ERRATA

p.11	*l*.11 from foot:	*sabishiku* →	*sabishiku* in (7)
p.17	*l*.3	: This part → The Attitudinal stratum	
p.18	*l*.8 from foot	: within-proposition adverb →intra-propositional adverb, out of proposition adverb →extra-propositional adverb	
p.20	fn. 6	: RYOIKI → RYOOIKI	
p.31	*l*.12	: the adverbs → the adverbs such as *iyaiya*, and *wazato*	
p.37	*l*.7	: Footnote 21 → Footnote 21 on page 40	
p.66	*l*.12	: is as → is regarded as	
p.70	*l*.8 from foot	: whether they are → whether they appear	
p.76	*l*.2	: DEGREE → DEGREE OF LIKELIHOOD	
P.85	*l*.8	: comment it → comment that it	
p.88	*l*.16	: on any occasion → on every occasion	
p.89	*l*.7	: work → function	
p.95	fn.62	: discussed degree → discussed the degree	
p.108	*l*.6 from foot	: occurrence of *doomo* → occurrence of *dooyara*	
p.111	*l*.23	: may be due to → may be the cause of	
p.117	*l*.12	: illustrated by → illustrated by the examples involving	
p.119	fn.78,ex.2	: *shinsetsuni* → *shinsetsunimo*	
p.142	*l*.12	: as follows → as follows (1975: 120)	
p.142	*l*.9 from foot	: following way → following way (1975: 121)	
p.181	*l*.5 from foot	: share knowledge the → share knowledge of the	
p.193	(34)P	: *isshukango* → *isshuukango*	
p.201	*l*.4	: in usage → in usage and	
p.209	fn.33, *l*.1	: to occur a sentence → to occur in a sentence	
p.210	*l*.19	: asked or → asked for	

On Japanese adverbs

of

a speaker's subjective attitude

By

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Declaration

Except when otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Junko Morimoto

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

The following are grammatical abbreviations used in this thesis. Others will be explained where they appear in the main text.

ABL   ablative case (*kara*)

ACC   accusative case (*o*)

AFF   affirmative

CAUS   causative affix (*sase*)

COM   comitative case (*to*)

COMP   sentential complementiser (*no, koto, to*)

COND   conditional affix (*-ba, -tara, -to, -nara*)

COP   copula (*da, de aru*)

DAT   dative case (*ni*)

DEC   declarative

DUR   durative (*te-iru*)

GEN   genitive case (*no*)

GER   gerund affix (*-te*)

HON   honorific morpheme

IMP   imperative form/sentence

INS   instrumental case (*de*)

INT   interrogative

LOC   locative case (*ni, de*)

NEG   negative

NOM   nominative case (*ga*)

PAST   past tense

PART   sentence-final particle (*ne, yo*, etc.)

PASS   passive affix (*rare*)

PL   plural

POL   polite affix (*masu*, etc.)

Pred   predicate

PRES   present tense

Presum   presumptive (*daroo*)

POLPresum   polite presumptive (*deshoo*)

Q   question particle (*ka*)

S-P   sentence pronominalisation

TOP   topic marker (*wa*)

VOL   volitional/hortative form (*-oo, -yoo*)

*X   X is not grammatical.

#X   X is grammatical, but not appropriate in the given
            context.

Abstract

This thesis develops a prototype approach to lexicosyntactic categorisation and exemplifies the approach for a set of Japanese adverbs. The general proposals developed in this thesis should contribute to an understanding of lexical subcategorisation where substantial heterogeneity is an issue. In addition, the thesis advances Japanese lexicography by providing detailed analyses of the meaning and use of a number of specific lexical items.

Loosely, the adverbs in the set express the speaker's subjective attitude or a similar psychological perspective. The set (referred to as SSA adverbs) has approximately 30 members.

A prototype subgrouping for this set is motivated and illustrated in detail on the basis of a combination of (and partial convergence of) syntactic, semantic and pragmatic criteria and tests.

The thesis demonstrates that simply establishing a uniform and discrete class of 'sentence adverbs' (characteristic of several earlier approaches) is not a realistic solution for elucidating the internal complexity of adverbs of this kind. The substantial heterogeneity among these items is more amenable to a subcategorisation based on multiple interrelated properties. These properties may vary in strength or salience depending on adverbs, giving rise to a prototype organisation.

Chapters in the thesis are arranged in an inductive way. The members of the SSA adverb set are discussed according to criteria in sub-divisions, including detailed lexical analyses at each stage. A view of the internal organisation of SSA adverbs is reached step-by-step, with a final integration.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is concerned with adverbs in modern Japanese, and in particular, focuses on those adverbs which seem to assign a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude to the sentence to which they are adjoined.

Compared with major categories such as nouns and verbs, the grammatical category of 'adverb' has not yet been well-defined. In this thesis, it is assumed that adverbs form a syntactic category with a rather pretheoretical definition which seems to be accepted as linguistic 'common sense'. The definition of adverbs will not be pursued further.

As is often pointed out, the study of adverbs has lagged behind many other areas of linguistic research. One reason for this situation may be that in syntax the function assumed for adverbs is regarded as peripheral compared with verbs or nouns. Only in recent years have adverbs in so-called western languages begun to be taken seriously (Jackendoff 1972, Greenbaum 1969, Schreiber 1972, Ernst 1984, and others). The development of pragmatics, including speech act theory, has also facilitated treatment of some adverbs (Bartsch 1976, Corum 1974, Mittwoch 1976).

However, the Japanese study of adverbs seems still inclined to relegate them to the 'dustbin', as Watanabe (1983) has put it. So far, the main concern of Japanese grammarians has been either the 'adverb' in theories of parts of speech, or in morphological research (Tamori 1979, for criticism), with only a few exceptions; internal organisation of the category remains unclear.

Delays in the study of adverbs may also be attributed to the fact that Japanese has a rich inventory of words having adverbial functions, which exhibit intricate heterogeneous behaviour. (A small part of this will be shown in the subsequent analysis.) Therefore, it seems hard to obtain access to this 'jungle' apart from a lexicographic approach to individual adverbs or a quite generalised treatment.

The purpose of this thesis is to attempt to sort out part of the heterogeneity exhibited by Japanese adverbs. It concentrates on a restricted class of adverbs which, although rather small in number, is diverse enough to make analysis a worthwhile project. The primary concern is to determine internal organisation of the class in a more explicit way than has been done by previous works. Analysis is based on detailed description of selected members of the class in terms of syntactic-semantic (and also pragmatic) characteristics. The belief behind this approach is that adverbs as a tenable category can be established only by means of a correct understanding of possible candidates for the category.

This thesis does not pretend a perfect solution to the problems of the inner organisation of adverbs. Rather, the research is performed in the hope of clearing more and better paths, which will be of help in exploring the 'jungle'.

Previous studies can be roughly divided into two groups: those based on traditional Japanese linguistics, and others which have developed within the framework of modern linguistics, informed by generative grammar, speech act theory and so on. There are only a few in this latter group.

The adverbs dealt with here have a close relationship on the one hand, with the CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI of traditional Japanese linguistics, and on the other hand, with so-called 'sentence adverbs' of modern linguistics. Though these terms are closely related they are not necessarily identical. This point is discussed in Chapter 10.

There is also disagreement about how to treat both CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI and 'sentence adverbs'. A brief review follows (section 1.2 and 1.3) of major previous studies, which delineates the present state of research on this particular set of adverbs and their linguistic requirements.

Section 1.4 gives the scope of the problems being attempted, section 1.5 fixes the terminology and so on used in this thesis, and an outline of organisation of this thesis is offered in section 1.6.

1.2. Review of major studies in traditional approaches

Yamada (1936) created the category of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI, which has been traditionally and widely accepted by grammarians after him. The following chart represents the section of his classification of parts of speech, relevant to the present study.
[1]

Fukushi(Adverb)

Senkoo Fukushi (preceding Adv.)

    Go no Fukushi (word Adv.)

        Zokusei Fukushi (Adv. of attribute)

            Jootai Fukushi (Adv. of
            manner and circumstance)

            Teido Fukushi (Adv. of
            degree)

        Chinjutsu Fukushi
        (Adv. of predication)

      Kandoo Fukushi(Adv. of exclamation)

Setsuzoku fukushi
(Adv. of conjoining)

As Yamada himself noted, the category of FUKUSHI is a broad one which includes not only so-called adverbs, but also classes like interjections and conjunctions as sub-divisions. The details of his criteria for FUKUSHI are not discussed here. The concern is with GO NO FUKUSHI (the word adverb). This class is further sub-divided into; ZOKUSEI FUKUSHI (adverb of attribute which modifies the attribute) and CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI which is associated with CHINJUTSU. The class he called ZOKUSEI FUKUSHI contains two subclasses; JOOTAI FUKUSHI (adverb of manner and circumstance, which contains the idea of attribute), and TEIDO FUKUSHI (for expressing degree of attribute). CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI is defined as follows.

> Chinjutsu no fukushi wa jutsugo no chinjutsu no hoohoo o shuushokusuru mono ni shite, jutsugo no hooshiki ni ittei no seiyaku aru mono nari. Kono chinjutsu no fukushi wa yoogen no jisshitsu joo no igi sunawachi sono shimesu zokusei niwa kankeinaku, kono chinjutsu no hoohoo nomi o sootei suru mono nareba, yoogen ga jutsugo to shiteno yoohoo ni tatanu toki wa sootei suru koto nakimono nari.

----

[1]Translation by Kimura (1980).

(They) modify the CHINJUTSU of a predicate, the form of which has certain restrictions. They are not concerned with substantial meaning, nor the attribute of YOOGEN (verbs and adjectives) but only modify a form of CHINJUTSU. This being so, they do not modify YOOGEN words which do not function as predicates.

The following example from Yamada illustrates what is meant by the above definition.

(1) *Moshi* nanji ikaba,   yoroshiku kare ni tsugeyo.
    (if) you go COND   well   he DAT tell IMP

    'If   you go, give him my best regards.'

Here, the so-called conditional clause is comprised of a verb form plus *ba*, which may be a conjunctive particle, or a part of the verb, depending on one's definition. This thesis follows the second definition.

When *moshi* appears, the clause following it is supposed to be a conditional clause as in example (1). Expressions of condition or hypothesis are regarded as falling within CHINJUTSU. Thus, *moshi* is classified as that type of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI that has an agreement relation with an overt conditional/hypothetical marker (*-ba*).

In Yamada's theory, CHINJUTSU is defined as the function by which a sentence (or a clause) is integrated in terms of thought. Expressions encoding CHINJUTSU are limited to YOOGEN (verbs and adjectives).

Based on this definition, he constructed the following sub-categorisation.

A.   Adverbs which require assertion in the   predicate

1. affirmation required

        KANARAZU (without fail) MOTTOMO (the most)
        ZEHI (by all means)   MASANI (really)

2. negation required

        ISA   E   SARASARA   TSUYATSUYA TSUYU
        YUME (never)

3. emphasis

        IYASHIKUMO   SASUGA (typically)

4. determination

        ZEHI (by all means)   SHOSEN (after all)

5. simile

        ATAKAMO (as if)   MARUDE (as if)

B. Adverbs which require a CHINJUTSU of suspicion,
   hypothesis and the like.

1. question required

   NADO   NAZO   IKAGA
   ANI   IKADE

2. presumption required

   KEDASHI (probably)   YOMO (surely not)
   OSAOSA   (surely not)

3. hypothesis/condition required

   MOSHI (if) TATOI (even if) YOSHI (even if)

Most words listed here are taken from classical Japanese. However, the basic idea is still supposed to apply to modern Japanese.

It should be noted that though the definition of CHINJUTSU relies mainly on meaning, CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI is limited to items that have some sort of agreement (often called KO'OO) with a linguistic form which is thought of as encoding CHINJUTSU. In fact this indicates that a relationship is understood as occuring between words. For instance, in example (1), *moshi* is only compatible with a form of hypothesis, while *kesshite* (never) is in agreement with a form of negation, which is regarded as an expression of CHINJUTSU as well.

Many works of traditional Japanese linguistics were concerned with creating a theory of parts of speech which would include Yamada's system, and he himself did not pursue problems with adverbs any further. However, taking Yamada's argument a step further, one would have to assume that adverbs which do not have a certain agreement with a form of predicate must be excluded from the class of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. This means that JOOTAI FUKUSHI (manner and circumstance adverbs) include any other words which are considered to be adverbs, except those belonging to KANDOO FUKUSHI and SETSUZOKU FUKUSHI. However, there are words which are neither associated with a certain attribute, nor have such an agreement with a certain predicate, for example *yahari* (after all). The point is that as far as Yamada's definition is concerned, it is not clear how to treat adverbs such as *yahari*.

Another problem is that the notion of CHINJUTSU is highly impressionistic and therefore, depending on how it is interpreted, criteria for definition may vary. Actually Yamada's successors held different points of view, and they in turn developed various views about CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI.

At this point, the recent history of CHINJUTSU should be examined more closely. In the Dictionary of Japanese Grammar (Nihon Bunpoo Jiten) (edited by Kitahara et al. 1981) CHINJUTSU is defined as follows.

> Concerning the process of generating a sentence, JOJUTSU is the function by which the content of a sentence such as idea and fact, is arranged, and CHINJUTSU is the function which completes a sentence by expressing a speaker's subjective viewpoint. (Translation is mine.)

There has been a lot of controversy over the definition and application of this notion of CHINJUTSU, which is one of the most important issues in traditional approaches.

Watanabe's view schematised the relationship of sentence types with the CHINJUTSU function, as can be seen below (1974:53).

CHINJUTSU	Sentence
DANTEI (assertion)	HEIJOBUN (declarative sentence)
GIMON (question)	GIMONBUN (interrogative sentence)
KANDOO (exclamation)	KANDOO BUN (exclamatory sentence)
UTTAE (appeal)	MEIREI BUN (imperative sentence)

This chart is reminiscent of the notion of illocutionary force which has been explored since Austin (1962). That is, as far as Watanabe's view is concerned, CHINJUTSU is translatable as 'illocutionary force'. This suggests that CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI can be considered with reference to illocutionary force.

Haga (1954, 1978) modified Yamada's ideas. He subdivided CHINJUTSU into two classes; one that which is addressed to a listener and the other that which expresses a speaker's attitude toward the content of a sentence (assertion, presumption, resolution, exclamation, and so on). The former is encoded by sentence-final particles, in which the Japanese language is particularly rich. As the adverbs considered are only related to the latter division, the idea of which is essentially the same as given by Watanabe, Haga's theory is not explored further.

Leaving aside this issue, other studies should be reviewed. Tokieda (1950) advocated a unique theory he called GENGO KATEI SETSU (theory of linguistic process), which has been regarded as overly psychological by other grammarians.

Based on the linguistic process construed by him, words are classified as either SHI,

which describes an objective world or JI , which represents a speaker's feeling, emotion, volition or desire toward an objective world. According to Tokieda, the JI category includes word classes such as particles, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions and exclamations.[2]

With regard to CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI, his discussion goes on in the following way, examples (2) to (4).

(2) Asu   wa   *osoraku*   seiten   daroo.
    tomorrow TOP   probably   fine weather Presum

    'It will probably be fine tomorrow.'

(3) Kare wa   ano   koto o *kesshite* wasurenai.
    he   TOP   that thing ACC never   forget NEG

    'He will never forget about that.'

(4) *Moshi* kimi ga ike-ba,   boku mo iku.
       if   you NOM go COND   I too go

    'If   you go, I will go too.'

These adverbs are interpreted as being linked with JI, which is supposed to express a speaker's subjective attitude, in contrast with JOOTAI FUKUSHI (adverb of manner and circumstance), which is associated with SHI. Tokieda suggested, therefore, that the adverbs under consideration fall within the category of JI, rather than SHI.

Tokieda paid attention to other adverbs which are possible candidates for CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI based on the above idea of association. One of the adverbs is in example (5).

(5)

Mochiron tsugi no yoona baai wa reigai   desu.
of course   next GEN like case TOP exception COP

'Of course a case like the following is an exception.'

He claimed that *mochiron* is associated with CHINJUTSU when it indicates a speaker's assertion.

This view stressed the subjective property of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. Extending this view further, he also discussed the following cases.

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[2]SHI and JI are terms commonly used in traditional linguistics, though their interpretations vary greatly from grammarian to grammarian.

(6) Kare wa *sabishiku* kokyoo e kaetta.
     he TOP lonely   hometown to return PAST

     'He went back lonely to his hometown.'

(7) Ame ga *sabishiku* futte iru.
    rain NOM lonely   fall DUR

     'The sound of the rain makes me feel lonely.
      (lit. It is raining lonely.)'

(8) *Ureshikumo* furitsumitaru   kana.
     gladly   fall pile PERFECT PART

    (from Pillow book, c.1000)

    'To my delight, the snow has been piled up.'

Comparing (6) and (7), *sabishiku* in (6) is assigned to a subject which is the actor of going home, while in (7), the same adverb expresses the speaker's feeling, not related to rain, which is the subject of the sentence. In (8), *ureshikumo* also represents the speaker's emotion about fallen snow. Tokieda treated these two cases in the same way because of the speaker's emotion involved. Although he did not relate these cases to CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI explicitly, his argument suggests that they may well be be considered in reference to this class. This treatment was criticised by Watanabe (1974), which will be reviewed later in this section.

Hashimoto (1959), in contrast to Tokieda, was concerned with the formal properties of grammatical phenomena, in particular from a morphological point of view. The features of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI as described by Hashimoto are summarised as follows (1959:116). (Translation is mine.)

1. They restrict the attitude of CHINJUTSU.

2. YOOGEN which respond to them are supposed to make CHINJUTSU.

3. They have a certain agreement (KO'OO) for most cases.

4. This class is not modified by other adverbs.

5. This class cannot be a predicate, or modify other adverbs.

He criticised Yamada's treatment of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI, saying that although it is true that there are adverbs which need a certain agreement, it is not always the case. For instance, among adverbs listed in Yamada's sub-categories, ones like *kanarazu* (without

fail) expressing determination, do not necessarily restrict the form of a predicate. Therefore, KO'OO (agreement) is not a decisive criterion of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI.

Hashimoto suspected that adverbs such as those occurring in the following examples should constitute a class.

(9) *Saiwaini*   hito   ni   deatte   oshiete moratta.
      fortunately person DAT encounter teach receive PAST

    'Fortunately I met a man and he told me.'

(10) Ano hito   wa *fushiginimo* ikikaetta.
      that person TOP strangely   revive PAST

    'Strangely that person came back to life.'

He noted that these adverbs are 'rather associated with a whole sentence.'

Watanabe developed a syntactic theory organised in terms of SHOKUNOO (function) (1971, 1974). Although his idea of function is quite different from that in modern western linguistics, he made some insightful observations about adverbs as well as about as other parts of speech.

Watanabe's analysis is concerned with grammatical phenomena which had not been previously seriously considered, unlike the phenomenon of KO'OO (agreement). Clauses such as the following are used as evidence for his argument (1974:129-132).

(11) Kare ga   *moshi* gakusei nara....
      he   NOM if   student COND

    'If he is a student....'

(12) *Moshi* utsukushikattara.....
       if   beautiful COND

    'If it is beautiful...'

(13) *Moshi* shizukadattara...
       if   quiet   COND

    'If it is quiet...'

(14) *Kare ga   *hijooni* gakusei nara...
       he   NOM very   student COND

'*If he is very a student...'

(15) Kare ga *hijooni* nesshinni   benkyooshitara...
                enthusiastically   study COND

'If he studies very hard...'

In these cases, the occurrence of *hijooni* is different from that of *moshi*. *moshi* can appear in any conditional clause, whatever predicative expression follows. As his examples for comparison are not clear, it may be better to add the following sentences for clarification.

(15) *Kare wa *hijooni* gakusei da.
        he TOP very   student COP

    '*He is very a student.'

(16) Kare wa   *hijooni* nesshinni   benkyooshita.
        he TOP   enthusiastically study PAST

    'He studied very hard.'

In comparing these sentences, it can be seen that *hijooni* does not appear in a nominal sentence, though it may be used to modify another adverb, *nesshinni* (enthusiastically). Watanabe's point is that *moshi* is not restricted in terms of predicative expression, whereas *hijooni* is limited as is seen in (14) and (16). He claimed that this observation holds for other adverbs such as *kitto* (surely), *kesshite* (never), *tatoe* (if) and so on.

This treatment cannot be considered sufficient for generalisation.   However, his discussion is valuable for its suggestion that CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI may be examined on the basis of syntactic evidence.

Watanabe also pointed out another characteristic of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI (ibid:133);

> Koko de moo hitotsu chuui shite oite yoi nowa, chinjutsufukushi no rui ga soeraretemo, jutsugo no matomeru jojutsunaiyoo wa, naiyooryootekini kesshite zoogen no eikyoo o ukenai to iu jijitsu de aru.

> Another point worthy of note is that even when a CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI is added, it has no effect on the descriptive content of a predicate in terms of amount of information, which is not increased or decreased. (Translation is mine.)

In discussing functions operating in a sentence, he set up YUUDOO NO SHOKUNOO 'introducing function', which applies to a predicate that follows such an item. According to Watanabe, this function is crucial to CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI, which is considered to indicate that a certain expression of CHINJUTSU will follow. Based on this, CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI was re-named YUUDOO FUKUSHI by him.

Watanabe identified two sub-classes of YUUDOO FUKUSHI: TAIDO NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI (introducing adverb of attitude) and CHUUSHAKU NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI (introducing adverb of comment). The former corresponds to the previous group of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. Watanabe noted that the latter, including adverbs like *mochiron* (of course), *saiwai* (fortunately), *ainiku* (unfortunately), *jijitsu* (in fact) and so on, indicate that what is to be commented follows after the adverb.

He claimed that this class should be treated in the same way as TAIDO NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI for the reason that the adverbs in CHUUSHAKU NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI exhibited the same characteristics as TAIDO NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI in terms of co-occurrence relationship with predicative expressions and 'effect on descriptive content'.

Further, Watanabe handled words consisting of adverbial form adjectives, called YUUDOO KEI (introducing form), separately. His claim was that by these words carrying function of YUUDOO, comment is given toward JOJUTSU NAIYOO (descriptive content) from a speaker's point of view.

Based on this analysis, Watanabe refuted Tokieda's treatment which was described above. In Watanabe's analysis, *ureshikumo* in (8) is regarded as having the function of CHUUSHAKU, which presents a speaker's attitude toward an objective world, while *sabishiku* does not. Consider the following sentence.

(18) Ame wa *hissorito* futte iru.
     rain TOP quitely   fall   DUR

     'It is raining quietly.'

Hissorito (quietly) is an expression describing the objective world. *Sabishiku* can be taken as a substitute for *hissorito*. Therefore, *sabishiku* is functionally different from CHUUSHAKU NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI.

His account is not really clear. However, taking what he stated about YUUDOO FUKUSHI into consideration, it can be seen that he separated the use of *sabishiku* from *ureshikumo* because neither *hissorito* or *sabishiku* refers to the whole content of the sentence.

Further he suggested that his functional analysis should be extended to phrasal expressions and interjections.

Kudoo's work (1982) dealt with what he called JOHOO FUKUSHI which is a part of the CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI category, along with GENTEI FUKUSHI (adverb of limitation) and HYOOKA FUKUSHI (adverb of evaluation). HYOOKA FUKUSHI corresponds to CHUUSHAKU NO YUUDOO FUKUSHI in Watanabe's terms, while JOHOO FUKUSHI seems to be translated by 'adverb of modality', though the membership of this class is larger than that which may be conceived for modal adverbs in English. Kudoo has organised The system of JOHOO FUKUSHI according to the distinction in modality of the predicate. Apparently the distinction was made under the influence of Halliday (1970), who proposed to distinguish 'modality' and 'modulation' for epistemic modality in English. The following chart displays Kudoo's organisation.[3]

A. Wish

  a) KIHON JOHOO (Basic modality)

  b) GIJI JOHOO (Quasi modality)

B. Epistemic

  a) KIHON JOHOO (Basic modality)

  b) GIJI JOHOO (Quasi modality)

C. Condition/Hypothesis

D. KAI JOHOO (Sub modality)

This list included a large number of adverbs - approximately 200 altogether. The assignment of each adverb was actually founded on formal agreement with modal expressions including imperative sentences, presumptive expressions (SUIRYOO HYOOGEN), and so on. Though not comprehensive, the list showed in detail in which environment each adverb appears. In this respect, his work was progressive. It is regrettable, however, that apart from listing, adverbs were not given adequate analysis in terms of use, function and meaning, except some adverbs related to presumptive

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[3]In Kudoo's classification of adverbs, predicative expressions which have no tense discrimination are interpreted as encoding KIHON JOHOO, while GIJI JOHOO is assigned to those which have tense discrimination. This distinction is similar to that between 'modality' and 'modulation' in Halliday's terms. Kudoo only suggests something relating to JOHOO, by KAI JOHOO.

expressions. This work was submitted as an interim report of a long-standing project, so it may not be fair to criticise it in this way for the moment. Nevertheless, his work indicates the present stage which study of this particular kind of adverb has reached.

Characteristics of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI which have been mentioned above may be summarised as follows;

1. They have a certain co-occurrence relationship with expressions of so-called CHINJUTSU.

2. They are expressions of a speaker's subjectivity.

3. They are not associated with the objective content of a sentence.

With regard to item 1, Yamada's successors do not necessarily restrict themselves to this view. For instance, Hashimoto and Watanabe refered to possible candidates which do not have agreement with a specific expression of CHINJUTSU.

Item 2 led Tokieda to consider adverbs such as *sabishiku* in example (7) and *ureshikumo* in (9) in conjunction with CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. Watanabe went further by restating that a speaker's subjective attitude toward the objective world is expressed by the adverbs under consideration. In addition, he sorted out confusing cases involving (7) and (9).

The item 3 was also discussed by Watanabe. This understanding suggests that adverbs under consideration are outside the propositional content of a sentence. In other words, the scope of adverbs can be interpreted as extending over the whole sentence. This interpretation makes it possible to relate CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI to 'sentential adverb'.

1.3. Review of major studies in modern linguistics

In this section, studies from a more theoretical point of view will be reviewed. The adverbs which may pertain to our research are so-called 'sentence adverbs' or 'sentential adverbials'.

It seems relevant to review some studies of Western language here because the framework adopted in Japanese studies has been influenced by such studies, whether directly or indirectly.

The definition and understanding of sentence adverbs vary largely depending on linguists (for instance, Sweet 1955:127, Kruisinga 1932:124, Thomason and Stalnaker 1973, Bellert 1977, McCawley 1984).

This discussion starts with Greenbaum's (1969) definition and classification, although he is one of the researchers who avoided making use of the term of 'sentence adverbs', and he defined a group named 'disjunct', a term 'suggesting their lack of integration within the clause to which they are subordinate' (1969:25).

Greenbaum divided the category of 'disjunct' into two sub-classes: 'style disjunct', which refers to form of communication, and 'attitudinal disjunct', which 'in general expresses the speaker's attitude to what he is saying, his evaluation of it, or shade of certainty or doubt about it' (ibid:94).

Corum (1974) attempted to treat certain adverbs, which she called evaluative adverbs, in terms of illocutionary force. This set of adverbs corresponds to attitudinal disjuncts in Greenbaum. Corum paid attention to the syntactic behaviour of the adverbs described by Greenbaum, including non-occurrence in questions, imperatives or indirect questions and claimed that there was enough syntactic evidence to admit them as a class of adverbs. Further, she argued that they shared a function which was related to a speaker's role in the following way (the examples are from Corum).

(26)

  a. It is fortunate that Burrows was elected.

  b. Fortunately, Burrows was elected.

The response to (26a) can be false and it indicates that the illocutionary force of sentence (26a) is assertion. On the other hand, the response as false to (26b) can only refer to the proposition (=that Burrows was elected). That is, the adverb, *fortunately*, is not included in the asserted part of the sentence. This means that the adverb has an illocutionary force different from assertion. Based on this argument, she claimes that what she calls evaluative adverbs have a shared illocutionary force. Her research, however, does not reach the point where what illocutionary force they have is determined, although she suggests that it may be weaker than assertion.

Independently of this work, Bartsch (1976) handled sentence adverbials (in her terms) in German in a similar way. After examining syntactic and semantic features of a whole range of German adverbs, she distinguished sentence adverbials, termed K-adverbials, based on whether they appear in interrogative and imperative sentences, and whether they appear before the negative marker *nicht*.

For instance, in terms of negation, the test shows results like the following. (The test is performed in non-contrastive utterance.)

(27) *Peter kommt nicht vermutlich.

    'Not presumably Peter comes.'

She explained the restriction in the following way (1976: 47).

> The negation test fails in the case of Ko-constructions like 'Peter kommt vermutlich' or 'Peter kommt hoffentlich'. Correspondingly, one cannot question such sentences by questions like 'Wirklish?'('Really') or 'Ist das wirklich der Fall?'('Is this really the case?') if these sentences are used in speech acts in which the speaker expresses his suppositions and his hopes, as they normally are. They mean in this case 'Ich vermute (hoffe), dass Peter kommt. 'In these speech acts one does not state that one suspects or hopes that ... but rather one's suppositions or hopes here get a linguistic expression. In the expression of supposition (or in that of hoping) we prefer the speech act of supposition (hoping). This speech act can be determined, for example, in opposition to the speech act of asserting. The oppositions between the Ko and Ki-adverbials indicate.   the oppositions between the various illocutionary forces with which the propositional content of p is stated.

Ko-adverbials include adverbs like *vermutlich* (presumably) and so on, while Ki-adverbials involve those like *erfreulicherweise* (fortunately) and so forth. She argued that the unique properties of sentential adverbs are accounted for by understanding them in their performative function. Her argument is summarised as follows. According to Austin (1962) the sentences used performatively are neither true or false. Whatever has been stated by the speaker can be negated or questioned, but the performance of the speech act itself cannot, for the above reason. One such sentence is 'Ich behaubte' dass p' (I assert, that p). The function of Ko-adverbials is exactly the same as this sentence. The use of Ki-adverbials were interpreted in a similar way.

From these accounts, it is clear that the focal point of both Corum and Bartsch's argument is that the adverbs dealt with show features which should be carried by expressions of illocutionary force. That is, they are outside the part of the sentence where truth value can be determined.

There now follows a discussion of recent Japanese research in this field. In a contrastive study between English and Japanese, Sawada (1978) made a similar observation about what he terms sentential adverbials (involving the same range of adverbs as that of Greenbaum's classification).

In English this class involves two sub-classes:'epistemic adverbs' such as *apparently*, *evidently*, *perhaps*, *possibly*, and so forth and 'attitudinal adverbs'(in Sawada's terms) such as *foolishly*, *wisely*, *correctly* and so on.

Sawada set up two sub-classes for Japanese adverbs in a parallel fashion. the epistemic class involves *zettai (ni)* (surely), *kitto* (surely), *tabun* (maybe), *osoraku* (probably) and so forth, while in the attitudinal class adverbs like *kenmeinimo* (wisely), and *saiwai ((ni)mo)* (fortunately) are included.

These adverbials, either English or Japanese, show certain features with regard to several syntactic processes (in Table 1-1) , comparing them with those of Predicate adverbials, which 'modify' a predicate.

Table 1-1: Syntactic behaviour of adverbials from Sawada

scope(focus) adverbials	Q	NEG	IMP	S-Pro
S-adverbials	-	-	-	-
Pred-adverbials	+	+	+	+

(Abbreviations:
    Q = question
    NEG= negation
    IMP=imperative
    S-Pro= sentence pronominalisation)

Sawada claimed that the syntactic behaviour of S-adverbials (Table 1-1) cannot be explained within the framework of generative grammar, and that speech act theory could serve to sort out this issue. To do so, he proposed his own speech act theory, which posited three different functional strata in linguistic expressions; Performative, Attitudinal Propositional. These are illustrated in Table 1-2.[4]

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[4]It is interesting to compare the above system with a layered structure proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984). In this cross-linguistic analysis, the structure is comprised of constituents and operators, four of which operate on periphery.

constituents
        [L ...In (MOD[NP(NP)(DIR (ASPECT[Predicate]))])]

        --------   ------   ----------
        PERIPHERY   CORE   NUCLEUS

(ILLO FORCE (EVID (TENSE (STATUS [   ]))))

Focusing on the two peripheral operators (Illocutionary force and Evidential), the structure appears to be quite close to that of Sawada's. Although the grammatical phenomena treated in each analysis are not identical, this suggests that the system under consideration may be valid cross-linguistically.

Table 1-2: Strata of a sentence from Sawada

(19) Kinoo   kaji ga   atta   rashii ne.
     yesterday fire NOM occur PAST seem   PART


```
                    U1
                   /  \
            U2   /      \  F
           /  \
          /    \        ne   Performative stratum
         P      F       ------------------------------

                 rashii       Attitudinal stratum
         --------------------------------------------------
      Kinoo kaji ga                 Propositional stratum
      atta
      --------------------------------------------------
```
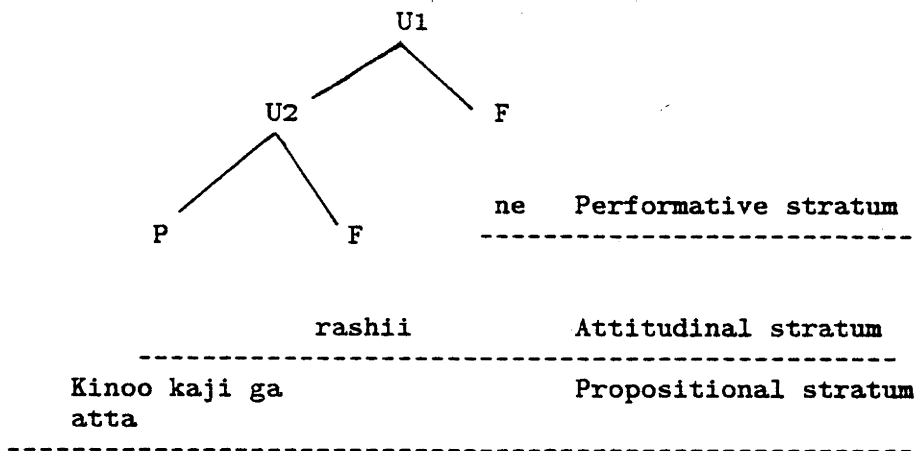
(Abbreviations:
 P = proposition
 F = illocutionary force)[5a]

This sub-division is, as Sawada noted, based on Haga's view of CHINJUTSU (in 1.2). That is, the Performative stratum is what is directly addressed to a listener and the Attitudinal stratum is what expresses a speaker's psychological attitude. This part is realised towards the end of surface sentences in Japanese.

Then, after examining expressions like modals, which are hypothesised to be in the Attitudinal stratum, Sawada claimed that Attitudinal stratum is beyond the scope of negation, question, order or command. The argument following this is that sentential adverbials behave exactly the same way. That is, sentential adverbials fall within the Attitudinal stratum. In this way, the features given in Table 1-1 are explained neatly.

The purpose of his work was to provide interpretation of adverbs on grounds more general than that of function. His proposal of three strata may need more extensive investigation, but is regarded as an attempt to bridge the gap between traditional Japanese linguistics and modern linguistics.

The neatness of Sawada's treatment and solution, however, is a weakness as well. For instance, if Pred-adverbs (leaving aside the definition of these) are examined carefully, the result will not be so neat as given in the chart. This issue will be dealt be dealt with in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

5a
    Sawada did not indicate what U meant. It can be considered that U is an abbreviation of 'utterance!.

Further, although he made reference to CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI, his 'sentential adverbs' are limited to ones which are translated equivalents of Greenbaum's attitudinal disjuncts. This choice seems to make it easier to find parallels with corresponding classes of English adverbs, and this work cannot be considered complete by itself because of that. It was shown in the previous section that there were a greater variety of adverbs (cf. Kudoo's list) which might fall within the class examined by the definition Sawada gave. Another problem is that he failed to clarify the feasibility of two terms, attitudinal disjunct and sentential adverbials in Japanese. It is possible that membership of these classes overlaps, but this does not necessarily mean that the classes are identical.

The argument presented by Sawada is essentially along the same line as the studies in English and German. He argues that Japanese adverbs are treated exactly the same way.

Another study to be noted is Nakau's research, although the major body of the analysis is comprised of English data. Nakau (1979, 1980) intended integrated treatment of expressions of modality. In his analysis, a sentence is decomposed into two parts, Meidai (a propositional content) and Modality in which a speaker's psychological attitude at the moment of utterance is encoded. This definition of modality is wider than that widely accepted in English linguistics. For instance, a speaker's psychological attitude is encoded in declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences. These sentences are regarded as expressions of modality, as well as those realised by so-called modal auxiliaries in English. Further, expressions like sentence final particles in Japanese are also supposed to fall within modality.

In Nakau's theory, certain types of adverbs are regarded as belonging to the category of modality as well. He divided a whole range of adverbs into MEIDAINAI FUKUSHI (within-proposition adverb) and MEIDAIGAI FUKUSHI (out of proposition adverb). The latter stands outside the proposition and expresses a speaker's psychological attitude toward the proposition, and is called BUN FUKUSHI (sentence adverbs), which was divided into four classes.[5b]

1. KACHI HANDAN NO FUKUSHI (evaluative)

2. SHINGIHANDAN NO FUKUSHI (truth judgement or modal)

3. HATSUWA KOOI NO FUKUSHI (speech act or pragmatic)

4. RYOOIKISHITEI NO FUKUSHI (domain)

[5b] Translations are borrowed from Iketani (1986:34).

Nakau observed several syntactic-semantic processes which serve to characterise expressions of modality. The main features were given as follows (1979). They do not occur in interrogative or imperative sentences. They are outside the scope of negation. They are not included in an anaphoric part referred to by pro-forms. They are outside the operative scope of aspect and tense (which means that these expressions have no co-occurrence restrictions in terms of aspectual and temporal grammatical categories).

The features are shared by BUN FUKUSHI (sentence adverbs) as well. Analysing the behaviour of sentence adverbs, Nakau gave explanation of several phenomena involving sentence adverbs in support of his theory of modality.

For example, Nakau explained the negative feature in terms of interrogative sentences in the following way, in the case of KACHIHANDAN NO FUKUSHI(adverbs of evaluation).
(28)

a. *Has John fortunately come?

b. Is it fortunate that John has come?

(28a) is not acceptable. The reason for this is that there is a clash of modalities, that in the question and that in the adverb, *fortunately*. Modality of the question is that asking whether the proposition is true or not, while the modality shown by the adverb adds evaluation to the proposition which is presupposed to be true. It follows from this that a clash is caused by contradiction in the modality in terms of truth judgment. On the other hand, (28b) is acceptable, because the sentence is not submitted to ask whether the proposition that John has come is true or not, but to ask whether the evaluation is true or not.

With regard to SHINGIHANDAN NO FUKUSHI(adverbs of truth judgement), examples are also given, as is seen below.
(29)

a. *Do they surely want him to be elected?

b. *Did Frank probably beat all his opponents?

Modality shown by the question asks about the truth value of the proposition. The adverbs *probably* and *surely* express judgement about truth value in terms of degree. This is the reason for the contradiction.

As far as the two classes above are concerned, Nakau's explanation is quite convincing.

His research mostly deals with English adverbs, but he claimed that the explanations apply to Japanese adverbs in a parallel way.

Nakau's treatment is substantially the same as that in terms of illocutionary force by Corum, Bartsch and Sawada.

These studies claim that 'sentence adverbs' are an expression of illocutionary force or modality in Nakau's sense, based on syntactic features exhibited by the adverbs.

Two sub-classes are explained neatly in this treatment. They are well-formed classes, which 'take a sentence as their scope', 'expressing the speaker's psychological attitude' and share syntactic-semantic features discussed here. Corum and Sawada only treated these two classes, while Bartsch and Nakau included more than the two classes. The other classes were not explained neatly.[6]

Concerning Japanese adverbs, the studies reviewed here emphasise the parallelism between Japanese and English adverbs. However, it should be pointed out that the claim only holds for the two sub-classes and that in particular from Nakau's classification several adverbs which are commonly used and may fall within 'sentence adverb' are missed out. These are such as *yahari* (after all), *doose* (after all) and *doomo* (somewhat?).

1.4. Issues and scope of this thesis

The review in sections 1.2 and 1.3 reveals the main problems with previous studies.

A major weakness of traditional approaches is that theories have not been developed in such a way that they are testable on the basis of linguistic evidence.

The approaches made by Sawada and Nakau have their own value within the framework of modern Western linguistics, although the emphasis is put on the parallelism between English and Japanese adverbs in their researches, and it is doubtful that their classification conforms with the reality of Japanese adverbs. Validity of the term 'sentence adverb' in Japanese has not been discussed, either.

We have seen that in both approaches above, previous studies have been based on

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[6]For instance, Nakau does not explain RYOIKI SHITEI NO FUKUSHI. He uses 'modality belonging to the questioner' to explain the behaviour of HATSUWA KOOI NO FUKUSHI, but it is not clear what kind of modality it is.

analysis of a small number of adverbs and the rest remain without proper consideration. Otherwise, only a long list for adverbs of this kind is available.

The present situation indicates that studies such as (1) covering various kinds of, and adequate numbers of adverbs, (2) offering proper descriptions of them, and (3) analysis based on linguistic evidence, are required for reaching a deeper understanding of Japanese adverbs as well as gaining a sound base for theoretical development.

This thesis is motivated by the above requirements and aims at providing a internal organisation of a certain set of adverbs, which can satisfy these requirements.

As was briefly mentioned in 1.1, the set of adverbs dealt with here are assumed to express a speaker's subjective or similar psychological attitude. The reasons are as follows. The existing categories such as 'sentence adverb' and CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI are not suitable for the present research because they are either vague or too limited in terms of definition and membership. However, it is undeniable that these categories are closely related to each other, and their shared property may be 'a speaker's psychological attitude'. This property will be emphasised and a category involving this property will be assumed. Although this category is on vague semantic ground, this should be appropriate as a point of departure to explore heterogeneity.

As was observed in the reviews of theoretical studies, it is possible to make an approach to these adverbs by means of syntactic-semantic (and pragmatic) features.

Further, my assumption is that Japanese adverbs of this kind can be best studied by means of fine co-occurrence restrictions with regard to various sentence types. 'KO'OO NO GENSOKU' (the principle of agreement) may be the counterpart for this in traditional approach, although the principle has been discussed only in a rudimentary way.

Another problem, which naturally arises from the present level of research, is that apart from syntactic features, the meaning/function of many adverbs has not been elucidated yet, although they are commonly used in daily Japanese.

To gain adequate descriptions, analysis of individual adverbs is required. description. Without sufficient knowledge of meaning/function of adverbs, formal features lack meaning and it is difficult to justify incorporation of adverbs into a whole organisation.

The major purpose of this thesis is to clarify the regularity and irregularity emerging from a set of adverbs rather than offering all the lexicographic details.

In this sense, the present research is rather eclectic in syntactic and semantic (and pragmatic) terms. In some parts, lexical analysis is extensive, and in other parts, the focus is more on syntactic features.[7]

Some limitation to the adverbs discussed must be made, because it is almost impossible to treat all of the possible candidates for the category. Only a selected few which seem important and representative are discussed in this thesis.

A further limitation concerns certain types of adverbs which are traditionally classified as CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. Adverbs which only appear in clauses, for example *moshi* are not handled in this thesis, though illustrations of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI are often provided by these adverbs in traditional approaches.

Another group of adverbs excluded is so-called adverbs of negation, which only appear in a negative environment. The reason for this is that in traditional approaches, negation is regarded as falling within expressions of CHINJUTSU, while linguists like Sawada (1978) take the view that expressions of negation belong to the propositional content. Depending on views about negation, adverbs closely related to negation can be treated differently. Nakau (1980) suspects that some adverbs of negation constitute propositional content, while some are better dealt with in the light of what he calls modality. This means that the latter is more involved with a speaker's subjective/ psychological attitude. A similar view was presented by Tanaka (1983), who examined syntactic and semantic constraints on *kesshite* (never) and *zenzen* (not at all). Currently, expressions of negation in Japanese have not been studied well, as Teramura (1979) has pointed out. Adverbs of negation can be a field of study per se, and they should be investigated in conjunction with negative expressions in Japanese. This thesis will treat one such adverb, *masaka* (surely not), which may have importance for reasons other than negation. Apart from this word, adverbs of negation will be briefly mentioned for comparative purposes.

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[7]In the discussions in the chapters, English examples are often employed for illustrative purpose. This thesis does not particularily intend to be a contrastive study, but examples will be helpful to show where the problem lies in some cases, because English adverbs have been studied more closely to date.

1.5. Preliminary remarks

1.5.1. Semantic or pragmatic?

Expressions of 'a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude' are easily contrasted with those which are used to describe the objective world (or to describe things as objective). So-called semantic content of a sentence is assigned to the latter. This suggests that study about words falling within the former group is concerned with so-called pragmatics.

However, the definition and application of pragmatics and semantics differs from one linguist to another. This section explains the standpoint taken in this thesis.

Here is a definition of semantics and pragmatics by Andrews (1985:62):

> Language is used not merely to depict the world, but to communicate in it: its users are part of the world they talk about. There is therefore a further aspect of meaning, involving factors other than what a sentence refers to, which contributes to determine when the sentence may be used. This aspect of meaning, called pragmatics, involves such things as the hearer's presumed ignorance or knowledge of various features of the situation being talked about, what the speaker wishes to put forward as the topic of conversation, and so on.

Following this definition, the adverbs treated in this thesis are mostly in the domain of pragmatics. Expressions of a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude can hardly be interpreted as depicting the world, but they are loaded with communicative purposes.

This thesis uses the following definition of pragmatics, which is one of those discussed by Levinson (1983:9).

> Pragmatics is the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language.

This definition of pragmatics puts a stress on relations between linguistic expressions and context; that is, contextual differences are the main concern here. Therefore, semantics may be regarded as treating as contextually invariable part of linguistic processes.

Following this definition, the present research of Japanese adverbs is mainly concerned with semantics rather than pragmatics in that the primary task is to capture a certain meaning/function of adverbs, which is assumed to be constant regardless of context.

The standpoint taken here is that the semantic description is a basic requirement even for study of words having various discourse functions (cf. Wierzbicka 1987).

This approach does not deny the importance of contextual information. Rather, it is necessary to use contextual information to analyse the meaning/function of adverbs and to find the essential conditions for their use.

Further, it should be noted that pragmatic treatment has significance in interpreting behaviour of certain adverbs. In some cases, a semantic explanation is nearly sufficient, whereas some cases may require treatment of pragmatic considerations, including presupposition, illocutionary force, thematisation and so on. In the latter cases, an additional issue is discussed below in terms of how much pragmatic information is required in exploring the adverbs.

The notation, 'meaning/function' is employed in this thesis for the following reason. Roughly, comparing nouns and adverbs, the semantic make-up of nouns can be described by spelling out the lexical properties, although how they are best analysed is another problem. On the other hand, in describing the semantic make-up of adverbs, it is not clear whether what is being treated is the lexical meaning or function (that is, how the word serves), or both. The degree of complexity appears different depending on the adverbs, as shown in actual analyses in the later chapters. In this thesis, the issue of meaning/function is not pursued further.

A brief explanation of two terms is also given below. 'Action' refers to what occurs and changes over time. This term includes both occurrence involving a responsible agent and that not involving it. 'State' is generally used to refer to 'existing conditions not involving change across time' (Givón 1984:87).[8]

1.5.2. Treatment of data

Most of data employed in this thesis are derived from two sources. One is dialogues or sentences which are made up by the author, or with the help of native speakers. The other source is collected examples from written material, such as novels and essays. A list of primary sources is given at the end of the thesis. The collected examples are not always reliable for several reasons. Kunihiro (1982: 187), discussing problems in actual analysis of meaning, mentioned problems such as dialectal use, archaic use, deviant use

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[8]According to Mourelatos (1981), 'action' (occurrence) includes 'event' and 'process'. As this distinction is not particularily relevant for our discussion, these terms are not used in this thesis in his sense. Further, in Mourelatos's work, 'state' is used for distinguishing aspects expressed by verbs, but in the present work, 'state' is rather assigned to what is generally encoded by nominal or adjectival predicates in Japanese.

and so forth, which may be employed for special literary effects. The data are treated with great care so that as far as possible 'standardised use' of words can be obtained, although marginal use will be discussed in some places. Judgement about 'standard' and 'marginal' use is mostly dependent on about five or six native speakers, including the author.[9]

Data from written material are used in two ways. Some are given as examples for illustrative purposes. The author has taken the liberty of simplifying some examples by shortening sentences, or replacing words, but only as far as these devices do not affect the problem discussed. In some places, the data are used to give supportive evidence statistically, although in a small number of cases.

