poetic in sound. It appears often in songs or poems [cf. *koibito yo* "Oh, love" (sung by Itsuwa Mayumi)]. The second, *oi*, is freestanding, is quite impolite in sound, and it follows a nominal. It is typically used by older males to call subordinates [cf. *oi, kanojo* "(lit) hey, she (used to call a waitress)"].

2.1.1.4.29-30. *CITATION AND LABEL FORMS*

There are no special citation or label forms. To the extent that any such forms exist, they consist of one of a limited number of suffixes which are frequently translated as Mr or Ms [*san, sama, kun, shi*].

2.1.1.5. *LOCAL SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS*

Local semantic functions in Japanese of the type reported here, vis. "at rest", "motion to", "motion from", and "motion past" may be indicated by a solitary postpositional particle, by the optional or obligatory appearance of a locational noun preceding the postpositional particle, and by special verb collocations. The focus of this section will be on those postpositional particles, although it must be emphasized that, in contrast with English, many of the semantic functions are determined solely by the verb. Thus, to say that "The book is **on the desk**," either *hon wa* ***tsukue ni*** *arimasu* or *hon wa* ***tsukue no ue ni*** *arimasu* is possible. The second version corresponds more closely to the explicit expression "The cat is **on top of the desk.**" To say that "Taro jumped **over the railroad crossing gate**", a verb meaning to jump over, *tobikoeru* (< *tobi* "jump" plus *koeru* "cross") is required: *taroo wa fumikiri o* ***tobikoeta.***

2.1.1.5.1. *GENERAL*

at rest	motion to	motion from	motion past
ni/de	*ni/e*[6]	*kara*	*o*
at	to	from	past

(662a) *asoko* ***ni*** *hon ga arimasu.*
"A book is **at** that place."

(662b) *gakkoo* ***de*** *benkyoo shite-imasu.*
"[He]'s studying **at** school."

(663) *koobe* ***ni*** *ikimashita.*
"[She] went **to** Kobe."

(664) *imooto wa mise* ***kara*** *kaette-kimashita.*
"My sister came home **from** the store."

(665) *sono michi* ***o*** *toorimashita.*
"[I] went **past** that road."

2.1.1.5.2. *PROXIMATE*

no chikaku ni/de	*no chikaku made*	*no chikaku kara*	*no chikaku o*
near (to)	near	from near	near

(666a) *uchi wa gakkoo* ***no chikaku ni*** *arimasu.*
"My house is **near** the school."

(666b) *hanaya* ***no chikaku de*** *asonde-imashita.*
"[They] were playing **near** the flower shop."

(667) *ano denshinbashira* ***no chikaku made*** *itte kudasai.*
"Go **near** that telephone pole."

(668) *ano kaijuu ga sono furui tatemono* ***no chikaku kara*** *dete kimashita.*
"That monster came out **from near** that old building."

(669) ***mitsukoshi no chikaku o*** *tootte kimashita.*
"We passed by **near** Mitsukoshi Department Store."

2.1.1.5.3. *INTERIOR*

no naka ni/de	*no naka ni/e*	*no naka kara*	*(no naka) o*
in(side)	in(to)	out of	through

(670a) *toranpu wa sono hako* ***no naka ni*** *arimasu.*
"The cards are **inside** that box near you."

(670b) *kodomotachi wa ofuro* ***no naka de*** *asonde-imasu.*
"The children are playing **inside** the bath."

(671a) *jibun no heya* ***ni*** *modotte kudasai.*
"Please go back **into** your own room."[7]

(671b) *tomodachi to eigakan **ni** hairimashita.*
"[I] went **into** the movie theatre with my friend."

(672) *umi **kara** dete kimashita.*
"[It] came **out of** the ocean."

(673) *hakubutsukan no tenjishitsu **o** toorinukemashita.*[8]
"[I] passed **through** the exhibition room of the museum."

2.1.1.5.4. *EXTERIOR*

no soto ni/de	*no soto made*	*no soto kara*	*no sotogawa o*
outside	up to	away from	past

(674a) *inu wa itsumo uchi **no soto ni** imasu.*
"Dogs are always **outside** the house."

(674b) *kuruma ga ooi kara, uchi **no soto de** asonja-abunai desu.*
"Since the streets are crowded with cars, it's dangerous to play **outside** the house."

(675) *en no chuushin kara **sotogawa made** sen o hiki nasai.*[9]
"Draw a line from the center of the circle **to its outside.**"

(676) *takakura ken wa doresshingu ruumu **no soto kara** ki-mashita.*
"Ken Takakura came **away from** the outside of his dressing room."

(677) *bokutachi wa kooen **no sotogawa o** toorimashita.*
"We went **past the outside of** the park."

2.1.1.5.5. *ANTERIOR*

no mae ni/de	*no mae made*	*no mae kara*	*no mae o*
in front of	to the front of	from in front of	in front of

(678a) *kooshuudenwa wa eki **no mae ni** arimasu.*
"The public telephone is **in front of** the station."

(678b) *saboten **no mae de** tomodachi o matte-imashita.*
"[I] was waiting for my friend **in front of** Saboten."

(679) *ano mise **no mae made** itte kudasai.*
"Please go up to the **front of** that store."

(680) *kyoo no koosu wa kono ki **no mae kara** hajimarimasu.*
"The course today will begin **from in front of** this tree."

(681) *gakkoo ni iku toki itsumo tomodachi no uchi **no mae o** tootte ikimasu.*
"When I go to school, I always pass **in front of** my friend's house."

2.1.1.5.6. *POSTERIOR*

no ushiro[10] *ni/de*	*no ushiro ni/e*	*no ushiro kara*	*no ushiro o*
behind	behind	from behind	behind

(682a) *enpitsu wa hondana **no ushiro ni** arimasu.*
"The pencil is **behind** the bookcase."

(682b) *resutoran **no ura de** tachigui shite shimaimashita.*
"We ended up eating a meal standing up **behind** the restaurant."

(683a) *neko wa nagaisu **no ushiro ni** hairikonde dete kimasen.*
"The cat went **behind** the sofa and won't come out."

(683b) *sakanaya **no ura e** iku to kusai desu.*
"If you go **behind** a fish shop, it smells."

(684) *kawaii ko ga kaaten **no ushiro kara** nozokimashita.*
"A cute child peeked out **from behind** the curtain."

(685) *sono tatemono **no ura o** shizuka ni aruite kudasai.*
"Walk quietly **behind** that building."

2.1.1.5.7. *SUPERIOR*[11]

no ue ni/de	*(no ue) ni/e*	*(no ue) kara*	*(no ue) o*
above/over	above	from above	over

(686) *denki wa teeburu **no ue ni** burasagatte imasu.*
"The light is hanging **above** the table."

(687) *kaeru wa tsukue **kara** kuuchuu ni tobiagarimashita.*[12]
"The frog jumped **above** the desk [(Lit) The frog jumped into the air from the desk]."

(688) *tori wa ie **no yane kara** orite kimashita.*
"The bird came down **from above** the house. [(Lit) The bird came down from the roof of the house]."

(689) *kamihikooki wa tanbo **no ue o** tonde imashita.*
"The paper airplane flew **over** the rice field."

2.1.1.5.8. *SUPERIOR-CONTACT*

no ue ni/de	*no ue ni/e*	*no ue kara*	*no ue o*
on	on(to)	off	over

(690a) *biiru no bin wa kotatsu **no ue ni** arimasu.*
"The beer bottle is **on** the table."

(690b) *saru wa kuruma **no ue de** odorimashita.*
"The monkey danced **on** the car."

(691) *butai **no ue ni** agarimashoo.*
"Let's climb **onto** the stage."

(692) *yane **no ue kara** orite kimashita.*
"[She] came down **off** the roof."

(693) *washi wa yama **no ue o** tonde imasu.*
"The eagle is flying **over** the mountain."

2.1.1.5.8a. *SURFACE*

Same as 2.1.1.5.8.

2.1.1.5.9. *INFERIOR*

no shita ni/de	*no shita ni/e*	*no shita kara*	*no shita o*
below/under	below/under	from under	under

(694a) *teeburu **no shita ni** nezumi ga imasu.*
"There is a mouse **under** the table."

(694b) *sono futari wa ki* ***no shita de*** *kisu shimashita.*
"The lovers kissed **under** a tree."

(695) *yasushi-san wa yane* ***no shita ni*** *ikimashita.*
"Yasushi went **under** the roof."

(696) *ki* ***no shita kara*** *hajimemashita.*
"[We] started **from under** the tree."

(697) *taikobashi* ***no shita o*** *toorimashita.*
"[I] passed **under** the bridge."

2.1.1.5.10. *INFERIOR-CONTACT*

This is the same as 2.1.1.5.9 unless a verb which denotes attachment, such as *kuttsuku* "be attached", is used.

no uragawa ni/de	*no shita ni/e*	*no shita kara*	*no shita o*
under	under	from under	under

(698) *teeburu* ***no uragawa ni*** *maiku ga kuttsuite-imasu.*
"There is a microphone attached **under** the table."

(699) *isu* ***no shita ni*** *ari ga itte shimaimashita.*
"An ant went **under** the chair."

(700) *hondana* ***no shita kara*** *shiroari ga dete kimashita.*
"Termites came out **from under** the bookshelf."

(701) *gokiburi ga reizooko* ***no shita o*** *tootte kimashita.*
"Cockroaches passed **under** the refrigerator."

2.1.1.5.11. *LATERAL*

no yoko ni/de	*no soba ni/e*	*no soba kara*	*o*
beside	beside	from beside	past

(702a) *hanaya* ***no yoko ni*** *yaoya ga arimasu.*
"There is a vegetable store **beside** the flower shop."

(702b) *kodomotachi wa jibun no ie* ***no yoko de*** *kenka shimasu.*
"Children fight [when they are] **beside** their own houses."

(703) *yoshiko san* ***no soba e*** *ikitai desu.*
"[I] want to go **beside** Yoshiko."

(704) *okaasan **no soba kara** hashiridashimashita.*
"[She] ran out **from beside** her mother."

(705) *mukashi no kanojo **o** mizu ni toorisugite ikimashita.*
"He went **past** his former girlfriend without looking."[13]

2.1.1.5.12. *LATERAL-CONTACT*

Same as 2.1.1.5.11.

2.1.1.5.13. *CITERIOR*

no temae ni/de	*no temae made*	*no temae kara*	*no kochiragawa o*
on this side of	to this side of	from this side of	on this side of

(706a) *yuubinkyoku **no temae ni** posuto ga arimasu.*
"There is a mailbox **on this side of** the post office."

(706b) *gakusei no hanbun wa ginkoo **no temae de** demo yarimashita.*
"Half of the students demonstrated **on this side of** the bank."

(707) *ano manshon **no temae made** itte oroshite kudasai.*
"Please go **to this side of** that apartment building and let me off."

(708) *kotoshi no marason wa kooen **no temae kara** kooen no uragawa made jukkai hashirimasu.*
"For this year's marathon [you] run **from this side of** the park to the back of the park ten times."

(709) *kangofusan wa byooin **no kochiragawa o** arukimashita.*
"The nurses were walking **on this side of** the hospital."

2.1.1.5.14. *CITERIOR-CONTACT*

Same as 2.1.1.5.13.

2.1.1.5.15. *ULTERIOR*

no mukoo ni/de	*no mukoo made*	*no mukoo kara*	*no mukoogawa o*
beyond	beyond	from beyond	beyond

(710a) *fujiginkoo wa daiichiginkoo **no mukoo ni** arimasu.*
"Fuji Bank is **beyond** Dai-Ichi Bank."

(710b) *niwa **no mukoo de** yatte kudasai.*
"Please do [that] **beyond** the garden."

(711) *shin'oosaka eki **no mukoo made** ikanakereba narimasen.*
"[I] must go **beyond** New Osaka Station."

(712) *michi **no mukoo kara** hashitte kimashita.*
"[He] came running **from beyond** the street."

(713) *yumiko san wa undoojoo **no mukoogawa o** hashirimashita.*
"Yumiko ran **beyond** the athletic field."

2.1.1.5.16. *ULTERIOR-CONTACT*

Same as 2.1.1.5.15.

2.1.1.5.17. *MEDIAL (2)*

no aida/ mannaka ni/de	*no aida/ mannaka made*	*no aida kara*	*no aida/ mannaka o*
between	between	from between	between

(714a) *kore to sore **no aida/mannaka ni** arimasu.*
"[It]'s **between** this and that."

(714b) *waseda to joochi **no aida/mannaka** de yatte-imasu.*[14]
"[They]'re doing [it] **between** Waseda and Sophia."

(715) *ano futatsu no tatemono no **aida/mannaka made** ikimashita.*
"[I] went **between** those two buildings."

(716) *ano ki **no aida kara** dete kimashita.*
"[She] appeared **from between** those trees."

(717) *ano nihon no ki **no aida/mannaka o** arukimashita.*
"[They] walked **between** those two trees."

2.1.1.5.18. *MEDIAL (3+)*

Same as 2.1.1.5.17.

2.1.1.5.19. *CIRCUMFERENTIAL*

---	--	---	*no **mawari** o*
--	--	--	round

(718) *ike no **mawari** o aruite kimashita.*
"[I] walked **round** the pond."

2.1.1.5.20. *CITERIOR-ANTERIOR*

no mukoogawa ni/de	*no mukoogawa made*	*no mukoogawa kara*	*no mukoogawa o*
opposite	opposite	from opposite	on the other side

(719a) *yoshiko-san no ie wa kono tatemono **no mukoogawa ni** arimasu.*[15]
"Yoshiko's house is **opposite** this building."

(719b) *kodomotachi wa kono biru **no mukoogawa de** asonde-imasu.*
"The children are playing **opposite** this building."

(720) *ginkoo **no mukoogawa made** ikimashoo.*
"Let's go **opposite** the bank."

(721) *eki **no mukoogawa kara** hito ga takusan dete kimashita.*
"Lots of people came **from opposite** the station."

(722) *marason o yatte-iru hito wa kooen **no mukoogawa o** hashirimasu.*
"Joggers run **on the other side of** the park."

2.1.1.5.21. *INTERIOR (LONG OBJECT)*

--	--	---	*no naka o*
--	---	--	through/along

(723) *bokutachi wa itsumo densha **no naka o** arukimasu.*
"We always walk **through** the train."

2.1.1.5.22. *EXTERIOR (LONG ORJECT)*

--- --- --- *no sotogawa o*

--- --- --- past/along

(724) *tomodachi wa tomatte-iru densha* ***no sotogawa o*** *toorimashita.*
"My friend went **past** [the outside of a] stopped train."

2.1.1.5.23. *SUPERIOR (LONG OBJECT)*

--- --- --- *(no ue) o*

--- --- --- along (above)

(725) *tori wa densha no senro* ***no ue o*** *tobimashita.*
"The bird flew **above** the train tracks."

2.1.1.5.24. *SUPERIOR-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT)*

--- --- --- *no ue o*

--- --- --- along (on top of)

(726) *taoreta ki* ***no ue o*** *ari ga hatte-imasu.*
"Ants walked **along** the fallen tree."

2.1.1.5.24a. *SURFACE (LONG OBJECT)*

--- --- --- *o*

--- --- --- along

(727) *tsukareta hito wa michi* ***o*** *hatte-imashita.*
"The tired person crawled **along** the path."

2.1.1.5.25. *INFERIOR (LONG OBJECT)*

--- --- --- *no shita o*

--- --- --- along (under)

(728) *gokiburi wa ie* ***no shita o*** *haimashita.*
"The cockroaches crawled **under** the house."

2.1.1.5.26. *INFERIOR-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT)*

Same as 2.1.1.5.25.

2.1.1.5.27. *INTERIOR (LONG OBJECT AT RIGHT ANGLES TO ITS LENGTH)*

--	--	--	*no naka o*
--	--	--	through/across

(729) *supai wa tonneru **no naka o** toorimashita.*
"The spy went **across** [= through] the tunnel."

2.1.1.5.28. *SUPERIOR (LONG OBJECT AT RIGHT ANGLES TO ITS LENGTH)*

--	--	--	*o*
--	--	--	over

(730) *taroo-kun wa fumikiri o tobikoemashita.*
"Taro jumped **over** the railroad crossing gate."

2.1.1.5.29. *SUPERIOR-CONTACT (LONG OBJECT AT RIGHT ANGLES TO ITS LENGTN*

Same as 2.1.1.5.28.

2.1.1.5.29a. *SURFACE (LONG OBJECT AT RIGHT ANGLES TO ITS LENGTN)*

Same as 2.1.1.5.28.

2.1.1.6. *LOCATION IN TIME*

2.1.1.6.1. *GENERAL*

The particle *ni* is used to mark general time expressions. Other particles follow more complex time references.

2.1.1.6.1.1. *TIME OF DAY*

*nobuko-san wa **shichiji ni** okimashita.*
"Nobuko woke up **at** 7 o'clock."

2.1.1.6.1.2. *PERIOD OF DAY*

***gogo** eiga o mi ni ikimashita.*
"[We] went to the movies **in the afternoon.**"

2.1.1.6.1.3. *DAY OF THE WEEK*

***getsuyoobi ni** gakkoo ga hajimarimasu.*
"School begins **on Monday.**"

2.1.1.6.1.4. *MONTH OF THE YEAR*

***ichigatsu ni** shinnenkai o yarimasu.*
"[We] have a new year's party **in January.**"

2.1.1.6.1.5. *YEAR*

*watashi wa **shoowa juuhachinen ni** umaremashita.*
"I was born **in 1943.**"

2.1.1.6.1.6. *FESTIVALS*

*nihonjin wa **shoogatsu ni** nani o tabemasu ka?*
"What do Japanese eat **on New Year's**?"

2.1.1.6.1.7. *SEASONS*

***haru ni** tane o makimasu.*
"[We] plant seeds **in the spring.**"

2.1.1.6.2. *FREQUENTATIVE*

There is no special means to indicate a frequentative expression which differs from that presented in 2.1.1.6.1.1 through 2.1.1.6.1.7.

2.1.1.6.3. *PUNCTUAL-FUTURE*

***nijikan de** modotte kimasu.*
"[I]'ll be back **in two hours.**"

2.1.1.6.4. *PUNCTUAL-PAST*

***nijikan mae kara** koko ni imasu.*
"[I] was here **two hours ago.**"

2.1.1.6.5. *DURATION*

***ninenkan** asuko ni sunde-imashita.*
"[I] lived there **for two years.**"

2.1.1.6.6. *ANTERIOR-DURATION-PAST*

***getsuyoobi made** nanimo okorimasen deshita.*
"Nothing happened **until Monday.**"

2.1.1.6.7. *ANTERIOR-DURATION-FUTURE*

getsuyoobi made *nanimo okorimasen.*
"Nothing is going to happen **until Monday**."

2.1.1.6.8. *POSTERIOR-DURATION-PAST*

getsuyoobi kara *nanimo okotte-imasen.*
"Nothing has happened **since Monday**."

2.1.1.6.9. *POSTERIOR-DURATION-FUTURE*

getsuyoobi kara *koko ni imasu.*
"[I]'ll be here **after Monday**."

2.1.1.6.10. *ANTERIOR-GENERAL*

getsuyoobi no mae kara *koko ni imasu.*
"[I]'ve been here **previous to Monday**."

2.1.1.6.11. *POSTERIOR-GENERAL*

getsuyoobi kara *koko ni imasu.*
"[I]'ll be here **subsequent to Monday**."

2.1.1.6.12. *POINT IN PERIOD-PAST*

ichijikan no aida ni *denwa ga gokai kakatte kimashita.*
"[I]'ve had five calls **in an hour**."

2.1.1.6.13. *POINT IN PERIOD-FUTURE*

nijikan de *modotte kimasu.*
"[I]'ll be back **within two hours**."

2.1.1.7. *DOUBLE CASE-MARKING*

Japanese does not have double case marking.

2.1.1.8. *NOMINAL NUMBER-MARKING*

2.1.1.8.1. *NUMBER*

Japanese has an optional number marking system for nouns. The most common plural marker is *-tachi*. The only nouns which are marked for plural by *-tachi* are those which designate humans or higher animals. While the system differentiates singular from plural, the plural is actually a grouping in which the head noun forms the locus of a group. This is to say, whereas in English, if I state ***My cousins*** *are coming to visit tomorrow*, all those people who come to

my house the next day will be my relatives. If, on the other hand, I state the Japanese equivalent ***ashita itoko-tachi ga tazunete kureru***, the only thing I have stated with assurance is that more than one person will come, and that one of those people, but not necessarily all of those people, are my relatives. Similarly, proper names may also be pluralized in Japanese. Thus, *nobuko-tachi* usually means "Nobuko and her friends", although in the right context it could also mean "several people with the name Nobuko".

2.1.1.8.2. *OPTIONALITY*

It has been stated in a number of places elsewhere that the concepts of optionality and obligatoriness are difficult to define. In fact, what may appear to be optional at one level of description, such as the level of the single sentence, may turn out to be obligatory when appropriate semantic, pragmatic, and situational factors are taken into account. The appearance of the plural morpheme *-tachi* may be termed optional, since its presence is not always required with nouns, although it presence is required with pronouns. This is illustrated in (731) and (732) below, both taken from the same article. The English translations are by the editorial staff of the Asahi Shinbun. It may be seen in (732), of course, that the relative clause which precedes *senshu* "participant" contains the verb *atsumatta* "gathered". Since more than one person is necessary to "gather", this explains why no plural morpheme appears. While the situation is often this transparent, some cases are more opaque.

(731) *suiei kyoogi de wa, **senshutachi** no oyogu sugata*
swim event at TP participants LK swim form
no utsukushisa ni utareta.
LK beauty by struck-passive
"In the swimming events, [we] were struck by the beauty of the form of the swimmers."

[Tensei Jingo 11/1/83]

(732) *"ushinawareta mono o oshieru na, nokosareta*
lost-passive thing AC count NEG left-passive
mono o saidaigen-ni ikase" to iu aikotoba no
thing AC maximum-use go-IMP QT say motto LK
moto ni atsumatta senshu wa, yaku
base as gathered participant TP about
senkyuuhyakunin.
1900-people
"The athletes [sic] who gathered under the motto, 'Count not what you have lost; make the maximum use of what you have left,' numbered about 1,900."

[Tensei Jingo 11/1/83]

2.1.1.8.3. *OTHER FORMS OF INDICATING NUMBER*

Despite what has just been stated, there are numerous instances in which there are no clues to the number of a noun. It is simply that Japanese allows much more vagueness of reference than some other languages. In the following example, the English translation clearly indicates that two political scientists were involved in the statement. In the Japanese version, however, only the singular form *seijigaku-sha* "political scientist" appears. Moreover, the names of the political scientists are innovations in the English translation.

(733) *betonamu sensoo tooji, beikoku no aru*
Vietnam war that-time America LK be
seijigakusha *wa koo jisei shita.*
political-scientist TP this-way self-examine did
"At the time of the Vietnam War, George McTurnan Kahin and John W. Lewis said in reflection in their joint book, ... "

[Tensei Jingo 10/28/83]

There is nothing in this example in Japanese which would give the impression that there are two political scientists under discussion. In fact, most people who read the Japanese original assume that the book was written by a single political scientist.

2.1.1.8.4. *COLLECTIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALS*

The "grouping" nature of the Japanese plural has already been discussed [see 2.1.1.8.1]. If we assume, though, that this "grouping" plural is the equivalent of a "collective" plural, there is still a distributive plural. Here too, vagueness is the order of the day, and some instances of the distributive plural are quite collective in nature.

The distributive plural is formed through reduplication. Not all nouns reduplicate, and it is a matter of convention which determines the forms which do. Thus, *yama* "mountain" may become *yamayama* "mountain after mountain", but *hama* "beach" cannot become *hamahama* "beach after beach". A partial list of these forms, taken from Martin 1975:151, follows. As Martin points out, there is often voicing of the first consonant of the reduplicated form, and the meaning sometimes changes.

kami "god"	*kamigami* "gods"
kuni "nation"	*kuniguni* "nations"
hito "person"	*hitobito* "people"
shima "island"	*shimajima* "islands"
mado "window"	*madomado* "windows"
tokoro "place"	*tokorodokoro* "here and there"
ki "tree"	*kigi* "every tree"
eda "branch"	*edaeda* "all the branches"
shimo "lower"	*shimojimo* "the masses"

Martin also points out that, although the majority of such reduplicated forms are based on native Japanese words, words of Chinese origin may also reduplicate: *chiikichiiki* "area to area". Numerals, including those containing loan words from English, may also reduplicate to mean "each and every": *hitorihitori* "every single person"; *hitotsuki hitotsuki* "each and every month"; *ichionsuichionsu* "every single ounce". Notice that these are not strictly plural forms.

2.1.1.8.5. *SINGULARIZATION OF COLLECTIVE NOUNS*

It is not possible to form singulatives from collective nouns.

2.1.1.8.6. *VARIOUS PLURAL MORPHS*

There are four plural suffixes which differ in terms of honorific distinctions. The four forms are:

-tachi	"neutral, freely occurring"
-ra	"freely occurring, but imparting a feeling of roughness to the expression"
-gata	"occurs only with nonfirst person forms to indicate respect"
-domo	"occurs only with first person or ingroup forms to indicate humility"

2.1.1.8.7. *FOREIGN WORDS*

Foreign words do not retain their native number marking. In fact, many confusions arise because of the way that English words, in particular, are brought into the language. Thus, certain words which are used singularly in English are brought in via the plural form: *shatsu* "shirt (lit. shirts)"; *baketsu* "bucket (lit. buckets)". Other forms are brought in correctly: *buutsu* "boots". Still others are brought in via the singular form but are typically used in the plural in English: *hamueggu* "ham and eggs (lit. ham egg)".

2.1.1.9. *NOUN CLASSES*

There are no rigid noun classes based on gender. There are clusters of nouns, however, which share similar properties.

2.1.1.9.1.-3. *CLASSES*

There is a general distinction between nouns which refer to animals, including humans, and those which do not.[16] Nouns which refer to animals take an optional plural marker *-tachi*,[17] while those nouns which refer to something other than animals may not.

(734)

hito	person	*hitotachi*	people
gakusei	student	*gakuseitachi*	students
kodomo	child	*kodomotachi*	children
okusan	wife	*okusantachi*	wives
kirin	giraffe	*kirintachi*	giraffes
tsukue	desk	**tsukuetachi*	desks
saifu	wallet	**saifutachi*	wallets

Another class which in fact consists of a closed set contains those nouns which form an optional plural by reduplication.[18] There are no formal or semantic criteria for inclusion in this set. When appropriate, the second element undergoes *onbin* "voicing of initial sound".

(735)

yama	mountain	*yamayama*	mountains
hito	person	*hitobito*	persons
shima	island	*shimajima*	islands
kami	god	*kamigami*	gods
eki	station	*ekieki*	stations
hama	beach	**hamahama*	beaches
kawa	river	**kawagawa*	rivers

The meaning of these reduplicated forms is not always a simple plural, but is often more narrowed in the sense of "every" [see also 2.1.1.8].

(736)

ki	tree	*kigi*	every tree
sumi	corner	*sumizumi*	every corner

2.1.1.9.4. *CLASSIFIERS*

Japanese has a rich store of classifiers. It is not the case that these classifiers always serve as the head of a noun phrase when enumeration is involved, although they may. Typically such classifiers either precede the head noun linked by *no*, as in (737), or they "float" off the head noun, as in (738) and (739). In (738), the classifier has floated to the right while in (739) it has floated to the left.

(737) ***hitotsu no bettoruumu*** *ni ne,* ***futari no hito***
one LK bedroom in EM two LK person
ga sunde-ru wake ne.
NM living reason EM
"In one bedroom, there are two people living."

(738) *utsutta toki wa nihonjin ga* ***futari*** *dake de ...*
moved time TP Japanese NM two only COP-and
"When [we] moved there were only two Japanese, and ... "

(739) *hitotsu no heya no naka ni ne,* ***yottsu***
one LK room LK inside in EM four
bettoruumu ga aru no.
bedroom NM exist NOM
"Within one room [= apartment], there are four bedrooms."

The classifiers attach to one of two numeral systems. The first numeral system is the native system, and there are forms for the numerals one through ten. The second system, with numbers extending to infinity, is based on Chinese loans [see 1.16 for lists]. Each classifier thus consists of a bound numerical prefix and a bound counter suffix. Counter suffixes cooccur with numerals from the native system or from the Chinese-based system. In a minor number of cases, both systems cooccur with a given counter.

The classifiers are grouped according to the item they enumerate, a semantic classification. In the following list, major classifiers are presented (there are over one hundred in all), and the classifier is followed either by a [J] or a [C] to indicate which numerals cooccur. A brief description of the semantic properties of the class follows this. This list is incomplete, of course, although it does contain some distinctions for the sake of clarity which are in the process of leveling out.[19]

-bai [C] multiples

-ban [C] serial numbers

-ban	[J]	nights [seldom used after "4"]
-bansen	[C]	track numbers
-banchi	[C]	lot numbers
-bi	[C]	fish
-bu	[C]	units of percent, sets of materials
-bun	[C]	fraction denominators
-dai	[C]	vehicles
-do	[C]	number of times
-doru	[C]	dollars
-en	[C]	yen
-fun	[C]	minutes
-gatsu	[C]	months of the year
-goosha	[C]	train car numbers
-guramu	[C]	grams
-gyoo	[C]	columns
-hai	[C]	glassfuls
-hen	[C]	number of times
-hiki	[C]	animals
-hon	[C]	long, cylindrical objects
-hyoo	[C]	sacks
-joo	[C]	bundles of seaweed
-joo	[C]	tatami mats
-ka	[C]	days [used for 1-10, 14, 20, 24]
-kagetsu	[C]	months
-kai	[C]	floors

-kai	[C]	number of times
-kata	[J]	persons (honorific) [limited in number]
-ken	[C]	buildings
-ki	[C]	machines
-kiro	[C]	kilograms/kilometers
-ko	[C]	things
-kumi	[J]	sets
-ma	[J]	rooms
-mai	[C]	thin, flat objects
-meetoru	[C]	meters
-nen	[C]	years
-nin	[C]	persons (three and above)
-ninmae	[C]	portions
-paasento	[C]	percent
-peeji	[C]	pages
-retsu	[C]	lines
-ri	[J]	persons (one and two)
-rittoru	[C]	liters
-sai	[C]	years of age
-sara	[C]	plates of food
-satsu	[C]	bound objects (books, magazines)
-seki	[C]	ships
-shitsu	[C]	rooms
-shuukan	[C]	weeks
-soku	[C]	pairs of socks, shoes
-suji	[J]	obi (sashes for kimono)

-too	[C]	large animals
-tsu	[J]	inanimate objects/years of age
-tsuu	[C]	letters
-wa	[C]	birds (and rabbits)
-zen	[C]	pairs of chopsticks
-zen	[C]	bowls on the table

There are some morphophonemic changes which take place when the numbers of Chinese origin precede these counters, the most significant of which occur when the counter begins with *-h-*. This is illustrated using *-hon* "long, cylindrical objects"; generalizations follow.[20]

(740)

ichi	+	*hon*	--->	*ippon*
ni	+	*hon*	--->	*nihon*
san	+	*hon*	--->	*sanbon*
shi	+	*hon*	--->	*shihon* (more commonly *yonhon*)
go	+	*hon*	--->	*gohon*
roku	+	*hon*	--->	*roppon*
shichi	+	*hon*	--->	*shichihon* (more commonly *nanahon*)
hachi	+	*hon*	--->	*happon/hachihon*
kyuu	+	*hon*	--->	*kyuuhon*
juu	+	*hon*	--->	*juppon/jippon*

The generalizations are that after a voiceless consonant, *h* frequently changes to *p* and by backwards assimilation that voiceless consonant becomes a geminate *p* [as in the forms for "one", "six", and "eight"]. After a nasal, *h* becomes *b* [for "three"] or remains *h* [for "four"]. For "ten", there is a shortening of long *uu*, and *h* becomes geminate *p*; note that this does not happen with the word for "nine" [see Martin 1975:766ff for a more complete description].

2.1.1.9.5. *LOAN WORDS*

Loan words are not assigned to any particular class on the basis of either phonological or semantic criteria. An idiosyncratic feature of the Japanese writing system, however, allows recent loan words to be kept separate from native words.

Content words are typically written in *kanji* "Chinese characters". Inflectional endings and particles, as well as content words with difficult *kanji*, are usually written in *hiragana*, one of two syllabaries. The second syllabary, termed *katakana*, is used for emphasis, in telegrams, and to write recent foreign loan words. A typical sentence mixes all three of these writing systems. This may be illustrated from the following headlines in a popular magazine. Words written in *kanji* appear in bold face, words in *katakana* are underlined, words in *hiragana* are in regular italics.

(741) *otoko no* *burijifu* *o* *onna* *ni* *hakaseru.*
man LK brief AC woman to wear-cause

"Women are wearing men's briefs"

[FOCUS 2/3/84, page 36]

(742) *watashi* *wa* *sukii* *ni* *iku* *kara* ...
I TP ski to go since

"I'm going skiing, so ... "

[FOCUS 2/3/84, page 64]

(743) *kabuki* *mo* *daisupekutakuru* *jidai*
kabuki too great-spectacle time

"The age of kabuki great spectacles"

[FOCUS 7/13/83, page 30]

2.1.1.10. *DEFINITENESS IN NOUN PHRASES*

2.1.1.10.1. *HOW AND WHERE IT IS MARKED*

2.1.1.10.1.2. *DEMONSTRATIVE*

It is possible for a demonstrative form to precede a noun phrase to indicate definiteness. This demonstrative takes one of three forms: *kono* "this", *sono* "that", and *ano* "that over there". In the deictic sense these forms refer to objects close to the speaker, close to the addressee, and distant from both, respectively. In the anaphoric sense,

kono precedes noun phrases to indicate animation, *sono* precedes noun phrases to indicate that the speaker believes the addressee does not know the referent from the same perspective, and *ano* precedes noun phrases to indicate the the speaker believes the addressee does know the referent from the same perspective [see Kuno 1973, Hinds 1973b, 1974b].

In example (744), it is clear that the speaker believes both speaker and addressee know the referent of the phrase *ano hito* "that person", since the identity is in fact the addressee. In (745), the context demonstrates that the speaker does not know the identity of *sono hito* "those people" since they were introduced by the addressee. In (746), the expression *kono kodomo* "that child" is a more animated way of expressing the identity of the main protagonist in the folktale.

(744) *dakedo hora hantoshi tatte, **ano hito** kita*
but look half-year passed that person came
deshoo, anata ga.
presumptive you NM
"But look, a half year passed, and then that person came, you that is."

(745) K *sono tooji kara zutto nihongo no sensei o*
that time from straight Japanese LK teacher AC
shite-ru tte yoo na, moo nijuunen gurai
doing QT way LK already 20-years about
nihon ni itta koto nai yoo na hito mitai
Japan to went fact NEG way LK person seem
no ne.
NOM EM
"It seems that they were people who were always teaching [there] and they hadn't been back to Japan in about twenty years."

W *a, honto. doo, **sono hitotachi** no nihongo?*
oh real how that people LK Japanese
"Oh really. How [is it], the Japanese of those people?"

(746) *momo kara umareta node ojiisan to obaasan wa*
peach from was-born since old-man and old-lady TP
kono kodomo o momotaroo to-iu namae ni suru
this child AC Momotaro called name to do
koto ni shimashita.
fact to did
"Since he was born from a peach, the old man and the old lady decided to call this child Momotaroo."

2.1.1.10.1.3. *POSTPOSITIONAL PARTICLE CHOICE*

A second way in which definite may be marked on the noun phrase is with the choice between the postpositional particles *wa* and *ga*. It is an oversimplification to state that *wa* corresponds to definiteness and that *ga* corresponds to indefiniteness, but there are situations in which precisely this situation obtains. A typical situation involves the beginning of a narrative. In English a referent is introduced into the narrative by being marked with the indefinite article *a*. Subsequent mention of that referent is done through either a noun phrase marked by the definite article or a pronoun. In Japanese, initial mention is made by marking the noun phrase with the particle *ga*; subsequent mention marks the noun phrase with the particle *wa*, or it employs ellipsis.

(747) *mukashi mukashi aru tokoro ni* ***ojiisan to obaasan ga***
old old one place in old-man and old-lady NM
sunde-imashita.
lived
"Once upon a time, there was an old man and an old lady."

ojiisan wa *yama e shibakari ni ikimashita.*
old-man TP mountain to wood-get to went
"The old man went to the mountain to gather wood."

2.1.1.10.2. *OBLIGATORY NATURE OF DEFINITENESS MARKING*

Taken together, the two methods for indicating definiteness described in the immediately preceding section form a means to insure that all definite noun phrases are so marked.

2.1.1.10.3-4. *VARYING DEFINITENESS MARKERS*

There are three demonstrative forms which, in the deictic use, depend on spatial relationships [see 2.1.1.10.1]. It is possible for a definite noun phrase to occur without one of these forms.

2.1.1.10.5. *COOCCURRENCE POSSIBILITIES*

Definite noun phrases may be marked by *wa*. The following discussion addresses the issue of whether a demonstrative pronoun can precede the various types of noun phrases.

2.1.1.10.5.1. *PROPER NAMES*

Definiteness may be indicated for proper names if the situation is appropriate.

(748) A. *hijoo-ni omoshiroi kiji eigo kenkyuu ni*
very interesting article English Studies in
watanabe shooichi to iu sensei ga kakureta no
Watanabe Shoichi QT say teacher NM wrote-HON NOM
shitte-ru?
know
"Do [you] know the article written by Professor Watanabe Shoichi which appeared in Eigo Kenkyu?"

B. *aa, kiji mo sensei mo yoku shitte-ru yo.*
yes article too teacher too well know EM
"Yes, [I] know both the article and the teacher very well."

A. *soo? **kono watanabe sensei** tte donna sensei?*
so this Watanabe Prof QT what-kind teacher
"Oh? What kind of a teacher is this Watanabe?"

[Hinds 1973b:6-7]

2.1.1.10.5.2. *ABSTRACT NOUNS*

To the extent that it is reasonable, abstract nouns such as *kankakukan* "space" in the following example may be preceded by the forms *kono*, *sono*, and *ano*.

(749) *yappari **sono gurai no kankakukan** wa aru mitai.*
of-course that about LK space TP be seems
"As you might expect, it seems that there is about that much [age] difference [between us]."

2.1.1.10.6. *OBLIGATORY NATURE*

Abstract nouns may appear without a form such as *kono*, *sono*, or *ano* preceding them.

(750) *10.12 hanketsu igo niwaka-ni **futaiten** to iu*
10/12 decision after suddenly indomitable QT say
kotoba ga hayaridashita.
word NM became-popular
"Ever since the guilty verdict handed down on former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka by the Tokyo District Court on Oct. 12, the word "indomitable" has suddenly become very popular."

*tanaka kakuei ga "**futaiten** no ketsui de*
Tanaka Kakuei NM indomitable LK resolution by
tatakainuku" to ieba, shakaitoo no tanabe
fight-through QT say-if Socialist-Party LK Tanabe
*shokichoo mo "kochira mo **futaiten** no ketsui*
Sec.-Gen too this too indomitable LK resolution
de ikimasu" to ii, koomeitoo no takeiri iinchoo mo
by go QT say Komeito LK Takeiri Chair too
*"**futaiten** no ketsui" da to iu.*
indomitable LK resolution COP QT say
"After Tanaka said he would "fight with indomitable resolve," Secretary-General Makoto Tanabe of the Japan Socialist Party said, "We will also proceed with indomitable reserve". Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri of the Komeito (Clean Government Party) also said his party had 'indomitable resolve'."

***futaiten** to **futaiten** ga butsukareba dochira-mo*
resolution and resolution NM hit-if both
hiku-ni-hikezu, sazo yakkai na koto ni
without-solution surely troublesome LK fact to
naru daroo.
become presumptive
"If indomitable resolve clashes with indomitable resolve and neither side will back down, it will probably turn into a troublesome situation."

[Tensei Jingo 10/16/83]

2.1.1.11. *INDEFINITENESS*

Indefiniteness may be marked in the noun phrase. As with definiteness, there are two ways in which it can be marked.

2.1.1.11.1. *HOW IT IS MARKED*

2.1.1.11.1.1. *LEXICAL FORM*

There is a lexical item *aru* "a certain" which may be used to mark noun phrases as indefinite: *aru fuyu* "one/a certain winter".

2.1.1.11.1.2. *POSTPOSITIONAL PARTICLE*

See 2.1.1.10.1.2.

2.1.1.11.2. *OBLIGATORY NATURE OF INDEFINITE MARKING*

Indefinite marking, as definite marking, is not re-

quired with respect to lexical forms preceding the noun phrase. If the overall picture is examined, however, it is clear that indefinite noun phrases are usually recognized as such.

2.1.1.11.3-4. *VARIATION IN FORM*

There are no variations in form of the indefinite marker with respect to the spatial relationship between the entity concerned and participants in the speech act.

2.1.1.11.5. *TYPES OF NOUN PHRASES*

2.1.1.11.5.1. *NONSINGULAR NOUNS*

The postpositional particle *ga* may follow nonsingular nouns with impunity. With respect to the lexical form *aru*, however, the situation is different. The only way that a nonsingular noun may be preceded by *aru* is if that noun indicates a group which is taken singly: *aru senseitachi no kangae* "the thoughts of a certain [group of] teachers".

2.1.1.11.5.2. *MASS NOUNS*

The lexical item *aru* "a certain" may precede mass nouns: *aru mizu* "a certain water", *aru satoo* "a certain sugar".

2.1.1.12. *REFERENTIAL AND NONREFERENTIAL INDEFINITENESS*

There is no distinction in marking between referential and nonreferential indefiniteness.

2.1.1.13. *REFERENTIALITY*

Referentiality, when indicated, is identical with the way that definiteness is indicated.

2.1.1.14. *IMPORTANCE OF NOUN ACTORS*

There is no way to indicate that one actor in a narrative, for instance, is more important than another. It is true that the more important actor will be referred to more frequently with ellipsis, since this is the person being talked about most often, but there are no specific syntactic markers used to indicate this.

2.1.2. PRONOUNS

2.1.2.1. *PERSONAL PRONOUNS*

The definition of the term personal pronoun in Japanese is fraught with dangers. The primary problem is that, from a historical perspective, the group of words which is typically thought of as being pronouns, have nominal origins. As well, modern day Japanese frequently uses occupation or status titles where pronouns might be expected. Thus, the nominal nature of pronouns, coupled with the fact that nominals are used when pronouns might be expected by nonnative speakers of Japanese, makes this category difficult to define with precision. Finally, whereas the class of pronouns in a given language is traditionally assumed to be relatively small [see Jespersen 1924], in Japanese this class is large, with different forms selected depending on sex, age, perceived social status, and emotional coloration.

I therefore offer a definition of personal pronoun for modern Japanese which, while less than perfect, will allow for the productive discussion of this category.

> Personal pronouns in Japanese are single lexical items, and are variable and contained in a reference to some circumstance found outside the linguistic expression itself.

Table 17 presents a representative listing of personal pronouns categorized by person and number. The total number of forms which may be considered personal pronouns is much larger for first and second person forms. In section 2.1.2.1.12, additional forms and appropriate distinctions are indicated. Following Table 17, each pronoun category is illustrated for subject and/or topic, direct object, indirect object, and a representative portion of oblique positions. When a gender preference is indicated for first and second person pronouns, this means that the form refers to the sex of the speaker who uses the form. When a gender preference is indicated for third person, this means that the form refers to the sex of the referent.

Table 17

	singular		plural
I	*wata(ku)shi*	[sex neutral]	*wata(ku)shitachi/ wata(ku)shira*
	atashi	[feminine]	*atashitachi/atashira*
	boku	[masculine]	*bokutachi/bokura*
II	*anata*		*anatatachi/anatagata*
	anta		*antatachi/antara*
	kimi	[masculine]	*kimitachi/kimira*
	omae	[masculine]	*omaetachi/omaera*
III	*kare*	[masculine]	*karera/karetachi*
	kanojo	[feminine]	*kanojotachi/kanojora*

Subject/topic position

(751) ***atashi*** *aa iu seikatsu taerarenai no ne.*
I that say life endure-POT-NEG NOM EM
"I can't stand that kind of life-style."

(752) ***anata*** *wa sakasama-ni naranakatta no?*
you TP upside-down become-NEG-past QU
"You didn't turn upside down, [did you]?"

(753) ***kare*** *sensei na no? shinjirarenai!*
he teacher copula QU believe-able-NEG
"Is he a teacher? [I] can't believe [it]."

Direct object position

(754) ***watashi*** *o, moo, isshookenmei-de sagashite-ru*
me AC already diligently searching-for
wa-nee.
EM
"[He] was looking all over for me."

(755) *hayaku! itsumo* ***anata*** *matte-ru no yo.*
quickly always you waiting NOM EM
"Hurry up! [We]'re always waiting for you."

(756) *atashi* ***kanojo*** *shiranai kedo.*
I she know-NEG but
"I don't know her, but ... "

Indirect object position

(757) *nn, sore-de, sugoku maa, nanka, anoo,* ***watashi*** *ni*
un and very well like uh me to
hanashikakete-kurete,
start-talk-give-me
"Yeah, well, uh, [they] strike up conversations with me, and ... "

(758) *sore* ***wa*** *hatsumimi ya waa, soraa, shiranakatta,*
that TP first-ear COP EM that-TP know-NEG-past
maa, hanashi ***anta*** *ni shite-morau.*
well story you DT do-receive
"That's the first time [I] heard that, [I] didn't know that, well, [I]'ll have you tell the story."
[Osaka dialect]

(759) ***kanojo*** *ni kikanakatta no?*
she DT ask-NEG-past QU
"Didn't [you] ask her?"

Oblique positions

Possessive

(760) *dareka ga katta tamago ga kowarete,* ***watashi*** *no*
someone NM bought eggs NM broke-and I LK
kami ni bettari tsuite-iru no ga wakatta no mo
hair to sticky sticking NOM NM understood NOM too
sono toki deshita.
that time COP-past
"It was that time also that [I] realized that the eggs someone had bought were smeared in my hair."
[written statement]

(761) *itta no* ***wa*** ***anta*** *no neesan ka?*
went NOM TP you LK sister QU
"The one who went [is] your sister?"

(762) *tada, **kanojo** no hoo wa sa, aa, kondo wa biru*
just she LK side TP EM uh this-time TP Bill
no hoo ga ne, kanojo ga dareka to tsukiatte-ta
LK side NM EM she NM someone with associated
tte koto o sekkyokuteki-ni shoomei shinai kagiri
QT fact AC persuasively prove do-NEG limit
***kare** no kodomo to natchau n da yo.*
he LK child to become NOM COP EM
"Unless Bill is able to prove conclusively that she had been going with some other guy, the baby would be his."

2.1.2.1.1. *FREE PRONOUNS*

2.1.2.1.1.1. *OBLIGATORY NATURE OF PRONOUNS*

In this section, the matter of whether such pronouns as provided in Table 17 are obligatory in all circumstances will be discussed. The simplest and most straightforward answer to that question, at least for the primary case relationships, is no. This may be shown by reexamining each of the sentences in (751) through (759) and realizing that, out of context, each is perfectly acceptable with an ellipsis of the pronoun. Even in the case of the possessive construction, the pronoun is not "obligatory" in that another form, such as a name, could take that pronoun's place.

The situation is a bit more complicated, however, if discourse context is considered. There the concepts of "obligatory" and "optional" are viewed in slightly different terms. Within a specific discourse, many of the pronouns which may be left out in a decontextualized utterance are more or less required because they mark such matters as thematic progression, or they delineate episode boundaries [see Hinds 1982a, 1983, Clancy 1980, Grimes 1975]. Appeals to intuition in these cases will suggest that it is not the appearance of a pronoun which is required, but the appearance of any noun phrase.

