

Elements of Grammar:

An Analysis of the Core Components of the Lexicogrammar of Japanese

Hiroshi Funamoto^{*}

Received December 9, 2013

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to provide the methods and concepts employed in the description of the lexicogrammar of Japanese. The approach to be taken for this investigation is an exploratory one, which is presented through an analysis of so-called ‘clause-final expressions’ (CFEs) in Japanese. The proposal made in this analysis is to be incorporated into a fuller description of a Japanese grammar from a Systemic Functional perspective – an SFG for Japanese (or JSFG for short) – that draws on the Cardiff Grammar approach for its theoretical concepts.

However, the concept CFE is a cover term for various items that typically occur after the Main Predicate (which realizes a Process), and it has no place in an explicit grammar of Japanese. CFEs express a range of categories, including what I shall refer to, borrowing Fawcett’s terms, as ‘validity’, ‘control’ and others. Such items are often seen as equivalent to Auxiliaries in English. Yet it is not possible, as Takubo 2009 shows, to specify criteria (morphological, syntactic or semantic) that will identify them as a class.

Here I argue that we should (i) reject the assumption that particular forms belong to particular classes and (ii) use the SFG concept of ‘realization rules’ to specify which items will expound which elements in which units at which layer of structure, and the conditions under which they do so. I will illustrate the first proposal from the case where the same form may function as either a Main Predicate or an Auxiliary, and the second from realization rules for the expression of ‘validity’ and ‘control’ meanings, where two elements (i.e. an Auxiliary and its Extension) realize a single semantic feature in the ‘validity’ network. This structure shows interesting similarities to the functional structure of the so-called ‘phrasal modals’ such as “be able to” in the Cardiff Grammar.

*未来創造学部 Faculty of Future Learning

1 Introduction

It may be a remarkable fact that a genuinely all-Japanese description of language, i.e. an attempt to rethink the essential nature of language from the bottom up as well as the homegrown means for investigating the characteristics of Japanese, can hardly be found in the modern tradition of Japanese linguistics. In fact, some scholars might even argue against the necessity of such an approach to the grammar of a language, pleading that the theory of language, on which the description of any language is based, is aimed at achieving a universal principles underlying the mechanisms of generating grammatical sentences in any languages. In this paper, I shall challenge the assumption that the theoretical universality or the universal tendency is considered to be a reductive interpretation of the least common denominator in all natural languages in the way that the grammaticality of a sentence can be explained in terms of “Universal Grammar”.

Let me emphasize here, however, that I do not intend to rehash the argument about hunting out a favorable approach to be taken in linguistics under the circumstances of an antithesis between functionalism and formalism. At the starting point of this research, then, I have recourse to a rather different view on the approach to analyzing a text on the basis of a clear distinction between theory and description. On the one hand, theorizing linguistics is to provide a perspective of viewing the essential nature of language and its use in terms of the relevant concepts. Thus, in my opinion, a theory itself does not comprise the elements as subsistent entities that are actually embodied in a language to convey meaning. On the other hand, describing a language as a semiotic system is to show how a language is structured for use by employing categories in certain ways. Accordingly, these two aspects of linguistic investigations, are treated in complementarity with each other for the development of linguistics in general, so that a cogent theory contributes to a cogent description of a language, and vice versa.

Here I shall confine myself to arguing for the necessity of a framework of description of grammar for Japanese from a Systemic Functional perspective, as developed into Japanese Systemic Functional Grammar (JSFG). In particular I shall endeavour (i) to pursue the methods of introducing the relevant elements of grammar for Japanese, (ii) to show the techniques of handling these elements in describing Japanese grammar, and (iii) to examine the validation method of recognizing them in their own terms. For this purpose, I shall not lay out the individual elements that will be recognized in drawing the process of engendering networks of meaning and representing the syntactic organization of a text.

Now, let us start our discussion by considering the following Examples:

k-uru	das-u	(sa)(ke)-u	(ra)(f)-eru	teok-u	teyaru	(to)(s)-uru	(y)oo	aru-u	te-ru	mono	to	i-uru	mono-da	e'u-ru	soo-da	yo-da	kurai-da	no	kameshirota(k)-i	no	da	(roo	kuseu	to	emo-u	des-u	sa	ka	ne
i-ru	hajime-ru			tsuzuke-ru	temora-u	(to)nar-u	ta(k)-i	aru-u	te-ru	koto	ni	aru-u	koto-da	soo-da	yo-da	hodo-da	mono	mono	nichigama(k)-i	mono	dearu	rashi(k)-i	kuseu	tomo	i-u	mas-u	zo	yo	na(a)
uru	owari-u			tsudaaru-ru			e'(mo)(yo)-u	aru-u	koto	yo	ga	soo-da	yo-da	yo-da	bakari-da	koto	koto	hazu-da	hazu-da	koto		ni(mokakawaranu)	keno	mi-ru					
uru	tsuki-u			soda			gata(k)-i	aru-u	tsumari	tsumari		tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da							
uru	teshima-u			tearu			kame-ru	aru-u				tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da							
uru	kaku-u						yoosai(k)-i	aru-u				tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da							
uru	teku-uru						nika(k)-i	aru-u				tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da							
uru	teki-u						mi	aru-u				tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da							
uru	ager-u							aru-u				tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da	tsukuro-da							

Figure 1 Clause-Final Expressions

In this Figure there are a range of classes of items, which are simply laid out in a single line. As I shall shortly illustrate, these forms are the elements of different units at different layers of structure, including so-called *jodooshi* (auxiliaries), conjugational endings, particles, and 'fixed' and 'semi-fixed' group of items, as well as lexical verbs, adjectives and adjectivals. Yet, as it turns out, the fact is that these items are assigned the label of CFE, whatever functions they realize; generally, they may express any one of a range of meanings, including not only 'mood' but also 'time', 'voice', 'causation', 'polarity', 'politeness', 'honorification', 'validity' and 'control' (the last two of them are Fawcett's terms, roughly equivalent to Halliday's 'modalization' and 'modulation' respectively). So I will maintain that the concept of Clause-Final Expression has no place in an explicit grammar of Japanese, granting that it might be helpful for educational purposes.³⁾ Therefore, I have to begin by asking 'What CFEs actually are?'. In this paper, I will specifically confine the object of study to the class of items which are generally called Auxiliary Verb in Japanese. However, as it turns out in the discussion here, a great number of items in Figure 1 do not fit the definition of Auxiliary Verb, although they are undoubtedly recognized as 'a kind of' Auxiliary somewhat in terms of their meaning and usage, so I added 'related elements' in the title. The purpose of this paper is, then, to propose an alternative analysis of the lexicon of these items in the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics.