1.6. Organisation of the thesis

The adverbs dealt with in this thesis can be assumed to express a Speaker's Subjective Attitude, hence they are referred to SSA adverbs.

The occurrence of SSA candidates is in many cases quite intricate and because of this, the approach in this thesis is to start with a broad approximation and to narrow down the focus of discussion step by step.

Chapter 2 covers the definition of SSA adverbs in this thesis. As a first approximation a rough characterisation of them in contrast with other adverbs is discussed. Investigation is made in terms of positional and syntactic-semantic features which SSA adverbs exhibit in relation to basic sentence types.

Chapter 3 makes a rough sub-grouping of SSA adverbs according to co-occurrence restrictions with regard to sub-sentence types. The treatment shown in this chapter is a further approximation as to the behaviour of SSA adverbs.

By dividing them into sub-groups, detailed analyses of candidates for SSA adverbs are provided in Chapter 4 to 9. Chapter 4 analyses adverbs closely related to epistemic, modal expressions in the sense which is widely accepted in modern linguistics, such as *tabun* (probably), *sazo* (surely) and so forth. The examination of Chapter 5 includes adverbs like *doomo* (somewhat) and *dooyara* (somewhat?), which have not yet been the subject of much rigorous study.

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[9]Most judgements are made by female informants.

In Chapter 6, adverbs like *ainiku* (unfortunately) are the main concern as well as those like *mochiron* (naturally). They are close in terms of co-occurrence restrictions. At the end of this chapter, a discussion of the partial organisation of SSA adverbs is also provided.

Chapter 7 handles adverbs whose primary environment is imperative sentences: *doozo*, *dooka* (please) and *zehi* (by all means?).

This is followed by Chapter 8, in which several different groups are investigated in relation to their function at the trans-sentential level.

Chapter 9 examines the occurrence of some adverbs which seem marginal in the assumed SSA category.

A whole organisation of SSA adverbs is discussed in Chapter 10. A few tests are performed in order to present regularity and irregularity among the candidates in toto. The uniformity and diversity is explained in accordance with previous analyses. All these results are integrated, and based on them, The inner organisation of SSA adverbs is provided.

Chapter 11 provides the summary and conclusion of this thesis.[10]

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[10]In what follows, the glosses will be given for the sake of convenience, and because of that, they are not necessarily consistent. English translations for Japanese adverbs may be sometimes misleading in terms of meaning/function, so presentations are arranged carefully. Translation is avoided when it may cause confusion, and instead explanation of usage is given. Still, it seems proper to warn the reader to take English equivalents as very rough approximations and not to bother with them further.

Chapter 2

Characterisation of SSA adverbs

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to delimit the adverbs which are dealt with in this thesis. This class of adverbs, tentatively called SSA adverbs, is defined on rather vague semantic grounds (in 2.2). Then, this quasi-category is examined so as to determine whether these adverbs can be distinguished from other adverbs on syntactic and semantic grounds. In the investigation in this chapter, firstly, a positional criterion is explored (in 2.3), then, basic sentence types are employed to discuss how adverbs occur in (simple) sentences (in 2.4).

2.2. SSA adverbs

From the review of previous studies in Chapter 1, it may be seen that there is no rigid categorisation which can be relied on, nor formal criteria sufficient to classify adverbs for the present. The notion CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI may have some utility, but identification of particular adverbs falling within this category differs from grammarian to grammarian, probably because of the broadness of the original statement by Yamada. On the other hand, it is not yet clear how we might apply the term 'sentential adverb' to Japanese. Roughly speaking, adverbs involved in this category are considered to take a whole sentence as their scope. However, this definition is not very clear either; exactly what is taken to be 'sentential' must be established for any particular analysis. Taking these points into consideration, neither of these potentially confusing categories are used as a point of departure in this thesis. Rather, a semantic approach is taken where the basic task is to attempt to delineate a category of adverbs which convey a speaker's attitude, although this is also loosely defined.

The following list provides a preliminary sample of the adverbs to be dealt with in the subsequent analysis of this thesis.[11]

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[11] ? mark for the gloss means that the semantic correspondence is problematic but no better equivalent is available.

Table 2-1: Sample of the adverbs

TABUN	probably	KITTO	surely
OSORAKU	probably	KANARAZU	surely
MASAKA	surely not	ZETTAI	surely
SAZO	surely	TASHIKANI	certainly
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly	TASHIKA	certainly?
SAIWAI	fortunately	AKIRAKANI	obviously
AINIKU	unfortunately	DOOSE	after all
DOOMO	somewhat?	SHOSEN	after all
DOOYARA	somewhat?	KEKKYOKU	after all
DOOKA	please	YAHARI	after all
DOOZO	please	JITSUWA	in fact
ZEHI	by all means?	JIJITSU	in fact
MOCHIRON/MURON	naturally/	TOOZEN	naturally
	of course	SHOOJIKI	to be honest
KANYOONIMO	generously		
KENMEINIMO	wisely		

It is assumed that these adverbs typify the quasi-category mentioned above, which may include more adverbs than indicated here.[12] An adverb can be put into this category if it meets the following semantic condition:

> The adverb expresses the speaker's subjective/psychological attitude toward what he/she says, and not the attitude of the subject.

The adverbs defined this way will be provisionally called SSA adverbs throughout this thesis.

In what follows, a rough illustration of SSA adverbs will be provided by comparing them with adverbs which are supposed to express a subject's mental attitude.

For instance, consider sentence (1), containing *saiwai* (fortunately).

(1) *Saiwai*,   John wa hitsuji   o   sugu   mitsuketa.
    fortunately   TOP sheep   ACC soon   find PAST

　'Fortunately, John found the sheep quickly.'

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[12]In particular, there are a large number of adverbs with the same structure as that of the last two adverbs on the list which will be dealt with in Chapter 5. They are generally supposed to have etymological relationship with the adverbial forms of so-called adjectives. For instance, *kenmeinimo* is composed of an adverbial form of *kenmeida* (wise) plus the particle *mo*. *Kenmeini* is also used with an adverbial function. In this thesis, both forms such as *kenmeinimo* and *kenmeini* are are assumed to be lexical adverbs. In this connection, it is also assumed that this category of adjective includes two types of words which are traditionally called KEIYOOSHI (adjective) and KEIYOODOOSHI (adjectival-verb). They have different morphology, but are semantically and functionally similar. The treatment of adjectives seems to suffice for the the analysis in this thesis.

In this example, the person who felt fortunate may be John, but it is possible to consider that the speaker is who makes a judgment about the event involving John and expresses his/her attitude in terms of fortunateness. Further, consider the following example.

(2) *Saiwai*,   teki wa   bakufuu de   fukitobasareta.
    fortunately   enemy TOP   blast   by   blow off PASS PAST

  'Fortunately, the enemy was blown away by the blast.'

In this context, it is implausible that the enemy, or the blast felt fortunate. Thus, it seems natural to attribute the inner state of mind to the speaker of the sentence. (Further discussion will be given in Chapter 6.)

Compared with these sentences, the adverb *iyaiya* (reluctantly) is used to denote the 'subject's' inner state of mind.

(2)   Saimon wa   *iyaiya*   yakusokushita.
           TOP   reluctantly promise PAST

  'Simon promised reluctantly.'

In (2), Simon was not willing to promise, but he did. The person who was reluctant to

do the action was the subject of the sentence, not the speaker.[13]

Based on this distinction, *saiwai* may be speaker-oriented, whereas *iyaiya* can be regarded as subject-oriented.[14] At this stage, 'a speaker's subjective/ psychological attitude' should be interpreted somewhat loosely as a pre-theoretical concept. What matters here is whether the adverb refers to the speaker or the subject. Later chapters will develop a more rigorous characterisation of this category of adverbs.

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[13]In this connection, the occurrence of adverbs expressing a subject's mental attitude may be observed as follows. For instance, *iyaiya* occurs in a passive sentence such as 1.

1. a. **Kare wa** Yoshiko ni *iyaiya* tsurete-ikareta.
   he TOP   by   take PASS PAST

   b. **Kare wa** *iyaiya* Yoshiko ni tsurete ikareta.

   'He was reluctantly taken by Yoshiko.'

In Japanese, irrespective of the position of the adverb, the sentence may be read in only one way: that he felt reluctant when he was taken by Yoshiko. The adverb expresses the surface subject's inner state of mind. The same observation holds for some other adverbs, such as *shibushibu* (reluctantly), *osoruosoru* (cautiously, timidly), *wazato* (intentionally) and so forth.

In the case of *wazato*, occurrence with a passive sentence is more restricted, but it is used to denote the intention of a surface subject, not an agent when the passive sentence is acceptable. Consider the following sentences.

2. **Kare wa** *wazato* **Keiko** no kuruma ni hikareta.
   he TOP   (girl's name) GEN   car   by run PASS PAST

   'He got intentionally hit by Keiko (or Keiko's car).

3. ??**kare wa** *wazato* **Keiko** ni nagurareta.
   he TOP   by strike PAST

   'He was intentionally hit by Keiko.'

In 2, Keiko (a girl) can be regarded as a (semantic) agent; for some reason which is not clear in this case, the noun phrase 'Keiko no kuruma (Keiko's car)' is preferred to simply mentioning the driver's name. According to this interpretation, the intention indicated by *wazato* belongs to him (=the surface subject); Keiko (=the semantic agent) cannot be the one who has the intention. Example 3 does not sound very good, but if it is acceptable, the intention must be attributed to him, not Keiko. Thus, it is clear that for these adverbs, there is no case where the intention may be assigned to an agent for these adverbs.

[14]These terms are from Jackendoff (1972). Comparing Japanese and English equivalents, the above adverbs can be considered to fall properly within each class. However, his terms are used on slightly different basis from our usage here. This point will be explained in more detail in Chapter 6.

In this connection, a little more observation can be made here in relation to the distinction between the speaker's and the subject's subjective/psychological attitude.

For instance, *wazato* (deliberately) is a subject-oriented adverb like *iyaiya*. *wazato* indicates that the action is performed on purpose. Verbs co-occurring with the adverb should have an animate subject, as is seen in (3).

(3) a. Kare wa *wazato* te o ageta.
       he TOP   hand ACC raise PAST

    'He raised his hand intentionally.'

  b. *Bukka ga *wazato* agatta.
      price NOM   rise PAST

    '*Prices have gone up intentionally.'

Further, action expressed in a sentence containing the adverbs is required to be rationally controlled. For instance, compare the following sentences in (4).

(4) a. Mei wa *wazato* Taku o kizutsuketa.
       TOP   ACC injure PAST

    'Mei deliberately injured Taku.'

  b. Mei wa   kizutsuita.
         TOP   get injured PAST

    'Mei got injured.'

  c. *Mei wa *wazato* kizutsuita.
        TOP

    '*Mei got injured deliberately.'

Kizutsuku is the intransitive counterpart of *kizutsukeru* (to hurt). In this case, the intransitive verb involves the idea that something happens to Mei spontaneously, which cannot be controlled by the surface subject. For this reason, *wazato* is not compatible

with sentence (4c).[15]

This shows that *wazato* is concerned with the sub-categorisation of verbs.

On the other hand, it may be assumed that SSA adverbs are not involved with verbal sub-categorisation. The reason is that it seems possible to assume that SSA adverbs show the speaker's subjective attitude from outside of what is said in a given sentence.

It is quite likely that for native speakers there are several adverbs which remain problematic as far as the definition given in this section and approximation about their behaviour is concerned. It is not always easy to decide whether an adverb expresses the speaker's attitude or the subject's attitude, or whether it is really involved in expressing subjective/ psychological attitude.

Subsequent analyses are performed on the assumption that the candidates given are involved with the speaker's subjective/psychological attitude.

2.3. Position

Although the tentative category of SSA adverbs has been defined along somewhat 'vague' semantic lines, there is a way to gain access to them systematically. In this section, adverbs are examined in terms of positional features; specifically whether or not SSA adverbs can be characterised by comparing them with adverbs which seem to fall outside the provisional category.

How reliable would an approach based on sentence position be in determining the class of SSA adverbs? English adverbs have been well studied in this respect. So, as a first approximation, it may be useful to see how positional features contribute to a description of of English adverbs. This description relies heavily on Jackendoff (1972), whose study is sufficient for the current purpose.

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[15]To characterize the adverb further, it may be said that *wazato* works on some verbs to make the action controlled temporarily. This function holds only for motion verbs normally denoting involuntary action, such as *ochiru* (fall from a high place), *hamaru* (get into a hole-like place) and so on. For instance,

4. Kare wa *wazato* ki kara ochita.
   he TOP tree from fall PAST

   'He fell down from the tree intentionally.'

According to his observations, there are three basic positions in a sentence in which an adverb with the *ly*-ending can occur; initial position, final position without intervening pause, and auxiliary position, that is, the position between the subject and the main verb. Examples are given in (5). These sentences are all from Jackendoff (1972:49).

(5) a. John   cleverly   dropped his cup of coffee.

             clumsily

    b. Cleverly(,)   John dropped his cup of coffee.
        Clumsily

    c. John dropped his cup of coffee   cleverly
                                          clumsily.

Sentence (5b) means that John's action is regarded as clever or clumsy, whereas (5c) means that John dropped his cup of coffee in a clever or clumsy manner. These two sentences can be paraphrased with (5b') and (5b"), respectively.

(5)

    b' It was clever   of John to drop his cup of coffee.
                clumsy

    b" The manner in which John dropped his cup of coffee was

        clever.
        clumsy.

(5a) is ambiguous; it may be interpreted as either (5b) or (5c). In English, adverbs behaving in this way include *carefully*, *carelessly*, *happily*, *specifically*, *frankly* and so forth. This class of adverbs occurs in three positions with different readings for each.

The next class occurs in two positions; initial and auxiliary position. There is no change in meaning.

(6) a. Evidently   Horatio has lost his mind.
        Probably

    b. Horatio has   evidently   lost his mind.
                       probably

    c. *Horatio   has lost his mind evidently.
                                      probably.

    d. It is evident   that Horatio has lost his mind.
             probable

These adverbs can occur in final position as in (6c'), if they are separated from the rest of the sentence by a pause and accompanied with a drop in pitch.

(6) c' Horatio has lost his mind, evidently.
                                      probably.

Jackendoff distinguished another two categories dependent on positional features. He claimed that categorical meanings of adverbs are thus determined by positional features.[16]

The behavior of adverbs and their relationship with meaning is not so straightforward as it would appear from the above account; more detailed study has been done in relation to adverbial position in English (Nilsen 1972, Ernst 1984, McCawley 1984, etc.).

As a matter of fact, the positional features analysed by Jackendoff are not adequate to categorise adverbs. For instance, the second class includes different types of adverbs, such as *probably* and *often*. This weakness was pointed out by Bellert (1977), who proposed employing semantic properties in addition to positional properties in order to to isolate 'sentential adverbs' in an exhaustive way.

However, it is true that difference of position functions to disambiguate the meanings of some adverbs and serves for dividing adverbs into categories, although not exhaustively.

In what follows, Japanese adverbs are examined with regard to position in a sentence. To investigate positional features, one must set up 'basic' positions where an adverb may appear in a sentence. The Japanese language seems to allow looser ordering in terms of adverbial position than English.

Japanese is among the languages which do not rely much on word order as a syntactic device. Disregarding pragmatic arrangements, a Japanese sentence may have free word order for its constituents except for the predicate, which is rigidly put in final position.

The sentence structure of Japanese is illustrated in a very simplified fashion as follows.

(NP)   (NP)   (NP)   [V   ]
                       - - - - - - - - - - - -
                       predicate

In the surface structure, noun phrases are easily deleted and their order is quite free; order is determined by the requirements of informational structures and in principle

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[16]The first class is termed a 'subject-oriented' adverb, while the second is called a 'speaker-oriented' adverb by him.

adverbs can appear in any position before a predicate. Four positions are available in this case.[17] For instance, taking as an example an adverb like *mochiron* (naturally, of course), it can appear in any of five positions in the sentence (7).

(7)

```
     Watashi wa    raishuu     sono kaigi ni    hajime kara
       I    TOP next week    the conference(to) beginning from
```

mochiron   *mochiron*   *mochiron*   *mochiron*   *mochiron*

```
sankashimasu.
join PRES
```

       'I will be at the conference from the beginning next week.'

From a pragmatic point of view, the difference in position produces different (stylistic) effects. In this case, the part of the sentence after *mochiron* seems to be given emphasis.

However, not all adverbs behave like *mochiron*. Another example is *nikoniko*, whose association is limited to the verb *warau*. As *warau* renders the meaning shared by English verbs such as *laugh*, *smile*, *grin* and *sneer*, the additional meaning expressed by each verb in English is conveyed by a variety of impressionistic adverbs in Japanese; e.g. *nikoniko* indicates a pleasant smile.[18]

It is obvious that the scope of *nikoniko* is over the verb because of such a restriction.

In terms of position, this adverb may behave in the following ways.

(8) Mei wa   *nikoniko*   waratte iru.
       TOP   laugh DUR

    'Mei is smiling.'

(9) *Nikoniko* Mei wa waratte iru.

    'Mei is smiling.'

---

[17]It is also possible for an adverb to occur after a sentence in colloquial speech. In such cases, the adverb is separated from the sentence by a short pause, as in the English examples. However, in Japanese most adverbs including manner-like and SSA adverbs behave like this. It seems that their use in this way is for giving additional information or reinforcement. Thus, this position is not informative or significant for the purpose of this section.

[18]This 'impressionistic' interpretation is from Alfonso (1971:450).

(10)??*Nikoniko* ki no shitade e   o   kakinagara
         tree GEN   under picture ACC draw while

    Mei wa waratte iru.

    'Mei is smiling under the tree while drawing a
    picture.'

The position of the adverb appears to be most normal in (8). (9) does not sound very good, but depending on context it is acceptable. However, sentence (10) sounds odd. This may be due to the fact that the position of the adverb is too far away from the verb to be directly associated.

From these observations, it may be said that freedom with regard to position differs according to classes of adverbs.

Positional difference may be observed a bit more clearly in the use of multiple adverbs. Noda (1984) noted, by presenting the following example, that when a sentence has more than two adverbs, their order is fixed and that this may be due to a difference of adverbial scope.

(11)

a. *Tabun   omowazu   koe o   dashita   no de aroo*.
   probably involuntarily voice ACC utter PAST COMP Presum

b.**Omowazu   tabun koe o dashita no de   aroo.*

'(lit.) I think it probable that he emitted sound
involuntarily.'

(11a) sounds natural, whereas (11b) is quite strange. Acceptability of the sentences depends on the order of the adverbs, which seem to have different scopes; *tabun* may take the whole sentence including the adverb *omowazu*, as its scope. This means that adverbs are constrained in terms of position, which is supposed to reflect the difference of

adverbial scope.[19]   Thus, it is evident that there is at least some positional tendency relevant to the distinction of classes of adverbs. To look at the tendency closely, a small test might be helpful.

In terms of positional features, Tamori (1979) investigated them according to the categorisation made by Martin (1975) and pointed out shortcomings of this categorisation on the basis of positional features. He used three positions, initial, between the subject marked with *ga* and the object, and between the object and the verb (see Footnote [21]).

In the present research, the test employs a slightly different sentence structure, one which contains two complements, a thematized subject and an object. Three positions are set up in this way; 1. the initial position. 2. the position after the theme marked by the particle *wa*. 3. the position immediately before the verb. Adverbs are checked as to how they appear in these positions (see Appendix A. for test sentences).

The reason for opting for this test is that it can be assumed that the unmarked structure of transitive constructions such as the above contains a thematic subject, rather than a subject marked with *ga*.

As was suggested earlier, it is possible for adverbs to be examined as to whether they appear in any of three positions, depending on context. For testing, contrastive contexts are avoided as much as possible. The results are displayed in Table 2-2.

From the results, it is clear that all the adverbs examined occur naturally in the position after *wa*, that is, the position regarded as unmarked. Therefore, it can be considered that the mark ? or +? indicates that the position has marked status for the adverb.

The candidates for SSA adverbs are from *tabun* (probably) to *zehi* (by all means?) toward the top of the table. Apart from the position after *wa*, they are mostly more

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[19]Nonetheless, the difference of adverbial scope is obscure in many cases. For instance,

1.a. *Kyoo,   tabun,   Kanoko ni   au.*
       today probably   to   see

  b. *Tabun,   kyoo,   Kanoko ni   au.*

  'I/you/he/she will probably see Kanoko today.'

Either will do here. The order of adverbs seems to be determined in terms of their informational value, as will be mentioned later in this section.

Table 2-2: The results of position test

ADVERBS	APPROXIMATION	POSITION 1	2	3
TABUN	probably	+	+	+
KITTO	surely	+	+	+?
MASAKA	surely not	+	+	?
SAIWAI	fortunately	+	+	?
MOCHIRON	naturally	+	+	+?
TASHIKANI	certainly	+	+	+?
DOOMO	somewhat	+	+	?
DOOSE	after all	+	+	+?
KEKKYOKU	after all	+	+	?
JITSUWA	in fact	+	+	?
SAZO	surely	?	+	+?
DOOZO	please	/	+	+
ZEHI	by all means?	?	+	+
KYOO	today	+	+	?
GUUZEN	accidentally	+	+	+?
TOOTOO	at last	+	+	?
ITSUMO	always	+	+	+?
SUGU	soon	+?	+	+
WAZATO	deliberately	+	+	+
IYAIYA	reluctantly	+?	+	?
SHIZUKANI	quietly	?	+	+
YUKKURI	slowly	?	+	+

natural in the initial position, whereas manner-like adverbs such as *yukkuri* (slowly) favor the position near the verb.

Thus the test appears to be of use in pointing out 'basic' position in a system of minimal and distinct contrasts and in showing each adverb's 'preferred' place of occurrence.

Adverbs may be divided into two groups on the basis of whether the unmarked position is at the beginning of a sentence or before the verb.

As for candidates for SSA adverbs, they tend to occur in the outer, rather than the inner part of a sentence. That is, the more inclusive semantic scope of these adverbs is indicated by a propensity to occur in a peripheral syntactic position.

However, this tendency is not monopolised by the candidates for SSA adverbs. Other classes of adverbs such as temporal adverbs prefer the initial position as well. Furthermore, *sazo* and *zehi*, though falling within the category of SSA adverbs, behave differently from others in this category. It follows from this that positional features alone cannot separate SSA adverbs from others, although the distinction is fairly clear between manner-like adverbs and SSA adverbs.

It should also be noted that adverbial position seems dependent not only on semantic but also on pragmatic factors, including theme and contrast. From this, it can be assumed that actual (surface) realisation of position is strongly affected by pragmatic considerations. It may also be said that owing to this, adverbial scope tends to be obscure in terms of position.[20]

To conclude, we have seen that adverbs show tendencies to favor certain positions within sentences, and SSA adverbs may be regarded as favoring a peripheral position. However, for the reason discussed above, positional feature alone is not sufficient to distinguish SSA adverbs from other classes of adverbs, although it would serve as

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[20]The discussion about position holds for very limited cases like the tested sentence which has only three positions and any noun phrase is not specially marked pragmatically. For instance, the distinction seen in the test is fused in a sentence which has two positions (and with a topic marked by *wa*). Further, if a sentence has more than three positions, it is hard to see a clear tendency about preferred position. Probably the natural position of the adverb involved varies according to which noun phrase is focused in a discourse. This is not pursued further.

supporting evidence in distinguishing the category.[21]

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[21] Tamori concluded his research on position of adverbs in the following way. The partial list which is relevant here is below.

Category	Sentence initial	Between Su and DO	Between DO and Verb
Manner Adv.	??	OK	OK
Time Adv.	OK	OK	??
Degree Adv.	immediately before predicate		
Modal Adv. [Assertion and predication]			
(GroupI)	OK	OK	OK
(Group II)	OK	??	*
[Desire]	OK	inapplicable	OK
Adv. of Logical Relation			
(Group I)	OK	* or ?	* or ??

The examples for each category are:

Manner Adv.	HAKKIRI	clearly	SHIZUKANI	quietly
Time Adv.	MOKKA	for the present		
	SASHIATARI	for the time being		
Evaluative Adv.	KOOUNNIMO	fortunately	FUSHIGINIMO	strangely
	SAIWAINIMO	fortunately		

Modal Adv.
[Assertion and prediction]

(Group I)	MOCHIRON	naturally	KITTO	surely
	TABUN	probably		
(Group II)	AKIRAKANI	obviously	TASHIKANI	certainly
[Desire]	ZEHI	by all means	DOOZO	please

Adv. of Logical relation

	YAHARI	after all	KEKKYOKU	after all

With regard to sentence-initial position, the distinction between manner adverbs and others is clear here as well. The results shown in the above Table are similar to those of the test given in section 2.3. Further, the Table shows more diversity in relation to what are referred to SSA adverbs, which are clustered toward the bottom of the Table.

2.4. Appearance in sentence types

While the previous discussion focused mainly on the occurrence of adverbs in terms of sentence position, this section deals with how adverbs behave within different types of sentences. First, observation is made on occurrence of adverbs including the candidates for SSA adverbs in three basic sentence types, and then investigate the relationship between these adverbs and negation. The results of preliminary tests based on these observations are discussed to reach a (still) rough characterisation of SSA adverbs, which is helpful to distinguish them from those falling outside this category.[22]

2.4.1. Occurrence in basic types of sentences

This section will investigate occurrence of the adverbs under consideration in basic sentences types. What are called basic sentence types are declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences. The definition of these sentences is based on that given in Sadock and Zwicky (1985:156), which states:

> When there is a regular association of form and the speaker's use of sentences, the form-use pair can be regarded as a sentence type.

The definition is made in functional terms.

Furthermore, they describe the three sentence types as follows (ibid:160);

> The declarative is subject to judgments of truth and falsehood. It is used for making announcements, stating conclusions, making claims, relating stories, and so on. The interrogative sentence elicits a verbal response from the addressee. It is used principally to gain information. The imperative indicates the speaker's desire to influence future events. It is of service in making requests, giving orders, making suggestions, and the like.

These definitions hold for Japanese sentences and will suffice for the present purpose.

In Japanese, declarative sentences are formed in the following way.

(13) a. Yamada-san wa Tokyo e iku/ikimasu.
         TOP   to go go POL

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[22] In the following examination, so-called adverbs of degree as well as adverbs of negation are excluded except for some given for comparison. The reason is as follows; adverbs of degree basically modify adjectives or adverbs which can be scaled in terms of quantity or quality. That is, their distribution is limited in this respect. In Japanese, some adverbs of degree may have strong subjectivity, which seems to be the reason for the complicated co-occurrence restrictions displayed by this class. In any discussion of an integrated system of adverbs, this class must not be ignored. However, as this class is intricate enough to be an independent subject, this thesis does not treat this class further.

'Mr. Yamada will go to Tokyo.'

b. Yamada-san wa   Tokyo e   ikanai/ikimasen.
                            go NEG   go POL NEG

'Mr. Yamada will not go to Tokyo.'

The predicate takes aspect, negation, tense and politeness markers after the verb. (The distinction of politeness will not be specially mentioned in the subsequent analysis unless it is necessary.)

With regard to declarative sentences, it is possible to acertain the existence of sub-types, such as DAROO constructions which are supposed to include propositional content and epistemic meaning. Grammatical forms like DAROO may be regarded as attitude markers, as Sadock and Zwicky (ibid.) claim. However, in functional terms, the construction is concerned with a statement containing description of the objective world. The constructions like this will be treated as sub-types of declarative sentences in this thesis. Taking this into consideration, I call the sentences like in (13) basic declarative sentences. The sub-types are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 and 4, where they play a significant role to analyse some adverbs.

Interrogative sentences in Japanese are formed by attaching the question marker *ka* to the end of a sentence.[23]

(14) a. Yamada-san wa   Tokyo e   iku ka/ikimasu ka?

        'Will Mr. Yamada go to Tokyo?'

b. Yamada-san wa   Tokyo e   ikanai ka/ikimasen ka?

'Won't Mr. Yamada go to Tokyo?'

Sentences such as (14) above, which seek a reply, end with a rising intonation both in yes-no and wh-type questions.

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[23]The negative interrogative sentence in informal form is given for illustrative purposes, but it is not in common use, probably for communicative reasons.

Imperative sentences which are used to get someone to do something have several different forms. A set of examples is as follows.

(15) a. Achira   e   ike.
        over there to   go IMP

    'Go there.'

    b. Achira e   iku na.
        over   to   go PART

    'Don't go there.'

Ike is the imperative form of the verb *iku* (go). Imperative sentences containing this form can be regarded as expressing an order or command in non-polite way. The negative counterpart of the imperative sentence is comprised of an infinitive and the particle *na*, which denotes prohibition.[24]

Some imperative sentences are illustrated in Table 2-3.

The distinction between order/command and request will be discussed extensively in Chapter 6, where it is relevant. For the moment, the concern here is only whether an adverb can occur in any of these imperative sentences.

Some examples of occurrence in these sentence types are illustrated as follows. For instance, observe sentence (16) involving *yukkuri* (slowly).

(16) *Yukkuri(to)* slowly

    a. (DEC, AFF) Nobuko wa   *yukkuri*   taberu.
                          TOP   slowly   eat PRES

    'Nobuko eats slowly.'

    b. (DEC, NEG) Nobuko wa   *yukkuri((to (wa))* tabenai.
                                                     eat NEG PRES

    'Nobuko doesn't eat slowly.'

---

[24]The imperative form can be used to express a speaker's wish that something bad will befall someone, namely the addressee, or just that something bad will happen. It means that quite a wide semantic range of verbs, including ones which do not have an agentive subject, may take this form. However, as this function is not significant for the use of adverbs, it is not paid special attention in this thesis. Only the imperative function of this form is treated here.

Table 2-3: Summary of imperative sentences

Politeness Rough meaning		Non-polite	Polite
order, command	AFF	imperative form (by male)	V-NASAI
	NEG	VERB-NA (prohibition) (by male)	----
request	AFF	V-TE (by female) V-TE KURE (by male)	V-TE KUDASAI
	NEG	V-NAIDE(by female) V-NAIDE KURE (by male)	V-NAIDE KUDASAI

c. (INT, AFF) Nobuko wa *yukkuri* tabemasu ka?
                                              Q

   'Does Nobuko eat slowly?'

d. (INT, NEG) Nobuko wa *yukkuri* tabemasen ka?

   'Doesn't Nobuko eat slowly?'

e. (IMP, AFF) *Yukkuri* tabero.

   'Eat slowly.'

f. (IMP, NEG) *Yukkuri* taberu na.

   'Don't eat slowly.'

The adverb appears in all the environments, as far as the present survey is concerned.[25]

On the other hand, a candidate of SSA adverbs, *tabun* (probably) occurs in the following way.[26]

(17) *Tabun* probably

a. Keiko   wa   *tabun*   kekkon-suru daroo.
        TOP   marry PRES   Presum

   'Keiko will probably get married.'

b. Keiko wa   *tabun*   kekkon-shinai daroo.
                          marry NEG PRES Presum

    'Keiko will probably not get married.'

c. *Keiko   wa   *tabun* kekkon-shimasu ka?
                                              Q

   '*Will Keiko probably get married?'

d. *Keiko wa *tabun*   kekkon-shimasen ka?

   '*Will Keiko probably not get married?'

e. *Tabun* kekkon-shiro.

   '*Get married probably.'

---

[25]Many adverbs, especially manner-like adverbs, take a *ni* or *to*-ending. These endings are related to the meanings denoted by the adverbs (see Takahara 1975 for an analysis). For some adverbs, the endings are optional. However, for many cases, the additional ending is necessary when the adverb takes the particle *wa*.

A number of adverbs take the particle *wa* after them, depending on the context. The attachment occurs either in affirmative or in negative sentences. However, attachment in negative sentences is more conspicuous and significant because some sentences sound incomplete or odd without *wa* attached to the adverb. The attachment of *wa* even seems to change the scope of adverbs in some cases. If the sentence examined sounds better with the help of *wa*, the adverb under consideration is regarded as compatible with negative sentences.

[26]*Tabun* is one adverb which is not very compatible with basic declarative sentences. Here, DAROO constructions are used to provide natural illustrations. The properties of adverbs like this will be handled in Chapter 3 and 4.

f. *Tabun   kekkon-suru na.

'*Probably don't get married.'

It can be observed here that *tabun* has a few restrictions, in contrast to *yukkuri*.

The following adverb behaves differently from either of them.

(18) *Iyaiya*   reluctantly

a.   Saimon   wa   *iyaiya*   yakusoku-shita.
              TOP   promise PAST

'Saimon promised reluctantly.'

b.??*Saimon   wa   *iyaiya*   yakusoku-shinakatta.
              TOP   promise NEG PAST

'Saimon did'nt promise reluctantly.'

c.   Saimon   wa   *iyaiya*   yakusoku-shimashita ka?

'Did Saimon promise reluctantly?'

d.??*Saimon wa   *iyaiya*   yakusokushimasendeshita ka?
                             promise NEG POL PAST   Q

'Didn't Saimon promise reluctantly?'

e.   *Iyaiya*   yakusokushiro.

'*Promise reluctantly.'

f.   *Iyaiya*   yakusokusuru na.

'Don't promise reluctantly.'

This adverb, related to the subject's mental attitude, is restricted in terms of polarity.

These examples show that there are certain differences in occurrence for each adverb. The following Table 2-4 depicts occurrence of adverbs, including all the candidates for SSA adverbs and some limited number of other adverbs.

Table 2-4: The behaviour of adverbs in basic sentence types

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	DECLARATIVE		INTERROGATIVE		IMPERATIVE	
		AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG
DOOZO	please	-	-	-	-	+	+
DOOKA	please	-	-	-	-	+	+
ZEHI	by all means?	+/-	-	-	-	+	-
TABUN	probably	(+	+)	-	-	-	-
OSORAKU	probably	(+	+)	-	-	-	-
SAZO	surely	(+	-)	-	-	-	-
KITTO	surely	+	+	+	+	+	+
ZETTAI	surely/ absolutely	+	+	+	+	+	+
KANARAZU	certainly	+	-	+	-	+	-
MASAKA	surely not	(-	+)	-	-	-	-
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly	(+	+)	+	+	-	-
DOOMO	somewhat?	+	+	-	-	-	-
DOOYARA	somewhat?	+	+	-	-	-	-
DOOSE	after all	+	+	-	-	-	-
SHOSEN	after all	+	+	-	-	-	-
TOOZEN	naturally	+	+	-	-	+	+
KEKKYOKU	after all	+	+	+	+	-	-
YAHARI	after all	+	+	+	+	+	+
TASHIKA	certainly?	+	+	-	-	-	-
TASHIKANI	certainly	+	+	+	+	-	-
AKIRAKANI	obviously	+	+	-	-	-	-
AINIKU	unfortunately	+	+	-	-	-	-
SAIWAI	fortunately	+	+	-	-	-	-
KANYOONIMO	generously	+	+	-	-	-	-
KENMEINIMO	wisely	+	+	-	-	-	-

(Table 2-4 continued)

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	DECLARATIVE		INTERROGATIVE		IMPERATIVE	
		AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG	AFF	NEG
MOCHIRON MURON	naturally	+	+	-	-	+	+
JIJITSU	in fact	+	+	-	-	-	-
JITSUWA	in fact	+	+	-	-	-	-
SHOOJIKI	to be honest	+	+	-	-	-	-
JITSUNI	really	+	-	+	-	-	-
TOOTOO	at last	+	+	-	-	-	-
TAITEI	generally/ usually	+	+	+	+	-	-
ITSUMO	always	+	+	+	+	+	+
TOKIDOKI	sometimes	+	+	+	+	+	+
SUGU	soon	+	+	+	+	+	+
SAIKIN	recently	+	+	+	+	-	-
GUUZEN	by chance	+	+	+	+	-	-
TOTSUZEN	suddenly	+	-?	+	-?	-	+
TOKUNI	specially	+	+	+	+	+	+
GENGOGAKUTEKINI linguistically		+	+	+	+	+	+
YUKKURI	slowly	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORONORO(TO)	slowly	+	+	+	+	+	+
HAKKIRI(TO)	clearly	+	+	+	+	+	+
WAZATO	deliberately intentionally	+	+	+	+	+	+
ISOISO(TO)	gladly	+	+	+	+	+	+
OMOWAZU	involuntarily	+	-	+?	-	-	-
IYAIYA	reluctantly	+	-	+	-	-	+
OSORUOSORU	timidly/ cautiously	+	-	+	-	-	+
SHIBUSHIBU	reluctantly	+	-	+	-	-	+
WAZAWAZA	specially with trouble	+	-	+	-	-	+

SSA adverbs are those from *doozo* (please) to *shoojiki* (to be honest).[27] Table 2-4 shows some regularity and irregularity among adverbs. Most adverbs including SSA adverbs appear in declarative sentences. The results with regard to interrogative sentences show the most striking disparity between candidates for SSA adverbs and others. Most SSA adverbs do not appear in interrogative sentences, whereas most of the others do occur in these types of sentences except for *tootoo* (at last) and *jitsuni* (really) as far as the present tests are concerned. These adverbs are assumed to be borderline cases.

On the other hand, the behaviour of adverbs seems to be much less consistent in imperative sentences. Although a number of our candidates do not appear in imperative sentences, quite a few adverbs outside the category under consideration have restrictions with them as well. This irregularity may be due to the character of imperative sentences as such, which are semantically more restricted than the other two basic sentence types. In other words, it is possible that the restrictions observed here could be explained in terms of semantic compatibility with imperative sentences.

Concerning polarity, there are adverbs which appear both in affirmative and negative sentences, whereas some do not occur in negative sentences. The former group includes most candidates for SSA adverbs as well as those apparently denoting manner of action like *yukkuri* (slowly), whereas adverbs like *iyaiya* (reluctantly) which denotes a subject's state of mind fall within the latter group.

It may be supposed that adverbs in the former group behave ⌈ uniformly, with regard to negation, but this is not the case. This issue will be pursued further in the next section.

2.4.2. Negatability

In this section, it will be shown that there are two types of adverbs which can occur in (simple) negative sentences: negatable and non-negatable.

To begin with, consider the sentences in (19).

(19)

a. Taroo   wa   aruita.
       TOP   walk PAST

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[27]
In Table 2-4, ( ) indicates that the adverb has some restriction with sub-types of declarative sentences. +/- indicates that judgement seems to vary according to further specification of context, and ? indicates that the judgement is not very clear though a tentative marking is given. See Appendix A2 for the problematic cases with these markings, which are not handled in this thesis further. These markings also apply to other tables from now onward.

'Taro walked.'

b. Taroo wa *yukkuri* aruita.
           slowly

'Taro walked slowly.'

c. Taroo wa *yukkuri(to (wa))* arukanakatta.
                              walk NEG PAST

'Taro did not walk slowly.'

In (19c), the verb is in a negative form and thus it would appears that it is the verb which is negated. However, what is negated is actually a different part of the sentence. The negative sentence (19c) implies the content of the sentence (19a), i.e. that Taro walked. That is, it is not the action of walking that is negated in this case, but the adverb *yukkuri* which described the slowness of the action. In other words, the semantic scope of negation in this sentence extends over the adverbial concept. This means that the adverb is negatable within simple sentences.

Secondly, compare the following sentences (20), which include the adverb *ainiku* (unfortunately).

(20)

a. Taroo mo itta.
          too go PAST

'Taro went, too.'

b. Taroo mo *ainiku* itta.

'Unfortunately, Taroo went, too.'

c. Taroo wa *ainiku* ikanakatta.
                     go NEG PAST

'Unfortunately, Taroo did not go.'

In this case, the action of going is negated in (20c), and the adverb *ainiku* functions equally either in the affirmative or the negative sentence. In other words, *ainiku* does not fall within the scope of negation. This adverb can be distinguished from *yukkuri* on the basis of this test.

Another example is given as follows.

(21)

a. Taroo mo   iku.
         too go

   'Taroo will go, too.'

b. Taroo mo *tabun* iku daroo.

   'Taroo will probably go, too.'

c. Taroo mo *tabun* ikanai daroo.

   'Taroo will probably not go, either.'

Here, *tabun* behaves in exactly the same way as *ainiku* in terms of negation. It follows from the above observations that at least two distinctions can be made in terms of relationship between adverbs and negation, and that non-negatability may be a feature shared by adverbs which fall within the category for SSA adverbs.[28a]

The results of the negation test based on this discussion are shown in Table 2-5, in which Negation 1 and Negation 2 have the following meaning:

Negation 1

An adverb occuring in a negative sentence (either declarative or imperative) is marked with +. (The results of Table 2-4 are re-displayed.)

Negation 2

An adverb is marked with +, if it is negatable.

It may be observed from the above results that almost all the candidates for SSA adverbs are non-negatable, like the examples *tabun* and *ainiku*. A few adverbs which do not appear in negative sentences are included in the candidates as well. By contrast, those falling outside the SSA category are mostly negatable, though a few cases remain

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[28a] See Bellert (1977) for discussion on English adverbs along this line.

Table 2-5: The results of negation test[28b]

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	NEGATION 1	2
DOOZO	please	+	-
DOOKA	please	+	-
ZEHI	by all means?	-	-
TABUN	probably	(+	-)
OSORAKU	probably	(+	-)
KITTO	surely	(+	-)
ZETTAI	surely	+	-
KANARAZU	certainly	-	-
SAZO	surely	-	-
MASAKA	surely not	+	-
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly	+	-
DOOMO	somewhat?	+	-
DOOYARA	somewhat?	+	-
DOOSE	after all	+	-
SHOSEN	after all	+	-
TOOZEN	naturally	+	-
KEKKYOKU	after all	+	-
YAHARI	after all	+	-
TASHIKA	certainly?	+	-
TASHIKANI	certainly	+	+/-
AKIRAKANI	obviously	+	-
AINIKU	unfortunately	+	-
SAIWAI	fortunately	+	-
KANYOONIMO	generously	+	-
KENMEINIMO	wisely	+	-

28b

    See Footnote 27 for marks such as ( ), +/-, and ?. Appendix A3 shows examples for difficult cases with such marks.

(Table 2-5 continued)

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	NEGATION	
		1	2
MOCHIRON/ MURON	naturally	+	-
JIJITSU	in fact	+	-
JITSUWA	in fact	+	-
SHOOJIKI	to be honest	+	-
JITSUNI	really	-	-
TOOTOO	at last	+	-?
TAITEI	generally/ usually	+	+
ITSUMO	always	+	+
TOKIDOKI	sometimes	+	+
SUGU	soon	+	+
SAIKIN	recently	+	+
GUUZEN	by chance	+?	-?
TOTSUZEN	suddenly	-?	-?
TOKUNI	specially	+	+/-
GENGOGAKUTEKINI	linguistically	+	+/-
HAYAKU	early/quickly	+	+
NORONORO(TO)	slowly	+	+
HAKKIRI(TO)	clearly	+	+
WAZATO	deliberately intentionally	+	+?
ISOISO(TO)	gladly	+	+
OMOWAZU	involuntarily	-	-
IYAIYA	reluctantly	-	-
OSORUOSORU	cautiously	-	-
SHIBUSHIBU	reluctantly	-	-
WAZAWAZA	with trouble	-	-

unclear.[29] It follows from this that non-negatability can be regarded as a critical feature for distinguishing SSA adverbs from others.

2.5. Conclusion

SSA adverbs are loosely defined as adverbs which express a speaker's subjective/ psychological attitude. This chapter examined various criteria that might be used to distinguish the class of SSA adverbs from other adverbs. First, the position of the adverb in a sentence was investigated. It turned out that positional features serve to show the general tendency of SSA adverbs to appear at the beginning of the sentence, while

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[29] For instance, in the case of *wazato* (with trouble, specially), there are two possibilities depending on the action which the adverb is associated with. Consider the following sentences.

1. a.   John wa   koe   o   kaketa.
          TOP voice ACC utter PAST

    'John spoke to (him/her).'

   b.   John wa *wazato* koe o kaketa.

    'John deliberately spoke to (him/her).'

   c.   John wa *wazato* koe o kakenakatta.
                                utter NEG PAST

    'John deliberately did not speak to (him/her).'

In 1c, John did not speak to anyone and in this, he exercised control over his action. The concept expressed by the verbal predicate is negated here. Thus, the behaviour of *wazato* appears similar to that of *tabun*. On the other hand, observe the following set of sentences.

2. a.   Jon wa   yatta.
          TOP do PAST

    'John did (it).'

   b.   Jon wa *wazato* yatta.

    'John did it deliberately.'

   c.   Jon wa *wazatowa* yaranakatta.
                            do NEG PAST

    'John did not do it deliberately.'

2c means that John stepped on her foot, although he did not intend to do so. Therefore, the concept encoded in *wazato* can be regarded as negatable when it is attached to the particle *wa*. *wa* seems to change the scope of the adverb in this case. Although 2c may have only marginal acceptability, this example shows that *wazato* behaves differently from adverbs like *tabun*.

manner-like adverbs do not behave like this. Although positional features serve for approximation, or supporting evidence, this feature alone is not sufficient to characterise SSA adverbs, for the reason that sentence initial position is shared by a few other classes of adverbs and the behaviour of our candidates is not uniform, some resembling manner-like adverbs.

Secondly, syntactic-semantic features were treated in terms of occurrence in basic types of sentences. The following observations offer critical features which distinguish adverbs on syntactic-semantic grounds.

1. SSA adverbs (mostly) do not appear in interrogative sentences, whereas other adverbs (mostly) do.

2. SSA adverbs are not negatable (i.e. they are outside the semantic scope of negation), whereas other adverbs (mostly) are.

All candidates do not necessarily meet both criteria, but these serve better than positional features for a broad characterisation.

These observations made in this chapter indicate that the assumed category is not simply an ad-hoc collection, but rather is a well-motivated class, which, in some sense, is 'natural' for the Japanese language. In particular, quite compelling semantic-syntactic features can be seen as summarised above.

However, it should be noted that some other adverbs also have these or some of these features. Furthermore, some candidates seem to deviate from other members of the category under consideration. Their behaviour calls for explanation as well.

Chapter 3
Sub-grouping

3.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with provisional grouping of assumed members of SSA adverbs for the sake of subsequent analyses. This is appropriate because there seems to be a large variety of usage and meaning expressed by the selected candidates, which will be better treated and presented through sub-grouping.

As a means of classification, co-occurrence patterns of adverbs with regard to several sub-types of sentences are employed along with rough meanings rendered by the adverbs. Although this procedure is quite useful, it cannot be regarded as a decisive criterion, for reasons which will be given in this chapter. The survey will result in eight tentative sub-groups, around which the following chapters are constructed.

3.2. The idea of co-occurrence pattern

What are referred to as co-occurrence patterns here are based on the fact that occurrence of adverbs is restricted considerably according to semantic types of sentences in Japanese.

The following example illustrates the general idea for this. Compare the sentences involving an adverb *sazo*, which is one of the adverbs roughly corresponding to 'surely' in English.

(1) a. Jon wa   yorokonde iru.
         TOP   be pleased DUR

    'John is pleased.'

   b. *Jon wa *sazo* yorokonde iru.

   c. Jon wa *sazo* yorokonde iru daroo.

    'John must be glad.'

(1a) is a basic declarative sentence which informs us that John is pleased. The adverb

sazo is not compatible with the basic declarative sentence, as is seen in (1b), but occurs in the sentence (1c), which contains *daroo*. Roughly speaking, *daroo* is regarded as denoting presumption on a speaker's part. (The *daroo* construction will be explained in the next section.) The examples show that *sazo* is limited to the *daroo* construction, as far as this set is concerned.