There is evidence, however, reported in Hinds 1983, that with respect to two parameters developed by Givón 1983 to measure strength of topic continuity, decay and distance, pronouns in Japanese form an intermediate category between full noun phrases and ellipsis. Thus, from the perspective of these observations, pronouns in the broadest sense may be considered to be obligatory.

2.1.2.1.1.2. *OPTIONALITY OF FREE PRONOUNS*

As stated immediately above, it is possible to have utterances which do not contain pronouns judged acceptable. In these cases, coreference is indicated through ellipsis [see Hinds 1982a]. Examples (763) through (771) illustrate

the omission of such forms for subject/topic, direct object, and indirect object positions. Missing items are indicated by placing the appropriate pronoun and particle within braces.

Subject/topic

(763) *mukashi ‹watashi wa› tenisu chotto yatte-ta kedo.*
before I TP tennis little did but
"[I] used to play a little tennis, but ... "

(764) *ja, ‹anata wa› mainichi jitensha de gakkoo e*
well you TP daily bicycle by school to
kite-ru no?
coming QU
"Well, do [you] come to school everyday by bicycle?"

(765) H. *ja, sono hito mo kitto, anoo, daibu*
well that person too very uh very
dokuritsushin no-
independent LK
"Well, of course, that person is also a very independent ... "

W. *soo, ‹kanojo wa› tsuyoi, tsuyoi.*
yes she TP strong strong
"Right, [she]'s really strong."

H. *tte iu koto ne, tabun,*
QT say fact EM maybe
"Well, perhaps ... "

W. *‹kanojo wa› sonna kanji ne, nanka,*
she TP that-kind feeling EM like
sugoku, ma, ‹kanojo wa› jibun demo soo iu
very well she TP self even that say
toko mo omoshiroi na to omou kedo.
place too interesting EM QT think but
"[She]'s like that; you know, even [she] thinks that that quality in herself is interesting."

Direct object

(766) *‹watashi o› tsurete itte kudasai.*
me AC take go give-me
"Please take [me] along."

(767) *ore zutto ⟨anata o⟩ matte-ta n da yo, koko de.*
I right you AC waited NOM COP EM here at
"I was waiting for [you], right here."

(768) Y. *⟨anata wa⟩ ami-chan ni atta koto aru?*
you TP Ami-Ms to met fact exist
"Have [you] met Ami?"

C. *mada. ⟨watashi wa⟩ zenzen ⟨kanojo o⟩ shiranai.*
still I TP at-all her AC know-NEG
"Not yet. [I] don't know [her] at all."

Indirect object

(769) *ano hito ⟨watashi ni⟩ hanashite kureta,*
that person me to speaking gave
⟨watashi ni⟩ hanashite kureta, kekkoo.
me to speaking gave quite-a-bit
"That person spoke to [me], spoke to [me], sufficiently."

(770) *anoo, boku wa, anoo, iwasaki-san no ne, sonoo,*
uh I TP uh Iwasaki Mr LK EM uh
eigo o hanasu chikara tte no ga aru to
English AC speak strength QT NOM NM be QT
omou n de, sono koto ni-tsuite chotto ⟨anata ni⟩
think NOM COP that fact about little you to
okiki-shitai n desu kedo ne.
ask-desire NOM COP but EM
"Un, I think, uh, you [= Mr Iwasaki] have a good command of English, and so I would like to ask [you] a little about that."

(771) *nyoobo ga shitsukoku ⟨kare ni⟩ ⟨nihongo o⟩*
wife NM persistently him to Japanese AC
oshiete-mo kyoomi o shimeshima- shimesanai
teach-even interest AC show-NEG
desu ne.
copula EM
"Even if my wife persists in teaching [Japanese] [to him], [he] doesn't show any interest."

2.1.2.1.1.3. FREE PRONOUNS

This section discusses the contexts in which free pronouns in Japanese occur. Because of the nominal quality of these pronouns, it is difficult to envision contexts which would systematically prohibit pronouns, unless nouns were also prohibited. For instance, pronouns in Japanese may even directly follow demonstrative pronouns, as (772a) shows. They may even be modified by relative clauses, as is

shown in (772b). As well, pronouns may be modified by adjectives, producing such expressions as *chiisai kare* "small he" [Kuroda 1965a].

(772a) *dakedo, ima, **sono kanojo mo** ne, nanka, kookai,*
but now that she too EM like regret
kono mae tegami ni kaite kite ne,
this before letter in writing coming EM
yappari kookai shite ne.
as-expected regret doing EM
"However, she [lit. that she] has written [to me] telling [me] that [she] regrets, as expected, that [she] regrets [what she did]."

(772b) ***kekkon shite juunanasai de kodomo o unda***
marry do-and 17-years by child AC bore
mono no sodatete-iku nooryoku ga nakatta kanojo
even LK raise ability NM NEG-past she
wa sansai no toki danii o yooshi
TP 3-years LK time Danny AC adopted-child
ni dashita.
to sent-out
"The woman [lit. she] who did not have the ability to raise a child even though she bore one at the age of 17 after getting married put Danny out for adoption when [he] was three years old."

[Focus 9/28/84, page 13]

As well, many pronouns in Japanese serve also as nicknames or terms of address, a feature which is very nominal in nature. Typical examples are presented in (773) and (774).

(773) ***boku,** doo shita no?*
I how did QU
"Boku [ie, little boy], what happened?"

(774) *oi **kanojo!** sake motte koi!*
hey she sake bring come-imperative
"Hey kanojo [ie, you]! Bring some sake! (rough and impolite)"

2.1.2.1.1.3.1. *NONEMPHATIC NONCONTRASTIVE CONTEXTS*

To the extent that a noncontrastive, nonemphatic context may be defined as a neutral context, there are no constraints against pronouns; nor are there constraints against nouns. The difficulty with this position is that it is possible to define a contrastive noun phrase as one which is marked by *wa*, and to define an emphatic noun phrase as

one which is marked by *ga*. Essentially, then, it would be possible to argue that any noun phrase in Japanese is either emphatic or contrastive. The fact is that all pronouns may occur marked by *ga*, by *wa*, or by zero. This is illustrated in (775) through (777).

(775) *ii n ja-nai?* ***karera ga*** *ii to omotte*
good NOM NEG they NM good QT thinking
rassharu nara.
be if
"It's OK, isn't it? if they think it's OK."

(776) ***kanojo*** *wa beteran mitai na kanji datta kara,*
she TP veteran like LK feel COP-past since
nonde-ru to omou n da kedo.
drinking QT think NOM COP but
"Since it seems that she had lots of experience, [I] think [she] was taking [the pill]."

(777) ***kanojo*** *honto-ni seishin no ko?*
she really Seishin LK girl
"Is she really from University of the Sacred Heart?"

2.1.2.1.1.3.2. *EMPHASIZED REFERENT(S)*

Pronouns also appear in contexts where the referent of the pronoun is emphasized. Since it is not productive to define emphasis as a phenomenon associated with a particular grammatical particle, a different definition must be found. For the purposes of this discussion, an emphasized noun phrase will be one which is marked with an emphatic particle such as *ne*, *yo*, or *sa*. Examples (778) through (780) demonstrate this.

(778) *iya,* ***watashitachi ga ne,*** *anoo, okayama kara,*
no we NM EM uh Okayama from
koo, tatsu toki, moo, takusan no hito ga, koo,
uh leave time already many LK person NM uh
miokuri-ni kite kudasatte ne.
to-see-off coming gave-us EM
"Well, when we left from Okayama, lots of people came to see us off."

(779) *iya, demo,* ***anata mo ne,*** *shichigatsu ka*
uh but you too EM July or
hachigatsu ni iku no yo ne.
August in go NOM EM EM
"Yeah, but you too are going in July or August."

(780) *dakedo, ima, sono* ***kanojo mo ne,*** *nanka, kookai,*
but now that she too EM like regret
kono mae tegami ni kaite kite ne, yappari
this before letter in writing coming EM as-expected
kookai shite ne.
regret doing EM
"However, she [lit. that she] has written [to me] telling [me] that [she] regrets, as expected, that [she] regrets [what she did]."

Although pronouns are possible in both emphatic and nonemphatic environments, it is more likely that a pronoun will appear in an emphatic environment than in a nonemphatic environment. Duplications of pronouns are also likely, as (781) demonstrates.

(781) *chotto* ***anata*** *kore kyoo wa tte koto kurasu ni*
just you this today TP QT fact class in
tsukau no? sore-ni tajoo da nante sonna
use QU and licentious COP like that
anata *komaru ja-nai no?*
you awkward NEG QU
"Oh you, what are you going to do, use this in class? And you said I was licentious? Oh you're really terrible."

2.1.2.1.1.3.3. *UNEMPHATIC CONTEXTS WITH IMPERATIVES*

This section discusses the appearance or nonappearance of pronouns in unemphatic contexts with imperative verbs. A liberal definition of the term imperative will be used to include not only true imperative constructions (*tabero!* "eat") but also imperative like constructions (*tabete kudasai* "please eat"). In either case, pronouns are not permitted, except as vocatives. This is illustrated in (782).

(782) ***kimi,*** *kore akete kure.*
you this open give
"You, open this for me."

As might be expected, personal names, kinship terms, and terms of address may also occur in a similar environment. This is illustrated in (783) through (785).

(783) ***mariko chan,*** *hayaku oki nasai.*
Mariko MS quickly awake do
"Mariko, get up right away."

(784) ***otoosan,*** *yamete kudasai yo.*
father stop give EM
"Father, stop [that]."

(785) ***omawarisan,*** *tetsudatte itadakemasen* *ka.*
policeman help receive-potential-NEG QU
"Mr Policeman, please help me."

It is, of course, possible for a pronoun to appear as an argument of an imperative construction other than the subject or topic. This is illustrated in (786).

(786) *ya kimi,* ***ore*** *ni yokoshite kure.*
uh you me to pass give
"Hey, pass [those papers] to me."

2.1.2.1.1.3.4. *EMPHASIZED WITH IMPERATIVES*

In contexts with imperative verbs where the referent of the pronoun is emphasized, the same situation applies. No pronoun may be present unless that pronoun is a vocative or is a non-subject/topic.

2.1.2.1.1.3.5. *ANSWER TO "WHO IS THAT?"*

In answer to questions of the type, "Who is that?", first person pronouns are the rule, except in situations in which the person calls himself or herself by a kinship title, profession, or nickname. Choice of which first person pronoun to use depends on sociological factors discussed in section 2.1.2.1.12. Third person pronouns are used by that segment of the population which would use them in other environments [see Hinds 1975]. Second person pronouns, as well as reference to second person in response to the question, "Who is it?", are unlikely.

2.1.2.1.1.3.6. *IN CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS*

There are no constraints against the appearance of pronouns in cleft constructions. Cleft sentences take the form shown in (787) and (788).

(787) *amerika- amerika e kita no wa itsu desu ka?*
America America to came NOM TP when COP QU
"When did [you] come to America?"

(788) *sodatta no wa dakara zutto nihongo.*
grew-up NOM TP so straight Japanese
"So, when [I] grew up it was Japanese."

Cleft sentences in Japanese consist of three major components:

[Vbl + *no*] + Particle + Predicate

Each of these three components has restrictions. The first component is a noun phrase which consists of a finite clause followed by the nominalizer *no*. The particle which follows this noun phrase is frequently the topicalizing particle *wa*, although it may also be the subject marker *ga*, or it may even be omitted entirely. The predicate consists of a verbal [ie, verb, adjective, nominal adjective, or noun phrase]. The predicate may be in any appropriate form to reflect honorific and politeness distinctions. If the predicate consists of a nominal adjective or a noun phrase, the copula may be omitted.

Personal pronouns may occur in either the first position or in the second, as (789) and (790) demonstrate, respectively. (790) is taken from a dialect of northern Kyushu, although the pronominal use is identical to standard Japanese.

(789) ***kimi*** *ga yutta no wa hontoo?*
you NM said NOM TP true
"Is what you said true?"

(790) *tabeyotta no ga* ***watashi*** *to maki-chan to*
ate NOM NM I and Makiko and
kishikawa-sensei to.
Prof.-Kishikawa and
"The ones who ate were Professor Kishikawa, Makiko, and I."

2.1.2.1.1.3.7. *OTHER*

The discussion presented in the sections immediately preceding this delineate those structural conditions on pronoun use. While there are few, if any, syntactic environments which treat pronouns differently than full noun phrases, there are social constraints on pronoun use.

2.1.2.1.1.4. *EMPHATIC AND UNEMPHATIC CONTEXTS*

There is no difference in segmental or suprasegmental structure of pronouns depending on whether the context is emphatic or unemphatic. Nor is there a difference in accentuation, tone variation, or vowel length.

2.1.2.1.1.5. *REDUCED PRONOUNS*

Reduced pronouns as such do not exist, except in historical context. There it may be seen that certain pronouns have developed from others [*anta* < *anata* "you"; *atashi* "I (fem.)" < *watashi* "I (neutral)"].

There is a single reduced form which typically occurs

in sentence initial position in the relaxed speech of females. This is the form *'tashi* "I" [< *atashi*]. This is illustrated in (791), where both females in the conversation use this form exclusively in the opening exchanges of their dialogue.

(791) A *dochira kara irashita n desu ka?*
where from came NOM COP QU
"Where do [you] come from?"

Y ***'tashi*** *wa okayama kara na no. anata wa?*
I TP Okayama from LK NOM you TP
tookyoo?
Tokyo
"I'm from Okayama. [What about] you? [Are you from] Tokyo?"

A *un.* ***'tashi*** *wa, umare wa, mo sodachi*
yes I TP birth TP too growing-up
mo tookyoo na n desu kedo ne. kondo wa
too Tokyo LK NOM COP but EM now TP
oosaka kara kita n desu.
Osaka from came NOM COP
"Yes, I was born, both born and brought up in Tokyo. But I've come from Osaka this time."

Y *aaa.* ***'tashi*** *wa ne, okayama de umarete,*
ah I TP EM Okayama at be-born
sodatte soshite, kansai no hoo daigaku
grew-up then Kansai LK side college
e itta no.
to went NOM
"Oh, I was born in Okayama, and grew up [there], and then [I] went to college in the Kansai district."

A *a, soo?* ***'tashi*** *wa daigaku sotsugyoo suru*
oh really I TP college graduate do
made tookyoo deshita kara.
until Tokyo was since
"Oh really? I was in Tokyo until I graduated from college."

The situation is in fact a bit more complicated in that this reduced form actually appears at the initiation of breath groups. This is illustrated in (792), where the form appears after a slight pause.

(792) *un. kore wa ne, 'tashi ga oboe- tabun soo da*
yes this TP EM I NM reme- maybe so COP
to omou no yo-ne.
QT thing NOM EM
"Yes. Well, this, I rememb- think maybe it's true."

2.1.2.1.2. *PERSON DISTINCTIONS IN PRONOUNS*

As discussed in 2.1.2.1.1.1, first, second, and third persons are distinguished in the pronouns. In the written language, because of the meanings associated with characters, it is possible to create pronouns[21] which make other distinctions.

One such example combines the character 彼 (pronounced, in this case, *hi*) meaning "he" and the character 我 (pronounced here *ga*) meaning "I" to create the word *higa* "self and others, he and I, they and we, that and this". Another word, pronounced the same way *higa*, combines the character 非 "non" and 我 "self", meaning "nonego, non-self". Other such combinations are no doubt possible, but it must be emphasized that these forms occur only in written communications where the meaning of the characters identifies the intent of the communicator. Such forms if used in speech would not usually be understood.

2.1.2.1.3. *INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE FIRST PERSON FORMS*

Japanese does not distinguish inclusion versus exclusion of second person in the first person, nor does it distinguish inclusion version exclusion of third person in either first or second person.

2.1.2.1.4. *NUMBER*

2.1.2.1.4.1. *NUMBER DISTINCTIONS*

Pronouns are obligatorily marked for number. In this they are different from nouns since nouns mark number optionally. The basic distinction is between singular and nonsingular [identified in 2.1.2 as plural for the sake of explanatory simplicity]. The nonsingular category contains a very few forms which may be identified as a true plural; the remaining nonsingular pronouns indicate a grouping in which the referent of the head is the center. Table 18 illustrates the variety of forms which are possible.

Table 18

	singular		grouping
I	*wata(ku)shi*	[sex neutral]	*wata(ku)shitachi* *wata(ku)shira*
	atashi	[feminine]	*atashitachi* *atashira*
	boku	[masculine]	*bokutachi* *bokura*
II	*anata*		*anatatachi* *anatagata*
	anta		*antatachi* *antara*
	kimi	[masculine]	*kimitachi* *kimira*
	omae	[masculine]	*omaetachi* *omaera*
III	*kare*	[masculine]	*karera* *karetachi*
	kanojo	[feminine]	*kanojotachi* *kanojora*
	plural		
I	*wareware*		
II	---		
III	*karera*		

You will notice that the forms *wareware* and *karera* are the only unique forms in this table. With respect to *wareware*, in addition to its meaning of plural, it also carries with it connotations of militarism or ethnocentrism, and so is particularly valued by those speakers who wish to speak of themselves as a unified force. It is evident in such expressions as *wareware nihonjin* "we Japanese". The form *karera* is seen in juxtaposition to the form *karetachi*, which has a "group" interpretation. In example (793), *karera* may be seen to refer to everyone equally with no specific focus on any member of the group. This is in contrast with example (794) where *karetachi* is interpreted to mean the single

male under discussion and his friends.

(793) Y. *nihon kara kita hito otoko no hito ga*
Japan from came person male LK person NM
sugu aroha-shatsu kite, onna no hito ga
soon aloha-shirt wear female LK person NM
kono yoo na, anoo, muumuu kite aruku deshoo.
this way LK uh muumuu wear walk COP
waikiki n' toko. hotondo soo mitai.
Waikiki LK place almost so seem
"The people who come from Japan, the men right away wear aloha shirts and the women wear muumuus and [they] go for a walk. In Waikiki. It nearly always happens, it seems."

A *un. unn. un. un. doo, soo iu no mite.*
yes yes yes yes how that say NOM look
"Oh yes. How, [you] can see that kind of thing."

Y *ii n ja-nai? **karera** ga ii to*
good NOM TAG they NM good QT
omotte-irassharu nara. ha, ha.
think if
"It's all right, isn't it? If they think it's OK? Ha ha."

(794) M *nagai aida satoo-kun ni atte-nai na.*
long time Sato Mr to meet-NEG EM
"[I] haven't seen Sato for a long time."

S *a, **karetachi** moo tatta yo, amerika ni.*
oh he-plural already left EM America to
"Oh, he and his family already left, for America that is."

2.1.2.1.4.2. *OPTIONALITY OF NUMBER DISTINCTIONS*

Pronouns, unlike nouns, have no optional number marking; all such marking is obligatory. A complication arises, however, when forms other than the set described above are considered. One such form is *uchi*. This form means "house" or "home", and it is used in a pronominal fashion by many speakers of Japanese.[22] This may be seen in the following examples. In (795), the fact that K uses the word *anata* "you" to respond to this statement allows us to realize that *uchi* is taken as an equivalent of *watashi*. The contrast in (796) and (797), both uttered by the same speaker, demonstrates the looseness with which this form may be defined. In (796), *uchi* clearly refers to the speaker

alone, while in (797), the reference is to the speaker and his wife.

(795) A *yasumi wa toranakute, nishuukanchuu nihon*
vacation TP take-NEG two-weeks Japan
*ni kite, **uchi** no ani no apaato ni*
to come I LK brother LK apartment in
issho-ni sunde-ta wake ne.
together lived reason EM
"[He] didn't take a vacation, [he] came to Japan for two weeks and lived in my brother's apartment."

K *anata gokyoodai nannin?*
you siblings how-many
"How many brothers and sisters do you have?"

(796) *hoo desu ne, koma- kotchi e kite komatta koto*
so COP EM trouble here to come troubled fact
*tte ieba **uchi** no nyoobo to ko tte kodomo ga*
QT if house LK wife and chi- QT child NM
kot- kotchi e kite narenakatta sei ka yoku
here- here to come used-to-NEG-PAST reason or often
saisho no uchi wa byooki ni kakarimashite ne.
beginning LK time TP sick as get EM
"Let me see, trouble, what has been trouble since I came here is that my wife and child often got sick, probably because they were not used to it here."

(797) *nihon ni anoo ita toki ni wa anoo amerika-iki*
Japan in H was time at TP H America-going
*ga kimatta toki ni wa i-izuree **uchi** no*
NM decided time at TP eventually our LK
ko ni sonna koto o i- iwareru n ja nai
child by such thing AC be-said NOM TP not
ka nante waraibanashi ni yutte-ta n desu
QU QT laugh-talk as said NOM COP
kedo ne.
but EM
"Uh, when we were in Japan, uh, when we decided to go to we used to say jokingly that our child would talk like that eventually, however."

2.1.2.1.4.3. *OVERLAPPING REFERENCE*

As pointed out in 2.1.2.1.4.2, there is the potential for overlap between the categories plural and grouping.

2.1.2.1.4.4.-5. *UNBOUNDED REFERENCE AND PAUCAL*

There are no such categories in Japanese.

2.1.2.1.4.6. *PRONOUN ASSOCIATION WITH NUMERALS*

It is possible for pronouns to be associated in noun phrases with nume rals. These formations provide such collocations as *bokura futari* "we two". There is no obvious limit on the association of pronouns and numerals, and it is quite possible to imagine a young child telling what he and his classmates did that day by stating, *bokutachi yonjuunin* "we forty". It must be pointed out, of course, that such large numbers strain the system.

2.1.2.1.4.7. *COLLECTIVE AND DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALS*

There is no such distinction in Japanese [see, however, 2.1.2.1.4.3].

2.1.2.1.4.8. *NONSINGULAR*

There is no distinction such that one form indicates that the referents include all the possible referents, wherens the other indicates that only a subset of the possible referents is involved.

2.1.2.1.5.1. *STATUS DIFFERENCES IN THIRD PERSON ACTORS*

There is no way to mark the status of various third person actors referred to by pronouns as more important versus less important. An interesting distinction may be made by some speakers, however, when two third person male characters are referred to by pronouns. One may be referred to by *kare* "he" while the other will be referred to by *kare-shi* "he-Mr". The distinction, to the extent that it is made, appears to serve the sole purpose of keeping two characters apart rather than evaluating their relative status.

2.1.2.1.5.2. *FURTHER DEGREES OF OBVIATION*

There are no further degrees of obviation possible.

2.1.2.1.6. *DEGREES OF PROXIMITY TO PARTICIPANTS IN THIRD PERSON FORMS*

In the set of pronouns provided prior to this, there is no means to express degrees of proximity to the participants. There is a set of pronominal forms which are used for nonanimate objects.[23] These are presented in Table 19.

Table 19

kore	*sore*	*are*
"this"	"that"	"that (over there)"

The form *kore* refers to something close to the speaker, the form *sore* refers to something close to the addressee, and *are* refers to something at a distance from both. This distinction is obligatory.

2.1.2.1.7. *ANAPHORIC THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS*

The forms given in 2.1.2.1.6 have an anaphoric usage as well. In this anaphoric use, reference may be made to items not presently in view. Kuno 1973:290 summarizes the anaphoric use of these pronouns:

(i) The *a*-series is used for referring to something (at a distance either in time or space) that the speaker knows both he and the hearer know personally or have shared experience in.

(ii) The *so*-series is used for referring to something that is not known personally to either the speaker or the hearer or has not been a shared experience between them.

(iii) The *ko*-series is used semianaphorically as if the object being talked about were visible and were at the speaker's side. The hearer cannot refer to the same object by using the *ko*-series in spite of the fact that in the ordinary demonstrative use of the *ko*-series the same object can occasionally be referred to with *ko* by both the speaker and the hearer. Once the understanding is established between the two that both know the object well, the *a*-series takes precedence, and the use of the *ko*-series results in unacceptability.

While the details of these constraints may be disputed [see, for instance, Hinds 1973b], they are correct in broad outline. It is the distinction between the *a*-series and the *so*-series which causes most difficulty for speakers of English, since a distinction is made in Japanese which does not exist in English.

2.1.2.1.7.1. *CLASHES BETWEEN NATURAL GENDER AND GRAMMATICAL GENDER*

No such clashes exist.

2.1.2.1.8. *GENDER DISTINCTION IN PRONOUNS*

There is a distinction between singular male and female third person forms [*kare* "he" versus *kanojo* "she"]. In the plural this distinction is not maintained [see 2.1.2.1.4.1 for a discussion of the plural forms *karera* and *karetachi*, both of which refer to mixed groups].

2.1.2.1.8.1. *SEX OF SPEAKER AND HEARER*

There are neutral first-person pronouns [*watakushi, watashi*], and there are specific forms which males use [*boku, ore*] and which females use [*atakushi, atashi*]. Selection of a gender specific first person pronoun is not obligatory.

Sex of the hearer is not distinguished through pronoun choice.

2.1.2.1.9. *TRIBAL PRONOUNS*

There are no tribal, sectional, or family relationships specifically indicated through pronoun choice. The use of the possessive form *waga* "my/our" borders on this, since it is usually used to describe the possession of an ingroup object: *waga kuni* "our country"; *waga ya* "our/my home".

2.1.2.1.10. *POSSIBLE FORMS OF PRONOUNS*

See 2.1.2.1.

2.1.2.1.11. *VERB AGREEMENT*

The pronoun does not agree with the verb in tense.

2.1.2.1.12. *STATUS DISTINCTIONS*

See 2.1.2.1. It should be recalled that pronouns are not used in Japanese with the same frequency they are used in many other languages. As a result, people find other ways to differentiate status.

Within the pronominal system, however, there are relevant distinctions in status which are made. When pronouns are used in normal conversational interactions, they convey a great deal of information not conveyed by pronouns in Western languages. Consider, for instance, the following list of singular pronouns.

Table 20

I. *watakushi, watashi, boku, ore, atashi, atakushi*

II. *anata, kimi, omae, kisama, anta*

III. *kare, kanojo*

This list, while incomplete, provides a convenient point of departure for a discussion of the range of meanings associated with each of the forms. The general parameters used to describe these pronouns include sex of referent, social status of referent, and degree of politeness. *watakushi* is used by both men and women to refer to themselves, but it is not used by children [see Peng 1973]. It is a formal first person pronoun. *watashi* is also used by both men and women, and it is polite. *boku* and *ore* are masculine first person pronouns: *boku* is relatively neutral while *ore* is overtly marked for roughness. *atashi* is a relatively neutral feminine first person pronoun, while *atakushi* is a more polite feminine form.

With respect to second person pronouns, social status is the primary factor in determining which form to use. *anata* is used by both men and women in addressing equals and inferiors. In fact, it has developed into a fairly neutral term of address for such media as advertising while retaining a degree of politeness in interpersonal encounters. *kimi* is used primarily by men to address equals and inferiors. *omae* is used by men to address inferiors. *kisama* is a term of insult, often used as a prelude to a fight. *anta* is used primarily by women to address their husbands.

Third person pronoun usage involves additional complications. The major point to make is that their usage is constrained in ways that English third person pronouns are not. The following list of qualities, summarized from Hinds 1975:153-5, describes these constraints. Similar constraints may be found in Sandness 1975. Additional remarks on third person pronouns in Japanese may be found in Okumura 1952.

Table 21

1. Young adults use *kare* and *kanojo* more than high school students.

2. Females use *kare* and *kanojo* more than males.

3. *kare* and *kanojo* are avoided in reference to family members.

4. *kare* and *kanojo* are avoided in reference to superiors.

5. *kare* and *kanojo* are freely used to refer to persons in the public sphere.

6. *kare* and *kanojo* are used more in translation from Western languages than in spontaneous conversation.

7. The extensive use of *kare* and *kanojo* is considered improper.

2.1.2.1.12.1. *USE OF TITLES OR OTHER NOUNS*

The preferred use in many contexts is the use of a title to refer to someone. In third person usage, the title, such as *isha* "doctor" may be preceded by the honorific prefix *o-* and followed by the suffix *-san* "Mr" to produce *o-isha-san*. Other typical usages are *kutsu-ya-san* "shoe-store-Mr", *sakana-ya-san* "fish-store-Mr", and *o-mawari-san* "honorific-turn-Mr" (=policeman, since he is responsible for causing traffic to turn). This is illustrated in conversational interaction in (798).

(798) *moyashicha-ikenai no yo-ne? **gomiyasan** no*
burn-cannot NOM EM garbage-man LK
yatsu nanka mo.
thing like even
"[You] can't burn [it within Tokyo], right? Not even the garbage man's things."

A very common title which is used is *sensei* "teacher". The term is quite widespread and is used to refer to almost anyone who has, or professes to have, expertise in a given subject. Thus, while teachers are referred to with this term, so are doctors. It is not uncommon to hear of someone who has expertise in games such as *go* to be referred to by this term. On late night TV, even commentators whose "expertise" is a preoccupation with sexual activity are referred to as *sensei*, despite their acknowledged lack of formal degrees. It is as if Ann Landers were referred to as "Doctor" by those writing to her.

Personal names and kinship terms are used to refer to people one knows, even as address terms. This may be seen in the following examples where, in English, a pronoun is preferred.

(799) *ee-to ne, sore ja, kore kara iroiro-to* ***suwan san*** *ni*
uh EM that TP this from various Swan Ms to
shitsumon shimasu kara kotaete kudasai ne.
question do since answer please EM
"Uh, well, from this point on [I]'d like to ask Ms Swan (= you) a variety of questions, so please answer, OK?"

(800) S *ja, ooyasan.*
well landlord
"How about the landlord?"

K ***ooyasan*** *wakaru ka-shira.*
landlord understand wonder
"Do [you] think the landlord (= he) knows English?"

(801) ***kurihata san*** *no toki yatte moraoo.*
Kurihata Ms LK time do receive
"[I] will ask Ms Kurihata (= her) at the [next taping]."

2.1.2.1.13.1. *NONSPECIFIC INDEFINITE PRONOUNS*

This function is typically served by ellipsis rather than by pronouns.

2.1.2.1.13.2. *NONSPECIFIC INDEFINITE PRONOUNS FROM THE PERSONAL SYSTEM*

There are no nonspecific indefinite pronouns from the personal pronoun system.

2.1.1.1.13.3. *NOUNS WITH THE FUNCTION OF NONSPECIFIC INDEFINITE PRONOUNS*

There are nominal forms which are used to make statements about nonspecific persons. The most appropriate of these for illustrative purposes is the form *hito* "person."

(802) ***hito*** *no kuchi ga urusai.*
one LK mouth NM annoying
"People will gossip."

(803) ***hito*** *ni warawareru yo.*
one by be-laughed-at EM
"[You]'ll be laughed at."

2.1.2.1.14. *SPECIFIC INDEFINITE PRONOUNS*

Specific indefinite pronouns are formed by placing the question particle *ka* directly after a question word. The range of forms is illustrated in Table 23.

Table 23

dare	who	*dareka*	someone, anyone
nani	what	*nanika*	something, anything
doko	where	*dokoka*	somewhere, anywhere
itsu	when	*itsuka*	sometime, anytime
dochira	which (of two)	*dochiraka*	either one
dore	which (of three or more)	*doreka*	someone, anyone (of three or more)

2.1.2.1.15. *EMPHATIC PRONOUNS*

Emphatic pronouns may be formed by the addition of the form *jishin* "self" to any of the pronouns. Table 20 is reproduced here, with *jishin* attached to each pronoun for the sake of reference. *jishin* may also attach to plural pronouns.

Table 20

I. *watakushi-jishin, watashi-jishin, boku-jishin, ore-jishin, atashi-jishin, atakushi-jishin*

II. *anata-jishin, kimi-jishin, omae-jishin, kisama-jishin, anta-jishin*

III. *kare-jishin, kanojo-jishin*

This is illustrated in (804) where the form *karera-jishin* "they themselves" appears.

(804) *sonna kyakutachi no naka ni wa, miura-san*
that-kind guests LK among to TP Miura Mr
no "yuujin", sono "yuujin" o shitte-iru jinbutsu
LK friend that friend AC know person
*nado ga oozei ite, **karera-jishin** ga*
and NM many be they-self NM
chokusetsu-kansetsu-teki-ni sono bideo ni
directly-indirectly that video in
toojoo shitari mo shite-ru.
appear do-and too doing
"Among that kind of visitors were a great number of people who knew Miura's "friend", and they themselves appeared directly and indirectly in the video."

[FOCUS 7/13/84, page 18]

2.1.2.1.16. *COMPLEX PRONOUNS*

There are no complex pronouns which give a combination of different types of reference.

2.1.2.1.17. *PRONOUN-NOUN CONSTRUCTIONS*

Pronoun-noun constructions are possible. Perhaps the most common such construction involves the pronoun *wareware* "we". It occurs in combinations with nouns denoting significant social groups: *wareware nihonjin* "we Japanese". This construction does not occur with second or third person reference.

2.1.2.1.18. *PAIRS OF PRONOUNS*

No constructions of the type "we (and) the priest" occur with the meaning "I and the priest".

2.1.2.1.19. *SECONDARY PRONOUN SYSTEM*

There is no secondary pronoun system.

2.1.2.1.20. *CASE SYSTEM IN PRONOUNS*

There is no case system in pronouns, other than that which exists for nouns. In both instances, case-marking particles follow the form. Since these are not inflectional endings, they are not considered to constitute a case system.

2.1.2.2. *REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS*

2.1.2.2.1. *SPECIAL REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS*

The language has a set of forms which are traditionally called reflexive pronouns [see Kuno 1973]. It is difficult to determine with any assurance that these are in fact are pronouns rather than nominals [see 2.1.2]. The forms all contain the reflexive prefix *ji*. A sampling of such free standing forms contains *jibun*, *jiko*, *jitai*, and *jishin* [see Tawa 1975]. Reflexivity is discussed in detail in 1.6.

2.1.2.2.2. *SUBCATEGORIES*

The reflexive forms in Japanese distinguish only number, and this is distinguished irregularly. The plural suffixes *-tachi* or *-ra* are attached to some of the forms directly.[24] This is illustrated in (805) and (806), taken from Tawa 1975.

(805) *seinen wa soo iu koto ni-yotte **jibun** no*
youth TP that say fact by self LK
sedai o kakunin suru.
generation AC recognize do
"Youngsters recognize their own generation by that kind of thing."

(806) *seinen wa soo iu koto ni-yotte **jibuntachi** no*
youth TP that say fact by self LK
sedai o kakunin suru.
generation AC recognize do
"Youngsters recognize their own generation by that kind of thing."

2.1.2.2.3. *REFLEXIVE FORMS*

See 2.1.2.2.2.

2.1.2.2.4. *CASE*

Reflexive forms are not marked for case.

2.1.2.2.5.-6. *OTHER MEANS TO EXPRESS REFLEXIVITY*

See 2.1.2.2.2.

2.1.2.2.7. *OTHER USES OF THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN*

The reflexive pronoun may be used as a first person pronoun. This usage occurs in the Tokyo dialect, while in the Kansai dialect area its frequency of occurrence is even

greater. Example (807) illustrates this from Tokyo, while (808) illustrates this for Osaka.

(807) *dakedo soo ne, **jibun** ga kyoodai motsu n*
but so EM I NM sibling have NOM
dattara toshi no hanareta oniisan ka oneesan
COP-if age LK separated brother or sister
ga ita hoo ga ii to omou.
NM was side NM good QT think
"If I can choose my brothers or sisters, I want very old brothers or sisters."

(808) *isshookenmei **jibun** ga mooshikomi kaite*
diligently I NM application write
moote-kite-ta yaroo.
took COP
"I wrote out the application diligently and took [it there]."

2.1.2.3. *RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS*

2.1.2.3.1. *SPECIAL FORMS*

The language has no special reciprocal pronouns, although there is a reciprocal expression *otagai (ni)*. This form is not restricted to any single grammatical category, as examples (809) and (810) demonstrate. Example (809) is an adverbial construction taken from Osaka dialect, whereas example (810) illustrates *otagai* as a direct object.

(809) *maa, hanashitara, nanka **otagai-ni** shiriaetara,*
well speak-if like reciprocal know-can-if
moo kyoodai deta hito de nee
already siblings appeared person COP EM
koogaku hakase ya nen.
engineering Ph.D. COP EM
"Well, if [you] spoke, if [you] could know each other, it'd be like you were brothers since [he] has a Ph. D. in engineering."

(810) *hanarete-te, nanka, nantonaku **otagai** o*
separated like somehow reciprocal AC
mite-inai desu kara ne.
look-NEG COP since EM
"[They]'re separated, like, somehow, [they]'re not looking at each other."

There is an additional way to indicate reciprocity, and this is with a compound verb. The first verb in this type of compound designates the activity while the second verb is *au* "to fit, suit". This is illustrated in example (809) in

which the potential conditional form *shiriaetara* [< *shiri* "know" + *au* "suit"] appears in conjunction with the expression *otagai ni* "together with".

(811) *nnnn betsu-ni ko- chuugaku kookoo no*
H not-specially high- junior-high high-school LK
toki ni kagitte ieba sore-hodo sugoi sensei
time to limit say-if that-much great teacher
da naa toka ii sensei da naa toka soo-iu sensei
COP EM or good teacher COP EM or such teacher
ni wa, meguriatta koto nai desu kedo ne.
with TP encountered fact not COP however EM
"Uh, not especially, just talking about when I was in junior high and high school, I never did meet the kind of teacher you say, wow he's great or she's nice."

2.1.2.3.2. *SUBCATEGORIES*

The reciprocal form has no subcategories.

2.1.2.3.3. *FORMS*

The form *otagai* is the most common form, although *tagai* [minus the honorific prefix] also occurs.

2.1.2.3.4. *CASE*

Reciprocal is not marked for case.

2.1.2.3.5.-6. *OTHER MEANS OF EXPRESSING RECIPROCITY*

See 2.1.2.3.1.-2.

2.1.2.3.7. *OTHER USES OF THE RECIPROCAL*

When one is complimented on work done, it is often the case that *otagaisama* is given as the response. This means something like "You too."

2.1.2.4. *POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS*

2.1.2.4.1.-4. *SPECIFIC POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS*

There are no special forms for possessive pronouns.

2.1.2.4.5-6. *POSSESSION WITH PRONOUNS*

Possession is expressed with pronouns in exactly the same way that it is expressed with nouns. The possessor precedes the possessed, connected by the particle *no*.

(812) *watashi wa, teki ni-taishite sae, toozen*
I TP enemy concerning only naturally
shinakereba-naranai ***karera no*** *meiyo ni*
must-do they LK honor as
kanshita shoogen wa, kippari-to okonau.
concerned testimony TP clearly do
"Even to my enemies I frankly render the testimony of honor that is due".

[Tensei Jingo 10/4/83]

(813) ***atashi*** *no tomodachi de, anoo, onna sannin*
I LK friend COP uh female 3
shimai, onna sannin no shimai nante
sisters female 3 LK sisters QT
okashii wa-ne.
funny EM
"My friends, who are three sisters, well, I guess it's funny to say *onna* [female] and *shimai* [sisters] together."

(814) ***anata no*** *kamera ni chanto poozu shita?*
you LK camera to straight pose did
"[He] posed for your camera?"

(815) *kanojo wa kare ga ha no chiryoo ni itte-ita*
she TP he NM tooth LK treatment to went
iin no shika-eiseijoo de, ***kare no*** *tantoo*
infirmary LK tooth-hygiene place by he LK charge
datta no desu.
was NOM COP
"At the dental clinic where he went to have his teeth treated, she was his [person in] charge."

[FOCUS 7/13/84, page 48]

2.1.2.4.7-9. *TYPES OF POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS*

Japanese does not have reflexive, reciprocal, or emphatic possessive pronouns.

2.1.2.4.10. *OTHER TYPES*

There are no other types of possessive pronouns.

2.1.2.4.11. *ADJECTIVAL USE OF POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS*

See 2.1.2.4.6.

2.1.2.5. *DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS*

2.1.2.5.1. *PARAMETERS INVOLVED IN DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS*

The parameters involved in the demonstrative pronouns are proximity to speaker and addressee and reference in previous discourse. This involves a difference in a deictic use of the demonstrative pronouns and an anaphoric use of the demonstrative pronouns, respectively.

The following table, taken from Kuno 1973:282, lists the demonstratives in Japanese.

Table 24

ko-series	*so*-series	*a*-series
kore "this one"	*sore* "that one"	*are* "that one over there"
koitsu "this guy"	*soitsu* "that guy"	*aitsu* "that guy over there"
kono "(of) this"	*sono* "(of) that"	*ano* "(of) that over there"
konna "like this"	*sonna* "like that"	*anna* "like that over there"
koko "here"	*soko* "there"	*asoko* "over there"
kochira "this way"	*sochira* "that way"	*achira* "that way over there"
koo "in this way"	*soo* "in that way"	*aa* "in that way over there"

2.1.2.5.1.1-20. *RELATIVE DISTANCE*

In the deictic use, the *ko*-series is used to refer to something close to the speaker, the *so*-series is used to refer to something close to the addressee, and the *a*-series is used to refer to something close to neither [see also Hattori 1961, Hinds 1973b].

2.1.2.5.1.21-23. *NOT PRESENT IN SPEECH SITUATION*

In the anaphoric use, there are five conditions which determine how forms are used [see Kuno 1973, Hinds 1973b]. First, the *a*-series is used to refer to a referent which is known to the participants in a conversation from the same perspective, and this shared knowledge must be the focus of

the speaker's comment. In the following example, the use of the *a*-series in A's first utterance indicates that he feels the addressee shares this basic knowledge about the teacher. In the second utterance about this teacher, either the *a*-series or the *so*-series is permissible. The use of the *a*-series is relatively neutral, while the use of the *so*-series indicates that the speaker feels he is imparting a new perspective on the teacher for the addressee.

(816) A. *ninen mae-ni naratta konno sensei o oboete-ru?*
2-yr before learned Konno Prof AC remember
*hora, ano (*sono) gyamburu wa zaiaku da to*
look that that gamble TP vice COP QT
itta sensei sa.
said teacher EM
"Do [you] remember Mr. Konno who taught us two years ago? You know, the one who told us that gambling is a vice."

B. *ee.*
un
"Yes."

A. *ano (sono) konno sensei ga ne, ima ja,*
that that Konno Prof NM EM now TP
keirin-keiba ni kotte-ru n da yo.
racing to devoted NOM COP EM
"That Mr Konno now always goes to the bicycle and horse races."

[Hinds 1973b:8]

Second, noun phrases which refer to hypothetical entities are always marked by the *so*-series. This may be seen in a typical way of scolding a child in Japan [from Hinds 1973b:10].

(817) *yame-nasai! sonna hito ni wa daremo okashi o*
stop! that-kind person to TP no-one candy AC
kuremasen yo!
give-NEG EM
"Stop that! Nobody gives candy to that kind of a person."

Third, in conversations of a nonspecific nature, the *so*-series is used in the neutral case. The presence of the *a*-series in a nonspecific conversation implies that the referent of the noun phrase is known and is considered to be the representative of a class. In the following example, the *so*-series is used to refer to people in general.

(818) *yappari, koo, **sono** hito no ryooshin ni*
as-expected uh that person LK conscience to
makasu n ja-nai no?
give-up NOM NEG QU
"I think [they] let people judge for themselves."

Fourth, the reintroduction of topics in a conversation is done through the use of the *a*-series. In the following example, two participants are looking at some pictures, and the speaker is reintroducing a picture he saw previously into the conversation.

(819) *ichiban saisho no, sakki no ichiban saisho*
first first LK before LK first first
*no **are** wa, nanka hazukashigatte*
LK that TP like embarrassed-seems
"[This is] the first, first, the very first one that [we saw], [she] looks like [she]'s embarrassed ... "

Fifth, preliminary mention of a referent known to both the speaker and the addressee from the same perspective is made with the *a*-series. Continued mention of this same referent triggers the use of the *so*-series, perhaps through some association with the deictic use of these demonstratives. In the following example, the "girl" is introduced with the *a*-series and several utterances later is referred to with the *so*-series.

(820) A. *a soo da. **ano** **korombasu no onna-no-ko**, kodomo*
a so COP that Columbus LK girl child
umareta rashii zo.
was-born seems EM
"Oh yeah, uh, it seems like that girl from Columbus had her baby."

B. *dare no kodomo ka wakatta no?*
who LK child QU understood NOM
"Do [you] know whose child it is?"

A. *sore, biru no kodomo rashii n da kedo ne.*
that Bill LK child seems NOM COP but EM
"Well, it seems like it's Bill's."

B. *yappari.*
as-expected
"I thought as much."

A. *sore-de, da-kara, saiban o yaru rashii.*
and so court AC do seems
"And so it seems like [she]'s going to take [him] to court."

A. *sore-de, yooiku-hi o.*
and expense AC
"And [she'll ask him for] child support."

B. *un, de, biru wa uttaerareru n ja-nai?*
so Bill TP sue-PASS NOM NEG-TAG
"Um, so, Bill will be sued, won't he?"

A. *uttaerareru.*
sue-PASS
"Yes, he will."

B. *hora.*
see
"Oh."

A. *da-kedo ne, da-kedo, boku wa, boku wa,*
but EM but I TP I TP
sono onna-no-ko baka da to omotte nee.
that girl fool COP QT think-and EM
"But, uh, but, I, I think that girl's stupid, and ... "

2.1.2.5.2. *VARIOUS DEMONSTRATIVES*

See 2.1.2.5.1.

2.1.2.5.3. *PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE*

As has been described above, there is a three-way demonstrative system. The system involves a *ko-*, *so-*, and *a-*series. This is the extent of phonological iconic variation.

2.1.2.5.4. *NUMBER MARKING*

The forms *kore* "this", *sore* "that", and *are* "that over there" have an optional plural form. This is created by attaching the plural morpheme *-ra* to the appropriate form.

2.1.2.5.4.1. *DIFFERENCES FROM NOUN NUMBER MARKING*

Nouns referring to inanimate objects do not take a plural form. The demonstratives described just above refer to inanimates. Thus, the major difference is that number marking may occur on demonstratives referring to inanimate

objects.

(821) ***korera*** *no* ***manyooshuu*** *no rei ni wa ...*
these LK Manyoshu LK examples in TP
"Among these examples from the Manyoshu ... "

[Martin 1975:1048]

2.1.2.5.5-7. *CLASS, GENDER, AND CASE*

Demonstratives in Japanese are not marked for class, gender, or case.

2.1.2.5.8. *ATTRIBUTIVE USE*

These forms may be used as any other noun, preceding the linking particle *no*.

(822) *jinrui no chie* ***wa sore no higeki*** *o*
mankind LK knowledge TP that LK tragedy AC
fusegu koto ga dekinai de-iru.
save fact NM able-NEG COP
"The wisdom of mankind is unable to prevent such a tragedy."

[Tensei Jingo 10/25/83]

2.1.2.6. *INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS*

Japanese has a full range of interrogative pronouns [see also 1.1.1.2.2.]. The complete list follows.

2.1.2.6.1. *FREE-STANDING INTERROGATIVE WORDS*

dare, donata, dochira	"who"
nan(i), nanimono, nanigoto	"what"
itsu, nandoki	"when"
doko, dochira	"where"
naze, nande, doo-shite	"why"
doo, ikaga	"how"
ikura, ikahodo	"how much"
donna, ikanaru, ikaga-na	"what kind of"
dore	"which (of three or more)"

dotchi, dochira	"which (of two)"
dono	"which (as prenominal)"

2.1.2.6.2. *OTHER INTERROGATIVES*

All classifiers [see 2.1.1.9.4] may have questions formed through the addition of the bound interrogative morpheme *nan-* or *iku-*. There is no distinction between whether such forms are used in direct or indirect speech.

Interrogative morphemes are selected depending on the type of classifier. The morpheme *iku-* is generally attached to classifiers which belong to the native system, while *nan-* generally attaches to Chinese loans [see 1.16 for lists], although exceptions do exist: *iku-nichi* alternates with *nan-nichi* "how many days"; *nan-beya* "how many rooms"; etc. Each interrogative word thus consists of an interrogative morpheme and a bound counter suffix.

