EPISTEMOLOGY IN GRAMMAR:

A STUDY OF -GARU

IN

JAPANESE

SAKURAKO TODORIKI

A sub-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirement for the
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at
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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Sakurako TODORIKI

April 1987
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative affix (-sase)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>completion (-te shima)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional affix (-ba, -nara, -tara, -to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
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<td>COP</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>potential affix (rare, re)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
<td>progressive affix (te-iru)</td>
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<td>------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker (ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUOT</td>
<td>quotative marker (to)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>resultative affix (te-iru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFP</td>
<td>sentential final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic marker (wa)</td>
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</table>

| ?X    | X is unlikely             |
| ??X   | X is highly unlikely      |
| *X    | X is ungrammatical        |
| ST    | my phrasing in quotation  |
| =     | approximately             |
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot adequately thank my two supervisors. First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Anthony Alfonso, for his support, encouragement and constant concern throughout the preparation of this thesis. I owe an enormous debt to Dr. Anna Wierzbicka of the Linguistics Department. Her insight was an invaluable source of intellectual stimulation to my study of linguistics.

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INTRODUCTION

the 'Predicament' (...) brought on by such questions as "How do we know that another man is angry?" ...also...other forms of the question - "Do we (ever) know?", "Can we know?", "How can we know", the thoughts, feelings, sensations, mind, &c., of another creature,...

[(Austin [1946] 1979:76)]

0.1 General Remarks

The difficulty of making assertions about other minds has continued to exercise a special fascination over philosophers and students of language precisely because of some of the problems outlined in the above quotation from the philosopher of language, Austin. The issues are at the heart of Epistemology - the study of knowledge. This study focuses on one linguistic device employed in Japanese to resolve, so to speak, some questions concerning what is in the mind of others. That mechanism is the bound morpheme -GARU, which is attached to a group of adjectives to verbalise them and which is usually glossed as 'show signs of'.

In this introduction I shall outline the problems that -GARU poses to a Japanese descriptive grammar and (more especially) to the teaching and learning of Japanese as a second language. The basic aim of this study will then be presented, followed by remarks on the method of semantic description which is employed. Finally, a synopsis of the remaining chapters will be presented.
0.2 The Problem and an Overview

In Japanese there is a certain group of adjectives which can only take the first person subject in simple present declaratives. For example:

(1) a. watashi wa samui.  
I TOP cold  
'I am cold.'

b. *anata wa samui.  
you TOP cold  
'You are cold.'

c. *kare wa samui.  
he TOP cold  
'He is cold.'

The adjective samui 'cold' indicates one's internal state or feeling. With such an adjective the second or third person subject is unacceptable, since one cannot directly experience the internal state of others. However, one can ask about the internal state of the hearer as follows:

(2) anata wa samui (desu ka).  
you TOP cold COP POL Q  
'Are you cold?'

To report the feelings of the third person one has to add certain forms such as -GARU. -GARU stands out among certain other devices because its domain is restricted to the adjectives of feelings. This is one of the primary reasons why it was chosen for analysis in this thesis. By adding -GARU, (1c) becomes acceptable as shown in (3):

(3) kare wa samugatte-iru.  
he TOP cold PROG  
'He is cold.'

It is apparent that -GARU involves a number of features. First, its use shows an opposition between SELF and OTHER in the grammar. Second, it is only used with adjectives of feelings. These two
aspects of the morpheme relate to questions of epistemology. It will be argued that what -GARU codifies is the lack of epistemological certainty of the speaker with respect to 'other minds'; it signals that the knowledge upon which the predication is based has been indirectly acquired, and it does not emanate from the direct experience of the speaker. -GARU thus explained seems to be rather straightforward, but one should not assume that it is necessarily obvious or simple to those who learn Japanese as a second language, especially those whose first language (for example, English) does not explicitly grammaticalise this.

The problem is further complicated by other factors that touch on the use and interpretation of -GARU. Details of these factors are provided in chapters 2 and 3.

The grammatical facts as presented above do not seem complex. The application of the rules, however, is constrained by a number of factors. The style in which a particular utterance occurs determines whether or not the rules hold. The point of view which a speaker assumes in presenting a message may cause a variation in the rules. Thus there are situations where, despite appearances, -GARU can occur with a first person (=speaker) subject.

The data are well-known and attempts have been made to account for them in various ways, for example, Kuroda (1973) and Ohye (1973; 1975). However, I believe that they have not been adequately explained in an integrated framework. For instance, the 'deviations' from the standard uses of -GARU have been variously attributed to factors such as subjectivity, epistemology, style and viewpoint. Usually it is argued that one of these is the factor responsible for a particular usage to the exclusion of the other. Furthermore, I believe the meaning of -GARU has not been systematically explored.

The semantic accounts that exist do not tell the whole story
about -GARU. The glosses of -GARU as 'show signs of' or in some cases for example, in certain dictionaries, as 'feel' (Kenkyusha's New Japanese English Dictionary, p.318) are incomplete. From the point of view of language teaching these glosses are concise and could be very useful. Nevertheless, they do not represent the whole meaning of the item. It is usually difficult to get idiomatic translations across languages that would capture every aspect of the meaning of a word in the source language. It seems that to be able to explain the semantic features of -GARU properly it may be best to decompose it into its semantic components. Because of this, a semantic decomposition approach is favoured in this study.

0.3 The Aims of the Study

The present study has a number of related goals. In a broad sense it seeks to demonstrate one instance of the reflection of epistemology on grammar through a detailed descriptive analysis of one part of Japanese grammar. It hopes to show that observable grammatical facts are motivated in some way, and that such motivations can be explained. In addition, it illustrates an application of a natural semantic decomposition and semantic primitives approach to semantic analysis.

These broad aims are approached through more specific objectives. First, to describe systematically the features of -GARU. Secondly, to suggest a conceptually based explanatory model for elucidating the usage of -GARU. Thirdly, to examine data in other languages with respect to phenomena which involve some of the constraints that -GARU exhibits.

This work takes the common explanation of -GARU a step further by introducing the notion of markedness into the system of parameters
that could help to account for the use of -GARU, and it seeks to
incorporate all the relevant ideas into an integrated framework,
rather than making use of them independently to explicate aspects of
-GARU usage.

The method of semantic analysis employed in the study will now be
described.

0.4 Remarks on the Method of Semantic Description

The representation of the meanings of various morphemes, words
and constructions throughout this work follows the method of semantic
analysis advocated by Anna Wierzbicka (1972; 1979; 1980; 1986 among
others). The major principles of this framework are briefly outlined
in this section. Essentially, the method of analysis involves
paraphrasing the definable linguistic items - words, or construction -
under consideration into simpler terms. The paraphrases are
formulated in a metalanguage which is a highly reduced and
standardized natural language. It is required that they should be
substitutable salva significatione for the items in question in all
contexts. Because the metalanguage is based on a natural language,
English, the paraphrases are comprehensible in themselves and
intuitively verifiable.

It is assumed in this framework that at the deepest level, all
meanings in all languages can be stated in terms of a set of
hypothetical indefinables (i.e. semantic primitives) which at the
moment comprises: 'I', 'you', 'want', 'not want', 'say', 'something',
'someone', 'imagine', 'know', 'world', 'place', 'be a part of',
'this', 'become' (Wierzbicka 1980:10). Optimally, these terms should
be used; however, for practical and pragmatic reasons other more
complex items -- 'semantic molecules' -- which are intuitively
intelligible are also employed. Thus words such as 'do', 'good', 'bad', 'happen', 'because', 'feel' and 'perceive' recur in the explications. The semantic primitives (atoms) and the near-primitives (molecules) are identified in terms of meanings which appear to have been lexicalized in all or almost all languages. Thus although these words are English words it is possible that they have isomorphic equivalents in the lexicons of most other languages. To that extent, the semantic metalanguage is language independent and culture independent.

The principles of this method of semantic analysis ensure that (1) no terms used in definitions can be used with two different meanings, i.e. no homonymy in the metalanguage; (2) no two terms are used with the same meaning; i.e. no synonymy in the metalanguage; (3) vicious circles in definitions are eliminated, i.e. no two related terms are defined via each other; (4) obscurity is absent in definitions, i.e. complex meanings are stated in simpler terms.

In these lie the advantages of the method. Assuming that the paraphrases are adequate, the differences and similarities between related items in the same language or across languages can be easily discerned from them.

In brief, these are the essential features of the semantic decomposition and semantic primitives method of analysis that is employed in this study.

0.5 Organization of the Study

The study begins with a brief survey of the treatment of -GARU in various textbooks written for foreign students of Japanese.

In chapter two I undertake an exhaustive investigation of the syntactic and semantic features of -GARU. The meanings of the morpheme are explicitly formulated.
In chapter three a framework is put forward to account for and systematize the features described in the preceding chapter.

In the fourth chapter an attempt is made to put in typological perspective some of the restrictions associated with -GARU with respect to subjective predicates, in particular the constraints on the person of their subjects. Data is presented from some relatives and non-relatives of Japanese to show that some of the features that underlie -GARU are expressed in different ways in some other languages.

I conclude in the final chapter with a brief summary of the work pointing out some areas that need further research.

Although the study is principally about Japanese, an attempt is made to substantiate the claims made with findings from linguistic typological studies and language universals. A typological perspective is thus cast on several issues in the work.
CHAPTER 1

PRESENTATION OF -GARU IN JAPANESE TEXTBOOKS

1.1 Introduction

This chapter surveys the ways in which -GARU is presented in textbooks of Japanese as a foreign language. Its aim is to obtain an overview of the treatment of -GARU in textbooks which will put in focus the problems that might be encountered in the learning and teaching of this item. The textbooks surveyed are those of the beginner's level because -GARU is found to compound most commonly with -tai and hoshii which are usually taught at the beginner's level. Firstly, it looks at what level of the beginner's course, i.e. in what chapter, -GARU is introduced. Secondly, it looks at the way in which -GARU is presented in that chapter of the textbook. 1

1.2 Textbooks for Beginners

Nine textbooks for beginners are to be examined, as listed below. (Abbreviated titles are indicated in parenthesis):


Let us examine the stage in each of the textbooks at which -GARD as well as adjectives of feelings to which -GARU is suffixed are introduced. The lessons where these items are treated in each book are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Textbook</th>
<th>No. of total lessons</th>
<th>-GARU</th>
<th>HOSHIGARU</th>
<th>-TAGARU</th>
<th>with other Adj</th>
<th>HOSHII</th>
<th>-TAI</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>MJUS</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICJ</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(37, 45)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMJ</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>(13)</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>JLP</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBC</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>BJ</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>LJ</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>(15x4)</td>
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<td>(Vol.II)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Vol.V)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
As is evident from the above table, six textbooks out of nine present -GARU. I will survey the way in which these six books present -GARU. Three books which do not present -GARU will also be reviewed to see if and how the third person's feelings are expressed, and if so, in what way.

1.3 Textbooks which present -GARU

1.3.1 Nippongo I (NP)

This is the only book out of nine considered here which is written only in Japanese. It contains no grammar notes in English nor English translations. Hoshii, -tai and -tagaru, but not hoshigaru, are taught in lesson 20. They are presented in the main text in the following way:

(1) a. anata wa gorufu wa yaritakunai desu ka?
you top golf top play DES NEG COP POL Q

'Don't you want to play golf?'

b. watashi no tomodachi wa gorufu o yaritagatte-
I GEN friend ACC play DES PROG

imasu ga, watashi wa zenzen yaritakunai desu.
POL but I TOP never play DES NEG COP POL

'My friend wants to play golf, but I don't want to play at all.'

(2) a. gaikoku-jin wa minna kyooto e ikitagarimasu ne.
foreigner TOP everyone Kyoto DIR go DES POL SFP

'All foreigners want to go to Kyoto, don't they?'

b. soo desu ne. watashi no tomodachi mo minna
so COP POL SFP I GEN friend too everyone

Kyooto e ikitagatte-imasu.
Kyoto DIR go DES PROG POL

'That's right. All my friends want to go to Kyoto too.'