Apart from *daroo* constructions, Japanese has sub-types of sentences or constructions in which a speaker's psychological attitude is encoded mainly by grammatical morphemes appearing toward the end of a sentence.[30] As is shown above, the constructions may affect the occurrence of certain adverbs. This suggests that their co-occurrence relationship with adverbs can serve to distinguish various types of adverbs.

The procedure to be followed here by means of the co-occurrence pattern is to some extent related to 'KO'OO NO GENSOKU (the principle of agreement), which was discussed in the review of previous works in Chapter 1. To summarise it briefly, there are some adverbs which require certain ways of predication called CHINJUTSU. KO'OO NO GENSOKU refers to this correspondence of predication and adverbs, which are in turn termed CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. The instance often given as an example of it is *tabun* (probably), which is commonly associated with an 'auxiliary' *daroo* encoding presumptive attitude. Thus, KO'OO NO GENSOKU is concerned with the co-occurrence relationship of adverbs with certain predicative expressions.

Our view of the co-occurrence relationship, however, differs from KO'OO NO GENSOKU in two major ways. Firstly, we are concerned with the relationship between an adverb and a sentence, in order to to gain understanding about how an adverb functions in reference to a sentence. While KO'OO NO GENSOKU refers to surface phenomena of two linguistic forms which commonly co-occur it does not question the significance of it.

Secondly, observations which KO'OO NO GENSOKU are based on have not been made thoroughly; they remain suggestive. It will be shown that closer examination of co-occurrence relationships can provide further findings, which can serve to reach a provisional sub-grouping in what follows.

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[30]This is a broad definition. They may be put into different syntactic categories in Japanese. Explanations will be supplied for each expression where relevant. However, such a grammatical consideration does not really matter for the purpose of the current analysis.

The survey in this section will provide three kinds of observations which are interrelated with one another.

Firstly, the types of co-occurrence relationships according to their degree of strictness of co-occurrence are to be discussed.

We can notice gradual difference of co-occurrence restrictions depending on adverbs (roughly) related to probability, as is seen below.

1.(strict co-occurrence restriction)

An adverb occurs in limited types of constructions (here, focusing on a DAROO construction); the adverb is not acceptable in other environments like (2a).

(2) *Masaka* (surely not)

  a. *Kare wa *masaka* konai.
      he   TOP   come NEG

    'He will not come.'
    (This translation ignores the adverb.)

  b. Kare wa   *masaka* konai daroo.

    'I don't think he will come.'
    (This translation ignores the adverb.)

Masaka does not occur in a basic declarative sentence like the above, but is all right in the *daroo* construction, which can be regarded as marked compared to basic declarative sentences.[31] The adverb like *sazo* (surely) has a similar restriction.

2.(weak co-occurrence restriction)

An adverb occurs in limited types of constructions. Otherwise, the whole sentence with the adverb sounds incomplete for native speakers; an example of such is as follows.

(3) *Hyottoshitara* (possibly)

  a. ?*Hyottoshitara*   kare wa   iku.
                     he TOP   go

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[31]Further, *masaka* is limited to sentences whose content is negative. In the subsequent analysis, 'basic declarative sentences' exclude those involving other syntactic devices such as sentence-final particles, unless specified.

b. *Hyottoshitara* kare wa iku daroo.

   'I think it possible that he will go.'

c. *Hyottoshitara* kare wa iku kamoshirenai.
                                     may

   'He may possibly go.'

The judgement of acceptability about these sentences differs depending on speakers. Generally, Japanese speakers prefer the sentence (3b) to (3a), and (3c) to (3b). It was pointed out by a native informant, that if she is required to judge the acceptability of (3a), she would say no and add *kamoshirenai*(corresponding to 'may' in epistemic use).[32] The author agrees with her. This suggests that there is a finer restriction than we are dealing with for the present. However, sentences like (3a) and (3b) can be accepted depending on contexts. At least , the restriction is not so strict as in the case of *masaka*.

Another example is given here;

(4) *Kitto* (surely)

a. Kare wa *kitto* katsu.
   he TOP   win

b. Kare wa *kitto* katsu daroo.

   'I think definitely he will win.'

In this example, the acceptability differs according to speakers. Native informants mostly prefer (4b) because (4a) still sounds incomplete. However, there seems to be a

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[32]*Kamoshirenai* was treated as a syntactic primitive in Nakau (1973), although he noted that this expression can be analysed as *ka-mo-shir-e-nai* (if-too-know-can-not). Nakau's treatment seems appropriate for the research here.

subtle difference; at least, (4a) is more natural and acceptable than the one like (3a).[33] The behaviour of *tabun* (probably) seems to fall between *hyottoshitara* and *kitto*.

This observation suggests that there seems to be gradation in co-occurrence restrictions: for these adverbs, possibly according to degree of probability.

Further, the observation leads us to doubt the feasibility of co-occurrence patterns as a criterion to broadly distinguish our candidates.

However, we have another way out with regard to these adverbs and their co-occurrence restrictions. Consider the following sentences.

(5) a. *Hyottoshitara*   kare mo   kita.
                    he too   come PAST

     'Possibly he came, too.'

   b. *Tabun*   kare mo kita.

   c. *Kitto*   kare mo kita.

All these adverbs are not possible in past tense sentences. It might be assumed that that these adverbs are sensitive to tense discrimination. However, this does not mean that they are involved in temporal relationships. The above sentences are accepted by using a syntactic device such as *daroo*, as is seen in (6).

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[33]It appears that nominal sentences tolerate the use of adverbs such as *kitto* more than verbal sentences do for some reason.

1. Soo da, yopparatte da, *kitto* Akabooshi da.
   soo COP drunken COP   red-cap COP

   'Well, he was drunk. It must have happened at Red Cap.'
   (Kuroiwa:269)

2. *Kitto*   ano Menamu no   kawamizu   to
             that Menam GEN river water   and

   kinpaku no too, shinkiroo no yoona suijooichiba
   gold   GEN tower mirage   GEN like water market

   no   sei da.
   GEN fault COP

   'This must be due to water of Menam river,
   golden towers and a water market like a mirage.'
   (Tanabe:259)

These examples sound natural.

(6) a. *Hyottoshitara* kare mo kita kamo shirenai.

   b. *Tabun* kare mo kita daroo.

   c. *Kitto* kare mo kita daroo.

The examples in (5) and (6) show quite uniform and sharp distinctions as to basic declarative sentences and *daroo* constructions (and the like).[34] The acceptability in the past tense sentences seems much less shaky according to (possibly) speakers or situations and so on. Consequently, past tense basic declarative sentences can be regarded as viable as a criterion.

Further, past tense sentences play an important role as to other adverbs. Observe the following sentences containing *mochiron* (of course) and *saiwai* (fortunately), respectively.

(7) a. *Mochiron* kare mo kita.

    'Of course, he came,too.'

   b. *Saiwai* kare mo kita.

    'Fortunately, he came, too.'

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[34]This observation is to some extent supported by the actual data taken from written materials (see 1.5). The following table displays how many non-basic declarative sentences are used in past tense with the following adverbs.

	TOTAL	NON-BASIC	BASIC
HYOTTOSHITARA	14	14	0
TABUN	20	18	2
OSORAKU	20	16	4
KITTO	32	32	0

Here, a 'basic declarative sentence' is a sentence with no other element following, while 'non-basic' refers to a sentence followed by such expressions as *daroo, kamoshirenai, noda* and so on. With regard to *osoraku*, the four cases in 'basic' do not include action sentences. The reason for this is not clear. An example is given below.

Osoraku sore wa kumo no tsukutta mono ni
probably it TOP cloud GEN make PAST thing

suginakatta.
exceed NEG PAST

'It was probably only a thing which clouds made.'
(Fukunaga:235)

These adverbs have no difficulty in occurring with a past tense sentence. This means that these adverbs are clearly distinguished from the adverbs like *tabun* with regard to past tense sentences.

These observations show that extensive and deep investigation of co-occurrence patterns provides an effective way of making sub-divisions. We will examine our candidates for SSA adverbs in the next section, having recourse to a few more constructions.

In addition, it seems necessary to take up another consideration at this point. Co-occurrence patterns can be shown on a simple table with positive or negative features, but the reasons underlying restrictions may not be uniform. This suspicion stems from co-occurrence patterns which on the surface may be affected by pragmatic as well as semantic factors. The linguistic expressions we are handling are deeply related to the psychological state of a person who utters a sentence. It is natural to consider that usage of these expressions may be more affected by pragmatic factors than those primarily expressing objective things like existence, action and so on, because the choice of expressions depends more on a speaker's psychological needs according to speech situations. From this, it appears that it is not always easy to understand the relationship between adverbs and special sentences merely by looking at superficial co-occurrence patterns. We need to investigate semantic and pragmatic reasons in depth. This being the case, it is not desirable to take co-occurrence patterns straightforwardly as establishing definitive categories. For this reason we should be cautious about any deep theoretical claims made on the basis of superficial co-occurrence alone. Nevertheless, co-occurrence patterns are workable in order to set directions. In some cases, the co-occurrence restrictions may also be of considerable significance.

3.3. Tests

The examination encompasses basic sentence types such as declarative and imperative sentences, and several sub-types of sentences (or constructions), which seem relevant to look into behavioural difference of the SSA adverbs under consideration. The constructions chosen here are as follows: DAROO construction, RASHII construction, and V-OO construction.

Before proceeding, it seems necessary to offer explanations for the general meaning and use of the constructions.

In the view shown by Suzuki (1972:45) in Japanese linguistics, these three constructions

are classified as expressing sub-types of 'modality' in HEIJO-BUN (the Japanese counterpart of declarative sentences).[35] His classification of modality is as follows.

Aa expressing how the speaker understands the real world.

Ab expressing what the speaker wants to do.

The DAROO construction and the RASHII construction fall within Aa, while the V-OO construction within Ab. Taking up the DAROO construction, consider the following sentences.

(8) a. Hikooki wa sugu tsuku.
       airplane TOP soon   arrive

   'The airplane will arrive soon.'

   b. Hikooki wa sugu tsuku *daroo*.

   'The airplane will arrive soon.'
   'I think the airplane will arrive soon.'

Sentence (8b) is formed by a bound morpheme *daroo* attached to sentence (8a). *Daroo* is often treated as an auxiliary in traditional Japanese linguistics.

Sentence (8a) expresses a future event such as the arrival of an airplane.[36] On the other hand, (8b) indicates that the content of a sentence is what is presumed by a speaker. That is, it is marked by a DAROO construction that the speaker thinks the propositional content is true, but does not know if it is true or not. *Daroo* is used regardless of tense in a complement, as is seen below.

(9) Hikooki wa   moo   tsuita daroo.
    airplane TOP   already arrive PAST Presum

   'I think that the airplane has arrived already.'
   'The airplane should have arrived already.'

---

[35]Here, 'modality' means 'linguistic expressions which represent a speaker's attitude toward reality or an addressee, revolving around the material (content) of a sentence' (translation is the author's) in Suzuki's terms (1972:44).

[36]Roughly speaking, present tense sentences involving action render future or habitual action in Japanese.

The past event rendered here is also regarded as what is presumed by a speaker. Thus, it is shown that the construction is not associated with future action, but with a speaker's attitude regarding presumption.[37] In actual use, there are cases where the construction is used to soften what is apparently a truth assertion according to context for euphemistic purpose. For the sake of simplicity, the euphemistic use will be less stressed in the present survey.[38] As was shown in the previous section, this construction is closely related to the occurrence of adverbs like *sazo* and so on.

RASHII constructions are used as in (10).

(10) a. **Kinoo   ame   ga   futta.**
         yesterday rain NOM   fall PAST

    'It rained yesterday.'

   b. **Kinoo ame ga futta** *rashii*.

    'It seems that it rained yesterday.'

The bound morpheme *rashii* is attached to an independent sentence.[39] The complement sentence is not limited in terms of tense. *Rashii* is regarded as indicating that the content of a complement is a speaker's inference based on 'observation' (Teramura 1984, etc.) The meaning approximately corresponds to 'seem' in English. Further explication of this construction will be given in the next chapter.

---

[37]Other notable points about *daroo* are such as follows.

1. *Daroo/deshoo* can be analysed as a tentative form of a copula *da/desu* (Nakau 1973, Martin 1975). We do not go into details here, because this analysis does not affect our examination of the use and meaning. *daroo* itself is not followed by a negative morpheme or conjugate in terms of tense, that is, it has no past tense form. It is possible to be followed by some sentence-final particles.

2. DAROO constructions cannot involve intention or will of a speaker unless they are represented in the guise of presumption.

[38]*Daroo* is given the gloss 'Presum' according to the above explanation.

[39]*Rashii* is often treated as an auxiliary. It has another use attached to a noun, denoting a different meaning which is not dealt with here. *Rashii* is not followed by a negative morpheme in the meaning relevant here. Unlike *daroo*, *rashii* can be in the past tense. This construction does not appear in interrogative sentences.

This construction is significant as to occurrence of adverbs like *doomo* (somewhat?), as is seen below.

(11) a. *Doomo* ame ga futta.

   b. *Doomo* ame ga futta rashii.

The last test is the V-OO construction, an example of which is seen below.

(12) Ashita   kaimono ni   *ikoo*.
     tomorrow shopping to   go-

   'I think I will go shopping tomorrow.'

This construction, denoting volition, is formed by a so-called volitional form of a verb; here *ikoo* is a conjugated form of *iku* (go).[40] This construction only takes a first person subject, as is observed from (13).

(13) *Kare wa ashita kaimono ni *ikoo*.
     he TOP

   'He will go shopping tomorrow.'

The volitional construction is never in the past tense. For instance,

(14) *Kaimono ni ikoo datta.
                 PAST

Thus, it is clear that this construction renders a speaker's intention at the moment of utterance.[41]

The construction is also used with a first person plural subject to invite someone to a joint action; the sentence corresponds to 'let's' in English. In this case, the construction has the hortative sense. Since it is commonplace that a subject is not expressed linguistically in this construction, the readings are dependent on context in most cases.

One might suspect, because of this, that the construction is not a true declarative

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[40]According to types of verb, the forms are different; *oo* for consonant-stem verbs like *ik-* of *iku* (go), and *yoo* for vowel-stem verbs (like *tabe-* of *taberu* (eat)) (Teramura 1984).

[41]The verb form can be regarded as a tentative form (Martin 1975), which expresses a speaker's presumption. However, We will only focus on the use including the volitional or hortative sense, which is relevant here. The gloss for this construction is VOL from now on.

sentence. Suzuki noted that it is not clear if Ab should be classified in declarative sentences. The former two constructions differ from the V-OO construction in both formal and semantic terms.

The former two are composed by attaching a grammatical morpheme to a sentence which renders a propositional content, while the latter does not. On top of this, the latter is less associated with description of the objective world. In Sadock and Zwicky (1985:156), sentential formulae such as 'let's in English are separated as a minor type from basic sentence types. If we pursue this issue further, the other two constructions under consideration also deserve deeper investigation because of their difference in meaning from basic declarative sentences. In this thesis, the DAROO and RASHII constructions are regarded as sub-types of declarative sentences, while V-OO construction is as a minor type. This treatment will suffice for the present purpose without causing serious theoretical problems.

The importance of the V-OO construction is that there is an adverb *zehi* (by all means?) which does not occur in basic declarative sentences (except in limited cases), but is acceptable in this construction.

In what follows, the candidates for SSA adverbs are examined according to the features they display in the sentences mentioned here.

The tests mainly employ sentences which involve a verb denoting action. Depending on adverbs there may be differences in acceptability according to further grammatical or semantic distinctions such as those involving nominal and adjectival sentences. Although sentences like those may play a significant role in a more detailed analysis, these matters are left for subsequent chapters and for the preliminary purpose here, judgements are made mainly about their occurrence in action sentences. Some examples, containing *tabun* (probably), *ainiku* (unfortunately) and *kekkyoku* (after all), respectively, are given in the following way.

(15) a. ?Kare wa *tabun* kaeru.
       he TOP   go home

   'He will probably go home'.

  b.??Kare wa *tabun* kaetta.
                go home PAST

   'He probably went home.'

c. Kare wa *tabun* kaeru daroo.
                                go home Presum

'I think it probable that he will go   home.'

d. ?Kare-wa *tabun* kaeru rashii.
                                    seem

'It seems probable that he will go home.'

e. *Tabun* kaeroo.
              go home VOL

'I will probably go home.'

d. *Tabun* kaette kudasai.
                        IMP

'*Please probably go home.'

(16) a. Kare wa *ainiku* kaeru.

'He will unfortunately go home'

b. Kare wa *ainiku* kaetta.

'He unfortunately went home.'

c.??Kare wa *ainiku* kaeru daroo.

'He will unfortunately go home.'

d. Kare wa *ainiku* kaeru rashii.

'It seems that he will unfortunately go home.'

e. *Ainiku* kaeroo.

'Unfortunately I will go home.'

f. *Ainiku* kaette kudasai.

'*Unfortunately please go home.'

(17) a. Kare wa *kekkyoku* kaeru.

b. Kare wa *kekkyoku* kaetta.

c. Kare wa *kekkyoku* kaeru daroo.

d. Kare wa *kekkyoku* kaeru rashii.

e. *Kekkyoku* kaeroo.

f. *Kekkyoku* kaette kudasai.

In the case of (16), the acceptability of (16c) is doubtful. According to the meaning of *daroo*, i.e whether it is strongly presumptive, or more euphemistic, the judgement is different. In actual cases, it seems hard to draw clear-cut lines. These cases are judged with a negative feature and will be treated in more detail in subsequent chapters. However, it is worth keeping in mind that judgement of acceptability needs careful consideration. An adverb like *kekkyoku* (after all) is an example which is not restricted in terms of either a DAROO construction or a basic declarative sentence. In addition, these three adverbs are not compatible with V-OO construction or imperative sentences.

3.4. Sub-grouping

The Table 3-1 represents the features that SSA adverbs display in reference to each construction given. The symbol + marks possibility of occurrence in the construction under consideration. The judgement is largely dependent on the naturalness of its occurrence. Still, there are borderline cases marked by ?.[42]

We can observe several interesting things from the Table 3-1. Focusing on sentences falling within declarative ones, there are adverbs located toward the top of the Table which do not really co-occur with past tense sentences. Many adverbs out of these are not so compatible with present tense sentences, either. Adverbs like *kitto* (surely) are marked by +/-, which does not mean difficulty of judgement, but shows a clear-cut difference in acceptability; it seems that this is dependent on the different use of the adverbs.

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[42]Abbreviations are as follows:

```
PRE= Present tense sentence     PAST= Past tense sentence
DAROO= DAROO construction       RASHII= RASHII construction
VOL= Volitional sentence (V-OO construction)
IMP=Imperative sentence
```

Table 3-1: The results of tests

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	DECLARATIVE				VOL	IMP
		PRE	PAST	DAROO	RASHII		
DOOZO	please	-	-	-	-	-	+
DOOKA	please	-	-	-	-	-	+
ZEHI	by all means?	-	-	-	-	+	+
TABUN	probably	+?	-	+	?	-	-
OSORAKU	probably	+?	-	+	?	-	-
SAZO	surely	-	-	+	-	-	-
MASAKA	surely not	-	-	+	-	-	-
HYOTTOSHITARA possibly		-?	-	+?	-?	-	-
KITTO	surely	+?	+/-	+	?	+	+
KANARAZU	certainly	+	+/-	+	?	+	+
ZETTAI	certainly	+	+/-	+	?	+	+
DOOMO	somewhat?	-	-	-	+	-	-
DOOYARA	somewhat?	+?	+?	-?	+	-	-
DOOSE	after all	+	-?	+	+?	-	-
SHOSEN	after all	+	-?	+	+?	-	-
TOOZEN	naturally	+	+	+	+?	+?	+
KEKKYOKU	after all	+	+	+	+	-	-
YAPPARI	after all	+	+	+	+	+	+
TASHIKA	certainly?	+	+	-?	+	-	-
TASHIKANI	certainly	+	+	-?	+	+	+
AKIRAKANI	obviously	+	+	-?	+	-	-
SAIWAI	fortunately	+	+	-?	+	-	-
KENMEINIMO	wisely	+	+	-?	+	-	-
MOCHIRON MURON	naturally	+	+	-?	+?	+	+
JIJITSU	in fact	+	+	-?	+?	-	-
JITSUWA	in fact	+	+	-?	+?	-	-
SHOOJIKI to be honest		+	+	-?	+?	-	-

Toward the bottom of the Table, there are adverbs which are not so compatible with the DAROO construction (marked by -?), but occur naturally in past tense sentences.

Doomo (somewhat?) falls between these groups. The adverb is compatible neither with basic declarative sentences, nor DAROO constructions, but characteristically occurs in RASHII constructions. Also, there are adverbs like *kekkyoku* and *yahari* (after all) which appear in any declarative sentence construction type.

On the other hand, there are adverbs on the top of the Table which do not occur in declarative sentences, but in imperative sentences. *Dooka* and *doozo* (please) are only connected with imperatives, while *zehi* can occur in V-OO constructions (volitional sentences).

In general, most SSA adverbs do not appear in imperative sentences, or V-OO constructions. Further observations may show that adverbs occuring in V-OO constructions appear in imperative sentences, but not vice versa.

We are now in a position to set up sub-groups according to the characteristics examined and the broad meaning of each adverb available for the moment. The sub-divisions are schematised below, followed by some explanations.

Group I   [-DECLARATIVE]

> I-1   [-VOLITIONAL SENTENCE]   DOOKA (please)
> DOOZO (please)
>
> I-2   [+VOLITIONAL SENTENCE]   ZEHI (by all means?)

This sub-division is based on the disparity of *doozo* and *dooka* from *zehi* which has a wider range of occurrence. It seems that the difference in appearance of adverbs is reflected in the difference between imperative and volitional sentences.

Group II involves adverbs which may appear in declarative sentences. Further, it is possible to distinguish groups according to whether they are in past tense basic declarative sentences. It is easier to distinguish their behaviour on the basis of their occurrence in past tense sentences than on the basis of that in present tense sentences, as was suggested in 3.1.

Group II [+DECLARATIVE]

> II-1 [-PAST TENSE]
>
> II-1-1   TABUN   (probably)   [+DAROO]
> OSORAKU (probably)

	KITTO	(surely)	
	KANARAZU	(certainly)	
	ZETTAI	(certainly)	
	MASAKA	(surely not)	
	SAZO	(surely)	
II-1-2	SHOSEN	(after all)	[+DAROO]
	DOOSE	(after all)	
II-1-3	DOOMO	(somewhat?)	[-DAROO]
	DOOYARA	(somewhat?)	

Group II-1-1 is associated with the general meaning of probability. Taking the semantics into consideration, adverbs like *kitto*, showing two-fold features, are placed in this tentative group as well.

Group II-1-2 does not really fit into the above meaning, though *doose* may do so in some cases. These adverbs in this group seem rather associated with a meaning of conclusion or ending. The meaning suggests that these adverbs may necessitate trans-sentential analysis, for the reason that expressions of conclusion or ending are supposed to presuppose the existence of a previous context.

Group II-1-3 contains two adverbs, *doomo* and *dooyara*. While *doomo* is characterised by double negative features with regard to basic declarative sentences and DAROO constructions, the optimal environment for the adverb is the RASHII construction. *dooyara* easily occurs in the same environment with similar meaning. Although *dooyara* shows rather fuzzy behaviour, it can be grouped with *doomo* at this stage, due to closeness in meaning and easy occurrence in RASHII constructions.

II-2 [+PAST TENSE]

II-2-1	KEKKYOKU	(after all)	[+DAROO]
	YAPPARI	(after all)	
	TOOZEN	(naturally)	
II-2-2	AINIKU	(unfortunately)	[-DAROO]
	SAIWAI	(fortunately)	
	KENMEINIMO	(wisely)	
	IGAINIMO	(unexpectedly)	
II-2-3	AKIRAKANI	(obviously)	[-DAROO]
	TASHIKANI	(certainly)	
	TASHIKA	(certainly?)	
	MOCHIRON	(of course)	
	JIJITSU	(in fact)	
	JITSUWA	(in fact/	
		to tell the truth)	
II-2-4	SHOOJIKI	(to be honest)	[-DAROO]

Group II-2-1 occurs in any constructions belonging to declarative sentences. Their meaning also suggests that these adverbs are related to previous contexts in one way or another. Group II-2-2 seems to relate to luck, value and so on, while Group II-2-3, with the same feature, appears more involved with truth or certainty.

On the other hand, *shoojiki* (to be honest) differs from either of them. With the adverb, a speaker claims that his/her attitude is honest when he/she is uttering the sentence to which the adverb is attached on the surface. In other words, the speaker refers to his/her own speech, using *shoojiki*. This approximation allows us to separate it from the former two groups with the same features as far as the test is concerned. *Jitsuwa* is ambiguous; it seems to be close to *shoojiki* in terms of function in some cases. This point is discussed in Chapter 8.

3.5. Conclusion and purpose of the subsequent chapters

The investigation in this chapter shows that the candidates can be sub-divided based on co-occurrence restrictions and associated meanings. As a consequence of testing, eight sub-classes were gained in provisional terms.

The subsequent chapters undertake analysis according to these sub-groups, in the following order.

Chapter 4   Group II-1-1

Chapter 5   Group II-1-3

Chapter 6   Group II-2-2, Group II-2-3

Chapter 7   Group I

Chapter 8   Group II-1-2 Group II-2-1
               Group II-2-4 (and some others)

Chapter 9   Minor occurrence in two sentence types

The major purpose of these chapters is to analyse regularity and irregularity shown by the candidates classified in each group, in terms of syntactic and semantic characteristics. Lexicographic description sufficient to discuss the issues is given as well.

Further, well-motivated (basic) sub-classes can be established when a regular correspondence between semantic characteristics and surface restrictions is found through the above analysis. All the results are integrated in Chapter 10.

Chapter 4

Group II-1-1

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with Group II-1-1, including *tabun* (probably) and so on. The aim of this chapter is to explore the characteristics of adverbs falling within this group and, based on this, to examine the possibility of establishing well-motivated subclassification. As was examined in Chapter 3, the main environment for this group is the declarative sentence. Their surface restrictions are complicated. Most adverbs are marked with a negative feature with regard to past tense declarative sentences, while a few adverbs can occur in these sentences as well. Some adverbs are even restricted in such a way that they are not easily compatible with any basic declarative sentences.

In what follows, general features of this group are discussed in 4.2 and sections 4.3 to 4.5 examine adverbs which need more treatment. A conclusion of this chapter is provided in 4.6.

4.2. Group II-1-1 in general

This section approaches Group II-1-1 in general terms, discussing common semantic features and co-occurrence restrictions.

The adverbs falling within this group are given on the following list.[43]

TABUN	probably
OSORAKU	probably
SAZO	surely
MASAKA	surely not
KITTO	surely
KANARAZU	surely
ZETTAI	surely
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly

---

[43]The list only shows our selected candidates. There are more adverbs which may be treated in the same way as those chosen here. Kudoo(1982) listed about 24 adverbs, including *hyottosuruto, sadamete, aruiwa* and so on.

The set of adverbs is seemingly related to likelihood or probability of realisation of an action/state involved.[44]

Further, these adverbs seem to differ from one another in terms of degree of probability. It is worthwhile to note the difference in degree among the adverbs, before entering a detailed analysis. For instance, observe the following set of sentences containing adverbs such as *hyottoshitara* and *osoraku*, respectively.[45]

(1)   *Hyottoshitara* kare wa   kuru kamoshirenai shi,
                         he   TOP   come may   and

        hyottoshitara konai   kamoshirenai.
                        come NEG may

        'It is possible that he may come, and he may not come.'

(2) ??*Osoraku* kare wa   kuru daroo shi,

       osoraku konai daroo.

    '??Probably he will come, and probably he will not come.'

(1) sounds passable, while (2) is anomalous. The reason for this is that two contradictory propositions cannot be presented as highly probable in one sentence. The examples (1) and (2) show that there is a clear difference between these candidates.

Finer co-occurrence restrictions serve to distinguish adverbs under consideration according to the degree of probability. Observe the behaviour of the adverbs in KAMOSHIRENAI, DAROO and NI CHIGAINAI constructions in (3) to (5).

(3) a. Machiko   wa   iku kamoshirenai.
              TOP   go   may

       'Machiko   may go.'

    b.   *Hyottoshitara* Machiko wa   iku kamoshirenai.
          ?Tabun
          ??Kitto

---

[44]*Osoraku* may sound a little bit bookish. The stylistic property will not be paid much attention, as it does not affect the analysis in this section.

[45]This analysis is based on that given by Michell (1976).

(4) a. Machiko wa   iku daroo.

   'I think that Machiko will go.'

   b. *?Hyottoshitara* Machiko wa   iku daroo.
      Tabun
      Kitto

(5) a. Machiko wa   iku ni   chigainai.
                             differ NEG

   'Machiko will definitely go.'

   b. *??Hyottoshitara*   Machiko wa   iku ni   chigainai.
      ?Tabun
      Kitto

Kamoshirenai is regarded as a construction which renders low degree of likelihood, roughly corresponding to epistemic *may* in English. *Nichigainai* expresses a high degree of probability like epistemic *must*.[46]

The diversity can be summarised as follows by checking whether these adverbs occur in these constructions.

	LOW		HIGH
	KAMOSHIRENAI	DAROO	NI CHIGAINAI
HYOTTOSHITARA	+	+?	–
TABUN	+?	+	+?
OSORAKU	+?	+	+
MASAKA	–	+	+
SAZO	–	+	+
KITTO	–	+	+
ZETTAI	–	+	+
KANARAZU	–	+	+

---

[46]*Ni chigainai* is treated as a syntactic primitive like *kamoshirenai* in Nakau (1973). He shows the possible analysis of this construction like this; NI-CHIGA-I-NAI (PART-differ-not-PRES).

As a consequence, the set of adverbs can be subdivided in the following way.

DEGREE

HIGH	KANARAZU	KITTO
	ZETTAI	MASAKA
	SAZO	
MIDDLE	TABUN	OSORAKU
LOW	HYOTTOSHITARA	

We now move on to discuss more detail of the meaning/function of the adverbs. Consider the following conversation.

(6)

```
P: Katoo-san no paatii wa  nanyoobi desu ka?
          GEN party TOP   what day COP  Q


Q: a. Kinyoobi desu.
      Friday  COP

   b.Tabun kinyoobi ?desu/deshoo.
   c.Kitto kinyoobi desu/deshoo.
   d.Zettai kinyoobi desu.


R: Iya, hyottoshitara  mokuyoobi kamoshiremasen.
   no,                 Thursday  may      POL


'P: On which day is Mr.Kato's party?

Q: a. It is on  Friday.

R: No, it may possibly be  on Thursday. '
```

In this case, the first answer (6a) asserts the truth of the propositional content (=that it is on Friday). It is possible to say that the adverbs offer a certain degree of probability about the truthfulness of a proposition. The degree of probability differs depending on adverbs, as was surveyed a while ago. These adverbs compare with English 'modal' (Schreiber 1971, Bellert 1977) or 'epistemic' (Ernst 1984) adverbs, which 'locate a proposition on a scale of epistemic modality, from a low point of impossibility, through possibility to an endpoint of necessity' (Ernst 1984:60). The Japanese adverbs can be understood in this light.

Another approach could be to take the speaker's attitude into consideration, but the basic semantic property of the adverbs is maintained. It can be considered that judgement

about probability relies on a speaker's subjective attitude. In the case of (6), the speakers Q and R presume that the party is on Friday. This means that they believe that it is true, but they do not yet know that it is true (or at least they do not want to say they know the truth) in the above situation. In order to show to what extent they believe the truthfulness of the content of a sentence, these adverbs are employed. That is, these adverbs indicate degrees of their belief or conviction about truth. Thus, degree of probability can be translated into degree of belief on a speaker's part. Intuitively, the latter treatment seems more realistic for Japanese adverbs. A support for this will be given from co-occurrence restrictions, which will be discussed later in this section.

With regard to degree of belief, for instance, *tabun* expresses that the speaker has more expectation about the truth of the content of a sentence than the case of *hyottoshitara*, which indicates that the speaker thinks there is a chance for the day to be Friday. By using *kitto*, the speaker shows his/her stronger belief than by using *tabun*. In *zettai*, the speaker's conviction is so strong that he/she sounds as if he/she is forcing the listener to accept what he/she says as the truth.

The adverbs relating to presumption naturally involve uncertainty on a speaker's part. As the degree of belief becomes higher, there is a move toward certainty, but these adverbs in this group are not on the top of the certainty scale; they are supposed to stay in the domain of supposition, i.e. irrealis domain.

The important point to be made here is that a speaker indicates by using these adverbs that what is presumed is not verified yet, however strong his/her conviction may be. These adverbs do not commit themselves to confirming a fact, in contrast to adverbs like *tashikani* (certainly), which will be dealt with in the next Chapter.

The above account provides the salient features shared by (uses of) the adverbs placed in this group. As was suggested in the survey, there are several cases, such as a certain usage of *kitto*, which are not treated fully by the above analysis. The section 4.5.2 will handle these cases.

Turning to surface restrictions we have surveyed, how do they correlate with the meaning of the adverbs? The adverbs of this group are compatible with DAROO constructions except *hyottoshitara*, while they do not occur in past tense declarative sentences and many of them do not occur with present tense declarative sentences, either.

The principle may be that these adverbs necessitate or prefer to be supported by other

expressions which designate a speaker's presumptive attitude like *daroo*. It can be assumed that they have such weak force that they do not work properly standing alone.

Further, the difference in acceptability between past and present tense sentences can be explained as follows, relying on the semantic characteristic of these sentences. Past tense basic declarative sentences are characterised as rendering what has happened in actual world. This means that they are strongly associated with a fact. On the other hand, the adverbs under consideration are, as the previous discussion shows, involved in presumption, which is in contradiction to confirming or identifying a fact. The adverbs and past tense sentences are not a good match for each other due to this disparity regarding factuality.

With regard to present tense sentences, presumption is relatively easily associated with futurity, which is rendered by present tense sentences (focusing on those rendering action). Adverbs of high likelihood and strong belief, except *masaka* and *sazo*, may occur in present tense sentences because of this, though still limited depending on context and speaker. *Hyottoshitara* requires an expression designating a low degree of likelihood, while *tabun* seems to show behaviour in between.[47]

In this connection, however, it is worth noting that the awkwardness of these adverbs in the environments discussed above can also be reduced by other expressions which are assumed to convey a speaker's subjective attitude, such as some sentence-final particles like *yo*, a NODA construction, and so on. An example using *yo* is given below.

(7)

```
P: Yamada-san wa  doko?
            TOP   where
```

---

[47]For instance, consider the following conversation.

```
P: Ashita  kimasu ka?
   tomorrow come   Q
```

```
Q: Ee, tabun ikimasu.
   Yes        go POL
```

'P: Will you come tomorrow?'

'Q: Yes, probably I will.'

The author's intuition accepts *tabun* in the above context where a speaker's intention is included mildly. However, native informants mostly rejected it, and they reported that it is preferable to use one of some other expressions mentioned here (toward the end of the sentence). To the author, this seems a borderline case. See Footnote [131] for further discussion.

Q: a.??(Yamada-san wa) *tabun* kaetta.
                 TOP   go PAST

   b.(Yamada-san wa) *tabun* kaetta yo.
                                      PART

'P: Where is Mr.Yamada?

Q: Probably he went home.'

In this informal conversation, a particle *yo* changes the acceptability of *tabun*. It may be argued that this use of *yo* is dependent on communicative considerations; that is, as a sentence consisting of an informal form such as *kaetta* sounds blunt, *yo* serve to soften the utterance.

However, since *tabun* sounds strange in context-free examples (see 3.2), the above account is not sufficient to explain why *yo* increases the acceptability. Sentence-final particles have been widely understood as expressing a speaker's subjective attitude toward a hearer, in terms of speech acts such as asking agreement, giving assurance (for *yo*) and so on (Haga 1954, Ueno 1971). A tentative interpretation here is that these words also include a speaker's attitude such as 'this (the content of a sentence) is what I think'. Being supported by such expressions of subjective attitude on a speaker's part, the acceptability of the adverbs is increased.[48]

Suprasegmental factors such as intonation may affect the acceptability as well. However, the above observation will suffice to show the complexity of the relationship between the adverbs and sentences, although it is still rough.

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[48] Also, NODA constructions may be used depending on context. This construction is comprised of a particle *no* and a copula *da*. The function of NODA constructions has not been explained well yet, although there are many accounts of this construction available in the literature. Kuroda (1973:380) suggested that *noda* indicates a 'second-order assertion', whereas in Alfonso (1971:405), Teramura (1984:309) and so on, the main function of the construction is regarded as explaining reason or cause.

Kunihiro (1984) maintained the theory of 'established proposition' (Kisei kankei meidai) by which *noda* is regarded as 'presenting on the basis of an existing situation, the proposition which is related to that situation as an established proposition' (translated by Iketani 1986:59). There are also studies of this construction which focus on its discourse function (McGloin 1984, etc.). Here, I do not go into this further. I assume that the function similar to that suggested by Kuroda; that indicating 'this (the content of the sentence) is what I think'.

Another expression often occurring with the adverbs under consideration is *(to) omou* (I think that...). Nakau's proposal that this expression(in present tense and with a first person subject) conveys a speaker's psychological attitude at the moment of utterance (1979:235) may be worth pursuing further.

The reason for opting for a subjective treatment lies here: if the primary function of these adverbs is to express probability without a speaker's subjective attitude, why do they need or prefer occurrence with other expressions of a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude in the same sentence? The argument is that the basic function of these adverbs is to reinforce a speaker's presumptive attitude according to degree of belief, which is encoded in other parts of the same sentence and that because of this property, they are not properly understood in terms of logical operators.[49]

Besides the adverbs mentioned as showing deviance, there are a couple of adverbs, *masaka* and *sazo*, which need separate treatment for the reason that they are specifically limited in terms of co-occurrence restrictions. In the subsequent sections, these adverbs will be investigated. These sections are followed by overall discussion in 4.6.

4.3. *Sazo*

Sazo is one of the adverbs whose occurrence is further limited. The co-occurrence restrictions can be outlined as below.

(a) The adverb occurs in the constructions denoting high probability such as DAROO constructions (and NI CHIGAINAI constructions), but not in basic declarative sentences.

(b) Sentences compatible with *sazo* must be affirmative.

(c) Sentences compatible with *sazo* must render non-action.

The following examples provide brief illustration of these restrictions.

(8) a. Kare wa kanashinde iru daroo.
       he TOP be sad   DUR Presum

   'I think he is sad.'

   b. Kare wa *sazo* kanashinde iru daroo.

---

[49]It seems that the adverbs under consideration are generally not used in scientific writings, where objective description and statements are preferred. However, statistical validation may be required for this.

(9) a. Kare wa   kanashinde inai daroo.
       he TOP   be sad   DUR Presum

   ' I think he is not sad.'

  b. *Kare wa *sazo*   kanashinde inai daroo.

(10)a. Kare wa   iku daroo.
       he TOP   go

   'I think he will go.'

  b. *Kare wa *sazo* iku daroo.

The examples in (8) illustrate grammatical sentences, while *sazo* is incompatible with (9) containing a negative predicate, or (10) involving an action predicate. This point will be returned to later.

To characterise the meaning/function of *sazo*, observe the dialogue in (11).

(11) P: Musuko wa   kyonen   jiko de
        son   TOP   last year accident INS

    nakunarimashita.
    die PAST

  Q: Soo desu ka.. *Sazo*   tsurakatta
     so be   PART   hard PAST

    deshoo.
    Presum

  'P: My son was killed in accident last year.'

  Q: I see. I am sure you had a hard time.'

Here, the speaker Q makes a presumption about the speaker P's inner state of mind. Adverbs like *kitto* with high degree of belief can replace *sazo*.

(11') Q: *Kitto* tsurakatta deshoo.

There is a little difference in nuance felt by native speakers. In this particular context, it seems that a more sympathetic attitude emerges from *sazo*.

To understand the function of *sazo* properly, it seems necessary to look into the co-occurrence restriction stated in (c). Comparison with some adverbs such as *hijooni* and *taihen*, corresponding to 'very' in English is useful. Observe the following sentences.

(12) *Kare wa   *hijooni*   kuru.
     he   TOP   come

    '*He will come very.'

(13) Kare wa   *hijooni*   kanashinde iru.
      he TOP   be sad   DUR

    'He is very sad.'

(14) Kono eiga wa   *hijooni*   omoshiroi.
     this film TOP   interesting

    'This film is very interesting.'

(15) Kono machi wa   *hijooni*   nigiyakani   naru.
      this town TOP   busy   become

    'This town becomes very busy.'

The generalisation available for these limitations is that the adverbs like *hijooni* are used to scale quality or quantity, regardless of grammatical categories of predicates or associated elements. Bolinger (1972:17) termed words carrying such a function 'intensifiers', which seems appropriate to adopt here.

Disregarding the difference in meaning and concentrating on restrictions, *sazo* is limited almost in the same way as the above adverbs, as is shown below.

(12') *Kare wa   *sazo*   kuru.

(13') Kare wa   *sazo*   kanashinde iru daroo.

(14') kono eiga wa   *sazo*   omoshiroi daroo.

(15') Kono machi wa   *sazo*   nigiyakani naru daroo.

This indicates that *sazo* has the property of an intensifier as well as involvement in presumptive attitude. The restriction (b) (requiring affirmative sentences) can be accounted for by this property; to indicate intensification, it is not unreasonable to

presuppose the quality or quantity to exist.[50]

From these observations, we can make several points. *Sazo* has intricate characteristics; indicating high likelihood and intensifying a part of the content of a sentence which can be scaled.

Peculiar co-occurrence restrictions are explained by means of its semantic characteristics. This characterisation of *sazo* suggests that Group II-1-1 has internal diversity in terms of (lower) function.

Discourse implication is to be touched upon in passing. Morita (1980:176) noted that *sazo* implies a speaker's sympathetic attitude, as is seen in the example (11). Compared with *kitto*, *sazo* is more readily associated with sympathy in the actual situation. The implication of sympathy may be interpreted this way; since intensification means that more emotion on a speaker's part is added, it can be an indicator of more interest in a person involved (Berger and Bradac 1985:58).

4.4. *Masaka*

The occurrence of *masaka* (surely not) is also more constrained than that of most adverbs in Group II-1-1. The summary of the co-occurrence restrictions is as follows.

(a) The adverb does not occur in basic declarative
    sentences, but in *daroo* and *ni chigainai* constructions.

(b) Sentences which are compatible with the adverb must
    be negative.

In connection with the first restriction (a), it should be pointed out that *masaka* can appear in a wider range of environments, like *hazu ga nai* (it is impossible...) or *wake ni ikanai*, which are to be dealt with later in this section. The second one (b) is a feature of so-called negative adverbs (see 1.4). *Masaka* is often put into negative adverbs as well as the group under consideration.

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[50]In actual usage, *koto daroo* seems more preferred, like this;

Kare wa *sazo* **kanashinde iru koto daroo.**

The meaning of the sentence is very similar, except for the nuance added by *koto*, which we will not discuss here. The use like this seems to be in accord with intensifying function involved in *sazo*.

A first approximation is a definition given in a Japanese dictionary (Gakken Kokugo Jiten 1978); *masaka* is defined as Hitei-Suiryoo (negation-presumption). This intuitive account may be correct, but vague. In what follows, it will be argued that the semantic characteristic of *masaka* is conveying denial of possibility (or what is presumed), by examining its occurrence.

To begin with, compare the following context-free examples containing *masaka* and *kitto* (surely), which are supposed to be similar as far as translation is concerned.

(16)

a. Kanojo wa   Tokyo ni   inai   daroo.
   she   TOP   LOC   be NEG Presum

   'I don't think she is in Tokyo.'

b. *Masaka* kanojo wa Tokyo ni inai daroo.

c. *Kitto* kanojo wa   Tokyo ni inai daroo.

Both in (16b) and (16c), the speaker believes that Michiko is not in Tokyo. However, this explanation does not distinguish between these adverbs. We need to handle them differently. The speaker of (16c) thinks that there is high likelihood of Michiko not being in Tokyo. On the other hand, in (16b), the speaker has no belief about the content of a sentence (=that Michiko is in Tokyo), which he/she presumed.

The plausible translation for the sentence (16c) containing *kitto* may be 'I think it sure that Michiko is not in Tokyo' or 'surely Michiko is not in Tokyo', while sentence (16b) can be translated into something like 'I think it impossible that Michiko is in Tokyo.'[51] The difference is that while *kitto* refers to degree of likelihood of non-happening in the negative sentence, *masaka* is involved in denial of possibility.

Furthermore, it should be noted that *masaka* does not occur in sentences expressing objective impossibility, which is shown in the following example.

(18) a. Hitori no   ningen   ga nido shinu koto wa
        one   GEN human being NOM twice die   matter TOP

        dekinai.
        can NEG

---

[51]There is no single modal adverb in English which corresponds to *masaka*.

'A person cannot die twice.'
'It is not possible that a person die twice.'

b. *Masaka* hitori no ningen ga nido shinu

koto wa dekinai.

(18a) denotes a general truth, as far as the present level of science is concerned. This sentence involves impossibility, which is not compatible with *masaka*.[52] This example shows that *masaka* is only concerned with what is presumed, rendering a speaker's comment it is impossible that what is presumed will happen/has happened.

Note also that the sentence (18a) is a basic declarative sentence. It can be considered that *masaka* requires an expression encoding a speaker's presumptive attitude explicitly.

The appearance of *masaka* in other environments can be explained along this line. For instance, consider the following conversation containing *wake ni ikanai*.[53]

Consider the following conversation containing *wake ni ikanai*.

(19) P: Genkan no beru   ga natta   toki,
        entrance GEN bell NOM ring PAST time

        anata wa doo shimashita ka.
        you   TOP how do PAST   Q

    Q: a. pajama. de   hito ni   au wakeni ikanai node
          pyjamas INS person DAT   see   because

          demasendeshita.
          come out NEG PAST

       b: *Masaka* pajama de hito ni   au wake ni ikanai

          node demasendeshita.

---

[52](18b) is all right, when this appears in a subordinate clause such as a reason clause. It seems necessary to establish different conditions for appearance in subordinate clauses, which is outside the task of this thesis.

[53]*Hazu ga nai* is another construction where *masaka* appears. For instance, like (16),

Masaka kanojo ga Tokyo ni iru hazu ga nai.

Hazu ga nai can be considered to be a negative form of *hazu da* (be supposed to). The construction expresses a speaker's strong feeling that he/she cannot believe such a thing (see Teramura 1984:270 for further discussion). Therefore, this co-occurrence is in accord with the account given.

'P: What did you do when the door bell rang?

Q: a. I didn't answer because I didn't want to be
       seen in pyjamas. (lit. I didn't answer because
       it was not possible (allowed) to see people in
       pyjamas.)

Wake ni ikanai can convey the idea that some action is not possible or permitted for circumstantial reasons (cf. Suleski and Masada 1982:22).[54] In the above situation, the speaker indicates that she felt not allowed to see people while in pyjamas, because of social considerations. Thus, this construction renders a speaker's attitude which denies what is surmised as acceptable rather than an objective statement about impossibility. The semantic characteristic of the construction is thus in line with that of *masaka*.

The analysis shows that the relationship between *masaka* and constructions such as the above can be explained in terms of their semantic characteristics.

It seems worth noting that the use of *masaka* may be more extensive. Consider the following dialogue.

(20) P: Anata mo   demo   ni   iku no?
        you   too demonstration to   go   PART

     Q: a: Sonna koto   shimasen.
            such thing do NEG

        b. *Masaka*   sonna koto   shimasen.

   'P: Are you going to the demonstration too?

   Q: a. I wouldn't do such a thing.'

Masaka sounds natural here. The adverb is connected with a basic declarative sentence in (20b). That is, it can be a counter-example for our analysis. Actually, this example poses an interesting problem. Some native speakers claimed that *masaka* is used independently of the rest of the sentence, i.e. like a so-called interjection, while some felt the adverb was a part of the sentence. In the former case, a pause is put after *masaka*, which is pronounced with stress. The second case has no appreciable pause. Those allowing the second reading accept the first as well.