The classifiers are grouped according to the item they enumerate, a semantic classification. In the following list, major classifiers are presented (there are over one hundred in all), and the classifier is followed either by a [J] or a [C] to indicate which numerals cooccur. For the semantic properties of the class, see 2.1.1.9.4.

nan-bai	[C]	how many multiples
nan-ban	[C]	how many serial numbers
nan-bansen	[C]	which track
nan-banchi	[C]	which lot number
nan-dai	[C]	how many vehicles
nan-do	[C]	how many times
nan-doru	[C]	how many dollars
nan-en	[C]	how many yen
nan-pun	[C]	how many minutes
nan-gatsu	[C]	what month of the year
nan-goosha	[C]	what train car number
nan-guramu	[C]	how many grams
nan-gyoo	[C]	how many columns

nan-bai	[C]	how many glassfuls
nan-ben	[C]	what number of times
nan-biki	[C]	how many animals
nan-bon	[C]	how many long objects
nan-joo	[C]	how many tatami mats
nan-kagetsu	[C]	how many months
nan-gai	[C]	what floor
nan-kai	[C]	what number of times
nan-gen	[C]	how many buildings
nan-kiro	[C]	how many kilograms/kilometers
nan-ko	[C]	how many things
nan-mai	[C]	how many thin, flat objects
nan-meetoru	[C]	how many meters
nan-nen	[C]	how many years
nan-nin	[C]	how many persons
nan-ninmae	[C]	how many portions
nan-paasento	[C]	what percent
nan-peeji	[C]	what page/how many pages
nan-retsu	[C]	how many lines
nan-rittoru	[C]	how many liters
nan-sai	[C]	how old
nan-satsu	[C]	how many bound objects
nan-seki	[C]	how many ships
nan-shuukan	[C]	how many weeks
nan-soku	[C]	how many pairs of socks

nan-too	[C]	how many large animals
iku-tsu	[J]	how many inanimate objects
nan-tsuu	[C]	how many letters
nan-wa	[C]	how many birds
nan-zen	[C]	how many bowls of rice

There are some morphophonemic changes which take place. This may be seen when the classifier begins with a consonant from the *ha-gyoo* (*h* or *f*) and sometimes when the classifier begins with *k* (see in particular the two entries for *-kai*).

2.1.2.7. *RELATIVE PRONOUNS*

There are no relative pronouns or relative clause markers in Japanese. To modify this statement somewhat, Kuno 1973:234 points out that in formal writing with a direct-translation flavor, the phrase *tokoro no* "of the place" may be used as the functional equivalent of a relative pronoun.

(823) *kore wa jon ga kaita tokoro no hon de-aru.*
this TP John NM wrote place LK book COP
"This is the book that John has written."

2.1.3. VERB MORPHOLOGY

2.1.3.1. *VOICE*

2.1.3.1.1. *PASSIVE*

The passive construction in Japanese has received considerable attention in the literature [see, in particular, Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976] because of its unique semantic and syntactic characteristics. With respect to semantics, it is frequently claimed that there are two passive constructions. The first is termed the affective passive, because it carries with it a sense that the promoted subject is affected by the action of the verb. The second is termed the pure passive, because it has no such sense. Syntactic characteristics of each are open to speculation [see Klaiman 1983], but it is generally recognized that the affective passive has greater syntactic variability than the pure passive.

With respect to verb morphology, there are two allomorphs for the passive morpheme. These are conditioned by the verb class [see 1.1.1.3]. For vowel verbs, the passive allomorph is *-rare-*; for consonant verbs, the passive allomorph is *-are-*. Both attach to the appropriate verb stems,

and become derived vowel verbs [see again 1.1.1.3]. Table 25 lists the proper passive forms for the major verb classes.

Table 25

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Stem	Passive	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabe*	*taberareru*	eat
	yameru	*yame*	*yamerareru*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*machi*	*matareru*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukuri*	*tsukurareru*	build
	tsukau	*tsukai*	*tsukawareru*	use
(B)	*yomu*	*yomi*	*yomareru*	read
	yobu	*yobi*	*yobareru*	call
	shinu	*shini*	*shinareru*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kaki*	*kakareru*	write
	oyogu	*oyogi*	*oyogareru*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oshi*	*osareru*	push

With respect to syntactic changes, one constituent, usually the direct object, is typically promoted to the surface subject/topic position [but see Klaiman 1983]. That is, it is marked by the particle *ga* or *wa*. The original animate agent is typically marked by *ni*.[25] It must be borne in mind, of course, that either or both of these noun phrases may be unexpressed in a particular utterance.

Klaiman 1983 argues, correctly I believe, that it is frequently impossible to differentiate these two types of passives. The following data are adduced to demonstrate examples of what are typically claimed to be the different types of passive construction, although no strong claims are made about these being distinct types of passive.

(824) S *omoshiroi desu ne. boku ya nyoobo nanka wa*
interesting COP EM I or wife or TP
shotchuu hatsuon ga okashii tte
often pronunciation NM funny QT
yuu n de ***naosarete-masu*** *yo.*
say NOM and correct-PASS EM
"It's interesting, my wife and I are always being corrected by his saying that our pronunciation is funny."

I LAUGHTER

S *nihon ni anoo ita toki ni wa anoo amerika-iki*
Japan in H was time at TP H America-going
ga kimatta toki ni wa i-izure: uchi-no ko
NM decided time at TP eventually our child
ni sonna koto o i- ***iwareru*** *n ja nai ka nante*
by such thing AC say-PASS NOM TP not QU QT
waraibanashi ni yutte-ta n desu kedo ne.
laugh-talk as said NOM COP but EM
"Uh, when we were in Japan, uh, when we decided to go to America, we used to say jokingly that our child would talk like that eventually, however."

(825) *anoo, nanka ne, yappari nihon de wa sore:, chii*
uh like EM after-all Japan in TP that status
ga ***mitomerarete-nai*** *tte iu ka nanka yasuppoi*
NM recognize-PASS-NEG QT say QU like cheap
kanji ga shite shiyoo ga nai n desu yo-ne.
feeling NM do use NM not NOM COP EM
"Uh, something, after all in Japan, its status is not being recognized, or somehow, I cannot help feeling it cheap."

In (824), there are two instances of the passive form, and in both cases it is clear that the parents are somehow affected by the remarks of the child. In (825), since the derived subject is *chii* "status", it cannot be affected since it is inanimate [see Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976].

2.1.3.1.1.1. *DIRECT OBJECT AS SUBJECT OF PASSIVE*

This possibility exists. It is particularly common in the pure passive, although it also exists in the affective passive. The examples in 2.1.3.1.1 demonstrate how the direct object may become the subject. Example (826) provides a further illustration.

(826) *nihongo no ukemi wa eigo nado to chigatte,*
Japanese LK passive TP English like and different
(160-o) ya (160-ka) no yoo-ni jidooshi
and LK like intransitive-verb
mo judooka sareru ten ga tokui
too passivize do-PASS point NM differential
da to yoku iwareru.
COP QT often say-PASS
"It is often said that the Japanese passive is different from the English and other language [passives], since as (160-o) and (160-ka) show, intransitive verbs are also passivized."

[Shibatani 1978a:134]

The noun phrase *jidooshi* "intransitive verb", the direct object of the active expression *judooka suru* "to passivize", becomes the subject of the passive verb *judooka sareru* "to be passivized". The quotation which is the subject of the passive verb *iwareru* "be said" is discussed in 2.1.3.1.1.1.3.

2.1.3.1.1.1.2. *INDIRECT OBJECT BECOMES SUBJECT OF PASSIVE*

Indirect objects may also become the subject of passives. Indirect objects of active verbs are marked by *ni*, and so in these cases, there is a reversal of case marking for agent and patient. In the following example which illustrates this, the agent was not expressed in the sentence. Had it been, it would have been marked by the particle *ni*.

(827) *so, so. un. sukaafu da tte watashi mukashi*
yes yes yes scarf COP QT I before
shite-tara ne, sonna yabottai mono suru-na
was-wearing-if EM that unrefined thing do-NEG-IMP
tte iwareta koto aru wa-yo.
QT said-PASS fact be EM
"Right, right, right. When I was wearing a scarf, [I] was told not to wear such an unfashionable thing [by her]."

2.1.3.1.1.1.3. *OTHER CONSTITUENTS BECOME SUBJECTS*

The most striking thing about the passive construction in Japanese is that both transitive and intransitive verbs may be passivized. In both cases this may result, on the surface, in a new noun phrase being created to fill in the subject/topic position, as the following, taken from Howard and Niyekawa-Howard 1976:202 illustrate.

(828) *tanaka-san wa sensei ni kodomo o shikarareta.*
Tanaka Mr TP teacher by child AC scolded-PASS
"Tanaka had [his] child scolded by the teacher."

[cf] *sensei wa kodomo o shikatta.*
teacher TP child AC scolded
"The teacher scolded the child."

(829) *taroo wa ame ni furareta.*
Taro TP rain by fallen-PASS
"Taro was rained on."

[cf] *ame ga futta.*
rain NM fell
"Rain fell (= It rained)."

While this gives the appearance of a chaotic system in which nouns phrases which do not exist in the active version of the sentence are created in the construction of the passive version, this is not true. In actual fact, there are rigid constraints on what may become the promoted subject or topic. In the most neutral case, "I" or "I and my in-group" become the topic, as illustrated by (824) and (827) above. This suggests, accurately, that Howard and Niyekawa-Howard's example (829) is, if not awkward, at least marked in some way. In most other cases, there must be a direct link between the direct object and the promoted subject/topic. This may be explained effectively by a re-examination of (828). If the child who has been scolded is not Tanaka's, then the utterance is difficult to interpret. When examples of the type presented in (830) are constructed to demonstrate this, people interpret the situation to mean that for some reason, Tanaka has responsibility for Yamada's child.

(830) *tanaka-san wa sensei ni yamada-san no kodomo o*
Tanaka Mr TP teacher by Yamada Mr LK child AC
shikarareta.
scolded-PASS
"Mr Tanaka had Mr Yamada's child scolded by the teacher."

Klaiman 1983 claims that a variety of nonprimary arguments may be promoted to subject/topic position in Japanese, including genitive, ablative, "against + NP", "about + NP", and even subject. In each case, however, an alternate analysis can be provided which indicates that the promoted subject/topics have come about as a result of the relationship between the direct object and the promoted form. In sum, the only unambiguous case of non-object promotion involves either first-person forms or the splitting of a

possessive construction.

2.1.3.1.1.2. *IMPERSONAL PASSIVE*

There are passive constructions in which no constituent appears in subject position. Some of these have been illustrated already. Because of the role of ellipsis in normal communication situations, the situation without a subject is quite a common situation, and there is no special feeling of markedness associated with this [see 1.5].

Ellipsis in passive constructions thus follows the general rules constraining ellipsis in any other situation: once the discourse or conversational topic is known, it may be omitted. The following two sentences illustrate this. Both were uttered by the same speaker in close proximity to one another. The first sentence establishes *ningen* "people" as the ones who were pulled from an overturned bus. The second sentence refers to these same people without an overt noun phrase.

(831) *de, ningen ga naka kara hipparidasareta tte kanji.*
uh people NM inside from pulled-out-PASS QT feeling
"uh, the people were pulled out from the inside."

(832) *n, demo, dakara mado kara hipparidasareta no.*
un but so window from pulled-out-PASS NOM
"Right, yes, [the people] were pulled out through the windows."

2.1.3.1.1.2.1. *DIRECT OBJECT*

The direct object of the active verb need not appear. The relevant portions of the corresponding active sentence for (833) are presented in (834).

(833) *sore ga, mattaku nanka, kutsugaesarete-ru koto tte*
that NM very like turned-over-PASS fact QT
sugoku atta kara
very was since
"but since [I] was disappointed many times, "

(834) *[dareka-ga] [watashi o] kutsugaesu.*
someone-NM I-AC overturn
"[Someone] disappoints [me]."

2.1.3.1.1.2.2. *INDIRECT OBJECT*

The indirect object of the active verb need not appear. The passive form is presented in (835), and the relevant portions of the corresponding active sentence are presented in (836).

(835) A. *sonna koto kikanai de.*
that-kind fact ask-NEG COP
"Don't ask that kind of thing."

K. *nan- doozo,* ***iwarete-ru*** *kara kikanai*
wh- please say-PASS since ask-NEG
wake-ni-ikanai desho?
must TAG
"Wha- please, [I] was told to [do this], so [I] have to ask, right? "

(836) *[dareka-ga] [watashi-ni] [nanika-o] iu.*
someone-NM I-DT something-AC say
"[Someone] says [something] [to me]."

2.1.3.1.1.2.3. *SOME OTHER OBJECT*

The quoted portion of a verb of saying is marked by the particle *to* [see 1.1.1.1]. This may become the promoted subject of a passive construction, and it may subsequently be omitted. (837) illustrates this, and (838) presents the relevant portions of the corresponding active sentence. The similarities between this example and the one reported in 2.1.3.1.1.2.2. should caution us that the interpretation of grammatical roles of elliptical elements is chancy at best.

(837) *nanka,* ***iwareta*** *toori nanka kaishaku*
like was-said way like interpret
shite-ta no ne,
did NOM EM
"like, [whatever] was said [by them], [I] used to believe [it], "

(838) *[dareka-ga] [watashi-ni] [nan-to] itta.*
someone-NM I-DT something-QT said
"[Someone] said ["something"] [to me]."

2.1.3.1.1.2.4. *NO OBJECT*

The example in (839) promotes a possessor to the subject position, although the possessor is not present in the actual utterance. The relevant portions of the corresponding active sentence are presented in (840).

(839) *anoo, donna hito ni kokoro* ***hikareru?***
uh what-kind person by heart pulled-PASS
"Uh, what kind of a person do you like?"

(840) *donna hito ga [anata no] kokoro [o] hiku?*
what-kind person NM you LK heart AC pull
"What kind of a person attracts [you] (lit. pulls [your] heart)?"

2.1.3.1.1.3. *ACTIVE SUBJECT*

For each of the sentence types illustrated in 2.1.3.1.1.2.1.-4, it is possible for the active subject to be expressed. If the active subject is expressed in a passive construction, that noun phrase is marked by *ni*.

2.1.3.1.1.4.1. *TENSE AND ASPECT OF PASSIVE*

The passive has the same tense and aspect forms as the active.

2.1.3.1.1.4.2. *DYNAMIC VERSUS STATIC PASSIVE*

There is no clearcut distinction between dynamic and static passives. There is an "intransitivizing resultative" [Martin 1975:186] form which is frequently translated as a passive in English. This construction takes the participle, the *-te* form, of an action transitive verb and follows it with the existential verb *aru*. The meaning is "such and such has been done", clearly a static situation. This is illustrated in (841).

(841) *sore ga kotei shite-aru n ja-nai, moshikashite.*
that NM tie-up be-done NOM NEG if
"That has [already] been tied, hasn't it, perhaps."

The corresponding form with a passive [*kotei sarete-iru*] does not necessarily indicate a dynamic situation.

2.1.3.1.2. *MEANS OF DECREASING THE VALENCY OF A VERB*

The addition of the existential verb *aru* to the participial form (the *-te* form) of a transitive verb[26] which specifies an action decreases the valency of that verb [see also 2.1.3.1.1.4.2]. In these cases, the direct object, marked by *o*, is marked by the subject marking particle *ga*, and the original subject cannot be expressed.[27] This is exemplified in (842) and (843).

(842) *doa o shimeru.*
door AC close
"[Someone] closes the door."

(843) *doa ga shimete-aru.*
door NM be-closed
"The door has been closed."

2.1.3.1.2.1. *FORMATION OF AN INTRANSITIVE VERB FROM A TRANSITIVE BY NOT SPECIFYING THE SUBJECT OF THE TRANSITIVE*

It is a commonplace that the subject of all verbs may not be specified [see Hinds 1982a]. This failure to specify a subject, however, does not reduce the valency of a given verb.

Japanese has a large number of pairs of verbs which are phonologically similar and which differ in valency. It is misleading, however, to assume either that all transitive verbs derive from intransitive verbs, or vice versa [see, in particular, Okutsu 1967]. The situation is best recognized as a series of relationships between basic verb stems. Thus, for utterances parallel to the pair of English sentences (844a) and (844b), Japanese will usually have two different forms of the verb, as illustrated in (845a) and (845b).

(844a) John is boiling the water.

(844b) The water is boiling.

(845a) *ichiroo wa oyu o **wakashite-iru.***
Ichiro TP water AC boiling
"Ichiro is boiling the water."

(845b) *oyu ga **waite-iru.***
water NM boiling
"The water is boiling."

Jacobsen 1981 classifies correspondences of this type into sixteen groups.[28] The parameters of the correspondences will be presented, and pairs from each group will be presented. The intransitive member of the pair will be presented in the first column, the transitive member in the second.

2.1.3.1.2.1.1. *-e-/-ø-*

nugeru	come off	*nugu*	take off
yakeru	burn	*yaku*	burn

2.1.3.1.2.1.2. *-ø-/-e-*

aku	open	*akeru*	open
katazuku	be in order	*katazukeru*	clean up

2.1.3.1.2.1.3. *-ar-/-e-*

agaru	rise	*ageru*	raise
somaru	be dyed	*someru*	dye

2.1.3.1.2.1.4. *-ar-/ø-*

hasamaru	be caught in	*hasamu*	insert
tsunagaru	be connected	*tsunagu*	connect

2.1.3.1.2.1.5. *-r-/-s-*

mawaru	turn	*mawasu*	turn
naoru	get better	*naosu*	fix

2.1.3.1.2.1.6. *-re-/-s-*

kakureru	hide	*kakusu*	hide
tsubureru	be crushed	*tsubusu*	crush

2.1.3.1.2.1.7. *-ri-/-s-*

kariru	borrow	*kasu*	lend
tariru	suffice	*tasu*	supplement

2.1.3.1.2.1.8. *-ø-/-as-*

au	match	*awasu*	bring together
waku	boil	*wakasu*	boil

2.1.3.1.2.1.9. *-e-/-as-*

bareru	come to light	*barasu*	expose
koeru	grow fat	*koyasu*	fertilize

2.1.3.1.2.1.10. *-i-/-as-*

akiru	be fed up	*akasu*	weary
nobiru	extend	*nobasu*	extend

2.1.3.1.2.1.11. *-i-/-os-*

horobiru	go to ruin	*horobosu*	destroy
okiru	wake up	*okosu*	wake up

2.1.3.1.2.1.12. *-ø-/-se-*

kaburu	get covered (with)	*kabuseru*	cover (with)
noru	ride	*noseru*	give a ride

2.1.3.1.2.1.13. *-e-/-akas-*

amaeru	fawn upon	*amayakasu*	spoil
sobieru	rise	*sobiyakasu*	raise

2.1.3.1.2.1.14. *-or-/-e-*

komoru	be full of	*komeru*	include
nukumoru	get warm	*nukumeru*	warm

2.1.3.1.2.1.15. *-are-/-e-*

sutareru	fall out of use	*suteru*	throw away
wakareru	branch off	*wakeru*	divide

2.1.3.1.2.1.16. *other affix pairs*

In addition to some twenty-six other pairs which Jacobsen 1981:278 lists, there are a number of irregular formations which have the same relationship.

naru	become	*suru*	do

2.1.3.1.2.2. *FORMATION OF AN INTRANSITIVE VERB FROM A TRANSITIVE BY NOT SPECIFYING THE DIRECT OBJECT*

As in 2.1.3.1.2.1, it must be remarked that the direct object of a verb is also frequently missing, although this

should not be considered a matter of decreasing the valency of that verb. There are some interesting contrasts with English, however.

In (846) and (847), English semi-transitive constructions are listed. It is typically assumed that the (b) versions derive from the (a).

(846a) John is eating a fish.

(846b) John is eating.

(847a) John is reading a book.

(847b) John is reading.

What is of interest is that in Japanese there are parallel series of utterances. The interpretation of these utterances, however, is different from the interpretation of the English counterparts.

(848a) *ichiroo wa gohan o tabete-imasu.*
Ichiro TP food AC eating
"Ichiro is eating."

(848b) *ichiroo wa tabete-imasu.*
Ichiro TP eating
"Ichiro is eating [something specific]."

(849a) *jiroo wa hon o yonde-imasu.*
Jiro TP book AC reading
"Jiro is reading."

(849b) *jiroo wa yonde-imasu.*
Jiro TP reading
"Jiro is reading [something specific]."

This is to say that in the English examples, the (a) versions are appropriate responses to a question like, "What is it that John is eating/reading?" whereas the (b) versions are appropriate responses to "What is John [habitually] doing now?" With respect to the Japanese examples, in order to specify a habitual active, the direct object must be present, although the identity of that direct object is variable.[29] The (b) versions are appropriate responses to a question like, "What happened to my fish/book?", and they therefore correspond to English expressions like, "John is eating/reading *it*".

2.1.3.1.2.3. *FORMATION OF A RECIPROCAL INTRANSITIVE VERB BY EXPRESSING BOTH SUBJECT AND DIRECT OBJECT OF THE TRANSITIVE AS SUBJECT*

There are utterances in which a conjoined noun phrase, as in the (b) sentence which follows the relevant example, may be separated.

(850a) *kenichi wa juuji to kenka shite-iru.*
Kenichi TP Juji with fight doing
"Kenichi is fighting with Juji."

(850b) *kenichi to juuji wa kenka shite-iru.*
Kenichi and Juji TP fight doing
"Kenichi and Juji are fighting."

Leaving aside the question of derivational direction, it still cannot be claimed that the valency of the verb *kenka suru* "fight" has been decreased since in the (a) version the verb did not take an object marked by *o*. This means that there are no pairs, one of which has the direct object marked by *o* and the other of which has the direct object and subject conjoined. Thus, the (b) version of the following example, if it can be interpreted at all, must mean that the two people kicked someone else.

(851a) *shinichi wa makoto o ketta.*
Shinichi TP Makoto AC kicked
"Shinichi kicked Makoto."

(851b) *shinichi to makoto wa ketta.*
Shinichi and Makoto TP kicking
"Shinichi and Makoto kicked [someone else]."

By changing the verb into a reciprocal verb, it is possible to combine a direct object and a subject into a single subject phrase. Here the verb *suru* "do" becomes *shiau* "do to each other".

(852a) *akiko wa minoru o ai shite-iru.*
Akiko TP Minoru AC love doing
"Akiko loves Minoru."

(852b) *akiko to minoru wa ai shiatte-iru.*
Akiko and Minoru TP love doing-reciprocally
"Akiko and Minoru love each other."

2.1.3.1.3. *INCREASING THE VALENCY OF THE VERB*

With respect to forming causative verbs, all verbs undergo the same process: the causative morpheme is added

to the stem of the verb. For *-ru* verbs, the allomorph *-sase-* is added to the stem, and the resulting form itself is a *-ru* verb.[30]

taberu "eat ---> *tabesaseru* "cause to eat"

yameru "quit" ---> *yamesaseru* "cause to quit"

For *-u* verbs, the allomorph *-ase-* is added to the consonant which immediately precedes final *-u* in the nonpast form of the verb. The resulting form is a *-ru* verb.

nomu "drink" ---> *nomaseru* "cause to drink"

kau "buy" ---> *kawaseru* "cause to buy"

kaku "write" ---> *kakaseru* "cause to write"

The causative form contains within it both a coercive and a permissive meaning. The distinction between the two is not always clear [see Kuno 1973, Shibatani 1976, Tonoike 1978].

Since the change from noncausative to causative is so straightforward, this leaves little room for discussion. A more important area is the way in which associated case marking changes depending on whether the verb is causative or noncausative.

2.1.3.1.3.1.1. *INTRANSITIVE VERB MADE CAUSATIVE*

Intransitive verbs are made causative through the addition of the causative morpheme. Depending on verb class (i.e. *-ru* vs *-u* ending verb), the allomorphs *-sase-* and *-ase-* are selected.

Intransitive verbs which are made causative mark the one who causes with *ga/wa*. The one who is caused to do something is marked with *ni* or *o*. In the literature, there are discussions about the semantic effect of marking the one who is caused with one particle over another, but the issue is not resolved [see Kuno 1973, Tonoike 1978]. Shibatani 1979:310 has claimed that *ni* can be used only if the one who is caused to do something can have conscious control over the action. He presents the following pair to illustrate this [his (109a) and (109i)].

(853) *taroo wa jiroo ni/o hashiraseta.*
Taro TP Jiro ran-caused
"Taro caused Jiro to run."

(854) *taroo wa jiroo *ni/o shisshin saseta.*
Taro TP Jiro faint did-cause
"Taro caused Jiro to faint."

The following examples illustrate the relevant particles which appear with causative forms of intransitive verbs.

(855) *soshite saigo-ni, tasuu no hanshi o shinaseta*
then lastly many LK clansmen AC die-cause
sekinin o totte jigai suru.
responsibility AC take suicide do
"Finally, assuming responsibility for the deaths of so many clansmen, [Yukie Hirata] committed suicide."

[Tensei Jingo 10/12/83]

(856) *minna wa gochisoo o tabe- tarafuku tabeta ato*
all TP feast AC complete ate after
sono kuruma o hiite essakora-essakora to
that car AC pull-and hi-ho-hi-ho QT
kaette ojiisan to obaasan o yorokobasemashita
return-and old-man and old-lady AC made-happy
tosa.
end
"After everyone had eaten their fill, they pulled that car, and returned singing "hi-ho hi-ho", and made the old man and the old lady happy. The end."

(857) *soshite futari no musuko ni ogamase, jibun wa*
then two LK son DT pray-cause self TP
sono ushiro kara ogande naita.
that behind from pray-and cried
"Then [she] had the two sons pray, and then [she] prayed and cried from behind them."

[Yukio Mishima *Shiosai*; quoted in Shibatani 1978a:311]

(858) *doyoobi ni, shuuichi ni ikaseyoo.*
Saturday on Shuichi DT go-cause-presumptive
"Let's make Shuichi go on Saturday."

[Yasunari Kawabata *Yama no Oto*; quoted in Shibatani 1978a:311]

There is a class of verbs which marks its second noun phrase with *ni* instead of *o*. One such verb is *katsu* "beat". When verbs from this class are put into the causative form, both the person who is caused to beat someone and the person

who is beaten are marked by *ni*. Because of the high potential for confusion, such sentences rarely occur, although they are theoretically possible. The confusion results from the fact that two noun phrases which refer to humans are marked by the same postpositional particle and that scrambling is always possible.

(859) *akiko wa ayako ni atsuko ni kataseta.*
Akiko TP Ayako DT Atsuko DT beat-cause
"Akiko caused Ayako to beat Atsuko."
"Akiko cause Atsuko to beat Ayako."

2.1.3.1.3.1.2. *TRANSITIVE VERB MADE CAUSATIVE*

Transitive verbs are made causative in the same way as intransitive verbs. In the case of transitive verbs, however, the one who is caused to do something is always marked by *ni*, never by *o*. This is obviously related to the general constraint in Japanese which does not permit two nouns governed by the same verb to be marked by *o*.

(860) *dakara jibun no reiryoku ga tadotta hashi o*
so self LK spirit NM resided chopsticks AC
tanin ni tsukawaseru koto o kiratta no da,
other DT use-cause fact AC disliked NOM COP
to iu setsu mo aru (Honda Sooichiro:
QT say explanation too be
Hashi no Hon).
chopstick LK book
"[In ancient times, people believed that] the spirit of the person resided in the chopsticks that he used and it is said that this why people hated to have their chopsticks used by others. (Hashi no Hon - Book on Chopsticks - by Soichiro Honda)."

[Tensei Jingo 5/28/81]

Shibatani 1976:244 also discusses the fact that double-causative constructions are possible. He states that in such cases, only a single causative morpheme appears. Thus, although both (861a) and (861b) convey the same meaning, (861b) is preferred and in fact (861a), despite Shibatani's suggestion to the contrary, is unacceptable.

(861a) *taroo ga jiroo ni ichiroo o arukasesaseta.*
Taro NM Jiro DT Ichiro AC walked-cause-cause
"Taro made/had Jiro make Ichiro walk."

(861b) *taroo ga jiroo ni ichiroo o arukaseta.*
Taro NM Jiro DT Ichiro AC walked-cause
"Taro made/had Jiro make Ichiro walk."

2.1.3.1.3.1.3. *DITRANSITIVE VERB MADE CAUSATIVE*

Ditransitive verbs are made causative in the same way other verbs are. The case frame for a typical ditransitive verb may be represented by the following formula:

NP *ga* NP *ni* NP *o* VERB$_{DITRANSITIVE}$

This indicates that the subject is marked by *ga*, the indirect object by *ni*, and the direct object by *o*. When a ditransitive verb is made causative, the causer is marked by *ga*, the causee by *ni*, the indirect object by *ni*, and the direct object by *o*. As in the case of the verb *katsu* "beat" discussed above, sentences of this type are rare because of the potential for confusion.

(862) *kamada-san wa tomodachi ni eigo o musume ni*
Kamada-Ms TP friend DT English AC daughter DT
oshiesaseta.
taught-cause
"Ms Kamada caused [her] friend to teach [her] daughter English."
"Ms Kamada caused [her] daughter to teach [her] friend English."

2.1.3.1.3.2. *AGENTIVITY OF THE CAUSEE*

There is no formal differences in causative forms depending on the agentivity of the causee. According to Shibatani 1978a, it is expected that only *o* would be able to mark the causee, since *ni* is only used for those causees which have control over the action. This is in fact the case.

(863) *jindai shokubutsukooen de wa, doodantsutsuji ga*
Jindai Botanical-Garden at TP dodan-tsutsuji NM
akaneiro ni mi o some, nishikigi ga
madder-red to body AC dye winged-spindle-tree NM
chi o shitatarasete-ita.
blood AC dripped-cause
"At the Jindai Botanical Garden in the suburbs of Tokyo, the "dodan-tsutsuji" (Enkianthus perulatus) was turning madder red, while the winged spindle tree looked as if it were dripping blood."

[Tensei Jingo 10/26/83]

2.1.3.1.3.3. *ELLIPSIS OF CAUSEE*

It is indeed possible to omit the causee. In fact, the causee is probably missing more than it is present. While the potential for ambiguity is there, there is no more ambiguity when the causee is missing than when the subject or topic is missing.

(864) *uchi igai ni, no tokoro de* ***nihongo o manabaseru***
house except at LK place at Japanese AC cause-study
to iu yoo na koto wa chotto boku wa i- anoo,
QT say such LK NOM TP a-little I TP H
"Well, except for having [our son] study Japanese at any place other than our house, well, I ... "

(865) ***benkyoo saseru toka ne kore wa muri desu***
study do-cause or EM this TP impossible COP
yo-ne.
EM
"As for making [him] study, this is impossible."

(866) *dondon* ***yamesasete*** *iku kara.*
rapidly quit-cause go since
"Since [they] make [them] quit so quickly, ... "

2.1.3.1.4. *REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL VERB FORMS*

There are special reflexive verb forms in which the verb *suru* "do" is preceded directly by a Chinese based noun containing the bound morpheme *ji-* "self" [see 1.6 and 2.1.2.2].

(867) *soshite saigo-ni, tasuu no hanshi o shinaseta*
then lastly many LK clansmen AC die-cause
sekinin o totte ***jigai suru.***
responsibility AC take suicide do
"Finally, assuming responsibility for the deaths of so many clansmen, [Yukie Hirata] committed suicide."

[Tensei Jingo 10/12/83]

2.1.3.2 *TENSE*

There is a formal distinction in Japanese verbs between *-ru* forms and *-ta* forms. The appropriate forms are provided for each class of verb.

Table 26

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Past	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabeta*	eat
	yameru	*yameta*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*matta*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukutta*	build
	tsukau	*tsukatta*	use
(B)	*yomu*	*yonda*	read
	yobu	*yonda*	call
	shinu	*shinda*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kaita*	write
	oyogu	*oyoida*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oshita*	push
EXCEPTIONS			
	kuru	*kita*	come
	suru	*shita*	do
	iku	*itta*	go
ADJECTIVES			
	akai	*akakatta*	be red
	ookii	*ookikatta*	be big
	furui	*furukatta*	be old
	aoi	*aokatta*	be blue
COPULA			
	da	*datta*	be (nonpolite)
	desu	*deshita*	be (polite)

It has been a matter of longstanding controversy in Japanese linguistics whether the *-ru* and *-ta* forms of Japanese verbs are tense-markers or aspect-markers. It would take us well beyond the practical limits of this book to discuss this issue in detail. Miller 1975, for one, has claimed that the basic distinction in Japanese is aspect rather than tense. In support of his claim he presents the following examples. Both of these examples have been independently translated into English using the past tense. Miller claims that the sound in (868) is a one-time, completed, non-continuous event, necessitating the "past" *-ta* form; the sound in (869) is continuous, non-completed "imperfective".

(868) *bokan-to kasuka-ni oto ga shita.*
plop dimly sound NM did
"[the stone, thrown into the water] made a dull 'plop'."

(869) *gasari-gasari-to ashioto ga suru.*
rustling foot-sound NM do
"[I heard] the harsh rustling sound of someone [treading along the bamboo undergrowth]."

This position has been argued against effectively by Soga 1983 who calls the *-ru* and *-ta* forms "nonpast" tense and "past" tense, respectively. Soga 1983:2 defines tense as, "a grammatical category for relating the time of an event, action, or state expressed by a verb to the present moment or to the speech time of 'now'." Japanese has tense, Soga 1983:3 further claims, since time reference is obligatory and it is systematically expressed by a grammatical device. That is, "a past event, for example, is normally distinguished from a nonpast event by the systematic formal opposition, *Verb-ta* vs. *Verb-ru.*"

Soga explains tense as an absolute category which involves three notions occurring along a "time axis" with the center point corresponding to "now", points to the left referring to "past", and points to the right referring to "future" time. He plots the appropriate corresponding tenses in Japanese along this axis. The three points are "S", "R", and "E", where "S" stands for speech time, "R" for reference time, and "E" for event time.

Matsumoto 1985, in contrast to this, defines a relative tense model which involves only the notions "E", event time, and "R", reference time. Thus, for Matsumoto, relative tense involves a relationship between "E" and "R". The relevant relationship between "S" and the tense markers is a matter of interpretation which is determined by context. The unmarked relationship in independent clauses is "R" =

"S", while in dependent clauses "R" = "M" (the main clause situation time).

Nakau 1976 distinguishes among three different types of verbals: (a) those which designate actions, (b) those which designate states, and (c) those stative verbs which show a unique syntactic and semantic behavior. He states that this unique behavior of the verbals in (c) is that they occur in the progressive form (*-te iru* form) to indicate a present ongoing activity. He further states that adjectives, nominal-adjectives, and the copula are inherently stative, that is, they belong to category (b).

2.1.3.2.1. *FORMALLY DISTINGUISHED TENSES*

2.1.3.2.1.1. *UNIVERSAL*

For generic statements, or other statements referring to all time--past, present, and future--the nonpast form is used.

(870) *imajin* *o* ***shigeki suru.***
present-day-people AC excite do
"[TDK] excites people who are with it."

[TDK ad in FOCUS 2/3/84]

(871) *otoko ni wa wake ga* ***aru***
male to TP reason NM be
"Males have a reason"

[Shiseido ad in FRIDAY 1/4/85]

(872) *egao* *no mawari* *wa* ***atatakai.***
smiling-face LK surrounding TP warm
"It's warm around smiling faces."

[Dai-ichi Kangyoo Ginkoo ad in Sandei Mainichi 1/29/84]

(873) *futari ga tengoku* ***da***
two NM heaven COP
"The two of them are heaven"

[Shiseido ad in Shuukan Posuto 1/20/84]

(874) W. *tatoeba, nanka sugoku kao de nikoniko*
for-example like very face by smile
shite-te ne, sugoku ii koto hasshite
do-and EM very good fact give-out-and
amari imi shite, nante imi
very meaning do-and what-say meaning
nashite-nai wake.
do-NEG reason
"For example, [they] smile so nicely, and put forth a good front, and yet these acts don't have any meaning."

H. *amerikajin ga **soo suru** no?*
American NM so do QU
"Americans do that?"

W. *nn, **soo suru.***
nn so do
"Yes, [they] do."

2.1.3.2.1.2. *PRESENT*

The *-ru* form of the verb typically indicates the present tense. In actual fact it is a nonpast tense, indicating both present and future events. Moreover, it is not used to indicate a progressive aspect. Thus, the translation of sentences like "I am studying" would not use the simple nonpast form of the verb [see 2.1.3.3.2.1.5].

A basic distinction can be drawn between stative verbs and nonstative verbs. For stative verbs, the *-ru* form does indicate a present situation, but while for nonstative verbs this same form indicates future or habitual action.

(875) *ja, omochu **mo**, **moo**, ofuru **ga aru** ne.*
well toys too already old-ones NM be EM
"Well, toys too, [he] already has old ones [i.e. his older brother's]."

(876) *ooyasan **wakaru** ka-shira.*
landlord understand wonder
"I wonder if the landlord understands [English]."

(877) *mainichi sanjikan benkyoo **shimasu** yo.*
everyday 3-hours study do EM
"[I] study for three hours everyday, you know."

For verbs in Nakau's (c) category, a category which is undefined, the verbs *shiru* "know", *motsu* "have", *niru* "resemble", and *sumu* "reside" are included. The present is usually indicated through the *-te iru* form of the verb.[31]

(878) *ja::, pinpon mo suki desho? tenisu to*
well pingpong too like COP tennis and
nite-ru kara.
resemble since
"Well, [you] like pingpong too, don't you? since it resembles tennis?"

(879) ***shitte-ru hito ga inakute ne?***
know person NM be-NEG-and EM
"There isn't anyone that [I] know, see, so ... "

Under certain circumstances, the *-ta* form may also be used to indicate present. When looking for something and suddenly finding it, a speaker is apt to state *a! atta* "(lit) Oh, there is *was*".

2.1.3.2.1.3. *PAST*

The past tense form is *-ta*. It is used to refer to past events in independent clauses. There are no further degrees of remoteness by which it is divided, although there is periphrastic construction which consists of the past form immediately in front of the phrase ***koto ga aru*** "there exists [such a fact]". This construction is usually translated into English as "have done" [for more details, see 2.1.3.3.1.1].

(880) *demo ne, jitensha de hanauma-bei made* ***itta koto aru.***
but EM bicycle by Hanauma-Bay to went fact be
"But I have gone as far as Hanauma Bay by bicycle."

There are no other relative tenses, relative to a point in the past, such as pluperfect [see Brannen 1979]. Normal past tense forms are illustrated in the following.

(881) *anoo, soko de* ***sodatta*** *no?*
uh there at grew-up QU
"Uh, did [you] grow up there?"

(882) *sono ato, a, amerika ni kite,*
that after uh America to come-and
daigaku ***sotsugyoo shita.***
college graduate did
"After that [I] came to America, and graduated from college."

(883) *sore-de mat-anoo, kaerimichi ni gake kara*
and uh return on cliff from
***otchatta** no, sonoo, anoo, kuruma ga ne?*
fell NOM uh uh car NM EM
"So, do-uh, on the way back to school, [it] fell off a cliff, uh, the car, right?"

In narratives in particular it is possible for an author or a speaker to change the point of view for the sake of vividness. A common way to do this in Japanese is to use the nonpast form to describe a past event. This is discussed quite insightfully in Szatrowski 1984 where she shows that *-ru* and *-ta* forms are not used interchangeably to refer to past events. The use of the *-ru* form heightens the "vividness" of a clause while the *-ta* form heightens the perception of a clause as a "main event". A similar observation is made by Matsumoto 1985:85-91 in his discussion of the historical present.

2.1.3.2.1.4. *FUTURE*

There is no morphologically unique form to refer to the future. Reference to the future may be made with the *-ru* form of nonstative verbs, although there will usually be some indicator of the uncertainty involved. This uncertainty is indicated by such forms as the presumptive form of the copula, or expressions such as *to omou* "[I] think", *ka-shira* "[I] wonder", or a negative tag such as *ja nai?* "isn't that right?".

(884) B. *un, de, biru wa **uttaerareru** n ja-nai?*
um so Bill TP sue-PASS NOM NEG-TAG
"Um, so, Bill will be sued, won't he?"

A. ***uttaerareru.***
sue-PASS
"Yes, [he] will be."

(885) B. *sore yooiku-hi tte dore-gurai **dasu** no?*
that expense QT how much-about pay NOM
"About how much will [he] have to pay in child support?"

(886) B. *ikura-de-mo **kasegeru** n deshoo?*
lots earn NOM COP
"[She]'ll earn quite a bit, won't she?"

A. ***kasegeru** to omou.*
earn QT think
"[I] think [she] will."

(887) *shoku wa aru to omou yo, ikura-demo.*
work TP be QT think EM lots
"[She]'ll be able to get a good job, I'm sure."

Soga 1983:16 points out that the *-ta* form may also be used to refer to future events [his example (18)]. He explains that this form is used when someone recalls the existence of something which will take place in the future.

(888) *ashita wa kaigi ga atta.*
tomorrow TP meeting NM existed
"Tomorrow, there will be a meeting."
(Lit. "Tomorrow, there was a meeting.")

2.1.3.2.2. *TENSE DISTINCTIONS FOR MOOD AND NONFINITE FORMS*

Nonfinite forms do not show tense. Some mood forms do. These are indicative, optative, intentional, debitive, potential, hortatory [see 2.1.3.4]. When tense is indicated, the same distinctions hold. Note, however, that the potential form of any verb becomes stative, and as a result it follows that pattern rather than the pattern of the corresponding active verb: *hanasu* [-stative] "will speak (future, not present)" versus *hanaseru* [+stative] "can speak (present)".

With respect to imperative forms, there is a unique form of imperative which indicates impatience. This form consists of the nonpolite past form of the verb, usually reduplicated: *tabeta! tabeta!* "[Hurry up and] eat!".

2.1.3.2.3. *RELATIVE VERSUS ABSOLUTE TENSES*

Tense marking is interpreted differently in relative clauses and main clauses. Josephs 1972, Miura 1974, and Matsumoto 1985 have examined this issue in detail.

Matsumoto 1985 concludes that the distribution of tense forms of nonstative verbs in relative clauses have as their point of reference the tense of the main clause verb. This may be illustrated with the following examples [Matsumoto's (21a) and (21b)].

(889) *kanai wa iketa hana o watashi ni miseru.*
wife TP arranged flower AC me to show
"My wife will show me the flowers that she will then arrange."
"My wife will show me the flowers that she will have arranged."

(890) *kanai wa ikeru hana o watashi ni miseru.*
wife TP arrange flower AC me to show
"My wife will show me the flowers that she will then arrange."
"*My wife will show me the flowers that she will have arranged."

In (889), arranging the flowers can be located before the speech moment, as in the second reading, as well as after the speech moment, as in the first reading. Either is acceptable as long as the arranging is done before the showing. In (890), on the other hand, the interpretation cannot be that the flowers are arranged before the speech moment.

Cases in which the main clause verb is in the past tense are also discussed by Matsumoto [his examples (23a) and (23b)].

(891) *ano mise de mori-san ni ageru mono o katta.*
that store at Mori-Mr to give thing AC bought
"At that store [I] bought the thing that [I] was going to give to Mr Mori."
"At that store [I] bought the thing that [I] am going to give to Mr Mori."

(892) *ano mise de mori-san ni ageta mono o katta.*
that store at Mori-Mr to give thing AC bought
"At that store [I] bought the thing that [I] gave to Mr Mori."
"*At that store [I] bought the thing that [I] had given to Mr Mori."

In (891), the giving of the gift can be located either after the buying and before the speech moment, as in the first translation, or after the buying and after the speech moment, as in the second translation. In (892), the giving must be after the buying and before the speech moment, as in the first translation. That the giving cannot be ordered after the buying suggests the control that the tense of the main verb has on the interpretation of the tense of the verb in the relative clause.

Josephs 1972:112 has pointed out that the *-ta* form of a verb must be used in relative clause if a past tense adverbial appears. Soga 1983:74 discusses this fact and presents relevant examples for contrast [his (42b) and (42c)].

(893) *asoko ni iru/ita hito wa tanaka-san datta.*
there at is was person TP Tanaka-Mr was
"The person who (lit. is)/was there was Mr Tanaka."

(894) *asoko ni kinoo *iru/ita hito wa tanaka-san*
there at yesterday is was person TP Tanaka-Mr
datta.
was
"The person who (lit. is)/was there yesterday was Mr Tanaka."

2.1.3.3. *ASPECT*

Aspect is defined, with Soga 1983:19, as a concern with the status of an action, event, or state, with respect to its duration or punctuality. Soga also discusses the fact that tense and aspect have not always been treated as separate categories in Japanese. His point is that both tense and aspect exist, and so an account of a particular utterance must be defined along two axes rather than one.

2.1.3.3.1. *PERFECT ASPECT*

Perfect aspect, according to Comrie 1976:52, indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation. That is, "it expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation and on the other the time of that prior situation."

2.1.3.3.1.1. *SEPARATE PERFECT ASPECT*

There is a periphrastic construction which indicates perfect aspect as it is defined here. This consists of a verb in the past form [the *-ta* form] followed by *koto ga aru* "[a certain] fact exists". Matsumoto 1985:167-80 treats this construction as an "experiential perfect".

(895) *dakara ne konna-ni chikaku de wa ne, futari de*
so EM like-this close at TP EM two by
hanashita koto nai.
spoke fact be-NEG
"We have never talked at this close a distance before."

(896) ***sukoshi yatta koto aru.***
little did fact be
"[I] have played [ping pong] a little."

(897) *anoo, shinu n ja-nai ka to omotta koto nanka aru?*
uh die NOM neg QU QT thought fact like be
"Um, have [you] ever thought that [you] were going to die?"

A second perfect construction exists in the form of the *-te-(i)ru* construction. This construction, with nonstative

verbs [see again 2.1.3.2], indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation. It must be cautioned at this point that the *-te-(i)ru* construction has different functions which will subsequently be explored.

(898) Y *hawaii wa itsu irashita no?*
Hawai TP when came QU
"When did [you] come to Hawaii?"

A *eetto ne. atashi wa ne kyonen no rokugatsu*
uh EM I TP EM last-year LK June
no sue kara kite-ru n desu.
LK end from coming NOM COP
"Let's see, I have been here since the end of June last year."

(899) *demo nee. natsuyasumi wa uchi ni kaette-ru*
but EM summer-vacation TP home to returning
no ne, inaka no hoo ni.
NOM EM country LK way to
"During the summer vacation [my brother] went back home, to the country [and he is still there]."

(900) *ee, yoshuu ni sugoku jikan ga kakatte,*
yes preparation to very time NM take
toku-ni suugaku nanka, hijoo-ni zenzen
especially math like very absolutely
moo wasurete shimatte-ru kara ne.
already forget ending-up since EM
"Yes, preparation really takes a lot of time since, especially math, [I]'ve ended up forgetting everything."

The adverb *moo* "already" when added to an utterance helps to convey the meaning of perfective.

(901) *mm, anoo, otoosan wa inai no,*
no uh father TP be-NEG COP
moo shinjatta n da keredomo,
already died NOM COP but
"No, uh, [I] don't have a father, [he] died, but "

(902) *a moo dame da to omotta.*
a already no-good COP QT thought
"[I] thought, this is it!"

(903) *de, sugoi kyuusenhaien datta no ne,*
and very pneumonia was NOM EM
dakara, sonoo, hajimete natta yoru ne,
so uh first became night EM
moo am- sugoku kurushikatta kara,
already very was-severe since
"and [I] came down with a severe case of pneumonia, so, uh, the night I got it, it was really terrible, so ... "

2.1.3.3.1.2. *PERFECT ASPECT AND TENSE*

Japanese has only what may be termed a present perfect aspect, as described in 2.1.3.3.1.2. Brannen 1979:51 states, "Japanese has no perfect tense to indicate an event prior to the story line." Japanese must therefore use an adverb and past tense to indicate what would be singled with English pluperfect. The same is true for future perfect; this is signalled in Japanese through the use of adverbs. See Matsumoto 1985:180-90 for an explanation for why there is no need for a separate form for a pluperfect or future perfect in Japanese.