It is obvious from the text that the adjective form is used for
the first person in declaratives and for the second person in questions whereas the -GARU form is used for the third person. The differences between the use of -GARU and its progressive form -GATTE-IRU are also clearly spelled out for the learners. For generics, for instance, 'foreigners' and 'children' (in the drills), -GARU is used, but -GATTE-IRU is used to express a specific person's present feelings. This textbook also introduces a sentence that has the second person with the adjective form in a relative clause as indicated below:

(3) anata wa hoshii mono ga arimasu ka.
    you TOP want thing NOM there is POL Q

'Is there anything that you want?'

1.3.2 Modern Japanese for University Students (MJUS)

Hoshii is found in Lesson 15 and -tai in Lesson 19 where it is explained that -tai is used only for the desire of the first person. Lesson 15 aims at introducing the 'X wa Y ga (predicate)' patterns (e.g. kazuko wa me ga ookii desu. 'Kazuko has large eyes') and predicates such as hoshii and itai 'painful' which occur in this frame are included among the drills in the Exercises. Although the adjective of bodily sensation, itai 'painful', cannot normally be predicated of a third person subject without undergoing a morphological process, there is a sentence in Lesson 15 like the following which has a bare adjective form and a third person subject:

(4) Taroo wa atama ga itai desu.
    TOP head NOM painful COP POL

'Taro has a headache.'

This sentence can only be felicitous in a very unusual context which is unlikely to be encountered at this stage of the learning process. Such a sentence should be deleted from the textbook.
This textbook is unique in the sense that -GARU is presented in Lesson 38 where 'derivation' is taught with various other suffixes such as soo 'look' (e.g. minna samusoo desu. 'Everyone looks cold') and a nominalizer of adjectives -sa (e.g. ookisa 'size'). Let us consider how -GARU is described in this book:

(S)ome adjectives may be changed to verbs by changing the suffix -i to -garu. These adjectives then describe human feelings objectively, as for example:

- omoshiroi 'amusing/amused'
- kurushii 'distressing'
- hoshii 'desiring/desirable'
- sabishii 'lonely'

-V-tai may be changed to V-tagaru with the implication of "always" or "strongly":

- ikitai 'to want to go'  
  ikitagaru 'to be anxious to go'
- tabetai 'to want to eat'  
  tabetagaru 'to be anxious to eat'

There is no comment on the fact that the adjective forms are usually used for first person subjects and -GARU for non-first person subjects. The explanation offered for -tagaru could lead to some confusions in the minds of the learners; they might mistakenly think that -tagaru is used when the speaker feels a desire 'always' and also that the desire must be felt 'strongly.' In addition, the -GATTE-IRU form is not mentioned in the textbook.

1.3.3 Intensive Course in Japanese: Elementary (ICJ)

Hoshii, -tai, hoshigaru and -tagaru are presented in Lesson 20. -GARU also appears with other adjectives in later lessons; urayamashigaru 'to envy' in Lesson 37 and kawaigaru 'to feel affection for' and iyagarareru 'to be hated' in Lesson 45. As this textbook is intended to be used also for self-tuition, detailed explanations are given. -GARU is explicated in the Notes of Lesson 20 as follows:
hoshii and [dooshi 'verb' stem + tāi] are both used when expressing what the speaker or the person addressed wants. However, in expressing what a third person wants, the structures [dooshi 'verb' stem + ta + garu], and hoshigaru are used, by adding the suffix -GARU to the keiyooshi 'adjective' stem. The suffix -GARU is conjugated like a dooshi 'verb' of Pattern Group I. Notice also that -ga hoshii and -ga-tāi become -ō hoshigaru and -ō-tagaru.

This explanation is well worded, nevertheless, it could be made more precise. Although all the example sentences are questions, it has to be stated clear that the use of the adjective form for the second person is used only in questions. Another shortcoming of the presentation is that there are no remarks on the progressive form of -GARU, although all the third person sentences are in the -GATTE-IRU form in the textbook.

-GARU appears later in the Dialogues of other lessons. Wherever it is found with other adjectives, the full morphological structure of the words in which it occurs and the meanings are provided in the Notes: e.g. kawaigaru (kawaii 'adorable' + garu 'to show, seem, appear to') 'to adore, love; to be nice to, to show affection towards.'

1.3.4 Introduction to Modern Japanese (IMJ)

The learner is introduced to hoshii, -tāi, hoshigaru and -tagaru in Lesson 15. These forms are presented in the main text (the Dialogue), in the Explanation section as well as in various Drills. The items are explained in the following manner:

The verb hoshigaru is derived from the adjective hoshii. Hoshii is used by the speaker to talk about his own desires; hoshigaru is used by the speaker to refer to a third person's desires ... Hoshii follows -ga while hoshigaru follows -ō. Garu is used with other adjectives, too:
ex. a. Samui-desu-nee. (It's cold, isn't it?)

b. Ee, kodomo-tachi-mo samugatte-imasu.

(Yes, the children say they're cold, too.)

... -Tai added to the verb base expresses the speaker's wish to do something ... While kitai 'want to come' is used with the first person, kitagatte-iru is used with the third person. Thus:

ex. Watashi wa nihongo-o (-ga) hanashitai-desu.

(I want to speak Japanese.)

Imooto wa nihongo-o hanashitagatte-imasu.

(My sister wants to speak Japanese.)

This book does not offer any explanation for the difference between the -GARU and -GATTE-IRU forms either, although the te-iru form is introduced earlier as indicating that 'the action is now in progress.' Since the author says that this book can be used for independent study, it would help if this difference was mentioned.

The Drills also cover usage drills where situations are created in which students can get access to the usage of the items in natural discourse. For example, a conversation with three participants is conducted to show the use of -tai and -tagaru forms. The underlined parts are to be substituted with other verbs such as eega o miru 'watch the film' and nihon e iku 'go to Japan' as illustrated below:

ningyoo-o kau 'buy a doll'

A: Ningyoo-o kaitai-to omoimasu. 'I want to buy a doll.'

B: Soo-desu-ka. 'Is that so.' (B walks over to C)

C: (A) san-wa nani-o shitagatte-imasu-ka. 'What does (A) want to do?'

B: Ningyoo-o kaitagatte-imasu. '(A) wants to buy a doll.'

In the Reading Comprehension Drill also, one of the other ways to express the desire of others is introduced, namely, the use of quotation: -(tai) to iu '(X) says that ((X) wants to (do)).'
A highly commendable feature of this book is that it is the only one which explains the social implications of the use of -GARU as follows:

Garu verbs cannot be used to talk about the desires of respected persons. It sounds strange to say sensee-ga samugatte-imasu. 'The teacher is cold', since the word sensee 'teacher' shows respect and the -garu verb doesn't.

Most of the textbooks surveyed do not place much emphasis on the social dimensions of -GARU usage. There is the need for this aspect to be emphasized since it cannot be denied that it forms an essential component of the communicative competence of the speakers of the language. To be able to communicate effectively in a language, a language learner does not only have to know how to construct grammatical sentences, he must also know when and where to use such sentences. Thus if the Japanese learners are not made aware of the social contexts of usage of -GARU, they would fail to communicate appropriately.

1.3.5 Japanese for Today (JFT)

Hoshii, -tai, hoshigaru and -tagaru are introduced in Lesson 13. Other adjectives to which -GARU can be attached are referred to in the explanatory notes. The main text of the lesson contains sentences with both -GARU and -GATTE-IRU forms. The following notes are given on the grammar of adjectives of feelings:

These predicates (hoshii/-tai, ST), like many other adjectives expressing emotion or feeling, are basically to express the feelings of the speaker (and those of a second person in a question). When you want to use them for a third person, some modifications are necessary, such as the following:
The 'Adjectives of emotion' include: urenshii 'glad, happy';  
kanashii 'sad'; kowai 'afraid'; sabishii 'lonely'.

It is good that some instruction is given on the way to express the feelings of others. Various forms, including -GARU, that could be added to the adjectives are dealt with. Equally valuable is the representative list of those adjectives that fall into such a category. In spite of these good aspects, it is regrettable that limitation of space does not allow the provision of exercises to test the third person usage.

1.3.6 Japanese Language Patterns (JLP)

Though I include this book as a beginner's textbook, it covers advanced level material as well. It could be called a reference grammar.

-GARU is presented with abundant examples in one section of Lesson 29 where the expression of 'Wish and Desire' is focussed on. -Tai is explained in the previous section of the same lesson, while hoshii is mentioned briefly in Lesson 7 as a '(topic) wa (subject) ga (predicate)' pattern taking predicate. There is no mention of the person restriction concerning hoshii but in the case of -tai it is stated under DISTRIBUTION. Let us consider this DISTRIBUTION of -tai before going on to -GARU:
With the first person, used FREELY; with the third person used SOMewhat freely; with the second person, used rather SPARINGLY.

The examples with the second person are:

(5) dotchi demo tabetai hoo o totte kudasai.
    whichever eat DES one ACC take GER please
    'Please help yourself to anything that is to your taste.'

(6) uchi ni kaeritakereba kaette mo ii desu.
    home DIR return DES COND return GER may
    'If you wish to return home, you may.'

(7) sonna-ni ikita desu ka.
    so much go DES COMP COP POL Q
    'Do you want to go so much?'

It is stated that when one has a strong desire, (7) is uttered and the following explanation is given:

-TAI can be used with the second person in these cases, although this type of sentence is very strong and is said in a nearly scolding or reproachful mood.

Some examples with the third person are:

(8) hontoo ni iitakattara itta deshoo.
    really say DES COND say PAST perhaps
    'If he really had wanted to say it, he would have.'

(9) ano hito ga shiritai to itte-imasu.
    that person NOM know DES QUOT saying POL
    'He says he wants to know.'

(10) ano hito ga shiritai soo desu.
    that person NOM know DES I hear COP POL
    'I hear he wants to know.'

One thing which is important for students, especially at a more advanced level, to know is that -tai can be used for second and third persons if it occurs in larger constructions. From this point of view the examples are quite instructive. However the DISTRIBUTION could be stated with more clarity and explicitness. It may be necessary to
indicate that -tai is used for the second person in questions but not for the third person in independent sentences. Furthermore, the explanation about (7) with the second person subject can be confusing for the learners.

Now we turn to the presentation of -GARU. It is introduced with adjectives such as samui 'cold', iya da 'disgusting/disgusted', kowai 'fearful', omoshiroi 'interesting/interested' as well as -tai and hoshii. -GARU is explained under the headings of 1. FORM, 2. MEANING, 3. DISTRIBUTION and other remarks are made in 4. as follows:

1. -GARU is added a) to adjectives by replacing the final /i/; b) to qualitative nouns (i.e. na adjectives, ST) without any changes.

2. used only after words indicating FEELINGS, it shows that those feelings ARE PRESENT AND STRONG: iki-TA-GARU 'be dying to go'; IYA-GARU 'feel a strong repulsion to'; HOSHI-GARU 'want badly', etc.

3. with the first person, is used RARELY (and only in a very few cases, such as: Watashi wa SAMU-GARI desu kara, hi no soba...); with the second person, is used ONLY IN EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES, when one desires to be very direct and strong; with the third person, FREELY. Examples of its use with the second person:

   Sonna ni ikiTAGATTE okashii desu yo.
   'It's odd that you want to go do badly.'

   Omae wa dooshite soo yameTAGARU n deshoo?
   'Why are you so keen on quitting?'

   Otoko no kuse ni hazukashiGATCHA dame da yo.
   'It's not right for a man to feel so bashful.'

4. Although -GARU can be used with any adjective or qualitative noun which indicates some feeling or emotion, it most commonly compounds with the -TAI form of a verb. So much so that it is listed in dictionaries under the form -TAGARU; compounds with adjectives or qualitative nouns are listed in dictionaries as separate items.

   The verbal noun form also occurs; SAMUGARI, ATSUGARI, etc. To these verbal nouns may be added YA, which here stands for 'person'; thus: SAMUGARIYA, 'a person sensitive to cold'.
The note on the DISTRIBUTION of -GARU with respect to the second person may be a source of misunderstanding for students. They could misconstrue it to indicate that -GARU can be used when the addressee's desire is very strong and direct. It is also said that -GARU can be used with any adjectives of emotion or feeling. But is this necessarily the case? (see the discussion in Chapter 2).