Taking the first reading, a possible interpretation is that the speaker Q does not simply

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[54]This construction may be analysed as *wake-ni-ik-a-nai* (reason-PART-go-NEG)

express a negative statement, but emphasises intention involving a notion of negation such as: I wouldn't do such a thing, it is out of a question. Thus, it can be considered that the utterance includes stressed denial with conviction about his future act. Probably, the use is made possible because of such an attitude involved. This analysis suggests that in some cases, the use of *masaka* is determined by pragmatic function of a sentence as well as by certain semantic types of sentences or constructions.

The degree of acceptability of the first reading depends on speakers. However, the fact that some speakers accept this kind of use indicates that the use of *masaka* may be more fruitfully explored by discourse level analysis.[55]

To sum up, *masaka* shares the feature of involvement in presumptive attitude on a speaker's part. The adverb is characterised by denial of what is presumed.[56] This is well reflected in surface co-occurrence restrictions. The use of *masaka* may be affected by the speech situation, which requires further examination. On the other hand, the characterisation of *masaka* is another instance of the inner diversity of Group II-1-1, while it shares that group's common epistemic meaning.

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[55]It is worth referring to the second reading, where *masaka* is used like an interjection.

P: Anata wa   kekkon-shita   soo desu ne.
   you TOP   marry PAST   HEAR   PART

Q: *Masaka.*

'P: They say you got married.

Q: Of course not/impossible.'

In this case, the speaker Q makes a denial strongly by means of *masaka*, which is generally accompanied by emphatic intonation. Although this use is not followed by a sentence, it still shares the meaning of denial of possibility.

[56]The following semantic formula is suggested by Wierzbicka (personal communication) for this adverb.

I think you think X

I think this cannot be true.

4.5. *Kitto, kanarazu* and *zettai*

As was suggested in the survey, adverbs such as *kitto* (surely), *kanarazu* (certainly) and *zettai* (certainly) exhibit surface restrictions which are somewhat deviant from those on other adverbs in this group, in the following way:

1. they can occur in imperative and interrogative sentences.

2. they can occur in past declarative sentences.

In this section, only the second feature is focused on and the reason for this is examined.[57] The analysis is made individually.

4.5.1. *Kanarazu*

The occurrence of *kanarazu* is more restricted in terms of polarity, as was shown in Table 2-4 in Chapter 2; it only occurs in affirmative sentences. This feature will be referred to later in this section.

To begin with, consider the following sentence:

```
(21) Mariko wa   kanarazu   bara o     katta.
          TOP                rose ACC   buy PAST
```

The natural reading of sentence (21) is that Mariko bought a rose on any occasion. The adverb *kanarazu* is concerned with habituality.

The sentence is appropriate in the following conversation.

```
(22) P: Mariko  wa sukoshi okane ga   aru to
                   a little money NOM be COND

        kanarazu  bara o    katta.

     Q: Sore ga   kanojo no    shuukan datta   no?
        it   NOM  she   GEN    habit   be PAST PART

     P: Un.
        yes


    'P: Whenever Mariko had a little money, she
        never  failed to buy a rose.'

     Q: Was it her habit ?
```

---

[57]The first feature is dealt with separately in Chapter 8.

P: yes.'

The speaker Q's utterance means that that Mariko did not miss a single occasion to buy a rose when she had a little money. *Kanarazu* is concerned with habituality here. This is the only possible reading for sentences like (21). Regardless of context, (21) cannot have a presumptive reading in which the speaker believes strongly that Mariko bought a rose, without knowing if it is a fact. That is, when *kanarazu* appears in past tense declarative sentences, it does not work to indicate the speaker's presumptive attitude about the propositional content.

It follows from this that *kanarazu* has at least two meanings/functions: presumptive and habitual functions. The latter may be included in the propositional content of a sentence.[58]

The presumptive use does not emerge when the adverb appears in past tense declarative sentences. That is, *kanarazu* behaves in the same way with regard to presumptive use as other adverbs in the group under consideration. This observation conforms to the general account given in section 4.2 about the correspondence between non-occurrence in past tense declarative sentences and the meaning/function of the adverbs.

Ambiguity occurs when this adverb is used with a present tense sentence. Compare the sentences in (23).

(23)

a. Mariko wa   *kanarazu*   koko o   tooru.
       TOP   here ACC   pass

b. Watashi no   yosoo   de wa   Mariko   wa
       I   GEN prediction in TOP   TOP

   kanarazu   koko o   tooru.

   'My prediction is that Mariko will certainly pass
   by here.'

---

[58]Habituality is not unrelated to the speaker's psychological attitude because judgment as being habitual is dependent on the speaker's view. Kudoo(1982) argued that adverbs involved with habituality such as *itsumo* (always) form a continuum with those concerned with presumption. In this thesis, adverbs like *itsumo* are distinguished from our candidates for SSA adverbs according to syntactic-semantic features shown in Table 2-4, but they may be closely related to SSA adverbs.

c. Mariko wa   *kanarazu* koko o   tooru.   Sorede
                                              then

mise no hito   ga   kanojo no kao o   oboete   shimatta.
shop GEN person NOM she   GEN face ACC   remember end PAST

'Mariko never fails to pass by here. So, the shop people
got to know her face.'

Sentence (23a) has the two readings of supposition (23b) and of habitual action (23c), depending on the context.

As an individual adverb, *kanarazu* may have an abstract meaning of 'occurring in an exceptionless way', as was proposed by Morita (1977:167), from which these two usages emerge.   Roughly speaking, habitual reading tends to appear in sentences containing multiple actions and a single action is for presumptive reading. However, the reading is dependent on context to a considerable extent.

Another feature of *kanarazu* is that it only occurs in affirmative sentences. This might be related to intensification, as *sazo* (surely) shows, but in the case of *kanarazu* there is no syntactic support. The reason for this feature of *kanarazu* is not clear.

4.5.2. *Kitto*

Kitto can be used like *kanarazu* in some contexts, whether past or present tense.

(24) Mariko wa   okane ga   aru to

      kitto   bara o   katta.

   'When Mariko had money, she never failed to buy a rose.'

(25) Mariko wa   okane ga   aru to

      kitto   bara o kau.
               buy PRES

   'When Mariko has money, she never fails to buy a rose.'

As the examples show, *kitto* has a property similar to that of *kanarazu*.

However, the occurrence of *kitto* seems less common. Kudoo(1982:75) noted that its use as in (24) seems to be currently limited to written language. Only in this reading, *kitto* is

natural in past tense basic declarative sentences. In this respect, *kitto* can be treated in the same way as *kanarazu*.[59]

4.5.3. *Zettai*

The two adverbs, *kitto* and *kanarazu* carry two different meanings/functions, while *zettai* differs in use from them; It seems that *zettai* has a more assertive function than these adverbs.

Before examining the occurrence of *zettai* in past tense declarative sentences, we should consider its use in the following:

```
(26) P: Sore wa  anata no omoichigai ja nai desu ka?
        that TOP you  GEN  mistake      NEG COP   Q

     Q: Iya, a. watashi wa  tadashii.
        no      I       TOP  right

         b. watashi wa    zettai  tadashii.

     'P: Aren't you mistaken about that?

     Q: No,  a. I am right.'
```

In this case, the speaker Q claims that he/she is right and the statement is reinforced by *zettai*. It may be possible to explain this use in terms of a high degree of probability, because this sentence does not imply verification of a fact. However, a speaker's assertive attitude seems more highlighted here.

To explain this use better, the following examples may be helpful:

```
(27)

P: Kono keeki wa kanojo no sakuhin dakara,
   this cake TOP she  GEN  work   because

    a. Oishii  desu yo.
       delicious  PART

    b. zettai oishii desu yo.

'P: As this cake is made by her,

    a. It will be delicious.
```

---

[59]See 9.2 for the difference in nuance between *kanarazu* and *kitto*.

(27b) is involved in the speaker's presumptive attitude. Although the remark is accompanied by strong conviction, it remains in the domain of supposition; the meaning of the utterance is something like 'I do not doubt that the cake is delicious, but I do not know if it is true'.

A sentence like (27b) with *zettai* has no other reading. This is illustrated by dialogue (28).

(28) P: Kono keeki wa doo deshita ka.
     this cake TOP how be PAST Q

    Q: a. Oishii desu.
         delicious PRES

       b.#*zettai* oishii desu.

    'P: How was this cake?

    Q: a. It was delicious.'

Zettai is not appropriate here. The reason is that the sentence includes the speaker's opinion about the quality of the cake, after tasting it. That is, *zettai* is not used to stress the truth of the proposition.

These examples show that the use of *zettai* is basically concerned with the speaker's presumption, like other adverbs in the group under consideration.

On the other hand, in (26), the speaker asserts that what he/she says is true. Thus, *zettai* has a slightly different use in (26) from the basic presumptive use.

The use in example (26) is actually limited to certain semantic types of sentences, which indicate correctness, exactness and so on, generally associated with adjectives such as *tadashii* (correct), *tashikada* (exact).

With *zettai*, these sentences can be used to indicate that the speaker does not doubt him/herself to be correct. When the subject of a sentence is the first person, the sentence seems to carry this function more readily. However, the distinction in use seems generally to depend on the actual situation.

A similar use can be observed when *zettai* appears in past tense sentences. Consider the following sentences:

(29) a. Kyooko wa soo itta.
            TOP so say PAST

b. Kyooko wa *zettai* soo itta.

In this set of sentences, (29b) sounds odd for presumptive meaning such as 'she must have said so', but the sentence can be used naturally in the following context.

(29) P: Sore wa   kimi no omoichigai ja nai desu ka?
        it TOP   you GEN mistake   NEG COP   Q

     Q: Chigau. Kyooko wa   *zettai* soo itta.
        different

     'P: Aren't you mistaken about that?

     Q: No, Kyoko certainly said so.'

In this context, the utterance with *zettai* sounds as if the speaker tries to convince a listener into accepting that what he/she said about Kyoko is not mere presumption but a fact. However, the content of the sentence is not still taken as verified.

The occurrence of *zettai* in past tense sentences is restricted to uses like this. This use can be regarded as a borderline case in terms of factuality.[60]

4.6. General discussion and conclusion

The previous sections examined the meaning and surface restrictions of the adverbs of this group. All the candidates are alike in the respect that they are involved in a speaker's presumptive attitude with uncertainty. The adverbs (except *masaka*) indicate how likely it is that the action/state involved will happen/has happened or how much a speaker believes the truth of the content of a sentence, but they do not verify it.

With regard to co-occurrence patterns, occurrence in DAROO constructions and non-occurrence in past tense basic declarative sentences can be regarded as salient for the candidates. This can be explained in terms of the function/meaning of the constructions and the adverbs: sentences concerned with a speaker's presumption are suitable for the adverbs because of the meaning shown above, whereas factual sentences are not. Based

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[60]*Zettai* can be used as a negative adverb as well. In this use, it does not only occur in a negative predicate, but also with sentences which are semantically negative, appearing to emphasise negation. There is no contextual problem as to occurrence in past tense sentences. Its use as a negative adverb seems to have something in common with that discussed here. Further study is needed to determine this.

on this explanation, it is valid to characterise this group according to both the meaning and surface restrictions.

There are several deviant cases involved in this group such as *kitto*, *kanarazu* and *zettai*. Their deviance is well explained; they can occur in past tense sentences with non-epistemic reading, while they are not allowed to appear in past tense basic declarative sentences in epistemic reading. In other words, when they have a presumptive reading, this group is consistently associated with non-occurrence in past tense basic declarative sentences. Thus, this account is in support of the above characterisation.[61]

From this, it is possible to construct a prototype for this group, which exhibits only the two fundamental defining characteristics, epistemic function and non-occurrence in past tense sentences and to re-consider individual adverbs from this point of view. *Tabun* (and *osoraku*) may be taken as prototypical, although more delicate and subtle restrictions are involved. *Sazo* and *masaka* exhibit further specified function/meaning, while some other adverbs of high degree such as *kanarazu* and *kitto* range over (rather) objective and subjective functions. *Zettai* seems the closest to the top of the certainty scale, especially according to its use in reinforcing assertive attitude. It follows from this that although these adverbs may constitute a class around the prototype, they are internally diverse not only in terms of degree of likelihood (or belief) but also in functional terms.

Furthermore, another important point is that major members of this group consistently show negative features as to interrogative and imperative sentences (see Table 2-4). It follows that this sub-class is basically characterised by the features which are predominant for the category under consideration.

However, we should note adverbs which do not have these features, such as *kitto*, *kanarazu* and *zettai*. They appear in both types of sentences. In addition, *hyottoshitara* may appear in interrogative sentences. Their behaviour in terms of both types of sentences is discussed in Chapter 9.

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[61]The treatment of past tense sentences does not mean that present tense sentences are irrelevant. As was discussed previously, past tense sentences are better as a criterion in that they make more uniform and general treatment possible.

Chapter 5

Group II-1-3

5.1. Introduction

This chapter undertakes analysis of Group II-1-3. This group includes two adverbs, *doomo* and *dooyara*. They have not been analysed properly in literature.

According to the survey in Chapter 3, the major environment for these adverbs is the declarative sentences and like Group II-1-1, they are incompatible with past tense (action) sentences. Further, Group II-1-3 hardly co-occurs with the DAROO construction, while it is acceptable in the RASHII construction.

It is argued here that Group II-1-3 can be treated in terms of epistemic function as well as Group II-1-1.

The meaning/function of these adverbs is discussed in 5.2 and 5.3, and after that, in 5.4 the adverbs are discussed with reference to evidentiality. This concept is of great importance to consideration of this group. The conclusion of this chapter is found in 5.5.

5.2. *Doomo*

5.2.1. The outline of *doomo*

This section addresses outlines of surface restrictions and meaning of *doomo*. This adverb has not been seriously studied in Japanese literature, except by Tanaka (1983).[62]

In Kudo (1982:53), *doomo* is classified under the heading of SUITEI while *tabun* is placed under SUISOKU. Yet words like SUITEI and SUISOKU don't tell much about the difference between *doomo* and *tabun* because either of the words can be translated into

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[62]The study discussed degree of CHINJUTSU *doomo* and *dooyara* may have. The approach is different from that in this thesis.

'inference, presumption, supposition', etc. What is drawn from this taxonomy is that *doomo* also seems concerned with something like presumption or inference.

First of all, consider the following examples, which are illustrative of the co-occurrence restrictions observed in the survey in 3.4.

(1) a. Kare wa   uchi o   kau/katta.
       he TOP   house ACC   buy/buy PAST

    'He will buy/bought a house.'

    b. *Doomo   kare wa uchi o kau/katta.

(2) a. Kare wa   uchi o kau/katta rashii.
                                   seem

    'It seems he will buy/bought a house.'

    b. Doomo   kare wa   uchi o   kau/katta rashii.

(3) a. Kare wa   uchi o   kau/katta   daroo.
                                      Presum

    'I think he will buy/bought a house.'

    b. *Doomo   kare wa   uchi o   kau/katta daroo.

Doomo does not occur in basic declarative sentences or DAROO constructions, but appears in RASHII constructions.

The survey was intended to illustrate a general picture of co-occurrence restrictions and for the sake of simplicity, the relationship with verbal sentences (denoting action) was mainly investigated.

It can be further observed that adjectival sentences may co-occur with *doomo*, as is seen below.

(4) a. Kono   ongaku wa   tanchooda.
       this music TOP   monotonous

    'This music is monotonous.'

    b. Doomo   kono ongaku wa   tanchooda.

Doomo is compatible with (4a). This example indicates that the behaviour of *doomo* is further specified with regard to basic declarative sentences.

The meaning of *doomo* is to be sketched. The sentence (2b) with *rashii* can be regarded very roughly as expressing a speaker's inference and uncertainty about the inference he/she has made, which will be investigated later in the section 5.2.3. (3b) involving *doomo* does not show a noticeable semantic difference from (3a), except a bit more shade of uncertainty. Thus, the use of *doomo* looks redundant or pleonastic in this case.

Regarding example (4), (4b) implies some obscurity, in contrast with (4a), which can be regarded as conveying a speaker's opinion rather straightforwardly. In (4b), the speaker seems to think that this music is monotonous, but the utterance sounds as if he/she is hesitating in presenting his/her evaluative remark in a definitive way. Disregarding possible conversational tactics for the moment, *doomo* seems to indicate some sort of uncertainty or wonder on a speaker's part in this example.

In this connection, observe the behaviour of *doomo*, appearing in a daily conversation as follows.

```
(5) P: Watashi wa   kono shoosetsu ga    suki desu.
        I      TOP  this  novel    NOM   like

    Q: Boku wa   doomo ne...
       I    TOP        PART

   'P: I like this novel.

    Q: My opinion is...'
```

The structure of the fragmental sentence is not clear; probably the predicate to follow is omitted. However, in the conversation, the utterance carries enough information for a native listener to understand what Q means; it denotes that he does not like the novel. This is interpreted as a careful way to avoid commiting himself to evaluation. *Doomo* is regarded as carrying a function of obscuring opinion in a discourse.[63]

From these observations, it may be assumed that *doomo* expresses a speaker's emotion which is vague and hard for him/her to pinpoint. The emotion may emerge in an actual

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[63]This account suggests that *doomo* can be taken as a 'hedge', as discussed in in Lakoff (1975).

situation as doubt or wonder or something like that.[64]

The problem arising is that this characterisation is not sufficient to explain the co-occurrence restrictions: in particular, the difference as to RASHII and DAROO constructions. Hence, while vagueness or uncertainty may be part of the meaning of *doomo*, we are urged to have an adequate description to account for this issue.

The subsequent sections discuss semantic characterisation of *doomo* by analysing the basic conditions for its use.

5.2.2. Analysis of *doomo* appearing in adjectival sentences

This section deals with the cases where *doomo* is associated with basic declarative sentences including adjectival sentences like (4), and the issue revolving around RASHII constructions and so on is left until section 5.2.3.

To go into further detail, the occurrence of *doomo* is not based on grammatical distinctions like nominal, verbal, or adjectival sentences, but rather is semantically conditioned. For instance, the following sentences include verbal predicates, which allow *doomo* to co-occur.

(6) a. Kono machi wa   zawazawa-shite iru.
       this town TOP   restless   DUR

    'This town is restless.'

    b. Kono machi wa   *doomo*   zawazawa-shite iru.

---

[64] *Doomo* appears in several expressions of acknowledgement such as condolence, apology and so on as well. Examples:

Doomo **sumimasen.**

'I am sorry.'

Doomo **arigatoo gozaimasu.**

'Thank you.'

Here, *doomo* is attached to conventional expressions of apology and gratitude. It seems that *doomo* adds politeness to these expressions. In this thesis, this use is not dealt with directly, because the environments are rather fossilised expressions and this use is closer to what is called interjections.

In this case, the progressive use of a verb *zawazawa-suru* (become noisy/restless) works to describe a state of affairs in the town. Another example is;

(7) a. Katoo-san wa   yoku   kurasu o   saboru.
          TOP   often class ACC skip PRES

    'Mr.Katoo often skips class.'

   b. Katoo san wa   *doomo* yoku kurasu o saboru.

Sentence (7) contains an adverb *yoku* (often) which has a notion of frequency. Action sentences with certain types of adverb like the above are compatible with *doomo* depending on context.

This observation indicates that the occurrence of *doomo* is quite similar to that of some adverbs which scale quality or quantity such as *taihen* (very), *hijooni* (very) and so on. The restrictions on these adverbs were discussed in 4.3 in the analysis of the adverb *sazo* (surely). Briefly, *doomo* is associated with stative property which can be measured in terms of degree. This account may be reinforced by the following:

(8) a. Kono hako   wa   sankaku   da.
       this box   TOP   triangle COP

   'This box has the shape of a triangle.'

   b.*Kono hako wa   *doomo* sankaku da.

   c.*Kono hako wa   *taihen* sankaku da.

(9) a. Kono tenrankai wa   muryoo da.
       this exhibition TOP   free COP

   'This exhibition is free of charge.'

   b.*Kono tenrankai wa   *doomo* muryooda.

   c.*Kono tenrankai wa   *taihen* muryooda.

Sankaku (triangle) and *muryoo* (free of charge) cannot be scaled because no gradation is included in their semantics. In other words, they have 'absolute' meaning. *Doomo* shares this feature with adverbs like *taihen* (very).

From this observation, it may be assumed that *doomo* in this use falls within a class of

adverbs which act as intensifiers, having a different function from that occurring in RASHII constructions. However, this is not absolutely correct or at least not adequate as description of these adverbs, for reasons presented below.

Before proceeding with the analysis, it should be noted that *doomo* occurs in negative action sentences as well, as is seen in (10).

(10) a. Kore wa   wakaranai.
       this TOP   understand NEG

     'I don't understand this.'

  b. *Doomo* kore wa wakaranai.

Example (10) is acceptable. Considering the ungrammaticality of *doomo* in affirmative action sentences like (1), the behaviour in sentence (10) looks peculiar. Actually, it is not the case that any negative action sentence is compatible with *doomo*. This point will be treated later in this section.

To explore the conditions for the use of *doomo*, consider sentences such as the following.

(11) a. Katoo-san no musuko wa   chiisai.
            GEN son   TOP   small

     'Mrs.Katoo's son is small.'

  b. Katoo-san no musuko wa *doomo* chiisai.

Comparing these sentences, (11b) implies uncertainty. The essential difference is, however, that (11b) easily leads the native speaker to understand that the speaker of this sentence has seen Mrs. Kato's son, while (11a) is not specified in this respect.

The appropriate context for a sentence like (11b) is as follows.

(12)

P:Katoo-san no   musuko ni   atta   koto ga
    she GEN   son   to   meet PAST matter NOM

arimasu ka.
be   Q

Q: a. Un. (kare wa) *doomo* chiisai yo.
    yes   he TOP   PART

'P:Have you seen Mrs. Katoo's son? '

In this situation, if the speaker Q has not seen the son, sentence (13b) is not appropriate, as is shown below.

(13) Q: b. Iya.   #Shikashi *doomo* chiisai yo.
           No

      c. Iya.   Shikashi *kitto* chiisai yo.
           No   surely

'Q: c. No. But I am sure he would be small.'

Doomo is not appropriate here. One of the possible adverbs for this situation with the same basic declarative sentence is *kitto*, expressing a speaker's supposition.[65]

The appropriateness of (13b) can be improved in such a way as follows.

(14) Q: b'. Iya.   Shikashi   shashin de   miru to
                             photograph INS   see COND

        doomo   chiisai yo.

'Q: No. But looking at his photograph, he is small.'
(the translation is for the sentence without *doomo*.)

This utterance seems passable in the same situation. (14b') indicates that the speaker Q has a piece of information about the height of Mrs. Kato's son by virtue of a photograph.

It can be assumed from this that *doomo* appears in a context where evaluation or judgement is made based on a speaker's involvement with what is to be evaluated or judged. The adverb *doomo* indicates that the speaker is still uncertain about the validity of his evaluation or judgement, although he/she has experience which serves as proof of the evaluation.

This characteristic is consistent with a case such as (14). Sentence (14b) is natural, by implying that the speaker was involved with the music, for instance by listening to it. This is proved by the following context where sentence (14b) sounds odd.

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[65]In these examples, the dialogue sounds a bit incomplete without sentence-final particle such as *yo* and *ne*. As was pointed out in 4.2, some sentence-final particles may affect the relationship between SSA adverbs and sentences. Therefore, it is preferable that sentence-final particles are totally excluded from example dialogues. However, to keep dialogues natural, sentence-final particles are employed where they do not affect the essence of discussion in this thesis.

(15) ??Kono ongaku wa mada kiite   inai   ga,
     this music   TOP yet   listen DUR NEG but

   doomo tanchooda.

'I haven't listened to this music yet, but....'

In this case, the speaker has no experience of listening to this music. Utterance (15) is appropriate only when the speaker has done so or is doing so, or in a very specialised situation such as having a professional artist as a speaker, who can tell how the music will sound by studying a music score.

Thus, the above account can be taken as the essential condition of the use of *doomo* in basic declarative sentences without further expression of a speaker's subjective attitude.

The important points are that it is essential for the evaluation/judgement to be based on the experience of a speaker in the matter to be evaluated, that is, the evaluation is supported by evidence, and that *doomo* indicates lack of certainty on a speaker's part.

Furthermore, the restriction on absolute terms needs to be explained. One possible interpretation is that *doomo* indicates that the speaker is not certain about his/her evaluation in terms of degree. Regarding absolute terms, judgement is polarised so that there is no gradation included. Once judgement such as being free of charge in (9) is given, uncertainty is irrelevant, because clarity of judgement cannot be suspected.

At this point, it is also necessary to account for the cases involving negative declarative sentences. A possible explanation for the case in (10) is as follows. The clue is that (10b) is only appropriate when the speaker is involved in the problem: in such a situation where he/she has been engaged to sort out the problem. This suggests that it takes the speaker a certain duration of time to see how hard it is to solve the problem before he/she utters the sentence. What underlies the use of *doomo* is supposed to be this experience. Thus, its use in negative sentences can be explained along the lines of the analysis in this section.

This use seems limited with regard to semantic types of verbs as well as situation. For instance, a sentence containing an action verb *kuru* (come) is not accepted by native speakers, as is seen below.

(16) ?Kare wa *doomo* konai.
     he TOP   come NEG

'He doesn't come.'(The translation ignores *doomo*.)

Among the native speakers, some claimed that the sentence can be used in a limited situation such as the following: Suppose that the speakers have been waiting for Miss Aoki.

(17)

P: Aoki-san, kimashita ka?
           come PAST Q

Q: Iya,   *doomo* konai.
   No

'P: Has Miss Aoki come?'

'Q: No. ....'

The use of *doomo* here can be accounted for in the same way as was the case in (11). That is, the time of waiting for Miss Aoki is taken as experience in the sense discussed above in this case. This example appears to be a borderline case.

Doomo in the above use seems to indicate a speaker's vague feeling such as that what is the matter is unclear to him/her, but not including uncertainty about his/her assessment. Nevertheless, the mechanism involved in this example is basically in line with the preceding analysis. From this, this kind of use can be regarded as marginal, less prototypical in terms of both meaning and occurrence.[66]

5.2.3. Analysis of *doomo* appearing in RASHII constructions

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[66]Marginal usages like this seem to be particularly rich sources of pragmatic implications. *Doomo* can be used to imply indirectness. This is often taken as a strategy for politeness. (The use in acknowledgement in Footnote [64] can be explained in this sense.) Besides this, *doomo* sometimes implies a negative attitude on a speaker's part, as is seen in (5). The use like this may be based on a social consideration that something unpleasant is better not to say directly.

Sentences like (7) may have a different but related implication such as a speaker's wonder; for instance, why Mr. Satoo often skips class, or what is the cause for Mr. Satoo's behaviour.

These implications seem to depend on the situation, although the content of a sentence may affect them to some extent. Further study of pragmatic implications should be interesting, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

This section treats the occurrence of *doomo* in RASHII constructions.[67]

To understand the use of *doomo* properly, it seems necessary to know the correct function/meaning of RASHII constructions. For this reason, this construction is examined in the first place. Consider the following sentences.

(18) P: Kado no tokoro de jiko ga atta *rashii*.
      corner GEN place LOC accident NOM be PAST seem

    Q: Soo desu ka.
       so be

    P: Hito ga zuibun atsumatte sawaide ita.
       person NOM much gather be noisy DUR PAST

      'P: It seems/I think that there was an accident at the
        corner.

      Q: Is it so.

      P: A lot of people gathered there.'

The first utterance of speaker P contains his inference and it is based on what he has seen at the corner in this context. The implication of *rashii* is that the inference (the content of the sentence) is based on the speaker's perceptual experience.

Further, a RASHII construction also indicates that the inference still lacks certitude, though it can be regarded as justified on the basis of the evidence.

Teramura (1984:243) suggested that the central meaning of RASHII includes something like ' I am not sure if it (the content of a sentence) is true or not, but from what I have observed, I think that it is close to truth.'[68]

What he calls observation corresponds to what is called perceptual experience here.

From this discussion, the claim is that RASHII constructions are characterised with inference supported by evidence through perceptual experience and shortage of certitude.

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[67]Besides RASHII constructions, there are several other constructions having a similar meaning to RASHII which easily co-occur with *doomo*. For the sake of simplicity, only the RASHII construction is dealt with in this thesis. For details of other constructions such as involving *yooda* and *sooda*, Teramura (1984) is informative.

[68]In Teramura (ibid.), this explication was originally about *yooda* rendering similar meaning to *rashii*. He went on to state that the meaning of *rashii* should be understood in the same vein.

This explains the co-occurrence relationship between *doomo* and RASHII constructions with ease. These expressions share salient semantic characteristics in respect of a speaker's judgement supported by perceptual experience, and shortage of certitude. The redundancy emerging from a sentence like (3b) is understood immediately from this explanation.

The assumption about adverbs like *tabun* (probably) may hold for *doomo* as well; the force of *doomo* is so weak that it occurs in the environments where the same meaning is realised or where uncertainty about judgement can emerge, like the adjectival sentences examined in the last section.

We are now in a position to discuss the co-occurrence restriction on *doomo* with regard to DAROO constructions. The difference between RASHII and DAROO constructions is the clue sorting out this issue. Both of them are concerned with a speaker's epistemic attitude. The significant difference between them may lie in the fact that that RASHII constructions imply perceptual experience supporting validity of the content of a sentence, while *daroo* does not.

The following examples illustrate the difference in use.[69]

(19)

```
Sotsugyoosha-meibo o  mitara,  Michiko no     sei ga
graduate  list     ACC see COND         GEN surname NOM

kawatte ita.
change   PAST
```

```
a. Kanojo wa  moo      kekkon-shita rashii.
   she    TOP already marry        PAST
```

```
b.#Kanojo wa  moo kekkon-shita  daroo.
```

```
'When I saw the name list of graduates, the surname
 of Michiko was changed.

 (rough approximation)
 a. I think she has married already.'
```

(20)

```
Koibito      to wakarete  shichinen ni mo           naru.
girlfriend with part     7 years       as many as become
```

---

[69]In examples (19) and (20), *no daroo* functions just in the same way as *rashii*. Acceptability of *no daroo* is largely dependent on the meaning of *no*, which is not treated in detail in this thesis. This will be another issue.

a. #Kanojo wa moo kekkon-shita rashii.

b. Kanojo wa moo kekkon-shita daroo.

'As many as seven years have passed since I parted from
my girlfriend.

a.I think she has married already.'

The appropriateness of *rashii* and *daroo* is clearly distinguished in these examples.[70] In (19), (19a) is appropriate, while (19b) is not. The speaker's inference in (19a) is based on the fact that Michiko's surname has been changed. In (20), On the other hand, (20a), consisting of a RASHII construction, is not appropriate, while (20b) is acceptable. This means that the fact that seven years have passed is not taken as evidence for the inference expressed in a RASHII construction. The reason for this is probably that the given fact is too weak to support the validity of inference. In many actual cases, it seems difficult to determine which condition is required in order to make inference by using RASHII constructions. For instance, an example like in (19) may not be adequate as evidence according to a social structure. This suggests that the forming of a felicitous inferential relationship considerably depends on pragmatic factors.

However, the significant point here is that the acceptability of a DAROO construction is just the reverse in the examples given. This means that the function/meaning of DAROO constructions is contradictory to that of RASHII constructions at least with regard to a certain feature. In the above examples, a DAROO construction is not appropriate where an inferential relationship supported by a given fact is formed, and is appropriate where such a relationship is not possible. It follows from this that the meaning of DAROO constructions does not involve any justification by evidence, while RASHII constructions do. Thus, these constructions are basically distinguished by whether or not they can be justified by evidence.

Following this discussion, the incompatibility of *doomo* and DAROO constructions can be explained easily: *doomo* shares with RASHII constructions the essential semantic characteristic regarding evidence, which is the decisive reason to cause incompatibility between the adverb and *daroo*.

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[70]I owe much to Yasumi Gee for these examples.

The discussion in this section suggests that there are two epistemic meanings (or two subdivisions of epistemic functions) possible among Japanese adverbs; the one is closely related to DAROO constructions, and the other to RASHII constructions. They are both concerned with truth judgement, in different ways. More theoretical discussion is provided in 5.4, after examining another candidate, *dooyara*.

5.3. Analysis of *dooyara*

Dooyara appears naturally in RASHII constructions but like *doomo* does not get on well with DAROO constructions. The characteristic of this adverb seems more elusive than that of *doomo*.

When *dooyara* occurs in RASHII constructions, its meaning is almost the same as *doomo*. They are easily interchangeable, as is seen below.

(21) P: Kare wa donna yoosu desu ka?
      he TOP how   state be   Q

    Q:a. Mada benkyooshite iru rashii desu.
        still study   DUR seem

      b. *Dooyara* mada benkyooshite iru rashii desu.
        Doomo

   'P: (lit.) How is he?

   Q:a. He seems to be still studying.'

The interchageability indicates that the meaning of these adverbs is quite similar. Native speakers feel subtle difference in nuance from their use; in this particular context, *dooyara* suggests that the content of the sentence has become known, though it is not completely clear.

The use of *dooyara* in other environments may shed light on the semantic characterisation of it. *Dooyara* behaves differently from *doomo* in basic declarative sentences such as adjectival sentences. For instance,

(22) a. Kono ko wa chiisai.
      this child TOP small

    'This child is small.'

    b. *Doomo* kono ko wa chiisai.

    c. ?*Dooyara* kono ko wa chiisai.

In this context-free example, *dooyara* sounds odd. This indicates that there is a certain semantic difference between the adverbs under consideration.

Generally, *dooyara* does not occur in sentences such as denoting action, like *doomo*. An example is given below.

(23) a. Kare wa   uchi o   katta.
          he TOP   house ACC   buy PAST

        'He bought a house.'

    b. ??Kare wa *dooyara* uchi o katta.

Dooyara sounds strange in this sentence. However, sentences which include a certain semantic property tolerate occurrence of *dooyara*. Consider the following conversation. Suppose that the speakers walking in the forest at night see something red from distance and they do not know what it is. They are approaching it.

(24)

P: Nan deshoo ?
   what

Q: Chotte matte.
   a little wait

   Aa, a. wakatte kimashita.
   yes   understand come PAST

      b. *dooyara* wakatte kimashita.

'P: What is that?

Q: Wait a moment. Well,

  a. I think I figured it out. '

In this situation, the speaker Q is nearly reaching a conclusion about what the red thing really is. In other words, this process includes a move from being unclear to being clear. It seems that the semantic content of the sentence pertains to the occurrence of *doomo* here.

The following example also conveys a similar idea.

(25) P: Ureshisoo desu ne.
       glad look   PART

    Q: Un. a. Jiken ga kaiketsu shimashita.
       yes   case NOM be solve   PAST

b. *Dooyara* jiken ga kaiketsu shimashita.

'P: You look happy.

Q: Yes.   a. The case got solved.
            (I solved the case.)'

Depending on the speakers, the sentence may be felt to be incomplete. However, this example is much more natural than that in (23). The content of the sentence uttered by speaker Q refers to the (criminal) case which has been (nearly) solved. This sentence includes a change from being unsettled to being settled. *Dooyara* refers to this move, assessing that the truth of the propositional content is not perfectly but almost clear.

From this observation, a possible interpretation is that *dooyara* is basically concerned with the same mechanism as that of *doomo*, specified with a move from unclarity toward clarity. Still it indicates a shortage of certainty.[71]

This interpretation accounts for the unacceptability of *dooyara* in (22); the reason for that is probably that a change such as that discussed above does not emerge from this example.

5.4. About evidentiality

The function/meaning of the adverbs, *doomo* and *dooyara* is recapitulated as follows. The content of a sentence to which they are attached conveys a speaker's inference, which is based on perceptual experience. These adverbs are involved in this mechanism. They indicate that the truthfulness of the content of a sentence (=inference) is to a certain extent, supported by evidence (= perceptual experience). *Doomo* and *dooyara* differ from each other, in a subtle way, in terms of how close to the truth they come.

In this connection, the epistemic category called evidential seems useful to understand

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[71] The use of *dooyara* is not limited to epistemic use. It can be used like this;

Gomanen   areba,   *dooyara*   seikatsu dekiru.
50000 yen be COND   live   can

This sentence means that it is possible to survive if one has fifty thousand yen, although not satisfactorily. The abstract meaning shared by the uses of *dooyara* is assumed as something like 'it is not perfect, but all right '(Gaikokujin no tame no kihongo yoorei jiten 1971). The above use does not seem to fall with SSA category (see 10.2.1 for this).

this mechanism in more general terms. Teramura (1984:225) briefly suggested the viability of this category for certain modal expressions in Japanese, by making reference to the study of grammatical systems in some American Indian languages.

In this connection, it is worth looking at some treatments of this category.

Foley and Van Valin (1984:218) presented re-organisation of traditionally accepted modality as four different operators. Evidentials are defined as follows.

> Evidentials mark the truthfulness of the proposition in terms of the way the speaker had ascertained this. Did he see with his eyes? Is it hearsay? and so on.

This definition is concerned with ascertaining the truthfulness of the proposition. Following this, modal adverbs such as *probably* and *certainly* fall into this category for the reason that they indicate 'the speaker's assessment of the truth status of the potential or necessary event' (ibid: 219).

On the other hand, Givón's treatment (1982) intended to re-construct epistemology from a pragmatic viewpoint relying on things such as speaker-hearer contract. For this purpose, evidentiality plays a central role. Propositions are classified according to evidentiality as follows.

(a) Propositions which are to be taken for granted,
via the force of diverse conventions, as unchallengeable
by the hearer and thus regarding no evidentiary
justification by the speaker;

(b) Propositions that are asserted with relative
confidence are open to challenge by the hearer
and thus require-or admit-evidentiary justification,
and finally,

(c) Proposition that are asserted with doubt, as
hypotheses and are thus beneath both challenge
and evidentiary substantiation. They are, in terms
of the implicit communicative contract, 'not worth the
trouble.'

Here, the relevance of evidentiary justification is a focal point. This treatment suggests that RASHII constructions fall within (b), while DAROO constructions fall within in (c). In turn, the adverbs closely related to these construction in terms of function/meaning can be placed into (b) and (c), respectively.

Closer investigation is required to claim that this treatment is appropriate to account

for the Japanese modal system as a whole; our research is just limited to a part of it. However, this treatment allows us to distinguish Group II-1-1 and Group II-1-3. Group II-1-3 can be characterised with evidentiary justification, while Group II-1-1 with irrelevance of evidentiality, according to this treatment. This assignment is in line with the analysis given in the previous sections.

For the present, evidentiality is adopted in the narrow sense. It is also possible to consider both groups as evidentials in the wider sense, as is seen in Foley and Van Valin.

At this point, it is necessary to note a couple of points about the use of the adverbs under consideration. Firstly, the use of *doomo* and *dooyara* should be more specified with regard to (possible) sub-types of evidentials. For instance, Japanese includes the SOODA construction rendering hearsay, which apparently belongs to the evidential category. This construction does not occur with *doomo* or *dooyara*. An example is as follows.

(26)

a. Tokyoo de wa kono uta ga hayatte iru sooda.
   at TOP this sone NOM be popular HEAR

   'They say that this song is popular in Tokyo.'

b. *Doomo Tokyoo dewa kono uta ga hayatte iru sooda.
   *Dooyara

Sentence (26b) with *doomo* or *dooyara* sounds strange. This incompatibility may be explained as follows. SOODA constructions designate that a speaker passes on to a listener what he/she heard or gained from someone as information. The content of a sentence is regarded as what the speaker was filled in on, but not a speaker's inference or thought. The lack of inference may be due to the oddity of a sentence like (26). In other words, the fact that *doomo* and *dooyara* are concerned with inference plays a decisive role here.

Thus, this analysis suggests that the evidential category can be sub-divided, as far as these adverbs are concerned. Furthering the discussion on Japanese evidential category is beyond the task of this thesis. It is hoped that this line of research will be developed further.[72]

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[72]An interesting work is Watanabe (1984) which discussed some evidential constructions in Japanese by reference to transitivity.

Secondly, adverbs like *doomo* and *dooyara* are only concerned with unclarity or uncertainty, although *dooyara* shows a move toward certainty. The promising candidate for certainty may be *akirakani* (obviously, clearly), which will be handled in the next chapter.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter examined Group II-1-3, including *doomo* and *dooyara*.

The candidates can be regarded as having a kind of epistemic function, more specifically, an evidential function. This function indicates that the truth of the proposition is justified by perceptual evidence. In the case of the adverbs treated here, uncertainty is involved in terms of proximity to the truth.

The major surface restrictions exhibited by these adverbs can be explained by the above function. They are compatible with the RASHII construction, whereas the DAROO construction hardly occurs with these adverbs. The semantic structure of the RASHII construction is similar to the function of these adverbs, in terms of evidentiality (and uncertainty). On the other hand, although the DAROO construction is concerned with uncertainty, it lacks justification by evidence. This is the reason for incompatibility.

Basically, the candidates do not appear in basic declarative (action) sentences, although it is true that each adverb shows finer restrictions in terms of basic declarative sentences. It can be considered that these adverbs require some other expression of evidentiality in the same sentence in order to get support from that, and otherwise these adverbs do not work properly. This means that the function of these adverbs is weak, like that of those discussed in Chapter 6.

Comparing *doomo* and *dooyara*, by *dooyara* it is indicated that the speaker is more clear about the truth than by *doomo*.

Overall, these adverbs show fairly regular association between meaning/function and surface restrictions and it is possible to take them as constituting a sub-class, which is characterised with epistemic (evidential) function.

Chapter 6

Group II-2-2 and II-2-3

6.1. Introduction

The adverbs put into Groups II-2-2 and II-2-3 appear naturally in past tense declarative sentences, and sound clumsy in DAROO constructions. According to the survey in Chapter 3, Group II-2-2 is related to evaluation, luck, etc., while Group II-2-3 is involved with truth judgement.

The subsequent sections examine their semantic and functional characteristics in detail so that they may be incorporated into the more general organisation of SSA adverbs. Section 6.2 discusses Group II-2- 2, while Group II-2-3 is treated in 6.3. General discussion and conclusion are given in 6.4.

6.2. Group II-2-2

6.2.1. The outline of this group

A brief outline of this group is provided in this section. Apart from four adverbs which were discussed in the earlier survey, adverbs falling within this group are many in number. Yabe (1986:67), listed 70 adverbs as well as several adverbs which were discussed in detail.

The following list will provide a general picture of the adverbs in this group.

SAIWAI(NI(MO))	fortunately	AINIKU	unfortunately
UNYOKU	fortunately	UNWARUKU	unfortunately
IGAINIMO	unexpectedly	FUSHIGINIMO	strangely
HINIKUNIMO	ironically	KANYOONIMO	generously
KENMEINIMO	wisely	OROKANIMO	stupidly
KINODOKUNI(MO)	(it is a pity..)	KIMYOONIMO	strangely
MEZURASHIKU	unusually	KANSHINNI(MO)	admirably
SHITSUREINIMO	impolitely	TEINEINIMO	politely
SHINSETSUNIMO	to be kind		

These adverbs show various lexical properties, but have the same behaviour in terms of the examination made so far. In the subsequent analysis, some adverbs other than the given four candidates will be referred to as well.

Morphologically speaking, the adverbs in this group have corresponding adjectives, unlike other groups, most of which do not have any etymological relationship with adjectives.

The adverbs can be regarded as derived from adjectives. However, some grammarians do not admit that these are single adverbs.[73] Taking *orokanimo* (stupidly) as an example, the claim is that it is decomposed as an adverbial form of an adjective like *oroka(da)* (stupid) and a particle *mo*. If this view is taken, the membership of this group is immensely reduced with only a few adverbs such as *ainiku* left. The solution depends on how lexicalised these forms are considered to be as well as how to interpret adverbs and adverbial functions in a whole grammatical system. It is not intended to go into detail about this issue. This thesis takes as a single adverb those consisting an adverbial form of Adj. plus *mo*, although *mo* will be given a brief comment independently in 6.2.2.[74]

Japanese adverbs of this group have been widely discussed compared with other groups (Sawada 1978, Nakau 1980, Koyano 1983, Yabe 1986, etc.), as was seen in the review of previous studies in Chapter 1. The reason for this is probably stimulation from studies of English sentence adverbs, which include those comparable with Japanese adverbs.

The discussion in this chapter owes quite a lot to previous works in Japanese as well as the literature on English adverbs, although the subsequent sections are organised from the viewpoint of this thesis, with more explication along with criticism and proposals.

6.2.2. The meaning of 'evaluation'

This section deals with semantic/functional characterisation of Group II-2-2. Sawada (1978) and Nakau (1980) regarded these adverbs as expressing a speaker's psychological attitude in terms of evaluation toward propositions. It appears valid for Japanese adverbs, the use of which will be explicated in what follows. Consider the sentences with *saiwai* from (1) to (3):

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[73]See Takeuchi (1974) for further discussion of this issue.

[74]The function of these adverbs is also carried out by expressions like *saiwai na koto ni* (fortunately), which consist of a nominal phrase with *koto* (matter) as a head, including an adjective, and a particle *ni*. From a functional point of view, these expressions should be incorporated as well. However, for this thesis we exclude such items and focus on more basic SSA candidates and their functions.

(1) a. Jon wa   maniatta.
       John TOP   be in time PAST

   b. *Saiwai* Jon wa maniatta.

(2) a. Basu   ga sugu   kita.
       bus   NOM soon come PAST

       'The bus came soon.'

   b. *Saiwai* basu ga sugu kita.

(3) a. Teki wa bakufuu de fukitobasareta.
       enemy TOP blast   INS blow out PASS PAST

       'The enemy was blown out by the blast.'

   b. *Saiwai* teki wa bakufuu de fukitobasareta.

Saiwai contains a notion of fortunateness. In (1), a plausible interpretation is that the speaker judges as fortunate that fact John was in in time, though John may be the person who felt it fortunate. In this sense, *saiwai* is similar to 'fortunately' in English. The same interpretation is possible in (2) and (3). The sentence in (2) has not got a human subject, while in (3), a disaster takes place for the enemy who is the subject of the sentence. In these cases, it is natural that the judgement about fortunateness is attributed to the speaker.

From this, the generalisation reached is that *saiwai* adds a speaker's attitude about the fact given in terms of judgement about fortunateness.[75]

Another example is given here. *Kinodokuni* (it is a pity...) is used in the following way:

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[75]In these caes, it is also possible to consider that someone else involved in the actual situations is the person who felt fortunate. This seems to happen often in narrative discourse. Miyajima (1983) discussed this ambiguity, including other CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI such as *tabun* (probably) as well, and doubted that these adverbs are attributed only to the speaker. However, it seems that in conversational situations (not narrative) these adverbs are hardly ever associated with anyone other than the speaker. A possible interpretation here is that this may be a literary strategy, by which the subjective attitude of the writer (or speaker) is fused into that of a certain person involved in the discourse and that the basic function of this adverb is to express a speaker's subjective attitude. John in example (2) can be also regarded as such a person in discourse.

(4) a. Takagi-san wa hantoshi   mo   nete iru.
                TOP half a year PART   lie DUR

     'Mr.Takagi has been in bed for (as much as)
     half a year.'

   b. *Kinodokunimo*   Takagi-san wa   hantoshimo
      nete iru.

Kinodokunimo is understood as the speaker's sympathetic comment on Takagi's misfortune. This interpretation is well explained by relying on the semantics of corresponding adjective *kinodoku(da)*. This adjective is only used to show a speaker's sympathy for another person. This is illustrated as follows:

(5) a. Kare wa   kinodoku da.
       he   TOP   pitiful

     'I feel sorry for him.'

   b.*Watashi wa kinodoku da.
       I

   '*I feel compassion for myself.'

In (5), the subject of the sentence is given sympathy, and as (5b) shows, sympathy cannot be given to oneself. The adverb *kinodokunimo* maintains the meaning of the adjective. Thus, the only reading available for *kinodokunimo* in (5a) is a speaker's sympathetic comment on Mr. Takagi having been in bed for half a year.