(904) *rainen no ima goro wa shiken ga owatte-ru*
next-year LK now about TP test NM ending
ni-chigai.
must be
"Next year at this time [our] test will have been finished."

2.1.3.3.1.3. *FORMS OF THE PERFECT*

2.1.3.3.1.3.1. *PRESENT RESULT OF PAST SITUATION*

See 2.1.3.3.1.1.

2.1.3.3.1.3.2. *SITUATION WHICH HAS HELD AT LEAST ONCE*

This is signalled through the periphrastic *koto ga aru* construction preceded by the *-ta* form of a verb. In this sense, the *koto ga aru* construction indicates something which has happened at least once in the past, while the *-te-iru* construction indicates that such a happening occurred and is still going on [see 2.1.3.3.1.1].

2.1.3.3.1.3.3. *SITUATION WHICH BEGAN IN PAST AND IS STILL CONTINUING*

This is signalled with the *-te-iru* construction, optionally preceded by *moo* "already".

(905) ***moo*** *ichijikan mo* ***matte-ru*** *yo.*
already one-hour even waiting EM
"[I]'ve already been waiting an hour [for you]."

2.1.3.3.2. *ASPECT AND DURATION*

2.1.3.3.2.1. *FORMAL MARKING*

2.1.3.3.2.1.1. *PERFECTIVE ASPECT*

Perfective aspect occurs only with verbs which indicate punctuality or action. Nakau 1976:427 points out that even the simple past form of an action verb can be taken to mean perfective aspect [his example (18)].

(906) *boku wa, ano hon o* ***yonda.***
I TP that book AC read
"I read that book (yesterday)."
"I have (already) read that book."

2.1.3.3.2.1.2. *IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT*

Imperfective aspect occurs with verbs which designate durative, stative, existential, and universal concepts.

2.1.3.3.2.1.3. *HABITUAL ASPECT*

The addition of the nominalizer *mono* to the past tense of an inflected word is the way past habitual aspect is expressed.

(907) *motomoto yoku sake o* ***nonda mono*** *da kedo,*
originally much sake AC drank habitual COP but
"Originally, [I] used to drink a lot of sake, but ... "

(908) *sore o, anoo, tetsudatte, anoo, me ga totemo*
that AC uh help-and uh eye NM very
yokatta mon *desu kara.*
good-PAST habitual COP since
"That, um, [I]'d help with [it], um, [my] eyes used to be very good, so, ... "

[Szatrowzki 1984 (my translation: JH)]

Nonpast habitual aspect is indicated with the nonpast form of a verb, frequently accompanied by an appropriate adverb.

(909) ***mainichi basu de gakkoo e iku.***
everyday bus by school to go
"[I] go to school everyday by bus."

2.1.3.3.2.1.4. *CONTINUOUS ASPECT*

In order to indicate continuous aspect, as opposed to progressive aspect, the verbs *tsuzukeru* "continue (something) and *tsuzuku* "(something) continues" are added to the stem of a verb. Notice in particular that with the first example, a nonprogressive form is used, while with the second example, the progressive form is used.

(910) *da ga, reegan daitooryoo wa kyookoosaku o*
COP but Reagan President TP force-policy AC
toritsuzukeru daroo.
take-continue COP-presumptive
"But President Ronald Reagan will probably continue to follow a policy of using force."

[Tensei Jingo: 10/25/83]

(911) *shuushindoki no dokusho wa sude-ni naganen no*
bedtime LK reading TP before long-year LK
shuukan ni natte-iru ga, tokidoki, yonde-iru
habit to become but sometimes reading
uchi-ni nemuku naru no ka, nakaba nemurinagara,
while sleepy become NOM QU half sleep-while
*nao **yomitsuzukete-iru** no ka wakaranu koto ga aru.*
more read-continuing NOM QU know-NEG fact NM be
"Reading before sleeping has been a habit of mine for many years, but possibly because I become sleep as I am reading, there are times when, while half asleep, I don't know whether I am continuing to read."

[Tensei Jingo: 10/30/83]

2.1.3.3.2.1.5. *PROGRESSIVE ASPECT*

Progressive aspect is indicated by the *-te* form of a verb, followed by a form of the verb *iru* "exist".[32] The *i-* in all forms of *iru* frequently drops in colloquial speech. In the following example, A uses the honorific form of *iru*, *(i)rassharu*, in the first two utterances to refer to the actions of Y. In the third utterance she makes she uses the neutral *iru*. In the final utterance of Y, she contracts *iru* to *n*, a common phenomenon before a nasal.

(912) A *ima nani o* ***shite-rassharu*** *n desu ka?*
now what AC doing NOM COP QU
"What are [you] doing now?"

Y *atashi? nani o* ***shite-ru*** *tte.*
I what AC doing QT
"Me? What am [I] doing?"

A *nani o* ***benkyoo shite-irassharu*** *n desu ka?*
what AC study doing NOM COP QU
"What are [you] studying?"

Y *e, benkyoo desu ka? eeto, nihongo o*
oh study COP QU uh Japanese AC
benkyoo shite-iru *n desu kedo ne, de doyoobi*
study doing NOM COP but EM uh Saturday
dake, anoo, ni ***oshiete-ru*** *n desu kedo.*
only uh on teaching NOM COP but
"Studies? Um, [I]'m studying Japanese, but, uh, only on Saturdays [I]'m teaching."

A *a, soo. nani o* ***oshiete-ru*** *n desu ka?*
oh so what AC teaching NOM COP QU
"Oh really. What are [you] teaching?"

Y *atashi wa nee, suugaku to chiri to, suugaku*
I TP EM math and geography and math
to chiri to kokugo o ***oshiete-n*** *no.*
and geography and Japanese AC teaching NOM
"I'm teaching math and geography, math and geography and Japanese."

Progressive aspect may also occur with the verb in the past tense.

(913) *demo, sonoo, nante-iu-ka-na, mae amerika ni ita*
but uh what-should-say before America in was
yonenkan wa, eigo zutto ***hanashite-ta*** *wake.*
4-years TP English straight was-speaking reason
"But, uh, what should I say, the four years [I] was in America before, [I] spoke nothing but English."

2.1.3.3.2.1.6. *INGRESSIVE ASPECT*

In order to express the beginning of a situation, there are four different possibilities. First, the verb stem may be followed by a form of the verb *hajimeru* "begin".[33] Second, the verb stem may be followed by a form of the verb *dasu* "set out". Third, the verb stem may be followed by the particle *tsutsu* and a form of the verb *aru* "exist". Fourth,

the nonpast form of a verb may be followed by *tokoro da* "about to".

(914) *anoo, nanka, fukaku **kangae- kangaehajimeru** to*
uh like deeply thin- begin-to-think when
sore yokan ja-nai to omou no ne.
that premonition not QT think NOM EM
"When [you] start to think deeply, [I] don't think that is a premonition."

(915) *shumi. shumi, ya, hawai kite kara **yaridashita***
hobby hobby no Hawaii come since start-do
no wa yoku yoku, hora, shitte-ru, maishuu
NOM TP often often look know each-week
tenisu ni itte-ru desho.
tennis to going presumptive
"Hobbies. Hobbies, no, well, since coming to Hawaii the thing [I] have started to do, often, often, look, [you] know, every week [I]'m going to tennis, right?"

(916) *shitsurei shimasu ga, ima choodo deru tokoro*
rude do but now exact leave place
desu ga.
COP but
"Excuse me, but [I]'m just about to leave."

(917) *koozooteki fusaku to iu beki mono ga*
structurally poor-harvest QT say necessary thing NM
okoritsutsu aru no de wa nai ka.
happen-start exist NOM COP TP NEG QU
"Can't the problem [= poor harvest] be called a structural one [that has just started to happen]?"

[Tensei Jingo 10/31/83]

2.1.3.3.2.1.7. *TERMINATIVE ASPECT*

There are two ways that the end of a situation may be signalled, although neither of these is obligatory. The first is to place the verb *owaru* "end" after the stem of a verb.[34] The second is to place the verb *shimau* "end up" after the participial *-te* form of a verb. The sequence *-te-shimasu* is frequently contracted to *-chau*.

(918) ***miowatte,*** *imaya seiji no sekai de taisetsu*
see-finish now political LK world in important
na no ***wa,*** *sono seijikoodoo ga e ni*
LK NOM TP that political-action NM picture to
naru ka doo ka da to iu koto o tsuyoku
become QU how QU COP QT say fact AC strongly
kanjimashita.
felt
"After the play was over [= We saw to the end], I keenly felt that what is important in the political world now is that the political actions present good 'pictures'."

[Tensei Jingo 11/13/83]

(919) *torenaku* ***natte shimatta.***
take-NEG become ended-up
"It's ended up that [I] can't untie [it]."

(920) *iya.* ***moo hanashichatta*** *mon ne.*
no already talk-ended-up because EM
"No, because [we] talked about [that] already."

2.1.3.3.2.1.8. *ITERATIVE ASPECT*

There is a special ending for verbs which is used to indicate the iteration of a single action or the repetition of a sequence of actions, as well as to indicate that the action mentioned is representative of other similar actions. This ending is formed by adding *-ri* to the past ending of verbals. The second example demonstrates that adjectives can also be inflected in this way. The third example provides an illustration of the way this form is used to indicate representative actions from many similar ones.

(921) *nanka, mm, nanka ma, ikkagetsu ni ikkai gurai*
like mm like uh 1-month in 1-time about
marason shitari *suru gurai ka-na.*
run do-REP do about wonder
"Well, about once a month [I] jog."

(922) *anmari, koo, isshookenmei yatte,*
very uh diligently do-and
yaku-ni-tatanakattari ***wakannakattari***
helpful-NEG-REPR understand-NEG-REPR
shite-mo bakabakashii yoo na ki mo suru shi.
do-even stupid way LK feel too do and
"Also when [I] try hard, and [those subjects] are useless and incomprehensible, [I] feel stupid."

(923) *da kedomo, soo ne, sore yori ima suki na no wa*
COP but so EM that rather now like LK NOM TP
yappari shizen no naka ***aruitari*** *yo-anoo,* ***ryokoo***
as-expect nature LK inside walk-REP uh trip
shitari *suru no ga ichiban suki.*
do-REP do NOM NM most like
"But, well, more than that, what [I] like to do best now is to walk in the woods, and take trips, and things like that."

2.1.3.3.2.1.9. *SEMELFACTIVE ASPECT*

With the exception of verbs such as *umareru* "be born" and *shinu* "die" which for all intents and purposes define single occurrences, there is no special form to indicate a single occurrence of a situation. Of course, a quantifier such as *ippen* "one time" could be added to the utterance to indicate such a meaning.

2.1.3.3.2.1.10. *PUNCTUAL ASPECT*

In Japanese, punctual aspect is expressed in both the past and nonpast verb forms. There is no special form to indicate punctual aspect. Specific verbs may indicate punctuality [see 2.1.3.2].

2.1.3.3.2.1.11. *DURATIVE ASPECT*

This is signalled by the use of the *-te iru* and *-te ita* forms [see 2.1.3.3.2.1.5].

2.1.3.3.2.1.12. *SIMULTANEOUS ASPECT*

There are three ways to indicate that two situations occur at the same time. The first way is to add *-nagara* to the verb stem. This is only used when the same person is the subject of both situations described. The second way is to place the *-te iru* form of a verb in front of the nominal *aida (ni)* "while". In this second case, different people or things may be the respective subjects of the situations described. The third way is to place the past form of a verb in front of the nominal *mama* "as it stands".

(924) *de, jibun de nanka, ikenai-naa to omoinagara*
and self by like must-do QT while-think
yatte-ru to zettai ikenai hoo ni itchau
doing when absolute can't-do side to go
shi ne,
and EM
"And, those times when [one] thinks, '[I] have to do [it],' those are the times when [one] absolutely can't do [it]."

(925) *sore-de mata hoka no toko mite-ru aida-ni sono*
and again other LK place looking while that
kigoo ga dete-kuru kara,
symbol NM appears since
"And so while [we]'re looking some other place that symbol appears, ... "

(926) *soshite mo, sagatta mama koo yatte kodomo ga*
and too sagged as-is this doing child NM
nete-ru no ga ne, tottemo kawaisoo da tte.
sleeping NOM NM EM very pitiful COP QT
"And too, they [= Americans] say it's really a shame when the [Japanese] baby is sleeping all slumped over [strapped on its mother's back]."

2.1.3.3.2.1.13. *OTHER ASPECTS*

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.1. *ATTEMPTING*

In Japanese, a formal distinction is made between attempting to do something successfully and attempting to do something unsuccessfully. A successful attempt is indicated by adding *miru* "see, try" to the *-te* form of the verb. An unsuccessful attempt is indicated by adding *to suru* to the presumptive (*-yoo*) form of the verb.[35]

(927) *yuube namazakana o tabete-mimashita.*
last-night raw-fish AC eat-tried
"Last night [I] tried eating raw fish [and I ate some]."

(928) *yuube namazakana o tabeyoo-to-shimashita.*
last-night raw-fish AC eat-tried
"Last night [I] tried to eat raw fish [but I couldn't]."

2.1.3.3.2.1.13.2. *DOING FOR FUTURE*

It is possible to specify that some action is being performed at present for future use. This is done by adding a form of the verb *oku* "place" to the *-te* form of a verb.

It is common for the sequence *-te-oku* to abbreviate to *-toku*.

(929) A *hai. jaa sa. ima no topikku ii kara sa.*
yes well EM now LK topic good since EM
anoo, are ***shitoite*** *yo.*
uh that do-place EM
"Yes, well, the topic [you've got] now is a good one, so hold on to that [for when you start to record]."

S *un.*
yes
"O.K."

A *kiipu* ***shitoite*** *yo.*
keep do-place EM
"Please keep that topic [for when you start]."

2.1.3.3.2.1.14. *RELIC ASPECT*

The construction discussed in 2.1.3.3.2.1.7, a verb stem followed by the verb *owaru* "end", in fact signals that a situation has led to a natural conclusion. Thus the example adduced here is appropriate to use when a dissertation has been completed, but not when work on the dissertation has been halted for the day.

(930) *sotsuron o* ***kakiowarimashita.***
dissertation AC write-finished
"[I] finished writing my dissertation."

Similarly, the next example is used when a novel has been completed, not when one finishes reading for the day.

(931) *sono shoosetsu o* ***yomiowarimashita.***
that novel AC read-finished
"[I] finished reading that novel."

2.1.3.4. *MOOD*

There is a basic dichotomy between vowel stem verbs and consonant stem verbs [see 2.1.3.2]. For each of the moods which exist, rules may be formed which are sensitive to this dichotomy. All citations are provided for nonpolite verbs. Polite verbs end in *-masu*, and are not considered here.

2.1.3.4.1. *INDICATIVE*

The indicative mood is frequently termed the dictionary or citation form. Verbs in this mood end in *-u*. In Table

27, and in subsequent tables, vowel stem verbs form Class I, and the four subclasses of Class II are indicated with upper case letters (A) through (D).

Table 27

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Gloss
I	*taberu*	eat
	yameru	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	wait
	tsukuru	build
	tsukau	use
(B)	*yomu*	read
	yobu	call
	shinu	die
(C)	*kaku*	write
	oyogu	swim
(D)	*osu*	push

2.1.3.4.2. *CONDITIONAL*

There is, in addition to a conditional form, a form termed the provisional [Martin 1975], whose meaning is quite similar. The conditional is formed by adding *-ra* to the *-ta/-da* form of the verb. The provisional is formed in the same way for both major classes: the final *-u* of the indicative is dropped and *-eba* is added.

Two other means to indicate a condition are appropriate to mention here. The first involves the addition of *to* "when/if" to the nonpast form of the verb. The second involves the addition of the form *(no) nara* to a tensed form of the verb [see Hinds and Hinds 1976a, Akatsuka 1983].

Table 28

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Conditional	Provisional	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabetara*	*tabereba*	eat
	yameru	*yametara*	*yamereba*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*mattara*	*mateba*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukuttara*	*tsukureba*	build
	tsukau	*tsukattara*	*tsukaeba*	use
(B)	*yomu*	*yondara*	*yomeba*	read
	yobu	*yondara*	*yobeba*	call
	shinu	*shindara*	*shineba*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kaitara*	*kakeba*	write
	oyogu	*oyoidara*	*oyogeba*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oshitara*	*oseba*	push

These four types of conditionals are illustrated in (932) through (935).

(932) *nihongo no koo, kankyoo to shite wa kanari*
Japanese LK H environment as do TP very
hawai to ***kurabetara*** *otoru tte koto desu nee.*
Hawaii with compare-if inferior QT NOM COP EM
"as Japanese language environment, uh compared with Hawaii, [it] is inferior, isn't it."

(933) *anoo, uchi no ko ni-tsuite* ***ieba*** *kanzen*
H house LK child about say-if complete
na bairinguaru ni naru tte iu yoo na koto wa
LK bilingual as become QT say way LK fact TP
nozomenai deshoo ne.
hope-POT-NEG COP EM
"Uh, if [I] talk about my child, [I] don't think [I] can expect him to become a complete bilingual."

(935) *gakusei mo chikayorigatai shi shitsumon mo,*
student too approach-hard and question too
sonoo, baka na koto o shitsumon suru to, n,
H stupid LK fact AC question do if H
nani o itte-ru ka tte na mon de ne,
what AC saying QU QT LK thing COP EM
"also students can hardly approach [them] and also questions, uh, if [we] ask a stupid question, uh, [they] despise us for stupidity [ie, they say, what are you saying], and ... "

(936) *boku ga machigatte-iru no nara, ayamarimasu.*
I NM wrong NOM if apologize
"If I am wrong (as you say), [I] will apologize."

[Akatsuka 1983:15]

(937) *anoo, abooshon suru nara dasu tte biru itta*
uh abortion do if pay QT Bill said
rashii yo.
seems EM
"Bill said that [he] would pay if [she] would have an abortion."

2.1.3.4.3. *IMPERATIVE*

The imperative is formed by attaching *-ro* to the stem of a vowel stem verb or by attaching *-e* to the final consonant of a consonant stem verb. There are no person distinctions made in the verb itself.

Table 29

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Stem	Imperative	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabe*	*tabero*	eat
	yameru	*yame*	*yamero*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*machi*	*mate*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukuri*	*tsukure*	build
	tsukau	*tsukai*	*tsukae*	use

(B)	*yomu*	*yomi*	*yome*	read
	yobu	*yobi*	*yobe*	call
	shinu	*shini*	*shine*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kaki*	*kake*	write
	oyogu	*oyogi*	*oyoge*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oshi*	*ose*	push

The imperative is used infrequently, always by someone in complete authority over another. It occurs in military-type contexts, in owner-pet relationships, or in situations in which a person's authority over another is unquestioned. It has a higher frequency of usage in quoted expressions. In the following illustration, the speaker reports his classmate as saying *miro* "Look!", the imperative form of the verb vowel stem verb *miru* "look, see". Whether the classmate actually used the imperative form is questionable.

(938) *kono-mae no shiken de ne, anoo, gotoo ni sa, koo,*
before LK test at EM H Goto by EM H
chiratto miro tte iu wake de yokoshita
quickly look! QT say reason COP passed
n da yo.
NOM COP EM
"During the last exam, from Goto, uh, [he] said, "Look!" and then [he] passed [me] [his exam paper]."

2.1.3.4.4. *OPTATIVE*

Optative indicates the expression of a wish for something to come about. There is no special inflectional ending for this. The way this is expressed is to follow the participial form of a verb (the *-te* form) with another verbal which expresses desire: this may be the adjective *hoshii* "want", or the desiderative form of a verb of receiving *moraitai*" [I] want to receive].[36]

(939) *kono wakarebanashi ga joodan da yo to*
this talk-of-parting NM joke COP EM QT
waratte-hoshii.
laugh-want
"[I] want [you] to laugh [and say] that this talk of parting is just a joke."

[Koibito yo. (Popular song sung by Mayumi Itsuwa)]

(940) *soo na no. okutte-morau ka, **okutte-moraitai** hon*
so LK NOM send-receive QU send-receive-DES book
toka ippai aru shi.
and many are and
"[I] have many books that [I] will have [her] send [me], that [I] want [her] to send [me]."

2.1.3.4.5. *INTENTIONAL*

Intentional is defined as the intention to bring about some situation. There are two distinction ways to indicate intention. The first involves one of the uses of the hortative inflection [see Martin 1975:612]. To that end, the hortative inflectional endings are presented here. For vowel stem verbs, the ending *yoo* is added to the stem; for consonant stem verbs, the ending *-oo* is added to the final consonant.

Table 30

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Stem	Hortative	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabe*	*tabeyoo*	eat
	yameru	*yame*	*yameyoo*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*machi*	*matoo*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukuri*	*tsukuroo*	build
	tsukau	*tsukai*	*tsukaoo*	use
(B)	*yomu*	*yomi*	*yomoo*	read
	yobu	*yobi*	*yoboo*	call
	shinu	*shini*	*shinoo*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kaki*	*kakoo*	write
	oyogu	*oyogi*	*oyogoo*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oshi*	*osoo*	push

(941) *sore wa boku ga **yarimashoo.***
that TP I NM do-hortative
"I'll take care of that."

[Martin 1975:612]

Martin 1975:612 further points out that the intentional statement is often quoted with *to omou* "[I] think that".

(942) ***kaeroo*** *to omou.*
return-hortative QT think
"[I] think [I]'ll leave [for home]."

[Martin 1975:612]

A second type of statement of intention is formed by placing the nominal *tsumori* "intention" after the nonpast form of the verb. This construction, as the previous, restricts the subject to first person for statements and second person for questions.

(943) *koochi made ne, jitensha de* ***iku tsumori datta*** *kedo.*
Kochi up-to EM bicycle by go intend COP-past but
"[I] had intended to go as far as Kochi by bi cycle, but ... "

2.1.3.4.6. *DEBITIVE*

Debitive indicates an obligation to do something. In a culture such as Japan, with an emphasis on duties, obligations, and responsibilities, it is not at all surprising that there are a variety of means to express obligation. What is surprising, however, is that despite the cultural emphasis on fulfilling obligations, expressions of obligation are infrequent [see Alfonso 1966:819ff].

The most common way to express obligation is through an "if-then" statement of the type "if [one] does not do such-and-such, it won't do". Two major ways to specify the negative "if" clause are (1) to use the nonpast negative *-nai* form of the verb followed by *to* "when/if", and (2) to use the negative provisional form of the verb *-nakereba*, often abbreviated to *nakya* [for both of these, see 2.1.3.4.2.]. The "then" clause consists of a nonpast form such as *ikemasen* "can't go", *ikimasen* "won't go", *dame desu* "is no good", etc.

It is also quite common for only the "if" clause to be stated, leaving the "then" clause understood by implication [as in (944)].

(943) *doo-shite guriin no* ***katte-konai-to-ikenai*** *no?*
why green NOM buy-come-must QU
"Why do [you] have to go buy a green one?"

(944) *watashi mo nanka de mita koto aru, manga ka*
I too like by saw fact be comic or
nanka de. hachimitsu-dango ja-nai-to, nanka.
something by honey-dumpling be-NEG-if like
"I've seen [that] somewhere, too, in a comic or something. [It] has to be a honey-dumpling, or else."

(945) *kazoku wakarete ne? seikatsu shinakya-ikenai tte*
family separate EM life do-must QT
iu koto mo aru deshoo.
say fact too be TAG
"[They] separate from [their] families, you know? [They] have to exist too, right?"

2.1.3.4.6.1. *MORAL AND PHYSICAL OBLIGATION*

Japanese does distinguish among different types of obligation, in addition to the forms discussed in 2.1.3.4.6. One construction specifies moral obligation. This is formed by adding the expression *wake ni wa ikimasen* to the nonpast form of a verb. If the negative form of the main verb appears, this indicates that there is a moral obligation to do something, as in (946). If the affirmative form of the main verb appears, this indicates the moral obligation not to do something, as in (947).

(946) *okoranai wake-ni-wa-ikanai n desu.*
angry-NEG stand-to-reason-NEG NOM COP
"[I] can't help getting angry."

[Martin 1975:734]

(947) *kyoo wa iku wake-ni-wa-ikimasen.*
today TP go stand-to-reason-NEG
"[I] cannot go today."

[Alfonso 1966:827]

In order to express natural expectation rather than moral obligation,[37] the form *beki* follows the nonpast form of the verb.[38] This form is used primarily in writing, and in some fixed expressions, although it also appears regularly in colloquial speech, as (948) demonstrates [see Alfonso 1966:820].

(948) *nnn yappari nareta tte iu beki na n*
H after-all got-used QT say supposed LK NOM
deshoo ne.
COP EM
"Uh, after all, [I] am supposed to say that [I] got used to [it], but ... "

2.1.3.4.6.2. *DEGREES OF DIFFERENCE IN OBLIGATION*

There is a degree of difference for those items of obligation which are expressed in the form of "if-then" constructions. This degree of obligation is closely associated with directness. The more direct the expression, the greater the degree of obligation.

In addition to the expressions discussed in 2.1.3.4.6, *nai to [ikemasen]* and *nakereba [ikemasen]*, another way to express obligation is with the negative participial form of a verb, followed by *wa*, and a verb of prohibition. Examples include *hairanakute wa ikemasen* "[one] must enter", *ikannkute wa ikemasen* "[one] must go".

These three expressions may be listed in increasing degrees of directness, the most direct indicating the stron gest obligation [Alfonso 1966:822ff]. As may be seen from these examples, the crucial portion of the expression for determining directness is the "if" clause.

LEAST DIRECT

nai to [ikemasen]

nakereba [ikemasen]

nakute wa [ikemasen]

MOST DIRECT

2.1.3.4.7. *POTENTIAL*

The potential construction expresses the ability to do something. There are two relevant constructions. One involves periphrasis in which the phrase *koto ga dekimasu* "fact is possible" follows the nonpast affirmative form of the verb. Since one of the functions of this construction is to place the action expressed by the verb preceding *koto* into contrastive focus, it is not surprising that many examples taken from context show *dekimasu* "be possible" in its negative form *dekimasen*.

(949) *inu wa mada* ***warau koto ga dekimasen.***
dog TP still laugh fact NM possible-NEG
"Dogs are still not able to laugh [but perhaps they can feel]."

[Shibatani 1978a:147]

(950) *bimyoo na seitaikei ni-kawatte*
delicate LK ecological-system in-place-of
mizu o kanro ni ***suru koto wa dekinai.***
water AC sweeten to do fact TP possible-NEG
"[they] cannot sweeten the water in place of the subtle ecological system."

[Tensei Jingo 5/28/84]

The other, more colloquial, potential construction adds *-rare-ru* to the stem of a vowel stem verb, and adds *-e-ru* to the final consonant of a consonant stem verb.

Table 31

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Potential	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*taberareru*	eat
	yameru	*yamerareru*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*materu*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukureru*	build
	tsukau	*tsukaeru*	use
(B)	*yomu*	*yomeru*	read
	yobu	*yoberu*	call
	shinu	*shineru*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kakeru*	write
	oyogu	*oyogeru*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oseru*	push

Both types of verbs may be illustrated in the section of dialogue which follows. The first verb is *tsukau* "use", a consonant stem verb, and the second is *ireru* "put in", a

vowel stem verb.

(951) W *demo, anna-ni hirabettai no tsukaeru?*
but that-kind flat one use-POT
"But, can [you] use one that's that flat?"

M *chotto, anoo, osenbei, kukkii tsukutta toki*
just H senbei cookie made time
nanka ne.
like EM
"Yes, well, when [I] made osenbei, cookies, like."

S *uun. onigiri toka, un, soo.*
um onigiri and um so
"Yes, for onigiri and things like that, yes, oh."

Y *un.*
um
"Yes."

M *onigiri nanika mo irerareru shi, un, ...*
onigiri like too put-in-POT and um
"[I] can put onigiri and stuff like that in [them] too, and uh, ... "

2.1.3.4.7.1. *PHYSICAL ABILITY AND PERMISSION*

There is a distinction between physical ability, explained in 2.1.3.4.7, and permission. Expressions of permission are formed by placing *mo ii* after the participial form (the *-te*) form of a verb.[39] In more relaxed speech, the particle *mo* may be omitted. Both affirmative and negative permission may be expressed.

(952) *chotto samui naa. kore kite-ii desu ka?*
just cold EM this wear OK COP QU
"[I]'m a little bit cold. May [I] put this [sweater] on?"

(953) *shufu no kaiwa. e? betsu-ni nani-mo*
wife LK talk eh special nothing
kangaenakute-mo-ii desho?
think-NEG-even-OK TAG
"[You mean] like wives' conversations? So, [we] don't have to think [about our roles], do we?"

2.1.3.4.7.2. *LEARNED ABILITY*

There is no special form for learned ability.

2.1.3.4.8. *DEGREE OF CERTAINTY*

It is possible to make an assertion with varying degrees of certainty. The neutral case has the indicative ending. To indicate certainty ("he must be there"), the expression *ni chigai nai* "must be so" is attached to the prediction. To indicate uncertainty ("he may be there"), the expression ***ka mo shirenai*** "perhaps" is added to the predication. In both cases, there are no grammatical restrictions on what this expression is added to. For cultural reasons, statements with ***ka mo shirenai*** may occur with greater frequency than statements with *ni chigai nai*. The clause following the expression *unten suru* ***ka mo shirenai*** "[I]'ll probably drive" in (954) verifies the uncertainty the speaker feels with his statement. Example (955) has the expression ***ka mo shirenai*** following an adjective, while (956) has it following a nominal. Example (957) demonstrates that in conversational interaction, the expression may be abbreviated to ***ka mo***. Examples (958) and (959) illustrate *ni chigai nai*.

(954) *nihon kaette ojisan ii tsuttara* ***unten suru***
Japan return uncle OK say-if drive do
ka-mo-shirenai *shi, nihon konde-ru kara wakannai.*
perhaps and Japan crowded since know-NEG
"[When I] return to Japan, if [my] uncle says it's OK, [I]'ll probably drive, and, but Japan's crowded so [I] don't know."

(955) *sugoku nanjaku. ato tsuttara nagasu ga choodo*
very weak rest hang-if length NM exact
yoku-natte ii ***ka-mo-shirenai.***
become-good OK probably
"[It]'s too fragile. If [I] hang the rest of [this], it will probably be the right length."

(956) *n, baka na no* ***ka-mo-shirenai*** *kedo, ha ha.*
un fool LK NOM probably but
"Yes, [he]'s probably a fool [for staying with me]."

(957) *suuzan ni kiite miyoo ka-na, ne, suuzan ni*
Susan to ask try wonder say Susan to
hanasu wadai ga nai toka itte-ta tokoro da
talk topic NM NEG or were-saying place COP
kara choodo ii ka-mo.
since exact OK probably
"Yes, [I] wonder if [I] should ask her? Since [we] were just saying that [we] wanted to talk to Susan but there was nothing to talk about, probably this is exactly right."

(958) *ooki na kutsujoku datta ni-chigai-nai.*
big LK humiliation was must-be
"It was unquestionably a great humiliation."

[Martin 1975:906]

(959) *soo itta ni-chigai-nai desu yo.*
so said must-be COP EM
"There can be no doubt that [I] said so [just ask the others who were there]."

[Martin 1975:737]

2.1.3.4.9. *AUTHORITY FOR ASSERTION*

There are ways a speaker may indicate that he or she is reporting second-hand information. The most common way to do this is to add the expression *soo da* to a tensed form of the verb. In examples (960) and (961), taken from the folktale *Sumiyaki Chooja* "The Charcoal Maker", the story teller is indicating that there is no first hand knowledge through the use of the hearsay construction.

(960) *mukashi-mukashi miyako no daijin ni hitori no*
long-ago capital LK king to one LK
musume ga arimashita. musume wa chiisai toki
daughter NM existed daughter TP small time
kara, mawari no hito ni "ohimesama, ohimesama" to
since nearby LK person by princess princess QT
yobarete sodatta soo-desu.
he-called grew-up hearsay
"Once upon a time a king had a daughter. The daughter was called "Princess" by the people around her ever since she was a child."

(961) *tokoro-ga hitonami-hazurete kiryoo ga warukatta node,*
anyway extraordinarily looks NM bad-past since
yome ni moraite ga nakatta ***soo-desu.***
bride as recipient NM NEG-past hearsay
"But, since was extraordinarily ugly, no one wanted to marry her."

A second way to indicate that information is second-hand is to add *to iu* "one says" to the sentence. This may be seen in example (962), the first sentence of an article entitled "*waresa no shakai-shugi* (Walesa's socialism)". The translation is provided by the Asahi Shinbun's English language division. Note that in the English no hearsay construction is used.

(962) *nooberu heiwashoo no shirase o uketa toki,*
Nobel Peace-Prize LK announcement AC received time
"rentai" iinchoo no waresa-shi wa mori
solidarity committee-chair LK Walesa-Mr TP woods
no naka de kinokokari no saichuu
LK middle at mushroom-gathering LK midst
datta to iu.
was QT say
"When Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned Polish trade union Solidarity, was informed that he had been awarded the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize, he was picking mushrooms in a forest."

[Tensei Jingo 10/7/83]

2.1.3.4.10. HORTATORY

The presumptive mood has a hortatory function [see 2.1.3.4.5]. The inflectional ending *-yoo* is added to vowel stem verbs, and the ending *-oo* is added to the final consonant of consonant stem verbs [see the table in 2.1.3.4.5.]. This function is served in expressions such as *ganbaroo* "let's do our best/do your best" [from *ganbaru* "to persevere"].

2.1.3.4.11. MONITORY

There is no special means to issue a warning.

2.1.3.4.12.-14. NARRATIVE, CONSECUTIVE, CONTINGENT

There is no special narrative, consecutive, or contingent mood.

2.1.3.4.15. *EXPOSITORY*

In expository writing, the copula has a special form which is appears with regularity. This is *de aru*, and it indicates an objectivity which results from lack of personal interaction.

(963) *sunawachi, (32.a) wa tsugi no yoo na*
i.e. TP next LK way LK
shinsoo-koozoo o motsu to kangaeru wake ***de-aru.***
deep-structure AC have QT think reason COP
"That is to say, [we] can think that (32a) has a deep structure as in the next example."

[Shibatani 1978a:82]

2.1.3.5. *FINITE AND NONFINITE FORMS*

Japanese makes a clear distinction between tensed (finite) forms and nonfinite forms for verbals. The only two tensed forms are past and nonpast [see 2.1.3.2]. All other inflectional endings of verbals are nonfinite [see 2.1.3.3 and 2.1.3.4, and Martin 1975:392-596].

2.1.3.6. *PERSON/NUMBER/ETC*

Neither person nor number is directly coded in the verb. Pedagogical texts stress this as part of the first lesson. Jorden 1963:9, for instance, states:

> Verbals are impersonal and can occur by themselves as complete standard sentences. They can indicate the occurrence of an action or the existence of a state without grammatical reference to a subject. Contrast English 'I understand,' 'he understands,' 'they understand,' etc., with Japanese *wakarimasu* 'understanding takes place,' 'there is understanding.'

2.1.3.6.1. *OTHER INFORMATION CODED IN THE VERB*

Japanese has a rich store of honorific distinctions which may be coded in the verb. The system is complex, but may be separated into distinctions relevant to personal interaction [termed by Harada 1976 "performative"], and those relevant to social status [termed by Harada 1976 "propositional"]. Performative honorifics are alternatively termed *teinei-go* "polite language", while propositional honorifics subsume *sonkei-go* "respect language" and *kenjoo-go* "condescending language".

A verb is either polite or nonpolite. Nonpolite forms

are used with intimates and family members; all others are accorded polite forms [see Harada 1976, Hinds 1976a]. The politeness marker for verbs is *-masu*. It is added to the stem of vowel stem verbs, and to the epenthetic *-i-* which follows the final consonant of consonant stem verbs. This is illustrated in Table 32.

Table 32

VERB CLASS	Non-past (Citation)	Polite form	Gloss
I	*taberu*	*tabemasu*	eat
	yameru	*yamemasu*	quit
II(A)	*matsu*	*machimasu*	wait
	tsukuru	*tsukurimasu*	make
	tsukau	*tsukaimasu*	use
(B)	*yomu*	*yomimasu*	read
	yobu	*yobimasu*	call
	shinu	*shinimasu*	die
(C)	*kaku*	*kakimasu*	write
	oyogu	*oyogimasu*	swim
(D)	*osu*	*oshimasu*	push

There are a small number of exceptional verbs whose forms are also relevant to this discussion. These are presented in Table 33.

Table 33

Exceptional verbs	Polite form	Gloss
iku	*ikimasu*	go
kuru	*kimasu*	come
suru	*shimasu*	do

With respect to propositional honorifics, *sonkei-go* "respect language" is used to elevate the relative position

of the subject of the speaker. *kenjoo-go* "condescending language" is used to raise the relative position of someone in nonsubject position by lowering the position of the subject, usually the speaker or the speaker's family members. These usages are matters of interpretation for the speaker, and as a result, considerable disagreement about specific usages exist among speakers of Japanese. Harada 1976:500-1 has pointed out, "even native speakers [of Japanese] need a considerable amount of time for full acquisition of the system."

This system provides a de facto means to identify the subject based on the form of the verb, within limits.[40] The subject of a verb which contains *sonkei-go* "respect language" may not be the speaker or a member of the speaker's ingroup [see Hinds 1976a]. The subject may be either the addressee or a third person. The subject of a verb which contains *kenjoo-go* "condescending language" may not be the addressee or a third person unless that third person is a member of the speaker's ingroup. Typically *kenjoo-go* forms are used when the speaker is the subject.

There are two types of propositional honorifics which are used: suppletive forms and regular formations. In older forms of Japanese, there was a much larger store of suppletive forms. In present day Japanese, the number of suppletive forms is smaller, but robust. They share the property that it is impossible to predict the propositional honorific form given the stem of a verb. A brief sampling of such forms is provided in Table 34. I use as a base the polite form rather than the citation form since these propositional honorifics are often used in the polite form. Nonpolite propositional honorifics also occur, typically in dependent clauses. Illustrations are provided in (964) through (967). In (964), the subject is a third person[41]; in (965) it is the addressee[42]; and in (966) it is the subject. Example (967), which illustrates a nonpolite propositional honorific, also gives insight into the decision making process involved in deciding which forms to use.

Table 34

Polite form	Respect form	Condescending form	Gloss
-masu	*sonkei-go*	*kenjoo-go*	
ikimasu	*irasshaimasu*	*mairimasu*	go
kimasu	*irrashaimasu*	*mairimasu*	come
imasu	*irasshaimasu*	*orimasu*	be (animate)
shimasu	*nasaimasu*	*itashimasu*	do

(964) *nihon no kata ga, anoo, takusan **irasshaimasu***
Japan LK person NM H many come
kara ne.
since EM
"Since, uh, lots of people from Japan come [here to Hawaii], ... "

(965) *nani o benkyoo shite-**irassharu** n desu ka?*
what AC study doing NOM COP QU
"What are [you] studying?"

(966) *itte **mairimasu**.*
go come
"[I]'m leaving now [(lit) [I]'ll go and come back]."

(967) M *ya iyaa, moo chotto rirakkusu shite kurereba*
no no more just relax do give-if
yokatta no-ni.
was-good even
"[You] should have relaxed more."

S *asaji-san anmari kinchoo shite atashitachi*
Asaji Ms very nervous do we
tochuu-de keigo tsukatta desho.
middle honorifics used TAG
"You (= Asaji-san) were so nervous that you used honorifics for us."

M *asaji-san "**irassharu** no" toka tsukawanakatta?*
Asaji Ms QT use-NEG-past
"Didn't you (= Asaji-san) use 'irassharu'?"

A *anoo, honto, atashi ne, itsumo chanpon na no.*
H real I EM always mixed LK NOM
"Yes, but I am always mixing [levels]."

There are regular processes for creating *sonkei-go* and *kenjoo-go*. In order to create *sonkei-go*, the prefix *o-* is added to the verb stem, and this is followed by *ni narimasu*. A second is to add a suffix which is identical to the passive: *-rare-ru* attaching to vowel stem verbs, *-are-ru* attaching to the final consonant of consonant stem verbs [see 2.1.3.1.1 for the morphology of this].[43] In order to create *kenjoo-go* forms, the prefix *o-* is added to the stem, and a plain or humble verb of doing (*suru/shimasu/itashimasu*) follows. A representative sampling of verbs is demonstrated in Table 35.

Table 35

Non-past

(Citation)	Gloss	Respect	Condescension
yomu	read	*oyomi ni naru*	*oyomi suru*
oshieru	teach	*ooshie ni naru*	*ooshie suru*
motsu	hold, carry	*omochi ni naru*	*omochi suru*
hanasu	speak	*ohanashi ni naru*	*ohanashi suru*

In all of these cases as well, the use of *sonkei-go* "respect language" indicates that the subject is not the speaker or a member of the speaker's ingroup. The use of *kenjoo-go* indicates that the subject is the speaker or a member of the speaker's ingroup.

2.1.3.6.2.-3. *AGREEMENT*

Agreement is not marked in the verb.

2.1.3.6.4-7. *NOUN PHRASE FEATURES*

No noun phrase features are coded in the verb regardless of voice, tense, aspect, or mood.

2.1.3.6.8. *REFLEXIVE VERBS*

There is a regular process in Japanese in which a nominal may be placed in front of an appropriate verb of doing, such as *suru*, to create the meaning "to do ... ". The range of forms possible in Japanese is quite widespread, encompassing recent foreign loan words and nominals which designate an action for which there is already a verb. This

is illustrated in (968) [see Jacobsen 1984].

(968)

Nominal	Gloss	Derived verb	Gloss
benkyoo	studies	*benkyoo suru*	to study
kenkyuu	research	*kenkyuu suru*	to do research
saiyoo	adoption	*saiyoo suru*	to adopt
doraibu	drive	*doraibu suru*	to do driving

It is possible to create a reflexive verb based on a nominal which contains the reflexive morpheme *ji* and the verb *suru* "do" [see 1.6, 2.1.2.2].

Table 36

jiai suru	to love oneself
jichin suru	to scuttle one's own boat
jifun suru	to decapitate oneself
jigakujishuu suru	to teach oneself
jijin suru	to kill oneself with a sword
jikobengo suru	to defend oneself
jisatsu suru	to kill oneself

2.1.3.6.9. *RECIPROCAL FORMS OF THE VERB*

There is a reciprocal form of the verb. This consists of a compound verb, the second member of which is *au* "be suited" [see 2.1.2.3]. The first member of this compound is the verb stem. Examples follow in Table 37.

Table 37

Verb	Gloss	Compound	Gloss
shiru	know	*shiriau*	know each other
meguru	come around	*meguriau*	meet by chance
hanasu	speak	*hanashiau*	speak together
naguru	beat, hit	*naguriau*	fight
tasukeru	help	*tasukeau*	help each other

2.1.3.6.10. *DIRECTIONAL ACTION*

It is possible, though not always necessary, to indicate direction toward and away from the speaker.[44] For actions occurring toward the speaker, the participial form of the verb (the *-te* form) is followed by the appropriate form of the verb *kuru* "come". For actions occurring away from the speaker, the participial form of the verb is followed by the appropriate form of the verb *iku* "go". Example (969) provides an illustration of various forms of the verb *kuru* "come" being attached to the verb *kakaru* "telephone". In (970), the first two examples demonstrate time going away from the speaker with *iku* or its abbreviated form *ku* being attached to the verbs *utsuru* "change" and *sugiru* "pass". The speaker also attaches *kuru* "come" to the verb *bokeru* "grow senile".

(969) *sore-de ne, anoo, sono hito kara ne, nanka,*
and EM uh that person from EM like
*anoo, denwa ga **kakatte-kita** yume mita wake ne,*
uh phone NM receive-came dream saw reason EM
*'shitara tsugi no hi ne, amari **kakatte-kuru** kanoosei*
so next LK day EM very receive-come chance
mo nai no-ni ne, tsugi no hi honto-ni
too NEG despite EM next LK day really
kakatte-kichatta.
receive-came
"and, well, I had a dream that I would get a phone call from that person, so, the next day, even though there was no reason to expect a phone call from that person, I really got a call from that person the next day."

(970) *dakara nihon tte sore de shiki ga aru desho,*
so Japan QT that by season NM be TAG
harunatsuakifuyu ga aru ka-naa? koo, toki ga koo
four-seasons NM be wonder H time NM H
utsutte-ku *tte iu ka ne.* ***sugite-iku*** *tte iu kanji*
change-go QT say QU EM pass-go QT say feeling
ga nai no ne. mainichi onaji seikatsu tte iu no
NM NEG NOM EM daily same life QT say NOM
wa tada dandan koo ***bokete-kuru*** *tte iu ka ne.*
TP just gradually H spacy-come QT say QU EM
"So, Japan has seasons, right? It has spring, summer, fall, winter, doesn't it? So, the times change, right? There's no feeling of [time] passing [here in Hawaii]. Everyday, [we] lead the same kind of life, and eventually [we]'ll go spacy, right?"

No direction toward others is indicated. Thus, when an English speaker would say to a person at the other end of the telephone line, "I'll *come* right over," Japanese say, ***sugu ikimasu*** "[I]'ll *go* right away."

2.1.3.6.11. *BODY ORIENTATION*

There is one special construction which may be used to indicate that an action is performed while standing up. The stem of the verb *tatsu* "stand up" precedes certain nominals, and this is used with the verb *suru* "do" [see 2.1.3.6.8].

Table 38

tachigui suru "stand while eating"

(*tachi* "stand" + *gui* "eating" [< *kuu* "eat])

tachishooben suru "stand while urinating"

(*tachi* "stand" + *shooben* "urine")

tachinomi suru "stand while drinking"

(*tachi* "stand" + *nomi* "drinking" [< *nomu* "drink"])

2.1.3.6.12. *INCORPORATION*

No elements are incorporated into the verb.

2.1.3.7. *STRINGS OF VERBS*

There are two ways in which verbs may be strung together. The first is for the verbs to be joined together to

create a new verb. This is accomplished by placing the stem of the first verb directly in front of the second. The second verb typically indicates an aspectual nuance. Included in the list of permissible second verbs is: *naosu* "fix", *dasu* "start out", *hajimeru* "begin", *owaru* "end. This is a very productive system. Two verbs, *kaku* "write" and *yaru* "do", are taken as representative first verbs.

Table 39

STEM	VERB		DERIVED VERB	GLOSS
kaki +	*naosu*	=	*kakinaosu*	rewrite
yari +	*naosu*	=	*yarinaosu*	do over
kaki +	*dasu*	=	*kakidasu*	start to write
yari +	*dasu*	=	*yaridasu*	start to do
kaki +	*hajimeru*	=	*kakihajimeru*	begin to write
yari +	*hajimeru*	=	*yarihajimeru*	begin to do
kaki +	*owaru*	=	*kakiowaru*	finish writing
yari +	*owaru*	=	*yariowaru*	finish doing

No elements may intervene between the two verbs in this construction.

The second means of stringing verbs together requires the first verb to be in the participial form (the *te* form). The second verb, again, is taken from a small group of verbs which provide aspectual nuances. Included in this list are: *oku* "do in advance", *miru* "try", *shimau* "end up", and various verbs of giving and receiving (*kureru* "give (me)" and *morau* "receive").[45] These are again illustrated with the verbs *kaku* "write" and *yaru* "do".

Table 40

PARTICIPLE	VERB	DERIVED CONSTRUCTION	GLOSS
kaite	+ *oku*	*kaite oku*	write in advance
yatte	+ *oku*	*yatte oku*	do in advance
kaite	+ *miru*	*kaite miru*	try writing
yatte	+ *miru*	*yatte miru*	try doing
kaite	+ *shimau*	*kaite shimau*	end up writing
yatte	+ *shimau*	*yatte shimau*	end up doing
kaite	+ *kureru*	*kaite kureru*	write for me
yatte	+ *kureru*	*yatte kureru*	do for me
kaite	+ *morau*	*kaite morau*	receive writing
yatte	+ *morau*	*yatte morau*	receive doing

Typically no elements intervene between such compounds, but it is possible. Additionally, it is possible to have compounds in which several verbs are strung together: *kaite-oite-miru* "(I)'ll try to write (something) in advance"; *kaite-shimatte-morau* "[I]'ll have [someone] end up writing [it]".