2. Theoretical background and data in this study

As a preliminary, let me begin by making it clear that it is not possible, as Takubo (2009) shows, to specify criteria (morphological, syntactic or semantic) that will identify the certain group of items in Figure 1 as a class – cp. Huddleston's NICE properties for English Auxiliaries (for which see Huddleston 1976). So the term 'Auxiliaries and related elements', which is written in the title of this paper, is such a concept as what comes to be specified in

the course of explorations of CFEs as a chunk of various items. For this reason, this study is qualitative rather than quantitative by nature. Although I have collected the relevant source of data from actual texts by using digitalized version of novels written in Japanese by the native speaker, I have changed or modified the data into simpler forms to avoid unnecessary discussion, and, for the same reason, I shall ignore the Participant Roles in the representation of functional syntax of Japanese clauses.

2.1 Meaning and Form: Theoretical background

At this point, let me provide a brief outline of the theory which I will use in this paper. Since this paper is an attempt to provide a description of the lexicogrammatical analysis of Japanese, it is intended primarily for the development of Japanese Systemic Functional Grammar (JSFG).

The two sets of theoretical impetus to this study are relevant to the present investigation, i.e. SFL of the Sydney version and the Cardiff version, which are essentially the same in that both assumes the huge system network as the meaning potential of language, and in that the choices of semantic meanings in the network are realized in words, syntax and intonation through the operation of realization rules. But they are significantly different, in that in the Cardiff Grammar the system networks for TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME and other strands of meaning constitute the fully semanticized component of the ‘meaning potential’, so that there is no higher layer or stratum of the networks of ‘choice systems’.

Figure 2 illustrates the outstanding model of the lexicogrammatical components and their outputs in the Cardiff version of SFG (Fawcett 2008: 41).

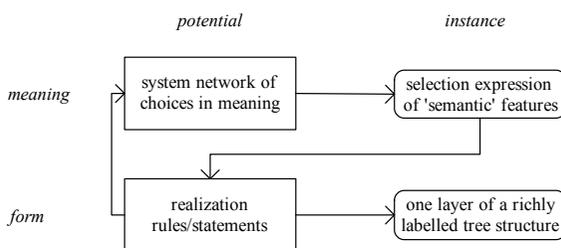


Figure 2: The Components and their outputs in a SFG

This model is summarized as follows:

- (i) The only one level of the ‘meaning potential’ in which ‘choice’ of semantic features operates in the system networks: the output of the choices is instantiated by the set of semantic features, which is represented as the ‘selection expressions’.
- (ii) The level of the syntactic component, in which the ‘realization rules’ specify the configuration of elements, classes of units, and the layer at which the units are placed: the output is obtained with an explicit representation of the constituent structure of elements and the syntagmatic relations within instances and their exponents, i.e. texts.

2.2 Method of this study

If we develop the systemic functional grammar of Japanese in contrast with that of English, the two-level model of lexicogrammar frees us from ascribing the common ground to the elements or ‘functions’ of certain forms in the way that they are applied from one language to another. For instance, we do NOT progress our argumentation as in: ‘the Finite expresses either tense or modality within the verbal group in English. Then what marks these meanings in Japanese, and how is it possible? If we are able to identify the marker with a particular form, it is considered to be equivalent to the Finite in English. So we can safely refer to it as the Finite in the Japanese clause.’

To illustrate this, the four Examples may suffice to show that some CFEs have quite a large amount of properties in common with the ‘finiteness’ of English Auxiliaries; they make the proposition crystallized by marking a tense (and other concomitant functions, such as ‘passive voice’, ‘validity’ and ‘control’, etc.) and/or a certain mood. In the light of the aspects of their grammatical functions, it appears to be reasonable to begin our analysis by comparing them with English Auxiliary Verbs, or the Finite.⁴⁾ Instead, I suggest that, in order to make the analysis of Japanese fit reality, we should not describe the linguistic forms in terms of the text-descriptive concepts for ‘seemingly equivalent elements’ in other languages at any levels of abstraction. In effect, this study has started from the basic premise that a good *tertium comparationis* resides in the theoretical-generative concepts of ‘prioritization to meaning’ itself, rather than some semantic similarities.

Here I argue that we should reject the assumption that particular forms belong to particular classes. I will illustrate this proposal from the case where the same form may function as either the Main Predicate or an Auxiliary.

The tenet taken here are significantly important in the unfolding discussion about the treatment of CFEs in Japanese, so that we should be able to handle phenomena such as (i)

a portmanteau realization (i.e. simultaneous realization of two meanings in a single item which is formed in a way that two firmly interlocking clusters are amalgamated), (ii) hendiadic realization (i.e. realization of a single Process with a certain tinge in a single item derived from two parts linked by *and*, as in the pattern of ‘*V te V* in Japanese), and (iii) re-experientialization of the grammaticalized element into a new lexical item.

3 How to define, identify and analyze CFEs and Auxiliaries: Japanese

Despite (or it might be more appropriate to begin by saying ‘As the consequence of’) numerous publications of Auxiliaries in Japanese, the word ‘chaotic’ or ‘messy’ very nicely describes the present circumstances around the treatments of the class of items in Japanese grammar. Broadly, there are two positions over the treatment of so-called Auxiliary Verb; those who classifies certain types of items as the Auxiliary Verb and others who reject or partly reject the class itself in the grammar of Japanese.

Auxiliary Verb is simply defined as the ‘bound conjugating word’. To enumerate the items that fit the ‘standard’ definition of Auxiliary Verb, we have 29 instances (Misako Kitahara 1977: 148):

type*	ITEMS		EXAMPLES		
			Verb	Auxiliary	English gloss
A	reru, rareru, seru, saseru, shimeru, tai, tagaru		tabe	rareru	can eat
B	masu		tabe	masu	eat [polite]
C	ta, teita, teshimatta, chatta		tabe	ta	ate
D	VARIABLE	(y)oo, daroo, mashoo, deshoo, mai, zu, nu, n	tabe	yoo	will eat/let’s eat
	INVARIABLE	rashii, bekida, sooda, nai	tabe	nai	not eat
E	mitaida, fuuda, yooda, da, noda, desu		tabe-ru	mitaida	seem to eat

*Five types are distinguished in terms of the meanings:

Type A: passive, disposition, possibility, honorific, causative, desiderative

Type B: politeness

Type C: past tense, retrospect

Type D: guess, negation

Type E: assertion

Table 1: Typical Auxiliaries in Japanese school grammar

However, because of its inherent subordination to other free, independent words, Yoshio Yamada (1936: 202ff) suggests that we should adopt rather formal criteria to treat these items, and he rejects the concept of Auxiliary as a separate word. Instead, he terms those in (8) 'fukugobi', in English, 'the complex ending of conjugating Predicate', as a part of the lexical verb. Scholars who view language from rather semantic perspective, tend to recognize Auxiliary as a 'bound conjugating word' THAT REALIZES SUBJECTIVE MEANINGS (e.g. Tokieda 1941: 484). However, Kindaichi (1953/78) suggests that Auxiliaries embrace not only subjective expressions but also objective ones. He advocates the analysis in an attempt to account for the fact that Auxiliaries for subjective meanings are frequently expounded by non-conjugating items, i.e. *u*, *yoo*, *daroo* and *mai*, which therefore should be excluded from the category of Auxiliary in terms of the above criterion, but these items are in fact exceptionally acknowledged as Auxiliaries in literature on this concept. Besides, by extension of the meaning-oriented approach, scholars recently seem to enlarge the class to deal with other forms, including so-called 'te-form' type (as in *teiru*, *tekureru*, and *temiru*), the 'collocational' type (as in *nebanaranai*, *kamoshirenai*, and *kotogadekiru*), and the 'embedded clause' type (as in *to omou*, and *to iu*). Suzuki (1999) classifies 'te-forms', such as *teshimau* and its contracted form *chau*, as 'affixal auxiliary'. Morita (2007: 118) assigns a term *rengo keishiki* ('compound form') to *kamoshirenai*, yet he also states that it is 'favorable' to treat the compound form as a type of Auxiliary, because the meanings of these forms have very much in common with other 'core' Auxiliaries.

However, among those who recognize Auxiliary in Japanese, very few scholars have proposed a convincing and fully-fledged account of the items which they do not include in the Auxiliary in the narrow sense as in (8). The most helpful term for these untouched forms is proposed by Miyaoka (2002), who uses the concept of 'iji', in English, 'clitic', while he takes basically the same position as Yamada (see also Section 5.2). But I do not use this here, because I suggest that what he terms 'clitic' is regarded as Auxiliary.

4 The identification of the Auxiliary and the distinction from other classes in CFEs

I can now present the framework to be used in this paper. Here I shall do this by exploring the problem that Kindaichi (1953/78) points out, because I consider that this is to the point - the contradiction that typical Auxiliaries realize objective meanings which should rather be close to the lexical verb, whereas atypical Auxiliaries realize subjective

meanings, which are in fact the typical criterion to specify the Auxiliary.

Here let me remind you of the general definition of Auxiliary in the traditional grammar of Japanese: the word which is bound and conjugates. If we pretend to follow the definition strictly, we shall soon be able to identify the Auxiliary in Example (5).

- (5) 次は 誘われる かもしれない でしょう ね。
 Tsugi-wa sasowareru kamoshirena-i deshoo ne.
 next invite-PSS 'I don't know if' WILL PCL
 Next time I will possibly be invited, don't you think?

Figure 3 shows the morphological analysis of Example (5). Note that the hyphenated items are not morphemes but 'conjugating endings', the behaviour of which can be understood through the metaphor of receptors of nerve endings in your body which react to changes and stimuli and make your body respond in a particular way.

saso -wa	re -ru	kamoshirena -i	deshoo	ne
stem ending	stem ending	stem ending	base	base (particle)
to kill	PASSIVE VOICE	VALIDITY	VALIDITY	CONFIRMATION SEEKER

Figure 3: Morphological analysis of sequential CFEs

Since we are now adhering to the definition of Auxiliary as the 'bound conjugating word', the items which pass two simple Tests are regarded as Auxiliary; i.e., we shall see (i) if the given item is bound - which I shall call Test-I here, and (ii) if it conjugates - Test-II.⁵⁾

Let us first apply Test-I to Example (5). The following three paradigms from (6) to (8) show that the three items, *saso-wa*, *re-ru* and *kamoshirena-i* pass the Test, where 'negative', 'polite', 'conditional', 'past', 'terminative' and 'directive' affixes precondition the form of precedent ending. (It is not possible to add glosses to the grammatical items in (7) and (8).)

(6)	stem	ending	affix	gloss
negative	<i>saso</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>don't invite</i>
polite	<i>saso</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>masu</i>	<i>invite [polite]</i>
conditional	<i>saso</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>if (you) invite</i>
past	<i>saso</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>invited</i>
terminative	<i>saso</i>	<i>-u</i>		<i>invite</i>
modificative	<i>saso</i>	<i>-u</i>		<i>e.g. a reason to invite</i>
directive	<i>saso</i>	<i>-e</i>		<i>Invite!</i>

(7)	stem	ending	affix
negative	<i>re</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>nai</i>
polite	<i>re</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>masu</i>
conditional	<i>re</i>	<i>-re</i>	<i>ba</i>
past	<i>re</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>ta</i>
terminative	<i>re</i>	<i>-ru</i>	
modificative	<i>re</i>	<i>-ru</i>	
directive	<i>re</i>	<i>-ro</i>	

(8)	stem	ending	affix
negative	<i>N/A</i>		
polite	<i>kamoshirena</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>desu</i>
conditional	<i>kamoshirena</i>	<i>-kere</i>	<i>ba</i>
past	<i>kamoshirena</i>	<i>-kat</i>	<i>ta</i>
terminative	<i>kamoshirena</i>	<i>-i</i>	
modificative	<i>kamoshirena</i>	<i>-i</i>	
directive	<i>N/A</i>		

For Test-II, consider the following very small dialogues (in order to clarify the point of our discussion, a question is realized by rising intonation, instead of using the particle *ka*):

- (9) a. Saso-u? — Saso-u.
Do you invite? I do.
- b. Saso-wa re-ru? — *Re-ru.
Are you going to be invited?
- c. Saso-wa re-ru kamoshirena-i? — Kamoshirena-i.
Are you possibly invited? Possibly.
- d. Saso-wa re-ru kamoshirena-i deshoo? — ?Deshoo.
You will possibly be invited, right? I expect so.
- e. Saso-wa re-ru kamoshirena-i daroo ne? — *Ne.
You will think you are possibly invited, won't you?

The result of Test-II shows that the ungrammaticality of *re-ru* in (9b) and *ne* in (9e) indicates that these two items can never occur as a separate utterance in a discourse. I put a question mark to *deshoo* in (9d), because in this connection *deshoo* alone may sound odd to some native speakers of Japanese, but if *ne* is attached to *deshoo*, it is absolutely natural in casual spoken discourse, as in (10). Accordingly, I have concluded that (9b) and (9e) pass Test-II.