Among other adverbs on the list given in the beginning of this section, *kanshinni* (admirably) is an example which behaves like *kinodokunimo*. An example for the use of this adverb is as follows.[76]

(6)) Kodomo wa *kanshinni* yasumazuni yoochien   e
      child TOP   without break kindergarten to

     kayou.
     commute

     'Admirably, the child goes to kindergarten without
     absence.'

---

[76]This example is from Sawada (1978:2), originally taken from S. Natsume.

In this case, the speaker thinks that the child's act deserves to be praised. The adjective (*kanshinda*) corresponding to this adverb conveys admiration toward someone (= a subject of a sentence).

In these cases involving *saiwai*, *kinodokunimo* and *kanshinni* the speaker adds his/her judgement about fortunateness, sympathy and admiration toward the fact given. It can be considered that sympathy and judgement about luck and so on is included in 'evaluation' in a wide sense.

The characterisation like this conforms to the interpretation given by Sawada (ibid.) and Nakau (ibid.). This is basically parallel to those of English equivalents, which are termed 'evaluative ' adverbs (e.g. Schreiber 1971).

A potential problem arising from the vagueness of definition, 'a speaker's subjective attitude' may be illustrated by *shinsetsunimo* (to be kind) and *shinsetsuni* (kindly),

(7) a. John wa michi o oshieta.
    TOP way ACC teach PAST

    'John showed the way.'

   b. John wa *shinsetsunimo* michi o oshieta.

   c. John wa *shinsetsuni* michi o oshieta.

In this set of sentences, (7b) and (7c) have adverbs which are similar in morphology except *mo*. Their difference in reading is as follows. (7b) means that John showed the way (to someone) and that this is a kind act. Evaluation about kindness is expressed on the speaker's part. On the other hand, the reading of (7b) is that John showed the way (to someone) and he did so in a kind way.[77]

As judgement as being kind is generally dependent on the speaker, it can be said that this adverb conveys the speaker's evaluation about John in (7c) as well. This means that both of the above adverbs may be considered to express a speaker's evaluation.

These adverbs under consideration were separated depending on the tests in Chapter 2

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[77]It seems that there is no equivalent of *shinsetsunimo* in English. The translation of (7b) may be 'it was kind of John to have shown the way.'

(see Table 2-4) and only the adverb in (7b) was put into the category of SSA adverbs. However, does the adverb in (7c) not involve a speaker's subjective attitude in the respect that the evaluation is dependent on her/his point of view? Now we are faced by a difficulty arising from the vague definition of 'a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude.'

To sort out this problem, a comparison with a sentence like (9) may be helpful.

(9) John wa *oogoede* waratta.
              loudly   laugh PAST

    'John laughed loudly.'

In this case, *oogoede* is associated with John's way of laughing. Loudness is dependent on a speaker's point of view as well. However, it is possible to identify *oogoede* as an attribute of the act and the adverb may be regarded as part of the propositional content.

Shinsetsuni can be treated in a parallel fashion. The adverb is associated with manner of acting as well. Although judgement as being kind is tinted with more subjectivity than loudness, kindness can be an attribute of an act and the adverb may be regarded as included in the proposition.

On the other hand, the function of *shinsetsunimo* is similar to *saiwai* and *kinodokunimo*. The characteristic shared by them is evaluative comment of the speaker, which is offered on the proposition and from outside the proposition.

It follows from this that these adverbs, which are lexically similar, can be distinguished depending on whether they are included in the proposition or not. The interpretation here is that only adverbs outside the proposition carry the function as SSA adverbs.

From the above discussion it is clear that there is a difference in scope and function between them; for instance, the scope of *shinsetsuni* is over a verb phrase, whereas that of *shinsetsunimo* is over a sentence. Therefore, in syntactic terms they operate like so-called VP adverbs (in particular, manner-like adverbs) and sentence adverbs respectively.

The difference observed in the examination in Chapter 2 may also reflect their

functional difference.[78]

In the case of this pair of adverbs, the function as SSA adverbs seems to be indicated by the existence of *mo*.[79]

That is, for the SSA adverbs in this group *mo* plays a significant role.[80] However, *mo* does not necessarily appear in any adverb in this group. It seems worth having a brief look at the attachment of *mo*.

A partial list of the adverbs in this group is given below according to attachment of *mo*.

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[78]Table 2-4 in Chapter 2 shows that *shinsetsuni* can occur in interrogative and imperative sentences, while *shinsetsunimo* does not. Further difference can be observed. For instance, *shinsetsuni* can be linked with adverbs of degree such as *motto* (more), while *shinsetsunimo* is not.

1. **Kare wa   kanojo o**   *motto shinsetsuni* **atsukatta.**
   he TOP   she   ACC   treat PAST

   'He treated her more kindly.'

2. **Motto   shinsetsuni* **kare   wa   kanojo ni**
                          he   TOP   she   DAT
   tabemono sae ataeta.
   food   even give PAST

Secondly, *shinsetsuni* can occur with other SSA adverbs such as *tabun* (probably), but *shinsetsunimo* hardly occurs in this way.

3. **Kare wa**   *tabun*   **kanojo o**   *shinsetsuni* **atsukau daroo.**
    he TOP   she   ACC   treat   Presum

   'He will probably treat her kindly.'

4.??**Kare wa** *tabun*   *shinsetsunimo* **kanojo o   tasukeru   daroo.**
    he TOP   she ACC   help   Presum

'It will probably be kind of him to help her.'

[79]Sawada (ibid.) makes a similar observation and also suggests that the use of *mo* is related to emotional use of a particle *mo*. *Mo* is commonly used to indicate enumeration, by following nouns, but it may be used with some emotional sense as well in many cases.

[80]SSA adverbs in this group are generally marked by *mo*, while manner-like adverbs are not. By contrast, in English such a distinction is made by positional features (See 2.3, for illustration). Position plays an important role in disambiguating readings in English adverbs, as was briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, while in Japanese the disambiguating function of position is relatively less significant.This seems to be due to morphological marking like the above.

A. No attachment of *mo*

    AINIKU   unfortunately

B. Optional attachment of *mo*

    SAIWAI(NI(MO))   fortunately
    KINODOKUNI(MO)   (it is a pity that..)
    KANSHINNI(MO)   admirably
    MEZURASHIKU(MO)   unusually
    UNWARUKU(MO)   unluckily

C. (Nearly) obligatory attachment of *mo*

    FUSHIGINIMO   strangely
    KANYOONIMO   generously
    SHINSETSUNIMO   to be kind
    ZANNENNIMO   disappointingly
    OROKANIMO   stupidly
    HINIKUNIMO   ironically

The attachment of *mo* may be explained as follows. The adverbs in the A or B group have no corresponding manner-like adverb. For instance, *saiwaini* has no other reading than offering an evaluative comment on proposition. As explained previously, *kinodokuni* (it is a pity that...) and *kanshinni* function in the same way.

It follows from this that *mo* is not necessary where only one reading is available, that is, where the function as SSA adverb is obvious.

On the other hand, adverbs in C group seem to be clearly distinguished by *mo* from their manner-like counterparts.

However, this account should be taken as a rough principle, because it does not always apply to any adverb under consideration. For instance, *orokanimo* (stupidly) has no corresponding manner-like adverb in Japanese for some (probably idiosyncratic) reason.[81]

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[81]My suggestion here is that the reason for that only some SSA adverbs have their manner-like counterparts is due to the characteristics of corresponding adjectives. For instance, *kanshinda* and *kinodokuda*are used to express admiration or sympathy for someone and they are hardly associated with manner of someone's action because of this property.

Yabe's work (ibid.) shows the possibility of this line of research. She discusses lexical properties of adjectives and their interaction with adverbial functions, using a large number of adjectives.

6.2.3. Subdivisions

The shared meaning/function of the adverbs included in this group has been discussed in the last section. While these adverbs are uniform in terms of 'a speaker's evaluative attitude', they differ in lexical properties.

This section deals with sub-divisions of this group, based only on broad distinctions.

Consider the following examples:

(11) *Saiwai*   sugu   ame ga yanda.
                soon   rain NOM stop PAST

    Ainiku
   Kanyoonimo
   Kenmeinimo

    'Fortunately   it stopped raining soon.'
    Unfortunately
   *Generously
   *Wisely

(12) *Saiwai* |Kyooko wa   sore o   urusaku
    Ainiku   TOP it ACC   noisily
    Kanyoonimo
    Kenmeinimo   iwanakatta.
               say NEG PAST

    'Fortunately Kyoko did not make a fuss over that.'
    Unfortunately
    Generously
    Wisely

In both examples, *saiwai* (fortunately) and *ainiku* (unfortunately) are acceptable. The choice of these adverbs which are semantically opposite depends on what the speaker thinks about the propositional content, but this is a matter of pragmatics.

In contrast to them, *kanyoonimo* (generously) and *kenmeinimo* (wisely) are not acceptable in (11). The difference between these sentences lies in the fact that (12) has a human subject, while (11) does not.

That is, adverbs like *kanyoonimo* are limited to evaluation of the activity of the person who is the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, adverbs like *saiwai* and *ainiku* are not concerned with such specifications.

Based on the difference, I call them '(human) subject-reference' and 'non-subject reference', respectively.

For this distinction, lexical properties shared by corresponding adjectives and adverbs are involved. For instance, properties such as generosity and wisdom are concerned with human propensity. These properties are generally used to make an evaluation when someone does something. The corresponding adjectives and manner-like adverbs share the property and they are also understood in terms of '(human)-subject reference'.

In addition, *kanyoonimo* and *kenmeinimo* do not occur with sentences denoting state. Manner-like counterparts behave in the same way. This seems due to the above property. Many other adverbs are characterised in this way; some examples are *shinsetsunimo* (to be kind), *kanshinnimo* (admirably) and so on.[82] On the other hand,'non-subject reference' adverbs are not particularly restricted in terms of co-occurring sentences.[83]

In relation to subject-reference, another point should be discussed here. Jackendoff (1972:56) was one of the first to develop this sort of distinction. 'Subject-oriented' and 'speaker-oriented' were his terminology.[84] Sawada (1978), employed the term 'agent-oriented' instead of 'subject-reference' for contrastive study of English and Japanese adverbs.[85] In the author's view, 'agent-oriented' is not a suitable term to deal with Japanese adverbs and 'subject-oriented'(or subject-reference here) is preferred. The contention is as follows. Consider a sentence in (13).

(13) *Orokanimo*   Taku wa   zenzaisan o sagi   ni
     stupidly   TOP all fortune ACC swindler DAT

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[82]'Human subject-reference' adverbs often have equivalents with manner-like reading, but it is not always the case; *kanshinnimo* (admirably) and *kinodokunimo* (it is a pity that...) are exceptions for this.

[83]It seems that for these adverbs, lexical properties are also shared by corresponding adjectives. There is no appropriate account of adjectives for this point currently. More study of Japanese adjectives is desirable.

[84]In his theory, 'subject-oriented' adverbs are those which can be assigned to sentential and VP reading according to position. On the other hand, 'speaker-oriented' adverbs are such as appearing in certain positions, involving *probably, fortunately,*and so on. See 2.2 for illustration. This division is not concerned with further semantic distinction. Note that the approach in this thesis regards a part of 'subject-oriented' adverbs as 'speaker-oriented' as well, by focusing on functional differences in a sentence. The similar view has been taken by Corum (1974) for English adverbs and by Bartsch (1976) for German adverbs.

[85]Ernst (1984:34) preferred 'agent-oriented' for English adverbs as well.

```
ubawarete shimatta.
rob PASS   end PAST
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'Stupidly, Taku was robbed of all his fortune by
a swindler.'

In this case, Taku, who is affected by the action, is criticised as stupid. That is, the adverb refers to a surface subject which is semantically a patient.

This example suffices to point out that 'agent' interpretation is not suitable. The right generalisation is that the adverbs under consideration refer to a surface grammatical subject, although depending on meaning of adverbs, there may be further limitation so that only an agent which is a surface subject is acceptable.

6.2.4. Interpretations of co-occurrence restrictions

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, adverbs in this group are characterised by a positive feature regarding past tense sentences and a negative features as to DAROO constructions.

The survey suggests that the interaction of these adverbs with the DAROO construction is not straightforward. This section addresses the problem of clarifying real conditions for the use of these adverbs, revolving around the DAROO construction.

To begin with, consider the sentences which include *ainiku* (unfortunately). (For simplicity's sake, only *ainiku* will be used in the subsequent examples.)

(16)

P: Yamada san wa?

Q: *Ainiku* moo   kaerimashita.
        already go home PAST

'P: Where is Yamada?

Q: Unfortunately he has gone home.'

Speaker Q informs the fact that Mr. Yamada has gone home, along with his/her comment in terms of fortunateness. Here, the propositional content is taken as true and the speaker's evaluative attitude operates on the propositional content.

Compare this with the following example.

(17)

P: 21-seiki no   shakai   wa   doo naru deshoo.
   century GEN   society TOP how become (I wonder)

Q:??*Ainiku*   sensoo ga motto fueru   deshoo.
               war   NOM more   increase Presum

'P: What will become of the society in the 21th century?

Q: ??Unfortunately, there will be more wars.'

Speaker Q talks about future occurrence. The utterance with *ainiku* sounds a bit awkward in this context.

A possible explanation about the difference in acceptability is given in the following way. Sentences with the DAROO construction are generally associated with a speaker's presumptive attitude. That is, the speaker believes the truth of the proposition to some extent and indicates that he/she has not ascertained it. On the other hand, basic declarative sentences are associated with a fact.

This means that *ainiku* is incompatible or awkward with sentences which do not denote a fact.

A further interpretation is that the use of *ainiku* presupposes that the propositional content of a sentence is true, for offering evaluative comment on that.[86]

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[86]Minami (1974:167) makes a similar observation to this account. Further, the above property is associated with that involved in corresponding adjectives. For instance, observe the sentences in 1. with an adjective *ainiku(da)* (unfortunate):

1. a. Kare ga   kuru no wa   *ainikuda*.
      he NOM   come COM TOP

   'It is unfortunate that he comes.'

   b. Kare ga   konai no wa   *ainikuda*.
                come Neg

   'It is unfortunate that he does not come.'

For the whole sentence to be true, the content of the complement has to be true regardless of polarity. In other words, *ainikuda* presupposes truth of the content of the complement. Thus, *ainikuda* has a presuppositional complement (cf. Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970:147).

All the adjectives corresponding to the adverbs in this group are characterised with this feature, though their syntactic manifestation varies depending on adjectives. It should be noted that manner-like counterparts are not concerned with presuppositionality.

This seems to be the basic reason for the co-occurrence restrictions on the adverbs in this group.

However, there are cases in which the use of these adverbs should be more carefully observed. For instance, *ainiku* in the following conversation seems acceptable.

(18) P: Tenkoo   wa   doo   desu   ka?
      weather TOP how   COP   Q

    Q: *Ainiku* ashita wa   ame ni naru   deshoo.
        tomorrow TOP   rain   become PolPresum

  'P: How will be the weather?

   Q: Unfortunately, it will rain tomorrow.'

Supposing that Q's speech is said as a weather forecast; it sounds natural. The speech includes future prediction. This suggests that acceptability depends on context, not simply on a grammatical construction and its meaning/function.

To look into the condition further, it may be useful to compare examples which include some basic declarative sentences referring to the future. Compare the following conversations:

(19)

P: Ashita   gekijoo ni   hairemasu   ka?
   tomorrow   theatre LOC enter can POL   Q

Q: *Ainiku*   ashita   wa   ippai da.
       tomorrow TOP full COP

'P: Can I enter the theatre tomorrow?

 Q: Unfortunately (the theatre will be)   full
    tomorrow.'

Suppose that the speaker Q looks after tickets for the theatre. Although the speakers talk about the situation to occur tomorrow, Q can be definite about fullness, based on the present state of bookings. In a sense, what will happen is already fixed or scheduled at the moment of utterance. *Ainiku* is used naturally in this case.

On the other hand, the following conversation sounds funny with *ainiku*.

(20)
```
P: Kodomo o    umi  e   tsurete iki-tai n     da  kedo.
   child  ACC  beach to  take    want    COMP  COP PART
```

```
Q: a. Ashita    wa    ippaida.
      tomorrow  TOP   full
```

```
   b.#Ainiku  ashita wa  ippaida.
```

```
   Yameta        hoo   ga    ii   yo.
   give up PAST  side  NOM   good PART
```

'P: I want to take my child to the beach tomorrow.'

Q: a. It will be full tomorrow.

   It is better not to go.'

In (20), it is predictable that the beach will be crowded, but it is more predictable that the theatre will be crowded. (20b) is inappropriate here. Depending on speakers, they may prefer to use a DAROO construction for (20a). This example illustrates a borderline case.

The difference between them is that in the latter case, the speaker is not as certain about whether the event will happen as in the former, where what will happen can be taken as fairly fixed on the basis of booked tickets.

From these observations, it can be claimed that naturalness of the adverb depends on whether the truth of the proposition involved is presupposed, or how much the speaker believes that the event involved will occur.

The adverb fits for sentences referring to occurrences which are certain, but not for those denoting only a possibility of occurrence. The difference in acceptability between (17) and (18) can be explained in this light.

Thus, the real condition is beyond the grammatical and semantic distinction; the explanation can be given basically depending on these distinctions, but the actual usage of the adverb is also determined by how the speaker considers an event involved in the actual situation.

6.2.5. Summary of Group II-2-2

It was shown that there is a lot of lexical variety of adverbs included in this group, but they can be treated in a quite uniform way in terms of surface restrictions and function. That is, the adverbs under consideration share the feature of adding a speaker's evaluative attitude toward the propositional content of a sentence and their occurrence can be explained in terms of presuppositionality which is salient in the use of these adverbs. Therefore, this group can be regarded as a good sub-class.

Furthermore, the adverbs falling within this sub-class share the negative features with regard to interrogative and imperative sentences, as far as our investigation is concerned.[87] This means that this class is quite homogeneous and it is possible to consider it as representing the assumed SSA category well.

6.3. Group II-2-3

The adverbs falling within this group are listed below.

TASHIKANI	certainly
TASHIKA	certainly?
AKIRAKANI	obviously
MOCHIRON	naturally, of course
JITSUWA	in fact, to tell the truth
JIJITSU	in fact, actually

The rough semantic approximation is that these adverbs are concerned with truth judgement, in contrast to Group II-2-2, which conveys a speaker's evaluative comment on the content of a sentence. The adverbs in Group II-2-3 offer epistemic comment on the content of a sentence. Further, they seem to show different ways of identifying the truth.

There is a difficulty in describing their function because some of these adverbs such as *mochiron* imply reference to something outside the sentence in which they occur, as will be outlined in 6.3.4. That is, the adverbs have some sort of linking function as well as that referring to truth value.

Taking this into consideration, this section addresses the function which can be dealt with within a sentence, while trans-sentential analysis is left to Chapter 8, where the linking function of some SSA adverbs is extensively examined. An integrated account of those having two functions is therefore offered in Chapter 8.

---

[87]I have not found an exception for these features, although there may be a marginal case.

Sections 6.3.1 to 6.3.4 investigate further semantic characteristics of the candidates by means of an analysis of the basic conditions for usage. Adverbs such as *tashikani* (6.3.1), *tashika* (6.3.2), *akirakani* (6.3.3) are treated individually because their meanings differ from one another, while in 6.3.4 an account is given of the rest of the adverbs. A general treatment of these adverbs is undertaken in 6.3.5.

6.3.1. *Tashikani*

An example of a sentence with *tashikani* (certainly) is seen below.

(23)

```
P: Kono chuushajoo kara dete iku  kuruma  o
   this parking lot from get out   car     ACC

   mita yoona  ki  ga  shimasu ga, omoichigai deshoo ka.
   saw manner  mind NOM do     but mistake    Presum Q


Q: Iya,
   No

   a. kinoo     koko ni  kuruma ga  arimashita.
      yesterday here LOC  car    NOM be PAST


   b. tashikani kinoo    koko ni  kuruma ga
      arimashita.
```

'P: I feel I saw a car going out of this parking lot, but I wonder if I am mistaken.

Q: Yes, a. there was a car here yesterday.

b. there was certainly a car here yesterday.'

In this case, speaker P is not sure whether a car was at this parking lot or not, whereas speaker Q is sure about that. It can be said that *tashikani* is used to verify the speaker's judgement about the truth of the propositional content of the sentence here.

Consider the following dialogue to find the more precise condition for the use of this adverb.

(24)

```
P: Katoo-san wa  itsu kimashitaka?
              TOP   when come PAST Q

Q:a. Ototoi                    deshita.
     the day before yesterday COP PAST
```

b. #*Tashikani* ototoi deshita.

'P: When did Mr. Kato come?

Q: a.(It was) the day before yesterday.

In this case, (24a) is natural as an answer, while (24b) sounds odd. However, if the speaker Q goes on to check his/her memorandum with this matter in this situation, Q may say,

(25) Q: *Tashikani* ototoi deshita.

'It was definitely the day before yesterday.'

(25) sounds all right in this case. From this, it can be assumed that *tashikani* is associated with confirming a fact.

Compare the above example with the following one.

(26) P: Rokugatsu muika wa nanyoobi desu ka.
      June   6th TOP which day COP Q

    Q: a. Kinyoobi desu.
       Friday   COP

      b. #*Tashikani* kinyoobi desu.

      c. *Kitto* kinyoobi desu.

'P: Which day is the 6th of June?

Q: a. It is Friday.'

Suppose that the speaker Q gives an off-hand answer. In this context, (26b) sounds strange, while either (26a) without the adverb or (26c) with *kitto* (surely) is appropriate. This example shows that the use of *tashikani* differs from that of *kitto* (surely), although both adverbs can be given similar English equivalents. By *kitto*, the speaker shows his/her presumptive attitude about the event involved which include uncertainty, while *tashikani* cannot be used in this way.

Tashikani is appropriate in a situation where the speaker goes on to consult a calendar or something like that. Thus, it is possible to claim the function of *tashikani* to confirm a fact.

The reason for its inappropriateness in (24b) or (26b) is accounted for by relying on this characteristic; the speaker P in (24) and (26) requires new information, which can be accompanied by an expression conveying uncertainty or likelihood such as *kitto*, but not that of confirmation.

It follows from the above discussion that *tashikani* is naturally connected with a sentence denoting a fact due to its meaning/function.

It should be noted that there are many cases where the function of confirming a fact is not so appreciable as in the case of (25). Observe the following dialogue.

(27) P: Ayamarimasu. *tashikani* boku ga   warukatta.
        apologise POL   I(male) NOM   wrong PAST

    Q: Moo   ii desu.
       already good

    'P: I apologise. I was undoubtedly wrong.

    Q: It's all right now.'

In this case, there is nothing confirmed in a literal sense. Rather, it appears that the speaker P emphasises the truth of what he says by making it sound as if it were a verified fact.

This type of use is often observed in actual discourse. This suggests that *tashikani* makes a move toward emphatic function from its prototypical meaning/function. Further conditioning in pragmatic terms is left for future study. Still, it should be stressed that the emphatic use maintains the basic function of confirmation.

Tashikani differs from other adverbs in this group in the respect that it occurs in interrogative sentences, while others do not. This point will be discussed in Chapter 9.

6.3.2. *Tashika*

The adverb *tashika* is generally not distinguished from *tashikani*, and is registered in the same entry in Japanese dictionaries as far as the author can see. However, this adverb exhibits an interesting disparity in use from *tashikani*. It is worthwhile to have a look at *tashikani* separately.

Intuitively, *tashika* appears to be concerned with remembering in terms of accuracy. The following examples will serve to illustrate this.

(28)

```
P:Yamada san ga kita      hi  o       oboete imasu ka?
          NOM come PAST day ACC   remember DUR   Q

Q: Ee.   a. Are wa    taifuu no mae        deshita.
   yes      that TOP typhoon GEN before   COP PAST

         b. Tashika taifuu no mae deshita.
```

'P: Do you remember the day when Mr. Yamada came?

Q: Yes.   a. That day was before the typhoon.'

(29)

```
P: Sono toki  no   fuku    wa?
   that time  GEN clothes PART

Q: a.Atarashii kooto o   kite imashita.
      new       coat ACC wear DUR PAST

   b. Tashika   atarashii kooto o   kite imashita.
```

'P: What about your clothes on that occasion?

Q: a. I wore a new coat.'

The speaker Q gave replies in either case, by bringing back his/her remembrance of what has happened. The above questions are specified by referring to what might be stored in an addressee's mind; this kind of context seems the most suitable for the use of *tashika*.

Tashika is thus close to an English expression 'if I remember correctly.' or can be translated as 'as far as my memory is concerned.'

There is evidence to show a clear difference between *tashika* and *tashikani*. For instance, *Tashika* is not acceptable in (25) in the last section, but is acceptable in (24). This can be explained by the characteristics of these adverbs. (24) may be answered by recalling what speaker Q has remembered, but (25) is not. It is consistently shown that the adverb is only valid where the content of a sentence has been stored as knowledge /information in a speaker's mind.

On the other hand, *tashikani* is inappropriate in either of the above dialogues, (28) or (29). New information is brought into these dialogues. Therefore, *tashikani* is

inappropriate. That is, the information does not have to be confirmed.[88]

Tashika can be used for an emphatic purpose as well, but the point of emphasis is patently different from *tashikani*.

6.3.3. *Akirakani*

It is apparent that *akirakani* (obviously, clearly) involves a notion of clarity, which is easily associated with perception. Consider sentences in (30).

```
(30) a. Satoo-san wa  Nagoya-sodachi  da.
         Mr. TOP               grown      COP
```

```
      'Mr. Satoo is native of Nagoya.'
```

```
   b. Satoo-san wa  akirakani  Nagoya-sodachi da.
```

Stylistically speaking, a preferred context for *akirakani* is given by a formal sort of language (written or spoken).

To examine in what context this sentence can be appropriate, consider a context such as follows.

```
(31) Satoo-san  wa  akirakani  Nagoya-sodachi da.

   a. Satoo-san no   akusento wa  Nagoya-hoogen no
             Gen    accent   TOP        dialect GEN

      tokuchoo ga hakkiri arawarete iru.
      feature ACC clearly appear    DUR
```

```
   'a. Mr.Sato's accent has   clear  features of the Nagoya
       dialect.'
```

The sentence with *akirakani* is natural in this context. (31a) can be regarded as supplying a ground to say the first sentence. From this it can be assumed that the content of a sentence with *akirakani* is the speaker's inference based on perceptual experience such as accent in (31). The inference is asserted with certainty. With *akirakani*, the speaker indicates that the truth of what he/she says is easy to perceive.

---

[88]There is also a difference with regard to interrogative and imperative sentences between them, as is shown in Table 2-4 in Chapter 2.

Further consider a context where *akirakani* sounds strange, like (32).

(32) #Satoo-san wa *akirakani* Nagoya-sodachi da.

      a. (Satoo-san ga) jibun-de   Nagoya de   sodatta   to
              NOM   self by   LOC grow PAST COMP

      itte ita.
      say DUR   PAST

     'a. Mr.Sato himself said that he had grown up in Nagoya.'

In this case, Mr. Satoo had said that he had grown up in Nagoya. It is not necessary to make an inference to say the first sentence. This is likely to be the reason for the anomaly here.

Another example is given in reference to inference.

(33) #Satoo-san wa *akirakani* Nagoya-sodachi da.

      a. Watashi ga   atta toki,   kare wa   Nagoya de
         I   NOM meet PAST when   he TOP   LOC

      hataraite   ita   kara.
      work   DUR PAST   because

     'a. Because   he was working in Nagoya when I met him.'

For native Japanese speakers, this example is anomalous too. However, it is harder to explain this case than the last one. Supposing a society where people stick to their home, never moving around, (33) may be not anomalous. That is, the appropriateness differs depending on a speaker's inference which cannot be extricated from pragmatic factors such as social knowledge.

Concerning the semantic structure of *akirakani*, it is parallel to that for *doomo* and *dooyara*, which was discussed in Chapter 5. The difference lies in the point that *akirakani* denotes clarity in contrast to the others involving uncertainty. The speaker's inference supported by perceptual evidence is submitted with *akirakani* with certainty. In an actual context such as (31), a speaker may opt for *doomo* or *dooyara* with a RASHII construction instead of *akirakani*, according to his/her choice as to certainty.

Consequently, the adverb can be classified into the evidential category, as situated on the top end of the certainty scale.

The account given here is for constructing a basic, prototypical characteristic of this adverb. Like other adverbs examined in this section, *akirakani* may be rather used to emphasise that the truth of what is said is clear in many actual cases. However, emphatic use does not ignore basic conditions; the use is also understood by means of the mechanism discussed here. The range of its use (for instance, how 'inference' is constituted in an actual speech situation) would need to be established through research along pragmatic lines beyond the scope of this thesis.[89]

6.3.4. The remaining adverbs

The remaining adverbs in Group II-2-3 include *mochiron* (naturally, of course), *jijitsu* (in fact) and *jitsuwa* (in fact); they also convey an opinion about the truth value of the content of sentences to which they are adjoined. It may be something like 'what I say is the truth'. They are all involved with judging a content of a sentence as true, differing from one another in terms of further specification.

Taking *mochiron* first, consider the following dialogue.

```
(34) P: Sugu  byooin  e    ikimashita ka?
        soon   hospital to  go PAST      Q

     Q: Mochiron, ikimashita.
                     go PAST


     'P: Did you go to a hospital immediately?

      Q: Of course, I did.'
```

This use is quite natural. In this particular context, the speaker Q seems to put stress on the truth of the content of the sentence. Here, note that the utterance with *mochiron* is used as a reply to the speaker P. It is generally not appropriate for this adverb to appear at the very beginning of conversation (i.e. to open conversation). This suggests that the whole function of *mochiron* is to a large extent determined by a factor which is outside a single sentence and subsequently *mochiron* should be understood by referring to such discourse level function.

In the case of *jijitsu*, note the following example.

(35)

---

[89]Michell (1976) presented an extensive study of pragmatic conditions of *obviously*, an English approximation of *akirakani*.

P: Kare wa   hontooni   kokoro o   aratameta no   desu ka?
   he TOP   really   mind ACC   change   COMP COP Q

Q: Hai. *Jijitsu* kare wa sore kara ichidomo
   yes.   he TOP   it after   never

   tsuma o nagutte imasen.
   wife ACC hit   DUR NEG

'P: Has he really reformed himself?

 Q: Yes. In fact, he has never hit his wife since then.'

Generally, formal settings are suitable for the use of *jijitsu*. In the above context, this adverb sounds natural, appearing to emphasise the truth of the sentence as well. Like *mochiron*, this adverb does not appear in an opening sentence or utterance. It only occurs when a certain semantic relationship holds between two sentences before and after the adverb, which will be discussed in detail in 8.4.2.

The last one is *jitsuwa*.

(36) a. Kanojo no byooki wa   hakketsubyoo da.
         she   GEN disease TOP leukemia   COP

     'Her illness is leukemia.'

    b. Kanojo no byooki wa *jitsuwa* hakketsubyoo da.

Comparing these sentences, in (36b) it seems that the speaker stresses that he/she reveals what is unknown. In this respect, it is naturally connected with a sentence denoting a fact. Further, it is possible to consider that the speaker indicates by this adverb that his/her attitude in communication is truthful. This reading is closely related to the above account in terms of disclosing truth, and in many cases it seems meaningless to try to extricate the latter function. However, in Chapter 8, an attempt is made to offer a better account of the functions of the adverb.

6.3.5. About co-occurrence restrictions

The adverbs in this group share a function of commenting on the truth of a sentence. It follows from this that these adverbs are easily connected with sentences denoting a fact.

Awkwardness with regard to the DAROO construction can be explained along this line. An example is given here.

(37)

```
21-seiki ni wa   ??tashikani    gan no      ii kusuri ga
21st century TOP ??mochiron     cancer GEN good medicine NOM
                 *akirakani
                 *tashika       hatsumeisareru daroo.
                 *jitsuwa       invent PASS     Presum
                 *jijitsu
```

'A good medicine for cancer will be invented in 21st
century.'

All the adverbs are not compatible with this sentence, which involves a quite
hypothetical event.

Furthermore, consider the following example involving *daroo* for near future.

```
(38) P: Satoo-san  mo   ashita   kimasu ka?
                   too  tomorrow come   Q

     Q: Ee. a. Kuru deshoo.
              come Presum

           b.?Mochiron   kuru deshoo.
            ?Tashikani
            ?Tashika
            ?Jitsuwa
            *Jijitsu
```

'P: Will Mr.Satoo come tomorrow, too?

Q: Yes. a. He will.'

The adverbs are not suitable here. Disparity of factuality and certainty between these
adverbs and DAROO constructions can be considered as the reason for affecting
acceptability of the sentence like (38b). However, depending on the actual situation, they
may be acceptable. In this case, the DAROO construction may be interpreted as being
used for softening an assertion rather than expressing a presumptive attitude.

In this connection, consider the following example in a similar situation.

```
(39) P: Satoo-san  mo   ashita   kimasu ka?
                   too  tomorrow come   Q

     Q: Ee.   a. Kimasu.
        yes      come

           b.Mochiron   kimasu.
            Tashikani
```

> *Tashika*
> *Jitsuwa*
> **Jijitsu*

> 'P: Will Mr.Satoo come tomorrow, too?

> Q: Yes. a. He will.'

All the adverbs except *jijitsu* are all right here. The acceptability differs from the previous case. A possible interpretation for this case is as follows. Although present tense (action) sentences indicate future occurrence, they are compatible with the adverbs when the content of a sentence is taken as certain to happen. Or in actual usage, the adverbs stress that the content of a sentence is true, i.e. the occurrence of action involved is beyond doubt.

When (38b) is accepted, the mechanism should be the same. *jijitsu* is not acceptable either in (38) or (39), seemingly because of its semantic characteristic, which will be discussed in 8.4.2.

It can be said here that the basic reason for co-occurrence patterns is due to compatibility in terms of factuality, and that when a less hypothetical event is involved, acceptability may be shaky depending on the actual situation, i.e. depending on how the speaker interprets the possibility of occurrence of the event involved.

6.4. Conclusion

Group II-2-2 and II-2-3 have been investigated in this chapter. The candidates for Group II-2-2 have turned out to be homogeneous in terms of function/meaning and surface restrictions given in the survey in Chapter 3. The adverbs in this group also exhibit uniformity in terms of features regarding basic sentence types; they are marked with negative features as to interrogative and imperative sentences (these features will be treated later in Chapter 9). These facts strongly suggest that Group II-2-2 should be a well-motivated class.

The function/meaning of Group II-2-2 is that of offering a speaker's evaluative comment on the content of a sentence. The comment ranges lexically over luck, wonder, praise, kindness, and so on. The co-occurrence restrictions can be explained in the following way. In order to give evaluative comment, the content of a sentence is presupposed to be true. Factual sentences are the most suitable for presupposition, while those primarily related with presumption such as DAROO constructions are not really suitable here. This is the

account based on the semantic property of these sentences. However, on closer examination, the restriction has turned out to be not simply semantic. So long as a sentence (or utterance) is taken as what is presupposed, such as a scheduled event, in a context, it can occur with with adverbs of this group. This account holds particularily for DAROO constructions and present tense sentences (mainly denoting action).

That is, it is true that there is a certain restriction between these adverbs and different grammatical constructions in semantic terms (and this fact serves to characterise a group of adverbs), but the real restriction is pragmatically motivated in the sense that it depends largely on the function of a sentence in a context.

Adverbs falling within Group II-2-3 share function/meaning regarding truth judgement and surface restrictions which are similar to those shared by adverbs in Group II-2-2. However, the candidates differ from one another not only in lexical but also in functional terms. Some of them, such as *mochiron*, seem to have an inter-sentential function. The analysis of them is found in Chapter 8.

It is possible to account for a shared part of functions and restrictions. The adverbs falling within this group are concerned with judging the content of a sentence as true in lexically different ways (in many actual cases, they seem to be used to emphasise the truth of a sentence). It follows from this that factual sentences are optimal for the adverbs. Therefore, the adverbs have no problem with past tense sentences, while they are not really compatible with DAROO constructions. However, the acceptability may vary depending on whether the speaker takes the occurrence of action and so on as certain or uncertain in the actual situations.

6.5. Partial organisation of SSA adverbs

At this stage, It seems worth considering basic organisation including the four sub-classes examined so far: Group II-1-1, Group II-1-3, Group II-2-2, and Group II-2-3.

These groups share the feature of major occurrence in declarative sentences. In terms of meaning/function, the candidates in these groups are used to add a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude on the propositional content of a sentence. Further, each group can be characterised by salient meaning/function and co-occurrence patterns which are closely interrelated to their meaning/function.

According to the semantic characteristics, the above groups may be distinguished in the following way:

A. Epistemic comment (on the speaker's part)

B. Evaluative comment (on the speaker's part)

Adverbs falling within the Evaluative class (Group II-2-2) share the feature of expressing the speaker's evaluative attitude and of non-occurrence in DAROO constructions; the restriction is due to presuppositionality salient for this class.

The Epistemic class can be further classfied on the basis of meaning/function and surface restrictions, as follows.

	+Evidential	-Evidential
-Certain [-PAST TENSE]	Group II-1-3 [-DAROO] [+RASHII]	Group II-1-1 [+DAROO] [-RASHII]
+Certain [+PAST TENSE]	Group II-2-3 [-DAROO]	Group II-2-3 [-DAROO]

The adverbs concerned with truth judgement are distinguished depending on certainty, which is reflected by the restriction in terms of past tense sentences. Further distinction is made in terms of evidentiality. The adverbs involving uncertainty are separated depending on compatibility with DAROO or RASHII constructions.

On the other hand, such a distinction (in terms of surface restrictions) does not appear among the adverbs indicating certainty; akirakani (obviously), which falls with [+Evidential], exhibits the similar co-occurrence patterns to those shown by others in Group II-2-3.[90]

In other words, the formal distinction is fused in evidential/non-evidential terms, when certainty is involved regarding truth judgement.

The non-evidential class involving uncertainty is concerned with the presumptive use, while the non-evidential class involving certainty is concerned with the identification of truth (indicating that the proposition is true).

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[90]It is not easy to judge acceptability of the adverbs in Group II-2-3 in RASHII constructions.

As was mentioned in Chapters 4 to 6, the majority of each class share negative features regarding occurrence in interrogative and imperative sentences, which seem predominant in the SSA category. This suggests that that these sub-classes represent this category well.

Chapter 7
Group I-1 and I-2

7.1. Introduction

This chapter undertakes analysis of Group I-1 and Group I- 2. These groups are marked with a negative feature regarding declarative sentences and a positive feature regarding imperative sentences. These features indicate the difference between these groups and those which have been treated so far. Group I-1 is distinguished from Group I-2, for the reason that the latter also occurs in volitional sentences such as V-OO constructions. This suggests difference in function/meaning. Group I-1 includes two adverbs, *doozo* and *dooka* (please), while Group I-2 contains *zehi* (by all means?).

In what follows, 7.2 discusses the function of imperative sentences, which seem significant for the analysis of these adverbs, and 7.3 and 7.4 deal with these groups. The conclusion of this chapter is given in 7.5.

7.2. General remark on imperatives

Before proceeding, it seems necessary to have a closer look at imperative sentences in Japanese. Imperative sentences are defined in this thesis as follows; those which both function to get someone to do something and contain certain syntactic forms. There are several constructions which may be called imperative according to this definition. This thesis focus on a few of them, on the assumption that they are sufficient to represent the relationship with the adverbs under consideration.

Imperative sentences may show various illocutionary forces. What is relevant for the present analysis can be observed as follows.

(1) a. Koi   /Kinasai.
       come IMP /come IMP POL

       'come.'

    b.*Doozo koi/kinasai.
      *Dooka
       Zehi

(2) a. Kite kudasai.
   come IMP POL

   'Please come.'

   b. *Doozo* kite kudasai
      Dooka
      Zehi

Doozo and *dooka* are not compatible with sentences which contain *koi* or *kinasai*, whereas *zehi* is all right in either (1) or (2). This suggests that the occurrence of these adverbs is further specified according to sub-divisions of imperative sentences.

Green (1975) gave an account of possible illocutionary forces represented by English imperative sentences such as 'order', 'demand', 'request' and 'plea'. For instance, 'order' is explained as follows;

> In social terms, orders are distinct from demands, requests, and pleas in that the giver of the order believes that he has the authority to control the intentional behaviour of the recipient and expects to be obeyed-orders are, thus, typically given by military commanders, employers, parents, teachers, and bullies, but not by persons in a position of no power with respect to the addressee.

Thus, 'order' is characterised in terms of a power relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

She also explained 'request' in the following way.

> Requests are the method used in polite society for getting someone to do something. In the culture of this country, the utterer of a request is someone who has or is acting as if he has no authority or power to compel compliance. Although the speaker expects the addressee to grant his request, perhaps in the spirit of the golden rule, he is not insistent, and will not be enraged by refusal.

According to Green, the basic distinction between the force of a request and that of an order lies in the authority relationship existing between the speaker and addressee. This distinction seems to be maintained by other linguists as well, although their definitions

are not necessarily clear nor do they agree in their details.[91]

Returning to Japanese imperative sentences, those in (1) seem related to an illocutionary force such as order or command, whereas those in (2) to that such as request. There is a distinction according to politeness for each.

The application of a definition of illocutionary force should be done with great care, because owing to cultural and social differences other languages do not necessarily make exactly the same distinctions as those made in English. However, the examination given above seems appropriate as a first approximation of the relationship between adverbs and imperative sentences in Japanese.

The implication here is that *dooka* and *doozo* are involved with the difference in illocutionary force between 'order' and 'request'. The contexts for these adverbs are restricted by the power relation, that is, they only occur in the contexts where the speaker assumes that he has no authority over the listener. On the other hand, a distinction like this is irrelevant for an understanding of *zehi*.

Further, it follows from this that our analysis of the adverbs in this chapter is naturally

---

[91]For instance, Bach and Harnish (1979)'s definition is as follows.

Requirements; (bid, charge, command, demand, dictate, direct, enjoin, instruct, order, prescribe, require)

In uttering e (expression), S requires H to A if S expresses:

1. the belief that this utterance, in virtue of his authority over H, constitutes sufficient reason for H to A, and

2. the intention that H do A because of S's utterance.

Requestives: (ask, beg, beseech, implore, insist, invite, petition, plead, pray, request, solicit, summon, supplicate, tell, urge)

In uttering e, S requests H to A if S expresses;

1. the desire that H do A, and

2. the intention that H do A because (at least partly) of S's desire.

Here, requestives are not specified with relationship as to authority, whereas requirements are.

concerned with a speaker-hearer relationship, more oriented toward a pragmatically determined relationship than the adverbs examined in previous chapters.

7.3. Group I-1

This section treats *doozo* and *dooka*, both of which roughly correspond to *please* in English. However, these adverbs do not show the same meaning/function, nor is *please* an exact equivalent of either one of them.

7.3.1. *Doozo*

Consider the following conversation.

(3) (at a dinner table)

P(host):(to his guests)

        a. Takusan meshiagatte kudasai.
            lot   eat(HON)   IMP POL

        b. *Doozo* takusan meshiagatte kudasai.

'P: a. (Please) eat a lot.'

In example (3), the speaker P politely asks his guest to eat a lot. (3a) is an utterance polite enough for this situation.[92] The utterance with *doozo* is also natural in this case, as is seen in (3b).

On the other hand, a conversation like (4) does not allow *doozo*. Suppose that P is standing near a window.

(4)

P:(to B) Samuidesu ne. a.Mado o shimete kudasai.
          cold   PART   window ACC close IMP

             b. ??*Doozo* mado o shimete kudasai.

'P: It is cold, isn't it?

  a. Please close the window.'

---

[92]*Please* in a bracket is given to show the politeness implied in the KUDASAI construction. In this chapter, *please* should not be regarded as a translation for *doozo* or *dooka*.

Doozo sounds awkward in the utterance (4b), although the imperative sentence is as polite as in the last example. This suggests that it is not correct to say that *doozo* is simply used to add politeness. It is necessary to look into context where *doozo* can occur in order to specify its characteristics.

Ohso (1974) studied the use of *doozo* in conjunction with the meaning of o-V-stem KUDASAI construction, which had been previously treated as an honorific counterpart of *(te) kudasai*.[93]

She claimes that o-V-stem *kudasai* deserves a different treatment from *(te) kudasai*, and explained her claim as follows.

> ...rather it (o-V-stem *kudasai*) had different illocutionary force from a real request, which I would like to call an invitation.

The force of an invitation is this;

> an invitation is different from a real request in that it lacks the property that the action called for is for the speaker's own benefit, which is essential for a real request.[94]

One of her arguments for this claim is shown below.

```
(5) a. Atsukatta-ra, mado   o   akete kudasai.
        hot   COND   window ACC open  IMP

    b. Atsukatta-ra, mado  o   o-ake    kudasai.
       hot COND      window ACC HON open IMP


    'If you are hot, please open the window.'


(6) a. Atsui kara,    mado  o    akete kudasai.
       hot   because  window ACC open  IMP


    b.*Atsui kara,  mado o  o-ake kudasai.