2.1.4. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Japanese form two distinct classes. These may be termed (verbal) adjectives and nominal adjectives. Membership in each class is determined by formal criteria.

Adjectives are defined in Japanese by formal rather than semantic criteria. An adjective is an inflected form whose stem ends in one of four vowels and whose nonpast morpheme is *-i*. The vowels are *a, i, u, o*. No adjective has *e* as its stem final vowel. Although all adjectival inflection is regular, three special forms are cited. These are the negative form *-nai*, the desiderative form *-tai*, and the facilitative form *-nikui* "be difficult to do". The nonpolite negative form of any verb is created by attaching the negative morpheme *-nai* to the negative base of the verb. The resulting form is no longer a verb, but an adjective, and it undergoes the usual inflections of the adjective. The nonpolite desiderative form of any verb is created by attaching the desiderative morpheme *-tai* to the stem of the

verb. Similarly, the resulting form is an adjective, not a verb, and it undergoes the usual inflections of the adjective. The nonpolite facilitative form of any verb is created by adding one of a small number of adjectival morphemes such as *-nikui* "be difficult to do", *-yasui* "be easy to do", *-ii* "be easy to do", to the stem of the verb. This resulting form is also an adjective, and it undergoes the usual inflections of the adjective.

The major categories for adjectives are presented in Table 41.

Table 41

ADJECTIVE TYPE	Non-past (Dictionary)	Stem	Past[46]	Participle
-ai	*akai*	*aka*	*akakatta*	*akakute*
-ii	*oishii*	*oishi*	*oishikatta*	*oishikute*
-ui	*furui*	*furu*	*furukatta*	*furukute*
-oi	*shiroi*	*shiro*	*shirokatta*	*shirokute*
-nai	*kaenai*	*kaena*	*kaenakatta*	*kaenakute*
-tai	*kaetai*	*kaeta*	*kaetakatta*	*kaetakute*
-nikui	*iinikui*	*iiniku*	*iinikukatta*	*iinikukute*

Table 41 (continued)

	Presumptive	Past Presumptive	Conditional
-ai	*akakaroo*	*akakattaroo*	*akakattara*
-ii	*oishikaroo*	*oishikattaroo*	*oishikattara*
-ui	*furukaroo*	*furukattaroo*	*furukattara*
-oi	*shirokaroo*	*shirokattaroo*	*shirokattara*
-nai	*kaenakaroo*	*kaenakattaroo*	*kaenakattara*
-tai	*kaetakaroo*	*kaetakattaroo*	*kaetakattara*
-nikui	*iinikukaroo*	*iinikukattaroo*	*iinikukattara*

Table 41 (Continued)

	Provisional	Alternative	Adverbial
-ai	*akakereba*	*akakattari*	*akaku*
-ii	*oishikereba*	*oishikattari*	*oishiku*
-ui	*furukereba*	*furukattari*	*furuku*
-oi	*shirokereba*	*shirokattari*	*shiroku*
-nai	*kaenakereba*	*kaenakattari*	*kaenaku*
-tai	*kaetakereba*	*kaetakattari*	*kaetaku*
-nikui	*iinikukereba*	*iinikukattari*	*iinikuku*

Table 41 (Continued)

	Negative[47]	Gloss
-ai	*akaku nai*	be red
-ii	*oishiku nai*	be delicious
-ui	*furuku nai*	be old
-oi	*shiroku nai*	be white
-nai	---	do not exchange
-tai	*kaetaku nai*	want to exchange
-nikui	*iinikuku nai*	be difficult to say

Nonpast (dictionary)

This form is used to indicate nonpast action. Since adjectives refer to states rather than actions, it is not used to refer to future happenings, as is the case with verbs. The dictionary form is the nonpolite form, and thus is used in sentence final position or it may directly modify a nominal, similar to the way a verb modifies a nominal.

(971) *yappa' kore oshiri ga ookii ne, kore.*
of-course this buttocks NM big EM this
"Of course, [the dog's] buttocks are big, aren't they?"

(972) *oishii yo, shiroi omame ga atte tabesugi ni nee.*
good EM white beans NM being overeat to EM
"[It]'s good, you know, [it] has white beans and so [I] tend to eat too much."

(973) *nanka, **omoshiroi** tokoro attara soko shuuchuu*
like interesting place be-if there concentrate
shite benkyoo dekiru desho?
doing study able copula-presumptive
"If something interesting comes up, [I] can concentrate on that, right?"

(974) *nihon, hakkiri iwanai kara.*
Japan clearly say-NEG because
"Since [they] don't say [things] clearly in Japan."

(975) *dakara, honto-ni ii to omou koto shika*
so really good QT think fact except-for
yannai [< yaranai] hoo ga ii mitai.
do-NEG side NM good seems
"So, it seems [to me] that [you] should only do those things [you] think [you] should do."

(976) *soo-iu hito ga det- itara, anoo, kekkon shitai?*
that-kind person NM appe- be-if uh marry do-DES
"If that kind of person were to appea- uh, were around, would you want to get married?"

(977) *orandazaka de anata to sashitai*
Holland-Hill on you and hold-up-desiderative
kasa ga aru.
umbrella NM exist
"[I]'d like to hold an umbrella over you [and me] on Holland Hill [(Lit) There is an umbrella which [I] want to hold with you on Holland Hill."

[*Nagasaki o kudasai* (sung by Yashiro Aki)].

(978) *soo yo, ikiyasui, koko kara no hoo ga.*
right EM go-easy here from LK side NM
"Right, it's easy to go [there], from here that is."

(979) *demo, zubon ga ii nee, zubon ga ugokiyasui.*
but pants NM good EM pants NM move-easy
"But, pants are good, it's easy to move in pants."

Stem

The stem of many adjectives may be used as a nominal. This is particularly true of those adjectives other than the negative, the desiderative, and the facilitative, which end in *-ai*, *-ui*, and *-oi*. The stem of adjectives may also be used immediately preceding nominalizing suffixes. This is true for all adjectives.

(980) *ano purinto wa* ***shiro-kuro*** *ka karaa ka?*
that print TP white-black QU color QU
"Is that print black and white or color?"

(981) *ja, omocha mo moo* ***ofuru*** *ga aru ne.*
well toy too already old-one NM be EM
"Well, [they]'ve got old toys already."

(982) *ima wa moo* ***samu-sa*** ***samu-sa*** *o gaman*
now TP already cold-ness cold-ness AC endure
suru yori ...
do rather
"Well, rather than putting up with the cold, ... "

(983) *soo yo, yasumi dake ne,* ***tanoshi-mi*** *wa.*
right EM vacation only EM happy-ness EM
"Right, it's only when [I]'m on vacation that [I]'m happy."

Past

This form of adjectives is used to report events in the past, and it may be used as a nonpolite sentence final verbal or immediately preceding a nominal as a modifier.

(984) *soo-iu no ga betchari atama ni tsuitari*
that-kind NOM NM stickily head in attach-REP
sugokatta *kedo.*
tough-past but
"That kind of stuff got all stuck in my hair, and it was terrible!"

(985) *nanka nisannichi, nanka, chotto* ***itakatta*** *kedo.*
like 2-3-days like little hurt-past but
"Like, it hurt a little for two or three days."

(986) *nihon ni ita yonenkan tte iu no sugoku yappari*
Japan in was 4-years QT say NOM very expected
tsurakatta *shi,*
tough-past and
"Those four years [I] was in Japan were exceedingly difficult, and ... "

(987) *ja, otomodachi nanka mo* ***tsukurinikukatta,***
well friend like too make-hard-past
nihon ja?
Japan at-TP
"Well, so it was difficult to make friends, in Japan?"

(988) *nanka, hachinin gurai soko ni ita n da kedo*
like 8-people about there at was NOM COP but
ne, amari minna kega ***shinakatta*** *no.*
EM very all injury do-NEG-past NOM
"You know, there were about eight people there, but hardly anyone was hurt at all."

(989) *anata wa sakasama-ni* ***naranakatta?***
you TP upside-down become-NEG-past
"Didn't you turn upside down?"

(990) *ore mo asuko ni ikitakatta kedo,*
I too there to go-DESI-past but
"I wanted to go there too, but ... "

Participle

As with the participle of the verb, the participle of the adjective is used as a clausal connector. Like the participle of the verb, it may also be used to end a sentence. When this happens, there is a feeling of lack of closure.

(991) *boku no baai wa ne,* ***omoshirokute,***
I LK case TP EM interesting-participle
anoo, nan- anoo, ma, chuugakkoo wa, ma,
uh wha- uh uh jr.-high TP uh
futsuu desu kedo ne?
regular copula but EM
"Well, my case is interesting, uh, [up to] junior high school, [it]'s quite normal, but ... "

(992) *sore* ***omoshirokute*** *ne, 'te, anoo,*
that interesting-participle EM and uh
mochiron gakkoo e iru toki wa eigo desu kedo.
of-course school in be time TP English copula but
"That's interesting, uh, of course, when [he] is in school, [he speaks] English."

(993) *anoo, eigo de hanashita hoo ga shizen da*
uh English in spoke side NM natural COP
tte iu fuu-ni kanjiru rashikute, eigo de
QT say way feel seem-participle English in
hanasu toki no hoo ga ooi desu ne.
speak time LK side NM numerous COP EM
"Well, it seems that [he] feels natural speaking English, and so [we] speak more English [than Japanese]."

(994) *soide, konoo, katate dake de nakute,*
and uh 1-hand only copula NEG-participle
ryoote o ageru deshoo. banzai! tte, koo
2-hands AC raise TAG banzai QT this
yatte,
do-participle
"So, uh, not just one hand, but [they] raise both hands and say "Banzai!", [they] do this, ... "

The participle of the negative has another function in certain idiomatic expressions. The negative participle immediately preceding the particle *mo* and a verbal like *ii* "be good", or the like, forms a negative permissive construction, similar to the affirmative permissive construction presented in (994). When the particle *mo* is omitted, as in (996), the utterance is interpreted as being more familiar.

(995) *kore zenbu yaranakute mo ii n desu.*
this all do-participle even good NOM copula
"[You] don't have to do all of this."

(996) *ima kakanakute-ii ka?*
now write-NEG-participle-good QU
"Is is OK if [I] don't write [it] now?"

Presumptive

Martin 1975:606ff terms this a literary tentative form because it rarely occurs in speech. It appears primarily as an inflection of the negative *nai*. Its functional equivalent is the nonpast form of the adjective plus *daroo*.

(997) *ryokan-san ga ikite-itara tabun nita yoo*
Ryokan Mr NM living-if maybe resembled like
na koto o kaku no de-wa nakaroo ka.
LK fact AC write NOM TP NEG-presumptive QU
"If Priest Ryokan were alive today, he probably would write similar things."

[Asahi Shinbun 11/3/83]

Past presumptive

This form also is more common in writing. Its functional equivalent is the past form of an adjective plus *daroo*. It too occurs most frequently as an inflection of the negative *nai*.

(998) *ketsudan shite-ireba, hyakurokujuu o koeru*
decision doing-if 160 AC exceed
toshi e no koogeki no taihan wa mizen-ni-fusegeta
city to LK attack LK majority TP obviated
daroo shi, kuushuu ni-yoru shisha ga
presumptive and air-raid by dead NM
sanjuumannin ni noboru koto mo ***nakattaroo.***
300,000 to reach fact too NEG-past-presumptive
"If the decision [to surrender] had been made, most of the bombing attacks on over 160 cities throughout the nation and the 300,000 deaths that resulted could have been prevented."

[Tensei Jingo 3/10/83]

Conditional

The conditional of an adjective, like the conditional of a verb, is tenseless. Its meaning is something like, "on condition that such-and-such happens." As a result, it may be translated into English as "when", "if", or a comparable form. Its tense interpretative depends on the tense of the verb in the clause following. In example (999), the *kattara* form is interpreted as a nonpast form while in (1000) it is interpreted as a past.

(999) *nanika* ***wakaranakattara*** *sensei no tokoro*
something understand-NEG-COND teacher LK place
e ikeba shitsumon dekiru tte fun'iki ja-nai?
to go-if question able QT atmosphere NEG-TAG
"It's an atmosphere like if [you] don't understand something [you] can go to the teacher and ask, isn't it?"

(1000) *sore-de, kono mae* ***minakattara*** *okorareta*
and this before see-NEG-COND angry-PASS-PAST
node kondo wa mita wake da.
since this-time TP looked reason COP
"Since when [I] didn't look at [his exam] the time before, [he] got angry [with me], so this time [I] looked at [it]."

Provisional

The provisional has a meaning very similar to the conditional. It means "provided such-and-such exists". Jorden 1963:249 states, with respect to verbs, "there is a slight distinction in meaning between [the conditional and the provisional]. Compare:

> *kuruma o uttara, ryokoo shimasu.* "If (or when) I sell the car, I'm going to take a trip." (This sentence tells what will happen if or when I see the car.)

and:

> *kuruma o ureba, ryokoo shimasu.* "I'm going to take a trip, if (i.e. provided) I sell the car." (This sentence tells under what circumstances I will take a trip.)

Jorden's further explanation of the distinction between negative provisional and conditional forms is more pertinent since negative *-nai* constitutes an adjective.

> In the negative, the conditional corresponds to English "if not ___," whereas the negative provisional is comparable to English "unless ___." Compare:
>
> *tanaka san ga konakattara, benkyoo shimasu.* "If Mr Tanaka doesn't come, I'll study." (This sentence tells what will happen if Mr. Tanaka doesn't come.)
>
> and:
>
> *tanaka san ga konakereba, benkyoo shimasu.* "I'll study unless Mr Tanaka comes." (This sentence indicates an intention to study--provided Mr Tanaka doesn't come.)

One other constraint on the provisional is that it only refers to a future or present time. Moreover, it is used as one of a number of ways to indicate that someone must do something [see 2.1.3.4.6].

Alternative

This construction typically precedes the verb *suru* "do" or the copula *da*, although it may occur alone. Its meaning is that the state described is representative of similar

states.

(1001) *tatoeba, okottari:, nanka hijoo-ni*
for-example angry-and something very
ureshikattari *jibun no:: kokoro no:, koo,*
happy-and self LK mind LK H
ugoki to, koo, nante-iu-ka-ne, kanjoo toka iu
movement and H what-say emotion or say
ki o: arawasu yoo-na bamen desu to
feeling AC reveal such event COP QT
ni- eigo ni narimasu ne.
English to become EM
"For example, when [he]'s angry or very happy, or when [he]'s in a situation where [he] shows a change of mind, or when [he] shows strong emotions, then [he] speaks English."

(1002) *anmari, koo, isshookenmei yatte,*
very H diligent do
yaku-ni-tatanakattari wakannakattari
help-NEG-REP understand-NEG-REP
shite-mo bakabakashii yoo na ki mo suru shi.
do-even stupid way LK feeling too do and
"And, [I] feel stupid when even though [I] try hard [those things] don't useless and [I] don't understand [them]."

Adverbial

The adverbial functions to modify actions expressed by verbs. They also are used in constructions termed by Alfonso 1966 "end results" [see also comments on negative below]. These are illustrated in (1003) through (1006).

(1003) ***mukashi no, yoku*** *iru deshoo hora meiji*
old-time LK, often be PRES you-know Meiji
katagi no shokuninsan mitai na hito de
spirit LK artisan like LK person as
"you know, there is, there are a lot, an old timer, like an artisan with Meiji spirit."

(1004) *ima: boku sonoo tatoeba: sonoo gakusha (cough)*
now I H for-example H scholar
ne ookiku koo: H. ma futatsu ni wakeru
EM largely H well 2 into divide
koto wa fukanoo kamo-shirenai.
NOM TP impossible maybe
"Now, I, uh, for example, uh, scholars, largely, well, it may be impossible to divide into two."

(1005) *anoo, **nagaku** natte-mo **mijikaku** natte-mo*
H long become-even short become-even
kamaimasen kara
care-not since
"Uh, [we] don't care even if it becomes longer or shorter."

(1006) *mii-chan, terebi **chiisaku** shite kure.*
Mii Ms TV small do give-me
"Mii-chan, turn down the TV, will you."

Negative

The adverbial form of an adjective precedes *nai* directly to indicate a negation of that property. The form *nai* itself is an adjective.

(1007) *sonoo, nan-te-iu-ka-naa, hantoshi benkyoo*
H what-say 1/2-year study
shinai de ikinari shiken no mae de muri-ni
do-NEG and suddenly test LK before at hard
*yaru mon da kara, sore de karada ni **yoku nai** ne.*
do one COP since that by body to good NEG EM
"Well, how should I say, since [I] study a lot right before exams after not studying for a half of a year, it is not good for [my] health."

Nominal adjectives

Nominal adjectives are distinguished from (verbal) adjectives in Japanese based on formal criteria. Nominal adjectives do not inflect. They precede the copula *da*, and it is the copula which inflects rather than the nominal adjective.

It should be pointed out that although the citation form of a nominal adjective always contains a copula, the predicative use of nominal adjectives does not necessarily, as evidenced by the examples in (1008) and (1009). Also, it is frequently stated that this usage is favored by females. This is not necessarily so; (1008) is spoken by a female, (1009) by a male.

(1008) *tsutsundara **dame**?*
wrap-if no-good
"[The meat] is no good if [you] wrap [it]?"

(1009) *mukashi wa ne, furui koro wa, anoo, otoko ga ne, aa,*
old TP EM old time TP uh male NM EM ah
onna no hoo ga, are da, dare-tomo tsukiatte-
female LK side NM that COP no-one associated
inakatta tte koto o shoomei shinai-to-dame yo..
NEG-past QT fact AC prove must-do EM
"In the old days, a long time ago, the male, uh, the female you know, had to prove that [she] hadn't been with anyone."

Table 42 presents the inflectional possibilities of the copula which accompanies nominal adjectives. There are no subclasses, and so only one nominal adjective is presented.

Table 42

	Nominal adjective	Gloss
Nonpast	*kirei da*	be pretty
Past	*kirei datta*	
Participle	*kirei de*	
Presumptive	*kirei daroo*	
Conditional	*kirei dattara*	
Provisional	*kirei nara(ba)*	
Alternative	*kirei dattari*	
Negative	*kirei ja (< de wa) nai*	

Since the meanings of these forms is identical to that of (verbal) adjectives, examples will be adduced for each category without comment.

Nonpast[48]

(1010) *dakara, jibun ga ne, kanojo wa sugoi kappatsu*
so self NM EM she TP very lively
na hito da shi ne, undoo mo suki da shi,
LK person COP and EM sports too like COP and
"So, herself, she is an energetic person, you know, and [she] also likes sports, and ... "

Past

(1011) *jibun de, koo, wakai toki gogaku ga* ***suki***
self by H young time language NM like
datta *no ka-na, yappari sorya.*
COP-past NOM wonder of-course that-TP
"[I] wonder if [they] liked languages when [they] were small."

Participle

(1012) *sannin kyoodai de, soide, minna mannaka*
three siblings among so all middle
no hito ga ichiban dokuritsushin ga
LK person NM most independence NM
oosei de ganbatte-ru
lively COP-participle striving
mitai, doo-shite ka-shira?
seems why wonder
"In those three it seems that the middle one is the most independent and active. [I] wonder why [that is]."

Presumptive[49]

(1013) *ii shi, atakushi mo hanashi kiku no ga*
good and I too talk listen NOM NM
suki desho?
like COP-presumptive
"[That's] good, and I also like to listen to [people] talk, you know?"

Conditional

(1014) ***kirai dattara*** *ne, nokoshite ii yo.*
dislike COP-COND EM leave good EM
"If [you] don't like [this soup], [you] don't have to eat it all."

Provisional

(1015) *shitsurei desu ga,* ***fukuzatsu nara***
rude COP but complicated COP-PROV
watashi wa oboeraremasen.
I TP remember-POT-NEG
"Excuse [me], but if [the recipe] is complicated, [I] don't think [I] can remember [it]."

Alternative

(1016) *kono uchi wa ii yo, **shizuka dattari***
this house TP good EM quiet COP-REP
shite-ru kara.
doing since
"This house is nice, it's quiet and peaceful."

Negative

(1017) *demo, sonna ironna kyooka o oshienakereba-ikenai*
but that various subject AC teach-must
*to, **taihen ja-nai** n desu ka.*
if awful COP-NEG NOM COP QU
"But, if [you] have to teach that many different subjects, isn't it difficult?"

2.1.4.1. *PREDICATIVE VS ATTRIBUTIVE FORM OF ADJECTIVE*

There is a distinction between predicative and attributive forms of adjectives. These will be discussed first with respect to (verbal) adjectives and second with respect to nominal adjectives.

(Verbal) adjectives

The only distinction which exists betweeh predicative and attributive forms of (verbal) adjectives is that predicative adjectives may be marked for politeness while attributive adjectives may not. Predicative adjectives place the copula *desu* after either the past or the nonpast form to create a polite expression [but see footnote 46 in 2.1.4.]. Since this politeness marking is not obligatory grammatically, it might therefore be argued that there are no real distinctions between predicative and attributive forms of (verbal) adjectives.

(1018a) *kono shokudoo wa oishii.* [NONPOLITE]
this restaurant TP delicious
"This restaurant is delicious."

(1018b) *kono shokudoo wa oishii **desu.*** [POLITE]
this restaurant TP delicious COP-POLITE
"This restaurant is delicious."

(1018c) *ano eiga wa omoshirokatta.* [NONPOLITE]
that movie TP interesting-PAST
"That movie was interesting."

(1018d) *ano eiga wa omoshirokatta* ***desu.*** [POLITE]
that movie TP interesting-PAST COP-POLITE
"That movie was interesting."

(1019a) *oishii shokudoo*
delicious restaurant
"a delicious restaurant"

(1019b) ***oishii desu shokudoo***

(1019c) *omoshirokatta eiga*
interesting-PAST movie
"an interesting movie"

(1019d) ***omoshirokatta desu eiga***

Nominal adjectives

There is a more clear-cut distinction between predicative and attributive forms of nominal adjectives. As in the case of (verbal) adjectives, predicative nominal adjectives may optionally mark both past and nonpast forms with a politeness marker. In the past tense of an attributive nominal adjective, only the nonpolite form of the copula is permitted. Most importantly, however, in the nonpast form, *na* appears rather than the expected *da*.

(1020a) *kono heya wa kirei da.* [NONPOLITE]
this room TP clean COP
"This room is clean."

(1020b) *kono heya wa kirei desu.* [POLITE]
this room TP clean COP-POLITE
"This room is clean."

(1020c) *are wa taihen datta.* [NONPOLITE]
that TP terrible COP-PAST
"That was terrible."

(1020d) *are wa taihen deshita.* [POLITE]
that TP terrible COP-PAST-POLITE
"That was terrible."

(1021a) *kirei* ***na*** *heya*
clean LK room
"a clean room"

(1021b) ***kirei da heya***

(1021c) ***kirei desu heya***

(1021d) *taihen datta koto*
terrible COP-PAST fact
"a terrible thing"

(1021e) **taihen deshita koto*

2.1.4.2. ABSOLUTE VS CONTINGENT STATE

There is a distinction expressed in Japanese between changing states and permanent states, although this distinction is indicated through particle choice on the noun phrase rather than in the morphology of the adjective. No difference between verbal adjectives and nominal adjectives exists.

Kuno 1973:50ff points out that a noun phrase in an adjective clause is marked by *ga* if it refers to a changing states, whereas it is marked by *wa* if it refers to a permanent state. The examples and translations in (1022) are from Kuno 1973:50, and all represent changing states.

(1022a) *sora ga akai.*
sky NM red
"Look! The sky is red."

(1022b) *atama ga itai.*
head NM aches
"(Lit) Head aches. I have a headache."

(1022c) *te ga tsumetai.*
hand NM cold
"My hands are cold."

These examples may be contrasted with sentences in which the noun phrase refers to an element which refers to a permanent state and is marked by *wa*.[50]

(1023a) *shoojookookanchoo wa akai.*
cardinal-bird TP red
"Cardinals are red."

(1023b) *mushiba wa itsumo itai.*
cavity TP always hurt
"Cavities always hurt."

(1023c) *koori wa tsumetai.*
ice TP cold
"Ice is cold."

2.1.4.3. NOUN AGREEMENT

Adjectives do not show agreement with nouns.

2.1.4.4. *COMPARISON*

2.1.4.4.1. *EQUALITY*

In order to express equality, the first noun phrase is marked by the particle *wa*, and the second is followed by the comitative *to* and the expression *onaji (yoo)* "the same". It must be borne in mind, of course, that it is common for the initial noun phrase to be omitted, or in the case of (1024), to be postposed because it is understood from context.

(1024) *nee. banana to onaji na no, are.*
right banana and same LK NOM that
"Right, [it]'s [as mushy as] a banana, that (= Hawaiian pear)."

(1025) M *hitokuchi, hitokuchi kaki toka nantoka*
one-bite one-bite pear or whatever
kaite-aru.
be-written
"[They] had written that it was bite-size, bite-size persimmons, or something like that."

Y *oshoogatsu goro deru no ne, demo,*
New Year about come-out NOM EM but
shibuku-nai no yo, konna no,
astringent-NEG NOM EM this-kind NOM
konna kaki.
this-kind persimmon
"[They] come out around New Year, but, [they]'re not very astringent, this kind, this kind of persimmon."

W *anoo, onaji yoo-ni amakute, nihon no kaki*
H same like sweet Japan LK persimmon
to onaji yoo na aji ga suru no?
and same like LK taste NM do NOM
"Um, [they]'re the same sweetness, don't [they] have the same flavor as Japanese persimmons?"

2.1.4.4.2. *COMPARATIVE*

To express a comparative relationship, the first noun phrase, if it is overtly stated, is marked by *ga* or *wa*. The second noun phrase is followed by *yori* "rather than".

(1026) *shirokuma yori chotto chitchai gurai?*
white-bear rather-than just small about
sonna kanji shita?
that-kind feeling did
"Is [the panda] a little smaller than the white bear? Did [you] have that kind of feeling?"

2.1.4.4.3. *SUPERLATIVE*

2.1.4.4.3.1. *AS COMPARED TO OTHER ENTITIES*

In order to express this type of superlative expression, the first noun phrase, if it is overtly stated, is marked by *ga* or *wa*. This is then followed by a quantifier such as *ichiban* "most" or *mottomo* "most".

(1027) *chuuoosen ga ichiban ooi no ne. watashi*
Chuo-Line NM most numerous NOM EM I
mo sawarareta koto aru.
too touched-PASS fact be
"The Chuo Line is the most numerous, you know. I was molested there too."

2.1.4.4.3.2. *AS COMPARED TO ITSELF AT OTHER POINTS*

In order to express this type of superlative expression, the first noun phrase is marked by *wa* if it is overtly stated. This is followed by a descriptor of the place of comparison (such as *koko* "here" or *soko* "there") and a quantifier such as *ichiban* "most" or *mottomo* "most". In example (1028), the unexpressed *wa* phrase is *watashi wa* "I".

(1028) *sono hen ga ichiban yappari tsuyoi ka-na.*
that place NM most as-expect strong wonder
"[I] guess that's [my] strongest [point]."

2.1.4.5. *DEGREES OF A QUALITY*

2.1.4.5.1. *LARGE MEASURE*

To express a large measure of something, an adverbial phrase such as *totemo* "very", *sugoku* "very", or *hijoo-ni* "very" precedes the adjective.

(1029) *sugoku onnarashii to omoimasu, watashi.*
very lady-like QT think I
"[He]'s very lady-like, I think."

2.1.4.5.2. *SUPERABUNDANCE*

Superabundance is expressed by adding the verb suffix *-sugiru* "over- , too" to the stem of the adjective. This has the effect of turning the adjective into a verb, and it then follows verbal inflection. In (1030), the stem is *yo-*, from the adjective *i-i* "good".

(1030) ***monomochi ga yosugiru no ne.***
possession NM good-excess NOM EM
"[She]'s too good at owning things, you know."

2.1.4.5.3. *SMALL MEASURE*

Small measure is expressed by adding a quantifier such as *chotto* "little" to the sentence.

(1031) ***chotto mabushii n ja-nai ka-na.***
just bright NOM NEG wonder
"Isn't [that] a little bright?"

2.1.4.6. *PREDICATE ADJECTIVES*

Categories which characterize the verbal morphology of the language are expressed in the adjective morphology in the case of (verbal) adjectives and in the copular verb in the case of nominal adjectives [see 2.1.4 for details].

2.1.5. POSTPOSITIONS

2.1.5.1. *POSTPOSITION USAGE*

Japanese has an extensive list of postpositional particles. The following list contains both particles which indicate grammatical relationships and those which do not. The list is necessarily incomplete, but it is intended to document those postpositions which are lexical items rather than inflectional endings. The indication of grammatical effect is telegraphic, but is intended to give an idea of how such forms are used. When it is possible to specify a meaning within the grammatical effect, this is done. The following terms have relevant definitions: "nominal" includes nouns and pronouns, "verbal" includes verbs, adjectives, nominal-adjectives, and copula, "postpositional phrase" includes a noun plus any postpositional particles "masculine register" indicates particles which have a masculine sound to them although there is no indication that they are used exclusively by men, "feminine register" indicates particles which have a feminine sound to them although there is not indication that they are used exclusively by women.

POSTPOSITION	GLOSS	GRAMMATICAL EFFECTS
bakari	just	follows a nominal or a verbal
dake	only	follows a nominal, a verbal, or any postpositional phrase except NP *ga*, NP *wa*, and NP *o*
de	at, in, with	follows a nominal
demo	even	follows a nominal
e	to, on, in	follows a nominal
ga	NM	follows a nominal, marks nominative case
ga	but	follows a verbal to function as a subordinating or coordinating conjunction, or to leave a sentence "suspended"
hodo	as much as	follows a nominal or a verbal to indicate approximate quantity or degree
ka	QU	sentence final particle indicating question; following a question word indicates indeterminacy; follows a nominal or verbal to indicate disjunction
kara	from	follows a nominal to indicate source
kara	since	follows a verbal to function as a subordinating conjunction or to leave a sentence "suspended"
kara	after	follows the participial form of a verb to indicate immediate following of events
ke(re)do(mo)	but	follows a verbal to function as a subordinating conjunction or to leave a sentence "suspended"

kiri	only	follows a nominal or a verbal to indicate exclusivity
kke	QU	sentence final particle indicating a questioning of one's own knowledge
koso	indeed	follows a nominal or a verbal
kurai (gurai)	about	follows a nominal or a verbal to indicate degree or quantity
made	as far as	follows a nominal or verbal
made ni	by	follows a nominal or verbal
mo	also, even	follows a nominal or noun phrase other than those marked with *ga*, *wa* and *o* (in writing the sequence *o mo* is permitted); after question words it becomes a negative quantifier
na	LK	linking particle which occurs between nominal adjective and nominal
na	EM	emphatic particle in masculine register occurring in sentence final or sentence medial position; usually solicits acknowledgment from addressee
nado	and the like	follows a nominal to indicate indeterminacy
nara	TP	follows a nominal, a verbal, or a nominal-adjective to indicate a topic (conditional sense included)
ne	EM	emphatic particle which occurs in sentence final or sentence medial position; usually solicits acknowledgment from addressee
ni	to, at, in	follows a nominal

ni	and	follows a nominal to indicate additive conjoining
ni	for, to	follows the stem of verbs or other nominals to indicate purpose
no	LK	linking particle which connects nominals with following nominals; frequently corresponds to English *'s*
no	EM	sentence final particle in feminine register; used as a question or emphasis particle
o	AC	follows a nominal to indicate the "direct object"
sae	even, if only	follows a nominal to emphasize it
shi	and	follows a verbal to indicate conjunction with an additive effect
shika	only, nothing	follows a nominal or verbal; must occur but with a negative in the utterance
to	and	follows a nominal to indicate conjunction
to	QT	follows whatever is meant to be quoted
toka	and the like	follows a nominal or a verbal to indicate indeterminacy
tomo	indeed	follows a nominal or a verbal to indicate emphasis
tte	QT	less formal quotative particle, follows whatever is meant to be quoted
wa	TP	follows a nominal to mark the "topic" or "theme" of a sentence

wa	EM	sentence final particle in the feminine register used to indicate emphasis
ya	and	follows a nominal to indicate conjunction when the enumeration is not complete
yo	EM	sentence final particle used to indicate assertiveness
yori	more than	follows a nominal or a verbal
ze	EM	sentence final particle in the masculine register
zo	EM	sentence final particle in the masculine register

2.1.5.2-4. *POSTPOSITIONS AND GOVERNMENT*

Postpositions do not agree for any grammatical category with the nouns they govern, nor do they combine with personal pronouns to form a series of personal forms.

2.1.6. NUMERALS/QUANTIFIERS

Numerals may be divided into a primary set and a secondary set [Miller 1967:335ff]. The primary set is complete in that it allows the expression of numerals from one to infinity. It is based on a decimal system. The numerals in this set are all originally loan words from Chinese. The secondary set consists of an indigenous binary system having unique forms for "1", "3", "4", and "5" with derived forms for "2", "6", "8", and "10", respectively. The forms for "7" and "9" are also unique. In present-day Japanese, this secondary set is used primarily in numbers from one to ten. Also from this set, the form for twenty is used to count age and days, and the form for thirty is used to refer to New Year's Eve. Dates ending in "4" (i.e. "14" and "24") use the secondary form for "4", while other dates from "11" on us the primary set.

2.1.6.1. *NUMERAL FORMS IN COUNTING*

The primary set follows.

ichi (itsu)	"1"	*roku*	"6"
ni (ji)	"2"	*shichi*	"7"
san	"3"	*hachi*	"8"
shi	"4"	*ku (kyuu)*	"9"
go	"5"	*juu*	"10"
juu-ichi	"11"	*hyaku*	"100"
juu-ni	"12"	*sen*	"1,000"
juu-san	"13"	*man*	"10,000"
juu-shi	"14"	*oku*	"100 million"

The largest number is specified first, the smallest last. Representations of selected numerals will illustrate this. Each digit is separated by a semi-colon for descriptive purposes in the reading.

18	*juu; hachi*
295	*ni-hyaku; kyuujuu-go*
8, 123	*hassen; hyaku; ni-juu; san*
23,563	*ni-man; san-zen; go-hyaku; roku-juu; san*
333,333	*san-juu-san-man; san-zen; san-byaku; san-juu; san*

The secondary numerals follow. The numerals from "1" to "9" are always followed by a counter; the most general counter *-tsu*. The numeral *too* "10" is not followed by a counter.

hito-tsu	"1"	*mut-tsu*	"6"
futa-tsu	"2"	*nana-tsu*	"7"
mit-tsu	"3"	*yat-tsu*	"8"
yot-tsu	"4"	*kokono-tsu*	"9"
itsu-tsu	"5"	*too*	"10"

hata-chi "20 years old"

hatsu-ka "20th day of the month"

miso-ka "last day of the month"

oo-miso-ka New Year's Eve"

Note the obvious phonological connections between the pairs *hito-* and *futa-* [both from *ha-gyoo*], *mit-* and *mut-*, and *yot-* and *yat-*. The historical connection between *itsu-* and *too* is somewhat problematical, but convincing [see Miller 1967:337].

No account of the numerals of Japanese can pass over the fact that a new set of numerals is appearing with more and more frequency, at least in spoken Japanese. These are loan words from English. The most common are *wan, tsuu, surii*; higher numbers are used in expressions like *besuto ten* "best ten", but are more limited.

2.1.6.2. CARDINAL NUMERALS AS ATTRIBUTES

Cardinal numbers, with appropriate classifiers, may be used as attributes. In this case, they are treated as any other nominal. Without an accompanying classifier, cardinal numbers from "1" through "9" may not be used as attributes.

(1031) *hitotsu no bettoruumu ni ne, futari no hito*
one LK bedroom in EM two LK people
ga sunde-ru wake ne.
NM living reason EM
"It's that two people are living in one bedroom."

2.1.6.3. DISTINCT NUMERALS FOR DIFFERENT OBJECTS

The numerals from both the borrowed Chinese set and the native Japanese set combine with a large number of classifiers. There are constraints on the cooccurrence of numerals and classifier type [see 2.1.1.9.4].

For the limited use of numerals taken recently from English, these occur without classifier, and their use is

typically restricted to service encounters [*wan biiru* "one beer", *tsuu reddo (wain)* "two red (wines), *surii hotto doggu* "three hot dogs"].

2.1.6.4. *ORDINAL NUMERALS*

There are two ways in which ordinal numerals are formed in Japanese. In the first way, they are formed by placing *-me* after a numeral, either from the primary or the secondary set, and its appropriate classifier. The following illustrate this with a range of classifiers [see again 2.1.1.9.4].

hitotsume "first thing"

issatsume "first bound object"

hitorime "first person"

ipponme "first long, cylindrical object"

The second way in which ordinal numerals are formed is through the addition of a classifier which itself denotes ordinality. Two examples of this are *-ban* and *-too*. These both cooccur with numerals from the primary set.

ichiban	"first"	*ittoo*	"first place"
niban	"second"	*nitoo*	"second place"
sanban	"third"	*santoo*	"third place"

The ordinal numerals *ichiban, niban* may have *-me* placed after them, redundantly specifying ordinality (*ichibanme, nibanme*), but *ittoo, nitoo* do not allow this.

The limited range of numerals taken from English do not form ordinals.

2.1.6.5. *OTHER DERIVATIVES OF NUMERALS*

The placement of *mo* "even" after a numeral in combination with a negative verb indicates the negation of that item in the same way that *mo* after *dare* "who" indicates "no one" in combination with a negative verb. Thus, *hitori-mo* "one-person-even", combined with a negative verb, indicates "not one person".

(1033) *tabako wa ippon-mo sutta koto wa nai.*
cigarette TP one-even smoked fact TP NEG
"[I] have never even smoked one cigarette."

2.1.6.6. *QUANTIFIERS*

sukoshi	"a little"	*chotto*	"a little"
shooshoo	"a little"	*jakkan*	"a few"
takusan	"a lot"	*minna*	"all"
zenbu	"all"	*subete*	"all"
oozei	"many"	*tasuu*	"many"
taitei	"most"	*taibubun*	"most"
shoosuu	"minority"	*ryoohoo*	"both"
hoka	"other"	*ta*	"other"

2.1.6.6.1. *QUANTIFIER COMPOUNDS*

There are two types of quantifiers in Japanese. The first type consists of single morphemic entities or, if bimorphemic, elements which do not form their compounds with numerals or interrogative words [see 2.1.6.6]. This accounts for a large number of common quantifiers [for a slightly more restricted list, see Martin 1975:178].

The second type consists of quantifier compounds. These are formed with interrogative pronouns [see 2.1.2.1.14]. Forms such as "some/any-" and "no-" are formed in this way.

Table 43

dare	who	*dareka*	someone, anyone
nani	what	*nanika*	something, anything
doko	where	*dokoka*	somewhere, anywhere
itsu	when	*itsuka*	sometime, anytime
dochira	which (of two)	*dochiraka*	either one
dore	which (of three or more)	*doreka*	someone, anyone (of three or more)
daremo	no-one		
nanimo	nothing		
dokomo	nowhere		
itsumo	whenever		
dochiramo	whichever (of two)		
doremo	whichever (of three or more)		

2.1.7. ADVERBS

2.1.7.1. *EXPRESSIONS OF COMPARISON*

2.1.7.1.1. *EQUALITY*

The expression of equality, in such phrases as *X finished something as quickly as Y*, is made by placing the phrase *to onaji gurai* "the same as" after the entity designated as Y. Thus, compare (1034a) and (1034b).

(1034a) *mariko wa hayaku owarimashita.*
Mariko TP quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] quickly."

(1034b) *mariko wa akiko to onaji gurai hayaku owarimashita.*
Mariko TP Akiko and same about quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] as quickly as Akiko."

2.1.7.1.2. *COMPARATIVE*

The expression of comparison, in such phrases as *X did something more quickly than Y*, is made by placing *yori* "rather than" after the entity designated as Y. This may be seen in a comparison of (1035a) and (1035b).

(1035a) *mariko wa hayaku owarimashita.*
Mariko TP quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] quickly."

(1035b) *mariko wa **akiko yori** hayaku owarimashita.*
Mariko TP Akiko rather quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] more quickly than Akiko."

2.1.7.1.3. *SUPERLATIVE*

The expression of superlative, in such phrases as *X did something the most quickly (of all)*, is made by placing the adverbial *ichiban* "most" before the adverbial.

(1036) *mariko wa **ichiban** hayaku owarimashita.*
Mariko TP first quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] most quickly (of all)."

2.1.7.2. *DEGREES OF A QUALITY*

2.1.7.2.1. *LARGE MEASURE*

The expression of a large measure, such as *very quickly*, is made by placing an adverbial meaning "very" in front of the adverbial.

(1037) *mariko wa **hijoo-ni** hayaku owarimashita.*
Mariko TP very quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] very quickly."

2.1.7.2.2. *SUPERABUNDANCE*

Superabundance, such as *too quickly*, is done by adding the verb *sugiru* "exceed" to the stem of the main predication.

(1038a) *mariko wa hayaku **owarisugimashita.***
Mariko TP quickly finished-excess
"Mariko finished [it] too quickly."

It is possible to use a cleft construction in order to place the *-sugiru* suffix onto the adjective.

(1038b) ***mariko ga owatta no wa hayasugimashita.***
Mariko NM finished NOM TP fast-excess
"That Mariko finished [it] was too fast."

2.1.7.2.3. *SMALL MEASURE*

Small measure, such as *rather quickly*, is expressed by placing the adverbial expression *kanari* "rather" in front of the adverbial so modified.

(1039) ***mariko wa kanari hayaku owarimashita.***
Mariko TP rather quickly finished
"Mariko finished [it] rather quickly."

2.1.8. CLITICS

There are no clitics in Japanese.

2.2. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

2.2.1 NOMINAL DERIVATION

In discussing nominal derivation, it is necessary to make a few prefatory remarks on the Japanese writing system. Content words, including nouns and verb stems, are usually written with ideographic characters. These characters typically have a minimum of two pronunciations: one is based on the original Chinese pronunciation [*on-yomi*] and the other is based on a native Japanese pronunciation [*kun-yomi*]. Many nouns in present-day Japanese consist of two or more characters linked together. In these cases, the pronunciation is often *on-yomi*. Since each character itself is ideographic, it could stand alone. Thus, perhaps the majority of multi-morpheme nominals in Japanese may be analyzed as being derived from combinations of nominals, each represented by a single character. The following illustrate this.

sensei "teacher"
< *sen* 先 "before" + *sei* 生 "birth"

kanji "Chinese character"
< *kan* 漢 "China" + *ji* 字 "letter"

keishi "execution"
< *kei* 形 "punish" + *shi* 死 "death"

It is impossible, therefore, to provide a complete list, or even a set of rules, which will explain nominal derivation completely. Added to this is the fact that even those items which are seen to be derived from other nominals

are heavily dependent on an understanding of the two types of readings associated with each Chinese character [see Makino 1976 for details].

2.2.1.1. *NOUNS FROM NOUNS*

Through the addition of specific morpheme suffixes, new nouns may be created from nouns. The following provides a representative listing of typical types of forms which can be created.

2.2.1.1.1. *jin* "person" [*on yomi* (*kun-yomi* = *hito*)]

The nominal *jin* may be suffixed to the name of any country or region of Japan to indicate a person of that country. It may also be suffixed to some colors to indicate racial identity. Attached to the word meaning "outside" [外 *soto*, pronounced here as *gai*] it means foreigner.

nihon-jin "Japan-person" [cf *nihon no hito*]

amerika-jin "America-person" [cf *amerika no hito*]

oosaka-jin "Osaka-person" [cf *oosaka no hito*]

koku-jin "Black-person" [cf **kuroi hito*]

haku-jin "White-person" [cf **shiroi hito*]

gai-jin "Foreign-person" [cf **soto no hito*, but *gaikoku no hito*]

2.2.1.1.2. *go* "language"

The nominal *go* may be suffixed to the name of a country, or to an agreed upon morpheme which indicates a country, to indicate a specific language.

nihon-go "Japan-language" [cf *nihon no kotoba*]

ei-go "English-language" [cf **ei no kotoba*]

doitsu-go "German-language" [cf *doitsu no kotoba*]

2.2.1.1.3. *ben* "dialect"

The nominal *ben* may be suffixed to the name of a region or descriptor to indicate the name of a dialect.

kansai-ben "Kansai-dialect"

tookyoo-ben "Tokyo-dialect"

zuuzuu-ben "Tohoku-dialect (pejorative)"

2.2.1.1.4. *koku* "country" [*on-yomi* (*kun-yomi* = *kuni*)]

The nominal *koku* may be suffixed to the name of an agreed upon descriptor to indicate the name of a country. Many countries are not named in this way, and in the case of the United States of America, for instance, there are alternative designations.

ei-koku "England" [cf *igirisu*]

bei-koku "America" [cf *amerika*]

kan-koku "South Korea" [but *choosen* "North Korea"]

2.2.1.1.5. *san* "mountain" [*on-yomi* (*kun-yomi* = *yama*)]

Names of mountains are formed by placing the character after another nominal. This character may be read as either *yama* or *san*, depending on the mountain so designated.

matsu-yama "Matsuyama"

waka-yama "Wakayama"

fuji-san "Mount Fuji" [cf **Fuji-yama*, a common "foreign expression"]

takao-san "Mount Takao"

2.2.1.1.6. *shima* [*kun-yomi* (*on-yomi* = *too*)]

The distribution of forms for this nominal are interesting in that *shima* (alternate pronunciation *jima*) is added to nominals to form the names of some islands, often in Japan, while *too* is added to nominals to form the names of islands primarily outside of Japan.

hiro-shima "Hiroshima"

iwo-jima "Iwojima"

oni-ga-shima "Onigashima" (= Ogre's Island)"

hawai-too "Hawaii-Island"

guamu-too "Guam-Island"

2.2.1.2. *NOUNS FROM VERBS*

There are three ways in which nouns are formed from verbs. The first is a thoroughly regular process in which the stem of the verb constitutes a noun. The second is a regular process in which the stem of a verb occurs with another derived or nonderived nominal to form a noun [see also Makino 1976, Kageyama 1977]. The third is a process which creates an alternative negative form.

2.2.1.2.1. *NOUN = VERB STEM*

The stem of a verb is a nominal. For *-ru* verbs, the *-ru* is simply dropped off. For *-u* verbs, the *-u* drops off, and a euphonic *-i* is added [see also 2.1.3].

	VERB	GLOSS	VERB STEM	GLOSS
-ru	*taberu*	eat	*tabe*	eating
	maneru	imitate	*mane*	imitation
-u	*nomu*	drink	*nomi*	drinking
	kimaru	be decided	*kimari*	decision

These forms may be used as any other nominal. In examples (1040) and (1041) the derived nominal functions as a topic. Example (1040) has an added honorific prefix *o-* and is derived from a passive verb which, by definition, is a *-ru* verb. Example (1041) also has the honorific prefix *o-*, and in this example, the topic marker *wa* has been omitted. In (1042) the derived nominal functions as a direct object. In (1043) the derived nominal appears directly in front of the copula. Examples (1043) and (1044) demonstrate that the derived nominal may be modified in the same way nonderived nominals may be.