The pattern practice includes the non-emotional adjective tsuyoi 'strong' as a -GARU-taking adjective. Since tsuyoi is not an adjective of emotion, it needs to be mentioned that -GARU in this case does not convey exactly the same meaning as -GARU which attaches to the adjectives of emotion (see section 2.11).

In the Practice section, a situational drill is given; the situations are given in Japanese and students are asked to produce the appropriate sentences with -GARU. For example:

(11) Keiko chan wa terebi o mite warattari
Keiko TOP T.V. ACC watch GER laughing
te o tataitari shite-imasu.
clapping hands POL

'Keiko, watching T.V., is laughing and clapping her hands.'

→ Keiko chan wa (terebi o mite) omoshirogatte-imasu.

'Keiko is amused watching T.V.'

(12) kare wa ima ashi ga warui no ni shiai ni
deri, shiai ni deru to itte-imasu.
participate QUOT saying POL

'Although his leg is injured, he keeps saying that he will play the match.'

→ kare wa ashi ga warui no ni shiai ni detagatte-imasu.

'Although his leg is injured, he wants to play the match.'
(13) minna de ikinasai to iimashita ga kare wa altogether go IMP POL QUOT say POL PAST but he TOP
dooshitemo isha ni iku no wa iya da by any means doctor DIR go COMP TOP disgusting COP to iimasu.
QUOT say POL

'Everyone told him to go to the doctor but he says he does not want to go by any means.'

→ minna de ikinasai to iimashita ga, kare wa isha ni iku no o iyagatte-imasu.

'Everyone told him to go to the doctor, but he hates to go.'

(14) atsuku natta no de kodomo wa umi ni itte hot become PAST as children sea DIR go GER
mo ii ka to nando mo kikimasu.
may Q QUOT many times ask POL

'As it is getting hot, my child asks me many times if he may go to the beach.'

→ atsuku natta node kodomo wa uni ni ikitagatte-imasu.

'As it is getting hot, my child wants to go to the beach.'

This situation drill which is not available in other textbooks deserves high praise. There is a usage drill in IMJ which has its usefulness but it does not cover all the contexts in which -GARU is used. The situations created in IMJ could cause the learners to misconstrue the use of -GARU as one of simply conveying what is heard from one person (an experiencer) to another. It could be difficult for the students to differentiate between -GARU and a sheer quotation etc. The drill in JLP, by contrast, provides a situation where the use of -GARU is most appropriate and should be preferred among the set of other possible items such as soo da 'I hear' and rashii 'seem'. The contexts involve verbal and non-verbal expressions such as clapping hands or laughing (as in (11)) or saying repeatedly what one feels (as in (12) and (14)) and saying one's strong feeling (as in (13)).
1.4 Textbooks which do not Present -GARU

In this section three textbooks which do not present -GARU are briefly surveyed. Its aim is to find out if these textbooks introduce ways to describe other people's feeling or, if they do, whether they present other forms to describe them.

1.4.1 Japanese: A Basic Course (JBC)

Hoshii is presented in Lesson 6 as a '(topic) wa (subject) ga (predicate)' pattern taking predicate (e.g. watashi wa kono machi ga suki desu. 'I like this town'). -Tai is introduced in Lesson 14. Their subjects are first person in the declaratives and second person in questions and a few sentences have third person subjects. In Lesson 6 the person constraint concerning hoshii is not mentioned and one sentence is shown as follows:

(15) kono ko wa miruku ga hoshii desu.
    this child TOP milk NOM want COP POL
    'This baby wants milk.'

This third person subject with the adjective form should not be introduced at this stage of learning, thus best be deleted.

It is explained that -tai can be used for both first and third person subjects and an example of the third person subject in the past tense is given as below:

(16) ano hito wa naka ni hairitakunakatta desu yo.
    that person TOP inside DIR enter DES NEG PAST COP POL SFP
    'He did not want to go/come inside.'

Although this sentence may be grammatical, it is not natural to use the adjective form without any suffixes even in the past tense. The conditions when the person subject can be predicated about with
adjectives should be clearly stated to avoid any misunderstandings on the part of learners.

1.4.2 Beginning Japanese (BJ)

-tai appears in Lesson 7 where it is noted that in statements -tai patterns usually refer to the speaker and in questions they refer to the person addressed. No pattern for the third person is mentioned. Hoshii appears in Lesson 31, however, the person constraint of the subject is not touched upon.

1.4.3 Learn Japanese (LJ)

Hoshii appears in Lesson 1 of Vol.II but no explanation is given concerning the constraint on the person of its subject. Most of the examples used to illustrate its use contain the form n which is introduced in an earlier lesson (Lesson 7 of Vol.I) as a pre-copula occurring between an adjective and the copula desu. N is taught as a device that makes a sentence more emphatic, colloquial and elucidating or explicatory. N(o) is one of the morphemes which can be employed in the expression of the third person's internal state. This may not be entirely clear from the way n is added on to the adjective forms regardless of person. Some of the examples given are:

(17) eiga no kippu ga ni-mai hoshii n desu ga, film GEN ticket NOM two want COMP COP POL but
arimasu ka.
there is Q
'I want two tickets for the film; don't you have any?'

(18) watakushi wa ocha ga hoshii (n) desu.
I TOP tea NOM want COMP COP POL
'I want some tea.'

(19) kono ko wa ocha ga hoshii n desu.
this child TOP tea NOM want COMP COP POL
'This child wants tea.'

Although all the sentences are acceptable there is a difference in the function and obligatoriness of n in each of them. In (19), for example, n is obligatory while it is not in (17) and (18); that is, if it were deleted in (19), the sentence would be unacceptable. -Tai is presented in Lesson 3 of Vol.II. It is pointed out in the grammar notes that -tai (desu) normally represents a speaker's desire and there is a restriction in its use with respect to second and third person' desires. There is no further explanation given.

These are not the only books which do not introduce -GARU. Indeed, the so-called 'survival' Japanese textbooks 3 do not introduce the way in which to express the third person's desire. As the range of vocabulary and sentence patterns is limited in such courses, it is understandable that the third person subject is not dealt with. It is more essential that students learn how to say what they want and to ask about the hearer's desire rather than how to describe the third person's desire.

1.5 Summary

From the above survey, several things can be said concerning the treatment of -GARU in beginners' textbooks. Six textbooks out of nine surveyed present -GARU, and five introduce it together with -tai or both -tai and hoshii. Four books (MJUS, IMJ, JFT, JLP) mention other adjectives (e.g. ureshii 'glad', samui 'cold') which can be verbalized by -GARU in the same lesson, and ICJ introduces them in different lessons.

The meaning attributed to -GARU varies depending upon the textbook. One book explains that it is used when feelings are 'present and strong' (JLP); in another book (MJUS) -(TA)GARU is interpreted as 'always and strongly'. Other books give glosses such
as 'show/seem/appear to' (ICJ), or 'show a sign of' (JFT). In one book (IMJ) no English translation is given. These textbooks may be right in one way or another; they seem to cover certain semantic features of -GARU, but are not holistic in their approach.

The syntactic feature of -GARU in relation to the third person subject is generally well explained, except for one book (MJUS) which does not offer any explanation. Another book (JLP) presents all person usages of -GARU; -GARU appears in exceptional usages of the first person subject such as samugari 'a person who is sensitive to cold' and the second person subject when one's feeling is very direct and strong. However, this explication may require some modification.

What is found wanting in most of the textbooks is sufficient instruction on the difference(s) between -GARU and -GATTE-IRU; the morphological forms are not satisfactorily treated. One book translates them as: 'show signs of' and 'is showing signs of' respectively. All the books introduce TE-IRU, the present progressive form, earlier than -GARU. Thus it may be assumed the two can be linked. Nevertheless, there is a need for the textbooks (or perhaps the teachers) to emphasise and explain clearly that the -GATTE-IRU form represents one's present feelings.

Another aspect of -GARU that is missing in a majority of the textbooks is the social constraint on its usage. Only one book (IMJ) attempts to elucidate it. It is explained that -GARU is not used to talk about the feelings of respected persons. In fact this is implicit in the examples provided in all the books. An examination of the nature of the subjects of -GARU sentences in all the textbooks reveals that they do not refer to people to whom one is obliged socially to show respect. The third person subjects are kodomo 'children', minna 'everyone', personal names - either the surname or the first name, kin terms referring to one's own family members such
as imooto 'younger sister' and haha 'my mother', tomodachi 'friend',
gaiokujin 'foreigner' ano hito 'that person' and so on. The subject
never has an honorific form such as ano kata 'that person', imooto san
'your or someone's sister' nor sensei 'teacher'. It is quite
important for learners to be made aware of this social principle that
underlies -GARU usage. The responsibility for this is probably best
left to the teachers, although it may be worthwhile for the textbooks
to provide some explanation.

Concerning the adjectives which can be suffixed by -GARU, the
explication about the person constraint of the subject is found to be
unsatisfactory in many books surveyed. The treatment of hoshii 'want'
in particular in many textbooks is somewhat defective. Hoshii is
introduced as one of the predicates which takes the 'X wa Y ga
predicate' sentence pattern together with predicates which do not have
a person constraint on their subjects such as suki da 'like' and
dekiru 'be able to'. In some books the substitution drills, where the
first, second and third person subjects are randomly presented and
expected to be matched with the predicates, may mislead the learner to
think that hoshii has no person constraint.

Two of the books even present unacceptable sentences (except in a
special context) of the adjective form with the third person subject
in present simple declaratives. Such sentences should be deleted from
the beginner's textbooks.

The occurrence of adjectives with the second or third person
subject in dependent sentences such as relative, conditional and
reason clauses is demonstrated in several books. One book (JLP) also
introduces the adjective form in the past tense for the third person
subject. Learners would have been instructed with more clarity if a
brief explication were added about the use of adjective forms with the
second or third person subject in such cases.
Some textbooks provide a useful presentation of other devices to express the third person's feeling, such as a quotation -(tai)to iu '(X) says that ((X) wants to (do))' or hearsay soodá 'I hear' or nob dá 'it is the case that'.

Three books which do not present -GARU fail to give clear statements on the person constraint of the subject of hoshii or -tai; most of them do not mention the existence of such a constraint.

As shown above, the explications of -GARU vary depending upon the textbook. Some of the deficiencies noted in relation to some of the textbooks should be counteracted by teachers in the classroom; however, these deficiencies cannot be set right where the textbook is designed for self-tuition. Of course, it is impossible to include everything in a textbook and for this reason one cannot expect too much from them. Besides, textbooks can vary in the depth of their coverage of topics depending on their particular aims. Especially in the case of beginners' textbooks, one also recognizes the limitations on vocabularies and sentence patterns which ought to be taught. Nevertheless, in such textbooks one can at the very least require explanations of the basic functions of -GARU, and perhaps these could be expanded to more complex structures of -GARU depending upon the level of learners.

Perhaps the modest investigations undertaken in the subsequent chapters might be of some use as reference material in the teaching of -GARU.
CHAPTER 2
THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF -GARU

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the syntactic and semantic features of -GARU. It begins with a detailed investigation of the type(s) of adjectives to which -GARU is attached. The classification of -GARU verbs is then considered. The various uses of -GARU are described and the constraints and meanings associated with each usage explored. The aim of all this is to arrive at the features that are essential for the semantic explications of the morpheme. The meanings discovered are explicitly stated and arguments are presented in support of them.

2.2 Preliminary Remarks

The morph -GAR is a SETSUBIJI 'suffix' which attaches to the stems of a certain class of adjectives to change them to verbs, that is, it verbalizes adjectives. -U attached to this morph is the non-past tense marker. kanashi-(i) 'sad', for example, is verbalized as kanashi-gar-(u).\[1\] What I call 'adjectives' in this thesis encompasses KEIYOOSHI 'adjectives' or '-i adjectives', KEIYOO DOOSHI 'nominal adjectives' or 'adjectival nouns' or 'na adjectives', and also the desiderative suffix -ta-(i) 'want to (do), be eager to' which inflects as an adjective for the sake of convenience. Some examples of them are:
hoshi-(i) 'want' (-i adjective)² hoshi-gar-(u)
iya (da) 'disgusting' (na adjective) iya-gar-(u)
-ta-(i) 'want to (do)' (desiderative suffix) -ta-gar-(u)

(Throughout this study the citation form of -GAR is '-GARU'.)