    'As I am hot, please open the window.'
```

---

[93]*O* is an honorific suffix, which is attached to a verb stem or a noun.

[94]In the detailed lexicographical description of Wierzbicka (1987:50), the property is assigned to 'asking', but not to 'requesting'. Therefore, it may be appropriate to use 'asking' instead of 'request' for this property, but I do not pursue this further and follow Ohso's usage.

Either *te kudasai* or *o*-V-stem *kudasai* is all right in (5). On the other hand, *o*-V-stem *kudasai* is not acceptable in (6), where the speaker makes a request for his/her own benefit ; because it is he/she who feels hot. Thus, *o*-V-stem *kudasai* is limited to a context where the speaker's benefit is not included. Ohso calls this invitation.

She argues that *doozo* is also characterised by the force of invitation for the reason that this adverb appears in the following way.

(7) Atsukattara, *doozo* mado o akete kudasai.

(8) *Atsuikara, *doozo* mado o akete kudasai.

In (8), *doozo* sounds unnatural, whereas in (7) *doozo* is quite acceptable. This clearly shows that *doozo* is restricted in the same way as *o*-V-stem *kudasai*.

This is an insightful solution. *Doozo* occurs where an action is called for the benefit of the listener rather than the speaker. It involves an illocutionary force of invitation. Based on this characterisation, the difference in acceptability between (3) and (4) is explained straightforwardly.

Doozo can be also used in a situation where permission is given politely, as is seen below.

(9) P: Shinbun   o   karite mo   iidesu ka?
       newspaper ACC   borrow COND   good   Q

   Q: Ee. a: iidesu yo.
      yes   good

         b. *Doozo*.

  'P: May I borrow the newspaper?

  Q: Yes. surely.'

Doozo is commonly used in situations like the one above. This may also be interpreted as an invitation on the part of the speaker for the listener to do something.[95]

However, it should be noted that in some cases, *doozo* can be used in the sentences involving the speaker's benefit. Consider the following conversations.

---

[95]This permission-giving use is limited, as Ohso noted. A person who is in a supervisory position such as a mother is toward her child, cannot give permission with *doozo*. She also stated that there is no significant difference between permission given on a friendly basis as an example (9) above and an invitation.

(10)

P: Sono toki wa   *doozo*   watashi ni mo   shirasete
   the time TOP   I   DAT too   inform

   kudasai.
   IMP

Q: Hai, mochiron desu.
   yes   of course COP

'P: Please let me know when the time comes.

Q: Yes, of course. '

(11)

P: Kore de   zenbu desu.
   this   all   COP

Q: Uso desu. *doozo* hontoo no   koto o   itte
   lie be   true   matter ACC say

   kudasai.
   IMP

'P: That's everything.

Q: That is not true. Please tell me the truth.'

In these cases, the actions called for are beneficial to the speakers. This is contradictory to the account given previously. A possible explanation is that the speakers in these examples assume they have no control and are dependent on the listener's favor to considerable extent.

Ohso (1983:148) referred to this use as begging:

> A characteristic of begging is that the speaker has no consideration for the addressee's feeling regarding the request he is making. The speaker asks the addressee a favour, regardless of the addressee's willingness to comply, and if the favour is granted the beneficiary is the speaker.

Thus, begging is essentially different form what she calls request in the sense of asking the addressee a favor, regardless of the addresse's willingness to comply. This account

applies to the function of *doozo* in examples (10) and (11).[96]

As a consequence, the contexts where *doozo* occurs are summarised in terms of the speaker-hearer relationship, as follows.

1. The action called for is regarded as good for the listener, not for the speaker.

2. The action called for is good for the speaker, but is dependent on the listener's favor to a large extent.

The first one is the force called invitation, whereas the second is involved with begging. Apart from these distinctions concerning illocutionary force, it can be said that the uses of *doozo* are similar in that the speaker assumes the listener's enormous liberty to decide if

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[96] Wierzbicka (1987:52) gives a fine-grained explication of the English verb *beg*, as follows.

The person who *begs* wants to 'obtain' something, i.e. he wants something to happen that is good for him. He feels helpless because he knows that he himself cannot cause it to happen. The addressee, on the other hand, can cause it to happen, but he evidently doesn't want to do it. The speaker can't bear the thought that he may be unable to obtain what he so fervently desires, and he tries to prevail upon the addressee to cause him to cause the desirable event. To this end, he combines two tactics. For one hand, he indicates to the addressee that he is not going to give up easily. ...

Secondly, *begging* suggests a humble, abject attitude: the speaker implies that he sees the addressee as someone who has power over him, and he tries to flatter the addressee's sense of his own power and self-importance.

This explication results in the following semantic formula:

I want something (X) to happen that will be good for me

I know I can't cause it to happen

I feel something because of that

I assume that you don't want to do it

I say: I want you to do it

I know that you don't have to do what I say I want you to do

I don't want to stop saying that I want this to happen

I say this, in this way, because I want to cause you to do it

I think of you as someone who can cause me to feel something
more than good or something more than bad

Based on this explication, the function of *doozo* is not completely the same as that of *beg*. For instance, the fourth component about the listener's willingness is too strong for *doozo*. In example (10), the speaker does not have to assume that the listener does not want to do the action called for.

he/she does what is asked or not.[97]

In sum, the function of *doozo* is specifying an illocutionary force of the imperative sentences which it is adjoined: invitation or begging in the sense discussed in this section.

7.3.2. *Dooka*

Consider the following conversation.

(13)

```
P: Anata to  hanasu ki  wa    arimasen.
   you  COM  talk   mind TOP   be NEG
```

```
Q: Sonna koto  wa    iwanaide,
   such thing  TOP say NEG GER
```

```
              a. doa  o   akete kudasai.
                 door ACC open  IMP
```

```
              b. dooka doa o  akete kudasai.
```

'P: I have no intention of talking with you.

Q: Don't say such a thing and

    a.please open the door.'

Suppose the conversation takes place with a door between the two speakers. Comparing (13a) and (13b), the speaker of (13b) seems to feel more powerless than the speaker of (13a). Utterance such as (13b) are usually accompanied by a pitiful tone, which may be an attempt to appeal for the listener's sympathy. Note that the action called for is to the speaker's benefit.

Another example is as follows.

---

[97]In addition, *doozo* occurs in expressions of prayer as well as in imperative sentences.

```
(12) doozo  haha  no   byooki  ga     naorimasu yooni.
           mother GEN  illness NOM  recover   manner
```

'I really wish my mother would recover.'

Here, the speaker has no control at all. This use shares with other uses of *doozo* the property that the speaker assumes he /she is considerably dependent on someone (whether an addressee or supernatural existence) with regard to the realisation of the action involved.

(14)

P: *Dooka* mado o   akete kudasai.
      window ACC   open IMP

  Watashi wa   atsukute   shinisoo desu.
   I   TOP   hot GER   die look

'P: Please open the window. I am ready to die of heat.'

In this case, it is easy to imagine a situation where the speaker cannot open the window by him/herself for some reason, and possibly the listener keeps the window closed against will of the speaker. The speaker assumes that he/she has no control over the situation in which he/she is in. He/she is totally dependent on the listener's favor or even mercy. The action will be beneficial to the the speaker when it is complied.

This explication is easily associated with the illocutionary force of begging, in the sense of benefit for a speaker, no control over the listener, and dependence on the listener's favor.

Comparing *doozo* and *dooka*, the function of *dooka* is more limited than that of *doozo*. For instance, *dooka* is strange in a context such as the following.

(15) a. Atsukattara, *doozo* mado o   akete kudasai.

    b.??Atsukattara, *dooka* mado o   akete kudasai.

In this case, the action called for benefits the listener. The illocutionary force involved is invitation. *Dooka* is not appropriate here. That is, the illocutionary force of invitation is excluded from the function of *dooka*.

In addition, *dooka* is funny in the following conversation. Suppose that the speaker P is helping Q move into new accommodation and install pieces of furniture.

(16) P: Kono tsukue wa   doko e   okimashoo ka?
        this desk TOP   where to   put VOL   Q

  Q: a.   Sono sumi   e oite kudasai.
         that corner to put IMP POL

    b. ??*Dooka* sono sumi e   oite kudasai.

  'P: Where shall I place this desk?

  Q: a. Please put it in that corner.'

In this case, (16a) is for the speaker's benefit and the force of the utterance is interpreted as a request, following Ohso's argument. This means that *dooka* is not involved with a request, either.

From these observations, it can be considered that *dooka* is only concerned with begging.

This adverb may be most suitable in contexts such as the following.

(17) (to a burglar)

```
Nandemo   sashiagemasu kara,
anything  give         because
```

```
dooka  inochi  dake  wa   tasukete kudasai.
       life    only  TOP  save     IMP POL
```

'I will give you anything, only please don't take my life.'

(18) P: *Dooka* okoranaide kudasai.
            get angry   IMP POL

    Q: Sonna koto muridesu.
       such thing impossible

    'P: Please don't get angry.

    Q: It is impossible.'

Dooka is natural in these situations where the speaker is relying on the listener's decision totally (while indicating that the speaker cannot do anything about that).[98] *Doozo* can replace *dooka* in these examples, though it seems that *dooka* is more emotional

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[98] *Dooka* can also occur in an expression of wish or prayer, like *doozo*. An example is:

a. Kono shigoto ga seikoo-shimasu yoo ni.
   this work   NOM succeed POL manner

   'I hope I will succeed in this work.'

b. *Dooka* kono shigoto ga seikoo-shimasu yoo ni.

This case can be explained along the same lines as the previous section.

than *doozo.*[99]

7.3.3. Summary

The function of the adverbs treated here is basically specifying illocutionary force of imperative sentencess.

Dooka is limited to expressing an illocutionary force of begging, in which the speaker assumes that he/she has no power or control over the listener, and in general wants the listener to do what is beneficial to the speaker, by asking a favor from the listener.

Doozo has the function of invitation in which the action called for is beneficial to the listener, as well as that of begging (of a less emotional sort than indicated by *dooka*).

Both *doozo* and *dooka* indicate that the decision whether or not to perform an action is in the control of the listener.

7.4. Group I-2

The only candidate in this group is *zehi*, which shows unique surface restrictions.

7.4.1. The outline of *zehi*

This section outlines the surface restriction and broad meaning of *zehi*. Firstly, the surface restrictions surveyed in Chapter 3 are illustrated as follows.

(20)

   a. Katoo-san   wa   soko e ikimasu/ikimashita.

---

[99]Alfonso (1971:231) remarked that *dooka* is used in the following situations:

> ...in situations where one is persistent in the request, *dooka* is more appropriate than *doozo*. E.g.,you want to pay someone for service rendered or a job done but he keeps refusing the money. You would then say something like;
>
> *Dooka* uketotte kudasai.
>
> 'By all means please accept this.'

This is interpreted as meaning that the speaker needs to make more effort in order to get the listener to accept the money. Persistence like this may be included in properties of *dooka*. Comparing *dooka* and *doozo*, the use of *dooka* seems closer to that shown by Wierzbicka (1987:52) (see Footnote [96]), in terms of a speaker' assumption about the listener's willingness for compliance, of persistence, and of emotional factors.

```
             TOP there to go        go PAST
```

        'Mr. Kato will go there/went there.'

b.*Katoo-san wa *zehi* ikimasu/ikimashita.

(21) *Zehi* kite kudasai.
          come IMP

    'Please come.' (Translation without *zehi*)

(22) *Zehi* soo shiyoo/shimashoo.
          soo do VOL do VOL POL

    'I will do so.'
    or
    'Let's do so.'

This adverb does not occur in basic declarative sentences (denoting action) as is seen in (20), but in imperative or volitional sentences like V-OO constructions.

Actually, the co-occurrence relationship between *zehi* and sentences in which it occurs needs further analysis, as the range of occurrence of *zehi* is wider than that shown in the survey above. For instance, consider the following sentences.

(23) a. Yari-tai desu.
         do   want

    'I want to do it.'

    b. *Zehi* yaritai desu.

Zehi can occur in sentences designating want/wish such as those involving *tai*. The form of the sentence is declarative. Thus, it is necessary to make further specification regarding declarative sentences.[100] *Zehi* can occur in any constructions in which want/wish is encoded.

This adverb can also appear in several other environments. Some examples are below.

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[100]*Tai* is an adjectival suffix which expresses want /wish by attaching to the stem of an adjective. Below, the predicate including *tai* is called the TAI construction.

(24) a. Kimi wa iku bekida.
     you TOP go should

    'You should go.'

    b. Kimi wa *zehi* iku beki da.

Zehi occurs in BEKIDA constructions which roughly correspond to 'ought to' or 'had better' in English.[101] Further, *zehi* can appear in constructions such as involving *nakereba naranai*.

(25)

Watashi wa shiiman-tachi no yokuryuu-seikatsu ni tsuite
 I   TOP seaman PL   GEN interned life   about

zehi kakinokoshite okanakereba   naranai to
     write leave put NEG COND become NEG COMP

omotte iru. (Shoono:postscripts)
think DUR.

'I think I have to write about the life of seamen who were
interned.' (the translation ignores *zehi*.)

The construction roughly means 'have to'.[102]

Another example is below.

(26) a. Soo suru to ii.
     so do   COND good

    '(lit.) It will be good if you do so.'

    b. *zehi* soo suru to   ii.

Depending on the context, the sentence may correspond closely to 'I hope that...' or 'I

---

[101]The BEKIDA construction is originally regarded as a nominal sentence, which is composed of *beki* and the copula *da*. *Beki* only appears in this constructions; the meaning of the construction roughly corresponds to 'ought to', or 'had better' in English. For this reason, Teramura (1984) treated this construction as an expression of 'muudo' (modality).

[102]*Nakereba naranai* can be treated as a single construction, which means 'have to' in English. Nakau (1973) regarded this as a syntactic primitive. As no other word can be inserted between the two phrases, it is reasonable to treat this as one unit.

advise you to do'.[103]

These observations show that the environments where *zehi* occurs are of wide range and syntactically diverse, but restricted in semantic terms. The meanings emerging from these constructions render want/wish, intention, 'had better','ought to' and so on, and imperatives are common in making reference to a psychological inclination toward realisation of an action.[104]

With regard to the meaning/ function of the adverb, it seems that *zehi* emphasises such an inclination. For instance, in the context-free example (23), the speaker's emotion involved in (23b) is clearly stronger than in (23a).

In Kudoo(1982:61) a similar observation about the co-occurrence restriction was made, which led him to consider that the semantic feature of *zehi* is 'Jitsugen no hitsuyoosei no tsuyome' (intensification of the need for realisation).

However, the problem arising here is that we cannot know how *zehi* exerts its function from a solution like this. This adverb seems different from what are called intensifiers (based on Bolinger's definition in this thesis), because it is mostly not associated with a stative property which can be measured in terms of degree (see 4.3 and 5.2.2).

Hence, it is necessary to go further to specify what is the emphatic function of *zehi* and

---

[103]The sentence is comprised of a conditional clause and an adjectival predicate including *ii* (good). Provisionally, I call it the V-TO II construction from now on.

[104]The following account in Foley and Van Valin (1984:214) is helpful in understanding the commonality among these expressions.

> Modality characterises the speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment, whether he has the obligation, the intention, or the ability to perform it.

Here, what is called modality is one of four sub-divisions of traditionally accepted modality which is re-organised by them. The environments for *zehi* are not identical to the modality referring to accomplishment. However, in the sense given here, the idea involved in accomplishment overlaps with that shared by the expressions co-occurring with *zehi*.

what the basic conditions for the use of the adverb is.[105]

For this purpose, it seems convenient to separate the environments into two types. It is clear that *zehi* occurs where the speaker and hearer's interaction is the main concern such as in imperative sentences, as well as where a speaker's want or intention is expressed without an attempt to get an addressee to do something. Pragmatic consideration is inevitable for any analysis of *zehi*, as was the case with Group I-1.

7.4.2. Analysis of *zehi* appearing in imperative sentences

The analysis starts with contexts where an utterance is meant to get the addressee to do something. Imperative sentences are taken first. *Zehi* occurs in either expressions of order or request, both polite and non-polite. This observation means that the occurrence of the adverb is not restricted by the authority relationship existing between the speaker and listener, in contrast with *doozo* and *dooka*.

It is possible to specify at least two conditions for contexts where *zehi* appears. Although there may be further conditions depending on speech situations, the conditions to be discussed below seem to play major roles.

The first condition is shown in the following way. Consider conversation (27), in which speaker Q is giving some delicacy to speaker Q.

(27)

```
P: Kore o  watashi ni  kudasaru no   desu ka?
   this ACC me     to   give     COMP COP  Q
```

```
Q: Ee,  zehi meshiagatte kudasai.
   Yes       eat(HON)    IMP
```

---

[105]This adverb has traits in common with intensifiers. Note that there is another constraint on *zehi* in reference to negation (see Table 2-4). Consider the following sentences.

```
a. Zehi  mite kudasai.
         see  IMP
```

```
b.*Zehi  minaide kudasai.
         see NEG IMP
```

Zehi never occurs in negative sentences. This limitation may be related to the function of intensification, which is regarded as the same sort as that of *sazo*; they are limited in reference to what is actually existing. Still, in the case of *zehi*, it is hard to take associated expressions as including some measurable semantic property as in the case of *sazo* (except for the TAI construction).

'P: You are giving me this?

Q: Yes, (please) eat it.' (The translation ignores
   zehi.)

Zehi is naturally used here.

On the other hand, *zehi* sounds awkward in the following utterance, which is said when food is served at the beginning of a party.

(28)

P(host):(to his guests) Saa, #*zehi* meshiagatte kudasai.

The utterance is not appropriate when inviting guests to start eating. The difference between (27) and (28) lies in the fact that in the latter, eating food is taken for granted, while in the former it is not necessarily taken for granted.

From this observation, what may be assumed is that *zehi* does not fit in contexts where compliance (and performing of the particular action) is taken for granted.

Some other examples are given below. Suppose that a diving instructor P is teaching his/her student Q at a swimming pool.

(29)

P:(with gesture)
   a.Koo iu fuuni shite tobikominasai.
     thus   way do   dive   IMP

   b.?*Zehi* koo iu fuuni shite tobikominasai.

Q: Hai, yatte mimasu.
   yes do   try

'P: a. Dive this way.

Q: Yes, I'll try.'

P's utterance is an instruction. *Zehi* sounds inappropriate here. In this case, it is natural that the speaker P expects that his/her instruction will be accepted by the student.

In the next example, the situation is the confirmation of an appointment for a meeting. Now Q is about to leave.

(30)

```
P: Sore dewa    a.  Juuji ni   kite kudasai.
   then             ten o'clock come  IMP


                b.  ?zehi  juuji ni   kite kudasai.

Q: Wakarimashita.
   understand PAST


'P: Well, a.(please) come at ten o'clock.

 Q: All right.'
```

In this situation, P knows that Q has accepted the appointment and accordingly is sure that Q will come. Here, (30b) sounds odd.

The third example occurs in a situation where the action is called for urgently.

```
(31) P: Kodomo ga     oborete imasu.
        child NOM     drown   DUR

     a.  Tasukeru no  o  tetsudatte kudasai.
         rescue   COMP ACC help        IMP

     b.  ?Zehi  tasukeru no o   tetsudatte
         kudasai.

  Q:  Hai. imasugu, ikimasu.
      yes  right now   go.


 'P: A child is drowning.

     a. (please) help me rescue   him.

  Q: Yes, I am coming  right away.'
```

Here, the request must be complied with and from the speaker's point of view, action must be taken immediately. In this situation, the speaker is not in a position to leave the decision to help or not to the addressee. That is, for the speaker the request and compliance with it are taken for granted. *Zehi* is not appropriate for this situation.

From these examples, it can be said that *zehi* is appropriate where the speaker does not or cannot assume that compliance will be taken for granted because of contextual factors. *Zehi* is used to intensify the feeling of want for compliance on a speaker's part in such situations.

Apart from the condition above, the occurrence of *zehi* is affected by the speaker-hearer relationship as well. Consider conversation (32).

(32)

```
P: Sumimasenga,  a.  kodomo o     mite ite kudasai.
   excuse me          child ACC  watch DUR IMP

              b.  ?Zehi  kodomo o mite ite kudasai.

Q: Iidesu  yo.
   good    PART
```

'P: Excuse me, a. (please) watch my child for a while.

Q: All right.'

Zehi is not appropriate in this case where compliance is not taken for granted. The action called for here is regarded as beneficial to the speaker.[106]

On the other hand, the following examples are well compatible with *zehi*.

```
(33) P: Kanojo no juusho    mo  irimasuka?
        she    GEN address too need  Q

     Q: Ee, zehi  oshiete kudasai.
        yes       tell    IMP
```

'P: Do you want her address too?

Q: Yes, (please) tell me.'

Zehi is quite naturally used here. The speaker P is relying on Q's kindness to do an action which is of benefit to the speaker. A further example is given in (34);

```
(34) P: Karera to  shiai-suru n desu  tte?
        they with  game do COMP COP  HEAR

     Q: Ee,  zehi  sanka-shite kudasai.
        yes,       join        IMP
```

'P: I understand that you will have a game against them.

Q: Yes. please join us.'

---

[106]*Zehi* in (32) sounds strange, whether *sumimasenga* is used or not. However, it seems that *zehi* is not really compatible with *sumimasenga* in general. A possible explanation for this is that *sumimasenga* indicates the speaker's apologetic attitude to his/her attempt to get an addressee to do something for the speaker's benefit.

In this example, it is not clear if Q's utterance is to his/her own benefit or to P's. However, use of *zehi* makes Q's utterance more encouraging than a simple request to participate would have been.

Thus, it may be said that *zehi* is naturally used where the action is good for the listener or dependent on the kindness of the listener (in ambiguous case like (34)); this limitation is similar to that on *doozo*. In particular, the idea that an action may be 'good for a listener' seems to emerge in various cases. An example is as follows.

(35) P: Enryosuru koto wa nai.   *Zehi*   koi.
       hesitate   matter TOP not   come IMP

    Q: Un.

  'P: You don't have to hesitate.   Do come.

  Q:Yes.'

Roughly, P's utterance is given as a form of order. However, *zehi* reduces the force of the order, and the utterance (using *zehi*) makes the order sounds more like an invitation to the addressee.

From these observations, the contexts for *zehi* may be conditioned as follows.

  1. The speaker can assume that compliance is not taken for granted.

  2. The action involved is good for the addressee or the performance of an action
     is dependent on the kindness of the addressee.

Under these conditions, *zehi* can be used to intensify the feeling of want for compliance on the speaker's part. By *zehi* a speaker tries to make the addressee feel like doing the action, without forcing him/her to do so, in a situation where getting action to be realised is not necessarily easy. In other words, *zehi* can only occur where it is possible for a speaker to assume that an addressee will be willing to do the action called for. Thus, it can be said that *zehi* is an additional polite device to get someone to do something,

without causing conflict.[107]

Apart from imperative sentences, most expressions which can co-occur with *zehi* may be used performatively. Consider the following conversation.

(36) P: Kare to hanashiatte mimasu.
          he COM   talk   try

    Q: a. Soo sure to iidesu yo.
            so do COND   good PART

      b. *Zehi* soo suru to ii desu yo.

  'P: I will try to talk with him.

  Q:a. You should do so.
     (lit. It will be good for you if you do so.)'

Here, a V-TO II constructions functions as advice. Advice involves the property of

---

[107]Further consider the following conversation.

P: Amami ooshima e   ikimasu.
   (name of an island) to   go

Q: Soo desu ka.
   so   be PART

  a. Achira de wa   hebi ni ki   o tsukete kudasai.
     there LOC TOP snake to mind ACC attach IMP

  b.?Achiradewa *zehi* hebi ni ki o tsukete kudasai.

'P: I am going to Amamiooshima.

 Q: Is that so?

  a.(Please) be careful about snakes over there.'

Q's utterance (a) might be acceptable depending on the speaker, although it does not sound natural to me. The reason may be due to the kind of action called for here; the speaker Q gives warning here, which tells P to be careful not to meet something bad. Warnings are not so compatible with *zehi*. It appears that *zehi* works better with actions that bring positive good to the addressee.

being good for the listener. The occurrence of *zehi* can be explained straightforwardly.[108]

Further, observe the following conversation.

(37)

```
P: Kono jisho      wa  iidesu yo.  a.O-susume-shimasu.
   this dictionary TOP good PART     HON recommend POL

                          b. Zehi  osusumeshimasu.
```

'This dictionary is good.   a. I recommend it.'

In this case, *zehi* appears in a declarative sentence. The honorific expression involving *susumeru* (recommend) appears to be an exception to the use of *zehi*. However, this is actually a case of the explicit performative. It has an illocutionary force of recommendation, involving the property of being good for the listener.

This shows that the occurrence of *zehi* is affected by the force of an utterance, although the environment for the use of *zehi* is highly restricted to certain semantic types of sentences.

7.4.3. Analysis of *zehi* appearing in other sentences

In contexts which are not an attempt to get someone to do something, the first condition given in the preceding discussion seems to hold here too, though a slight modification is needed; here the speaker does not assume that realisation of action can be taken for granted.

For instance, consider the following sentence.

(38)

```
a. Kono kaisha    de wa watashi wa maishuu     repooto o
   this company LOC TOP   I     TOP every week report ACC

   kakanake-reba      naranai.
      write COND       go-NEG
```

---

[108]The force of advice is described in the following way, in Bach and Harnish (1979:49).

As for advisories, what the speaker expresses is not the desire that H (hearer) do a certain action but the belief that doing it is a good idea, that is is in H's interest. S (speaker) expresses also the intention that H take this belief of S's as a reason to act.

Bekida construction and so forth function in the similar way.

'I have to write a report every week in this office.'

b. ?Kono kaisha dewa watashiwa maishuu repooto o *zehi* kakanakereba naranai.

Sentence (38a) includes the NAKEREBA NARANAI construction, rendering the meaning of obligation. Writing a report is supposed to be an assignment given to the speaker. He has to do it, whether he likes doing so or not. In this respect, fulfillment of action is taken for granted. *Zehi* sounds inappropriate here. On the other hand, example (25) given in 7.4.1 sounds natural with *zehi*. In the latter case, writing is at the speaker's discretion although the sentence contains an expression of obligation; the speaker says it is his obligation, but it is decided by his free will. *Zehi* is all right under this condition.

Further, compare the following sentences.

(39)

a. Watashi wa kono gakkoo de benkyooshitai.
 I TOP this school at study want

'I want to study at this school.'

b. Watashi wa *zehi* kono gakkoo de benkyooshitai.

(40) (Suppose that the speaker is an undergraduate student.)

a. Watashi wa kyoo benkyooshitai.
 I TOP today study want

'I want to study today.'

b.??Watashi wa *zehi* kyoo benkyooshitai.

Acceptability of *zehi* is different in examples (39) and (40). The disparity is provided by adverbial phrases like *kono gakkoo de* (at this school) and *kyoo* (today). It is possible to give an interpretation as follows. In (40), studying falls within the normal bounds of student behaviour. It is not what is specially organised, but (in a relative sense) taken for granted. On the other hand, to enter a certain school, some factors such as procedures for getting admission, ability and so on have to be considered. Thus, (39a) suggests that the realisation of the action involved is not taken for granted. This then, is the reason that

these cases can also be explained along the lines discussed previously.[109]

In addition, it is worth noting the following couple of points in relation to the use of *zehi*.

Zehi occurs in several constructions whether they are used performatively or not. Note that *zehi* needs a human actor even in non-performative use. For instance, consider the following sentence.

(41) a.??Yuki ga   *zehi* furu to   ii.
     snow NOM   fall COND good

    'I really wish it would snow.'
    (lit. It will be good if it snows.)'

  b. Ano hito   ga   *zehi* kuru to   ii.
     that person NOM   come COND good

---

[109]In addition, the condition discussed here distinguishes *zehi* from other words in terms of intensification/emphasis. Consider the following sentences, which include *zehi*, *hontooni* (truly) and *totemo* (very), respectively.

1. a. Watashi wa   kyoo benkyooshitai.
      I   TOP today study want

    'I want to study today.'

  b. Watashi wa ?*zehi*/*hontooni*/*totemo*
                        truly   very
     benkyooshitai.

The other two adverbs are all right in this example. For instance, the sentence with *hontooni* in (1b) is used in the following situation, with a slight change based on discourse requirement.

2.

P: Benkyoo-suru ki nanka nai n   deshoo. asobi ni ikoo yo.
      study mind PART NEG COMP PART play to go VOL PART

Q: Iyada. Kyoo wa *hontooni* benkyooshitai n   da.
   no   today TOP   study   want COMP COP

'P: You don't feel like studying, do you? Let's go out.

Q: No. I really want to study today.'

This conversation illustrates speaker Q is being challenged about whether it is true that he wants to study. The speaker Q emphasises the veracity of his want/wish to study in the utterance above. That is, *hontooni* is used to intensify truth, but not the meaning of want. *totemo* intensifies degree of wish or want, indicating that it is enormous. Thus, these words for intensification are different in the way they function in the given context.

'I really wish he would come.'

Both of these sentence express hope or wish, but *zehi* sounds strange in (41a), while (41b) is all right. This means that *zehi* is concerned with the realisation of something by a human actor.

Another point is the case of compliance.

(42)

```
P:  Uchi  e  asobi  ni  irasshaimasen    ka?
    house to play   to  come(HON)  NEG  Q

Q:  Ee,  zehi.
    yes.
```

```
'P: Won't you   come to my place?

Q: Yes, I'd love to.'
```

This is quite common in Japanese conversation. Here Q's utterance is interpreted as being a contraction of a sentence like (43).

(43) Q: *Zehi* ikitaidesu.
          go want

```
'I really want to go.'
```

In this situation, a declarative sentence like (44) may be possible.

(44) Q: *Zehi* ikimasu.
              go

```
'I will go by all means.'
```

However, an utterance like (44) is not acceptable to all speakers.   An honorific counterpart of (44) such as the following is more acceptable.

(45) *Zehi* ukagaimasu.
            go (HON)

Ukagau (visit) is an honorific (humble) equivalent of *iku* (go). This sentence involves the speaker's will at the moment of utterance.

Uses like (44) or (45) appear marginal. However, these examples can be another indication that the use of *zehi* is affected by pragmatic considerations.

7.4.4. Notes on subject-oriented *zehi*

In addition, the following point should be noted. Observe sentence (46).

(46) a. Karera wa   ikitagatte iru.
        they   TOP   go want   DUR

   'They want to go.'

   b. Karera wa   *zehi* ikitagatte iru.

Here, *zehi* occurs in a sentence which expresses a subject's feeling of want by the TAGARU construction.[110]

The problem is that in this case *zehi* is attributed to a subject, not a speaker. That is, a use like this is not regarded as speaker-oriented.

This deviance can be explained in the following way. Expressions rendering want or intention range from objective description to a speaker's subjective attitude.

In the case of the TAI construction, it cannot be used for a third person subject in present tense sentences, whereas want of a first person subject (=a speaker) can be expressed by the construction. This constraint reflects the distinction between subjective expression and objective description of other people's inner states of mind.

Zehi is not affected by such a distinction. It is basically associated with constructions which refer to the realisation of an action. For this reason, *zehi* may appear in either the objective or the subjective domain.

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[110]In Japanese, *tai* in the present tense cannot take a third person subject (in speech). Instead, various syntactic devices such as the compound verb involving *tagaru* are employed.

7.5. General discussion and conclusion

This chapter investigated adverbs which occur mainly in imperative sentences. The occurrence of the adverbs in Group I-1 is restricted in imperative sentences (and those expressing prayer). There are further restrictions on types of imperative sentences: those in which the speaker assumes that he/she has no authority over the listener. The two candidates, *doozo* and *dooka* (corresponding to *please*) serve to specify the function of imperative sentences; their shared feature is that they indicate that the speaker leaves considerable control to the addressee, as was explained in detail in 7.3.

This means that these adverbs function to specify the illocutionary force of imperative sentences. That is, the function of these adverbs is to express a speaker's psychological/subjective attitude toward imperative force.

It is appropriate to regard these adverbs as forming a sub-class based on correspondence between surface restrictions and meaning/function.

Group I-2 has only one candidate, *zehi* (by all means?). It can occur in imperative sentences and functions like those in Group I-2. For instance, it is used where the speaker leaves much control to the addressee and when the speaker assumes that the action called for is not taken for granted. Further, the following points should be noted. The basic function of *zehi* is to intensify the psychological inclination toward the realisation of action. This notion is closely related to the illocutionary force encoded in imperatives and so forth. Still, the distinction between performatives and constatives is not crucial in the use of *zehi*. This is the reason that the adverb appears to be similar to those in Group I-1 in some cases and to be like an intensifier in other cases. It follows from this that the *zehi* occupies special status among SSA adverbs.

These groups handled in this chapter differ from those summarised in Chapter 6 in terms of occurrence in basic sentence types. This may lead one to suspect that the groups under consideration are deviant from the majority of SSA candidates. However, it is possible to re-interpret this that for the candidates for the SSA category, the major environment is a single sentence type. A better generalisation follows this interpretation. The integrated account in reference to this feature is offered in Chapter 10.

Chapter 8

The remaining groups

8.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with Group II-1-2, Group II-2-1, a part of Group II-2-3, and Group II-2-4. The adverbs falling within these groups are listed below.

SHOSEN
DOOSE

YAHARI
KEKKYOKU
TOOZEN

MOCHIRON/MURON
JIJITSU
JITSUWA

SHOOJIKI

According to the survey in Chapter 3, adverbs in these groups show various co-occurrence patterns. Therefore, the listed adverbs are quite heterogeneous in terms of co-occurrence restrictions. These adverbs may be regarded as the remains of SSA adverbs after those functioning on the content of a sentence as well as those on a particular illocutionary force(= imperative force, here) are taken out.

All the groups except Group II-2-4 make a reference to a context outside the sentences they are adjoined to. This means that it is possible to assume a linking function for these candidates. The analysis of this chapter focuses on variety of sub-functions exhibited by them. In particular, special attention is given to differing relationships between the adverbs and a context.

Group II-2-4 only includes the adverb *shoojiki* (to be honest), whose salient function seems to refer to a speaker's own speech, not the content of a sentence directly. This is a good reason to treat it separately.

Further, it is possible to consider that all the groups are concerned with a speaker's

attitude toward the way of presenting a sentence within a context.[111]

In the subsequent sections 8.2 to 8.5, the uses and meaning of these adverbs are analysed individually according to groups. Section 8.6 undertakes overall treatment of these adverbs and discusses the way of organising them.

8.2. Group II-1-2

The two adverbs such as *shosen* and *doose* are grouped here. The co-occurrence restrictions are similar to Group II-1-1, marked with [-PAST TENSE] and [+DAROO], but as was suggested in the survey, Group II-1-2 needs separate treatment, including trans-sentential analysis.

8.2.1. *Doose*

Morita(1977:316) stated that *doose* expresses a speaker's feeling of resignation by taking the view that it is impossible to avoid something from happening because it is bound to happen. This understanding seems predominant among Japanese researchers. This may be the reason for the appearance of *doose* in the literature where peculiarities of Japanese collective personality are discussed (Itasaka 1971, for instance); *doose* can be regarded as one of the exponents of so-called collective personality. The use of the adverb surely offers a fascinating issue for inquiry from a sociolinguistic point of view. However, it is not always the case that *doose* implies resignation. The account of resignation is rather about the pragmatic implications of the word.

In what follows, the use of *doose* is examined on the basis of the actual occurrence of the adverb in certain contexts; this has not been treated properly yet in any previous research.

In brief, it may be observed that in many cases *doose* appears in a sentence which functions as a reason or cause in context. The exception is with sentences rendering prediction about the future. It is possible that these sentences do not work as a reason or cause in the context. In both uses, *doose* has some meaning in common.

To begin with, consider a conversation like (1) for clarifying the semantic characteristics of *doose*.

---

[111]This view is similar to that maintained by Iketani (1986), although the words handled by her are different from those treated here except *kekkyoku*.

(1)

P: Kanoko-san wa iku kashira?
                TOP go PART

Q: Saa.
   well

   a. Mata atama ga itai   to   itte   yameru daroo.
      again head NOM painful COMP say GER give up Presum

   b. *Doose* mata atama ga itai to itte yameru daroo.

'P: I wonder if Kanoko will go.'

 Q: Well... a. She won't go, saying she has a headache
               again.'

(1a) expresses a speaker's prediction in a simple way. In (1b) with *doose* the utterance sounds as if what she will do is already set and nothing can be done about this. This may be taken as a first approximation of the meaning of *doose*.

To look into the semantic characteristics of *doose*, consider the following sentences.

(2)

a. Isshookenmei renshuushitara,   Jon wa   katsu daroo.
      hard   practice COND John TOP   win Presum

   'If John practices hard, he will win.'

b. *Isshookenmei renshuushitara, *doose* Jon wa
    katsu daroo.

c. Isshookenmei renshuushitara, *kitto* Jon wa
    katsu daroo.   surely

   'If John practices hard, he will surely win.'

(2a) denotes a hypothesis that, fulfilling a condition involving hard practice, John's victory may be realised. *Doose* is quite strange with this sentence, as is shown in (2b). That is, *doose* is not suitable for an action which may or may not take place, in contrast to *kitto* (surely).

On the other hand, *doose* is all right in a context such as the one which follows.

(3)

    d. Renshuushitemo, renshuushinakutemo *doose* Jon wa
          practice COND   practice NEG COND   John TOP

       katsu daroo.
       win   Presum

      'Whether he practises or not, John will win.'
      (The translation does not include the adverb.)

The sentence conveys the notion that John will win whatever condition may be involved. That is, his victory is taken as predetermined from a speaker's viewpoint, regardless of any condition.

In other words, contexts where the happening of an action involved is set are suitable for the use of *doose*, while those which do not meet this condition are incompatible with the adverb.

From this observation, *doose* can be said to add the view that the action involved will take place inevitably. In this case, *doose* seems to include something like presupposition, which is understanding or evaluation about the present situation such as Kazuko's habit in (1), John's strength in (2) and so forth.

The occurrence of *doose* is to be examined in another environment. Observe the following sentences in (4).

(4) a. Hannin wa   moo   Nihon ni   inai   no da.
         criminal TOP already   Japan LOC stay NEG COMP COP

      b. *Doose* hannin wa moo Nihon ni inai no da.

        Jitabata-shite mo   hajimaranai.
        make a fuss COND   begin NEG

     'a. The criminal is not in Japan any more.
        There is no use making a fuss over it.'

This set of sentences was given as an example of *doose* in Morita (1977:316). These sentences can be regarded as having a causal relationship without *doose*; The first sentence (4a), which *doose* is adjoined to, provides a reason for the statement expressed by the second sentence.

In this particular context, *doose* indicates that the content of a reason clause is set and that there is a limit about what can be done.

Another example is given here;

(5)

a. Hitori-gurashi na no da.
   one person life   COMP COP

b. *Doose* hitori-gurashi na no da.

   Seiyoo no teiburu-manaa o sonchooshite
   west   GEN table manner ACC respect GER

   kidoru   koto mo   nai.
   take a air matter PART NEG

'a. I live alone.

 I don't have to keep Western table manners.
 (lit. I don't have to take on airs by respecting
 Western table manners.' (Ariyoshi:80)

(5b) is a monologue said by a divorced man who used to follow Western table manners when he had dinner with his wife. In this situation, the set of sentences can be taken as constituting a causal relationship even without *doose*.

Furthermore, *doose* occurs in a reason clause like this.

(6) P: Sumimasen ne. Okutte itadaite.
       sorry   PART send   give GER

   Q: Ii   n desu yo. a. Tochuu desu kara.
      good COMP COP PART   halfway   because

                  b. *Doose* tochuudesu kara.

   'P: Thank you for driving me home.

   Q: That's all right. a. It's on the way.'

Here, the reason is quite clear. The following dialogue includes *doose* in the same usage.

(7)

P: *Doose* nihongo o narau nara, kanji to kana mo
        Japanese ACC learn COND   and   too

   naratta hoo ga ii desu yo.
   learn side NOM   good   PART

```
Q: Soo desu ne.
   so  be  PART
```

```
'P: Since he is going to learn Japanese, it is better
    for him to learn  Chinese  characters  as  well.
    (The translation ignores doose.)
```

```
Q: Yes/I see what you mean.'
```

The causal relationship is evident.[112]

The point is that, regardless of whether it appears in a subordinate clause or a main sentence, *doose* works as a reason in the given context.

On the other hand, *doose* is not appropriate where something other than reason/cause is expressed. An example is as follows;

(8)

```
P: Tesuto  wa   doo deshita ka?
   test   TOP how COP PAST Q
```

```
Q: Benkyoo shinakatta kara, a. umaku ikanakatta n   desu.
   study   NEG PAST    because    well go NEG PAST COMP COP
```

```
                        b.*Doose umaku ikanakatta n desu.
```

```
'P: How was the examination?'
```

```
Q: Because I did not study, a. it did not go well.'
```

The sentence (8a) serves as a consequence, not a reason. The result the speaker Q reports might have been expected as inevitable by him/her before sitting for the examination. However, *doose* is not suitable in sentences working as a consequence, like this.

In a sample of 58 *doose*-tokens collected from written materials (listed at the end of the thesis), all items may be interpreted as holding a causal relationship with an adjacent sentence.

---

[112]*Nara* is one of the so-called conditional forms often corresponding to the if-clause in English. However, it has various uses. In this case, the preferable reading is as a reason clause.

Some pieces of the sample contain those rendering future prediction. In general, as is seen in (1), sentences relating to future prediction may not have reason reading. Except those, it is possible to claim that *doose* only occurs where the sentence to which *doose* is adjoined can be read as reason in the context.

To go further, it is observed that a certain limitation is made on a causal relationship involving *doose*. For instance, the adverb is not appropriate in contexts such as that following:

(9) a.Kyoo wa   Haha no tanjoobi da.
      today TOP   mother GEN birthday COP

   b.#*Doose* kyoo wa   haha no tanjoobi da.

   Omoshiroi hon   o   katte   okuritai.
   interesting book ACC buy GER   send want

'a. Today is my mother's birthday.

I want to buy her an interesting book.'

In the case of (9a), the principle above does not appear to apply.

One tendency which may be observed is the construction of pairs of sentences, one containing *doose*, the other containing expressions such as those translatable into 'it is all right', 'it does not matter', 'it is permissible', 'it might as well' and so on. The meaning shared by these expressions may be that an event involved is |possible. In provisional terms, I will regard this as a constraint on the semantic relationship of the paired sentences. Consequently, the (tentative) explanation for the oddity of (9b) is that the content of the second sentence is not just |possible, but more positive.

Exploration of the function of *doose* in reason sentences requires extensive analysis of context. I will leave this issue open.

Explanation of surface restrictions is in order. It is unusual for *doose* to appear in past tense declarative sentences. On the other hand, when   *noda* is attached to such sentences, the acceptability is increased. Examples for this are found in (4) and (5).

A possible interpretation is as follows. It is hard to explain the incompatibility semantically. Rather, this seems due to communicative requirements; sentences with *doose* (for expressing a reason) sound incomplete without support from other expressions which explicitly denote the sense of reason. It appears that the expressions like *noda* are frequently used with other declarative sentences as well.

In sum, *doose* has quite a complicated mechanism. It is involved in a speaker's perception that (1) the present situation relating to an action involved is assessed in a certain way, and (2) the truth about the action involved is set(regardless of circumstances), (3) on this premise, there are a limited range of things which can be done.[113] Its use for future prediction includes the first two properties listed above. This use is rather close to that of adverbs which comment on the content of a sentence.[114] On the other hand, when *doose* is concerned with linking functions, the last two properties are highlighted. The adverb serves to place a reason, confining the possible content of the adjacent sentence. The third property, which is a tentative solution, should be more closely explored by contextual analysis.

For the present, it does not seem appropriate to put this adverb in any particular discrete category because of the intricate nature of it.[115]

8.2.2. *Shosen*

The following explanation presented in the Japanese dictionary Shin Meikai Kokugo Jiten (1972) may give a rough idea of the meaning of *shosen*.

Are kore kangaetaga, ketsuron to shitewa taishitakoto niwa naranai yoosu.

To feel,as a conclusion,that the situation cannot be any better, after running out of ideas. (The translation is mine.)

From this account It is possible to assume a sense of conclusion in the use of *shosen*.

---

[113]From this, pragmatic implications such as feeling of resignation seem to emerge.

[114]The analysis of this chapter puts focus on the possible relationship with an antecedent sentences, and problems of presupposition are involved too. However, this does not mean that only the adverbs treated here pertain to presupposition. Adverbs like *igainimo* (unexpectedly), *ainiku* (unfortunately) need presupposition like the first property listed here. For instance, to say something is unexpected, it is necessary to presuppose about what is expected. To explore the semantics of individual adverbs, presupposition may play an important role in many cases.

It should be noted as well that this presupposition is different from that discussed in relation to conditions of uses for Group II-2-2 including the above adverbs. Bach and Harnish (1979:159) regard both as pragmatic presuppositions and classify them. The difference in presuppositions appearing in the present analysis is not discussed further.

[115]There are a few adverbs such as *sekkaku* and *namaji*, appearing mainly in subordinate clauses. They seem to be included in or very closely related to the SSA category. The function of *doose* in reason clauses can be compared with them. For the treatments of these adverbs, Watanabe (1980) (about *sekkaku*), Aoki (1983) (about *namaji*) and so on are informative.

Consider the following conversation for an illustration of the occurrence of the adverb.

(10)

```
P: Yamada-san wa   sono shigoto kara  te    o
              TOP   the  work   from  hand  ACC

    hiita          soodesu   ne.
    withdraw PAST HEAR      PART

Q: Ee.   a. Kare ni wa  muridatta       n    desu.
    Yes     he  DAT TOP impossible PAST COMP COP

         b. Shosen  kare ni wa  muridatta n desu.


P: They say that Mr.Yamada dropped  the project,
    didn't he ?

Q: Yes.   a. It was too much for him.
```

(10a) can be regarded as presenting the speaker's assessment of Mr.Yamada with reference to what he was involved in. (10b) with *shosen* indicates that the assessment of his is a conclusive remark, and there is a sense that the speaker feels some distaste, that the remark is a somewhat pejorative one.

Besides the surface restrictions already surveyed there is a certain limitation on the occurrence of *shosen* according to the semantics of the sentences, in which the word occurs.

Shosen appears readily in sentences denoting a state of affairs. Some examples are given below.