(1040) *ee-to, **oumare** wa dochira?*
uh birth TP which
"Um, where were [you] born? [< *umareru* "be born"]"

(1041) *tomodachi ni oiwai nani ga donna mon*
friend DT celebrate what NM what thing
ga ii ka ne.
NM good QU EM
"What should I get my friend for the celebration? [< *iwau* "celebrate"]"

(1042) *yappari ima to natte-miru to ne, anoo,*
expectedly now to become-try when EM uh
*ryoohoo-tomo no ne, anoo, **ayamachi** o*
both LK EM uh fault AC
mitomete ne,
recognize-and EM
"Of course, now [she] realizes that it was both of their faults, and ... [< *ayamatsu* "err"]"

(1043) *kanojo wa **beteran mitai na kanji** datta kara,*
she TP veteran seems LK feeling COP since
"She seemed to be an expert, so ... [< *kanjiru* "feel"]"

(1044) *tada ne, **kono-mae nanka kiita hanashi** de-wa,*
just EM before something heard story by-TP
"Anyway, I heard from someone the other day, ... [< *hanasu* "talk"]"

The second way in which such derived nominals may be used is to indicate a purpose. In this use, the derived nominal, with any of the adjuncts necessary for conveying the desired meaning, precedes the particle *ni* and a verb of motion, such as *kuru* "come" or *iku* "go".

(1045) *tada, **asobi ni kita toki-ni awanakatta***
just play to came time meet-NEG-past
wake, nishuukan?
reason two-weeks
"So, when [he] came [here] to visit (= to play), for two weeks, [you mean he] didn't meet [your parents]?"

(1046) *un, sore ne, da-kara, ippen sono banii no yatsu*
un that EM so once that Bunny LK guy
*wa **shikago ni ai ni itte** ne, biru*
TP Chicago to meet to come-and EM Bill
ni ai ni itte,
DT meet to come-and
"Um, about that, one time that Bunny went to Chicago to meet [him], to meet Bill, and "

(1047) *un, dakara, eigo o benkyoo shi ni kita n desu.*
um so English AC study do to came NOM COP
"Right, so, [I] came [here] to study English."

2.2.1.2.2. *NOUN = VERB + OTHER FORM*

This topic has been insightfully discussed in Makino 1976, and should be referred to for more details.

2.2.1.2.2.1. *NOUN + VERB*

Nominals may be formed both from intransitive and transitive verb stems following a nonderived noun.

INTRANSITIVE

natsu-yasumi [summer-rest] = summer vacation

mizu-asobi [water-play] = playing in water

TRANSITIVE

hana-mi [flower-see] = flower viewing

tsume-kiri [nail-cut] = nail clipper

2.2.1.2.2.2. *VERB + NOUN*

Nominals may be formed both from intransitive and transitive verb stems preceding a derived noun.

INTRANSITIVE

uki-bukuro [float-bag] = lifebuoy

ne-zake [sleep-sake] = nightcap

TRANSITIVE

nomi-mizu [drink-water] = drinking water

nozoki-ana [peep-hole] = peep hole

2.2.1.2.2.3. *VERB + VERB*

yari-tori [do-take] = exchange

nomi-kui [drink-eat] = drinking and eating

2.2.1.2.2.4. *ADJECTIVE + VERB*

haya-wakari [fast-understand] = superficial understanding

haya-oki [early-rise] = early rising

2.2.1.2.3. *NOUNS FROM ALTERNATIVE NEGATIVE SUFFIX*

A noun may be created by placing the alternative negative form *-zu* after the negative base of a verb. This form

is a derived noun, although its range of distribution is narrow. Specifically, it can appear before the postpositions, though in a more limited sense than most other nouns. Example (1048) has the derived form before *ni* to create an adverb [see also 2.2.4.1.], while (1049) has it before *mo* "too".

tabe-zu [eat-negative] = don't eat

noma-zu [drink-negative] = don't drink

iwa-zu [say-negative] = don't say

(1048) ***tsutsumazu ni*** *oitoku* *n* *desho?*
wrap-NEG DT place-in-advance NOM presumptive
sugu sono mama ne?
soon that way EM
"[You] put [it] away without wrapping, right. Just as [it] is, right?"

(1049) *aru* *teido* *otona ni nattara* *otoko*
certain perspective adult DT become-when male
no, onna *ni kagiraz-* ***kagirazu*** ***mo*** *hitori*
LK female DT limit-NEG too one
desho?
presumptive
"From a certain perspective, when [you] become an adult, a male's, it's not just limited to females, [a person] is alone, right?"

2.2.1.3. *NOUNS FROM ADJECTIVES*

As was the case with nouns from verbs, two types of processes may be described. In the first case, the adjectival stem constitutes the nominal; in the second, the adjective combines with another part of speech to form a nominal [see also 2.2.1.2.2.4]. A third type of nominal may also be formed. In this case a nominalizing suffix is added to the stem of an adjective.

2.2.1.3.1. *ADJECTIVE STEM*

The stem of an adjective is formed by dropping the final *-i*. This stem constitutes a nominal.

(1050) *ja,* *omocha mo, moo,* ***ofuru ga*** *aru ne.*
well toys too already old NM be EM
"So, [they]'ve already got old toys."

(1051) *ano tatemono shiro ja-nai?*
that building white NEG
"That building's white, isn't it?"

2.2.1.3.2. *NOUN = ADJECTIVE PLUS OTHER FORM*

2.2.1.3.2.1. *ADJECTIVE PLUS ADJECTIVE*

shiro-kuro [white-black] = black and white

ao-ao [green-green] = freshly green

2.2.1.3.2.2. *ADJECTIVE PLUS VERB*

haya-dachi [early-depart] = early departure

oso-maki [late-sow] = late sowing

2.2.1.3.2.3. *VERB PLUS ADJECTIVE*

ne-zura-sa [sleep-hard-NOM] = difficulty to sleep

ii-niku-sa [say-difficult-NOM] = difficulty to say

2.2.1.3.2.4. *ADJECTIVE PLUS NOUN*

atsu-niku [thick-flesh] = fat-faced

furu-hon [old-book] = used book

2.2.1.3.2.5. *NOUN PLUS ADJECTIVE*

ashi-baya [foot-fast] = fleet-footed

te-usu [hand-thin] = weakness of defense

2.2.1.3.2.6. *ADJECTIVE PLUS NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE*

te-girai [hand-hate] = prejudice

2.2.1.3.2.7. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE PLUS ADJECTIVE*

benri-yo-sa [convenient-good-NOM] = convenience

2.2.1.3.3. *NOUN FROM ADJECTIVE PLUS SUFFIX*

2.2.1.3.3.1. *-sa*

The suffix *-sa* attaches to the stem of adjectives to create nominals. Its meaning is similar to that of the English suffix *-th* or *-ness*. It functions as a full nomi-

nal, serving as topic or object, as in (1052) and (1053), respectively, and allowing modification as in (1053) and (1054).

(1052) *sugoku nanjaku. ato tsuttara nagasa ga*
very weak remains hang-if length NM
choodo yoku-natte ii ka-mo-shirenai.
exact good-become good wonder
"[The string] is too fragile. When [I] hang the rest of [this], it'll probably become the right length."

(1053) *anoo, tenkin no kisetsu ni naru to, konoo*
uh transfer LK season DT become when uh
sarariiman no koo ne, sabishisa toka ne, sonoo,
salary-man LK uh EM loneliness or EM uh
anoo eiten to iu yori-mo nanka koo
uh promotion QT say rather like uh
"Uh, [it]'s become the season of transfers, and uh the loneliness of salaried workers, and uh, [they]'re not promotions, uh but ... "

(1054) *nanika atarashii kotoba o hajime- ya*
something new language AC start uh
benkyoo shihajimetai to omou toki yappa
study do-start-DES QT think time after-all,
kowai desu ne koo iu kowasa tte iu no
scared COP EM that say fear QT say NOM
o sonoo, kookoo, daigaku o tsuujite
AC uh high-school university AC through
uetsukerarete-shimatta.
impose-PASS-end-up-past
"Therefore, when [I] think [I] want to start studying something like a new language, after all, [I]'m scared, and such fear was uh, through high school and college, imposed on [me]."

2.2.1.3.3.2. *-mi*

The suffix *-mi* is somewhat more limited in scope than *-sa*. It means "flavor" or "taste", and as a result, when it is attached to the stem of an adjective it means "the flavor of".

aka-mi [red-flavor] = the flavor of redness

atarashi-mi [new-flavor] = the flavor of newness

omoshiro-mi [interesting-flavor] = the flavor of interestingness

2.2.1.3.4. *NOUNS FROM ADVERBS*

Martin 1975:398 claims that nouns may be derived from what he terms "adjective infinitives", originally adjectives which now end in *-ku* [such as *chikaku* "being near"]. These derived nouns are indistinguishable from the adjective infinitives, except in meaning.

Martin points out that this is a relatively rare phenomenon, although there are a number of such derived nouns. He classifies these forms as nouns because they are able to appear before case markers.

chikaku	"vicinity"	*hayaku*	"early (time)"
osoku	"late (time)"	*tooku*	"distance"
koku	"body, alcoholic strength"	*ooku*	"much"

(1055) *sore de omoidashita. chotto kitanai hanashi*
that by remembered just dirty talk
da kedo ne, shoogakkoo sannensei no
COP but EM elementary-school third-year LK
toki ne, uchi no, anoo, ***gakkoo no chikaku***
time EM house LK uh school LK vicinity
ni ne, anoo, chitcha na doobutsuen ga
in EM uh small LK zoo NM
aru no ne, atta no ne?
be NOM EM was NOM EM
"That reminds [me]. [This] is a little bit dirty, but, when [I] was in third grade, in the vicinity of my school, there is a small zoo, there was [one]."

(1056) *amerika kara konna fuu-ni* ***tooku made*** *okuru*
America from this way distant to send
no-ni ne, doo shiyoo ka to omotta no.
to EM how do-PRESUMPTIVE QU QT thought NOM
"But in order to send [the package] from America all the way to this distance, [I] really didn't know what to do."

(1057) *boku wa anoo n boku no: sonoo, daigaku no*
I TP uh n I LK uh university LK
tomodachi-chi e moo: koo ooku no hito wa
friend among also uh many LK person NM
kyooshoku ni tsuita wake desu kedo ne,
teaching-job DT got reason COP but EM
"And in my case, uh, most of my college friends got teaching jobs, however, "

2.2.1.3.5. *NOUNS FROM NOMINAL-ADJECTIVES*

Nominal-adjectives form a relatively small class of forms [see 2.1.3]. These forms may be changed into nouns through the addition of the suffix *-sa*.

taihen-sa [terrible-nominalizer] = terribleness

joozu-sa [skillful-nominalizer] = skill

heta-sa [unskillful-nominalizer] = lack of skill

2.2.2.1. *VERBS FROM NOUNS*

There is a process whereby nouns may be made into verbs. This process entails placing a noun directly in front of a form of the verb *suru*. The resulting form acts as a single unit [see Jacobsen 1984]. This may be seen in (1058) and (1059). In (1058), the noun *benkyoo* "study", with its modifier, appears as the direct object of the verb *shimasu* "do". In (1059), however, since the role of direct object is filled by *nihongo* "Japanese", it is apparent that *benkyoo shimasu* "to study" is the main verb in the sentence.

(1058) *kotoshi watashi wa **nihongo no benkyoo o shimasu.***
this-year I TP Japanese LK study AC do
"(Lit) This year I will do Japanese-studying."

(1059) *kotoshi watashi wa **nihongo o benkyoo-shimasu.***
this-year I TP Japanese AC study
"(Lit) This year I will study Japanese."

There are two types of nouns which form verbs in this way [however, also see 2.2.2.4]. The first is a Chinese based word, for which there are frequently native Japanese expressions available as an alternative way to specify the meaning. The selection of the Chinese based word, as in (1060), generally imparts a literary flavor to the utterance.[51]

(1060) *itsu **rainichi-shimashita** ka?*
when come-Japan-did QU
"(Lit) When did [you] Japan-come?"

(1061) *itsu **nihon e kimashita** ka?*
when Japan to came QU
"When did [you] come to Japan?"

The second method consists of placing loan words, primarily from English, immediately before the verb *shimasu* "do", exactly as is done with Chinese based words. Again,

there are usually alternate expressions available, although as in the case of (1062) and (1063), there may be a slight difference in meaning, nuance, or usage.

(1062) ***ashita watashi wa doraibu-shimasu.***
tomorrow I TP drive-do
"Tomorrow I will do driving (i.e. pleasure driving)."

(1063) ***ashita watashi wa unten-shite-ikimasu.***
tomorrow I TP drive-do-go
"Tomorrow I will drive [i.e. go by driving]."

This method of forming verbs out of noun plus ***shimasu*** is a productive process. There are idiosyncratic variations in the extent to which someone will form such verbs. The following, while generally disliked by native speakers of Japanese, appeared in a TV commercial in the early 1970's.

(1064) *tabako-suru?*
cigarette-do
"(Lit) Do [you] do-cigarettes? [i.e. Do you smoke?]"

2.2.2.2. *VERBS FROM VERBS*

The derivation of verbs from other verbs has been explained in various sections beginning with 2.1.3.

2.2.2.3. *VERBS FROM ADJECTIVES*

2.2.2.3.1. *ADDITION OF -sugiru*

There is a verb suffix *-sugiru* "excess". When this is added to the stem of an adjective, the adjective becomes a verb. While it can be added to virtually any adjective which describes a condition which can exist to excess, *-sugiru* may not be added to negatives ending in *-nai*, although it itself forms a negative *-suginai*.

taka-sugiru [high-excess] = too expensive

ooki-sugiru [large-excess] = too large

atsu-sugiru [hot-excess] = too hot

(1065) A *doo desu ka? moo naremashita? moo*
how COP QU already accustomed already
naremashita tte okashii kedo.
accustomed QT funny but
"How are [you]? Are [you] accustomed [to Hawaii]? It's kind of funny to say, "Are [you] accustomed?", but ... "

Y *ha, ha, ha.* ***naresugiru*** *gurai*
accustom-excess about
narechatta.
accustom-end-up-past
"Ha ha, [I]'m too accustomed [to it]."

(1066) *chotto* ***shirisugita*** *kashira.*
just know-excess wonder
"[I] wonder if [I] know [this situation] too well."

2.2.2.3.2. ADDITION OF *-garu*

The addition of the verb suffix *-garu* "feel" to the stem of adjective creates the meaning "seem as if". Since there is a general constraint in Japanese which prevents a person from attempting to describe the thought processes of another person, this construction is used frequently to indicate what another person is probably feeling. As may be seen from (1068), the derived verb may undergo any processes a nonderived verb may undergo, including passivization.

sabishi-garu	[lonely-feel]	=	appearance of being lonely
omoshiro-garu	[interesting-feel]	=	appearance of being interesting
kaita-garu	[buy-desire-feel]	=	appearance of wanting to buy

(1067) *kono hito wa nanka dareka ga okashii koto*
this person TP like someone NM funny thing
o yutta n de, ***hazukashigatte,*** *anoo te*
AC said NOM COP embarrassed-feel uh hand
o desu ne, kuchi ni atete-iru mitai desu ne.
AC COP EM mouth DT putting seem COP EM
"This person, like, someone said something strange, and [she] is embarrassed, [she]'s putting [her] hand, you know, to [her] mouth."

(1068) *otoo- ja, otoko bakkari n naka-de onna*
brot- well male only LK middle female
hitori to. ja, sugoku ***kawaigararete-ta***
one QT well very pampered-PASS-past
desho?
presumptive
"Your broth- well, [you say] one female in the middle of all those males. Well, [you] must have really been spoiled, right?"

2.2.2.4. *VERBS FROM ADVERBS*

A number of idiomatic verbs may be derived from adverbs based on the same pattern described in 2.2.2.1. in which a form is placed in front of the verb *suru* "do": *yukkuri-suru* "take it easy" < *yukkuri* "slowly"; *hakkiri-suru* "be clear" < *hakkiri* "clearly" [see also 2.2.2.1].

2.2.3.1. *ADJECTIVES FROM NOUNS*

Adjectives are not derived from nouns. It must be pointed out, of course, that the adjectival stem may be used as a noun. This does not imply derivation: *aka* "redness" (noun) <--> *akai* "be red" (adjective); *kuru* "blackness" (noun) <--> *kuroi* "be black" (adjective).

2.2.3.2. *ADJECTIVES FROM VERBS*

There are a small number of regular processes which change verbs into adjectives [see also 2.1.3].

2.2.3.2.1. *DESIDERATIVE*

When the desiderative suffix *-tai* is added to the stem of a verb, the verb becomes an adjective.

tabe-tai [eat-desire] = want to eat

nomi-tai [drink-desire] = want to drink

kai-tai [buy-desire] = want to buy

2.2.3.2.2. *NEGATIVE*

When the negative morpheme *-nai* is added to the negative combining form of the verb, the resulting form is an adjective.

tabe-nai [eat-negative] = don't eat

noma-nai [drink-negative] = don't drink

kawa-nai [buy-negative] = don't buy

2.2.3.2.3. *"TOUGH" SUFFIXES*

A number of adjectival suffixes have the meaning "to make something easy or difficult to do". When any of these are added to a verb stem, the resulting form is an adjective [see Inoue 1978a].

tabe-yasui [eat-easy] = be easy to eat

nomi-nikui [drink-difficult] = be difficult to drink

kai-ii [buy-easy] = be easy to buy

2.2.3.3. *ADJECTIVES FROM ADJECTIVES*

Adjectives are not derived from other adjectives. Again, there are relationships which may be recognized although these relationships do not necessarily imply derivation. The prime example of this is the negative form of an adjective which is itself an adjective.

muzukashii "be difficult"

muzukashiku-nai "be not difficult"

omoshiroi "be interesting"

omoshiroku-nai "be not interesting"

2.2.3.4. *ADJECTIVES FROM ADVERBS*

Adjectives are not derived from adverbs, although with this category as well a relationship between adjectives and adverbs may be discerned.

hayai "be quick" *umai* "be skillful"

hayaku "quickly" *umaku* "skillfully"

yoi "be good" *atarashii* "be new"

yoku "well" *atarashiku* "newly"

2.2.4.1. *ADVERBS FROM NOUNS*

2.2.4.1.1. *ADDITION OF -ni*

Adverbs may be formed from nouns by having the noun

placed in front of the particle *ni*.

zettai-ni [absoluteness-"ly"] = absolutely

hontoo-ni [real-"ly"] = really

kenmei-ni [eagerness-"ly"] = eagerly

2.2.4.2. ADVERBS FROM VERBS

The adverbial negative *-zu-ni* form is derived from the verb: *wasurezu-ni* "without forgetting" < *wasureru* "forget"; *iwazu-ni* "without saying" < *iu* "say".

2.2.4.3. ADVERBS FROM ADJECTIVES

By placing the adverbalizing suffix *-ku* after the stem of an adjective, an adverb is formed.

haya-ku [quick-ly] = quickly

atarashi-ku [new-ly] = newly

nuru-ku [lukewarm-ly] = luke-warmly

omo-ku [heavy-ly] = heavily

2.2.4.4. ADVERBS FROM ADVERBS

Adverbs are not derived from other adverbs.

2.2.5. OTHER POSSIBILITIES

Historically, some nominal adjectives, i.e. *suki da* "like" and *kirai da* "dislike", have derived from verbs. The original verbs were *suku* "like" and *kirau* "dislike", both of which are still used in present-day Japanese.

2.2.6.1. COMPLEX POSTPOSITIONS

2.2.6.1.1. SEQUENCES OF POSTPOSITIONS

2.2.6.1.1.1. FOCUSING POSTPOSITIONS

Martin 1975:52ff identifies postpositions which he terms "focus of attention." The major distinction is between the postposition *wa*, which Martin claims subdues the noun phrase it marks, and the postposition *mo* "too" which Martin claims highlights the noun phrase it marks. Both of these particles behave in a similar manner with respect to

appearing in combination with other postpositions.

Both of these postpositions may be said to replace the postpositions *ga* "nominative marker" and *o* "accusative marker".[52] In all other cases, these postpositions either optionally or obligatorily follow any other postposition. Thus, with the exception of the sequences listed in Table 44, any sequence of postpositions ending in either *wa* or *mo* is permitted.

Table 44

**ga + wa*	**ga + mo*
**o + wa*	**o + mo*

2.2.6.1.1.2. DELIMITING POSTPOSITIONS

There are delimiting positions which specify "only". The two most common are *dake* "only" and *shika* "except for". The postposition *dake* can appear in either affirmative or negative utterances, but the postposition *shika* must appear in a negative sentence. These are illustrated in (1069), (1070), and (1071).

(1069) ***tanaka-san dake kimashita.***
Tanaka Ms only came
"Only Ms Tanaka came."

(1070) ***tanaka-san dake kimasen-deshita.***
Tanaka Ms only came-NEG
"Only Ms Tanaka didn't come."

(1071) *tanaka-san shika kimasen-deshita.*
Tanaka Ms except-for came-NEG
"Only Ms Tanaka came (i.e. Except for Ms Tanaka, no one came)."

Both of these postpositions may either replace the original postposition, as they have done in (1069) through (1071), or they may cooccur with the original postposition. In the event that they cooccur, *dake* generally precedes the other postposition and *shika* follows, as illustrated in (1072) and (1073).

(1072) ***yamada-san dake ni agemashita.***
Yamada Mr only DT gave
"[I] gave [it] only to Mr Yamada."

(1073) ***yamada-san ni shika*** *agemasen-deshita.*
Yamada Mr DT except-for gave-NEG
"[I] gave [it] only to Mr Yamada (i.e. Except for Mr Yamada, I didn't give it to anyone)."

Not surprisingly, therefore, the sequence *dake shika* may also appear.

(1074) *nakada-san dake shika* *ikimasen-deshita.*
Nakada Mr only except-for went-NEG
"Only Mr Nakada went [there] (i.e. Except for only Mr Nakada, no one went [there])."

2.2.6.1.2 *NOMINAL FORMATIONS*

The postposition *ni* appears in sequence with any number of postpositions and other relationals which are nominal in character [see Kuno 1973 for an insightful discussion of some of these]. In most cases the meaning of the original postposition does not change materially.

mae ni "before" *uchi ni* "while"

toki ni "when" *ato ni* "after"

When *ni* follows *made* "until", however, there is a major shift in meaning: the expression *made ni* means "by" in the sense of time [*sanji made ni* "by 3:00"].

2.2.6.2. *DERIVED POSTPOSITIONS*

There are no derived postpositions.

2.2.6.3. *COMPOUND MORPHOLOGY*

Members of the same or different categories combine with regularity and ease. At times it is difficult to determine the extent of compounding since there is no convention for separating words in the writing system. Frequently there will be a pronunciation shift which will indicate that a single compound exists, but this does not always occur [e.g. *fuufugenka* "husband-and-wife-fight" (< *fuufu* "husband-and-wife" plus *kenka* "fight") where the initial voiceless stop in *kenka* is voiced; *sakaya* "sake-dealer" (< *sake* "sake" plus *ya* "shop") where the final *e* in *sake* changes to *a*]. These must be seen in contrast with such forms as *kishakaiken* "press conference" (< *kisha* "press" plus *kaiken* "conference") and *sakekuse* "bad drunk" (< *sake* "sake" plus *kuse* "habit") where no such changes take place. Therefore it is not always clear whether long strings of morphemes are a single compound or several strung together.

2.2.6.3.1. *NOMINAL COMPOUNDS*

2.2.6.3.1.1. *NOUN-NOUN COMPOUNDS*

Examples of more than two nouns strung together are common. To indicate the points of a compass, for instance, the expression *too-zai-nan-boku* 東西南北 "east-west-south-north" appears as a single compound. The seasons of the year are expressed either as *shun-ka-shuu-too* or *haru-natsu-aki-fuyu*, both written 春夏秋冬 "spring-summer-fall-winter".

2.2.6.3.1.2. *VERB-NOUN COMPOUNDS*

See 2.2.1.2.2.2.

2.2.6.3.1.3. *ADJECTIVE-NOUN COMPOUNDS*

See 2.2.1.3.2.4.

2.2.6.3.1.4. *ADVERB-NOUN COMPOUNDS*

While quite restricted in occurrence, such compounds may be formed. There is a noun *zoku* "family" used to describe any group. Such collocations as *amari-zoku* "ones who use the word *amari* frequently" are possible.

2.2.6.3.1.5. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE-NOUN COMPOUNDS*

This too is restricted in occurrence, but examples may be found: *joozu-mono* "flatterer", with *joozu* "skillful" as a nominal-adjective and *mono* "one" as a noun.

2.2.6.3.2. *VERBAL COMPOUNDS*

2.2.6.3.2.1. *NOUN-VERB*

See 2.2.1.2.2.1.

2.2.6.3.2.2. *VERB-VERB*

There are a number of regular formations in which a verb stem is added to another verb to create a verb with a different meaning.

kaeru "change"

nori-kaeru [ride-change] = transfer

ue-kaeru [plant-change] = transplant

tori-kaeru [take-change] = exchange

naosu "fix"

kaki-naosu [write-fix] = rewrite

yari-naosu [do-fix] = do again

ii-naosu [say-fix] = correct oneself

dasu "put out"

yari-dasu [do-put out] = begin to do

furi-dasu [fall-put out] = begin to rain

omoi-dasu [think-put out] = remember

owaru "end"

shi-owaru [do-end] = finish up

kaki-owaru [write-end] = finish writing

nomi-owaru [drink-end] = finish drinking

sugiru "exceed"

yari-sugiru [do-exceed] = do too much

tabe-sugiru [eat-exceed] = eat too much

nomi-sugiru [drink-exceed] = drink too much

2.2.6.3.2.3. *ADJECTIVE-VERB COMPOUNDS*

See 2.2.2.3.1.

2.2.6.3.2.4. *ADVERB-VERB COMPOUNDS*

Adverb-verb compounds do not exist.

2.2.6.3.2.5. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE-VERB COMPOUNDS*

Such compounds exist only with the verb *sugiru* "exceed".

taihen-sugiru [terrible-exceed] = too terrible

suki-sugiru [like-exceed] = like too much

benri-sugiru [convenient-exceed] = be too convenient

2.2.6.3.3. *ADJECTIVAL COMPOUNDS*

2.2.6.3.3.1. *NOUN-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

These are restricted to a small number of forms, often designating physical characteristics.

ashi-bayai [foot-fast] = fleet footed

mimi-zatoi [ear-clever] = keen-eared

te-atsui [hand-hot] = cordial

2.2.6.3.3.2. *VERB-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

See 2.2.3.2.

2.2.6.3.3.3. *ADJECTIVE-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

No such compounds exist. Related forms do exist, however, based on two nominals which were derived from adjectives [see 2.2.6.3.1.1].

2.2.6.3.3.4. *ADVERB-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

No such compounds exist.

2.2.6.3.3.5. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

No such compounds exist.

2.2.6.3.4. *ADVERBIAL COMPOUNDS*

No such compounds exist.

2.2.6.3.5. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

2.2.6.3.5.1. *NOUN-NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

These are limited in occurrence but may be found. They

sometimes become nouns, as in the case of *sakazuki*.

sakazuki [sake-like] = sake-lover, drinker

monoshizuka [thing-quiet] = tranquil

2.2.6.3.5.2. *VERB-NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

There are no such compounds.

2.2.6.3.5.3. *ADJECTIVE-NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

There are no such compounds.

2.2.6.3.5.4. *ADVERB-NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

There are no such compounds.

2.2.6.3.5.5. *NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE NOMINAL-ADJECTIVE COMPOUNDS*

These are limited in occurrence, and frequently become nouns.

sukikirai [like-dislike] = preference

Notes for Chapter 2

[1]Martin 1975:50 cites earlier studies which indicate that within the Osaka dialect area, the object marker *o* is omitted more than 90% of the time and the subject marker *ga* is omitted 60% of the time. The figures are less dramatic for Tokyo, but nonetheless impressive. Shibamoto 1980:160ff shows that females and males in the Tokyo area have slightly different patterns of ellipsis, with females omitting particles more often. Subject particle ellipsis ranges from 11% for males to 24% for females; object particle ellipsis from 25% for males to 40% for females.

[2]The verb *suru* "do" is actually more of a problem than this discussion suggests. There is a use in which *suru* only requires one argument. This involves expressions such as *aji ga suru* "have a certain taste", *nioi ga suru* "smell a certain way".

[3]Because of the widespread use of ellipsis, rarely will an utterance actually have all of its arguments specified. Thus, when a verb is said to have a certain number of arguments, the assumption is that there are necessary underlying arguments [see Hinds 1982a].

[4]It is much more common for the subject of a copular construction to be marked with *wa*, but marking with *ga* does occur regularly.

[5]The question is whether Japanese is a "situation-focus" language or an "actor-focus" language. In a series of unpublished papers, I have suggested that Japanese is a situation-focus language, in which case the most appropriate expression is (606) [see also Teramura 1976, Ikegami 1981].

[6]In most cases *ni* and *e* are interchangeable.

[7]Verbs such as *modoru* "go back" and *hairu* "enter" imply entry into an enclosed area and so such forms as *naka* "inside" are not required.

[8]Reiko Takeuchi [personal communication] has pointed out that it is the verb *toorinukeru* "pass through" which provides the meaning of going through since, in the following sentence, the meaning of through is present, though the particle *o* is not.

(a) *hakubutsukan no tenjishitsu kara deguchi ni toorinukemashita.*
"[I] passed through the exhibition room of the museum to the exit."

[9]The nominal *soto* "outside" is inappropriate here. The nominal *soba* "next to" is appropriate.

[10]The locational *ushiro* is the most general term meaning "behind"; *ura* is used to refer to, for instance, the "rear" of buildings.

[11]In order to reflect accurately the concept of superiority, particular verbs are required in addition to the relational *ue* "above". The use of a neutral verb of motion will suggest only upper surface contact. As well, it is frequently necessary to add a phrase such as *kuuchuu ni* "in the air" to make this explicit.

[12]I indicate that *kara* carries the meaning "from above" but in fact it is the verb *tobiagaru* "jump above" which actually carries this meaning.

[13]Again it is the verb *toorisugiru* "go past" which conveys the required meaning rather than the particle *o*, as is demonstrated with the following example.

(a) *mukashi no kanojo ni awazu-ni toorisugite ikimashita.*
"[He] went past his former girlfriend without meeting her."

[14]Reiko Takeuchi [personal communication] has pointed out that there is a difference in meaning depending on whether *aida* or *mannaka* is selected. If *aida* is selected, it implies that there is a game between *joochi* and *waseda* athletic teams. If *mannaka* is selected, the implication is that something took place at a location between the two campuses.

Shoichi Iwasaki [personal communication] has further pointed out that *mannaka* means "(more or less) exactly in the middle while *aida* refers to a point between two points. Thus, (a) is possible, but (b) is not.

(a) *kono sen no mannaka ni shirushi o tsukero.*
this line LK midpoint on mark AC attach-imperative
"Make a mark on the midpoint of this line."

(b) **kono sen no aida ni shirushi o tsukero.*
this line LK between on mark AC attach-imperative
"*Make a mark between this line."

[15]An alternative expression is *hantaigawa*.

[16]It is somewhat more complicated than this in that there is an aversion to pluralizing animals unless they are being anthropomorphized. Thus, while it is common for a mother to point to elephants in the zoo and refer to them to her children as *zoo-san-tachi*, it is unnatural for a zoology professor to do the same thing while lecturing to college students.

[17]There are in fact four pluralizing suffixes which differ depending on social status: *-tachi* is the most neutral; *-ra* is somewhat rougher; *-gata* is extremely polite and honorific and so is not used to refer to oneself or one's ingroup members; and *-domo* is highly depricating, and is used primarily with reference to one's ingroup.

[18]Martin 1975:151 points out that most of these nouns are native Japanese words, but that Chinese based words may also be reduplicated: *chiiki-chiiki* "areas".

[19]Younger speakers are much more apt to say *hitotsu, futatsu* when counting pairs of chopsticks than *ichizen, nizen*. Other such simplifications occur, with *hitotsu* being the common term for inanimates.

[20]A major exception occurs with the counter *-fun*. Here the following changes occur: *san* "three" + *fun* = *sanpun*; *yon* "four" + *fun* = *yonpun*.

[21]I term these pronouns, but it is debatable whether they really are. As pointed out in 2.1.2, all pronominal forms in Japanese share many characteristics with nominals.

[22]In the Kansai area, this is a standard pronoun meaning "I".

[23]The modifying forms of these pronominal forms [*kono* "this", *sono* "that", *ano* "that over there"] may precede a word such as *hito* "person" to mark third person reference. In these cases, proximity may be differentiated. The remarks made for third person inanimate pronouns apply to these forms as well.

[24]Tawa 1975 points out that the plural suffix *-tachi* cannot be attached to the reflexive form *jiko*.

[25]There is a reluctance to place an inanimate noun phrase into a derived subject/topic position [but see example (3) in this section]. Also, since there is an additional reluctance to have inanimate noun phrases serve as the subject or

the topic of transitive verb constructions, it is not natural to have a passive sentence of the type "I was awakened by the alarm clock". This thought is usually expressed with an intransitive verb as: *watashi wa mezamashidokei de okimashita* "(Lit) I woke up by means of the alarm clock".

[26]The term transitive verb here refers to any verb which permits *o* to mark its second argument. This category therefore include verbs of motion and excludes verbs of human interaction which mark the second argument with *ni*. See Jacobsen 1981 for a discussion of the relevant issues.

[27]Martin 1975:187 provides examples in which the direct object maintains *o* as the object marker.

(a) *dono michi o aruite-aru?*
which road AC be-walked
"Which roads have been walked on?"

In this case, according to Martin, some speakers will accept *dono michi ga* instead of *dono michi o*.

[28]The reason these are considered pairs is that they share a common character [*kanji*] in writing the stem. All correspondences listed refer to that part of the verb which is written in *kana*.

[29]The direct object may be *hon* "book", *zasshi* "magazine", *shinbun* "newspaper", or any other readable material.

[30]Miyagawa 1980 contains an insightful discussion of pragmatic differences between the causative morpheme *-(s)ase-* and its shortened form *(s)as-* [see also Shibatani 1976].

[31]Keiji Matsumoto [personal communication] has pointed out that Nakau provides no explanation for why the negative of *shiru* cannot take the *-te iru* form.

[32]Matsumoto 1985:106-66 offers an explanation for why the *-te-iru* form can be interpreted either as "perfect" or as "progressive".

[33]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that verbs formed with *hajimeru* "begin" only indicate ingressive aspect if the form *hajimeru* is used; if *hajimeta*, the past form, is used, the meaning is no longer ingressive.

[34]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that parallel to the situation with the verb *hajimeru* "begin", the terminative aspect does not hold for all forms.

[35]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that the situation is not this straightforward, since expressions which combine these two constructions exist: *tabete miyoo to shita* "[I] tried to eat [something]".

[36]The honorific equivalent of *moraitai*, *itadakitai* may also be used.

[37]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that *beki* may also be used for moral obligation: *konna baai ni wa anata ga nagusamete ageru beki desu* "You have to comfort [her] in this kind of situation.

[38]The only exception to this is that it follows either the nonpast form of the verb *suru* "do", or its truncated form *su*.

[39]In place of *ii* "good", any lexical item whose meaning is similar to "good" is acceptable: *yoroshii* "good", *kamaimasen* "not care", *kekkoo* "suitable".

[40]It should be borne in mind that these propositional honorific distinctions are not obligatory in the usual sense, and most present day colloquial speech does not contain any such forms. Propositional honorifics may not be used as a consistent means to identify person.

[41]Note in this example that the politer form *kata* is selected over the neutral form *hito* to mean "person".

[42]Note here that *irassharu* has been used in place of *iru* to indicate progressive aspect.

[43]It should be evident that there are in fact degrees of respect language which may be used. Thus, it would be possible to combine both of the processes outlined here to create a more respectful expression: the verb for "read" may be taken as an example. *yomu* (citation form) ---> *yomimasu* (polite form) ---> *oyomi ni narimasu* (respect form) ---> *oyomi ni nararemasu*. The final form contains the verb *naru* "become" which has undergone honorification.

[44]Not only physical direction toward and away from the speaker is indicated by this construction, but also temporal relations [see example (970)].

[45]For compounds with the verbs of motion *kuru* "come" and *iku* "go", see 2.1.3.6.10.

[46]The polite form of the past is usually made by adding *desu* to the form cited in the table [*akakatta desu*]. There is a

less frequently occurring past polite form of adjectives in which the past form of the copula *desu*, *deshita*, follows the citation form of adjectives [*akai deshita*]. With respect to negative past forms, along with the regular *akaku nakatta desu*, there is also *akaku arimasen deshita*.

[47]There are alternative negative forms. The one cited in this table is the nonpolite form. Two polite alternatives exist. For the first, *desu* follows the form cited in the table [*akaku nai desu*]. For the second, the polite form of *nai*, *arimasen* follows the *-ku* form of the adjective [*akaku arimasen*].

[48]Examples without an overt copula may be found in (1008) and (1009).

[49]The example cited here contains the polite variant *deshoo* rather than the nonpolite *daroo*.

[50]This is not to suggest that sentences which describe permanent states may not have noun phrases marked by *ga*. They may, but there are other reasons for that selection.

[51]Wako Hinds [personal communication] has pointed out that these two utterances have a different range of occurrence possibilities. Example (1060) may be used outside Japan, while (1061) may not.

[52]In writing styles the sequence *o mo* is permitted.

(a) *amerika de wa kono hoohoo o hikitsugi*
America at TP this law AC extend
reedaa o mo kuwaete harikeen--taifuu--no
radar AC too add hurricane--typhoon--LK
shinro o hakatta ga ...
course AC measured but
"In America [they] have extended these methods and have added radar too, in plotting the course of hurricanes--typhoons--and ... "

[Martin 1975:53 (fn)]

3. PHONOLOGY

3.1. PHONOLOGICAL UNITS (SEGMENTAL)

In any discussion of the phonological structure of Japanese it is necessary to begin with a statement concerning the way speakers of Japanese perceive the phonological units of the language. Japanese are members of a highly literate society, and the consequences of this include the fact that their perception of the phonological units of the language is based on the writing system. The Japanese writing system is based on a syllabary rather than on a phonetic system. This syllabary is termed in Japanese *go-juuon* 'the fifty sounds'. It is based on five vowel sounds which occur with a number of consonants. Each vowel sound and its accompanying consonant has a separate symbol, termed *kana* [*katakana* and *hiragana*].

This perception of the oral language in terms of the written language permeates all aspects of the language, but it may be seen convincingly in the way Japanese play with their language in contrast to the way English speakers play with theirs. If an English speaker is asked to pronounce a word backwards, this is usually done by reversing the letters, sometimes resulting in non-occurring sequences of sounds which the speaker attempts to pronounce: *gift* becomes *tfig*; *big* becomes *gib*; etc. If Japanese are given this same task, reversals are made on the basis of syllables rather than individual sounds. In listing examples, I have placed hyphens between syllables for expository purposes: *ka-ta-na* "sword" becomes *na-ta-ka*; *o-i-shi-i* "delicious" becomes *i-shi-i-o*; *tsu-ma-ra-na-i* "boring" becomes *i-na-ra-ma-tsu*; etc.

Table 45 presents the basic syllables of Japanese in the traditional order.

Table 45

n	*wa*	*ra*	*ya*	*ma*	*ha*	*na*	*ta*	*sa*	*ka*	*a*
		ri		*mi*	*hi*	*ni*	*chi*	*shi*	*ki*	*i*
		ru	*yu*	*mu*	*fu*	*nu*	*tsu*	*su*	*ku*	*u*
		re		*me*	*he*	*ne*	*te*	*se*	*ke*	*e*
	o	*ro*	*yo*	*mo*	*ho*	*no*	*to*	*so*	*ko*	*o*
					pa	*ba*	*da*	*za*	*ga*	
					pi	*bi*	*ji*		*gi*	
					pu	*bu*	*zu*		*gu*	
					pe	*be*	*de*	*ze*	*ge*	
					po	*bo*	*do*	*zo*	*go*	
		rya		*mya*	*hya*	*nya*	*cha*	*sha*	*kya*	
		ryu		*myu*	*hyu*	*nyu*	*chu*	*shu*	*kyu*	
		ryo		*myo*	*hyo*	*nyo*	*cho*	*sho*	*kyo*	
					pya	*bya*		*ja*	*gya*	
					pyu	*byu*		*ju*	*gyu*	
					pyo	*byo*		*jo*	*gyo*	

3.1.1. DISTINCTIVE SEGMENTS

k, ky, g, ĝ, gy, ĝy, s, š, z, j, t, č, t^{s}, d, n, ny, h, ɸ, hy, b, by, p, py, m, my, y, r, ry, w, ŋ, a, i, u, e, o

3.1.2. PHONOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

3.1.2.1. *NONSYLLABICS*

In discussing the significant allophony and phonetic realizations, each row [termed *gyoo*, for the voiceless consonant which organizes each row, as in *ka-gyoo, ta gyoo*] of the syllabary will be considered in turn.

3.1.2.1.1. *PLOSIVES AND AFFRICATES*

ka-gyoo

Preceding front vowels, the velar stop is forward [k] while preceding mid and back vowels it is mid [k].

[kiku] listen

[keibajoo] race track

[kaku] write

[kunren] practice

[koko] here

ta-gyoo

Preceding [a, e, o], this is a forward dental stop [t]. Preceding [i] it is palatalized [č]; preceding [u] it becomes the affricate [t^{s}].

[tat^{s}u] stand

[tet^{s}u] iron

[toru] take

[čiba] Chiba

[t^{s}uči] dirt

ga

As with *ka-gyoo*, the velar stop is forward when preceding front vowels [g], and mid in other positions. In noninitial position it is nasalized [ŋ]. Inoue et al 1983 have claimed that this nasalized consonant has been eliminated in the twelve to twenty-four year old age group in Tokyo, but Hibiya 1985 demonstrates that it still exists variably in the speech of these younger residents.

[giŋan] artificial eye

[gesui] waste water

[gakkoo] school

[guai] condition

[gobi] ending of a word

da

Preceding [a, e, o], this is a forward dental stop [d]. Preceding [i] it is palatalized [j]; preceding [u] it becomes [z].

[danraku] paragraph

[desu] copula

[doko] where

[onaji] same

[mizu] water

ba

This is considered to be the voiced equivalent of *ha-gyoo*. In all environments this is realized as [b].

[baa] bar

[binboo] poor person

[busu] ugly

[bengoši] lawyer

[boošši] hat

pa

This is considered to be "half-voicing" of *ha-gyoo*. In all environments this is realized as [p].

[pantˢu] underwear

[pikapika] sparkling

[ippun] one minute

[peeji] page

[počapoča] chubby

3.1.2.1.2. *FRICATIVES*

sa-gyoo

Preceding [i], this is realized as [š]. In all other environments it is realized as [s]. In a recent issue of in the linguistic journal Gengo [Volume 12, Number 12, pages 134-135 (1983)], the editorial board has indicated that there is a shift in pronunciation among young females in which the fricative preceding [i] remains [s] rather than [š].

[šiawase] happiness

[sate] well

[suppai] sour

[sensei] teacher

[sonkei] respect

za

Preceding [i], this is realized as [j]. In all other environments it is realized as [z].

[jitto] straight

[zaššši] magazine

[zuzušii] forward

[zenzen] absolutely

[zoo] elephant

ha-gyoo

Preceding [i], this is realized as a voiceless palatal fricative [c]. In front of [u], this is realized as a

voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]. In all other environments, this is realized as [h].

[çito] person

[ɸune] ship

[happyoo] publish

[hebi] snake

[hooritsu] law

3.1.2.1.3. *NASALS*

na-gyoo

In front of all vowels this is realized as a dental nasal [n].

[nani] what

[niru] resemble

[nusumu] steal

[neko] cat

[nooryoku] intelligence

ma-gyoo

In front of all vowels this is realized as a bilabial nasal [m].

[mat^{s}u] wait

[miru] see, look

[mune] chest

[megane] eye-glasses

[mot^{s}u] hold

3.1.2.1.4. *LIQUIDS*

ra-gyoo

There is only a single liquid, a lightly flapped alveolar [r]. This occurs in all environments.

[rakuda] camel

[ringo] apple

[ruten] perpetual motion

[renšuu] practice

[roosoku] candle

3.1.2.1.5. *GLIDES/SEMIVOWELS*

ya-gyoo

This is a high front semi-vowel which is unevenly distributed. In present-day Japanese, [y] precedes only [a, u, o].

[yagi] goat

[yuumei] famous

[yomu] read

wa-gyoo

This is a weakly labialized semi-vowel which is unevenly distributed. In present-day Japanese, [w] precedes only [a]. In certain affected pronunciations, or in certain conservative dialects, [w] may precede [o] to indicate the direct object marker.

[wašit^{s}u] Japanese style room

3.1.2.1.6. *OTHERS [PALATALIZED CONSONANTS]*

The following palatalized consonants all occur in uneven distribution. They are all invariant, and appear only before [a, u, o].

kya

[kyanpasu] campus

[kyuušuu] Kyushu

[kyooiku] education

gya

[gyangu] gang

[gyuunyuu] milk

[gyogyoo] fishing industry

sha

[sabondama] bubble

[šuukan] custom, habit

[soogun] military leader

ja

[jarimiči] gravel road

[juutan] rug

[joodan] joke

cha

[čansu] chance

[čuumon] order

[čoočo] butterfly

nya

[nyannya] kitty

[nyuumon] introduction

[nyoobo] wife

hya

[çyaku] one-hundred

[çyuuzu] fuse

[çyooban] reputation

bya

[byakuren] white lotus

[byuuken] fallacy

[byooki] sickness

pya

[happyaku] eight-hundred

[pyuuto] whizzing

[pyonpyon] hop

mya

[myakudoo] pulsation

[myuujikaru] musical

[myooban] tomorrow evening

rya

[ryakuset^{s}u] brief explanation

[ryuukoo] fashion

[ryokan] Japanese inn

3.1.2.2. *SYLLABICS*

A syllable consists of one or more vowels [see 3.2].

3.1.2.2.1. *VOWELS*

a-gyoo

There are five vowels [a, i, u, e, o] which may be arranged as is typical in five vowel systems. There is little variation in the phonetic quality of these vowels, although before [i], [u] becomes a midhigh vowel [ɨ]. In certain pronunciations in Tokyo, [a] may be fronted to digraph [æ], though not consistently. This is documented most recently in Gengo [see 3.1.3.1.2] in which one of the editors has responded to a question from a reader. The response states that among certain young women (the term is *burikko* "wide-eyed, spacy"), the pronunciation [æ] is gaining currency, but that although it occurs in words like

[ɾtɾši] "I" it has yet to spread to words like [anata] "you".

[aka]	red
[mamonɾku]	momentarily
[inu]	dog
[tᵖuku]	arrive
[tˢiita]	arrived
[eda]	branch
[otoko]	male

3.1.2.2.2. *OTHERS [SYLLABIC NASAL]*

This is considered to be fully syllabic. It assimilates to the following consonant, if there is one. Preceding bilabials, it becomes syllabic [m]. Preceding dentals, it becomes syllabic [n]. Preceding velars and vowels, or in word final position, it is a syllabic velar nasal [ŋ].

[šimbuŋ]	newspaper
[šintaku]	new house
[šiŋgakki]	new semester

3.1.2.3. *LOANWORDS*

There are conservative and innovative dialects with respect to loanwords. The system described above is the conservative dialect. In more innovating dialects, loan words from English consistently show a labio-dental fricative [f] rather than the conservative bilabial fricative [ɸ] when that exists in English. Similarly, the innovative dialect is able to produce a dental stop [t] before either [i] or [u] rather than the respective conservative palatalized [c] and affricated [tᵖ]. Similarly, the voiced counterparts are also possible, giving [d] before [i] and [u] rather than the conservative [j] and [z], respectively.

[ɸurii]	free	[conservative]
[furii]	free	[innovating]
[tee/čii]	tea	[conservative]
[tii]	tea	[innovating]
[tˢuu]	two	[conservative]
[tuu]	two	[innovating]
[dei/jii]	"d"	[conservative]
[dii]	"d"	[innovating]
[juaaru]	dual	[conservative]
[duaaru]	dual	[innovating]

3.1.2.4. *RESTRICTIONS BASED ON WORD CLASSES*

There are no restrictions on the occurrence of any of the above units in any word classes.