2.3 -GARU Suffixing Adjectives

Adjectives to which -GARU could be suffixed are described in this section. It has been mentioned that these adjectives represent one's internal states. An attempt is made to find out what exactly these adjectives denote. After establishing this, the case marking patterns as well as argument structures of the adjectives are explored.

2.3.1 Identification of the Class

In this section I investigate the nature of the type of adjectives that take -GARU in order to uncover features of the morpheme. Consider the following examples:

(1) a. watashi wa tadashii.
    I TOP correct/right
    'I am right.'

    b. Taroo wa { tadashii.
        TOP *tadas-higa t t e-iru.
        'Taro is right.'

(2) a. watashi wa sei ga hikui.
    I TOP height NOM short
    'I am short.'

    b. Taroo wa sei { ga hikui.
        NOM short * c hikugatte-iru.
        TOP height ACC
        'Taro is short.'

(3) a. watashi wa sabishii.
    I TOP lonely
    'I am lonely.'
If one compares examples (1) and (2) on the one hand with (3) and (4) on the other, one finds that the adjectives and not the -GARU forms are acceptable for the third person subject in (1) and (2). In (3) and (4), however the reverse is true; the -GARU verbs and not the adjectives are acceptable for the third person subject. The crucial difference between the adjectives in (1) and (2) and those in (3) and (4) is that the latter denote the internal state of the subject person while the former do not. The adjectives in (1) and (2) ascribe properties or qualities to entities.

The adjectives in (3) and (4), by contrast, signify states which the subject person is experiencing. -GARU does not occur with the former type of adjectives.

-GARU in general is not attached to adjectives which describe an inherent quality or an (external) property or state of an entity. The majority of Japanese adjectives are of this type. They may be called 'non-subjective' or 'objective' adjectives which traditional grammarians have labelled ZOKUSEI KEIYOOSHI (see e.g. Nishio 1972). Some examples of this type are marui 'round', shikakui 'square', massugu da 'straight', hosonagai 'long and narrow', colour terms such as akai 'red' and aoi 'blue', kenkoo da 'healthy', yasashii 'kind', kashikoi 'clever' and taisetsu da 'important'.
With the exception of some of those adjectives which have absolute value such as skikakui 'square', marui 'round' and colour terms, the objective adjectives may not be totally devoid of subjective assessment since the qualities they describe are relative. This implies that some of the objective adjectives on which subjective estimations may be imposed could take -GARU, since -GARU attaches to those adjectives that involve a subjective element such as muzukashii 'difficult' and kitanai 'dirty' (see also p.31ff.).

With examples (3) and (4) it was pointed out that some of the adjectives which can be verbalized by -GARU represent internal states. But what are these internal states? The features of these adjectives are examined next with a view to finding what they have in common.

The internal states that the adjectives represent are emotions (examples (5), (6)) and sensations (examples (7), (8)). The noun qualified or predicated about by the adjective has the semantic role of experiencer in relation to the adjectives. Examine the following examples:

(5) Taroo wa shiai ni makete, kuyashigatte-iru.
    TOP match DAT lose GER vexed PROG
    'Taro is vexed at his defeat in the match.'

(6) kainushi ga kaette kite, inu mo ureshigatte-iru.
    master NOM return GER dog glad PROG
    'As its master came back, the dog is happy.'

(7) Taroo wa mushi ni sasareta tokoro o kayugatte-iru.
    TOP insect by bitten place ACC itchy PROG
    'Taro's insect bite is itchy.'

(8) kono neko wa samugatte-iru yo.
    this cat TOP cold PROG SFP
    'This cat is cold.'

It should be noted that non-human animates such as a 'dog' (6) and 'cat' (8) can occur as experiencers of these internal states. This means that the essential thing about the subject experiencers of -GARU verbs is that they should be animate (and not only human).
These adjectives, both of emotions and sensations, have been called KANJOO KEIYOSHI 'Emotive Adjectives' (my translation) by grammarians (see e.g. Koyama 1966). These adjectives include natsukashii 'nostalgic', urameshii 'reproachful', zannen da 'regretful/sorry', itoshii 'dear/beloved', and kowai 'fearful' for 'emotions' and samui 'cold', mabushii 'dazzled/dazzling' and itai 'painful' for 'sensations'.

There are other adjectives which take -GARU but which do not seem to belong exactly to the adjectives of emotion and sensation. They relate to the subject person's becoming aware of and evaluating properties of objects. For sheer convenience, these may be dubbed adjectives of 'perception'. Their relationship with the adjectives of emotion and sensation is that they all pertain to the subjective experience of the nominal that they qualify or modify, although in varying ways. (See the definitions of emotion, sensation and perception in Appendix.) Consider the examples below:

(9) Hanako wa Taroo no tsukatta taoru o TOP Taro GEN used towel ACC kitanagatte-iru. dirty PROG

'Hanako finds the towel Taro used dirty.'

(10) Hanako wa nokotta ryoori o suteru no o TOP left dish ACC throw away COMP ACC mottainagatte-iru. wasteful PROG

'Hanako thinks it is a waste to throw away the leftovers.'

(11) Taroo wa kodomo o urusagatte-iru. TOP child ACC annoying PROG

'Taro finds his child annoying/Taro is annoyed by his child.'

In a sense, these adjectives are like objective adjectives since they describe properties of objects rather than their internal states. Unlike typical objective adjectives, however, these involve
an individual's subjective judgement of a given property. The individual's interpretation is open to question since different people may vary in their evaluation of (especially relative) properties. In other words, what one individual may consider dirty or wasteful or annoying (as in examples (9), (10), (11)) may not be thought of as such by another. Some other examples of such adjectives are okashii 'funny', muzukashii 'difficult', omoshiroi 'interesting', tsumaranai 'boring', mezurashii 'precious/rare' and ayashii 'dubious'.

From the foregoing discussion, it has been found that adjectives which have a non-subjective element do not occur with -GARU. Adjectives that can occur with -GARU denote qualities that pertain to subjective feelings. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the nominals about which they are predicated are semantically experiencers. Rough paraphrases of the frames for -GARU taking adjectives can be states as (a) and (b):

(a) X feels Z (about Y)

experiencer emotion source

sensation

e.g. 1) watashi wa atsui. (X = watashi 'I')
I TOP hot (Z = atsui 'hot')
'I am hot.'

2) watashi wa hebi ga kowai. (X = watashi 'I')
I TOP snake NOM afraid (Z = kowai 'afraid')
Y = hebi 'snake'
'I am afraid of snakes.'

(b) X perceives Y to be Z

experiencer source property

e.g. 1) watashi wa kono mondai ga muzukashii.
I TOP this question NOM difficult
'I find this question difficult.'

(X = watashi 'I')
Y = kono mondai 'this question'
Z = muzukashii 'difficult'
2) watashi wa ano eiga ga omoshiroi.
'I think that film is interesting.'

\[
\begin{align*}
X &= \text{watashi 'I'} \\
Y &= \text{ano eiga 'that film'} \\
Z &= \text{omoshiroi 'interesting'}
\end{align*}
\]

-GARU occurs in these constructions if X is a third person.

These adjectives do not take -GARU if they are used attributively of Y (in (a) and (b) above). That is, these constructions can be transformed into (c) and there is no use of -GARU (cf. Teramura 1982:150ff):

(c) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Adj} \\
\hline
\text{(theme)} & \text{wa} & \text{(property)}
\end{array}
\]

Some examples are as follows:

(12) Tokyoo no natsu wa atsui.
Tokyo GEN summer TOP hot
'Summer in Tokyo is hot.'

(13) hebi wa kowai.
snake TOP frightening
'Snakes are frightening.'

(14) ano eiga wa omoshiroi.
that film TOP interesting
'That film is interesting.'

Here, the indication is that Y has the property Z (and if Z is an adjective of emotion, sensation or perception, then it can be assumed that Y can arouse certain feelings in an animate X).

Hereafter adjectives of emotions, sensations and perceptions are referred to simply as 'adjective(s) of feeling'.
2.3.2 Case Marking Patterns

In the previous section the type of adjectives that can be suffixed by -GARU have been discussed. It has been shown that -GARU verbalizes adjectives of feeling. In this section I will make some brief observations on the case marking patterns that are associated with the adjectives and the -GARU derived constructions. The main issue addressed concerns the argument structure of the adjectives and -GARU verbs in relation to the case marking system. The syntactic and semantic roles of the NP arguments of the predicates will be examined.

Adjectives to which -GARU is affixed may take one or two arguments. As we have seen earlier, the NP-filler for one place adjectives of feeling is semantically an experiencer. Syntactically, such an NP is marked by the nominative case marker ga, as shown below.5

(15) watashi ga ureshii.
I NOM glad
'I am glad.'

(16) watashi ga nemutai.
I NOM sleepy
'I am sleepy.'

Regarding the two-place adjectives, the experiencer NP₁ is marked by ga or by the dative case marker ni as illustrated in the following sentences:

(17) watashi ga/ni nodo ga itai.
NOM DAT throat NOM painful
'I have a sore throat.'

(18) watashi ga/ni haha kara no tayori ga ureshii.
I NOM/DAT mother from GEN letter NOM glad
'Letters from my mother make me happy.'

(19) watashi ga/ni mizu ga/(o) hoshii.
I NOM/DAT water NOM ACC want
'I want water.'
The adjective in (17) stands for a sensation which takes the NP1 _ga_ NP2 _ga_ pattern. The adjectives of emotion take _ga_ or _ni_ marker for NP1 except a few adjectives such as _hoshii_ 'want' (as in (19)) and _-tai_ 'want to (do)'. The adjectives of perception such as in (20) take _ni_ and possibly _ga_ for NP1. The case marking conversion of _ga_ and _ni_ in such constructions as (18) continues to be a topic for debate among scholars. The debate centers on which of the patterns is basic and which is derived (see Kuno 1973, Tonoike 1975-76, Shibatani and Cotton 1976-77, Kuroda 1978, among others). Another concern is the semantic nature of _ga_ and _ni_ in such constructions as (18). Let us briefly see one interpretation of this to demonstrate the ways in which the Japanese language allows its speakers to conceptualize the experiencer of such a feeling. McGloin (1980) observes the following about _ga/ni_ in connection with adjectives of feeling as well as predicates of ability, possession, necessity, etc. (e.g. _watashi ni/ga okane ga iru_. 'I need some money.'): 

With _ga_, it is felt that the agentive role of the NP is prominent, while _ni_ emphasises its role as an experiencer. (p.74)

And also:

... Perhaps we tend to perceive NP- _ga_ as being more responsible or more in control of bringing about the state described. (p.75)

Her observations may be relevant to case marking alterations in other languages as well. The points made about the nominative _ga_ and dative _ni_ contrast in Japanese (especially in connection with the above predicates) seems analogous to the facts of the contrast between 'personal nominative experiencer' and 'impersonal dative experiencer' constructions for Slavic languages like Russian and Polish.
Compare (18) with the expression of desire hoshii 'want' in (19). Hoshii and -tai are more transitive than the adjectives in (18): they permit the use of the canonical transitive NP₁ ga NP₂ o case patterns. Compare the following examples with the prototypical transitive sentence in (23):

(21) watashi ga mizu ga/o nomitai.  
'I want to drink water.'

(22) kore ga/(o) ichi kiro hoshii n desu kedo ...  
'(I) want 1 kg. of this, but ...'

(23) watashi ga Taroo o nagutta.  
'I hit Taroo.'

It can be speculated that in the construction with the adjectives of emotion ga may imply an experiencer who is a conscious and active undergoer while a ni marked experiencer is in a sense more of a passive victim.

In the adjectives of perception in (20) the experiencer is marked by ni or possibly by ga whose personal knowledge seems to be the standard for which the evaluation is made. The experiencer makes a judgement on the property of something based on his own subjective value, i.e., the subject in this sentence finds the question difficult but another person may not necessarily think the same.

Another dispute concerning the two place predicates is the question of the grammatical role of the second NP. Traditional grammarians considered the second NP a subject (see Sakuma [1940] 1983:120ff., for example). The sentence in (24) is glossed as "As for me, a camera is desirable."