```
(11) Shosen wareware ni wa  seikoo  no  mikomi  wa  nai.
             we      DAT TOP success GEN prospect TOP be NEG
```

```
    'we have no prospect of success.'
    (Translations do not include shosen from (11 ) to (13).)
```

```
(12) Shosen  kare wa shinu unmei datta     no  da.
             he  TOP die   fate COP PAST COMP COP
```

```
    'He  was destined to die.'
```

```
(13) Shosen  Kei ni  wa  dekinai daroo.
             DAT TOP can NEG Presum
```

'Kei will not be able to do so.'

These examples involve an expression of prospect, fate, and ability respectively and it is possible to interpret them as designating evaluation or assessment on the speaker's part.

On the other hand, *shosen* is not compatible with sentences denoting action. An example is as follows.

(14)

```
P: Ano mondai wa    doo   natta        n desu ka?
   that issue TOP    how   become PAST COMP COP   Q

Q: a. Shinai   koto  ni    kimemashita.
      do NEG matter        decide PAST

   b. *Shosen   shinai koto ni   kimemashita.
```

'P: What happened about that matter/problem?

Q: a. I decided not to do (so).'

Shosen is not appropriate, although the context appears suitable for an indicator of conclusiveness.[116] From these observations, a possible interpretation is as follows. The sentences (10) to (13) can be considered as expressions of the speakers' opinion or assessment, while action sentences like (14a) cannot be so interpreted. The latter gives information in reference to a fact.

Shosen is, thus, strongly associated with sentences involving a speaker's opinion, evaluation, or assessment.

Further, it was shown that *shosen* is not always possible in any context where reaching conclusion is expressed, as in (14b).

It follows from this that *shosen* only indicates the final assessment of the speaker in the given context. To do this, *shosen* is attached to sentences designating evaluation or opinion (or those having the potential of such a reading).

Moreover, the use of *shosen* is further restricted according to whether the speaker's assessment is a positive or negative one. Consider the following examples.

---

[116]Another adverb concerned with conclusion, *kekkyoku*, sounds natural in this context. This adverb will be examined in 8.3.2.

(15) *_Shosen_ wareware wa   seikoo no mikomi ga aru.
                                              be

'We have a prospect of success.'

(16)??_Shosen_   Kei ni wa dekiru daroo.
                           can do   Presum

'Kei will be able to do so.'

These sentences are odd regardless of context. The explanation for this is that a positive or desirable assessment is not compatible with _shosen_, whereas a negative assessment such as one relating to disability, loss, powerlessness or the like is suitable for this adverb.

As has been shown above, _shosen_ is semantically quite restricted. It is now possible to explain the restrictions on its use in terms of past tense basic declarative sentences which primarily designate a fact. (There seems to be difference depending on syntactic and semantic distinctions.)[117] It should also be pointed out that in actual usage, _shosen_ is often accompanied by other expressions of a speaker's subjective attitude like the NODA construction, which appears to reinforce the assertive attitude involved in offering an opinion. Depending on the context, a whole sentence may sound incomplete without such an expression. Examples for this are found in (10) and (12).

The behaviour of _shosen_ on the surface is related to its meaning/function analysed above. Further investigation requires more extensive contextual analysis.

Additionally, in actual situations, the use of this adverb may imply different shades of emotion. Morita (1977) noted that this adverb implies resignation in the face of unavoidable fate. The restriction discussed above is considered to be closely related to these implications.[118]

Regarding preceding context, a sentence like (17) is acceptable without a preceding context.

(17)   Ningen wa _shosen_ shinu mono da.
       man   TOP   die   thing COP

---

[117]For instance, sentences expressing a state of affairs seem to be more tolerated in the past tense than those rendering an action. This is reasonable according to the analysis given here, although a clear-cut distinction is difficult.

[118]_Doose_ and _shosen_ are interchangeable in some cases sharing implication like this.

'Mankind is mortal.'

The content of the sentence is a generic remark, which does not need any linguistic antecedent. In this case, *shosen* loses its cohesive power. There may be some kind of presupposition in a speaker's mind to produce this statement implying finality. Yet, this shows that *shosen* may highlight a sense of conclusion, with little reference to context.

To sum up, *shosen* marks a conclusive opinion of a speaker, which is negative. This specification in function is reflected in the complexity of co-occurrence restrictions. *Shosen* is supposed to refer to something outside the given sentence and to offer a final remark. Presupposition for the use of this adverb can be a vague, general idea and it is not necessarily expressed linguistically.

8.3. Group II-2-1

This group contains the three adverbs *yahari* (after all), *kekkyoku* (after all) and *toozen* (naturally). The features in terms of co-occurrence restrictions are [+DEC] and [+DAROO]. That is, they occur quite freely.

8.3.1. *Yahari*

Yahari (after all, in the end) has a colloquial equivalent, *yappari*. Since the only difference between the two is stylistic one, both forms are made use of in examples without further explanation.

Consider the conversation (18):

(18)

```
P: Yama       no     tenki  wa  doo deshita ka?
   mountain GEN  weather TOP how be  PAST   Q

Q: Tenkiyohoo          de   wa  ame  ni  naru to
   weather forecast INS  TOP rain     become COMP

   itte imashita.
   say  DUR PAST

      a.  Gogo kara   ame ni  narimashita.
          afternoon   rain    become PAST

      b.  Yahari  gogo kara  ame ni  narimashita.
```

'P: How was the weather on the mountain?

Q: The weather forecast said that it would rain.

   a. It started raining in the afternoon.'

(18a) simply states that it rained in the afternoon. On the other hand, (18b) means that the event in the sentence is in accord with expectation(= that it would rain). From this, *yahari* is considered to correspond roughly to 'as it is/was expected' in English and it seems that the adverb presupposes some context which renders expectation. Here, it is the weather forecast.

Actually, the usage of *yahari* is more complicated than this illustration. Consider the following conversation.

(19) P: Kekka wa doo deshita ka?
        result TOP how be PAST Q

    Q: Ikeru ka na to   omotta   n   desu ga,
       can go Q PART COMP   think PAST COMP COP but

     a. dame deshita.
       bad PAST

     b. *yahari* dame deshita.

   'P: How was the result?

   Q: I thought it would be all right, but

   a. it didn't go well.'

In this example, the result was just contradictory to the speaker's expectation. From a logical point of view, the approximate meaning of *yahari* given above ought to be incompatible. Still *yahari* is acceptable in this case, although native speakers strict on reasoning might not be happy with such an use. In daily conversation, *yahari* in sentences like (19b) actually appears without causing difficulty in communication. According to native intuition, *yahari* still sounds as if the event went as was expected. What is the reasoning for the use of *yahari*, then? Example (18) suggests that a verbalised expectation does not always have direct relationship with the use of *yahari* . The relevant expectation is something which has been in a speaker's mind though it is not explicitly mentioned in linguistic form. A possible interpretation is that the expectation is drawn not only from the given context, but from something like general principles including such as a speaker's understanding about what is involved, socially accepted

knowledge, convention and so on. For instance, in the above case, the speaker Q assumes that his failure was expected from a general understanding about his ability or the like, although he had hoped that he would be successful.

Further conditioning of the use of *yahari* needs discourse level analysis. An example is given below.

(19)

```
P: Nanika nyuusu wa  arimasen ka?
   anything news TOP  be   NEG  Q
```

```
Q: a. Yahari    kokkai ga    kaisan  shimashita.
            the Diet NOM  dissolve      PAST
```

```
   b. Yahari genpatsu        de jiko      ga okorimashita.
      nuclear power station LOC accident NOM  occur PAST
```

```
   c. Yahari    hitoban de yama      ga    dekimashita.
            (one)night INS mountain NOM come out PAST
```

```
'P: Is there any news?
```

```
 Q: a. The Diet was dissolved.'
```

```
   b. An accident took place at the nuclear
      power station.
```

```
   c. A hill was formed during the night.'
(These translations do not include yahari.)
```

These replies seem all right from a speaker's point of view. In (19a) , the speaker Q indicates realisation of what he/she expected, dissolution of the Diet. Although the expectation is not linguistically expressed, the utterance is acceptable. (19b) functions in the same way. Compared with these two replies, (19c) might be strange for some listeners; the content of the sentence seems rather unexpected to ordinary listeners except those like geologists. What I wish to point out here is that for *yahari* to be felicitous, shared knowledge, from which expectation can be elicited, should be presupposed; for instance, a fact such as that the Diet is shaky in (19). Otherwise, sentences with *yahari* may sound forceful or imposing to a listener. In addition, to listeners who share knowledge the presupposition, but not the expectation derived from it, *yahari* might sound unpleasant. The discussions like this fall within the pragmatic domain of language activity.

Another illustration is as follows, as an example of this pragmatic function of *yahari*.

(20)

```
P: Boku wa ikimasu.
   I   TOP  go

Q: Yameta       hoo ga    ii  yo.
   give up PAST side NOM  good PART

P: Soo desu nee...
   so  be   PART

Q: Yamero       yo.
   give up IMP PART

P: Ee..... a. Ikimasu.
   well        go

         b. Yappari  ikimasu.
```

'P: I will go.

Q: It is better not to go.

P: Well...

Q: Don't go.

P: well.... a. I will go.'

In this case, *yappari* appears when the speaker P goes back to his original intention after pondering whether he should go or not. The speaker P suggests by *yappari* that he sticks to what he assumes he is expected to do from the beginning. *yappari* functions as a signal that a conclusion has been reached after going through contemplation about the situation. This may be one of the discourse functions carried by *yahari*, while still maintaining its basic mechanism.

In reference to a preceding context, *yappari* can appear even at the opening of conversation. For instance, it is acceptable to start conversation with an utterance like (19a) depending on speech situations.

To sum up, *yahari* indicates realisation of what is expected; the expectation is what a speaker assumes is generally expected to happen. The expectation can be elicited from general principles such as a speaker's own experience, or common knowledge and so on, as well as from linguistic antecedent. This means that *yahari* can be used anywhere, depending on the speaker's assumptions and felicitous use of it depends mostly on

pragmatic considerations.[119]

8.3.2. *Kekkyoku*

An example for the use of *kekkyoku*, which may be translated into 'after all, in the end', is shown below.

(21)

P: Anata wa doo omoimasu ka?
   you TOP how think Q

Q: Moo sukoshi yoosu o mita hoo ga iidesu ne.
   more little state ACC see PAST side NOM good PART

P: a. Jaa, watashi to onaji iken desu yo.
        well I COM same opinion COP PART

   b. Jaa, *kekkyoku* watashi to onaji iken desu yo.

'P: What do you think of it?

Q: I think it better to see how it goes for a little
   longer.

P: a. Well, you have the same opinion as I do.'

In this case, *kekkyoku* with speaker P's second utterance is used to mark a conclusion about about what has been taking about in the discourse.

This adverb is given a comprehensive description in Iketani (1986:88-97). It seems useful to summarise important points of her work.

She discussed the uses of the adverb, using a wealth of examples, and distinguished two main usages for it, 'proposition-oriented' and 'discourse-oriented'. It is common to both

---

[119]The meaning of the adverb may belong to the propositional content in some cases. Consider its use as follows.

Kimura-san ga itta. Yamamoto-san mo *yahari* itta.
         NOM go PAST   too   go PAST

In this case, there are two possible readings for the second sentence: (1) Mr.Yamamoto went, too, as was expected. (2) Mr.Yamamoto went as well. In the second reading, *yahari* is used to reinforce the meaning involved in *mo*, which corresponds to *as well* in English. Although it is possible to think that this use is basically in accord with the analysis in reference to expectation, it seems close to elements constituting propositional content.

usages that 'two or more things to be compared are presented before *kekkyoku*, and that *kekkyoku* functions as emphasising the final resultative state.'

The two sub-uses of *kekkyoku* are explained in the following way. The 'proposition-oriented' use indicates what happened at the end of the discourse, while the 'discourse-oriented' use is for the speaker to make a conclusive remark. Example (21) falls within the latter. An example of the former use is given below. (The example is mine.)

(22)

```
P: Kaigi      wa      doo deshita  ka?
   conference TOP     how COP PAST Q

Q: Hantai    ga ookute  zuibun    nagabikimashita.
   objection NOM many    very      prolong PAST


   Ga,  a.  Keikaku  o tsukurinaosu  koto ni  narimashita.
   but      plan     ACC remake       matter  become PAST

        b.  kekkyoku  keikaku o  tsukurinaosu  koto ni
            narimashita.
```

'P: How did the conference go?

Q: There were many objections, so it was prolonged.

   But, a. it was decided that the plan would be revised.

        b. In the end, it was decided that the plan
           would be revised.'

In this case, speaker Q describes facts which have happened, and after *kekkyoku*, tells what took place at the end of the meeting. The discourse is temporally organised. Here, *kekkyoku* indicates the ultimate situation reached, and the succession of events is less under the control of the speaker, compared with that in example (21).

I agree with the analysis presented by Iketani. In support of this solution, comparison with *saigoni* (finally) may be useful. The adverb is concerned with finality as well, though

it is not included in SSA adverbs for several reasons.[120]

Saigoni can replace *kekkyoku* in (22b), but does not occur in (21a). This suggests that (21) and (22) are distinguished in organisation of discourse.

Further, comparing (21) and (22), it appears that *saigoni* just expresses finality in terms of numbering, while *kekkyoku* puts a stress on the sense of conclusion. This difference may be the reason that *saigoni* is unsuitable for (21).[121] *Kekkyoku* can be used in both types of contexts.

Additionally, in terms of sentences co-occurring with this adverb, proposition-oriented use of *kekkyoku* tends to emerge when an action is involved, while discourse-oriented use may be more associated with a sentence denoting state, because such sentences are more easily interpreted as expressions of opinion or evaluation in discourse.[122]

Another important point mentioned by Iketani is that 'it is not essential to *kekkyoku* that events leading to the ultimate situation be mentioned' or '*kekkyoku* can be used to 'indicate' a conclusion, or the ultimate state reached, on the basic of details not overtly stated,' This means that the preceding linguistic context is not vital for the use of *kekkyoku*.

---

[120]*Saigoni* can appear in interrogative and imperative sentences. It is also negatable. Semantically, it seems to be associated with the last one of thing/event/persons and so on, which have been numbered. An illustration is as follows.

Hajimeni, Yamada-san ga kita.   Nibanmeni Tanaka-san ga kita.
firstly   NOM come PAST secondly   NOM come PAST

saigoni **Satoosan ga kita.**
finally   NOM

'Firstly, Mr. Yamada came. Secondly, Mr. Tanaka came.
Finally, Mr. Satoo came.'

[121]The semantic component given in Iketani, 'I think this is important' may be referred to the stress. See the semantic formula (ibid: 97-98).

[122]In this connection, it is clear that *shosen* has only the 'discourse-oriented' use in Iketani's terms, and affinity can be observed between *shosen* and *kekkyoku* at this point. *Kekkyoku* may be used instead of *shosen* in many cases without changing the meaning much, but only in limited cases, can *shosen* replace *kekkyoku*.

8.3.3. *Toozen*

A preceding context is indispensable for *toozen* (naturally). For instance, observe the sentence below.

(23) a. Oya   wa   kodomo o aisuru.
       parent TOP   child ACC love

    'Parents love (their) child.'

    b. *Toozen*   oya wa kodomo o aisuru.

Hearing a sentence like (23b), native speakers would assume that there is a preceding context missing.

To look into conditions governing the use of *toozen*, consider the following dialogue.

(24)

  P: Niwa ni wa   yuki no .ue ni   ashiato ga nai.
  . garden LOC TOP snow GEN on LOC footprint NOM NEG

  Q: Dakara?
     then

  P: Dakara, a. hannin wa   mada   uchi no naka   ni iru.
     then   criminal TOP still house GEN inside LOC be

        b. *toozen*   hannin wa uchi no naka ni iru.

'P: There are no footprints in the snow in the garden.

 Q: So what?

 P: So, a. the criminal is still in the house.'

Either (24a) or (24b) is all right in this situation. The relationship of these sentences is a condition/premise and a consequence (which involves reasoning in this case). *Toozen* seems to highlight that the relationship is natural.

Further, consider the following set of sentences.

(25) Zeikin ga takaku   natta. *Toozen*   mono no   nedan mo
     tax   NOM high become PAST   thing GEN price too

    agatta.
    rise PAST

    'Taxes were raised. Prices went up too.'
    (This translation omitted *toozen*.)

In this case, the speaker assesses the relationship between the two sentences as natural.

Some limitations on the use of *toozen* can be observed in reference to context. An example is given below.

(26)

```
P: Niwa    o   mite  kita      yo.
   garden ACC  see   come PAST PART
```

```
Q: Sorede?
   then
```

```
Q: a. Hannin  wa mada  uchi no  naka ni iru.

   b.??Toozen  hannin wa  mada uchi no naka ni iru.
```

'P: I have a look at the garden.

Q: And??

P: a. The criminal is still in the house.'

(26a) is natural, while (26b) sounds strange in this situation. The reason for the oddity of (26b) can probably be attributed to the relationship of these sentences, which is too remote to regard as natural. In most cases, however, assessment of naturalness is largely dependent on pragmatic considerations such as the speaker's values, social constraints and so on.

In addition, it should be noted that the following example includes a more subjective assessment than other examples examined so far.

(27)

```
P: Kimi wa   shootai-sareta  no  dakara,   a. iku beki da.
   you TOP   invite PASS PAST     because      go  should

                                            b. toozen iku beki da.
```

```
Q: Hai.
   yes
```

'P: As you are invited, a. you should go.

Q: Yes.'

It can be seen that the speaker constructs a condition-consequence relationship in a subjective way here. The utterance (27b) may be translated like this: 'it is natural you will go, so you should go.'

With regard to preceding context, *toozen* may appear after a conditional clause.

(28)

```
Kono kaisha ga tsuburetara,    toozen   wareware mo
this firm  NOM go broke COND            we       too

abunai     daroo.
in danger Presum
```

'If this firm goes broke, we will naturally be in danger, too.'

Toozen in example (27) also occurs in a reason clause. It follows from this that *toozen* needs a preceding linguistic context, compulsorily, which may be an independent sentence or a clause grammatically.

To summarise, the context in which *toozen* appears is comprised of a condition and a consequence, both of which are linguistically realised. This adverb indicates that the relationship is natural. It may be also used to emphasise naturalness in a subjective way.

8.4. Group II-2-3

The adverbs falling within this group, *mochiron/muron*, *jijitsu* and *jitsuwa* are treated here again.

8.4.1. *Mochiron/muron*

Mochiron and *muron* are treated together for the reason that they seem almost the same in meaning except for a stylistic difference. This slight difference will be mentioned in the subsequent analysis.

An example containing *muron* and *mochiron* is shown in conversation (29). Suppose that the speakers are talking about what happened during a trip involving speaker P.

(29)

```
P: Kimura-san ga  tochuude     byooki  ni  narimashita.
             NOM on the way    sick        become PAST

Q: Soo desu  ka.
   so  COP   PART

P: a. Sugu byooin   e   hakobimashita.
      soon hospital to  carry PAST

   b. Muron    sugu byooin e  hakobimashita.
      Mochiron
```

'P: Mr. Kimura became ill on the way.

Q: Is that so.

P: a. We took him to hospital immediately.'

Either of the adverbs sound all right in this context, though *mochiron* sounds a little bit more emphatic. As was briefly examined in 6.3.4, these adverbs are involved in truth judgement and at the most basic level, they indicate that the proposition is true. They can be used emphatically as well. However, the meaning/function of these adverbs should be more clearly specified. The mechanism involved with these adverbs is that the speaker assumes that the listener inferred something from the given context and indicates that he/she knows the listener's inference, and that it is a correct one.

The use depends on the speaker's assumption, so that what is regarded as inference does not always accord with the listener's actual inference.

In addition, it seems that for emphatic purposes, the speaker's indication may be regarded as something like that 'the truth does not need to be mentioned, as it is so easy to infer it.'

The conditions for felicitous communication are to be further investigated by discourse-level analysis.

In the following case, the mechanism is slightly different.

(30)

P: Watashi mo   itte mo   iidesu ka?
   I   too   go   COND good   Q

Q: Ee.   a. Iidesu.
   yes   good

        b. *Mochiron*   iidesu.
           ?*Muron*

'P: May I come, too?

Q: Yes, a. you may. '

In this case, speaker Q does not assume that P inferred something in this context, but that his/her agreement to P's coming is expected by P. By *mochiron* it is indicated that the expectation is correct.

The appropriateness of *muron* seems shaky in response, although it is hard to make a judgement in actual cases. At least the occurrence of *muron* is less common than *mochiron* in such situations.

The above observation shows that *mochiron* (and *muron?*) works not only in reference to truth judgement, but also in reference to a speech act in terms of speaker-hearer interaction.

In this connection, an important feature in the use of *mochiron* is seen in the following conversation.

(31)

```
P: Eigata wa  nanigata ni mo  yuketsu dekimasu  ne?
   A type TOP any type DAT too transfuse can      PART

Q: a. Iie,  chigaimasu.
      no    be different

   b. #Mochiron  chigaimasu.
```

'P: Blood type A can be transfused to any type, can't it?

Q: a. No, it can't.

   b. Of course it can't.'

Mochiron is inappropriate here, while the English equivalent sounds all right in the same context. The contrast indicates that *mochiron* cannot be used to contradict a given statement and so on. *Mochiron* is, thus, limited to showing a speaker's agreement with the matter in question. A reply like the one above generally includes emphasis on the speaker's part.

From these observations, a proposal about the basic function of *mochiron/muron* can be made as follows.[123]

1. The speaker assumes that a listener inferred something from a given context and says that he/she (the speaker) knows this, indicating that it is true.

---

[123]A. Wierzbicka (personal communication) suggested the following semantic formula, which may give an unified account of the function of these adverbs.

```
I think you think X
(because of what you come to know)
I know this is true
```

2. The speaker assumes that a listener expects his/her agreement on the matter brought to the context and says that he/she knows this, indicating that he/she agrees with it.

In addition, a note should be made about the preceding context for the use of these adverbs. Consider the following conversation.

(32)

P: Haha   wa darenimo   sukareru hito   deshita.
   mother TOP anyone   like PASS person COP PAST

Q: Soo desu ka.
   so COP PART

P: a. Haha   no seikatsu no subete o shitte ita
      mother GEN life   GEN all   ACC know   DUR PAST

      wake   ja arimasen ga.
      reason COP NEG   PART

   b. *Mochiron* haha no seikatsu no subete o shitte ita
      wake ja arimasen ga.

'P: My mother was loved by everybody.

Q: Is that so?

P: a. I don't mean that I knew all aspects of her life,
      though.'

In this conversation, speaker P assumes a kind of common sense, not directly related with P's first utterance. Still, the antecedent works so that common sense is elicited from that. This means that a preceding linguistic context is required to make possible the speaker's assumption, but this does not necessarily form a direct logical relationship with the adverb.

It can be assumed that the first proposal above is the more basic mechanism. The range of functions of the adverbs is slightly different: *mochiron* is used in full range, while *muron* is less common in the second one. From this, it can be said that *muron* is more limited to involvement with truth judgement, while *mochiron* is in some use closer to so-called interjection.

8.4.2. *Jijitsu*

As was suggested in 6.3.4, *jijitsu* (in fact, actually) appears in a limited context, generally in formal settings.

Consider the dialogue in (33).

(33) (Suppose that this conversation takes place on a T.V.
     screen.)

P(Newscaster): Sochira no tenki   wa   ikaga desu ka?
                there   GEN weather TOP how   COP Q

Q(Reporter): Kotoshi   no fuyu   wa   yuki ga ooi   to
             this year GEN winter TOP snow   GEN much COMP

        iu yohoo   deshita ga,
        say forecast COP PAST PART

     a. Kore de sandome   no   ooyuki desu.
        this INS three time GEN   big snow COP

     b. *Jijitsu* kore de sandome no ooyuki desu.

'P: How is the weather there?

 Q: The weather forecast was that we would have a lot of
    snow this winter.

   a. This is the third heavy snow fall.'

This set of the reporter's utterance is comprised of a weather forecast and a report about the actual state of the weather. The adverb *jijitsu* indicates that the second utterance is related to the first in that it provides corroboration of the preceding statement.

The relationship shown by *jijitsu* is made clearer by replacing the second utterance in the following way.

(33')

Q(Reporter): Kotoshi no fuyu wa   yuki ga ooi   to iu

        yohoo deshita ga,

     a. Zenzen mada futte imasen.
        at all yet   fall DUR NEG

     'It hasn't snowed yet.'

     b. #*Jijitsu* zenzen mada futte imasen.

(33'a) is all right, while (33'b) sounds quite funny. The utterance (33'b) provides a fact contradictory to the forecast. This means that *jijitsu* is appropriate only when a statement proving the previous one goes together with it.

There are no exceptions to this usage. One further example will suffice to support the above analysis of *jijitsu*.

(34)

```
P: Isha    wa  Kai ga  sugu naoru  to   iimashita.
   doctor  TOP    NOM soon recover COMP  say PAST


   Jijitsu    isshukango  ni wa     byooin  o    dete
              a week after at TOP   hospital ACC leave

   moo      shigoto  o    shite imasu.
   already  work     ACC  do    DUR PRES

Q: Sore wa    yokatta.
   that TOP   good PAST
```

'P: The doctor said that Mr. Kai would soon recover.
    Actually he got out of the hospital after a week,
    and has resumed his work.

Q: That's good.'

In this situation, a sentence like following is inappropriate.

```
(34') P :  ....      #Jijitsu ichinen  mo
                              a year as many as

           kakarimashita.
           take PAST
```

'P: Actually, it took him (as much as) a year to recover.'

The sentence in (34') offered a fact opposes to what the doctor had predicted.

Thus, *jijitsu* can be considered to be an indicator providing proof of the antecedent statement. This characterisation provides a better account of the incompatibility with DAROO constructions mentioned in 6.3.5. To provide this necessary proof, the best fit is a sentence rendering a fact, whereas DAROO constructions do not carry this kind of meaning.

To sum up, *jijitsu* functions in a sequence of two sentences; it requires a sentence as an

antecedent. The function of this adverb is to indicate that the second sentence corroborates the statement given in the first sentence.

8.4.3. *Jitsuwa*

As was briefly discussed, the basic meaning/function of this adverb seems to be revealing truth.

Consider the following conversations.

(26) P: Kare no   koto   o yoku shitte imasu ne.
        he   GEN matter ACC well know   DUR   PART

    Q: Ee.   a. Mae   no koibito   na n   desu.
        yes   before GEN boyfriend COP COMP COP

        b. *Jitsuwa* mae no koibito na n desu.

  'P: You know him well, don't you?

  Q: Yes. a. He is my ex-boyfriend.'

Speaker Q reveals the fact which was not known to the listener in this example. Further, *jitsuwa* appears in context such as the following.

(27) Karera wa   shinsetsuna shoonin   da to
        they TOP   kind   merchant COP COMP

    bakari omotte ita ga,
    just   think DUR but

  a. toozoku datta no   ka.
    burglar COP   PAST PART

  b. *jitsuwa* toozoku datta no ka.

  'I have been believing that they were kind merchants.

  But a. they are burglars. '

In this narrative discourse, the narrator expresses his/her surprise, when he/she finds that the kind merchants are burglars.[124] This means that the narrator says (or writes) the fact he/she has just found about the people involved. *Jitsuwa* stresses that.

---

[124]*Ka* (with falling intonation) indicates that the speaker gets convinced by the fact involved.

In terms of revealing a fact, *jitsuwa* in both examples seems similar. The difference in contexts lies in that in example (27), the fact was not known to the speaker, and by *jitsuwa* he/she stresses that he/she has made a discovery, whereas in the former the speaker knows the fact, that he/she informs to the listener, who is assumed not to know that.

There seems to be further difference. In the former, the speaker may refer to his/her linguistic activity, signalling that he/she will inform the truth, whereas it is hard to consider *jitsuwa* in (27) in the same way because the sentence is rather a soliloquy.

The difference is subtle. It may be useful to make a comparison with an adverbial expression, *jitsu o iuto* (lit. if I tell the truth). This expression appears to bear the meta-communicative function. *Jitsuwa* in example (26) can be replaced by this expression without difficulty, whereas *jitsu o iuto* sounds a bit clumsy in the context of (27). It follows from this that *jitsuwa* in the latter may not have a meta-communicative function. This observation suggests that the function of *jitsuwa* can vary depending on context.

A possible interpretation is that *jitsuwa* in the example (27) expresses a speaker's attitude in terms of truth judgement, while the adverb in (26) is more concerned with his/her way of utterance so that he/she will say something in a truthful manner, although the latter use maintains the basic meaning/function. More contextual analysis seems desirable.

8.5. Group II-2-4

This group has *shoojiki* (to be honest) as its only member as far as the selected candidates in this thesis are concerned. To have a closer look at this, consider the following example.

(35)

```
P: Tamura-san no    unten     wa    sonnani
             GEN   driving   TOP   so

   abunai      n   desu ka?
   dangerous COMP COP   Q

Q: Ee,   a.  moo        nosete moraitaku    arimasen.
   yes       any more  load   receive want NEG

         b. Shoojiki  moo nosete moraitaku arimasen.
```

'P: Is Mr. Tamura's driving so dangerous?

Q: Yes, a. I don't want to get a lift from him any
        more.'

In this case, the speaker Q indicates that his/her attitude in speaking this sentence is honest in (35b). With this reading, *shoojiki* can be regarded as not associated with any part of a sentence or the content of a sentence directly. *Shoojiki* is assigned to a meta-communicative function in the sense that it refers to his/her linguistic activity.

The use of *shoojiki* is semantically restricted; it is used to disclose what is going on in a speaker's mind, such as wish, dislike, trouble and so on and it is not appropriate for what is objectively reported. For instance, the following sentence is not accepted by native speakers.

(36)

P: Tamura-san no unten wa sonnani abunai n desu ka?

Q: Ee. a. Kotoshi moo   nikai mo   jiko   o
    yes   this year already twice PART   accident ACC

        okoshite imasu.
        cause   DUR

   b. ??*Shoojiki* kotoshi moo nikai mo jiko o

       okoshite imasu.

'P: Yes. a. He has had (as many as) two accidents
        already this year.'

In this situation, *shoojiki* sounds strange. This shows that the use of *shoojiki* is quite narrow.

In general, it seems that *shoojiki* alone is rather infrequent in actual discourse. Phrasal (adverbial) expressions such as *shoojiki itte* (honest-saying) are more commonly used. In the above context, *shoojiki itte* sounds natural.

Further, *shoojiki* seems limited in terms of factuality. The judgement was given a mark ? in terms of *daroo*, as is shown in Table 3-1 in Chapter 3. Observe the following sentence.

(37)

?*Shoojiki* boku wa moosugu shinu daroo.
           I   TOP soon   die Presum

'To be honest, I will die soon.'

Acceptability of sentence (37) may be marginal; an informant reported that the above sentence may be said by people like doctors who can know their own medical condition. It is not easy to judge acceptability for a case like this, owing to less frequent use of this adverb. A possible interpretation is that what the adverb can cover is limited to the extent that the speaker can be responsible for the factuality of what he is saying.

Another candidate for the function under consideration is *jitsuwa* (in fact, to tell the truth). This adverb also displays the same feature with regard to factuality, as was shown in 6.3. This suggests that the adverbs used for meta-communicative function are to some degree related to an interpretation of factuality.

From what was argued above, it is clear that the meta-communicative function is a rather minor one in Japanese as far as lexical adverbs are concerned. This function is mostly encoded in phrasal (adverbial) expressions. A partial list is as follows.[125]

MAJIMENI ITTE (IUTO)	seriously speaking
HAKKIRI ITTE (IUTO)	to be frank (lit. clearly speaking)
HONTO NO KOTO O ITTE (IUTO)	to tell the truth
KANTANNI ITTE (IUTO)	briefly speaking
OOMAKANI ITTE (IUTO)	roughly speaking

The investigation of these expressions is left for future study.[126]

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[125] *Itte* is a gerundive (conjunctive) form of the verb *iu* (to say) and *iuto* is a conditional form of the same verb. *shoojiki na tokoro* is comprised of the adjective (*shoojikida*) and the noun *tokoro* meaning a place or a point.

[126] The function discussed here is what is rendered by 'pragmatic adverbs' (Schreiber 1971), 'style disjunct' (Greenbaum 1969), or 'illocutionary adverbs' (Bellert 1977) and so forth in English adverbs. In this case, Japanese does not have the same ambiguity problem. That is one of the main issues for English adverbs. This means that Schreiber's elegant analysis in support of Ross (1970), that is, PERMANNER analysis cannot apply to Japanese adverbs as it stands, because there is not sufficient evidence motivating the analysis. Schreiber's analysis has been criticised by researchers such as Mittwotch (1976), Bach and Harnish (1979). Levinson (1983) reviewed these issues with a comment that neither of the sides has supplied the perfect solution yet. As far as Japanese adverbs are concerned, the parenthetical solution proposed by Mittwotch seems preferable. However, it is not possible to stand for this strongly, for the reason that there are so few single adverbs available to provide evidence.

8.6. General discussion and conclusion

The adverbs investigated in this chapter can be regarded as carrying a linking function except *shoojiki*, which has a meta-communicative function.

In what follows, the linking function of the adverbs treated here and the viability for the adverbs to constitute a class is discussed.

The present research has revealed that there is gradation among the candidates in terms of linking function. Some adverbs require a preceding linguistic context, such as *jijitsu* (actually) and *toozen* (naturally). They are obviously loaded with linking function. On the other hand, some only need a presupposition, which may be in the speaker's mind, and not always linguistically expressed. *Yahari* (after all), *kekkyoku* (after all) and *shosen* (after all) fall with this category. In the case of *mochiron* (naturally, of course), the adverb does not necessarily have any direct relationship with the preceding linguistic context, but still needs it in order to induce inference or presupposition in the sense discussed in previous sections of this chapter. *Doose* shows so complicated a mechanism that it is hard to locate it at any one place on the continuum. However, at the very least, it may be said to be close to the adverb *shosen*.

As was noted previously, the adverbs examined here are just a few of a number of possible candidates. However, the investigation in this chapter suffices to show variety of functions and gradual difference among relevant adverbs.

The range of difference begins with the use of *doose* that is close to adverbs that comment on the propositional content, to *jijitsu*, which connects two independent sentences.

The function such as that rendered by *jijitsu* is similar to that rendered by so-called conjunctions. As in the case of the 'adverb', 'conjunction' is not taken as an established category, either. However, it is worthwhile to make a brief survey of the possible distinctions between adverbs and (co-ordinate) conjunctions.

Words like *soshite* (and) and *shikashi* (but) may be promising candidates for conjunctions, as they link clauses or sentences.[127] For instance, *shikashi* appears in the following way.

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[127] *Soshite* and *shikashi* do not link nouns.

(38)

```
Ichijikan   matta.  Shikashi  kare wa  arawarenakatta.
one hour    wait PAST         he TOP   appear NEG PAST
```

'I waited for an hour. But, he did not turn up.'

Words like *shikashi* are distinguished from those which are assumed to be adverbs, by the way they react to inversion.

For instance, *shikashi* is not acceptable in a sentence like (39).

(39) ??Kare wa   arawarenakatta, *shikashi*.

This sentence sounds odd either in written or in spoken language. On the other hand, adverbs like *tabun* (probably) and *yukkuri* (slowly) are acceptable, as is seen in (40) and (41).

(40) Iku deshoo, *tabun*.
     go Presum

     '(I/he) will go, probably.'

(41) Arukimashita, *yukkuri*.'
     walk PAST

     '(I/he) walked, slowly.'

From this, it is possible to take the distinction regarding inversion as criterion for our rough survey. The adverbs under consideration show results as follows.

(43) ??Isshukan de   taiin shimashita, *jijitsu*.
       a week   by   leave hospital PAST

     'He left hospital in a week, actually.'

(44) Yamemashita,   *toozen/kekkyoku/yappari/mochiron*
     give up PAST

     'I gave up, naturally/finally/after all/naturally.'

(45) Watashi wa   bakadesu yo, *doose*.
     I   TOP fool   be PART

'I am a fool, after all.'

(46) Mikomi   wa   nakatta   n desu, *shosen*.
     prospect TOP   NEG PAST COMP COP

'There was no prospect, after all.'

It can be shown that *jijitsu* is quite close to *shikashi* in this respect. This is a reasonable result because *jijitsu* has the function of linking two independent sentences, and is close to a sort of logical connector, unlike the other candidates under consideration.

Interpretation of the disparity between so-called conjunctions and adverbs with regard to the above feature is as follows. Conjunctions as logical connectors should be placed between two elements which are linked. Positioning is significant for them. On the other hand, adverbs can be assumed to offer additional 'information' (in a wide sense) to a sentence, which can also work when it is added after the sentence is said.

The test performed here remains preliminary. However, it suggests that exploration of these words is possible in terms of their grammatical and functional differences.

Roughly speaking, the adverbs examined here may be regarded as having different linking functions from those carried by conjunctions. In general, the adverbs mark the function of a sentence in reference to context. Further, it may be said that they assess the status of a sentence in a context.

The above discussion shows that the candidates seem separated from so-called conjunctions in the sense that the former have some linking function different from the latter and that the adverbs under consideration are diverse among themselves in both lexical and functional terms. In terms of linking function, they are rather on a continuum.[128]

The adverbs do not show uniformity regarding co-occurrence relationship, either. Therefore, it is not appropriate to regard them as constituting a class according to a regular association of meaning/function and surface restrictions. A small sub-class is not tenable by this means, either.

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[128]Nakamura (1973) demonstrated a continuum in reference to various features shown by six Japanese words, which are often taken as conjunctions. Although it is not clear which features play a important role, this line of research will offer a clue to further exploration of adverbs including those treated in this chapter.

However, it may be possible to treat these candidates using the notion of family resemblance (Wittgenstein 1953). They can be regarded as a loosely related set of adverbs, because at the very least they have in common the fact that they appear in declarative sentences, with gradual differences in usage, they all refer to something outside a sentence.

Chapter 9

The occurrence in two basic sentence types

9.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the occurrence of some adverbs (except Group I) in imperative and interrogative sentences. The examination in Chapter 2 showed that most candidates for the SSA category do not appear in these sentence types, and only some adverbs are acceptable in these types. Their occurrence seems less important from an overall point of view, but it is necessary to gain a proper understanding of why and how the adverbs are used in order to incorporate them into a whole organisation of SSA adverbs.

The adverbs occurring in interrogative and/or imperative sentences are limited, as was shown in Table 2-4 in Chapter 2. The summary is given below.

		INT	IMP
KITTO	surely	+	+
KANARAZU	surely	+	+
ZETTAI	surely	+	+
YAHARI	after all	+	+
TASHIKANI	certainly	+	-
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly	+	-
KEKKYOKU	after all	+	-
TOOZEN	naturally	-	+
MOCHIRON/ MURON	naturally	-	+

For the sake of the subsequent analysis, these adverbs can be distinguished as two groups: (A) carrying a linking function, and (B) concerned with the epistemic function when they appear in declarative sentences. *Mochiron\muron* will be put into the former group here.

The following sections closely examine how the adverbs function in imperative (9.2) and interrogative sentences (9.3). The conclusion of this chapter is found in 9.4.

9.2. Imperative sentences

This section addresses ∴ the occurrence of the adverbs in imperative sentences.

9.2.1. (A) group

Adverbs *mochiron* (naturally), *toozen* (naturally) and *yahari* (after all) appear in imperative sentences. For instance, *mochiron* is used in the following way:

(1)

```
P: Watashi wa  doo shimashoo ka?
   I      TOP  how do  VOL     Q

Q: Mochiron    kite kudasai.
                come IMP
```

'P: What shall I do?

Q: Of course please come'

The function of *mochiron* falls within the second condition provided in the analysis in 8.4.1; the speaker assumes what is expected by a listener from the previous context and says it is correct.

It follows from this that the adverb is inserted in the imperative sentence to show a certain relationship held between the utterance and the previous context or presupposition. *Yahari* and *toozen* can be explained along this line. For instance, *yahari* (after all, in the end) may be used in the similar context as (1), as is seen below.

(2)

```
P: Watashi wa  doo shimashoo ka?

Q: Yahari    kite kudasai.
```

In this case, speaker Q makes a request and indicates that the request conforms to the expectation made in the previous context.

The above observation shows that the functions of these adverbs in imperative sentences are basically the same as that treated in relation to declarative sentences; they specify the way of presenting a sentence in a given context.

The behaviour of these adverbs indicates that their functions are not directly related to the illocutionary force expressed by imperative sentences and the adverbs work in the same way regardless of sentence types they co-occur with.

9.2.2. (B) group

The adverbs included here are *kitto*, *kanarazu*, *zettai*. Consider the following dialogues, involving these adverbs:

(3)

> P: Dewa   kono tsugi no   nichiyoobi ni.
>   then   this next GEN Sunday   at

> Q: a. Kite kudasai.
>   come IMP

>   b. *Kitto*   kite kudasai.
>   *Kanarazu*
>   *Zettai*

> P: Ee.

> 'P: Well, see you next Sunday.

> Q: a. (Please) be sure to come.

> P: Yes.'

In these cases, speaker Q presupposes P's compliance to a request (or invitation) and by these adverbs he/she seems to try to make sure that the action called for is to be realised.[129]

Generally, these adverbs are used in such a situation where compliance is presupposed and assurance is required by the speaker. In a sense, the speaker stresses that he/she wants the action to be realised by these adverbs.

There are differences in nuance among them. Intuitive differences are as follows. By *kitto*, the speaker emphasises his/her expectation of getting the action realised, while *kanarazu* stresses that the action will be done without fail.[130] On the other hand, *zettai* stresses that the speaker may not tolerate it if the action is not done. When this adverb is added, the utterance may sound quite pushy. In this sense, imperative sentences with *zettai* may be colored like a order.

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[129]These adverbs are used to make sure that the action called for will be done in future, but not used when the action is asked for immediately. *Zettai* seems not to be restricted, but this is not clear.

[130]Kudoo(1982:70-74) discussed the basic use of *kanarazu* showing that it is concerned with presumption, based on statistical data.

In these cases, the adverbs do not show the epistemic function, but the speaker's subjective attitude, in terms of making sure, toward the illocutionary force expressed by imperative sentences.

The function of making sure may be related to the idea of high probability. Both make a reference to realisation of an event. Here, the above function can be taken as secondary to the epistemic function.[131]

In sum, there are two functions appearing in imperative sentences. One is to add a speaker's subjective attitude to the illocutionary force, whereas the other is to specify the status of the sentence in the given context. The latter is not directly involved with the illocutionary force of imperative sentences.

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[131] In addition, it should be noted that these adverbs occurring in imperative sentences can appear in V-OO constructions as well, while others (except *zehi*) cannot. V-OO constructions express the speaker's intention of doing an action at the time of utterance. To understand this construction, Searle (1976) may be useful. In classifying speech acts, he argued that there is difference in direction in illocutionary forces. There are two directions; to match the world to the word and to match the word to the world. 'Directives' (involving imperative s and the like) fall with the former. This account seems true of V-OO constructions in Japanese. Thus, imperative sentences and V-OO constructions share the property and this is a plausible reason for the co-occurrence patterns of the adverbs under consideration. In this connection, it is interesting to consider sentences like the following, in which *kitto* occurs.

1. P: Anata wa doo shimasu ka?
   you   TOP how do   Q

   Q: Watashi mo *kitto* ikimasu.
      I   too   go

   'P: What are you going to do?

   Q: I will surely go, too.'

The utterance of speaker Q is declarative in form. It implies the speaker's intention of going. This utterance can be regarded as carrying a function close to that of V-OO construction in this respect. Thus, the occurrence of *kitto* can be explained along the lines above. Other adverbs occurring in V-OO constructions behave in a similar way.

This example indicates that the occurrence of these adverbs is closely related to the speaker's will/intention of doing something at the moment of utterance, which emerges in actual discourse. This further suggests that adverbs which do not occur in imperative sentences are not compatible with utterances involving the speaker's intention of doing something at the speech time, regardless of grammatical constructions. It is hoped that there will be further research along this line.

9.3. Interrogative sentences

In this section, the occurrence of the adverbs in interrogative sentences will be treated.

9.3.1. (A) group

Two adverbs, *kekkyoku* and *yahari* appear in interrogative sentences.

Consider the following dialogue using *kekkyoku* (after all):

(4)

```
P: Tanaka-san wa    kekkyoku kaetta n    desu ka?
           TOP                return COMP COP Q

Q: Ee, soo desu.
       so  COP
```

'P: Did Mr. Tanaka go home in the end?'

Q: Yes, he did.'

Here, speaker P wants to know whether the event involving Mr. Tanaka took place or not. By *kekkyoku*, the speaker indicates that the information asked for is interpreted as the conclusion or the ultimate state in this context. In other words, *kekkyoku* specifies the status of the sentence to which it is adjoined in the given context.

The other adverb, *yahari* functions in the similar way. Consider dialogue (5) in a similar context.

(5)

```
P: Tanaka san wa    yahari   kaetta n desu ka?

Q: Ee, soo desu.
```

'P: Did Mr. Tanaka go home, after all?

Q: Yes, he did.'

In this case, the speaker indicates by *yahari* that the information asked for is interpreted as the event which is/was expected to happen in the given context.

It follows from these observations that these adverbs are concerned with the status of the sentence in a given context. That is, their function is the same as those in reference to declarative sentences.

9.3.2. (B) group

The adverbs included here are *kitto*, *kanarazu*, *zettai*, *hyottoshitara* and *tashikani*.

Consider the following conversations using *kitto*, *kanarazu* and *zettai* (certainly):

(6) a. Ashita   kimasu ka?
       tomorrow   come   Q

    'Will you come tomorrow?'

  b. *Kitto*   ashita   kimasu ka?
     Kanarazu
     Zettai

    'Are you sure to come tomorrow?'

In (6), the speaker presupposes or assumes that the addressee will come and requires assurance by using these adverbs. The speaker's attitude involved here may be phrased like this: I think you will come, and I want you to say you will come. In this sense, their use has a similarity with that appearing imperative sentences. The nuances of the adverbs differ slightly from one another, as in the case of imperative sentences.

In this use, these adverbs are not really involved with the epistemic function, and it is possible to consider the use as secondary to the epistemic function.

In this connection, a limitation on the use of these adverbs should be noted. The occurrence of these adverbs in interrogative sentences is actually restricted in the following way.

(7) a. John wa *kitto*   seikoo-suru deshoo.
        kanarazu succeed   PolPresum

  b. John wa *zettai* seikoo simasu.

    'John will certainly make a success.'

The questions corresponding to these sentences are seen below.

(8) John wa ? *kitto* seikoo shimasu ka?
      ?? *kanarazu*
      ?? *zettai*

    'Will John certainly make a success?'

These questions sound funny, in contrast to those in (6), which are natural.

A possible interpretation of the oddity of (8) is that when the adverbs are used with epistemic function, they are not acceptable in interrogative sentences. It follows from this that the use expressing the speaker's epistemic attitude toward propositional content is not compatible with questions. This account is actually in accord with the characteristics of the epistemic classes which have been discussed in Chapter 6.

Another adverb, *hyottoshitara* (possibly) functions in a slightly different way from the above adverbs, when it appears in interrogative sentences. An example is:

(9)

```
P: hyottoshitara  are wa   Yamada-san desu ka?
                  that TOP            COP  Q
Q: Ee, soo desu.
   yes  so COP
```

'P: It that man Mr.Yamada, perhaps?

 Q: Yes, he is.'

In this case, The speaker wants to know whether the person is Mr.Yamada or not. *Hyottoshitara* indicates that the speaker's attitude is something like 'I think this may be true, but I don't know (so I want you to judge the truth of this)'. Thus, *hyottoshitara* can be regarded as a preface to the question.[132] In terms of epistemic function, this adverb behaves in the similar way to those like *kitto*. For instance, *hyottoshitara* is used in a sentence as follows.

(10) John wa   *hyottoshitara* seikoo suru

 kamoshirenai.
 may

'John may possibly make a success.'

The question corresponding this sentence is given below.

(11) ??John wa   *hyottoshitara* seikoo shimasu ka?

This sentence is not acceptable. This example shows that there is a limit for the

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[132]In this connection, English equivalents behave in a similar way. Corum (1974) presented discussion along similar lines and Bellert (1977) explained the exception by the notion of contingency.

occurrence of *hyottoshitara* in interrogative sentences as well. That is, the speaker's epistemic attitude is not compatible with questions.[133]

In the case of *tashikani*, consider the following conversation.

(12)

```
P: Ano hito wa  tashikani  keibu-san desu ka?
   that person TOP          inspector COP Q

Q: a. Ee, soo desu.
      yes so COP

   b.?Iie, chigaimasu.
      no   differ
```

'P: Is that person definitely an inspector?