- (10) Saso-wa re-ru kamoshirena-i deshoo? — Deshoo ne.
You will possibly be invited, right? I expect so.

Now the result of the two Tests shows that only one type of item, i.e. *re-ru* fulfill the criteria, so that the definition of Auxiliary as an 'bound conjugating word' refers to the class of items in the narrowest sense.

However, this definition will be to exclude some items in Table 1 in Section 4.1 from this class, despite the fact that quite many scholars who adhere to this well-established definition do not give up the term, but, surprisingly enough, invent a new anomalous type of Auxiliary ; the typical one is Kindaichi's 'Invariable Auxiliary' ('fuhenska-jodooshi'). It is possible to guess that there is a good reason for them to do so, if we notice an assumption that they implicitly or explicitly make — an assumption that the basic function of Auxiliaries is associated with speaker's 'subjectivity', such as certain types of 'MODALITY' and MOOD of the clause. And the account of Auxiliary on the 'mixed bases' is the underlying problem of the chaotic, divided opinions about the treatment of Auxiliary in Japanese. Figure 4 illustrates the staggered overlap of two clines of 'auxiliariness' at two levels in the grammar of Japanese.

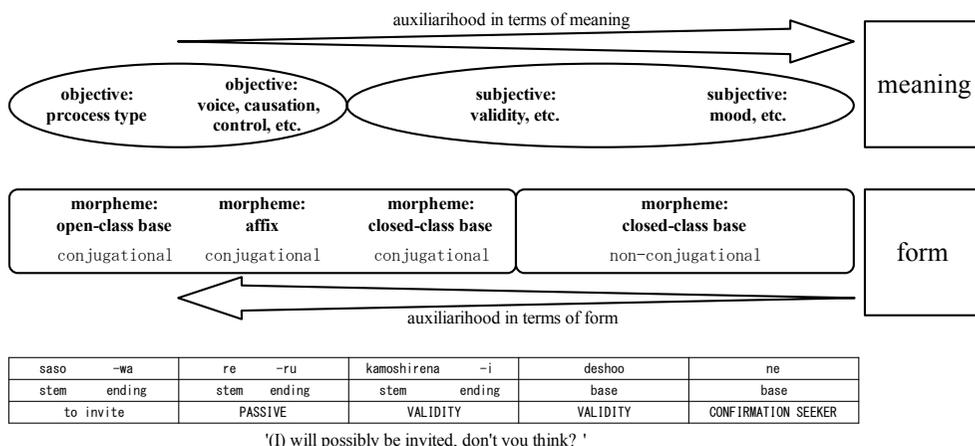


Figure 4: Staggered clines of typical 'Auxiliarhood' between meaning and form

The syntagmatic relationship among the different types of morphemes in Figure 4 is strictly fixed, as I showed in Figure 1, which describes the extended version of the syntagmatic distribution of these 'Auxiliary candidate' CFEs. In Figure 4, the boundary between *rare-ru* and *kamoshirena-i* will cause the decisively controversial problem in deciding the 'auxiliarhood' of each item. Moreover, even if we adhere to the traditional criteria to identify Auxiliary, or even if we discard the element Auxiliary itself and refer to *re-ru* in Example (5) as the 'complex ending of conjugating Predicate', the question still remains: 'So what is the element expounded by *kamoshirena-i* called, and how do we treat the item in the functional syntax of Japanese?'

If you look at the meaning plane in Figure 4, you may recognize that the 'cline' from objective to subjective overlaps with the concatenation of Halliday's experiential and interpersonal functions respectively. In practice, Nitta (1997: 142) (and numerous scholars, including Tokieda 1941: 311ff, Watanabe 1971: 91, Minami 1993: 21, Noda 1997: 21, Masuoka 2007: 18ff), attempts to account for the principles for generating the fixed sequence of CFEs in terms of the MEANING that each of these realizes. In other words, they argue for an analysis that various semantic concepts constitute a hierarchical structure, and the semantic constituency is reflected in the syntagmatic relations between the given items. Figure 5 shows Nitta's analysis of (11) in terms of the seven layered structure of both meaning and form.

- (11) 見られていなかった でしょう ね。
 Mi-rare-tei-nakat-ta deshoo ne.
 See-PSV-ASP-NEG-PST WILL PCL
 Certainly I wasn't being watched, was I?

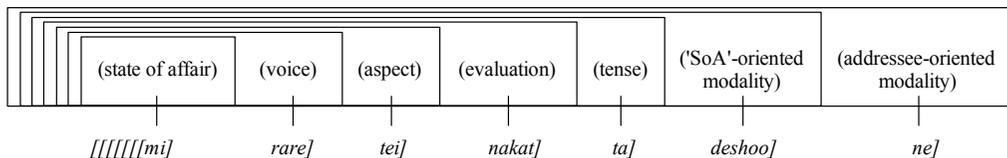


Figure 5: Nitta's seven layered structure model of the Japanese clause

Alternatively it may help some readers get the picture of this by a tree diagram representation, which is illustrated in Figure 6.

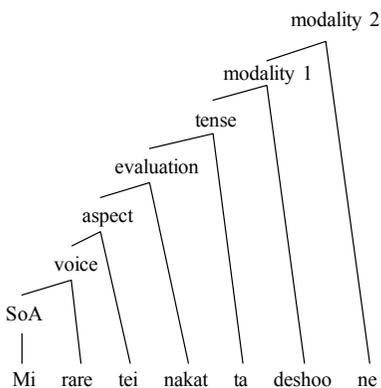


Figure 6: Tree representation of the semantic hierarchy on the syntagmatic relation of items

The problem in this analysis is that the parallelism between semantic hierarchy and word order cannot handle a pattern where, for instance, an item expressing 'modality' occurs before the expression of an experiential meaning, such as tense or modulation. For

example, we can have:

- (12) 戦争は ぜったいに 起こりえてはならないのだ。
 Sensoo-wa zettai-ni okori-e-tewanaranai-noda.
 War-TOP never happen-CAN-MUST-NEG-AFM
 There has got to be no possibility to allow a war to break out.

In Example (12), *-e*, which obviously expresses a speaker's estimation of the 'possibility' of the event to happen, occurs in between the stem of the Main Predicate *okori* and *tewanarana-i* that expresses a rather objective, proposition-oriented meaning of 'prohibition' (i.e. in Halliday's term, a type of 'modulation') laid on the referent of the Subject, *jiko* (an accident). The implication of this example is that the 'nested' organization of the scope of meanings does not in fact form a parallelism with the 'layered' structure of syntax. The crossing correspondences between an item and its meaning is illustrated in Figure 7.