(24) watashi wa (ga) kamera ga hoshii.  
'I, TOP NOM camera NOM want
The view seems to be that the first NP *watashi* represents 'topic', which in current linguistic thinking could be said to be external to the clause (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1985), and then the second NP and the predicate constitute a clause whose subject is the second NP.

Tokieda (1941:373-9), on the other hand, proposed that the first NP is a subject and the second NP is *taishoogo* 'object' (my translation).\(^{11}\)

I will not discuss this issue here, since this is not my main concern. In this thesis I will assume the first experiencer NP to be a subject and the second NP to be an object.

The object in two place constructions of adjectives of feeling semantically indicates the 'source' of the feeling.\(^{12}\) Source, in my interpretation, involves the 'target' or 'goal' of an emotion as seen in (25) and (26); that is, the mental event may be felt to arise autonomously and to direct itself towards a particular object. Alternatively, source may indicate the 'cause' of an emotion as in (27).\(^{13}\) However, 'target' and 'cause' may not be clearly separated. Source in the case of the object NP of adjectives of sensation refers to the location where it is felt as in (28), or to the object which causes such a bodily sensation as in (29) and (30).\(^{14}\) With adjectives of perception, source implies an external object or event which acts on an experiencer so as to generate within him a particular mental event as in (31):

\(^{11}\) Tokieda (1941:373-9)

\(^{12}\) See (25) and (26).

\(^{13}\) See (27).

\(^{14}\) See (28), (29), and (30).

\(\text{(25) } \text{watashi ga kuruma ga hoshii.} \quad \text{I NOM car NOM want} \quad \text{I want a car.'} \)

\(\text{(26) } \text{watashi ni/ga kare ga nikurashii.} \quad \text{I DAT NOM he NOM hateful} \quad \text{I hate him.'} \)

\(\text{(27) } \text{watashi ni/ga Pochi ga shinda no ga kanashii.} \quad \text{I DAT NOM Pochi NOM die PAST COMP NOM sad} \quad \text{I am sad at (my dog) Pochi's death.'} \)
(28) watashi ga mune ga kurushii.
I     NOM chest NOM painful
'I feel pain in my chest.'

(29) watashi ga nikibi ga kayui.
I     NOM pimple NOM itchy
'My pimples are itchy.'

(30) watashi ga kutsu no kakato ga itai.
I     NOM shoe GEN heel NOM painful
'The heel of my shoe hurts.'

(31) watashi ni/ga kono mondai ga muzukashii.
I     DAT NOM this question NOM difficult
'I find this question difficult.'

So far we have seen that the adjectives which can be suffixed by -GARU are either one or two place predicates. The subject NP₁ is the semantic experiencer and NP₂ is the syntactic object which semantically indicates the source of one's feeling. The case marking patterns can be summarized as follows:

a) NP₁ ga Adj.          e.g nemutai 'sleepy'
b) NP₁ ga NP₂ ga Adj.    e.g. itai 'painful'
c) NP₁ ga/ni NP₂ ga Adj. e.g. ureshii 'glad'
d) NP₁ ga NP₂ ga/(o) Adj. e.g. hoshii 'want'
e) NP₁ ni/(ga) NP₂ ga Adj. e.g. muzukashii 'difficult'

When the adjectives are verbalized by suffixing -GARU, the subject experiencer appears in the nominative case only. If there is a second argument, it is marked by the accusative marker o as follows: 15

(32) Taroo ga nemutagatte-iru.
NOM sleepy PROG
'Taro is sleepy.'

(33) Taroo ga kuruma o hoshigatte-iru.
NOM car ACC want  PROG
'Taro wants a car.'
In natural discourse ellipsis is common. The first person subject experiencer is usually elided in these sentences. Thus if one says urenshii by itself, it means 'I am glad.' In interrogative sentences, the second person is usually omitted. For example, urenshii? (with the interrogative marker signalled by intonation) means 'Are you glad?' The third person subject in -GARU constructions, is explicitly mentioned unless it is understood from the context. In the latter case, it is possible to make it elliptic.

The general properties of the adjectives to which -GARU is added have been discussed in this section. It has been indicated that such adjectives denote feelings. The case marking patterns and the argument structure of these adjectives have also been touched upon. In the subsequent sections, the focus of the discussion will be on the syntactic and semantic nature and features of -GARU.

2.4 Intense Feeling and -GARU

In some textbooks, as we saw in Chapter 1, it is claimed that any adjective of feeling can take -GARU. A question was raised about this claim, at the time, without much comment. In this part of the study, that question is reopened. The issues investigated in the present section and in the next concern which adjectives of feeling take -GARU and which do not and why such a discrepancy exists among members of a seemingly homogeneous semantic class of predicates. It is hoped that one can glean aspects of the semantics of -GARU from such an investigation.

Consider the following examples:

(34) a. Taroo wa atsugatte-iru.
   TOP hot PROG
   'Taro is (uncomfortably) hot.'

   b. Taroo wa samugatte-iru.
      cold PROG
'Taro is (uncomfortably) cold.'

c. *Taroo wa atatakagatte-iru.  
   warm

'Taro is (comfortably) warm.'

??Taroo wa suzushigatte-iru.  
cool

'Taro is (comfortably) cool.'

(35) a. Taroo wa suugaku no shukudai o  
       TOP mathematics'GEN homework ACC
       muzukashigatte-iru.  
       difficult PROG

'Taro finds the mathematics' homework difficult.'

b. *Taroo wa suugaku no shukudai o yasashigatte-iru.  
   easy

'Taro finds the mathematics' homework easy.'

(36) a. Hanako wa Taroo no tsukatta taoru o  
       TOP GEN use PAST towel ACC
       kitanagatte-iru.  
       dirty PROG

'Hanako thinks the towel Taro used is dirty.'

b. *Hanako wa Taroo no tsukatta taoru o  
   kireigatte-iru.  
   clean

'Hanako thinks the towel Taro used is clean.'

Note that atsui 'hot' and samui 'cold' but not atatakai 'warm' nor suzushii 'cool' can be attached by -GARU. Similarly, muzukashii 'difficult' but not yasashii 'easy', and kitanai 'dirty' but not kirei 'clean' are suffixed by -GARU.

On the basis of the data so far, it would seem that the adjectives which occur with -GARU have 'negative' implications or overtones. This has, in fact, been suggested in the literature. Assuming that this is true one would want to know why -GARU will attach to adjectives of negative feeling. But no explanation has yet been offered. We attempt to offer such an explanation here.
First, look at the examples in (34). If the temperature goes up or down to the extreme, humans (and other animates as well) find it uncomfortable and sometimes unbearable. The discomfort felt may be shown in a number of ways. If it is hot, for example, one may sweat, take off one's clothes or try to cool one's body by fanning oneself. One can also say that it is hot repeatedly or make some other gestures or manifest the restlessness in other ways such as not being able to sleep at night. If it is cold, one may shiver or be huddled up or complain about the cold. Other signs that one may show when one is cold include having red cheeks or a running nose or a cough. One may bring oneself closer to a source of heat in order to warm up one's body. These behavioural responses to (extreme) heat or cold may be voluntary or involuntary.

However, if the condition is normal, one does not do anything. For instance, when the temperature falls within the range which people find normal, the symptoms outlined above are unlikely to occur. When the temperature is comfortably warm or cool, there would be no non-volitional reactions such as sweating or shivering or sneezing nor voluntary actions such as doing something to cool down or warm up one's body. It appears that one is less likely to manifest normal pleasant feelings than they are to show unpleasant ones. There seems to be a tendency among humans to try to avoid and get rid of unpleasant or negative feelings. This is evident in some natural involuntary responses to conditions such as sweating which helps to reduce the body temperature if it is too hot.

If, as pointed out earlier, -GARU transforms predicates of internal feeling to those of outward manifestations, then it is reasonable to assume that those states which can be signalled outwardly are more likely to be attached by -GARU than others. The rationale for the use of -GARU may be that it is naturally easier for a speaker to observe an internal feeling that is displayed outwardly.
This is also borne out if one compares the attachment of -GARU to 'difficult' but not 'easy' (see example (35)). The former could have more visible forms of physical or verbal expressions than the latter. If one finds something difficult they may frown their face or bury their heads in their hands or even complain. This is less likely to be the case if one finds something easy. There may not be any significant facial or other physical or verbal expression to show this feeling.

Similarly, one is more likely to register one's revulsion at a dirty towel, for example, by frowning than he is when presented with a clean towel (see example (36)). In fact in the latter case there is not likely to be any noticeable expression. This is presumably because the state of being clean falls within the range of conditions that humans are comfortable with.

The interpretation given to examples (34), (35) and (36) suggest a number of things: conditions or states which are perceived by humans as falling within the normal range of things (unmarked) are usually pleasant and comfortable and people do not feel the need to respond to such situations in any significant manner. However, some conditions which make humans feel unpleasant or uncomfortable trigger voluntary and/or involuntary reactions within them which may be verbally or non-verbally expressed. The contention is that these feelings are the ones which tend to be suffixed by -GARU. To anticipate a later discussion, if a feeling is manifested in forms of behaviour, then a speaker who wants to say something about the experiencer of that feeling can observe the outward signs and judge that he is in a certain state. On the basis of this, the speaker uses a -GARU verb to make a predication about the experiencer.

Some adjectives of negative implications are kanashii 'sad', iya da 'disgusting', nikurashii 'hateful', oshii 'regrettable', zannen da
'regretful', hazukashii 'shy', kowai 'afraid', osoroshii 'fearful', tsurai 'trying', kurushii 'distressed', itai 'painful', kayui 'itchy', darui 'languid', kemutai 'smoky/awkward', nemutai 'sleepy', kuyashii 'vexed', mendoo-kusai 'bothersome', urameshii 'reproachful', urayamashii 'envious', sabishii 'lonely', abunai 'dangerous', ayashii 'doubtful', omotai 'heavy', urusai 'noisy/annoying', okkuu da 'bothersome', meiwaku da 'troublesome', kokoro-bosoi 'helpless, disheartening'. A perusal of the list above shows that the feelings are undesirable and that people are very likely to indicate their displeasure in a form of behaviour that would make it observable to others. -GARU can therefore occur with these words.

Up to this point, the assumption that -GARU attaches to 'negative' words seems to have been justified. Note, however, that the 'negative' element in these words has been viewed in a different light. One advantage of the way this feature has been construed here is that it allows us to account for those words which cannot be thought of as having 'negative' overtones but which can occur with -GARU. For example, some adjectives which have favourable import such as urenai 'glad', tanoshii 'enjoyable', omoshiroi 'interesting', okashii 'funny' etc. can also take -GARU. Thus, although it is the case that -GARU attaches most frequently to adjectives of negative implication, it is necessary to explain the reason -GARU also attaches to adjectives of 'favourable' feelings.

It seems that the adjectives of 'favourable' feelings cited above refer to intense feelings which could be displayed. Ekman (1984) hypothesizes that there is a congruence between the intensity of felt emotion and the intensity of expression. If the intensity of the feeling being expressed increases or decreases, outward expression is also likely to be more obvious or less so accordingly. For words expressing intense feelings, I suggest, one can show the feeling and
it can be observed. This is why they occur with -GARU and what they share with words of 'negative' implication is intensity. The intensity however is evaluated on a personal basis: some people might manifest more intense feeling than others, and social factors of communication may also hinder their manifestation.

Let us take an example involving the use of ureshii 'glad'. A girl on finding her name on the pass list displayed on the notice board for the university entrance examination, jumps up and screams uwaa yatta, yatta. 'Wow! I've done it, I've done it,' and then she cries in joy. Her spontaneous and intense expression reflects the degree of her feeling. Her behaviour provides a clue for anyone watching her to conclude that ureshigatte-iru '(she) is glad'. However, if she had not externalised her internal feeling, no one would be able to get access to the feeling that she is experiencing. There would be no information about which one can say: 'she is feeling X.' Thus because the girl had an intense feeling and showed it, people would be able to say she is feeling X.