```
Q: a.Yes, he is.

   b.? No, he is not.'
```

In this case, speaker P may have been given information that the person is an inspector, and he/she wants to get the information confirmed. That is, the propositional content of the question is presupposed or assumed here. (12a) is natural as an answer, whereas (12b) sounds inappropriate; this answer is not felicitous in this context. This suggests that speaker P does not expect a negative answer when he/she asks the question.

Here, the speaker does not judge the truth, but he/she wants the listener to make a judgement. *Tashikani* can be regarded as a signal for this.

In other words, in the case of *tashikani*, the adverb is concerned with confirmation, but it is used regardless of who makes a confirmation. Compared with other adverbs in the epistemic classses, the behaviour of *tashikani* is deviant, and this suggests that this adverb may be close to adverbs such as *hontooni* (truly) in terms of a function concerning

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[133]*kamoshirenai* cannot be interrogated and it is hard for *hyottoshitara* to occur a sentence without *kamoshirenai*. This is a support to the consideration that *hyottoshitara* occurring in interrogative sentences does not have the same function as that occuring in declarative sentences. In some cases, the judgement of acceptability is difficult. acceptability also differs slightly depending on words. For instance, *hyottoshite*, which is a variation of *hyottoshitara* seems more acceptable in interrogative sentences.

emphasising truth.[134]

9.3.3. General discussion

The functions appearing in interrogative sentences vary depending on adverbs. However, it is possible to find a shared property of these adverbs, by comparing the function of non-SSA adverbs in interrogative sentences.

For instance, consider dialogue (13), containing *sugu* (soon), which falls outside SSA category (see Table 2-4 in Chapter 2).

(13)

```
P: Katoo san wa    sugu    kimasu ka?
            TOP             come    Q

Q: a. Ee, kimasu.
      yes

   b. Iie, sukoshi   okuremasu.
      No   a little be late
```

'P: Will Mr. Kato come soon?'

Q: a. Yes, he will.

    b. No. He will be a little late.'

In this conversation, what speaker P wants to know is whether the action by Mr. Kato takes place soon or not soon. That is, the information asked or is the concept expressed by the adverb *sugu* (soon). The negative answer (13b) clearly indicates where the focal point of the question is; since temporal notion is the main concern, speaker Q gives the reply which denies the adverbial concept encoded in *sugu* but still includes the same kind of information, that is, about temporal relationship.

On the other hand, in (4) involving *kekkyoku* for instance, the notion expressed by *kekkyoku* is not essential to how the question is answered. It is difficult to consider a

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[134]See 7.4 for some details of *hontooni*. Further, note the examples in English:

a. Are you definitely coming?

b.?Are you certainly coming?

In functional terms, *tashikani* may be similar to *definitely*.

negative answer offering some other information which may replace *kekkyoku*, but the answer like (14) is natural.

(14)

```
Q: Iie, tomarimashita.
   no   stay PAST
```

'Q: No, he stayed.'

In this case, the focal point is an action, not the adverbial notion.

These examples show the difference between these adverbs. *Sugu* forms the information asked for, while *kekkyoku* does not. The occurrence of *yahari* (after all) in interrogative sentences can be interpreted in the same way.

From this observation, it can be said that when an SSA adverb appears in interrogative sentences, it does not form the information which is asked for and in this respect, it is in contrast with non-SSA adverbs.

In the case of the adverbs such as *kitto*, it is difficult to know which part of the sentence is asked in this use. It appears that the main concern of the speaker is the part expressed by the adverbs. However, it can be said at least that the interrogative sentences in (6) are not used in asking for objective information which is unknown to the speaker.

The use of *hyottoshitara* and *tashikani* is rather similar to that of *kekkyoku*. These adverbs give different kinds of signals, by which the speaker requires the listener to judge truth and therefore, they do not form objective information to be asked.

9.4. Conclusion

The functions emerging in imperative and interrogative sentences have been examined.

The adverbs such as *kekkyoku* have the same function (linking function) regardless of sentence types. They specify the status of a sentence in a given context. These adverbs included in this examination may be regarded as less representative from overall point of

view, as was discussed in Chapter 8.[135]

On the other hand, the adverbs such as *kitto* show a different function in imperative or interrogative sentences. They are used to stress the speaker's attitude of requiring assurance. This function may be regarded as secondary to the epistemic function they carry in declarative sentences.

By way of conclusion, it is possible to consider that these occurrences examined here are minor in terms of the number of adverbs and functions, and they are not basic for the SSA category, although this does not mean that these occurrences can be ignored.

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[135]The occurrence in imperative and interrogative sentences differs depending on adverbs. The reason may be idiosyncratic. *Mochiron* does not occur in interrogative sentences; the reason for this restriction may be related to its epistemic function. *Kekkyoku* does not occur in imperative sentences. Further, an interesting point is that some adverbs concerning finality such as *tootoo* do not occur in either imperative or interrogative sentences. A suggestion is that although these adverbs are involved with aspect, the speaker's assessment about finality is treated as very close to properties included in SSA category.

Chapter 10

The internal organisation of SSA adverbs

10.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to offer an integrated picture of the internal organisation of SSA adverbs.

Chapters 3 to 9 examined SSA adverbs according to sub-groups. It was shown that some sub-divisions such as Group I-1, Group II-1-1, Group II-1-3, Group II-2-3 are well-motivated as classes, on the basis of the tight association between meaning/function and surface restrictions. Surface restrictions were fully explained. On the other hand, other groups show little or insufficient linguistic evidence for constituting motivated sub-classes.

In addition, it is now clear that although the adverbs falling within each group of the former share the high-order function and restrictions, there is diversity among them.

This chapter investigates the candidates from an overall point of view again. First, the homogeneity and diversity of the adverbs are more explicitly presented without taking sub-classes into consideration (in 10.2). For this purpose sentence pronominalisation and semantic-syntactic restrictions in reference to a predicate are used.

After the examination, a proposal about the internal organisation of SSA adverbs is provided by incorporating the sub-classification (in 10.3). Section 10.4 concludes this chapter.

10.2. Further investigation

10.2.1. Sentence pronominalisation

The characteristics of sentence pronominalisation were pointed out by Sawada (1978: 23-25) in relation to what he called sentence adverbials.

Sentence pronominalisation refers to a phenomenon in which pro-forms such as *so, that*

and so on, replace all or part of a sentence. This corresponds to 'prosententialisation' in Jackendoff's terms (1972:265). An illustrative example is given below (the example is from Jackendoff (ibid.)).

(1) **Harry believes that Sally is innocent, although no**

one else believes *it*.

Here, *it* replaces the VP complement that Sally is innocent.

Schreiber's observation (1971:85) may be relevant in relation to the adverbs we are dealing with.

(2)

A: **Clearly, Hitler was a mad man.**

B: **That's false.**

(3)

A: **It is clear that Hitler was a mad man.**

B: **That's false.**

In (2), *that* refers to a part of a sentence which includes 'Hitler is a mad man', while *that* in (3) refers to the whole sentence. That is, the adverb *clearly* is outside of the reference of *that*.

Sawada (ibid.) interpreted this phenomenon in the following way. English sentence adverbials (in his terms) behave in such a way that they are not included in the antecedent of pro-forms. This is because the content referred to by them is a propositional content of a sentence, which can be judged in terms of truth status. Sawada observed that Japanese equivalents behave in exactly the same way as English sentence adverbials. Nakau (1979) maintained the same understanding about what he calls expressions of modality including BUN FUKUSHI (sentence adverbs).[136]

It follows from this that the behaviour of adverbs in terms of sentence pronominalisation

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[136]Further, Takami's study (1985) on sentential anaphora pointed out that a sentential adverbial is always excluded from the antecedent of a sentential anaphora, while 'a predicate adverbial is either included in or excluded from the antecedent of a sentential anaphora, which depends upon the context, or the speaker-hearer's pragmatic knowledge.'

is a useful tool to distinguish adverbs according to the functional scope. Therefore, it is worth investigating Japanese adverbs in this respect.

For illustration, compare the following sets of sentences:

(4)

```
P: Kare wa    hayaku   oyogeru yo.
   he  TOP    fast     swim can PART

Q: Sore wa   shirimasendeshita.
   that TOP     know NEG PAST
```

'P: He can swim fast.

Q: I did not know that.'

In this case, *sore* (it, that) refers to the fact that he can swim fast.

(5)

```
P: Kare wa   tabun    oyogeru deshoo.
   he  TOP   probably swim can Presum

Q: Sore  wa       shirimasendeshita.
   that TOP        know NEG PAST
```

'P: He can probably swim.'

Q: I did not know that.'

In this example, the adverb *tabun* is not included in what is referred to by *sore*.

These examples show that *tabun* and *hayaku* are distinguished by means of sentence pronominalisation, with clear difference in scope. According to this investigation, *tabun* can be regarded as 'sentence adverb or adverbial' in that it takes as its scope the propositional content.

In this connection, the relationship with negative sentences investigated in Chapter 2 is also concerned with semantic or functional scope. A problem with negation is that since occurrence of some candidates is restricted in terms of polarity as was shown in Chapter 2, the test using negation does not apply to them. On the other hand, although sentence pronominalisation has its problems, which will be referred to later, it is still worth examining the adverbs by this means.

The candidates for SSA adverbs do not always behave in the same way as *tabun*. The examination will show the disparity in terms of sentence pronominalisation.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to consider some cases which are problematic but can be explained.

(6)

P: Tanaka-san wa nichiyoobi   ni wa
            TOP   Sunday   at

   kanarazu   kyookai e ikimasu.
                 church   to go

Q: *Sore* wa   hontoo desu ka.
   that TOP   true   COP Q

'P: Mr. Tanaka goes to church on Sunday without fail.

Q: Is that true?'

In this case, the antecedent of *sore* includes *kanarazu*, which conveys the idea that there is no exception. On the other hand:

(7)

P: Tanaka-san wa *kanarazu* seikoo-suru deshoo.
            TOP   succeed   Presum

Q: *Sore* wa utagawashii desu.
   that TOP doubtful

'P: Mr. Tanaka will certainly make a success.

Q: I doubt it.'

Here, *sore* does not involve *kanarazu* which conveys a speaker's epistemic attitude about the truthfulness of the proposition.

The disparity emerging here is explained according to the analysis in 4.5.1; the use of *kanarazu* in (6) can be considered to express habituality, while that in (7) is concerned with a speaker's epistemic attitude to the propositional content. The former may fall within the propositional content.

Another example involves *dooyara*.

(8)

P: Goman-en areba,   *dooyara* seikatsu dekimasu.
   50000 yen be COND   live   can PRES

```
Q:  Sore   wa     hontoo desu ka.
    that   TOP    true   COP   Q
```

'P: You can survive if you have fifty thousand yen.

Q: Is that true?'

Dooyara implies that the situation is barely satisfactory. *sore* can be considered to refer to a whole thing that one can survive on fifty thousand yen, though it is not satisfactory. In this case, *dooyara* is included in *sore*. *Dooyara* behaves differently in the following case:

(9)

```
P:  Dooyara  kare wa  mada benkyooshite iru rashii desu.
             he   TOP  yet  study         DUR seem
```

```
Q:  Sore wa   hontoo desu ka.
    that TOP  true   COP   Q
```

'P: It seems that he is still studying.

Q: Is that true?'

Here, *sore* only refers to the fact that he is still studying, and *dooyara* is outside the referent of *sore*. The difference can be explained by the analysis in 5.3 (see Footnote [71]). In this case, the latter use only falls within the category of SSA adverbs as well.

These examples show that the candidates may have functions other than as SSA adverbs and that the other function is distinguishable by means of sentence pronominalisation. It is relatively easy to exclude the above cases from the use as SSA adverbs.

The results of the examination may include cases like this, which are discussed in more detail later in section 10.2.3.

The results will be shown in the Table 10-1 together with those of the subsequent examination.

10.2.2. Types of predicate

This examination is based on different behaviour of different classes of adverbs in relation to predicates, as seen below.

For example, a manner-like adverb such as *yukkuri* (slowly) occurs with an action predicate as follows:

(10)

```
Kare wa    yukkuri   hashiru.
 he TOP              run
```

'He runs slowly'.

This adverb rarely occurs with a non-action predicate. Roughly speaking, it can be considered that this is due to properties of manner-adverbs, which are mainly associated with action and specify the way of acting.

Further, adverbs expressing degree (including what we call intensifiers in this thesis) are basically linked with an adjectival predicate, that is, semantically a stative, non-action predicate.

By contrast, adverbs like *tabun* (probably) or *mochiron* (naturally) are not associated with a special syntactic or semantic type of predicate, as is seen below.[137]

(11)

```
a. Mochiron   kare wa    tadashii.
              he TOP     correct
```

'Of course, he is correct.'

```
b. Mochiron   kare mo   sanka-suru.
              he too    join
```

'Of course, he will join too.'

(12)

```
a. Tabun   kare wa    tadashii daroo.
```

---

[137]In this discussion, a 'predicate' is assumed to refer to that expressing a propositional content.

'Probably, he is correct.'

b. *Tabun*   kare mo   sanka-suru daroo.

'Probably, he will join too.'

These adverbs can occur regardless of syntactic-semantic types of predicate.

So far, the distinctions depending on classes of adverbs are clearly illustrated. From this, it may be assumed that SSA adverbs have no restriction in terms of the semantic content of a predicate in the sense discussed above. This is not the case. It has already been shown that   our candidates for SSA adverbs involve diversity in terms of meaning/function and restrictions. They do not necessarily show uniformity in terms of restrictions with regard to types of predicate, either.   The test will show how much disparity occurs.

The following test will focus on several distinctions such as affirmative/negative, action/non-action predicate.[138]

10.2.3. Results of investigation

The results of the examination discussed in the last section are presented in Table 10-1 alongside the adverbs/basic sentence types relations reproduced from Table 2-4.

This Table represents the behaviour of the candidates for SSA adverbs. These adverbs can occur in different ways according to whether they are used with the function of SSA adverbs or not. Taking this into consideration, several adverbs are divided into two entries to show the complexity involved and to give an account of individual adverbs as clearly as possible, though problems of homonyms which may arise from them are not discussed.

With regard to the test in reference to predicates, the summary is given below. These

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[138]In this case, the action/non-action test is only performed using action predicates and state predicates: in particular, for the latter, sentences involving property which can be scaled.

Koyano's investigation (1983) treats further detailed semantic distinctions.   However, the primary purpose of this section is to show whether there is a restriction in terms of predicate in order to demonstrate regularity and irregularity.

Table 10-1:   The results of further examination

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	DEC	INT	IMP	S-P	PRED
DOOZO	please	-	-	+	-	+
DOOKA	please	-	-	+	-	+
ZEHI(1)	by all means?	-	-	+	-	+
ZEHI(2)		(+)	-	-	+	+
TABUN	probably	+	-	-	-	-
OSORAKU	probably	+	-	-	-	-
SAZO	surely	+	-	-	+?	+
MASAKA	surely not	+	-	-	-	+
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly	+	+	+	-	-
KITTO(1)	surely	+	+	+	-	-
KITTO(2)	surely	+	+	/	+	-
KANARAZU(1)	certainly	+	+	+	-	+
KANARAZU(2)		+	+	/	+	-
ZETTAI	certainly	+	+	+	-?	-
DOOMO(1)	somewhat?	+	-	-	-	-
DOOMO(2)		+	-	-	-	+
DOOYARA	somewhat?	+	-	-	+/-	+
DOOSE	after all	+	-	-	-	-
SHOSEN	after all	+	-	-	+?	+

(Table 10-1 continued)

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	DEC	INT	IMP	S-P	PRED
TOOZEN	naturally	+	−	+	−	−
KEKKYOKU	after all	+	+	−	−	−
YAPPARI	after all	+	+	+	−?	−
TASHIKA	certainly	+	−	−	−	−
TASHIKANI	certainly	+	+	+	+/−	−
AKIRAKANI	obviously	+	−	−	−	−
SAIWAI	fortunately	+	−	−	−	−
KENMEINIMO	wisely	+	−	−	−	+?
KANYOONIMO	generously	+	−	−	−	+?
MOCHIRON/ MURON	naturally	+	−	+	−	−
JIJITSU	in fact	+	−	−	−	−
JITSUWA	in fact	+	−	−	−	−
SHOOJIKI	to be honest	+	−	−	−	−

adverbs are restricted in terms of the following properties.[140]

```
              Predicate co-occurring
              |action/state              |polarity
-------------|--------------------------|----------
DOOZO         |action                    |
DOOKA         |action                    |
ZEHI          |action                    |affirmative
              |                          |
SAZO          |state                     |affirmative
MASAKA        |                          |negative
              |                          |
KANARAZU      |                          |affirmative
DOOMO(2)      |state (in basic declaratives)
DOOYARA       |action(in basic declaratives)
              |                          |
SHOSEN        |state                     |
KENMEINIMO    |action?                   |
KANYOONIMO    |action?                   |
-------------------------------------------------
```

The restrictions shown here can be explained on the basis of the analyses, given in each chapter.

In terms of sentence pronominalisation, the noteworthy behaviour is shown as follows. *Zehi* is sub-divided in Table (10-2). *Zehi*(1)'s example is;

(13)

P: *Zehi*   kite kudasai.
               come IMP

Q: *Sore* ga   ii desu yo.
   that NOM   good   PART

R: Ee.
   Yes

'P: Please come.

Q: That will be good.

R: Yes.'

In this case, *sore* is not considered to include *zehi*(1). On the other hand, consider the following conversation, containing *zehi*(2).

(14)

---

[140]The results of this table have wide application. For instance, it was shown that *dooyara* has a further limited use in declarative sentences in 5.3.

```
P: Boku mo  zehi   ikitai  n  desu.
   I   too          go want COMP COP
```

```
Q: Sore wa      hontoo desu ka.
   that TOP     true   COP   Q
```

'P: I really want to go too.'

Q: Is that true?'

In this case, native speakers reported that *zehi* seems to be included in what is referred to by *sore* here.

The disparity may be explained by means of the characteristics of *zehi*. As discussed in 7.4, *zehi* can be regarded as a special sort of intensifier. When it is used in sentences aiming to get someone to do something, it behaves like *doozo* (please). On the other hand, it is rather like an intensifier such as *hijooni* (very) in other environments. *zehi* in (14) may fall within the latter category. Therefore, it might be appropriate to exclude the above use from the category of SSA adverb. However, *zehi* in examples like (14) seems to show the subjective attitude of the speaker, who is the subject at the same time and furthermore the category of intensifier is not fully studied yet. For the moment, I prefer not to make a final decision over this matter, and leave tentatively *zehi*(2) in the category of SSA adverbs.

The occurrence of *sazo* (surely) also calls for explanation.

(15)

```
P: Kare wa  sazo  gakkari-shita         daroo.
   he   TOP       get disappointed PAST Presum
```

```
Q: Iya, boku wa   soo omowanai.
   no   I    TOP  so  think NEG
```

'P: He must have been very disappointed.

Q: No. I don't think so.'

In this case, some native speakers reported that intuitively, *soo* (so) includes *sazo* to a certain degree. It may be possible to explain this judgement depending on the characteristics of *sazo* discussed in 4.3; the adverb has two functions, epistemic and intensifying. The latter may be included in a propositional content, while the former is outside a propositional content.

The judgement about *shosen* (after all) is also difficult.

(16)

```
P: Aitsu      wa    shosen  damena  ningen da.
   that fellow TOP           bad     person COP
```

```
Q: Sore wa          tadashikunai  to    omou yo.
   that  TOP        correct NEG  COMP  think PART
```

'P: That fellow is a hopeless person after all.

Q: I don't think that's true.'

Here it seems that *sore* includes a speaker's negative assessment rendered by *shosen*, but generally it is hard for native speakers to make a clear-cut judgement. Here is another problem; it is not clear whether *sore* (it, that) refers to the whole opinion or to the propositional content. This matter is left open in this thesis.

Sentence pronominalisation largely depends on a native speaker's intuition. In addition, it should be noted that the function of an anaphoric pro-form like *sore* may need more careful analysis. Pragmatic reason may intervene in judgement of sentence pronominalisation.

Although it is necessary to keep this problem in mind, it can still be said that the investigation, by means of these tests, shows the regularity and irregularity of behaviour of adverbs fairly well.

It is possible to make further observations of the results of the examination from an overall perspective. Among adverbs occurring in declarative sentences, some are negative with regard to most tests here, while some show more than two positive features. It may follow from this that there are some adverbs which are good examples of this category, that is, represent this category well, while others are peripheral in this respect.

The basic characteristics of SSA adverbs may be based on their occurrence in basic sentence types and their functional scope. The latter is what is represented by means of sentence pronominalisation and restrictions depending on predicates. Basic characteristics are treated in section 10.3.

10.3. Internal organisation of SSA adverbs

Based on the results of the investigations, it is now possible to set up the organisation of SSA adverbs as a whole and provide an over-all explanation.[141] As mentioned in 10.1, the candidates for SSA adverbs involve uniformity as well as heterogeneity. The uniformity and heterogeneity has been described in the previous chapters, which show that the heterogeneity can mostly be explained based on linguistic evidence.

To present this complexity, it seems appropriate to rely on prototype treatment here. The idea is that SSA adverbs are organised around certain prototypes, according to how strongly they show the basic characteristics (Coleman and Kay 1981, Rosch 1979, etc.)

Three basic characteristics are taken here as follows:

1. occurring in only one basic sentence type;

2. negative in terms of sentence pronominalisation;

3. not restricted in terms of semantic types of predicate (as far as the test is concerned).

Characteristic (1) needs explanation. As suggested in 7.5, the basic occurrence of the candidates in terms of basic sentence types can be summarised as follows:

(I)   +DEC, -INT,   -IMP

(II) -DEC, -INT,   -IMP

The generalisation reached from this is characteristic (1). This can be considered to be a better generalisation about the basic occurrence of SSA adverbs than that given in Chapter 2.

Table 10-2 shows how individual adverbs (limited to SSA adverbs) exhibit these characteristics.

The results shown in Table 10-2 can be summarised as follows.

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[141]Only uses as SSA adverbs are treated in this section and other functions which may fall outside the SSA category are ignored, though a few unclear cases may still be included in this category.

Table 10-2: Basic characteristics of SSA adverbs

ADVERB	APPROXIMATION	CHARACTERISTICS		
		1	2	3
TABUN	probably	+	+	+
OSORAKU	probably	+	+	+
DOOMO1	somewhat?	+	+	+
DOOSE	after all	+	+	+
TASHIKA	certainly	+	+	+
AKIRAKANI	obviously	+	+	+
SAIWAI	fortunately	+	+	+
AINIKU	unfortunately	+	+	+
JIJITSU	in fact	+	+	+
JITSUWA	in fact	+	+	+
SHOOJIKI	to be honest	+	+	+
DOOZO	please	+	+	-
DOOKA	please	+	+	-
ZEHI (1)	by all means?	+	+	-
MASAKA	not surely	+	+	-
DOOMO (2)	somewhat?	+	+	-
DOOYARA	somewhat?	+	+	-
KENMEINIMO	wisely	+	+	-?
KANYOONIMO	generously	+	+	-?
HYOTTOSHITARA	possibly	-	+	+
KITTO	surely	-	+	+
ZETTAI	surely	-	+	+
TOOZEN	naturally	-	+	+
KEKKYOKU	after all	-	+	+
TASHIKANI	certainly	-	+	+
MOCHIRON/ MURON	naturally	-	+	+
ZEHI (2)	by all means?	+	-	-
SAZO	surely	+	-?	-
SHOSEN	after all	+	-?	-

(1) (2) (3)	TABUN	OSORAKU	DOOMO1
	DOOSE	TASHIKA	AKIRAKANI
	SAIWAI	AINIKU	JIJITSU
	JITSUWA	SHOOJIKI	

(1) (2)	DOOZO	DOOKA	ZEHI
	MASAKA	DOOMO2	DOOYARA
	KENMEINIMO		KANYOONIMO

| (1) (3) | none |

(2) (3)	HYOTTOSHITARA	KITTO
	ZETTAI	TOOZEN
	KEKKYOKU	YAHARI
	TASHIKANI	MOCHIRON/
		MURON

| (1) | ZEHI2 | SAZO |
| | SHOSEN | |

| (2) | KANARAZU |

| (3) | none |

From this, it is clear that characteristic (3) entails (2). This means that an adverb whose occurrence is not affected by the semantic content of a sentence in the sense discussed here must be outside a propositional content. These results are shown in the graph below.
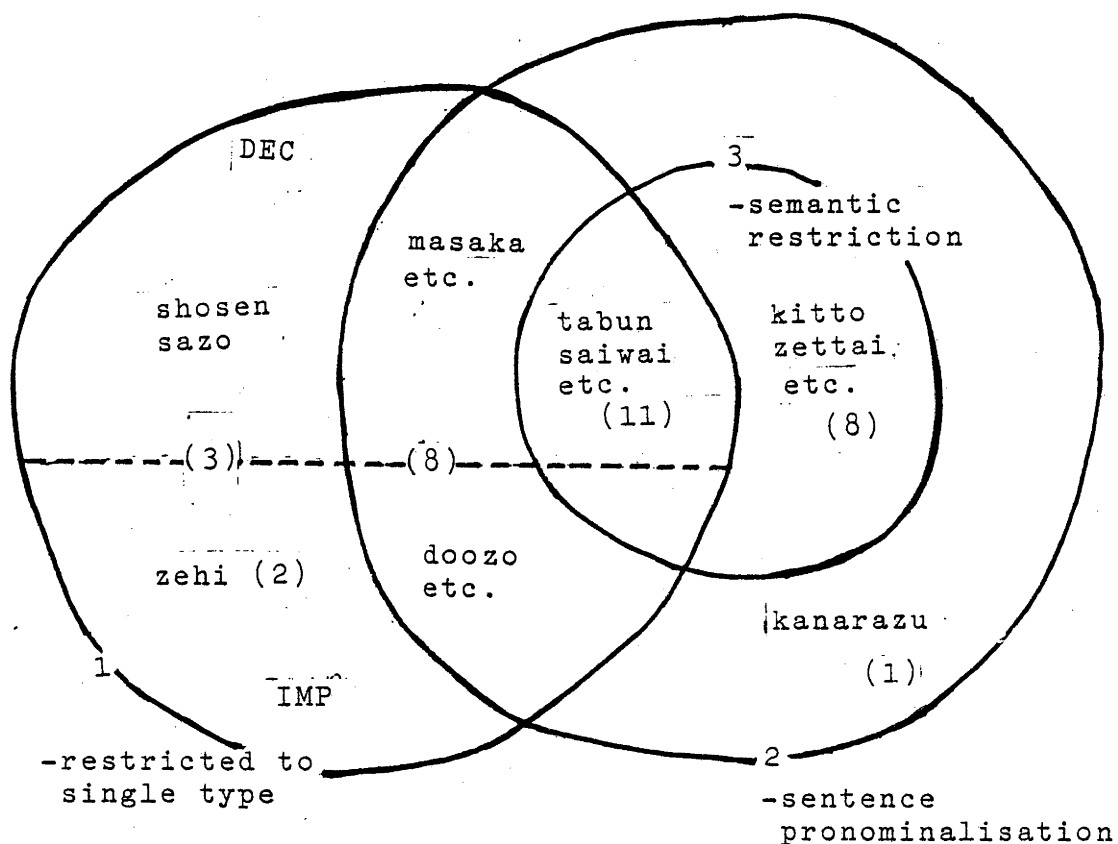
We are now in a position to integrate the results gained from previous analyses in Chapters 3 to 9.

There are three major divisions :

1. a speaker's attitude toward the propositional content.

2. a speaker's attitude toward the illocutionary force of the sentence (imperative sentence).

3. a speaker's attitude toward the way of presenting a sentence.

Each of these contains sub-classes. For the first two divisions, several sub-classes were recognised based on regular association of meaning/function and surface restrictions. On the other hand, it was found that such an association is not crucial for the last division. This division seems to form a loose set, though it is possible to identify meta-communicative and linking functions (including various sub-functions).

By incorporating these functional sub-classes, the organisation of SSA adverbs (for approximately 30 candidates) as a whole is given in Table 10-3.

Table 10-3: Internal organisation of SSA adverbs

Characteristics / Function (restrictions)	123	12	23	1	2
(1) a speaker's attitude toward the propositional content					
(I)EPISTEMIC					
A. UNCERTAIN [-PAST]					
Presumptive [+DAROO] [-RASHII]	TABUN OSORAKU	MASAKA	KITTO ZETTAI HYOTTO-SHITARA	SAZO	KANARAZU
Evidential [-DAROO] [+RASHII]	DOOMO1	DOOMO2 DOOYARA			
B. CERTAIN [+PAST TENSE] [-DAROO]					
Identification of truth	JIJITSU JITSUWA TASHIKA		MOCHIRON MURON TASHIKANI		
Evidential	AKIRAKANI				
(II) EVALUATIVE [+PAST TENSE] [-DAROO]					
subject-reference		KANYOONIMO KENMEINIMO			
non-subject reference	SAIWAI AINIKU				
(2) a speaker's attitude toward the illocutionary force of the sentence (imperative sentence)					
[+IMP] [-DEC]		DOOKA DOOZO ZEHI1		ZEHI2	
(3) a speaker's attitude toward the way of presenting the sentence.					
(linking function)	(DOOSE) JIJITSU		YAHARI KEKKYOKU TOOZEN MOCHIRON	SHOSEN	
(meta-communicative function)	SHOOJIKI JITSUWA		MURON		

There are some important points with regard to the above organisation. In Table 10-3, there are 11 adverbs which show three basic characteristics. These adverbs can be regarded as prototypical SSA adverbs. To be more rigorous, it may be appropriate to exclude adverbs which appear in two entries on this Table, such as *mochiron* and *jijitsu*, for the reason that they have two functions (in the first and third divisions). Similarly, *doomo*1 is not really prototypical, either, because the occurrence of *doomo* is restricted in a unique way as was analysed in 5.2.2. In addition, among these adverbs, those which belong to the first two divisions are better characterised on the basis of syntactic-semantic features than those falling in the third division, as was discussed previously (in particular in Chapter 8). Therefore, the adverbs in the latter can be regarded as less prototypical in this category.

Taking these factors into consideration, we may have several prototypical SSA adverbs; *tabun* (probably), *osoraku* (probably), *tashika* (certainly?), *akirakani* (obviously), *saiwai* (fortunately) and *ainiku* (unfortunately), as far as our candidates are concerned.

Each sub-class is given an explanation along the above lines. For instance, taking the EPISTEMIC-UNCERTAIN class, *tabun* and *osoraku* represent this class perfectly, in terms of epistemic function, scope and features with regard to basic sentence types. Among other adverbs, *sazo* does not meet the condition in terms of scope and has restrictions in terms of predicate, although it has epistemic function. This is because it also contains features similar to those of intensifiers (see 4.3). On the other hand, *masaka* is not a prototypical adverb, for the reason that it only appears in negative sentences, and thus has a feature of adverbs of negation (see 1.4). These adverbs suggest that sub-categories of Japanese adverbs overlap in many ways.

Adverbs like *kitto* are close to the prototypes, except their occurrence in interrogative (and imperative) sentences. In these sentences, such adverbs do not show epistemic function. From this, the interpretation is that they have extensive function. *Kanarazu* is further away from the prototypes than *kitto*, because the former only appears in affirmative sentences. The reason is not clear.[142]

In the case of the EPISTEMIC-CERTAIN class, *tashika* is regarded as a prototype. *Jitsuwa* and *jijitsu* are excluded as prototypes, because they have double functions as is shown by their occurrence in the third division. However, these adverbs contain three

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[142]Can it be related to intensification?

basic characteristics and are very close to prototypes. Other adverbs classified in this class have fewer prototypical characteristics in terms of basic sentence types. All the adverbs in this class show a uniform feature regarding scope.

The class falling in the second division does not have a prototype in Table 10-2. The adverbs in this class meet the two conditions (regarding scope and basic sentence types), except *zehi*. This is due to the restriction with regard to a predicate; action verbs are only possible for imperative sentences.

It appears that in the third division, those such as *doose*, *jijitsu*, *shoojiki*, and *jitsuwa* are nearly prototypes in terms of basic characteristics. However, it is not appropriate to consider them as representatives of this division. The reason is that it is hard to find salient features which should be shared by the candidates in this division, as was discussed in Chapter 8. Consequently the above adverbs are not regarded as showing features representing the division. As mentioned earlier in this section, a suggestion here is to treat these adverbs using a family resemblance approach, in which individual adverbs are related loosely to one another based on similarity of meaning/function. To explore this, more detailed analysis of individual adverbs seems necessary. It should be noted, however, that all the adverbs except *shosen* in this division meet the condition in terms of scope.

Concerning categorisation of adverbs, the organisation proposed here suggests that there may be various ways of forming (sub-)categories. The category of SSA adverbs in the present research includes a few different properties, which can be criteria for this.

For instance, it is possible to put adverbs together based on the characteristic of occurrence in one basic sentence type. This classification can form a discrete category. In Table 10-3, all the adverbs falling in 123, 12, and 1 are classified into this category.

A problem with this category is that it does not include some adverbs such as *kitto*, *mochiron* and so on, which fall in 23 and 2 in Table 10-3. Taking sub-classes into consideration, there is no doubt that these adverbs are concerned with the epistemic function, which is shared by most adverbs included in the above discrete category. It follows from this that those like the above have to be excluded and are treated as exceptions. This means that the proposed category does not present uniformity in terms of epistemic function properly.

On the other hand, in terms of scope, the adverbs we have dealt with exhibit quite

uniform behaviour with only a few exceptions like *sazo*. Most adverbs take a whole sentence as their scope in the sense discussed so far, and consequently they may be called 'sentence adverbs'. This category includes the adverbs falling in 123, 23, 12, and 2.

The exceptions such as *sazo* show consistent deviation from the regular adverbs in other linguistic behaviour. The adverbs falling within the above category prefer a peripheral position in a sentence, whereas *sazo* tends to appear before a VP (see Table 2-2 in Chapter 2). According to Tamori (see Footnote [21]), this positioning is for 'adverbs of degree'.[143] *Sazo* also has the semantic characteristics similar to those of 'intensifiers' examined in 4.3.

The problem lies in that *sazo* also shows a clear epistemic function, which characterises many adverbs classified as 'sentence adverbs' here. From this, one could suspect that it is not appropriate to separate *sazo* from adverbs having a similar function.

These categories have different memberships, although they share many members, which are those falling with 123 and 12 in Table 10-2.

Both of these categorisations fail to handle some adverbs which are very closely related to their members. It is possible to regard them as exceptions. However, I prefer the prototypical approach which treats these adverbs from a unified point of view.

The category of SSA adverbs is inclusive in contrast with the exclusive 'sentence adverbs' and the former can show the relationship of members in terms of scope and syntactic features.

Although the organisation provided here can be more sophisticated, the above organisation shows the relationship of the SSA adverbs and important properties with regard to adverbs of this kind in an integrated way. It is easy to perceive how the properties in terms of 'a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude, 'functional scope', and syntactic-semantic features' are interrelated with one another in relation to relevant adverbs.

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[143]*Zehi(2)* and *shosen* are exceptions too. It was pointed out that *zehi* is problematic. In the case of *shosen*, it is not easy to make a judgement on its positional feature. Nakamura (1973) showed that the natural position of *shosen* may be at the beginning of a sentence or before the predicate depending on context.

10.4. Conclusion

This chapter undertook integration of the entire examination made in this thesis, along with a few more investigations.

The regularity and irregularity exhibited by the adverbs dealt with are identified by means of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features.

This results in the internal organisation of SSA adverbs (with regard to our candidates) as shown in Table 10-3. Prototype treatment is appropriate for this purpose. This treatment makes it possible to present the SSA category in such a manner that internal relationships among adverbs are easily appreciated.

It should be stressed here that, on the one hand, this organisation reflects the real situation of adverbs of this kind better than so-called 'sentence- adverbs' for the reason discussed in this chapter; and on the other hand, that the messy congregation in which 'adverbs' appear can be explored on the basis of linguistic evidence. Thus, this approach goes a step further than the traditional approach by means of CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI. Moreover, it should be noted that the present research covers and can cover possible candidates for this category and in this sense, over-generalisation is avoided.

Chapter 11

Summary and conclusion

The present research has treated a set of of Japanese adverbs, roughly those which may express a speaker's subjective/psychological attitude (called SSA adverbs). The aim has been to explore the internal organisation of the category of adverbs.

A summary of each chapter is given below.

In Chapter 1, it was shown how far previous studies have reached with respect to categorising adverbs closely related to SSA adverbs. The necessity for adequate descriptions of plausible candidates based on linguistic evidence was stressed in order to demonstrate regularity and irregularity of adverbs and to gain more understanding about 'adverbs' as a morphosyntactic class.

Chapter 2 gave a broad preliminary definition of SSA adverbs on rather vague semantic grounds and attempted to provide an approximate characterisation of them, distinguishing them from non-SSA adverbs. The adverbs tend to occur in a peripheral position in a sentence. Here, it appears that the positional feature in Japanese is not clear enough to characterise SSA adverbs in contrast to other classes of adverbs; some SSA adverbs behave differently and some non-SSA adverbs may behave like SSA adverbs as well. Instead of the positional feature, syntactic and semantic features in terms of occurrence in three basic sentence types were employed to discuss rough characterisation of SSA adverbs. It was shown that many candidates do not appear in interrogative or imperative sentences. Further, in terms of negation, it was also shown that most candidates for SSA adverbs are not negatable, while non-SSA adverbs are negatable (occurrence of some adverbs is limited in terms of polarity and this negation test does not apply to them).

In Chapter 3, the candidates for SSA adverbs were given preliminary sub-groups. The basis for this is co-occurrence restrictions in terms of past tense sentences and sub-sentence types such as DAROO and RASHII constructions. 8 different groups have been reached by means of co-occurrence patterns and associated broad meanings.

Chapters 4 to 9 undertook detailed analysis according to the above sub-groups. The purpose of these chapters is to find (basic) well-motivated sub-classes by more rigorous examinations and to describe uniformity and disparity among individual adverbs, using linguistic evidence.

Chapter 4 treated Group II-1-1 , while Chapter 5 dealt with Group II-1-3. The common feature of these groups is non-occurrence in past tense sentences. It appeared that there are basically two classes carrying epistemic function (relating to truth judgement); called presumptive and evidential here. Although the candidates for each sub-class share an epistemic function, it was shown that they are not completely uniform, but exhibit diverse characteristics when analysed individually.

Chapter 6 discussed two groups marked with [+PAST TENSE] and [-DAROO], Group II-2-1 and Group II-2-3. Group II-2-1 expresses a speaker's subjective/psychological evaluative attitude on a propositional content in relation to luck, moral property and so on. It is possible to distinguish at least two sub-divisions in terms of whether the adverb is associated with a human subject or not.

On the other hand, Group II-2-3 is involved with truth judgement. In this sense, the candidates in this group can be classified under the same major heading as those handled in Chapter 4. The difference between them is that the candidates discussed in Chapter 6 are concerned with certainty, whereas those in Chapter 4 are concerned with uncertainty.

It was pointed out that some adverbs in Group II-2-3 require trans-sentential analysis to understand their meaning/function more fully.

In this chapter, it was also argued that explanation of real restrictions of co-occurrence requires a pragmatic as well as semantic approach.

The analysis in Chapters 4 to 6 resulted in several sub-classes based on shared function/meaning and surface restrictions which are closely interrelated to function/meaning.

Chapter 7 analysed adverbs which mainly occur in imperative sentences. The function of Group I-I is to specify the illocutionary force of imperative sentences, while Group I-2 includes a unique adverb, *zehi*, which may be regarded as a special sort of intensifier.

Although *zehi* is involved in the illocutionary force of getting someone to do something, it is basically concerned with mental inclination toward realisation of some action.

In Chapter 8, several different groups were investigated. The adverbs specify the way of presenting a sentence. Each adverb was given a description individually. It was shown that the function/meaning of these adverbs is not identified in a. uniform way; some adverbs have a linking function quite clearly, while some do not, and some need antecedent linguistic context for felicitous use, while some do not. They are lexically different as well. By contrast to previous groups, no sub-class is identified based on association of function/meaning and co-occurrence pattens. The present approach centering around syntactic and semantic features does not organise them further. It was suggested that they are regarded as loosely related and constituting a 'family resemblance'-group.

In addition to linking function, meta-communicative function was assigned to adverbs like *shoojiki* and *jitsuwa*, although this function is mainly carried out by phrasal expressions in Japanese.

Chapter 9 discussed some adverbs which occur in interrogative and imperative sentences. The occurrence in these sentences can be considered as minor both in terms of function and number of adverbs involved in the category of SSA adverbs.

Chapter 10 returned to an overall treatment. The candidates were examined in terms of sentence pronominalisation and semantic restrictions with regard to a predicate. Based on this examination, basic characteristics for SSA adverbs were set up and the entire examination made in previous chapters was incorporated to constitute a comprehensive organisation, provided in Table 10-3.

Here, prototype treatment was adopted; some adverbs were taken as prototypes and others were organised around them according to how strongly or clearly they showed basic characteristics.

This organisation included an integration of syntactic-semantic features and functional scope of the adverbs under consideration, and can show internal relationships between adverbs in a way easy to perceive.

By way of conclusion, the results of the investigation show that, on the one hand, it is not appropriate to regard Japanese adverbs of this kind as forming a discrete category,

which is characterised by uniform full membership in terms of syntactic semantic and pragmatic features, e.g. 'sentence adverbs'. On the other hand, it is shown that it is still possible to organise these adverbs based on these features and to present the complexity of the internal relationships between them in a testable way. Prototype treatment offers an appropriate method to treat these adverbs.

Further, the importance of lexicographic knowledge about individual adverbs should be noted, although the present research is not necessarily comprehensive in this respect. For instance, without analysing the meaning/function of DOOMO, it would not be possible to treat the adverb properly.

The organisation proposed in this thesis can be more polished by further investigation. There are several feasible ways of doing this, such as exploration of more candidates as well as related adverbs, examination of more factors pertaining to this category, and qualitative, statistical research on a large scale (see Appendix B.).[144]

These investigations will not only serve to justify the organisation given here but also to explore the internal organisation of 'adverbs' and 'adverbial functions' more extensively.

Finally, the present research may make a contribution to the development of the study of Japanese adverbs, and further progress in the study of 'difficult' syntactic classes can be stimulated by the present approach.

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[144]Among other possible candidates, an interesting class of adverbs is called RYOIKISHITEI NO FUKUSHI in Nakau's classification (see 1.3). This class corresponds to Domain adverbs discussed by Bellert (1977) in her research of English adverbs. The adverbs in this class indicate the domain where a statement is valid. This class includes adverbs such as *seijitekini* (politically), *gengogakutekini* (linguistically) and so forth, which seem to have a function as manner-like adverbs as well (see Ernst 1984:39 for further discussion). Bellert pointed out that Domain adverbs are considered to have a sentential function but they differ from the classes including adverbs like *probably* in that the former may be included in propositional content. This account holds for corresponding Japanese adverbs as well. They are problematic in the theory of sentence adverbs because of these features. As adverbs related to the SSA category, this class should be studied further.

Appendix AI.Test sentences in position test

The preliminary position test (in 2.3) necessitates several different example sentences, because syntactic-semantic restrictions differ depending on adverbs. In what follows, example sentences along with tested adverbs are presented. The figures indicate positions.

```
1. Tanakasan wa    sono ki o   kiru daroo.
           TOP   the tree ACC  cut Presum

   1              2           3
```

   'I think Mr. Tanaka will cut down the tree.'

   Adverbs tested: TABUN, KITTO, DOOSE

```
2. Tanaka-san wa  sono ki o kiranai daroo.
                           cut NEG
```

   'I think Mr. Tanaka will not cut down the
   tree.'

   Adverbs tested: MASAKA


```
3. Tanaka-san wa  sono ki o   kiru  rashii.
                                     seem
```

   'It seems that Mr. Tanaka cuts the tree down.'

   Adverbs tested: DOOMO


```
4. Tanaka san wa  Keiko ni    atta.
                        DAT   see PAST
```

   'Mr. Tanaka met Keiko.'

   Adverbs tested: SAIWAI, MOCHIRON, KEKKYOKU
                   TASHIKANI, TOOTOO, GUUZEN
                   KYOO, SUGU.

```
5. Tanaka-san wa  Keiko ni  atte ita.
                            see DUR PAST
```

   'Mr. Tanaka (had) met Keiko.'

Adverbs tested: JITSUWA

6. Tanaka-san wa shippai o kuyande iru koto daroo.
                 failure ACC regret DUR matter Presum

   'I think Mr. Tanaka regrets his failure.'

   Adverbs tested: SAZO

7. Tanaka san wa Kuro-biiru o   nomu.
                 black beer ACC drink

   'Mr. Tanaka takes black beer.'

   Adverbs tested: ITSUMO

8. Tanaka-san wa kuruma o   ugokashita.
                 car ACC   move PAST

   'Mr. Tanaka moved the car.'

   Adverbs tested: YUKKURI, SHIZUKANI, IYAIYA
                   WAZATO

9. Kore   o   uketotte kudasai.
   this ACC receive   IMP

   '(Please) take this.'

   Adverbs tested: DOOZO, ZEHI.

10. Kimi wa   kore o   suru bekida.
    you TOP this ACC do   should

    'You should do this.'

    Adverbs tested: ZEHI.

APPENDIX A2: Examples for problematic cases in the test concerning occurrence in basic sentence types

Table 2-4 displays the result of the test concerning occurrence in basic sentence types. The sentences given below are examples for problematic cases in the test, which are not handled anywhere else in this thesis.

TOTSUZEN   suddenly

a. Kare   wa *totsuzen*   arawareta.
   he   TOP   appear PAST

   'He appeared suddenly.'

b. ?Kare wa *totsuzen*   arawarenakatta.
                           appear NEG PAST

   'He did not appear suddenly.'

c. Kare   wa *totsuzen*   arawareta   ka?
   he   TOP   appear   Q

   'Did he appear suddenly?'

d. ??Kare wa *totsuzen*   arawarenakatta ka?'
                           appear   NEG PAST Q

   'Did he not appear suddenly?'

OMOWAZU   involuntarily, in spite of oneself

a. Kare   wa *omowazu*   ashi o   tometa.
    he   TOP   foot ACC stop PAST

   'He stopped involuntarily.'

b. *Kare   wa *omowazu* ashi   o   tomenakatta.
                          foot ACC stop NEG PAST

   'He did not stop involuntarily.'

c. ?Kare wa *omowazu*   ashi o   tometa ka?
                                          Q

   '??Did he stop involuntarily?'

d. *Kare wa *omowazu* ashi o   tomenakatta ka?
                                   stop NEG PAST Q

   'Did he not stop involuntarily?'

APPENDIX A3: Examples for problematic cases in negation test

Table 2-5 shows the result of negation test. It includes a few problematic cases, the examples of which are given below. These cases are not treated in other places in this thesis.

TASHIKANI certainly

1. a. *Tashikani* kuruma wa soko ni atta.
car TOP there LOC be PAST

'Certainly the car was there.'

b. *Tashikani* kuruma wa soko ni nakatta.
be NEG PAST

'Certainly the car was not there.'

2. a. *Tashikani* sou ieru.
so say can

'It can be said so for sure.'

b. *Tashikani* soo wa ienai.
TOP say can NEG

'It cannot be said so for sure.'

TOOTOO at last

1. Yamada-san wa *tootoo* uchi e kaetta.
TOP home to return PAST

'Mr. Yamada went home at last.'

2. Yamada-san wa *tootoo* uchi e kaeranakatta.
return NEG PAST

'Mr. Yamada ended up not going home.'

GUUZEN accidentally

1. a. *Guuzen* watashi wa Tookyoo ni ita.
I TOP Tokyo LOC be PAST

'I happened to be in Tokyo.'

b. *Guuzen* watashi wa Tookyoo ni inakatta.
                                    be NEG PAST

'I happened not to be in Tokyo.'

2. a. *Guuzen* watashi wa Yamada-san ni atta.
                                    meet PAST

'I met Mr. Yamada accidentally.'

b. ?*Guuzen* watashi wa Yamada-san ni awanakatta.
                                    meet NEG PAST

'I did not meet Mr. Yamada accidentally.'

TOKUNI   especially, particularly

1. a. *Tokuni* kono inu wa tsuyoi.
              this dog TOP strong

'In particular, this dog is strong.'

b. *Tokuni* kono inu wa tsuyokunia.
                         strong NEG

'In particular, this dog is not strong.'

2. a. Kore wa *tokuni* muzukashii.
    this TOP   difficult

'This is particularly difficult.'

b. Kore wa *tokuni* muzukashikunai.
                   difficult NEG

'This is not particularly difficult.'

GENGOGAKUTEKINI   linguistically

1. a. *Gengogakutekini* kore wa tadashii.
                    this TOP correct

'Linguistically this is correct.'

b. *Gengogakutekini* kore wa tadashikunai.
                          correct NEG

'Linguistically this is not correct.'

2. a. Kare wa sore o *gengogakutekini* setsumeishita.
    he TOP it ACC   explain PAST

'He explained it linguistically.'

b. Kare wa sore o *gengogakutekini* setsumeishinakatta.
                                   explain NEG PAST

'He did not explain it linguistically.'

Appendix B. Occurrence in relative clauses

A possible approach for further study - one that has been proposed more widely (e.g Schreiber 1971) - is examining the occurrence of the adverbs in subordinate clauses. A preliminary observation is given below in relation to relative clauses.

Minami (1974) observed that so-called CHINJUTSU FUKUSHI do not appear in relative clauses and some other subordinate clauses. With regard to SSA adverbs dealt with here, they actually do exhibit various kinds of behaviour.

The clearest case is that adverbs relating to speaker and hearer interaction do no appear in any relative clauses. This is the case for the adverbs, *doozo* and *dooka* (please). This restriction may be similar to that on interjective words like *aa* (ah).

Secondly, adverbs which are involved with presumptive or evidential attitude (with uncertainty) generally do not occur in relative clauses.

```
1. Kare wa  konya  ?osoraku   kare no shoorai o  kimeru
   he  TOP tonight ?tabun      he  GEN future ACC decide

   hitotachi ni   au koto ni  natte  iru.
   people    DAT  see matter  become DUR


   'He is supposed to meet people who will probably determine
   his future.'
```

The sentence sounds odd. However, it is possible to say the following in written language.

```
2. Kare wa  konya    osoraku  kare no shoorai  o kimeru

   daroo  hitotachi ni    au  koto ni natte iru.
   Presum
```

The use of *daroo* is unusual in subordinate clauses. In Minami (ibid.) expressions of CHINJUTSU like *daroo* are not allowed in subordinate clauses. When used as in 2, the relative clause seems non-restrictive and more independent.

On the other hand, adverbs involved in truth judgement (with certainty) or evaluative attitude can appear in a relative clause easily. For instance, consider the following sentence.

```
3. Kakari'in        wa     ainiku          kippu ga  kaenakatta
   man in charge TOP      unfortunately ticket NOM buy can NEG PAST


   hitotachi    o    made    settoku-shite   iru.
   people      ACC still     persuade        DUR
```

'The person in charge is still trying to persuade
people who could not buy a ticket (to give it up).'

The disparity between adverbs like *tabun* and *ainiku* has not been explained well (see Minami 1974: 237).

Adverbs with linking function can occur in relative clauses depending on context. However, *mochiron* (naturally, of course) sounds strange in relative clauses. *Shoojiki* also sounds odd in relative clauses. These two cases might be explained by their functions in speaker-listener interaction.

From this, it is evident that there are differences among SSA adverbs in terms of occurrence in relative clauses. Further, a suggestion is that the occurrence of these adverbs in relative clauses differs not only depending on their functions but also depending on pragmatic properties of relative clauses. Ohso (1986) suggested that differences in acceptability of the adverb *taitei* (usually) may be due to degree of independence of relative clauses. This may hold for the adverbs dealt with in this thesis as well.

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