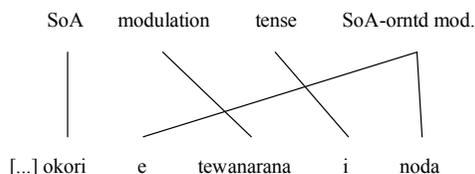


Figure 7: Inconsistent relationship between meaning and form

Accordingly, the one-to-one relationship between meaning and form is not helpful in order to account for the systematicity of mutual bonding of different types of Clause-Final Expressions in Japanese. What I am suggesting is that we should decompose the syntagm of meanings. As I mentioned in Section 2.2, the meanings recognized in a language are considered to be organized as a set of paradigmatic relations between semantic features. And the simultaneous choices of particular meanings from a vast network of choice systems are realized in syntax. At the level of form, the input to the syntagmatic relations of items is not the set of selected features itself, but the set of rules that specifies which feature is expressed in which element at which layer of structure. The point is that, although the set of choices of particular semantic features predetermines the element of structure in syntax, it is realization rules that specify the placement of items in the relevant units in the

structure of a clause. So there is no reason to establish an inherent connection between a meaning and a certain class of item at the level of form in all languages, because another choice may be realized by the same item or the same structure, and vice versa.

5 The affix and Auxiliary

In this section, then, I shall provide an outline of the approach taken here to two major types of CFEs with which we are concerned here — i.e. affixes and Auxiliaries.

5.1 The affixes in Japanese

Note first that both types of CFEs are not the elements of the clause, despite the fact that the affixes ARE what have been considered to be the typical auxiliary verbs, yet, I suggest, the affixes are not the element of any units at any layers of structure, to be precise, above the layer of morpheme. The affixes are specified in terms of two basic properties:

- (i) that they never occur independently of any other elements in discourse,
- (ii) that the string to which they are added must contain a base.

Note that these two criteria do not presuppose the mutual, one-by-one relationship between an affix with any particular meaning, such as ‘subjectivity’ — cp. Kindaichi’s observation that, since non-conjugating words express a subjective meaning, they should be the right Auxiliary. The affixes which I identify here do not perfectly overlap with Kindaichi’s either types of auxiliaries. In practice, as we shall see in the next section, an affix can be generated from more than one area of meaning. For the moment, I shall enumerate the Examples of frequent affixes which I recognize:

- (13)a. *se-ru / sase-ru, re-ru / rare-ru, e-ru, ta-i, gata-i*
e.g. *kak-a=se-ru.*
niku-i, kane-ru, no-da, beki-da, soo-da, des-u, mas-u
- b. *yoo, mai*
e.g. *Hayaku ne=yoo.*
- c. *te-i-ru, te-k-uru, te-yar-u, te-kure-ru, te-hoshii*
e.g. *Piza o tabe=te-i-ru.*
- d. *tewa-narana-i, neba-narana-i*

- e.g. *Piza o tabe=tewa-narana-i*.
- e. *da-su, hajime-ru, kake-ru, age-ru*
- e.g. *Ame ga fur-i=das-u*.

Notice that I use three symbols to indicate three different types of boundaries; (i) a hyphen denotes conjugation, i.e. between a stem and its ending, (ii) an equal sign denotes agglutination, i.e. between various morphemes, and (iii) a space denotes word boundary. One of the basic properties of the affixes in (13) is the ancillariness to the antecedent item, which is either another affix or a base, which typically (but not necessarily) expounds the Main Predicate. Figure 8 shows the tree diagram of Example (13 a - e).

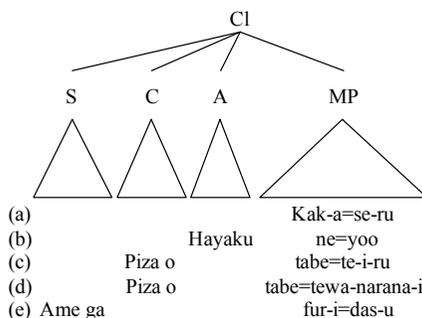


Figure 8: Affixes that agglutinates to the Main Predicate

Notice that in (13) I distinguish five types of affixes in terms of the morphological formations. Each type except for (13a) has its remarkable properties: (13b) includes affixes which do not conjugate, (13d) are those which are obtained through the portmanteau realization, i.e. a '*V-and-V*' pattern expressing a single process, whereas (13d) originate from the 'Clause-and-Clause' pattern to have changed into a grammatical item, and (13e) capture the instances of hendiadic realization, i.e. a pseudo-compounding of two verbs, where one-half of it has lost the original meaning to function as a grammatical marker of various aspectual meanings, such as *das-u* for 'start (*V-ing*)', the basic meaning of which is 'to put out or stretch out something'.

Another basic property of this class of morpheme is its very strong connectivity with the neighbouring items. In this analysis, we may obtain quite a long word consisting of the chain of affixes, which expound a single element in an integrated manner, although it is

usually done to the extent of the capacity to manage in the short-term memory of human beings. A good Example has already been presented in Example (12) in the previous section. Here I shall illustrate the analysis of Example (12) in Figure 9.

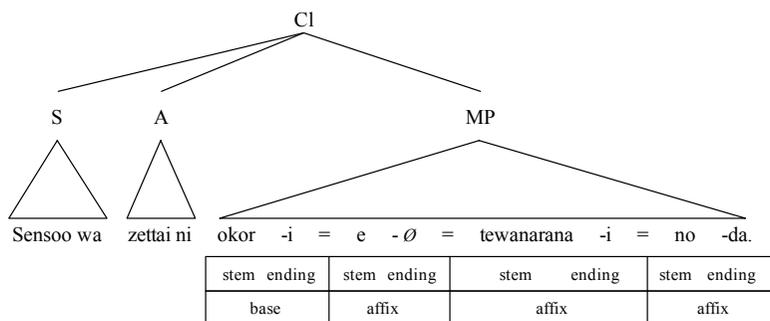


Figure 9: Affixation chain within the single word expounding the single element of structure

It is particularly worth noting that there is, I argue, no need to treat the string of genuinely bound morphemes as the elements of a ‘verbal group’. This is mainly because the relationship between a base and the subsequent affix(es) is not a kind of ‘head-modifier’ relationship but that of derivation which occurs in the word-formation process within a single word.