We have seen so far that -GARU occurs with adjectives of either 'negative' or 'positive' meaning. It has also been demonstrated that the use of -GARU is closely linked to the observable expression of feelings by the experiencers. In addition, it was mentioned that the degree of the expression of a feeling is proportional to the intensity. It follows that adjectives, whether of 'positive' or 'negative' feeling, can be attached to -GARU provided that they are felt intensely and consequently expressed in a visible way. The feature that determines whether -GARU may be suffixed to a particular adjective or not seems to be whether the feeling it denotes can be thought of as being beyond the normal state that humans would want.

The following table shows three columns of adjectives. The first is made up of adjectives of intense feelings with negative overtones.
When the situations that these adjectives represent occur, people tend to do things to avoid being in such states. Column A adjectives thus are suffixed by -GARU. Column B comprises adjectives that denote neutral, pleasant and comfortable states. The degree of intensity of these is the usual one that all feelings by definition have. -GARU is not added to these. In the last column (Column C) are found adjectives with positive connotations which have a high degree of intensity. Because they are intense, it is harder to inhibit displaying these feelings.
Table 2: Some -GARU Taking and Non-GARU Taking Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>+ marked</td>
<td>+ intense</td>
<td>+ marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ intense</td>
<td>(neutral)</td>
<td>+ intense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ negative</td>
<td></td>
<td>+ positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GARU suffixation</td>
<td>+ -GARU</td>
<td>- -GARU</td>
<td>+ -GARU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives of feelings</td>
<td>kanashii sad</td>
<td>atatakai warm</td>
<td>urushii glad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kurushii distressed</td>
<td>suzushii cool</td>
<td>tanoshii enjoyable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kowai afraid</td>
<td>kirei da clean</td>
<td>hoshii want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nikurashii hateful</td>
<td>shitsuka da quiet</td>
<td>-tai want to (do)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tyu da disgusting</td>
<td></td>
<td>koishii beloved, dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sabishii lonely</td>
<td>hima da not busy</td>
<td>itoshii beloved, dear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neramashii jealous</td>
<td></td>
<td>natsukashii nostalgic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urameshii reproachful</td>
<td></td>
<td>arigatai grateful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urayamashii envious</td>
<td></td>
<td>kawai affectionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hazukashii shy</td>
<td>kokoro-zuoi feel reassured</td>
<td>kinokoku da pitiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>atsui hot</td>
<td>anshin da feel at ease</td>
<td>omedetai happy, auspicious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>samui cold</td>
<td></td>
<td>choohoo da useful, serviceable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>urusai noisy, annoying</td>
<td></td>
<td>ti: good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yakamashii noisy, severe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yakka da troublesome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>itai painful</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kayui itchy</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nemutai sleepy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kim (ga) warui feel queer, weird</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kokoro-bosai feel helpless</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>funu da feel uneasy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>warui apologetic</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This table lists some -GARU taking and non-GARU taking adjectives in Japanese.
In the preceding classification the features employed are in a sense implicational. At the level of intensity the pleasant and comfortable states could be considered as having a zero degree of intensity. Beyond that level, feelings could be described as intense. Being intense implies that people who experience them would perceive them as not normal and would do something about such a state. It is the 'doing something about it' which enables other people to make predications about the state of the experiencer. These are marked situations. In the marked situations the adjective could have positive connotations or negative overtones. Unmarked situations, in contrast, are neutral in evaluation. They are normal, pleasant and comfortable states about which people do not need to do anything. For example, with _shizuka da_ 'quiet' is associated with a pleasant, normal, neutral situation. But with _urusai_ 'noisy' is associated with a fair amount of intensity and a negative overtone which is a marked situation. The situation denoted by _ureshii_ 'glad', on the other hand, involves a positive connotation. This feeling is associated with intensity, accompanied by linguistic and extra-linguistic materials such as facial expressions. This is also a marked situation. Certainly, for each of the feelings one can have degrees of its intensity. But the inherent feature of intensity of the feelings is what we have based our classification on. In situations, however, this intensity could vary. It appears that given the choice -GARU is used when the degree of intensity is manifestly high. If the intensity, even of an inherently intense feeling, is not high enough and the manifestation of feeling is not observable, other suffixes such as _rashii_ 'seem' and _daroo_ 'probably/I think' would be chosen.

To summarize, it seems that one plausible way to interpret the distribution of -GARU with adjectives of feeling is that those adjectives which denote intense feelings are suffixed by -GARU. From
this perspective, adjectives of either positive or negative connotation could be suffixed by -GARU provided the feelings they express are intense enough to be displayed for others to see. So that the clue to the predication is obtained from the behaviour the experiencer puts up as a result of the intense feelings he has. This behaviour could be a reaction to a positive or a negative feeling. This suggests that one of the components of -GARU has to include a statement about the behaviour of the experiencer. It could be phrased along the following lines:

I think X behaves in such a way because of how much X feels Y
Because of how X feels, X cannot not behave in this way

\[(X = \text{experiencer})\]
\[(Y = \text{name of feeling})\]

2.5 Temporary vs Permanent Feelings and -GARU

So far we have seen that -GARU is added to adjectives of feeling (2.3.1) and, that among these adjectives, it is only attached in the case of intense feelings (2.4). In this section we examine why adjectives of liking, which would seem to satisfy the criteria, do not take -GARU. The discussion leads to the conclusion that the duration of the feeling denoted by the adjective is another factor which determines whether or not an adjective can take -GARU.

Consider the following examples:

(37) a. watashi wa kudamono ga suki da.
I TOP fruit NOM like COP
'I like fruit.'

b. Taro wa kudamono ga suki da.
TOP fruit NOM like COP
'Taro likes fruit.'

(38) a. watashi wa benkyoo ga kirai da.
I TOP study NOM dislike COP
'I don't like studying.'

b. Taro wa benkyoo ga kirai da.  
   NOM study *o kiraigatte-iru.  
   TOP dislike

'Taro does not like studying.'

As shown above, the third person subject can be predicated about with the adjective form, and it cannot take -GARU when the adjective is suki da 'like' or kirai da 'dislike'.

Emotions have a particular duration; they can be either temporary and terminable or long-term and permanent (Kenny 1966:56). Likes and dislikes tend to be long-term feelings that can be permanent. The word which indicates temporary dislikes is iya da 'disgusting', which can be suffixed by -GARU. Compare the following sentences:

(39) a. ashita no shiken wa iya da naa.  
   tomorrow GEN exam. TOP disgusting SFP
   'I feel awful/terrible about tomorrow's exam.'

b. *ashita no shiken wa kirai da.  
   tomorrow GEN exam. TOP dislike COP
   'I don't like tomorrow's exam.'

(40) a. shiken wa kirai da.  
   exam. TOP dislike COP
   'I don't like exams.'

In (39a) iya da represents the short-term feeling which will disappear after the next day. On the other hand, kirai da does not occur with the definite time expression ashita no 'of tomorrow', however it is used when one expresses the feeling toward something in general, and that feeling is relatively unchangeable. Once one's likes and dislikes are known to other people, they can be certain about them to the extent that such things can be stated assertively. Suki da and kirai da differ in this respect from the English words 'like' and 'dislike' which can refer to temporary emotions. The Japanese words are analogous to Russian words like ljubit' 'like' (permanent).
This appears to be a piece of evidence which suggests that the adjectives of feelings to which -GARU attaches tend to refer to temporary feelings.

2.6 Direct Observation

It has been argued in section 2.3 that the adjectives suffixed by -GARU are those that denote feelings which can be manifested and can be observed by others. In this section I will support this claim by investigating the co-occurrence restriction of some expressions that use -GARU verbs. I will then discuss ways in which one obtains evidence about the feeling of others in relation to the use of -GARU.

Modifiers that signify observable physical signs such as 'crying' (41a), 'leaping with joy' (41b) and 'blushed' (42) can occur with -GARU verbs. Those expressions which represent situations that cannot be viewed from outside such as 'from the bottom of one's heart' (43) and 'in one's heart' (44) are not found in the company of -GARU verbs. This is understandable since such expressions indicate that the feelings remain within or hidden in the experiencer:

(41) a. Hanako wa naite ureshigatta.
   TOP cry GER glad PAST
   'Hanako was glad in tears.'

b. Hanako wa odori-agatte ureshigatte-iru.
   leap in joy GER glad PROG
   'Hanako jumped with joy.'

(42) Hanako wa kao o makka ni shite hazukashigatte-iru.
   TOP face ACC blush GER shy PROG
   'Hanako is blushing out of shyness.'

(43) *Hanako wa kokoro no soko kara ureshigatta.
    heart GEN bottom from glad PAST
    'Hanako was glad from the bottom of her heart.'

(44) *Hanako wa kokoro no soko de hazukashigatte-iru.
    heart GEN bottom at shy PROG
'Hanako is shy at heart.'

The data outlined in examples (41) to (44) shows that observable signs or some public evidence is necessary for the use of -GARU.

Apart from the requirement that some observable evidence - verbal or non-verbal - should exist for the use of -GARU, it is also necessary that such evidence should be available to the speaker (observer) directly. It is important that the speaker has direct evidence about the person's feeling. Such direct evidence about other people comes mainly from observing them visually. Vision, however is by no means the only way of acquiring such evidence. It could be auditory. Thus the use of -GARU does not always have to involve vision. For instance, in (45) the speaker could be standing outside the delivery room and on hearing the cry and scream of a pregnant woman concludes that she is in pain. The speaker need not see the pregnant woman:

(45) kurushigatte-iru yo, himei o agete.
     painful PROG SFP scream GER

'She is screaming with pain.'

One can also hear the restless movement of his dog outside when he is unable to see it. Because he hears the noise of the dog, he could say:

(46) inu ga detagatte-iru yo.
     dog NOM get out DES PROG SFP

'The dog wants to get out (from his pen).'

Another example is that a baby burst out crying around feeding time, and the mother hearing it in a different room says:

(47) miruku o hoshigatte-iru wa.
     milk ACC want PROG SFP

'It wants milk.'

It is therefore misleading that Watanabe (1984) restricts direct evidence for -GARU to that which is obtained only through vision by calling -GARU an 'evidential' based on vision. She supports her claim with the following example:
My own investigations show that the sentence in (48b) is in fact acceptable in many contexts. For example, if Masao was in an adjacent room in a house and there was a thunder storm and he screamed, then the speaker could say (48b) to draw the addressee's attention to Masao's behaviour. This shows that Watanabe's claim is not tenable.

It seems better therefore to say that -GARU is an evidential based on one's senses rather than just on vision. Kuroda (1973:379) is thus right when he says that -GARU is based on what one perceives through one's senses.

We have seen that direct evidence is not restricted to any one particular sense. It is also worth noting that direct evidence does not imply that the speaker is in contact with or near the source of evidence, i.e. the one whose state is being described. The speaker's judgement can be based not only on spoken but also on written evidence of the experiencer of the feeling. In a letter, one writes as if he were talking to the addressee. By reading the letter, the recipient can visualize the state of the author which would have been verbally expressed if the spoken medium were used. For example, if Taro, living in Tokyo, writes to his mother in his hometown that he wants to come back home because he misses home, then on reading the letter the mother could say to her friend:
(49) Taroo wa uchi e kaette kitagatte-imasu.

'Taro wants to come back home.'

However, if the mother's friend tells her husband about Taro, she would add an expression of quotation or hearsay such as in (50b). It is rather odd for her to report it with only -GARU as in (50a) because she does not have direct evidence for it. She was told by someone else:

(50) a. ?Taroo chan wa uchi e kaette kitagatte-iru

wa yo.

SFP SFP

'Taro wants to come back home.'

b. Taroo chan wa uchi e kaette

tte.

kitagatte-iru

soo yo.20

I hear SFP

'I heard that Taro wants to come back home.'

Take another example, this time involving the verbal expression of a feeling. Suppose that Taro says (51a) to Hanako with added paralinguistic expressions such as tone of voice. Hanako could later on say (51b) to Jiro about Taro:

(51) a. sushi ga tabetai naa.

'sushi NOM eat DES SFP

'I want to eat sushi.'

b. Taroo wa sushi o tabetaatte-iru wa.

TOP ACC eat DES PROG SFP

'Taro wants to eat sushi.'