3.2. PHONOTACTICS

The canonical form of syllables in Japanese is (C)V(Q)(C)V, where C = any consonant (including affricates or palatalized consonants), V = *a, i, u, e, o* and syllabic *n*, and Q = a geminate consonant. There is no absolute length for a single word, and since Japanese is written in the native orthography without spaces between words, there is frequently disagreement about word boundaries. Words as brief as *e* "picture", *i* "stomach" exist, and it is not uncommon to find relatively long sequences of vowels [*aoi* "blue", *eii* "zealously", *ooi* "many"].

3.2.1. ADMISSABLE SEQUENCES

3.2.1.1. *WORD FINAL CONSONANTS*

Word final consonants are not permitted in canonical speech forms, with one exception. This exception is that the syllabic nasal *n* is freely permitted: *dekimasen* "cannot do", *kooen* "park". In exclamations, a word may end in a glottal catch, symbolized in the Japanese writing system as small *tsu*. For purposes of clarity, this is represented here by Q: *aQ* "oh", *dameQ* "no good!".

In normal speech, however, voiceless consonants do occur in word final position following a voiceless consonant

as a result of the elision of a high vowel, here indicated by ': *des'* (< *desu*) "copula", *tadash'* (< *tadashi*) "given name".

3.2.1.2. *WORD INITIAL CONSONANTS*

There are two restrictions on word initial consonants. First, the nasal *g̃*, characteristic of Tokyo speech [see 3.1], is not permitted except when the subject particle *ga* is pronounced in isolation. Second, the geminate consonant, symbolized as *Q* does not appear in word initial position except when it arises as a result of a contraction [*'ppari* (< *yappari*) "as you might expect"].

3.2.2.1. *CLUSTERS*

3.2.2.1.1. *WORD INITIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS*

Although Japanese is typically described as a CVCV language, because high vowels are voiceless or even dropped out between voiceless consonants, some rather complicated word initial voiceless consonant clusters may exist: *ksuri* (< *kusuri*) "medicine", *tskau* (< *tsukau*) "use", *chkatets* (< *chikatetsu*) "subway". The ultimate restriction on word initial consonant clusters is that they must consist of voiceless consonants.

3.2.2.1.2. *WORD FINAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS*

The only word final clusters which are permitted are those which arise as a result of the dropping of a medial high vowel between voiceless consonants combined with the dropping of a final high vowel after a voiceless consonant: *omoitsts* (*omoitsutsu*) "while thinking", *ikts* (< *ikutsu*) "how many".

3.2.2.1.3. *WORD MEDIAL CONSONANT CLUSTERS*

Word medial consonant clusters also arise as a result of the dropping of high vowels between voiceless consonants: *daiski* (< *daisuki*) "like very much", *ookestora* (< *ookesutora*) "orchestra".

3.2.2.2. *POSSIBLE CLUSTERS*

There is a great deal of variation in the permissible pronunciations of the following words. As has been stated, high vowels either become voiceless or they drop completely between voiceless consonants or finally following a voiceless consonant. All of the forms listed below can be pronounced with a whispered vowel instead of no vowel. For

some speakers, the whispered pronunciation is preferred over the pronunciation with an omitted vowel. I therefore follow a convention established by Jorden 1963 of crossing whispered or omitted vowels with a virgule (/).

3.2.2.2.1. *WORD INITIAL*

COMBINATION	EXAMPLE	CANONICAL FORM	GLOSS
s + k	*s/k/*	*suki*	like
s + ky	*s/kyandaru*	*sukyandaru*	scandal
s + s	*s/sumeru*	*susumeru*	advance
s + sh	*s/sh/*	*sushi*	sushi
s + t	*s/tek/*	*suteki*	wonderful
s + ch	*s/chuaadesu*	*suchuaadesu*	stewardess
s + p	*s/pein*	*supein*	Spain
sh + k	*sh/ka*	*shika*	deer
sh + ky	*sh/kyuu*	*shikyuu*	womb
sh + s	*sh/saku*	*shisaku*	speculation
sh + sh	*sh/shamo*	*shishamo*	smelt
sh + t	*sh/tai*	*shitai*	want to do
sh + ch	*sh/chuu*	*shichuu*	stew
sh + p	*sh/ppori*	*shippori*	dripping wet
f + k	*f/ka*	*fuka*	shark
f + s	*f/segu*	*fusegu*	defend
f + sh	*f/shin*	*fushin*	depression
f + t	*f/toi*	*futoi*	fat
f + ch	*f/chin*	*fuchin*	rise and fall
f + ts	*f/tsuu*	*futsuu*	ordinary
f + f	*f/f/k/*	*fufuku*	dissatisfaction

k + k	*kǐkanai*	*kikanai*	don't listen
k + s	*kŭsuri*	*kusuri*	medicine
k + sh	*kŭshami*	*kushami*	sneeze
k + t	*kǐtanai*	*kitanai*	dirty
k + ch	*kǐchigai*	*kichigai*	strange
k + ts	*kǐtsui*	*kitsui*	strict
k + p	*kǐppŭkiri*	*kippukiri*	ticket puncher
ch + k	*chǐkai*	*chikai*	close
ch + s	*chǐsei*	*chisei*	geographical features
ch + sh	*chǐsha*	*chisha*	lettuce
ch + t	*chǐtokŭ*	*chitoku*	knowledge and virtue
ch + ch	*chǐchioya*	*chichioya*	father
ch + ts	*chǐtsujo*	*chitsujo*	order
ts + k	*tsŭkau*	*tsukau*	use
ts + t	*tsŭtome*	*tsutome*	task
ts + ch	*tsŭchiana*	*tsuchiana*	burrow
ts + ts	*tsŭtsumu*	*tsutsumu*	wrap
ts + p	*tsŭpai*	*tsupai*	tree shrew
p + k	*pǐkapǐka*	*pikapika*	sparkling
p + t	*pǐtari*	*pitari*	close
p + ch	*pǐchǐkaato*	*pichikaato*	pizzicato
p + ts	*pŭtsuri*	*putsuri*	snap off
p + p	*pǐpetto*	*pipetto*	a pipette

3.2.2.2.2. *WORD FINAL*

COMBINATION	EXAMPLE	CANONICAL FORM	GLOSS
s + k	*masu‿ku‿*	*masuku*	mask
s + s	*osu‿*	*ossu*	hello
s + sh	*yasu‿shi*	*yasushi*	given name
s + p	*wasu‿pu‿*	*wasupu*	wasp
sh + k	*tanoshi‿ku‿*	*tanoshiku*	happily
sh + sh	*inoshi‿shi*	*inoshishi*	boar
f + f	*taffu‿*	*taffu*	tough
k + s	*eku‿su‿*	*ekusu*	x
k + sh	*ku‿shami*	*kushami*	sneeze
k + ts	*iku‿tsu‿*	*ikutsu*	how many
ch + k	*kenchi‿ku‿*	*kenchiku*	architecture
ch + ts	*chi‿tsujo*	*chitsujo*	(public) order
ts + k	*ku‿ttsu‿ku‿*	*kuttsuku*	attach
ts + ts	*omoitsu‿tsu‿*	*omoitsutsu*	while thinking
p + p	*su‿toppu‿*	*sutoppu*	stop

3.2.2.3. *WORD MEDIAL*

These do not differ from the product of final and initial clusters.

3.2.3. VOWELS

There are five vowels in Japanese, and these may appear in any position and in any combination.

3.2.3.1. *WORD FINAL*

Each vowel may appear in word final position: *ana* "hole", *tsugi* "next", *yomu* "read", *abe* "family name", *tento* "tent".

3.2.3.2. *WORD INITIAL*

Each vowel may appear in word initial position: *akai* "red", *inaka* "country", *usagi* "rabbit", *erai* "distinguished", *otoko* "man".

3.2.3.3. *VOWEL SEQUENCES*

Any combination of vowels may occur, and in theory there is no limit to the length of such combinations. For the sake of expedience, only two vowel combinations are illustrated. Note that double vowels are treated as sequences of vowels.

FIRST VOWEL	SECOND VOWEL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
a	*a*	*okaasan*	mother
a	*i*	*akai*	red
a	*u*	*kau*	buy
a	*e*	*aenai*	cannot meet
a	*o*	*kao*	face
i	*a*	*kiatsu*	atmospheric pressure
i	*i*	*iie*	no
i	*u*	*yomiuri*	name of newspaper
i	*e*	*mienai*	cannot see
i	*o*	*shio*	salt
u	*a*	*fuan*	ill at ease
u	*i*	*fuirumu*	film
u	*u*	*futsuu*	ordinary
u	*e*	*kuchibue*	whistle
u	*o*	*shizuoka*	place name
e	*a*	*pea*	pear
e	*i*	*eikyoo*	influence

e	*u*	*furueru*	tremble
e	*e*	*beesubooru*	baseball
e	*o*	*bideo*	video
o	*a*	*kooan*	riddle
o	*i*	*koi*	love
o	*u*	*omou*	think
o	*e*	*koe*	voice
o	*o*	*ooi*	many

3.2.4. STRUCTURE OF LEXICAL MORPHEMES

The structure of lexical morphemes corresponds to the possibilities for word structure.

3.2.5. ASSIGNMENT TO SYLLABLES

3.2.5.1. *MEDIAL UNITS OR CLUSTERS*

In order to discuss this topic more insightfully, a distinction must first be drawn between a mora (*onsetsu*) and a syllable. A mora, according to Higurashi 1983:12ff, consists of a consonant plus vowel (CV), a vowel alone (V), a mora nasal (N), or the first obstruent of geminate consonants. A syllable has a single or geminate vowel as its nucleus. She provides an example to distinguish these two terms: *kyooka* "subject" is a three mora word (*kyo-o-ka*) but a two syllable word (*kyoo-ka*).

Medial units are assigned to syllables according the following considerations. A syllable consists of a consonant plus a vowel (CV), a vowel alone (V), a long vowel ((C)V:), a vowel plus a mora nasal ((C)VN), or a vowel plus the first obstruent of a geminate consonant ((C)VC). Thus, the first member of a geminate cluster is assigned to the previous syllable, although it itself constitutes a separate mora: *chot-to* "a little".

3.2.5.2. *CANONICAL SYLLABLE TYPE*

Canonical syllable type is (C)V(C/N). Canonical mora type is (C)V.

3.2.6.1.-4. *RESTRICTIONS ON WORD INITIAL UNITS AND FOLLOWING UNITS*

There are no restrictions on initial units and succeeding units.

3.2.6.5. *CONSONANT HARMONY*

Assimilation does occur in two different ways. The syllabic nasal assimilates to a following consonant. In the following words, the initial morpheme is *shin* "new": *shimbun* "newspaper"; *shintaku* "new house"; *shingakki* "new semester". The phonetic quality of the nasal is bilabial, dental, and velar, respectively.

A voiceless consonant plus high vowel preceding a voiceless consonant **may** assimilate to the following consonant, producing a geminate cluster. This does not always happen: *betsu* "special" + *kan* "building" = *bekkan* "annex" contrasts with *betsu* "special" + *kanjoo* "bill" = *betsukanjoo* "special bill".

3.3. Suprasegmentals

3.3.1. DISTINCTIVE DEGREES OF LENGTH

There are distinctive degrees of length in Japanese syllables. It is also the case, however, that there are some words in which alternate forms appear which either contain a lengthened segment or not. In these cases, lengthening connotes emphasis: *daikirai* "hate" vs *daikkirai* "hate very much".

3.3.1.1. *VOWELS*

All five vowels may be lengthened to form a distinctive segment. This vowel length is almost precisely twice as long as the nonlengthened vowel. Specific constraints on the occurrence of specific vowels will be discussed in turn.

a

It has traditionally been the case that loan words from English which end in *-er* and *-or* have been taken into the Japanese language with the ending *-aa*. This may be seen in such words as *ueetaa* "waiter", *suupaa* "super(market)", and *dairekutaa* "director". Recently, however, many words of this type have been brought into Japanese with a single vowel *-a* at the end. Illustrative of this are *konpyuuta* "computer" and *purinta* "printer". As might be expected, there is individual variation in the pronunciation of some forms of this type, attributable perhaps to a difference

between conservative and innovating dialects. Thus, for some speakers, *kompyuutaa* and *purintaa* are the appropriate forms for "computer" and "printer", respectively.

Other than this type of alternation, vowel length for *a* is distinctive, as the following pairs demonstrate [pitch is not indicated; see 3.3.3.1].

ha	tooth	*haa*	yes
obasan	aunt	*obaasan*	grandmother
machi	village	*maachi*	march

i

A feature of the front vowel *i* which it shares with the high back vowel *u* is that in word final position following a voiceless segment or between two voiceless segments, it becomes devoiced or actually disappears, except in overly precise speech. When the vowel is lengthened, however, it never becomes voiceless or disappears. This is relevant for the pair *kita* "came" [pronounced *kɨta*] and *kiita* "asked".

ie	house	*iie*	no
kita	came	*kiita*	asked
ojisan	uncle	*ojiisan*	grandfather

u

Since *u* is also a high vowel, it shares with *i* the property of devoicing at word final position following a voiceless segment or in between two voiceless segments. This is relevant for the pair *kutsu* "shoe" and *kutsuu* "pain."

kutsu	shoe	*kutsuu*	pain
suri	pickpocket	*suuri*	math principle
shujin	husband	*shuujin*	prisoner

e

The vowel *e* may be lengthened in two ways. In recent loan words from European languages, the vowel, for many speakers, is simply lengthened and it maintains its original phonetic quality. This may be seen in words such as *beesu-booru* "baseball", *meekaa* "manufacturer", and *bareebooru* "volleyball". In words of Chinese origin, the lengthened

segment actually constitutes a glide from *e* to *i*. It must be pointed out, of course, that this distinction is maintained frequently in the writing system, and hence in the romanization that is used. It must also be pointed out that there is variation in pronunciation among speakers of Japanese here, as well. For some speakers, all lengthened *e* forms become *ei*. Conversely, some speakers maintain *ee* for all lengthened segments. The convention followed here is to represent all lengthened *e* in native and Chinese-based words as *ei*, and to represent lengthened *e* in recent lounwords from English as *ee*.

kire	cloth	*kirei*	clean
meshi	rice	*meishi*	name card
egaku	draw	*eigaku*	study of English

o

For this vowel as well, there is alternation between *oo* and *ou* as the lengthened form of *o*. There is a tendency for speakers to glide to the *u* position, but since *u* in Japanese has much less lip rounding associated with it that in English, it is often difficult to determine which pronunciation is being used. It is possible that there are speakers who clearly differentiate between *too* "ten" and *tou* "ask" with respect to the final segment, but it is unlikely that such a distinction would be recognized by the majority of speakers of Japanese. For a small number of forms, including *tooi* "far", and *too* "ten", the writing system indicates *oo*. For all other instances of lengthened *o*, the writing system indicates *ou*. The convention which is followed here is to indicate all lengthened *o* segments by *oo*.

totta	took	*tootta*	passed by
jochuu	maid	*joochuu*	tapeworm
kojin	individual	*koojin*	passerby

3.3.1.2. OTHER SYLLABICS

The syllabic *n* appears in geminate clusters with other nasals, but this should not be described as lengthening. Examples of this are *kinmotsu* "forbidden things", *nanmin* "refugees", and, in the pronunciation of Tokyo residents *engei* "performance".

3.3.1.3. *GLIDES/SEMIVOWELS*

Glides and semivowels do not lengthen.

3.3.1.4. *LIQUIDS*

The only way in which liquids lengthen is in the speech of some speakers in which the *r* sound becomes trilled. Even then, it is not always clear that lengthening has taken place. The dialects which allow this form are generally considered to be non-standard: *ur'usei* "bothersome, annoying" [cf. standard *urusai*], *or'e* "I" [cf standard *ore*], *hor'ete-ir'u* "be in love with".

3.3.1.5. *NASALS*

See 3.3.1.2.

3.3.1.6. *FRICATIVES*

All voiceless fricatives may be lengthened, and this lengthening is distinctive. Examples follow. With respect to *f*, it should be kept in mind that the native pronunciation is a bilabial fricative, whereas in loan words from English, the pronunciation is a labiodental fricative in innovating dialects.

kasuru	graze	*kassuru*	feel thirsty
kashi	cake	*kasshi*	die of thirst
bahama	Bahama Islands	*bahha*	Bach
bafun	stable manure	*baffu*	buff

3.3.1.7. *STOPS AND FRICATIVES*

In this category are included both stops and affricates (combination of stop plus fricative). The conservative dialects of Japanese only lengthen voiceless stops. The innovating dialects also lengthen voiced stops in loan words. Again, there is often individual variation in the pronunciation of certain words. Thus, "hot dog" may become either *hottodoggu* or *hottodokku*, depending on the speaker. Although both *g* and *d* lengthen in loan words, *b* never does.

gaka	painter	*gakka*	school subject
itai	it hurts	*ittai*	what on earth
sachi	happiness	*satchi*	inference
mutsu	Japanese bluefish	*muttsu*	six
bagu	horse harness	*baggu*	bag
hedo	vomit	*heddo*	head
hoopu	hope	*hoppu*	hop

3.3.2.1. *STRESS*

Stress plays no substantial role in the Japanese language. The role that stress plays in English is consigned to pitch in Japanese [see 3.3.3]. There is a function served by stress in Japanese, however, and that is to indicate either **contrast** [*taihi-goosei*] or **emphasis** [*kyoochoo-goosei*]. The following examples are provided by Shibatani et al 1982:70ff]: Contrastive stress, ***taroo*** *wa konakatta* "**Taro** didn't come (but someone else did)"; Emphatic stress, *taroo wa hon o* ***gosatsu*** *mo katta* "Taro bought **five** books".

3.3.3.1. *PITCH*

Japanese is a pitch-accent language [Higurashi 1983, Haraguchi 1977, McCawley 1968a, 1968b], with the basic dichotomy between one of two levels of pitch: high and low. There are forms which are distinguished purely by pitch. In this it is important to recognize that there are dialectal variations such that the pitch patterns for Tokyo are often reversed [as in the Kansai area].

3.3.3.2. *DISTINCTIVE PITCH*

The following examples from the standard Tokyo dialect area illustrate how pitch differentiates lexical items. High pitch is indicated with boldface type.

ima	now	i***m***a	living room
hashi	chopsticks	h***a***shi	bridge
mushi	disregard	m***u***shi	insect
shiro	white	sh***i***ro	castle
tsuyu	dew	ts***u***yu	rainy season

3.3.3.3. *PITCH AND LEXICAL TYPE*

Pitch is distinctive for all parts of Japanese vocabulary. Japanese lexical items, when appearing alone, are divided into three accent groups: (1) rising type, (2) falling type, and (3) rising-falling type. For group (1), the first mora has low pitch and the second and subsequent mora have high pitch. Nouns which belong to this group fall into one of two subtypes, (a) those which extend the high pitch to following particles and (b) those which end their high pitch before a following particle. In the following examples, boldface indicates high pitch and plain italics indicates low pitch.

Group 1 (Rising):

oshieru "teach" ***mitsumori*** "be difficult"

Group 1a (Rising sustained):

hana ga "nose NM" ***hikaku ga*** "comparison NM"

Group 1b (Rising unsustained):

hana ga "flower NM" *haji ga* "shame NM"

Group 2 (Falling):

daisho "great and small" *uso* "lie"

Group 3 (Rising-Falling):

atsui "hot"	*kusabana* "flowering plant"
subarashii "wonderful"	*hayamaru* "be hasty, rash"

3.3.3.4. *PITCH AND DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE SAME WORD*

Pitch is used to distinguish morphologically different forms of the same word in conjunction with grammatical shifts in part of speech. This occurs in a limited way. In the change of an adjective to the adverbial (*-ku*) form, those adjectives which have two or three mora and which have a rising-falling accent pattern, generally shift the pitch to the first mora. For those rising-falling adjectives longer than three mora, the high pitch sequence typically ends on an earlier mora than the adjectival form. For those adjectives which have a falling pattern, there is no accent change.

ookii "big"	*ookiku*
takai "high"	*takaku*
hazukashii "embarrassed"	*hazukashiku*
tsumaranai "boring"	*tsumaranaku*
yoi "good"	*yoku*

Verbs with rising-falling pitch pattern which are also *-ru* verbs shift the pitch from the second mora to the first in the stem, the participial (*-te* form), the past, the conditional, and the representative.

yameru "get sick"	*yame* "stem"
yamete "participle"	*yameta* "past"
yametara "conditional"	*yametari* "representative"

Verbs with the falling pitch pattern shift the pitch from the first mora to the second in the presumptive, negative, causative, passive, and potential.

matsu "wait"	*matoo* "presumptive"
matanai "negative"	*mataseru* "causative"
matareru "passive"	*materu* "potential"

The verb *kuru* "come" is exceptional in that it has a falling pitch pattern but the participial, past, conditional, representative, presumptive, causative, passive, and potential all shift pitch from the first mora to the second.

kuru "come"	***kite*** "participle"
kita "past"	***kitara*** "conditional"
koyoo "presumptive"	***kosaseru*** "causative"
korareru "passive"	***korareru*** "potential"

Jorden 1963:363 sees this as part of a larger pattern such that if an accent would occur on the voiceless syllable of a verbal, it may shift to a neighboring voiced syllable.

furu "fall (of rain)"	***futte*** or ***futte*** "participle"
kiru "cut"	***kitte*** or ***kitte*** "participle"

3.3.3.5. *DISTINCTIVE PITCH TYPES WITHIN SYLLABLES*

Pitch is is either high or low for a given mora, as opposed to syllable. Since the relevant unit for suprasegmentals is the mora, this is all that will be discussed.

3.3.3.6. *TYPE OF SYLLABIC ELEMENT*

Pitch is not restricted in its occurrence to any particular type of syllabic element such as contour tone on long vowels.

3.3.3.7. *RESTRICTIONS DUE TO ADJACENT CONSONANTS*

There are no restrictions on pitch due to adjacent consonants.

3.3.3.8.1. *PITCH ON MONOSYLLABLES*

There are two possible patterns for monosyllabic words, although these do not appear until the word is placed in a context. The first pattern requires a drop in pitch on following postpositional particle, while the second pattern requires a rise on the particle. In the following example as well, high pitch is indicated with boldface type.

ji *ga* ***warui***.
letter NM bad
"[His] writing is bad."

ji ***ga warui.***
hemorrhoids NM bad
"[He] suffers from hemorrhoids."

3.3.3.8.2. *PITCH SEQUENCE*

3.3.3.8.2.1. *BISYLLABLES*

There are two possible patterns: falling or rising.

Falling:

ima now

hashi chopsticks

mushi disregard

tabi tabi (Japanese socks)

Rising:

ima living room

hashi bridge

mushi insect

tabi trip

3.3.3.8.2.2. *TRISYLLABLES*

There are three possible patterns: falling, rising, or rising-falling.

Falling:

irai since

tsubaki camellia

meishi distinguished person

Rising:

ichido once

koogi lecture

ashita tomorrow

Rising-falling

atsui hot

chikaku shortly

shikai dentist

3.3.3.8.2.3. *QUADRISYLLABLES*

For quadrisyllables as well, there are three patterns: falling, rising, and rising-falling. With respect to rising-falling, there are two possibilities: the fall may occur on the ultimate mora or on the penultimate mora.

Falling:

sentoo public bath

juubyoo ten seconds

kyuushuu Kyushu

Rising:

ichiban the most

hoosoo broadcast

matagiki second-hand information

Rising-falling (a):

koojoo factory

hansuru oppose

notautsu wriggle

Rising-falling (b):

kumabachi hornet

shudaika theme song of a motion picture

yaomote bear the brunt of criticism

3.3.3.9. *GENERAL PRINCIPLES*

There are two general principles which govern pitch sequences in polysyllabic words. First, the second mora has

a different pitch from the first. Second, a low pitch never occurs between two high pitches.

3.3.3.10. *INTERACTION OF TONE AND STRESS*

There is no significant interaction between tone and stress.

3.3.3.11. *DOWNDRIFT*

Downdrift is a phenomenon which occurs in context to force a pitch pattern to a lower pitch than would appear if the item had appeared in isolation, as a result of a previous item. Thus, while in isolation the Japanese pitch accent system may be described as consisting of high pitch (H) and low pitch (L), in context intermediate forms exist.

One type of downdrift is described by Haraguchi 1977. When an HL pattern follows a phrase whose last pitch is L, the complete HL pattern is lowered so that the H becomes as low as the L, and the L becomes even lower (L'). Diagrammatically, this may be represented as follows.

H L + H L ---> H L L L'

yoku + *kaku* ---> *yoku kaku*
often write
"write often"

If the second phrase starts with L, there is no pitch adjustment necessary. If H is in the second phrase, it is realized as M, and any subsequent L pitch is lowered to L'.

L H L + L H ---> L H L L M

ichido + *yaku* ---> *ichido yaku*
once burn
"burn once"

L H L + L H L ---> L H L L M L'

ichido + *tsukuru* ---> *ichido tsukuru*
once make
"make once"

Higurashi 1983 differentiates between two types of downdrift. One she identifies as a gradual lowering of L over a sequence of syllables as a result of sublaryngeal pressure within a phrase or breath group. The second she terms a phonologically controlled drop of pitch as a consequence of grammatical phenomena. The first type she relegates to the status of a "non-rule" since its operation is

not constrained by the grammar. The second type she terms fully grammatical. Her point in discussing this is that Haraguchi's lowered low pitch is a result of physiological forces rather than grammatical forces.

3.3.4.1. *MAJOR INTONATION PATTERNS*

Jorden 1963 has identified eight different intonation patterns of which six are relevant to our concerns. These constitute the major patterns. High pitch is again indicated with boldface type, while low pitch is indicated with simple italics.

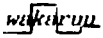
First, the intonation associated with statements, suggestions, rhetorical questions, and questions asked indirectly consists of the final syllable and all immediately preceding unaccented syllables being pronounced with low pitch. The final syllable, if it is not whispered, is lowest of all.

(1075) ***wakarimasen***-*deshita.*
understand-NEG-past
"[I] didn't understand."



Second, for questions in the familiar style, there is a rise in pitch on the final syllable. With this intonation pattern, the final syllable is never whispered. There is also usually a concomitant lengthening of the final syllable.

(1076) ***wakaru?***
understand
"Is [it] clear?"



Third, there is an intonation associated with friendliness and interest in the reaction of the person addressed. This consists of a slight rise on a sentence final particle. The final particle may start on either high or low pitch.

(1077) *wakarimashita ka?*
understood QU
"Did [you] understand?"



Fourth, for utterances which signal incompleteness, sustained intonation is used. The final syllable has neutral pitch, and it is usually lengthened. There is a gradual fading into silence.

(1078) *soo desu ga ...*
so COP but
"That's so but ... "

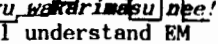
Fifth, in utterances designed to get attention, the final syllable starts high and has a slightly falling pitch. The articulation ends abruptly and there is no lengthening of the final syllable.

(1079) *ano-ne!*
say
"Say there!"



Sixth, for exclamatory utterances there is an intonation contour in which all pitch levels of the sequence become successively higher with each occurrence.

(1080) *yoku wakarimasu nee!*
well understand EM
"How well [you] understand!"



3.3.4.2. *INTONATION PEAK*

The relevant unit of analysis for intonation peak is the breath group. Within the breath group only one syllable retains its accentuation. All subsequent high pitched syllables lose their accentuation, as in (1081). The major exception to this is that nouns with rising pitch carry their high pitch through to subsequent words within the

breath group, as in (1082). The (a) sentences are separated into phrases, signalled by / /. The (b) sentences are put into breath groups. These are also separated by / /. High pitch is again indicated by boldface type. Examples are taken from Fujito et al 1979:98.

(1081a) */kinoo / ame ga / furimashita. /*
yesterday rain NM fell
"It rained yesterday."

(1081b) */kinoo / ame ga furimashita. /*

(1082a) */watakushi wa / eigo no / sensei / desu./*
I TP English LK teacher COP
"I am an English teacher."

(1082b) */watakushi wa / eigo no sensei desu. /*

3.3.4.3. *EMPHATIC INTONATION*

Japanese does have emphatic intonation [see 3.3.4.1].

3.3.4.4. *CONTRASTIVE STRESS*

Kuno 1973:47 demonstrates that noun phrases which precede contrastive *wa* have prominent intonation. It should be borne in mind, however, that the functional equivalent of contrastive stress is the particle *wa* [see 1.4.2]. Kuno's example (21d) illustrates this.

(1083) *oozei no hito wa paatei ni kimashita ga,*
many LK people TP party to came but
omoshiroi hito wa hitori-mo imasen-deshita.
interesting person TP one-even was-not
"Many people came to the party indeed, but there was none who was interesting."

3.3.4.5. *SUBTYPES OF INTONATION PATTERNS*

There are no relevant subtypes of intonation patterns with syntactic or semantic implications.

3.3.4.6. *INTERACTION OF INTONATION AND STRESS*

There are no relevant interactions of intonation and stress.

3.3.4.7. *EFFECT ON SEGMENTAL UNIT DUE TO INTONATION PEAK*

There are no effects on segmental units due to the position of the intonation peak or the type of intonation

contour.

3.4. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SEGMENTAL)

Morphophonemic statements may be stated in terms of "changes", where X changes into Y (X ----> Y) or in terms of "alternations", where X and Y alternate. From the perspective of this description, either way of stating the facts is equally valid, but I will without offering any justification choose the terminology reflecting "changes" rather than "alternations". The changes I illustrate in some cases have historical basis, but this is beyond the point of the description and will not be pursued.

3.4.1.1. *ASSIMILATORY PROCESSES*

With respect to the verb, the stem final consonant phonemes /m, n, b/ assimilate into syllabic /n/ before verbal endings which begin with /t/. There is a concomitant voicing of that /t/ to /d/ between voiced sounds. This may be illustrated for the past tense forms, with the understanding that the same process occurs for the participial, the conditional, and the representative endings.

/nom- + -ta/ ----> /nonda/ "drank"

/shin- + -ta/ ---> /shinda/ "died"

/yob- + -ta/ ----> /yonda/ "read"

/oyog- + -ta/ ---> /oyoida/ "swam"

Also within the verb paradigm, a stem whose final consonant is either /w-/ or /r-/ changes this to /-t-/ before verbal endings which begin with /t/.

/kaw- + -ta/ ----> /katta/ "bought"

/nar- + -ta/ ----> /natta/ "became"

Similarly, velars before this same /t/ in verbal endings palatalize to /i/. Recall that a voiced velar gives rise to a concomitant change from /t/ to /d/.

/kak- + -ta/ ---> /kaita/ "wrote"

/oyog- + -ta/ ---> /oyoida/ "swam"

There is a general process of gemination. When a mora containing a voiceless consonant followed by a high vowel (/i/ or /u/) precedes a voiceless consonant, there is a

strong, though not universal, tendency for the high vowel to drop, and for the voiceless consonant to assimilate to the following voiceless consonant. This may be illustrated with the numeral *ichi* "one", which for purposes of exposition will be written /iti/ [see, for justification, McCawley 1968a:115].

/iti + peeji/ ----> /ippeeji/ "page number one"

/iti + ko/ ----> /ikko/ "one thing"

/iti + sai/ ----> /issai/ "one year old"

/iti + too/ ----> /ittoo/ "one large animal"

Phonological variation may also be seen in the organization of sounds permissible in the language [the *gojuuon*]. Relevant changes are that /s/ changes to /š/ before /i/; /t/ changes to /č/ before /i/ and to /t^s/ before /u/; and /h/ changes to /ç/ before /i/ and to /ɸ/ before /u/.

There is another general type of phonological variation based on the organization of permissible sounds. This involves the process of changing word initial voiceless consonants into voiced when the word becomes the second half of a compound. This process does not always occur, and there are cases in which this process is optional.

kaisha "company"	*kabushikigaisha* "stock company"
sora "sky"	*oozora* "the skies"
take "bamboo"	*saodake* "bamboo pole"
hatake "field"	*toomorokoshibatake* "corn field"
ha "tooth"	*deppa* "protruding teeth"
hara "field"	*odawara* "place name"

Note in particular that /h/ changes into either /b/, /p/, or /w/. Obviously the concept of "voicing" used here depends not on phonological relationships but on correspondences based on the syllabary.

Vowel alternation occurs as well when certain words are combined to create compound nouns. There are three relevant correspondences: /e/ ~ /a/; /i/ ~ /o/; /o/ ~ /a/ [see Miller 1967:186-187].

sake "rice wine" *sakaya* "sake shop"

ki "tree" *kokage* "shade"

shiroi "white" *shiraga* "white hair"

3.4.1.2. *DISSIMILATION*

There is no dissimilation.

3.4.2. METATHESIS

There are no regular metathesis processes.

3.4.3. COALESCENCE AND SPLIT

There are no regular processes of coalescence and split beyond that explained above.

3.4.4.1. *DELETION PROCESSES*

Deletion processes are common and extensive. Such processes range from the omission of lexical items, including subjects, objects, and verbs to the omission of postpositional particles. In this section, only elements which are deleted as a result of phonological principles will be presented.

In breath group initial position, initial low pitch mora may be deleted in casual speech. This ranges from the deletion of words to the deletion of parts of words. Representative examples follow.

yappari ----> *'ppari* "as you might expect"

atashi ---> *'tashi* "I (female)"

soshitara ----> *'shitara* "if that's the case"

In unstressed position, frequently occurring formulaic expressions may lose much of their phonological content. In the following examples, I present the two ends of the scale: the entire expression as it is typically pronounced in careful speech, and the expression containing the maximum amount of deletions. Intermediate pronunciations exist in which not all of the phonological material is lost.

soo suru to ----> *s'to* "if that's the case"

tte iu no wa ---> *tte wa* "the one which"

Certain syllables, by convention, contract into other syllables in relaxed speech. Thus, *no* contracts to *n*, usually before a following dental, as does *ni*; *ru* contracts to *n*, usually before a following *n*; *te oku* and *de oku* contract to *toku* and *doku*, respectively; *te i* and *de i* in such constructions as *shite iru* "doing" or *shite iku* "do and go" regularly lose the *i*; *te shimau* contracts to *chau* while its voiced counterpart *de shimau* contracts to *jau*; *kereba* contracts to *kya*; the *w* in *wa* frequently "relaxes" to *y* and at times disappears completely. As may be seen by this admittedly incomplete listing of deletions and contractions, the items which undergo these processes, while frequently occurring in speech, are conventionalized.

3.4.4.2. *INSERTION PROCESSES*

Because Japanese is a CVCV language, any situation which calls for the positioning of two consonants next to one another (except for geminates) necessitates an inserted vowel. This may be seen in verbal inflection where, for instance, the most efficient analysis of verb stems postulates consonant endings (*yom-* therefore is the stem of *yomu* "read"). This form may never occur in this way because all words must end in a vowel. Thus, a euphonic *-i* is inserted.

Another way in which insertion processes may be realized is in the pronunciation, or writing, of loan words. In any word which contains a consonant cluster in the original language, a vowel will be inserted; similarly, any word which ends in a consonant will have a vowel inserted. Inserted vowels are indicated by boldface type.

kimuchi < Korean kimchi

sutoriito < English street

oorudomisu < English old miss (= old maid)

3.4.5. REDUPLICATION

See 2.1.1.8.1.

3.5. MORPHOPHONOLOGY (SUPRASEGMENTAL)

3.5.1.1. *STRESS CONSTANCY*

Stress is not indicated in Japanese.

3.5.2.1. *TONAL STRUCTURE OF THE STEM*

By tonal structure is meant pitch-accent. The pitch-

accent of a stem is not constant under the process of morphological change and compounding.

3.5.2.2. *TONAL STRUCTURE CHANGES*

3.5.2.2.1. *COMPOUND NOUNS*

The first area to be explored concerns the change in accentuation in nominal compounds. This area has been an arena for controversy, and the analysis presented here depends very heavily on Higurashi 1983:66ff. Alternative analyses of the same phenomena may be found in Martin 1975 and McCawley 1968a, 1968b. Broader issues of Japanese accentuation are also found in Haraguchi 1977, Hirayama 1957, Kindaichi 1952, and Shibatani 1972.

Nominal compounds consist of two elements, conventionally referred to as N_1 and N_2. It is generally agreed that in nominal compounds, regardless of the original pitch of N_1, the compound will not have high pitch on the first mora. Further, it is generally agreed that N_2 controls the accentuation of the entire compound in most cases.

If N_2 is accented on the final syllable, the compound will be unaccented (that is it will start with low pitch and all successive mora will have high pitch). Again, high pitch is indicated with boldface type and low pitch with plain italics. In this set of examples, (1084c) is unaccented.

(1084a)	***asa***	+	***furo***	--->	***asaburo***
	"morning"		"bath"		"morning-bath"
(1084b)	***fuyu***	+	***yama***	--->	***fuyuyama***
	"winter"		"mountain"		"winter-mountain"
(1084c)	***goma***	+	***shio***	--->	***goma*shio***
	"sesame"		"salt"		"sesame-salt"

If N_2 has initial accent, one of three results is possible. First, N_2 may be *preaccenting*, a term introduced by McCawley 1968a, meaning that the accent marker is placed on the syllable boundary and not on the syllable. An example of a preaccented lexical item is *ichi* "market" (symbolized here with an asterisk in front of it). When N_2 is preaccented, the accent pattern of the compound is identical to the accent of N_1. Put in slightly different terms, N_2 becomes all low pitch.

(1085a) *yasai* + *#ichi* ---> *yasaiichi*
"vegetable" "market" "vegetable-market"

(1085b) *setomono* + *#ichi* ---> *setomonoichi*
"ceramics" "market" "ceramic-market"

(1085c) *uma* + *#ichi* ---> *umaichi*
"horse" "market" "horse-market"

Second, if N_2 is accented on the initial syllable, the accent stays this way.

(1086a) *akane* + *sora* ---> *akanezora*
"red" "sky" "red-sky"

(1086b) *inaka* + *miso* ---> *inakamiso*
"country" "beanpaste" "country-beanpaste"

(1086c) *shinshuu* + *miso* ---> *shinshuumiso*
"Shinshu" "beanpaste" "Shinshu-beanpaste"

Third, in those formations which denote the color of N_2, N_2 has high pitch throughout.

(1087a) *shiro* + *miso* ---> *shiromiso*
"white" "beanpaste" "white-beanpaste"

(1087b) *aka* + *miso* ---> *akamiso*
"red" "beanpaste" "red-beanpaste"

If N_2 is unaccented, there are two possible outcomes. First, N_2 may be preaccenting in which case N_2 has both mora containing low pitch.

(1088) *asa* + *#kaze* ---> *asakaze*
"morning" "wind" "morning-wind"

Second, N_2 may be deaccenting in which case the accent pattern of N_1. The form *ten* "point" is deaccenting.

(1089a) *heikin* + *ten* ---> *heikinten*
"average" "point" "average-point"

(1089b) *hyaku* + *ten* ---> *hyakuten*
"100" "point" "full-score"

(1089c) *nihyaku* + *ten* ---> *nihyakuten*
"200" "point" "200-points"

(1089d) *kutoo* + *ten* ---> *kutooten*
"reading" "point" "comma, period"

In the case that N_2 is one mora in length, there are two possible outcomes. First, if N_2 is preaccenting, N_2 has low pitch [see Higurashi 1983:69 for apparent exceptions].

(1090) *asa* + *yu* ·····> *asayu*
"morning" "hot-water" "morning-bath"

Second, if N_2 is deaccenting, it has high pitch.

(1091) *fuyu* + *ke* ---> *fuyuge*
"winter" "hair" "winter-coat"

If N_2 has three mora, regardless of the accentuation of N_1, the first mora of N_2 receives high pitch and the succeeding mora receive low; The first mora of N_1 receives low pitch, and all succeeding mora of N_1 receive high.

(1092a) *ha* + *migaki* ---> *hamigaki*
"tooth" "polish" "tooth-paste"

(1092b) *shokugyoo* + *fujin* ---> *shokugyoofujin*
"work" "women" "women with jobs"

(1092c) *inaka* + *musume* ---> *inakamusume*
"country" "girl" "country-girl"

(1092d) *noogyoo* + *kumiai* ---> *noogyookumiai*
"agriculture" "union" "agricultural-union"

(1092e) *chuuka* + *ryoori* ---> *chuukaryoori*
"China" "cooking" "Chinese-cooking"

(1092f) *joodan* + *hanbun* ---> *joodanhanbun*
"joke" "half" "half-joking"

(1092g) *eigyoo* + *kachoo* ---> *eigyookachoo*
"sales" "head" "head of sales section"

With respect to loan words, one modification is necessary. As a preliminary remark, it must be pointed out that some loan words, *sotee* "saute", *karee* "curry", *koohii* "coffee" act exactly like native words when they are N_2. That is, the accent shifts to the first mora.

(1093) *chikin* + *karee* ---> *chikinkaree*
"chicken" "curry" "chicken-curry"

Other loan words act differently. Examples are *kuriimu* "cream", *konkuuru* "concours (French)", the accent of N_2 becomes the accent of the compound.

(1094a) *sukin* + *kuriimu* ---> *sukinkuriimu*
"skin" "cream" "skin-cream"

(1094b) *bijin* + *konkuuru* ---> *bijinkonkuuru*
"beauty" "concours" "beauty-contest"

3.5.2.2.2. *HONORIFIC PREFIXES*

It is possible to add an *honorific prefix* to some nouns in order to make these nouns more polite or to show respect to someone. The most common prefixes are *o-* and *go-*, with *o-* frequently attaching to native words and *go-* attaching to Sino-Japanese words (those words borrowed originally from China). There are two accent patterns: the derived noun is either accented on the second mora or it is unaccented. Thus, if a noun is accented on the initial mora, it retains that accent; if it is accented on any mora other than the first, it is deaccented (that is, low pitch on the first mora and high on every other) [see Higurashi 1983:50ff for details].

(1095a) *cha* ---> *ocha*
"tea"

(1095b) *hashi* ---> *ohashi*
"chopsticks"

(1095c) *kome* ---> *okome*
"rice"

(1095d) *rikai* ---> *gorikai*
"understanding"

(1095e) *kokoro* ---> *okokoro*
"heart"

(1095f) *kigen* ---> *gokigen*
"feeling"

(1095g) *aisatsu* ---> *goaisatsu*
"greetings"

(1095h) *aisoo* ---> *oaisoo*
"friendliness"

(i) *shoogatsu* ---> *oshoogatsu*
"New Year"

4. IDEOPHONES AND INTERJECTIONS

4.1. IDEOPHONES

Japanese has a rich store of ideophones, termed *giseigo*. There are a large number of dictionaries which list these onomatopoeic expressions, and the major dictionaries list in excess of 1000 terms.

These ideophones may be classified into four general semantic types: phonomimes [*giseigo* and *giongo*], which imitate human and animal sounds, and sounds in general, respectively; phenomimes [*gitaigo*], which describe the manner or look of a situation; and psychomimes [*gijoogo*], which express internal feelings.

Onomatopoeic expressions in Japanese may be categorized by phonological shape or by meaning. Herlofsky 1981 has successfully demonstrated that there are also ways to relate sound to meaning in these expressions.

Kindaichi 1966 classifies onomatopoeic expressions into one of eighteen structural categories, determined by the phonological shape of the expression in question. The following summary of Kindaichi's categories is adapted from Herlofsky 1981:22ff.

Table 46

Forms		Example
1.	One syllable words	*fu* "sudden"
2.	One syllable stem + *i, n,* or *Q*	*pui* "abruptly"
		pon "bang"
		kyuQ "squeak"
3.	Two syllable words	*gaba* "sudden"
		pita "exact"
4.	One syllable stem + two of the	*boin* "boing"
	following: *i, u, n, Q*	*pouQ* "stunned"
5.	Two syllable stem + *Q*	*goroQ* "easily"
		basaQ "sound of a clean cut"

6.	Two syllable stem + *n*	*kachin* "metallic click"
7.	Two syllable stem + *ri*	*gururi* "completely"
8.	Three syllable words	*pikari* "flash"
9.	Two syllable separated by *n* or *Q*	*zanbu* "splash"
		hasshi "quick"
10.	First and second syllable of	*anguri* "agape"
	#7 separated by *n* or *Q*	*gakkuri* "suddenly"
11.	Repetition of two syllable word	*karakara* "dry"
12.	Repetition of similar sounds in	*atafuta* "hastily"
	four syllable groups	*kasakoso* "tinkle"
13.	Combinations of two syllable	*gatapishi* "rattling"
	words with no similarities	
14.	Two syllable stem + *rin* or *riQ*	*kororin* "roll/stop"
		kuririQ "round"
15.	Five syllable words	*kororinko* "rolling movement"
16.	Reduplication of #7, #8, #9	*gudenguden* "drunk"
		kororikorori "quickly"
17.	One syllable differences in	*norarikurari* "lazily"
	words like #16	
18.	Six syllable words	*kokekokkoo* "cock-a-doodle-doo"

Herlofsky 1981 generalizes these qualities in a survey of more than 900 separate items. He finds that 97% of the words in his survey exhibit at least one of four structural characteristics. These are reduplication, presence of *Q*, presence of *ri*, or presence of *n*. He further points out that if partial duplication is considered, only 4 words out of 900 do not conform to these characteristics.

Herlofsky 1981:30ff carries this analysis one step further, and presents a very convincing case to demonstrate that each of these structural characteristics may be associated with specific meanings. These are presented in Table 47.

Table 47

Reduplication	- indicates repetition of an act, sound, state, or can be used to indicate continuation or increase in intensity, quantity, scope, volume, etc.
Q	- at the end of a word can indicate a short period of time, something instantaneous or the state of being about to do something. In the middle of a word it adds emphasis or intensifies the meaning of a word.
n	- indicates a gradual fading away of an action, sound, or condition, as opposed to the suddenness of *Q*. Because of the gradual fading away it can indicate a blurring of boundaries, again, opposed to the clarity and sharpness of *Q*.
ri	- indicates a stopping, not as sudden as *Q*, but not as gradual as *n*. Also indicates a closeness or completeness. Followed by *n* at the end of a word, it is often used to indicate smallness, as for small metallic sounds.

Herlofsky 1981:31ff also identifies what he terms "isotopes", or meanings associated with specific sounds. He identifies nine, presented in Table 48.