5.2 The auxiliaries in Japanese

Next, let us move on to the treatment of Auxiliaries which I propose in the paper. Here I suggest the entirely opposite approach to defining Auxiliaries from a general conception of this class:

- (i) Auxiliary is expounded by an item which is a base, i.e. a free morpheme, so a word,
- (ii) it occurs independently of other items in discourse
- (iii) there is lax constraint on the connection between Auxiliary and the antecedents, and
- (iv) it can be conflated with MP in the clause.

From a diachronic perspective, the items of what I term ‘Auxiliary’ (but not all) are relatively new to become an idiomatic expressions for so-called ‘modality’, such as ‘probability’ and ‘evidentiality’. And this is obviously the main reason for many scholars to treat it as ‘atypical auxiliary’. Here we can see an interesting coincidence with Fawcett’s treatment of Auxiliary Extensions (represented as XEx), which ‘scholars cannot even agree on what to call’ (Fawcett 2007: 924). In Japanese, most items that expound the Auxiliary are grammaticalized forms, which derives from a fragment of a clause, as in *kamoshirena-i* (lit. ‘don’t know if’), *mitai-da* (lit. ‘be alike’). Typical Examples are given below:

- (14)a. *kamoshirena-i, (ni-)chigaina-i* in *Taro ga k-uru kamoshirena-i.*
 b. *rashi-i, mitai-da* in *Taro ga k-uru rashi-i.*
 c. *daroo* in *Taro ga k-uru daroo.*

Compared with affixes, as far as I can recognize, there are few items used as Auxiliary in Japanese. Figure 10 demonstrates the syntax of Examples in (14).

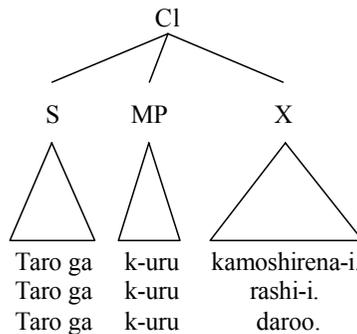


Figure 10: Auxiliaries in Japanese

For illustration of the properties (iii) and (iv), compare the following Examples:

- (15)a. 太郎は 医者 かもしれない。
 Taro-wa isha kamoshirena-i.
 Taro medical doctor may
 Taro may be a doctor.

- b. *太郎は 医者 だ かもしれない。
 *Taro-wa isha da kamoshirena-i.
 Taro med. doc. be may

Example (15a) is a simple instance of a clause expressing a relational process of ‘Taro’s being a doctor’. Basically, in order to make the clause of this kind, a copula *da* expounds the Main Predicate. However, as (15b) indicates, the insertion of *da* makes the clause ungrammatical. Then the simple analysis of this Example is that *da* and *kamoshirena-i* may alternate, so that *kamoshirena-i* will function either as the Auxiliary or as the Main Predicate, or both. In my analysis, *kamoshirena-i* in the above example expounds the conflated element of the Main Predicate and the Auxiliary, which is illustrated in Figure 11.

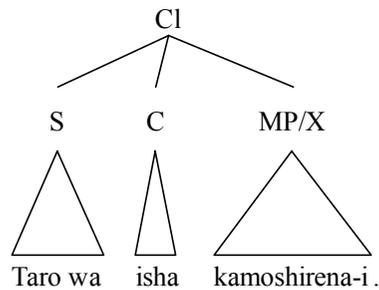


Figure 11: Conflation of the Main Predicate and the Auxiliary

The analysis of Auxiliary presented here is similar to Miyaoka’s treatment of what he calls ‘*ji*’ (in English ‘clitic’). He distinguishes clitics from affixes in terms of two criteria as in:

- (i) affixes are the bound forms, i.e. a part of a word, whereas
- (ii) clitics are likewise bound but they are separate words.

His observation, however, differs from mine, in that he does not recognize the independence of the item. But consider the following Example:

(16)A: 花子は どう しちゃったん だろう。
 Hanako wa doo shi=chat-ta=n daroo.
 Hanako how have done wonder

What happened to Hanako, I wonder?

B: あれ、 かもしれない。 恋、 とか。
 Are, kamoshirena-i. Koi, toka.
 that 'I don't know if' love the like
 Fell in love, or the like, I reckon.

In Example (16), *kamoshirena-i* in B's totally intelligible utterance just states speaker's speculation about the change of Hanako's attitude. In this context, *kamoshirena-i* has no superordinate antecedent. In relation to this, I should point out the fact that (ii) it is no longer necessary for *kamoshirena-i* to 'subordinate' to the lexical verb, i.e. it functions as the Main Predicate to realize a certain Process type.

In figure 11, we considered the analysis of *kamoshirena-i* to be the exponent of the conflated element of the Main Predicate and the Auxiliary (= MP/X). Here I must address another question: 'when *kamoshirena-i* expounds a Main Predicate, does this element have always to be conflated with X?' Let us consider the following clause:

(17)a. 次郎は ピザを 食べる が、
 Jiro-wa pizza-o tabe-ru ga,
 Jiro-TOP pizza-ACC eat but
 太郎は スパゲッティ かもしれない。
 Taro-wa supagetii kamoshirena-i.
 Taro-TOP spaghetti 'I don't know if'

Joro eats pizza, but Taro may eat spaghetti.

b. 次郎は 無罪 だ が、
 Jiro-wa muzai da ga
 Jiro not guilty be but
 太郎は 有罪 かもしれない。
 Taro-wa yuuzai kamoshirena-i.
 Taroo guilty 'I don't know if'

Jiro is not guilty, but Taro may be guilty.

If you compare these two clauses, on the one hand you must insert the ellipted Main

Predicate *tabe-ru* in between *spaghetti* and *kamoshirena-i* in (17a). (Otherwise if you analyze *kamoshirena-i* as the exponent of the conflated element of MP/X, the clause will be interpreted as ‘Taro may be spaghetti!’) On the other hand, it is not possible to insert any other item which functions as the Main Predicate, because the insertion of another Main Predicate generates an ungrammatical clause as in **Taro wa yuuzai da kamoshirena-i*.

Here, again, let me consider the issue from a diachronic viewpoint. Historically, *kamoshirena-i* is derived from a clause consisting of four items, as in *ka* [interjection] + *mo* [collocational particle] + *shir-e* [verb: to know] + *na-i* [negative], so it literally means ‘I don’t know if’ realizing a mental process. However, once the clause of the mental process loses the original meaning to be a grammatical item realizing a certain validity, the process is what grammarians refer to as grammaticalization. However, it is worth noting that what is happening here is, unlike nominalization – i.e. experiential grammatical metaphor – the language has employed the means of expressing a non-experiential meaning by an expression of an experiential meaning, and this is what Fawcett terms experientialization of non-experiential meaning (Fawcett 2000: 211). Besides, Example (17b) indicates that *kamoshirena-i* has developed to reach a further step in language change, so that it has returned to realize another process type, i.e. a relational process. Figure 12 illustrates this phenomenon, which, I suggest, would be called a ‘functional drift’.