Now, if Jiro wants to convey information to Keiko about what Taro has an appetite for, it is more appropriate for him to add some markers which indicate that it is second-hand information as shown in (52):
So far it has been argued that -GARU is used when the speaker has direct information but if the information is indirectly acquired (i.e. via someone else/from another source apart from the experiencer) other markers are added to indicate this. The point that clearly emerges from examples (49) to (52) is that even if someone has been reliably informed about the feeling of a third person, one could not comment on this just using -GARU. This suggests that what one says about others using -GARU is not based upon what someone else said but on what one can observe. This aspect of the meaning of -GARU could be formulated as follows:

I say this (what I say about X)
not because someone else said it
I say this because of what can be observed about X

-GARU is also used in contexts where a speaker is not engaged in an on-the-spot observation of the subject but visualizes a situation in their mind. In this case there are linguistic markers such as kitto 'surely', ni chigainai 'must be', imagoro 'around now', sazo ... koto daroo 'I am sure' and so on to be added to -GARU constructions which indicate that the speaker is not observing the person directly but is only imagining the person's feelings and their manifestations. Examine the following examples:

(53) Taroo ni kore o misetara kitto hoshigaru yo.
DAT this ACC show COND surely want SFP

'If (I) show this to Taro, he will surely want it.'

(54) A child who imagines how his father must be feeling in the snow could say:
otoosan kono yuki no make de sazo samugatte-
father this snow GEN in certainly cold
iru koto daroo.
PROG probably

'Father must be cold in the snow.'

The speaker is not in a position to be able to directly observe Taro in (53) nor the father in (54). But the speaker hypothesizes or imagines that by showing a certain thing to Taro in (53), Taro would want it and display his desire. Similarly, the speaker in (54) can easily imagine his father is cold in the snow. Ohye (1975:212) is thus right when he claims that it is not necessary to have such a condition as chokusetsu-teki tegakari no genzen 'the presence of direct evidence' (my translation) for the speaker to use -GARU. It must be emphasized, however, that this is made possible in the context of forms that indicate a speaker's (imaginative) conjecture.

An aspect of this usage is that the speaker assumes that people who would be able to directly observe the situation about which he speaks would be able to confirm his assertion. Kuroda (1973:379) suggests that the meaning a speaker conveys in this usage of -GARU can be paraphrased along the following lines: I assert that necessary information according to which one would judge that X is Y (where X = subject and Y = internal state) would have to be available to those who could directly observe the person at the present moment.

It should also be pointed out that one underlying assumption of the use of -GARU is that the speaker asserts that his judgement is shared by other people. One observes the other and observes that X is in a state of Y and the observer is convinced that his judgement is/would be shared by other people. This feature can be phrased in the following way:

(I can say X feels something)

I think other people would say the same
To recapitulate, the intensity of feeling makes it possible for the experiencers to display their feelings, and one usually has to have direct evidence which is acquired through any of one's senses for the use of -GARU. In some cases, however, one can use -GARU in hypothetical, imaginary situations. It is assumed by the speaker that other people who are in a position to observe the person would make such a judgement about him since the necessary evidence could be available to them.

2.7 -GARU and the Epistemological Status of Utterances

It has been shown that -GARU attaches to adjectives of feelings. It has also been demonstrated that the clue for a speaker to make predications concerning the OTHER is dependent on the latter's display outwardly of what is happening within him. Furthermore, the speaker has to directly observe or have evidence for this manifestation before he can use -GARU. It has also been noted that when a speaker expresses what he feels, he does not normally add -GARU. What does all this suggest about -GARU?

-GARU is used to talk about the feelings of others. This seems reasonable given the contentious issue of whether or not humans can know what the OTHER is feeling (see Austin 1945 and the quotation cited in the Introduction). In general, it is assumed that feelings are private and internal and are inaccessible to others (see Kenny 1966; Scruton 1986) and therefore people cannot know what the other is feeling. Indeed, Wittgenstein deliberated on the issue as follows:

In what sense are my sensations private?---Well, only I can know whether I am really in pain; another person can only surmise it. In one way this is wrong and in another nonsense. If we are using the word "to know" as it is normally used ... then other people very often know when I am
in pain—Yes, but all the same not with the certainty with which I know it myself! ...

The truth is it makes sense to say about other people that they doubt whether I am in pain; but not to say it about myself. [(Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations 1953:246)]

It is hard not to agree with Wittgenstein that although others may know what I am feeling, it is not to the same extent and with the same certainty as I know. It follows that it is only the experiencer who has full knowledge about what is going on within himself. Others can only have some idea of it, if the experiencer shows the symptomatic behaviour that the culture in question associates with that particular feeling.

Austin (op.cit.) argues in a similar manner concerning knowledge of other minds. He notes that although people usually say in English "I know how you/he feel(s)" , the use of the verb 'know' here relates to the verb 'believe'. He indicates that the difference between an experiencer saying "I know I feel Y" (where Y = name of a feeling), roughly speaking, and "I know he feels Y" is that the latter is more appropriately put as "I believe he feels Y". The implication of Austin's observations is that one can only be committed to a certain degree in terms of knowledge about the feelings of others.

What one can conclude from all this is that it is justifiable for an experiencer to, on epistemological grounds, make assertions about what he is feeling with absolute certainty. However, when another person is making a predication concerning the feelings of an experiencer, he does not have the same degree of knowledge about it.

Thus, if, generally speaking, -GARU is used to talk about the feelings of others, then the rationale behind it seems to be that it is meant to indicate that the speaker cannot vouch for or claim to have the full knowledge which should form the basis of the
proposition. -GARU is thus a linguistic device to indicate the complexity of making predications about 'other minds'. This idea is an essential semantic feature of the item and it could be captured in the following rough paraphrase:

I don't know how the experiencer feels

Or, it could be more precisely put as:

I don't say this (what I say about X) because I know how X feels

This implies that -GARU is a kind of disclaimer that the speaker employs in order that he might not be seen as claiming to have knowledge about something for which he would normally not have knowledge.

2.8 -GARU and Special Contexts

So far we have seen the general rule of person constraint that -GARU imposes in simple, present tense, declarative sentences. The person constraint does not automatically apply in other sentence types. In this section I will illustrate the general conditions under which the general rule does not hold.

First, I will discuss the problem arising in connection with the second person subject. Second, the first person subject with -GARU is examined.

2.8.1 Second Person with -GARU

It has been noted throughout the study that -GARU is used for the third person. The second person subject has not been mentioned so far. There is a general problem concerning declarative sentences with second person subjects. They may sound odd out of context because it is generally assumed that the use of such sentences imply that the
speaker is informing the addressee about what the addressee knows better than the speaker and better than anybody else. Because of this, sentences with second person subject which use -GARU verbs such as in (55) are grammatically well formed, however, pragmatically they are sometimes odd:

(55) anata wa kurushigatte-iru.
  you TOP suffer PROG

'You are suffering from pain.'

Of course it is possible for the speaker to inform the addressee of the latter's feeling and its manifestation when the latter happens to be an unconscious participant. For example, a wife who heard her husband groan restlessly in his sleep possibly because of a nightmare could say (56) to him:

(56) yuube anata kurushigatte-ita wa yo.
    last night you suffer PROG PAST SFP SFP

'You were suffering from pain last night.

In (56) the speaker informs the addressee about his unconscious state in the past. In this case it is acceptable for the speaker to inform the addressee of his previous internal state and its manifestation.

The pragmatic oddity of second person present tense declarative sentences seems to be a universal tendency linguistically. For example, in English, assertions about certain internal states of the addressee are peculiar under normal circumstances (Ross 1970; 1973):

(57) a. ?You are hungry.
    b. ?You feel cold.

In Hua too, the 'wants' and 'desires' of the addressee (and third persons) cannot be asserted (Haiman 1980:441). The equivalent of 'you want to eat', which could theoretically be

(58) ?? desapi (') hane.

is not grammatical. Even if it were grammatical it would mean "you are about to eat".
Sherpa is another language which reflects this reasonable communicative principle: the speaker cannot claim evidential authority over states/events in which the hearer was a conscious participant (and the speaker was not), since the hearer's evidential support is stronger. Moreover, there is no reason to inform the hearer of things he knows better than the speaker (Givón 1984:308).

The explanation of this phenomenon may involve a combination of aspects of the Gricean maxims of Quantity - do not make your contribution more informative than is required - and of Quality - do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence (or knowledge) (Grice 1975). However, declarative sentences may be used to perform many other illocutionary acts apart from that of giving information (Larkin and O'Malley 1973). The appropriateness of declaratives with second person subjects depends on the illocutionary purpose of the speaker. For example, if "you are hungry" is paraphrased as "I inform you that you are hungry", then it is unacceptable. However, it is acceptable when that utterance has other illocutionary purposes such as: "I notice that you are hungry" or "I want to cause you to know that I know that you are hungry" (Wierzbicka 1980:297-8). Consider the following examples in which the total context indicates that the speaker registers that he notices the addressee feels Y:

(59) mada kanashigatte-iru. hora, genki o dashite. still sad PROG come on cheer up GER

'You are still sad. Come on, cheer up!'

(60) Yamada: paatii ni wa Tanaka san mo yoboo. party DAT TOP Tanaka Miss too invite HOR

kimi mo aitagatte-iru koto da shi. you DES PROG COMP COP

'Let's invite Miss Tanaka also to the party since you want to see her too.'

Nakamura: aitagatte nanka imasen yo. see DES POL NEG SFP

'I don't want to see her.'
In (59) the speaker makes the addressee aware that the speaker notices the addressee's state. Similarly, in (60) the illocutionary purposes of Mr. Yamada's utterance is to cause Mr. Nakamura to know that the former knows that the latter wants to see Miss Tanaka.

Thus although utterances with second person subjects with -GARU may not be common, given the appropriate illocutionary purpose, they can be felicitous. But in such cases, too, the basic meaning of -GARU is maintained.

2.8.2 First Person with -GARU

Having described the use of -GARU for the second person in the preceding section, we turn our attention to its use for the first person. The normal thing for the first person is that the adjective forms are used. However, in certain contexts -GARU can be used for the first person subject. These contexts are surveyed below. Consider the following examples:

(61) watashi ga konna-ni itagatte-iru no ni
I NOM so much painful PROG though
haisha wa chiryoo o yameyoo to shinai.
dentist TOP treatment ACC stop HOR NEG
'Although I am in such pain, the dentist won't stop treating me.'

(62) watashi ga amari hoshigatta mono da kara
I NOM excessively want PAST COP because
chichi wa tootoo katte kureta.
father TOP at last buy GER give PAST
'Because I wanted it so much, my father finally bought it for me.'

This phenomenon, the use of -GARU for the first person where an adjective would have been used, is called 'split ego'. In these cases
"one is simultaneously the subject of a sensation and the objective observer of the subject of this sensation" (Kuroda 1973:378). Ohye (1973; 1975) also explains that in such instances the speaker has a double face; the speaker is ego₁, who experiences directly his own internal feeling, and at the same time views himself from the outside as ego₂, assuming another person's point of view.²¹

This 'split ego' strategy may also be used in recalling past experiences as in (63) and (64) or when looking at oneself in a photograph or a film or a mirror as in (65), (66) and (67) respectively:

(63) wakai koro wa yoku gaikoku ni ikitagatta mono da.
'I often used to want to go overseas when I was young'.

(64) Anokoro wa nani o moratte mo arigatagatta mono da ga ...
'I was thankful for whatever was given to me in those days, but ...'

(65) Looking at a photograph in which the speaker is taking a nervous look at a lizard, he would say:
hora, mite, kimiwarugatte-iru.
'Hey, look, I am disgusted.'

(66) Looking at a video film taken after one has lost a tennis match, and where one's appearance was vexatious, one could say:
zuibun kuyashigatte-iru naa.
'I am very vexed.'

(67) Looking at oneself in a mirror when one can hardly keep one's eyes open because of the bright glare, one would say:
It seems that when -GARU is used in this way for the first person, apart from other things, it vividly expresses the presence of an intense subjective feeling of the speaker. Some support is provided for this by Ohye (1973; 1975). He found that sentences with first person and -GARU forms become odd if the words contained in them which vivify or intensify internal feelings are removed. This seems to be a tendency which is instructive in interpreting part of the meaning of -GARU when used for first person. Consider his examples:

(68) a. tooji watashi wa hidoku { sabishigatte-ita.
    those days TOP awfully lonely PROG PAST
    sabishikatta.
    (Adj) PAST

    'In those days I felt very lonely.'

b. tooji watashi wa { sabishigatte-ita.
    sabishikatta

    'In those days I felt lonely.'