Table 48

Sound	Meaning
1. back vowels/voiced consonants	LARGE: loud, big, slow, dull, heavy, dark, gloomy, bulky, awkward, dirty, long in duration, sad, confused, low-pitched, roaring, loose, rough

2.	front vowels/voiceless	LITTLE: small, quiet, gentle, quick, sudden, bright, glitter, short duration, tight, agile, pretty, sharp, happy, clear, light
3.	alveolar/velar stops	HARD: hard objects
4.	fricatives/affricates	WET: wetness, moisture
5.	labials	ROUND: round shapes, bubble-like things, explosion-like popping
6.	palatalized sounds/ fricatives/affricates	MOBILE: movement, motion
7.	fricatives/affricates/ labials	TENSE: tenseness, nervous stops (excluding psychological states)
8.	nasals	SOFT: softness, laxness

I now present a list of 276 items with definitions, arranged according to the *gojuuon*. No attempt is made to analyze these elements further. It should be kept in mind that any such list as this will contain a number of items which are idiosyncratic, since onomatopoeic expressions in Japanese are created easily on the spur of the moment.

aan	open mouth, wide open, wide open mouth
appuappu	gasp for breath, very troubled state
isoiso	cheerfully, joyously, lightheartedly
uoon	kind of sound made by animal, or echo of voice in empty room
ujiuji	bashful, hesitating
ukkari	carelessly, thoughtlessly, inadvertently, unconsciously
utsurautsura	drowsy, dozing
uhauha	uncluttered, idle, daydreaming type or state
uraura	warm, comfortable rays of the sun

uwaan	crying with a loud voice, or echoing voice of a crowd
etchiraotchira	laboriously, with great effort
otaota	perplexing, depressed state, bewildered, passive
odoodo	timidly, nervously, shyly
gaagaa	croak, quack, squawk
gaan	sound of metal hitting something hard; a strong blow to the head or psychological blow or shock
gakun	with a jerk, suddenly
kasakoso	sound made by lightly hitting a thin hard object
gashaQ	sound the instant a thin light object breaks
katakata	clatter, clack, rattle
gataQ	sound of wood hitting something hard; suddenly falling down
gachigachi	busily, chattering
gachagacha	clattering, rattling, noisily
gachan(gachan)	clanging, jingling, rattling, cracking
kakkaQ	brightly, briskly, cheerfully
kakkiri	exactly, just, precisely, punctually
gatchiri	hard, solid, shrewd
gatsuQ	hard, angular, heavy
kappokappo	sound of a horse shoe hitting pavement
gabagaba	a lot (of money) coming in
gabugabu	guzzle, drink in big gulps
gamigami	snappishly, shrewishly

garagara	noisily, boisterously, clamorously
garagara	clattering, rattling; empty; frank, open
karari	clear, crisp
gizagiza	rough, notched, indented
gikkongikkon	jolt, joggle
karikari	crisp, crunchy
gangan	ding-dong, ringing
gikugiku	extremely angular and crooked; revolving motion
gishigishi	creaking noise, grazing sound
kichikichi	crowded, packed; regular, punctual
kichinkichin	things continue on repetitiously exactly according to rules
gisshiri	closely, tightly, compactly, fully
kippari	clearly, explicitly, distinctly, plainly
gyaagyaa	harshly scream, squawk
kyankyan	yap, yip, yelp
girari	with a flash
kyuQ	creak, squeak, a long (drink), squeeze, tighten
gyoQ	startled, shocked, surprised
kyorokyoro	stare around, look around (restlessly)
gyorogyoro	with wide open eyes
giragira	glitter, glare, dazzle
girigiri	grind, gnash (teeth); to the limit, close to the edge
guuguu	zzz, loud snore
kushakusha	feel bad, depressed, rotten

gushagusha	drenched, soppy, out of shape
kusukusu	titter, giggle, chuckle, snicker
guzuguzu	slowly, lazily, sluggishly
kuchakucha	crumpled, soft; (chew) loudly
kukkiri	distinctly, clearly, remarkably
gussuri	fast, soundly (asleep)
kudokudo	at great length, tediously, harp on
gunnari	flaccid, pulpy, limp
kuyokuyo	worry, fret, brood
kurikuri	close cropped (hair), wide-open (eyes)
guruguru	round and round in circles
gungun	steadily, rapidly, vigorously, quickly
getageta	wide open, loose mouth; (careless) laugh
kerakera	cackle
gerogero	vomit out the contents of stomach
goon	boom, peel of bell
kokekokkoo	cock-a-doodle-doo
kosekose	fidgeting, restless, fussy; cramped
kochikochi	tick-tock; dry and hard; stubborn and bigoted
kochokocho	move around in small quick movements
kokkurikokkuri	nod in a doze
kossori	stealthily, quietly, secretly, privately
kotekote	plentiful, abundant, profuse, thick
kotokoto	pitter-patter, rap, knock

goboQ	sound of sucking water in or of air gushing out of water
gohongohon	cough, hack
gorigori	sound of continually scratching something
gowagowa	stiff, starchy
zauzaa	torrential, streaming (rain)
sakusaku	crisp, crunchy
sassa	quickly, speedily, hastily
zabuzabu	splashing, splish-splash
sarasara	rustling, gurgling, murmuring; smoothly; dry
zawazawa	noisy, rustle, a commotion
jiijii	sound of locust; sound of oil burning; sound of electrical appliances
shikushiku	sobbing, gripping (pain)
shikoshiko	feeling of chewing something that is elastic and stiff or hard to chew
shikkuri	exactly, like a glove, to a T
shittori	gently, softly, quietly; wet, dampish, moist
shitoshito	gently, softly; damp, moist
jimejime	damp, wet, clammy, humid; melancholy
jakajaka	sound of loud, casual, and crude playing of musical instrument
shanarishanari	graceful, affected
jarijari	crunchy, grainy feeling
shuushuu	hiss, sizzle, whoosh, piping (hot)
shusshu(Q)	chug-chug, puff-puff

shonbori	dejected, despondent
jirojiro	look hard at, scrutinize
jiwajiwa	gradually, slowly, steadily with sharp, keen eyes
shinnari	pliant, flexible
suisui	lightly, quietly
zukazuka	direct, straight, unhesitating
sukusuku	grow rapidly
sugosugo	dejected, dispirited
zusshiri	heavy, important; feeling the weight of something
sutasuta	briskly, crisply (walk)
sukkari	all, quite, utterly, completely, entirely
surari	slender, slim
zuppori	condition of using a lot of liquid
supasupa	puff repeatedly, spend money recklessly
subesube	smooth, sleek, velvety
surasura	smoothly, easily, fluently
surusuru	smoothly, easily
suresure	close (to), barely, just
sunnari	(win) easily, without trouble
sekaseka	be restless, fidgety
zokuzoku	feel chilled, cold shiver
zoQ	shudder in fear, chilled
zokkon	deeply (in love), completely
charancharan	jingle-jangle

chirinchirin	ting-a-ling, jingle-jangle; cricket noise
zorori	fashionable, flashy
dokudoku	profuse, copious, flowing
tappuri	full, good, solid, enough
taratara	drop by drop; dribbling
darari	loose, dangling, limp
chikuchiku	prickly, tingle, itchy, irritating
chibichibi	little by little, bit by bit
chakichaki	true, pure, genuine; small (cuts), snip, clip
charachara	jingling
chuuchuu	twitter, chirp, squeak
tsuntenshan	twang of samisen
chokichoki	snip, sound of cutting
chokoQ	scanty amount of time, quantity, extent
choppiri	a little, a bit
chorochoro	trickle, ripple; dart about; murmuring sound
chirichiri	tinkle, tingling, clink (small metallic sound)
chinchirorin	chirp of a cricket
tsukatsuka	straight, direct, blunt, without ceremony
tsuyatsuya	glossy, bright
tsuntsun	prim, stuck-up, sulky; spicy
dosun	thump, bump
tekuteku	plodding (walk)

teratera	shiny, bright, glossy, lustrous
doodoo	roaring sound, thunderous
dokan	bang, thump
tokutoku	sound of liquid spurting from a narrow opening
dosaQ	thud, flop
doshidoshi	rapidly, one after another; in large numbers; continually
dotadota	thump, bump
dokkari	plump, heavily, with a thud
dossari	very many, ever so many
doppuri	completely, entirely, utterly
dodoQ	roaring sound, stamping sound
dobon	sound of heavy body plunging into water
torotoro	slowly
tonton	knock, rap, tap-tap
donyori	leaden, dull, dim, milky, thick
nikoniko	smiling, beaming
nichanicha	sticky, viscous, slimy, greasy
niyaniya	grinning, simpering, smirk
nechanecha	gummy, greasy, gooey
nyoronyoro	wiggle, squirm
nukenuke	nonchalant, impudent, unashamed
nuranura	slimy, clammy, slippery, greasy
netoneto	sticky, clammy
nokonoko	shameless, nonchalant
nosshinosshi	(walk) with heavy steps

norarikurari	idle, lazy; slippery, slimy
nonbiri	comfortable, relieved, feel at ease
pnaQ	suddenly become empty; weak headed; cancel, broke
bakaQ	open up big, or separate
pakapaka	clop-clop (of horse hoofs)
pachapacha	with splashes
pakupaku	grasping sound, noisy, quick eating
pasapasu	dry; loose (hair)
hatahata	fluttering
batabata	flapping, rattling, clattering; quick, hurry-scurry; rapid succession
patapata	pattering, clattering, flapping
bachabacha	splash
paQ	suddenly, rapidly, alertly
bassari	all at once, vigorously cutting or deciding
battari	with a clash, thud; bang, flop; suddenly, abruptly
hahhaQ	sound of short quick emission of breath; short quick laughter
barabara	scatter, pattering, untidy
baribari	crunch, tear; work very hard
banban	sound of bullet shots; say or do something without reserve
piipii	peep, bleep; be badly off
pikapika	glitter, sparkle, flash, shine, twinkle
bikubiku	nervously, timidly, gingerly

hishihishi	firmly, tightly, thin and fast
bishobisho	sound of rain falling; completely soaked
pitaQ	exactly, to a T
pichipichi	sprightly, lively, spirited
byun	ping, zing, zip
birabira	flittering, flapping
bisshiri	closely
hiyaQ	feel cold; feel danger or fear
pyuupyuu	whistling sound of the wind
hyoihyoi	at times; lightly, nimbly
hiyohiyo	cry of a chick
hirahira	fluttering, flapping
biribiri	sound of tearing or ripping
hinhin	neigh of a horse
pinpin	lively, animated; sound of leaping, flipping
binbin	big strong resounding sound
fuufuu	puff and pant, gasp for breath
fukafuka	soft, flexible, fluffy
pukapuka	with puffs; lightly buoyant
bukabuka	baggy (trousers)
busubusu	sputtering
futtsuri	break with a snap; stop doing
butsubutsu	simmer; pimples; grumbling
funyafunya	limpness, flabby; twang (speech)
buyobuyo	flabby, tender, spongy

furafura	dizzy, unsteady; unconscious, unaware
puripuri	smell strongly; angrily, huffily
buwabuwa	flap
funfun	sniffle
bunbun	humming, buzzing, drone
punpun	have a strong smell; angry mood
pekopeko	bow and scrape, kowtow, cringe; be empty, hungry
hetaheta	weakly
betabeta	all over, everywhere; soft and sticky; thick; flirt
petapeta	slap repeatedly; be sticky
pechapecha	chatter, babble
betobeto	sticky and soft
herahera	embarrassed or meaningless laugh; talk lightly about something
perapera	fluently; thin, skinny
berabera	talk a lot, babble, jabber; thin, flimsy, filmy
berobero	lick with tongue; being very drunk
poipoi	throw away without regret
bochin	a little bit
bochan	with a splash, plop
booboo	thick; unkempt
pokapoka	be warm
hokuhoku	be pleased with oneself; good (food)
bokoboko	hollow sound

bosoQ	idly, blankly, vacantly; whispering voice
pochipochi	a dot, jot; little by little; here and there
pokkari	lightly, like fleece; gaping (open)
potchiri	a little, bit
botsubotsu	dots, spots; little by little; slowly
pon	pop, plop, plink
potsupotsu	in drops; here and there; little by little
botoboto	dripping, in drops
boribori	munch, crunch, scratch
boroboro	ragged, tattered; in pieces, drops
bonyari	blankly, vacantly; careless, listless; idly; weak, faint
magomago	perturbed, confused, embarrassed, baffled; loitering
majimaji	look full in the face; unblinking
mukamuka	feel sick, nauseous; disgusted; angry
mushamusha	munch, greedy
muzumuzu	itch, creepy, crawly; impatient; anxious
mutchiri	plump
munyamunya	mumble
mekimeki	more and more, perceptibly, rapidly
mesomeso	sloppy, whimper
mekkiri	considerably, remarkably
mokumoku	volumes, columns of smoke
mojimoji	restless, uneasy, fidget

moyamoya	mist, fog, murky
yanwari	softly, gently, mildly, quietly
yusayusa	sway, shake, quake
yuttari	make oneself comfortable; calmly, leisurely
yoboyobo	unsteadily, tottering
rinrin	single; ring
waawaa	(weep) noisily, shout
wasawasa	not settled down, roaming around
wansa	in great numbers
wanwan	bow-wow, sound of a dog

4.2. INTERJECTIONS

Martin 1975:1041ff discusses a group of words which are used to express the speaker's emotional reaction, to call attention, to respond to a question, a command, or a social transaction, and to hold the floor when fluency fails. This group Martin terms interjections or interjectional phrases. There are specific phonological features which differentiate certain of these words and expressions from the rest of Japanese vocabulary. First, these items are frequently set off from the rest of the utterance in which they appear by some type of major juncture. In the following examples, these forms have been surrounded by "#".

(1096) *nn, sore-de, sugoku #maa# #nanka# #anoo#*
un and very well like uh
watashi ni hanashikakete-kurete
me to start-talk-give-me
"Yeah, well, uh, [they] strike up conversations with me, and ... "

(1097) *kyoo wa #sa#, iisuto-uesuto sentaa ga #nee#,*
today TP EM East-West Center NM EM
shiroku mieru to omowanai?
white be-seen QT think-NEG
"Say, don't [you] think the East-West Center looks white today?"

(1098) *hijoo-ni negachibu na, #nante iu ka na#,*
very negative LK what-say
kangae shika omoitsukimasen kedo #ne#,
thought except recall-NEG but EM
#sonoo# chuugaku kookoo no koro o kangaete mite,
uh jr-high high LK time AC think try
#sonoo#, kyooshitsu de naratta eigo tte iu
uh classroom at learned English QT say
koto ni-kanshite #ne#, hitori, #moo# #ne#,
fact about EM one already EM
hitori no sensei no koto ...
one LK teacher LK fact
"[I] only have some very negative thoughts, but, uh, looking back at when I was in junior and senior high, the English I learned in the classroom, I can easily think of one teacher ... "

(1099) *#anoo#, boku wa, #anoo#, iwasaki-san no #ne#,*
uh I TP uh Iwasaki Mr LK EM
#sonoo#, eigo o hanasu chikara tte no ga
uh English AC speak strength QT NOM NM
aru to omou n de ...
be QT think NOM COP
"Uh, I think, uh, you [= Mr Iwasaki] have a good command of English, and so ... "

A second distinctive feature of such interjections is that they frequently, though not always, end in a glottal catch [signified by *Q*]. This was presented in Section 4.1 with respect to ideophones.

(1100) *saikin, #horaQ#, ame futte-nai deshoo.*
recently look rain fall-NEG presumptive
"Look, it hasn't rained recently, has it."

(1101) *soshitara #saQ#, koko o #saQ# toreba ii*
so EM here AC EM take-if good
to omowanai?
QT think-NEG
"So, don't [you] think it'll work if [you] take it off here?"

The list of interjections below is not complete. These forms are limited in number, but they are used with great frequency in conversational interaction [see Hinds 1974b, Martin 1975 for more examples].

aa, aQ my goodness

oo, oQ oh

maa, yaQ	well
ara, araQ	my goodness
oya, oyaQ	my goodness
kora	hey
hora	look
oi	hey
haa, hai, haiQ	yes
hee, heQ	yes
yoshi	good
un, fun	yes
iya	no
masaka	foolish
bakayaroo, konoyaroo	damn
kuso, (kon)chikushoo	shit
eeto	let me see
nan te iu ka (na)	what should I say
maa, ma, maQ	well
saa, sa, saQ	emphasis
shimatta, yarareta	damn
konoo, sonoo, anoo	hesitation
koo, soo, aa	hesitation
soo	I agree
ano ne	say, excuse me
chotto	just a minute
yoisho, yoishoQ	heave-ho

5. LEXICON

5.1. STRUCTURED SEMANTIC FIELDS

5.1.1. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Japanese referential and address kinship terminology may be differentiated. Referential kinship terms follow relatively common organizational parameters, with the major complication in the sphere of ingroup and outgroup distinctions. Although there are additional complications when a third person's kin are being referred to, the basic dichotomy is between humble forms, used for ingroup (=first person), and elegant forms, used for outgroup (=second person). The complications for third person arise as a result of individual preferences in characterizing that person as an ingroup member or not [see, among others, Miller 1967:275ff].

There are no distinctions between blood relatives and partial blood relatives. Adoption of males by families with no male heir is still fairly common, and a special name for that child (*yooshi*) exists. Females are also adopted, and are called *yoojo*. Such adoptions involve either children or adults, and it is not unusual for a woman's family to adopt her prospective husband. Once the adoption is completed, there is no special terminology to distinguish an adopted child from a natural child.

Relatives by marriage are legally indicated, when necessary, by the expression *giri-no* "legal". Thus, *giri-no ani* "my (elder) brother-in-law", *giri-no haha* "my mother-in-law", etc. Equally common is the practice of referring to the spouse's relatives by a geographical descriptor. Thus, if a man's wife's relatives live in Hirakata City, they will be referred to as *hirakata-no haha* "my mother from Hirakata", *hirakata-no ani* my (elder) brother from Hirakata", etc. The terms used for husband and wife, while indicating legal rather than blood ties, are included in the list of terms for blood relatives.

The following list contains the major kinship terms used in contemporary Japanese society. They are separated according to ingroup and outgroup considerations.

English term	Definition	Ingroup term	Outgroup term
husband	Hu	*otto, danna, shujin*	*goshujin/ dannasama*
wife	Wi	*kanai/tsuma/ waifu*	*okusan*

grandfather	FaFa, MoFa	*sofu*	*ojiisan*
grandmother	FaMo, MoMo	*sobo*	*obaasan*
father	Fa	*chichi*	*otoosan*
mother	Mo	*haha*	*okaasan*
brother	El Br	*ani*	*oniisan*
sister	El Si	*ane*	*oneesan*
brother	Yo Br	*otooto*	*otootosan*
sister	Yo Si	*imooto*	*(o)imootosan*
son	So	*musuko*	*musukosan/ botchan*
daughter	Da	*musume*	*musumesan/ ojoosan*
uncle	FaBr, MoBr, FaFaBrSo, MoFaBrSo, etc	*oji*	*ojisan*
aunt	FaSi, MoSi, FaFaBrDa, MoFaBrDa, etc	*oba*	*obasan*
cousin	FaBrSo, MoSiDa, FaFaBrSo, etc	*itoko*	*oitokosan*
nephew	BrSo, SiSo	*oi*	*oigosan*
niece	BrDa, SiDa	*mei*	*meigosan*
grandchild	SoSo, SoDa, DaSo, DaDa	*mago*	*omagosan*

[Hu = husband, Wi = wife, Fa = father, Mo = mother, El = elder, Yo = younger, Br = brother, Si = sister, So = son, Da = daughter]

Kinship terms of address are used to elder relatives. In this case, the outgroup term is used:

English term	Address term
grandfather	*ojiisan*
grandmother	*obaasan*
father	*otoosan*
mother	*okaasan*
elder brother	*oniisan*
elder sister	*oneesan*
uncle	*ojisan*
aunt	*obasan*

A number of these terms have more general uses. The most general use is to refer to or address a stranger. The following list indicates which of these terms is used, and a description of the referent is provided.

dannasan	A male filling the role of a husband.
okusan	A female filling the role of a wife.
otoosan	A male filling the role of a young person's father.
okaasan	A female filling the role of a young person's mother.
ojiisan	An older man.
obaasan	An older woman.
ojisan	A man roughly between the ages of 25 and 60, or the male parent of an acquaintance.
obasan	A woman roughly between the ages of 25 and 60, or the female parent of an acquaintance.
oniisan	A man slightly older than oneself.
oneesan	A woman slightly older than oneself.
botchan	A young boy.
ojoosan	A young girl.

5.1.2. COLOR TERMINOLOGY

Considerable research has been conducted into the concept of color terminology [see in particular Berlin and Kay 1969]. Their finding is that **basic color terms** are not arbitrary across languages. All languages chose their basic color terms from among eleven color names: *black, white, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange,* and *gray*. Furthermore, these eleven basic color terms form a hierarchy in that some languages, like English, use all eleven, while others use as few as two. When a language has only two terms, these terms are *black* and *white*. If a language has three terms, they are black, white, and *red*. One of three terms may be selected for a fourth term: *yellow, green,* or *blue*. For languages with five or six basic color terms, these six form the basis for selection. The seventh term is *brown*, and then *purple, pink, orange,* or *gray* forms the next. We will examine Japanese color terms from this perspective.

Basic color terms have four properties. First, they must consist of only one morpheme. Second, the term must not be contained within another color. Third, the term must not be restricted to a small number of objects. Fourth, it must be common and generally known.

Japanese equivalents for the eleven basic terms are provided below.

black	*kuro*	
white	*shiro*	
red	*aka*	
yellow	*kiiro*	
green	*midori, ao*	
blue	*ao*	
brown	*chairo*	[tea + color]
purple	*murasaki*	
pink	*momoiro*	[peach + color]
orange	*daidaiiro*	[bitter orange + color]
gray	*haiiro*	[ash + color]

From this list a number of interesting observations may be made, some of which cast doubt on the universality of the

hierarchy proposed by Berlin and Kay [Berlin and Kay 1969:42-43 suggest this themselves]. First, whereas the first three terms are basic color terms, the fourth, *kiiro*, consists of two morphemes (*ki* "yellow" plus *iro* "color"). The fact that the main morpheme is a basic color term vitiates this criticism at least in part. Second, the range of *ao* "blue" extends to cover both "blue" and "green". Third, although *chairo* "brown" is clearly a nonbasic color term, consisting as it does of *cha* "tea" plus *iro* "color", it is followed by the term *murasaki* "purple", a basic color term. Fourth, for the term *haiiro* ("ash" plus "color"), an alternate *nezumiiro* ("mouse" plus "color") is equally common. Fifth, loan words from English are substitutable for every single color on the list. While many of these English loan words have semantic restrictions (*burakku* "black", for instance, most commonly refers to coffee without cream), several have become more common than the native Japanese term (*pinku* "pink" and *orenji(iro)* are in this category). Several other English terms have gained currency although the native item is still more unmarked (*guriin*, *buruu*, *paapuru*, and *guree* fit here). While it is true there is either a difference in the range of colors referred to by such competing forms, or a difference in the scope of objects described by such competing forms [see Hinds 1974a], the state of Japanese color terminology is in disarray.

5.1.3. BODY PARTS

Where alternative Japanese words are separated by /, these are competing terms for the same body part. Differences in nuance, if relevant, are indicated.

abdomen	*hara/i/onaka*
Adam's apple	*nodobotoke*
ankle	*ashikubi*
anus	*koomon*
arm	*ude*
armpit	*waki*
artery	*doomyaku*
back	*senaka*
backbone	*sebone*
beard	*hige*

belly	(see abdomen)
biceps	*nitookin*
bladder	*bookoo*
blood	*chi*
body	*karada*
bone	*hone*
breast, chest	*mune*
breast, woman	*chichi*
breath	*iki*
buttocks	*shiri*
calf	*fukurahagi/komura*
cheek	*hoo*
chest	(see breast)
chin	*ago*
clavicle	*sakotsu*
ear	*mimi*
ear-lobe	*mimitabu*
elbow	*hiji*
eye	*me*
eyeball	*gankyuu*
eyebrow	*mayu(ge)*
eyelash	*matsuge*
eyelid	*mabuta*
face	*kao*
finger	*yubi*

fingernail	*tsume*
fingertip	*yubisaki*
flesh	*hifu*
foot	(see leg)
foot-sole	*ashi no koo*
forearm	*maeude/zenwan*
forehead	*hitai*
gums	*haguki*
guts	*shookakan*
hair	*ke*
hand	*te*
head	*atama*
heart	*shinzoo/kokoro*
heel	*kakato*
knee	*hiza*
knuckle	*shikansetsu*
leg	*ashi*
liver	*kanzoo*
lung	*hai*
mouth	*kuchi*
neck	*kubi*
nose	*hana*
palm of hand	*tenohira*
penis	*inkei*
ribs	*rokkotsu*
scrotum	*innoo*

shin	*mukoozune*
shoulder	*kata*
skin	(see flesh)
sweat	*ase*
testicles	(see scrotum)
thigh	*momo*
throat	*nodo*
thumb	*oyayubi*
toe	*ashi no yubi*
toenail	*ashi no tsume*
tongue	*shita*
trunk	(see body)
umbilicus	*heso*
urine	*shooben*
vagina	*chitsu*
vein	*joomyaku*
waist	*koshi*
wrist	*tekubi*

5.1.4. COOKING TERMINOLOGY

Japanese cooking frequently consists of noncooked items. Raw fish is the most widely known. The following list of items therefore contains many terms which relate to food preparation, but not necessarily to cooking.

abura	oil
aburakiri	oil drainer
aburage	deep-fried bean curd
aemono	mixed foods in dressing

agedoofu	fried tofu
agemono	fried foods
ageru	fry
aji	horse mackerel
aji-no-moto	mono-sodium glutimate
akadashi	red soybean paste soup
akamiso	red soybean paste
akunuki	soaking in water or acidic solution bath
amishakushi	scoop of fine wire mesh to skim batter from oil
aonoriko	powdered green seaweed
an	sweet bean paste
arai	fish fillet washing technique
araregiri	dicing
awabi	abolone
ayu	sweet fish
azuki	red beans
baikagiri	cutting into plum blossom shape
bancha	cheap tea for evenings
batayaki	food grilled in butter
bentoo	lunch or picnic box
betajio	salt covered
botanwan	clear soup with sea bass, vegetables, and lime
buri	adult yellow tail
butaniku	pork

buta shooga yaki	fried pork and ginger
cha	green tea
chakin	linen tea cloth
chakinzushi	tea square sushi
chameshi	rice cooked with other ingredients
chasen	bamboo whisk
chashaku	bamboo teaspoon
chawan	tea bowl
chawan mushi	food steamed in egg custard
chazuke	rice soaked in tea
chikuwa	fish paste
chirashi zushi	rice covered with raw fish
chirinabe	one-pot fish dish
daikon	giant white radish
daikon oroshi	grated giant white radish
dashi	soup stock
debaboochoo	kitchen carver (mainly for fish)
dengaku	miso topped fried foods
dobin mushi	steamed chicken, fish, matsutake, and ginkgo nuts
donabe	earthenware casserole
donburi	bowl
domyoji age	deep fried shrimp
ebi	shrimp
edumame	soybeans in the pod
enokitake	mushrooms

fu	wheat gluten croutons
fugu	blowfish
fukusa zushi	rice, seafood, and vegetables wrapped in omelet
furijio	hand sprinkled salt
furikake	bottled sauce for rice
furo	brazier
futaoki	rest for tea kettle lid
ginnan	gingko nuts
giseidoofu	uncooked tofu topped by deep-fried tofu
goboo	burdock root
gohan	rice
goma	sesame seeds
goma-abura	sesame seed oil
gomadare	sesame seed sauce
gomai-oroshi	five-piece fish-filleting technique
goma-jooyu	sesame soy sauce
guji	sea bream
gyokuro	tea
gyuudon	beef donburi
gyuuniku	beef
gyuuniku sashimi	raw beef in thin slices
hakusai	Chinese cabbage
hamachi	young yellow-tail
hamaguri	clam
hanakatsuo	dried bonito flakes

harusame	transparent noodles
hashi	chopsticks
hijiki	seaweed
hikigiri	a drawing cut (knife stroke)
hirame	flounder
hishaku	water dipper
hiyamugi	cold noodles
hiyayakko doofu	cold tofu with sauce
hoochoo	knife
hoorensoo	spinach
hyooshigigiri	cutting into rectangles that look like clappers
ichimi	red pepper flakes
ika	squid
iridoofu	tofu with chicken and peas
ishiyaki	food cooked on sizzling stone
itameru	pan fry
itame-ni	sautéed and simmered
itawasa	kamaboko slices
itokezurikatsuo	dried bonito thread-shavings
jagaimo	potato
kabayaki	broiled eel
kabocha	squash
kaibashira	scallop
kaiseki ryoori	tea ceremony servings
kaki	persimmon

kaki	oyster
kamaboko	fish paste
kamameshi	rice in a pot
kamasu	barracuda
kamijio	paper salting
kani	crab
kanisu	vinegared crab
kannon-hiraki	butterfly cutting technique
kanpyoo	dried gourd strips
karaage	dry frying technique
karani	food simmered in soy sauce
karashi	mustard
karashi-su-miso	mustard-vinegar-miso sauce
karei	flounder
katsudon	fried pork on rice bowl
katsuo	bonito
katsuobushi	dried bonito
katsuo kezuriki	bonito shaver
katsura-muki	cutting technique to produce long thin strip
kawamasu	trout
kawariage	tempura frying wit coating other than flour
kikurage	cloud ear mushroom
kimi-ni	egg yolk simmering
kinako	soy flour
kirichigai	cutting into cucumber peaks

kisu	sillago
koocha	black tea
konbu	kelp
kome	uncooked rice
konnyaku	konjak (devil's tongue)
koromoage	batter frying
koshoo	pepper
kuri	chestnuts
kuromame	black beans
kushi	bamboo skewer
kushigatagiri	cutting into sphere segments or wedges
mabushijio	(see *betajio*)
maguro	tuna
makisu	bamboo mat for rolled sushi
makiyakinabe	omelet pans
makizushi	vinegared rice wrapped in seaweed
mame	beans
manjuu	steamed buns with sweet paste filling
matcha	powdered tea used for tea ceremony
matsutake	mushrooms
mazegohan	mixed rice
mijingiri	mincing
mikan	tangerine
mirin	sweet rice cooking wine
miso	fermented bean paste

misoni	miso simmering
misoshiru	soybean paste soup
mizutaki	simmered chicken dish
mizuyookan	red bean jelly
mochi	rice cake
mugicha	barley tea
mushiki	steamer
mushimono	food steamed on suspended plate
nabe	pot
nabemono	food cooked in pot at table
naganegi	long onion
nakiriboochoo	vegetable knife
namasu	raw fish and vegetables seasoned in vinegar
nameko	mushrooms
nameshi	rice with greens
nashi	pear
nasu	eggplant
natto	fermented soybeans
nigirizushi	vinegared rice and fish topping
nimai-oroshi	two-piece method of filleting fish
nimame	boiled beans
nimono	boiling in seasoned liquids
nitsuke	sakè simmering
nori	dried laver
nuta	shellfish with miso dressing

ocha	(see *cha*)
ochazuke	(see *chazuke*)
oden	stew
okama	teakettle
okara	bean curd pulp
okashi	sweets
okayu	rice gruel
okonomiyaki	do-it-yourself grilling
onigiri	rice wrapped in seaweed
oroshigane	graters
oshibori	damp towel given to diner before eating
oshigiri	pushing cut (knife stroke)
oshizushi	pressed sushi
oyako donburi	chicken and egg over rice
ozooni	hot soup served on New Year's morning
ponzu	soy sauce and citrus juice
rakkyoo	shallots
rangiri	rolling wedges cutting technique
reimen	cold noodles
renkon	lotus root
roppoomuki	hexagonal cutting
saba	mackeral
saba oroshini	mackeral simmered in radish
sainomegiri	cubing
sake	rice wine
sake	salmon

sakizuki	appetizer
sanma	mackerel
sanmai oroshi	three piece filleting technique for fish
sarasu	(see *akunuki*)
sasagaki	shaving
sasami	chicken breast fillet
sashimi	slices of raw fish
sashimiboochoo	fish slicer
sayori	snipefish
seiro	(see *mushiki*)
sekihan	red rice
senbei	rice crackers
senmengiri	cutting into cucumber fans
shabushabu	beef simmered in water
shichimi	seven spice mixture
shichimi toogarashi	seven pepper spice
shigureni	soy-sauce simmering
shiitake	mushrooms
shikishigiri	cutting into thin and thick squares
shimofuri	method to freshen dried out chicken
shincha	new tea
shinmai	new rice
shio	salt
shioyaki	salt broiling
shirataki	noodles made from konjak (devil's tongue) starch

shiro dashi	white soybean soup
shiro miso	white soybean paste
shirumono	soups
shiso	beefsteak plant
shoochuu	strong potato liquor
shooga	ginger root
shoogani	ginger simmering
shooyu	soy sauce
soba	buckwheat noodles
soomen	thin wheat noodles
sotobiki	fish skinning technique for firm texture fish
su	vinegar
suimono	clear soup
sukiyaki	simmered beef dish
sunomono	vinegared salad
suribachi	serrated mixing bowl
surikogi	pestle
sushi	vinegared rice
tai	sea bream
takenoko	bamboo shoot
tako	octopus
takobikiboochoo	octopus cutter
takuan	pickled radish
tamago	egg
tanzakugiri	cutting into rectangles

tare	sweet dipping sauce
tatejio	seawater salting
tekka donburi	tuna on rice bowl
tendon	tempura on rice bowl
tenpura	batter covered fish and vegetables
teppanyaki	grilled meat on hot metal plate
toofu	soybean curd
toogarashi	hot pepper
toomorokoshi	corn
tonkatsu	pork cutlet
tori	chicken
toriwasa	chicken sashimi
toro	belly of tuna
tsubonuki	gutting fish by pulling innards through mouth
tsukemono	pickles
tsukigiri	thrusting cut (knife stroke)
uchibiki	fish skinning technique for soft fish
udon	wheat noodles
umani	boiling in sweet liquid
umeboshi	red pickled plum
umeshu	plum wine
unagi	eel
uni	sea urchin
usubaboochoo	(see *nakariboochoo*)
wakame	seaweed

wasabi	green horseradish
yakidoofu	grilled bean curd
yakimyooban	burnt alum
yakitori	chicken grilled on skewer over charcoal
yanagibaboochoo	willow-leaf blade knife (for sashimi)
yasai	vegetables
yookan	sweet red bean confection
yosenabe	soup with fish, vegetables, tofu, and dashi
yudoofu	steaming soybean curd
yugaku	parboiling
zaru	bamboo draining basket
zarusoba	buckwheat noodles
zensai	appetizers
zenzai	sweet bean soup
zoosui	rice gruel made from cooked rice

5.2. BASIC VOCABULARY

In the list of normal equivalents, there are frequently several items which correspond to the English form. To the extent necessary I have provided an indication of the part of speech. Verbs are followed by [VB], adjectives by [ADJ], nominal adjectives by [NA], and nouns by [NO].

5.2.1. all *zenbu* [NO], *subete* [NO], *zentai* [NO], *mi(n)na* [NO]

5.2.2. and *to, ni, ya, soshite, sore kara, -te* (verb ending)

5.2.3. animal *doobutsu* [NO]

5.2.5. at *ni, de*

5.2.6. back *ushiro* [NO], *ura* [NO], *senaka* [NO]

5.2.7. bad *warui* [ADJ], *furyoo* [NO]

5.2.8. bark (of tree) *kinokawa* [NO]

5.2.9. because *naze naraba, ... da kara*

5.2.10 belly *hara* [NO], *i* [NO], *onaka* [NO]

5.2.11. big *ookii* [ADJ]

5.2.12. bird *tori* [NO]

5.2.13. bite *kamu* [VB], *kamitsuku* [VB]

5.2.14. black *kuroi* [ADJ], *kuro(iro)* [NO]

5.2.15. blood *chi* [NO]

5.2.16. blow *fuku* [VB]

5.2.17. bone *hone* [NO]

5.2.18. breast *mune* [NO], *chichi* [NO], *oppai* [NO]

5.2.19. breathe *iki o suru* [VB], *iki o tsuku* [VB], *kokyuu suru* [VB]

5.2.20. burn *yaku* [VB (trans)], *yakeru* [VB (intrans)], *moeru* [VB (intrans)], *moyasu* [VB (trans)], *nenshoo suru* (trans/instrans) [VB], *kogeru* [VB (intrans)], *kogasu* [VB (trans)]

5.2.21. child *ko(domo)* [NO], *yooji* [NO], *osanago* [NO]

5.2.22. claw *kagitsume* [NO]

5.2.23. cloud *kumo* [NO]

5.2.24. cold *samui* (of atmosphere) [ADJ], *samusa* (of atmosphere) [NO], *tsumetai* (to the touch) [ADJ], *hiyashita* (chilled) [VB (trans)], *hieta* (chilled) [(intrans) VB]

5.2.25. come *kuru* [VB], *mairu* (humble) [VB], *irassharu* (honorific) [VB], *rai---* [VB] (used in nominal compounds such as *rainichi* "come to Japan")

5.2.26. count *kazoeru* [VB]

5.2.27. cut *kiru* [VB]

5.2.28. day *hi(naka)* [NO], *hiru(ma)* [NO], *ichinichi* [NO]

5.2.29. die *shinu* [VB], *nakunaru* (euphemistic) [VB], *kareru* (of plants) [VB]

5.2.30. dig *horu* [VB]

5.2.31. dirty *kitanai* [ADJ], *yogoreta* [VB]

5.2.32. dog *inu* [NO]

5.2.33. drink *nomu* [VB], *suu* (inhale)[VB]

5.2.34. dry *kawaita* [VB], *hikarabita* [VB]

5.2.35. dull *nibui* [ADJ], *tsumaranai* [ADJ], *kusunda* [VB], *taikutsu* [NA]

5.2.36. dust *hokori* [NO], *chiri* [NO]

5.2.37. ear *mimi* [NO], *gaiji* [NO]

5.2.38. earth *chikyuu* [NO]

5.2.39. eat *taberu* [VB], *kuu* [VB]

5.2.40. egg *tamago* [NO]

5.2.41. eye *me*

5.2.42. fall *ochiru* (from height) [VB], *furu* (of precipitation) [VB], *korobu* (tumble) [VB]

5.2.43. far *tooi* [ADJ], *tooku* [NO]

5.2.44. fat/grease *abura* [NO], *shiboo* (fat of body) [NO]

5.2.45. father *chichi(oya)* (own) [NO], *otoosan* (others)[NO]

5.2.46. fear *kowagaru* [VB], *osoreru* [VB], *kowasa* [NO]

5.2.47. feather *hane* [NO]

5.2.48. few *sukoshi* [NO], *sukunai* [ADJ], *shoosuu* [NO]

5.2.49. fight *kenka suru* [VB], *tatakau* [VB]

5.2.50. fire *hi* [NO], *kaji* [NO]

5.2.51. fish *sakana* [NO]

5.2.52. five *itsutsu, go* [2.1.1.9.4]

5.2.53. float *ukabu* [VB], *ukaberu* [VB], *uku* [VB]

5.2.54. flow *nagareru* [VB]

5.2.55. flower *hana* [NO]

5.2.56. fly *tobu* [VB]

5.2.57. fog *kiri* [NO], *moya* [NO]

5.2.58. foot *ashi* [NO]

5.2.59. four *yottsu, shi, yon* [2.1.1.9.4]

5.2.60. freeze *kooru* (intrans) [VB], *koorasu* (trans) [VB]

5.2.61. fruit *kudamono* [NO]

5.2.62. full *ippai* [NO], *michita* [VB], *kanzen* [NA], *tappuri* [NO]

5.2.63. give *ageru* ("to other": moderately polite) [VB], *sashiageru* ("to other": honorific) [VB], *yaru* ("to other": condescending) [VB], *kureru* ("to speaker": neutral) [VB], *kudasaru* ("to speaker": humble) [VB]

5.2.64. good *ii* [ADJ], *yoi* [ADJ], *yoroshii* [ADJ], *kekkoo* [NA]

5.2.65. grass *kusa* [NO], *shibafu* [NO]

5.2.66. green *midori* [NO], *aoi* [ADJ]

5.2.67. guts *choo* [NO], *naizoo* [NO]

5.2.68. hair *ke* [NO], *kami* [NO]

5.2.69. hand *te* [NO]

5.2.70. he *kare* [NO]

5.2.71. head *atama* [NO], *zunoo* [NO], *kashira* [NO]

5.2.72. hear *kiku* [VB]

5.2.73. heart *kokoro* [NO], *shinzoo* [NO]

5.2.74. heavy *omoi* [ADJ]

5.2.75. here *koko* [NO]

5.2.76. hit *butsu* [VB], *utsu* [VB], *naguru* [VB]

5.2.77. hold/take *motsu* [VB], *toru* [VB]

5.2.78. horn *tsuno*

5.2.79. how *doo*, *ikaga*

5.2.80. hunt *karu* [VB], *asaru* [VB]

5.2.81. husband *(go)shujin* [NO], *danna(sama)* [NO], *otto* [NO]

5.2.82. I *watakushi* [NO], *watashi* [NO], *atakushi* [NO], *atashi* [NO], *boku* [NO], *ore* [NO], *jibun* [NO] [see 2.1.2.1]

5.2.83. ice *koori* [NO]

5.2.84. if *moshi*, *-eba* (verb ending)

5.2.85. in *ni*, *de*

5.2.86. kill *korosu* (animals and humans) [VB], *satsujin suru* (humans) [VB], *karasu* (plants) [VB]

5.2.87. knee *hiza* [NO]

5.2.88. know *shiru* [VB], *wakaru* [VB]

5.2.89. lake *mizuumi* [NO], *koumi* [NO]

5.2.90. laugh *warau* [VB]

5.2.91. leaf *ha(ppa)* [NO]

5.2.92. leftside *hidari(gawa)* [NO]

5.2.93. leg *ashi* [NO]

5.2.94. lie (be in lying position) *neru* [VB], *yokotawaru* [VB], *yoko ni naru* [VB]

5.2.95. live *ikiru* [VB], *seikatsu suru* [VB], *kurasu* [VB], *sumu* (dwell) [VB]

5.2.96. liver *kanzoo* [NO]

5.2.97. long *nagai* [ADJ]

5.2.98. louse *shirami* [NO]

5.2.99. man/male *otoko* [NO], *dansei* [NO]

5.2.100. many *tasuu* [NO], *takusan* [NO]

5.2.101. meat/flesh *niku* [NO]

5.2.102. moon *tsuki* [NO]

5.2.103. mother *haha(oya)* (own) [NO], *okaasan* (others) [NO]

5.2.104. mountain *yama* [NO]

5.2.105. mouth *kuchi* [NO]

5.2.106. name *na(mae)* [NO]

5.2.107. narrow *semai* [ADJ]

5.2.108. near *chikai* [ADJ], *chikaku* [NO], *soba* [NO]

5.2.109. neck *kubi* [NO]

5.2.110. new *atarashii* [ADJ]

5.2.111. night *yo(naka)* [NO], *yoru* [NO], *ban* [NO]

5.2.112. nose *hana* [NO]

5.2.113. not *(de wa) nai* [ADJ], *shinai* [ADJ] [see 1.4]

5.2.114. old *toshiyori* [NO], *toshitotta* [VB], *furui* [ADJ]

5.2.115. one *hitotsu, ichi* [see 2.1.1.9.4]

5.2.116. other *hoka* [NO], *ta* [NO]

5.2.117. person *hito* [NO], *kata* [NO]

5.2.118. play *asobu* [VB]

5.2.119. pull *hiku* [VB], *hipparu* [VB]

5.2.120. push *osu* [VB]

5.2.121. rain *ame* [NO], *ame ga furu* [VB]

5.2.122. red *akai* [ADJ], *aka(iro)* [NO]

5.2.123. right/correct *tadashii* [ADJ]

5.2.124. rightside *migi(gawa)* [NO]

5.2.125. river *kawa* [NO]

5.2.126. road *michi* [NO], *dooro* [NO]

5.2.127. root *ne* [NO], *kongen* [NO], *moto* [NO]

5.2.128. rope *nawa* [NO]

5.2.129. rotten *kusatta* [VB]

5.2.130. round *marui* [ADJ]

5.2.131. rub *kosuru* [VB], *suru* [VB]

5.2.132. salt *shio* [NO]

5.2.133. sand *suna* [NO]

5.2.134. say *iu* [VB], *moosu* [VB], *ossharu* [VB]

5.2.135. scratch *kaku* [VB], *hikkaku* [VB]

5.2.136. sea *umi* [NO], *nami* [NO]

5.2.137. see *miru* [VB]

5.2.138. seed *tane* [NO]

5.2.139. sew *nuu* [VB]

5.2.140. sharp *surudoi* [ADJ], *togatta* [VB]

5.2.141. short *mijikai* [ADJ]

5.2.142. sing *utau* [VB]

5.2.143. sit *suwaru* [VB], *kakeru* [VB]

5.2.144. skin *hifu* [NO], *kawa* [NO]

5.2.145. sky *sora* [NO]

5.2.146. sleep *neru* [VB], *nemuru* [VB], *suimin suru* [VB]

5.2.147. small *chiisai* [ADJ]

5.2.148. smell *kagu* [VB], *niou* [VB], *kaori* [NO]; causative forms used to indicate transitive equivalents

5.2.149. smoke *kemuri* [NO]

5.2.150. smooth *nameraka* [NA], *heion* [NA]

5.2.151. snake *hebi* [NO]

5.2.152. snow *yuki* [NO], *yuki ga furu* [VB]

5.2.153. some *ikutsuka* [NO], *nanika* [NO]

5.2.154. spit *tsuba(ki)* [NO], *haku* [VB]

5.2.155. split *waru* [VB (trans)], *wareru* [VB (intrans)]

5.2.156. squeeze *shiboru* [VB], *oshitsubusu* [VB]

5.2.157. stab/pierce *sasu* [VB]

5.2.158. stand *tatsu* [VB], *tateru* [VB]

5.2.159. star *hoshi* [NO]

5.2.160. stick *boo* [NO], *tsue* [NO]

5.2.161. stone *ishi* [NO]

5.2.162. straight *massugu* [NO]

5.2.163. suck *suu* [VB]

5.2.164. sun *taiyoo* [NO], *hi* [NO]

5.2.165. swell *fukureru* [VB], *fukuramu* [VB]

5.2.166. swim *oyogu* [VB], *suiei suru* [VB]

5.2.167. tail *shippo* [NO]

5.2.168. that *sore, sono, are, ano* [see 2.1.2.5]

5.2.169. there *soko, asoko, asuko*

5.2.170. they *karera* [NO], *karetachi* [NO], *kanojora* [NO], *kanojotachi* [NO] [see 2.1.2.1.]

5.2.171. thick *atsui* [ADJ], *futoi* [ADJ], *koi* [ADJ], *shigetta* [VB]

5.2.172. thin *usui* [ADJ], *hosoi* [ADJ], *awai* [ADJ], *mabara* [NA]

5.2.173. think *omou* [VB], *kangaeru* [VB]

5.2.174. this *kore, kono* [see 2.1.2.5]

5.2.175. thou *anata* [NO], *kimi* [NO], *omae* [NO] [see 2.1.2.1]

5.2.176. three *mittsu, san* [see 2.1.1.9.4]

5.2.177. throw *nageru* [VB]

5.2.178. tie *musubu* [VB], *shibaru* [VB]

5.2.179. tongue *shita* [NO]

5.2.180. tooth *ha* [NO]

5.2.181. tree *ki* [NO], *jumoku* [NO]

5.2.182. turn *mawaru* [VB (intrans)], *mawasu* [VB (trans)]

5.2.183. two *futatsu, ni* [see 2.1.1.9.4]

5.2.184. vomit *haku* [VB], *ageru* [VB], *modosu* [VB]

5.2.185. walk *aruku* [VB], *sanpo suru* [VB]

5.2.186. warm *atatakai* [ADJ], *attakai* [ADJ], *atatameru* [VB]

5.2.187. wash *arau* [VB]

5.2.188. water *mizu* [NO]

5.2.189. we *watakushitachi, watashitachi, atakushitachi, atashitashi, bokutachi, bokura, oretachi, orera* [see 2.1.2.1]

5.2.190. wet *nureta* [VB]

5.2.191. what *nan(i)*

5.2.192. when *itsu, toki*

5.2.193. where *doko, dotchi, dochira*

5.2.194. white *shiroi* [ADJ], *shiro(iro)* [NO]

5.2.195. who *dare, donata* (polite)

5.2.196. wide *hiroi* [ADJ], *hirobiro to shita* [VB]

5.2.197. wife *nyoobo* [NO], *tsuma* [NO], *okusan* [NO], *kanai* [NO], *waifu* [NO]

5.2.198. wind *kaze* [NO]

5.2.199. wing *hane* [NO], *tsubasa* [NO]

5.2.200. wipe *fuku* [VB]

5.2.201. with *to, issho ni*

5.2.202. woman *onna* [NO], *josei* [NO]

5.2.203. woods *mori* [NO]

5.2.204. worm *mushi* [NO], *mushikera* [NO], *mimizu* [NO]

5.2.205. ye *anatagata, anatatachi, kimitachi, kimira, omaetachi, omaera* [see 2.1.2.1]

5.2.206. year *toshi* [NO], *nen* [NO]

5.2.207. yellow *kiiroi* [ADJ], *kiiro* [NO]

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