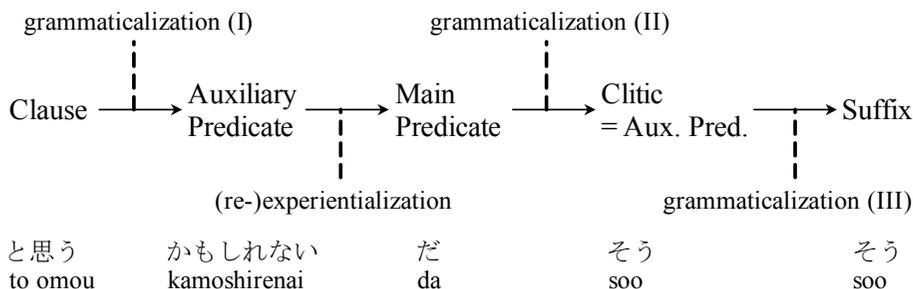


Figure 12: Functional drift

Another two more questions arise here from the present consideration: (i) ‘Do a Main Predicate and an Auxiliary (and perhaps some other CFEs that I have not discussed) constitute a “verbal group” or, to be precise, a “predicative group” (as adjectives and adjectivals realize a Process)?’ and (ii) ‘How is the fixed string of items controlled?’ Unfortunately, answering these two very important questions is beyond the scope of the

present paper, for want of time and space.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

I have aimed at analyzing Japanese that sticks to the basics of: ‘Do not try to make my analysis elegant at the expense of the reality of Japanese’. Let us first look at three analyses of a clause containing eight morphemes (including the Main Predicate), which provides us with a good summary to conclude this paper. Then, of these three analyses, I shall ask which analysis is most desirable for describing Japanese texts.

(18) 病気が	治った	ようだ	と	
Byooki-ga	nao-t=ta	yoo-da	to	
illness-NOM	cure-PST	seem-to be	CMP	
嘘を	つかされているの	かもしれないの	だろう？	
uso-o	tsuk-a=sa=re=te-i-ru=no	kamoshirena-i=no	daroo?	
lie-ACC	tell-CAS-PSV-ASP-AFM	MAY	WILL	

(He) would possibly be being made to tell a lie that he seems to have recovered from an illness, right?

In Example (18), the stem of the lexical verb *tsuk* is followed by the items *sa* for ‘causation’, *re* for ‘passive voice’, *te-i-ru* for ‘aspect’, and three types of ‘validity’ meaning in *no* for ‘acknowledged validity’ (which roughly means ‘it is acknowledged that’), *kamoshirena-i* for ‘possibility’ and *daroo* for ‘prediction’. Note that there is a morpheme *no* at two places.

In drawing a functional syntax analysis, I have suggested that an element of structure may be filled by different kinds of units, which in turn may have another layer of structure. At the level of form, therefore, an element is specified in terms of its relation to other elements of structure, rather than its endocentric construction. Of these three analyses, then, it is Analysis (1) in Figure 13a that illustrates the inability of affixes to expound any element of structure, while certain items, such as *kamoshiren-i* and *daroo*, which I call Auxiliary, can do.

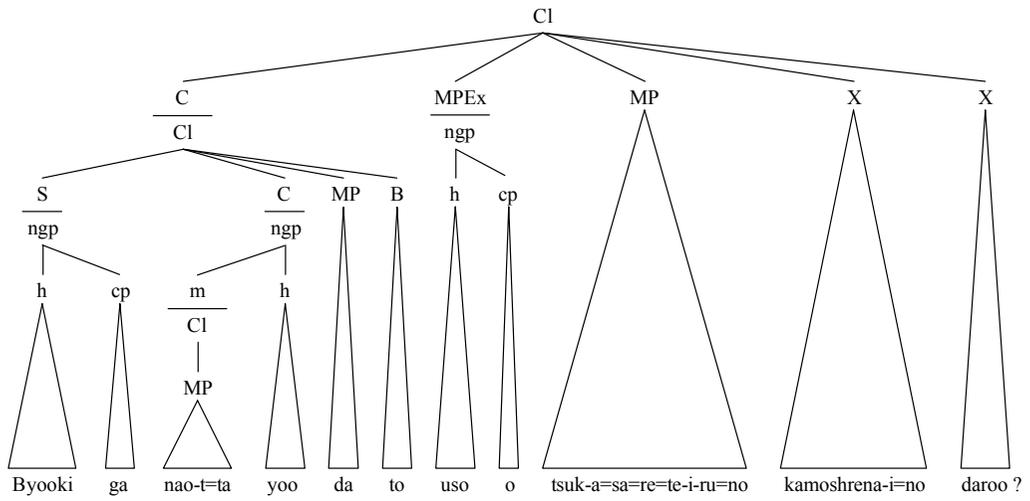


Figure 13a: Analysis 1

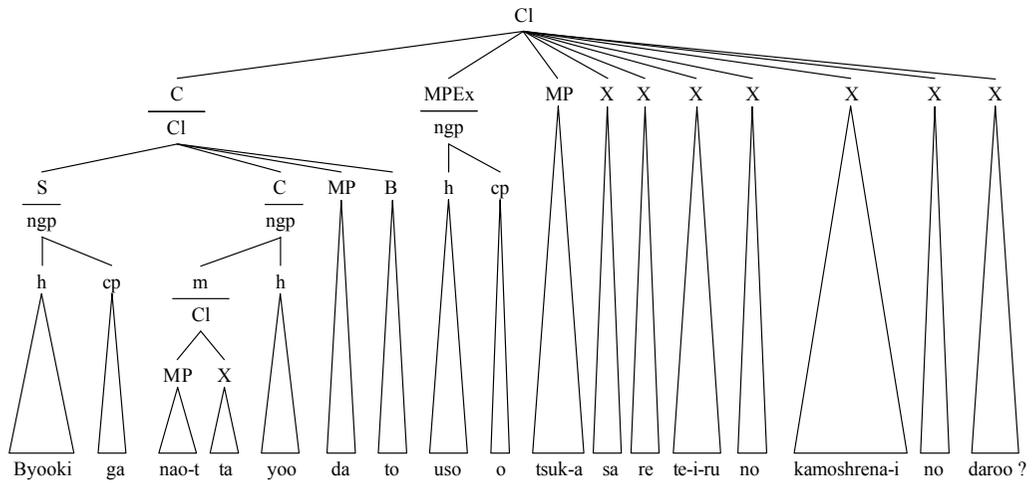


Figure 13b: Analysis 2

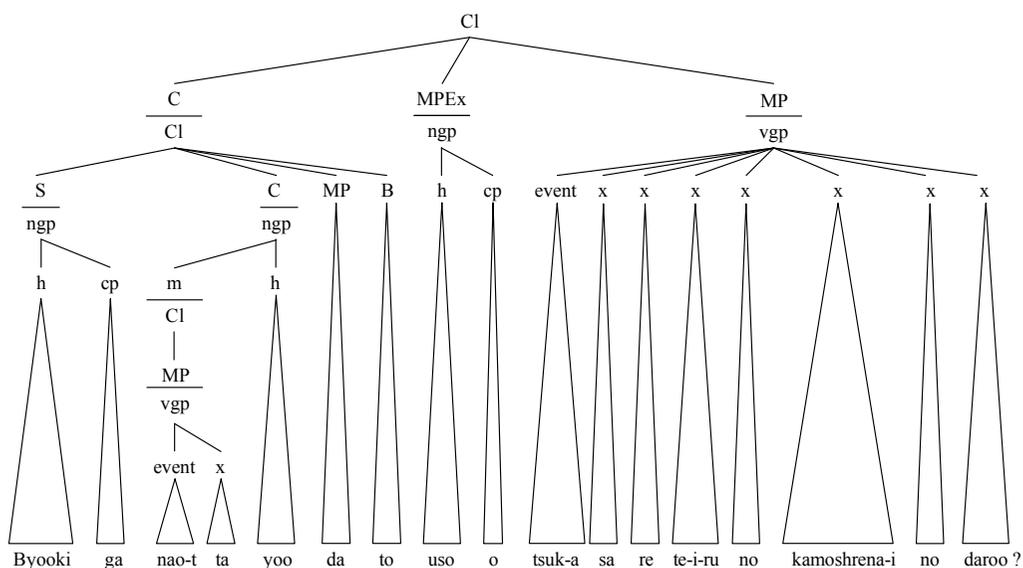


Figure 13c: Analysis 3

Where does the hypothesis of ‘Japanese as a idiosyncratic language’ come from? Through the analyses of so-called Clause-Final Expressions I have realized that it is simply a fallacy deriving from some scholars’ conscious or unconscious orientation toward linguistics developed in a Western tradition. Since Fumihiko Otsuki introduced the concept of Auxiliary to Japanese grammar in 1889, their attempt to describe and account for grammar of Japanese was biased to asking ‘How do we adjust our language to the norm of grammatical systems for Indo-European languages.

Since the classical linguistic typology as developed by Friedlich von Schlegel [1772-1829], Japanese has been generally characterized as an agglutinative language. However, according to Croft’s hypothesis of unidirectionality of the process of language change (Croft 2003: 252), it may be possible to state tentatively that the Japanese language has been changed beyond its state of the agglutinative to the inflectional (i.e. the process of having ‘fused affix’) and partially return to the isolating (by the loss of inflections, as can be seen in the Auxiliary *daroo* in Japanese).

A new approach to a contrastive study of languages should be developed in the way that we break down systems, but not languages, into patterns of ‘making meaning’. We must see how a certain concept is semantically categorized as a choice system and how it is realized by what item in the relevant syntactic structure. And then we can compare two

languages by looking at how the same thing gets done in each language.

Conventions and Abbreviations

Gloss

ACC	=	Accusative case marker
AFM	=	Affirmative form
ASP	=	Aspect marker
CAN	=	The equivalent form of the modal 'can' in English
CAS	=	Causative maker
CMP	=	Complementizer
GEN	=	Genitive marker
MUST	=	The equivalent form of the modal 'must' in English
NOM	=	Nominative case marker
PCL	=	Particle
PST	=	Past tense
PSV	=	Passive voice
TOP	=	Topic marker
WILL	=	The equivalent form of the modal 'will' in English

Elements of Clause

B	=	Binder (= so-called conjunctive particle)
CdP	=	Coda Particle (= so-called clause final particle)
MP	=	Main Predicate
MPEX	=	Main Predicate Extension
S	=	Selecter
X	=	Auxiliary

Elements of Nominal Group

ap	=	appositive particle	A toiu B
cp	=	case particle	
gp	=	genitive particle	A no B
h	=	head	
m	=	modifer	
n	=	nominalizer	
s	=	selecter	

Notes

- ¹⁾ An Exposition of the Government Guidelines for Education at Junior High School, the National Language (2008). URL: http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/chukaisetsu/index.htm
- ²⁾ Chino (1999: 77-79) defines Inflectional languages as 'a type that a set of different grammatical categories comprise a part of a word', and points out that it tends to be difficult to learn such an inflectional language, as it has the paradigm of various patterns of the word ending that carry more than one function on it.
- ³⁾ To be precise, we should insert 'so-called' before 'CFE', but I shall drop it for simplicity in the subsequent discussion. The terminology which should be crowned by 'commonly known as' applies to 'Auxiliary Verb' in Japanese.
- ⁴⁾ In my previous study of modal verbs in English, I pointed out that in Hallidayan functional analysis of modal verbs, they are considered to expound the grammatical element of the Finite. And the semantic interpretation of the Finite is obtained from two broad types of meaning, i.e., in Halliday's terms, 'modalization' and 'modulation', each of which are associated with speaker's judgment about the state of 'being' (i.e. 'statement') and that of 'doing' (i.e. 'command' and/or 'proposal') respectively, in the system of 'speech functions' at the higher stratum than lexicogrammar. Consequently, Halliday deals with the ambiguity of modal verbs in terms of the unified concept of 'modality'.
- ⁵⁾ It is possible to apply the third test, i.e., we can see if the item fulfill the conditions to be a 'word' (in Japanese, 'go'). However, I do not use the test here for two reasons: Firstly there is a historical background of Japanese grammar that the scholars have not treated a word as an element in the explicit constituency, and the Auxiliary is obviously defined along these lines. Secondly, if we apply the morphological distinctions between free vs. bound morpheme and between open vs. closed class, which Test-II substitutes for it. However, as I shall demonstrate later on in this Section, the ambiguous demarcation line between word and morpheme is the crucial problem in recognizing Auxiliaries in Japanese.

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