(69) a. osanai koro boku wa sono hanashi
    in childhood I (male) TOP that story
    o totemo omoshirogatta.
    ACC very interesting PAST
    ga totemo omoshirokatta.
    NOM (Adj) PAST

    'In my childhood I found that story very interesting.'

b. osanai koro boku wa sono hanashi
    { o omoshirogatta.
    ga omoshirokatta.

    'In my childhood I found that story interesting.'

(70) a. sassuga no boku mo kinoo wa
    as though one is I yesterday TOP
    samugarimashita yo.
    cold POL-PAST SFP
    samukatta desu yo.
    (Adj) PAST COP POL
'Even I was cold yesterday.'

b. boku wa kinoo wa {samukatta desu yo.

'Ohye claims that adjective forms are acceptable with or without the words hidoku 'awfully' and totemo 'very' etc., but that -GARU sentences are odd without them as shown in (68b), (69b) and (70b). The oddity seems to be derived from the use of -GARU in the first person in a manner which is intended to signal that the speaker's feeling is intense or strong. Normally for the speaker to express his feeling the adjective form is used. However, the speaker aims to achieve a special effect by employing -GARU to express his feeling vividly and emphatically; his feeling is so intense that it is not confined within him but is clearly observable from outside.

The use of -GARU for the first person would seem at first sight to pose problems for the analysis of -GARU advocated in this study. The main claim is that -GARU codifies the lack of epistemological certainty on the part of the speaker about other minds. Is the use of -GARU for the speaker by the speaker a contradiction in terms? Or is it counter-evidence for the analysis? The partial semantic invariant of -GARU has been suggested to have a component:

I don't say I know how X feels

In the use of -GARU with first person X, can it be said that the speaker does not know how he feels? In one sense this could occur such as when one cannot say exactly what his feeling is but in another sense and especially for this use, it is not the case.

I think that this dilemma is solved if one adopts a view of the semantics of morphological items that is versatile and which tends to be dependent on the semantics of the context and the lexical items in which it is used. Thus using -GARU with the first person does not
imply "I don't know how I feel"; on the contrary, the presence of the morpheme combined with the first person subject enhances the communicative effect of the utterance. It appears that one needs some component to point to the manner of making an utterance which is meant to achieve a particular purpose. I suggest that part of the meaning of first person -GARU is represented by the following components:

a) I say this in this way not because I don't know how I feel
b) I say it this way because of how much I feel

c) I say it because I think other people could say the same if they observe me
d) I don't think other people know how I feel

2.9 Adjective Forms for Others

It has been stated that the third person subject cannot be predicated about by the adjective form in simple present declarative sentences. In this section the conditions where non-first person subjects can take the adjective form will be considered.

2.9.1 Third Person with a Bare Adjective Form

In this section the cases where the third person can be predicated about with a bare adjective form will be demonstrated. First, the case of tense shifts from present to past will be shown, followed by a look at the narrative style.

Consider the following example:

(71) Taroo wa ureshikatta.
    TOP glad PAST

'Taro was glad.'

When the tense is past the adjective form is grammatical with third person subjects as in (71). It is reasonable to assume that this is acceptable because the internal states of others in the past becomes a
fact and the speaker could have had access to that information before the time of utterance. Although the adjective form is acceptable in past tense sentences with third person subject, in colloquial speech speakers tend to add no da 'it is the case that' or conjectural markers etc. to the adjective.

In narratives it is also possible for the third person to take a bare adjective form whether in the present or past tense as illustrated in (72) and (73) respectively:

(72) Motoko wa ... kuyashii, iya da.22
    TOP vexed disgusted

'Motoko is vexed. (She) is disgusted.'

(73) Bun chan wa nantokashite ... shiritakatta.
    TOP somehow know DES PAST

'Bun wanted to know somehow.'

One way of explaining this is to say that the author is an omniscient narrator who can project himself into the minds of his characters and present their feelings from their perspective. In this way the author creates a rhetorical effect of empathy. The readers or listeners vividly imagine and assume the place of the characters and directly experience the feeling which the author constructs for each of the characters (for a detailed discussion see 3.4.2.2).

2.9.2 Second Person with a Bare Adjective Form

The second person does not normally take the adjective form. However, there are a few exceptional situations in which it is possible and acceptable to predicate about the second person with the adjective form. In such circumstances, the speaker identifies with and shows empathy towards the addressee. In addition, the speaker can be said to be in a position where he projects himself into the consciousness of the addressee and experiences the feeling with him. Let us examine those cases in which this occurs:
A mother looks at her baby who is yawning and who is looking very drowsy and says to her:

aa, nemutai, nemutai.
Ah INT sleepy sleepy

'Ah, sleepy, sleepy.'

During a diagnosis of a patient by a doctor, the patient groans and displays an agonizing look while the doctor is touching the affected part of his body. The doctor says to him:

koko ga itai.
here NOM painful

'This part hurts.'

A psychiatrist says the following to his patient after listening to his patient recount the suffering and hard time that he has been going through:

uun, tsurai naa.
hmm trying SFP

'Hmm, it is heartbreaking.'

In the instances described in the examples, the speaker in each case has a certain relationship with the addressee and with it an associated role which enables the speaker to show empathy to the addressee. In (74) it is a mother-child relation. In (75) and (76) it is a doctor-patient relationship. Thus the speaker in each case can make such utterances from the addressee's perspective. The mother in (74), for example, demonstrates that she is empathising with the child; she understands and sympathises with how sleepy the child feels.23

The communicative act being performed by the speaker in these cases is complex: the speaker is expressing the feelings of the other as if he were expressing his own. The manner in which it is conveyed (i.e. the adjective form) adds a further message to the illocutionary purpose: it is meant to indicate to the addressee the way in which the speaker is experiencing the same feeling as he does. The speaker seems to be saying to the addressee: "I know how you feel." The relevant components of the illocutionary act which set it apart from other second person usages (see 2.8.1) may be paraphrased as follows:
I say it because I want to cause you to know that
I know how you feel
I say it in this way because I want to show you that
I can imagine that the same thing is happening in/to me

2.9.3 Adjective Forms in Complex Sentences

In this sub-section the conditions where the second and third person subject can be the subject of the adjective form in complex sentences will be briefly discussed. First, the adjective form in various clauses will be examined, and secondly, expressions other than -GARU which are attached to adjective forms to express the third person's feelings will be illustrated.

2.9.3.1 Adjective Forms in Various Clauses

The second or third person can be the subject of adjective forms in various clauses. Compare the adjective form and -GARU counterparts as follows:

(77) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \ \text{ikitai} \ \text{go DES} \\
& \ \text{hito wa te o agete kudasai.} \ \text{person TOP hand ACC raise GER please} \\
\text{b. } & \ *\text{ikitagatte-iru} \ \text{go DES PROG}
\end{align*}
\]

'Those who want to go, please raise your hand.'

(78) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \ \text{kanashii} \\
& \ \text{sad} \\
\text{Hanako ga } \ & \ \text{kanashigatte-iru} \\
\text{NOM } & \ \text{reason ACC know RES sad PROG}
\end{align*}
\]

'Do you know why Hanako is sad?'

(79) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \ \text{kekkon shitai} \\
& \ \text{marry DES} \\
\text{sonna-ni } & \ \text{nara, shitte mo ii.} \ \text{so much COND do may} \\
\text{so much } & \ \text{kekkon shitagatte-iru} \\
& \ \text{marry DES PROG}
\end{align*}
\]
'If (you) want to marry so much, (you) may do so.'

(80) Taroo wa kuruma { a. ga hoshii NOM want } kara, because
TOP car { b. ?? o hoshigatte-iru ACC want PROG

okane o tamete-iru.
money ACC save PROG

'Taro has been saving his money because he wants a car.'

(81) Taroo wa onaka { a. ga itai NOM painful } kedo, but
TOP stomach { b. ?? o itagatte-iru ACC painful PROG

gohan o tabeta.
dinner ACC eat PAST

'Although Taro had a stomachache, he ate dinner.'

(82) Taroo wa { a. sabishii lonely } toki ni
TOP { b. ??sabishigatte-iru lonely PROG

rekoodo o kiku.
record ACC listen

'Taro listens to records when he is lonely.'

The adjective forms are used with second or third person subjects in various dependent and embedded clauses; in relative clauses as in (77) and (78), in a conditional clause as in (79), in adverbial clauses of reason (80), of concession (81), and of time (82). What semantic difference (if any) is there between adjective forms and -GARU verbs in these contexts? Example (77) is a request to the addressees which is compatible with the adjective form but not with the -GARU verb. (77a) and (77b) may be literally translated as 'anyone who wants to go, please raise your hand,' and roughly as 'anyone who shows signs of wanting to go, please raise your hand' respectively. The addressees know what they desire but they are unlikely to be aware of how their desires are externally expressed, thus (77b) is unacceptable. Although both (78a) and (78b) are acceptable, there seems to be a
slight semantic difference between them. The contrast between them may be interpreted in terms of the difference in viewpoint: for the adjective form the speaker's empathy is with the subject, and for the -GARU verb the speaker assumes his own viewpoint and maintains an observer's position. The same applies to (79). (79b), the -GARU version of (79a), is odd if the father was speaking to his daughter, but it is acceptable if the father was speaking to his wife about their daughter (third person). In (80), (b) with -GARU is unlikely, since the reason Taro has been saving is because of his desire to buy a car but not because of the display of his desire. Similarly, (81) and (82) are interpreted in terms of the speaker's viewpoint.

Thus the choice of the adjective form or -GARU verb for the second or third person in clauses is largely due to what viewpoint the speaker assumes in making an utterance.

2.9.3.2 Other Ways of Expressing the Third Person's Feelings

It has been pointed out in the Introduction and Chapter 1 of this study that -GARU is just one of the devices employed by Japanese to report the internal state of the third person. Other means to express the third person's feelings will now be demonstrated. They include: no da 'it is the case that'; various conjectural markers, such as rashii 'seem', yoo da 'seem', soo da 'look/appear', daroo 'probably', kamoshirenai 'might', hazu da 'ought to', ni chigainai 'must be', etc. or hearsay such as soo da, 'I hear'. One can also attach expressions such as to itte-iru '(X) says', to omotte-iru '(X) thinks' etc. The following examples illustrate these expressions:

(83) Taroo wa ureshii no da.  
TOP glad/happy it is the case that  
'It is the case that Taro is happy.'

(84) Taroo wa ureshii rashii.  
seem
'Taro seems happy.'

(85)  
Taroo wa ureshisoo da₁.  

'Look'  
'Taro looks happy.'

(86)  
Taroo wa ureshii daroo.  

'Probably/I think'  
'I think Taro is happy.'

(87)  
Taroo wa ureshii soo da₂.  

'I heard Taro is happy.'

(88)  
Taroo wa ureshii to itte-iru.  

'QUOT saying Taro says, he is happy.'

In (83) no, which nominalizes the proposition preceding it, objectifies the proposition which is judged to be true by the speaker, and the copula da gives the speaker's affirmative judgement with regard to the proposition (cf. Hayashi 1964). Thus, by adding no da, Taro's feeling is objectified apart from the speaker's subjective judgement.

Rashii 'seem' in (84) signifies the speaker's inference about the proposition, i.e. Taro's state based on the speaker's observation and/or hearsay. The speaker has some evidence which supports his level of commitment to the truth of the proposition.

Soo da₁ 'look/appear' in (85) signifies that the speaker has received a distinct impression (that the person is feeling Y) judging by the person's appearance. The speaker has to be on the spot and his inference is based upon direct evidence.

Daroo 'probably/I think' in (86) is the conjectural form of the copula da. It expresses presumption or speculation on the part of the speaker. The use of daroo does not necessarily entail the existence of concrete evidence; it can be used for the speaker's imaginary thoughts.
Soo da_2 'I hear' in (87) implies that the speaker has obtained the information about Taro from someone else or from Taro himself.

To itte iru '(X) says' as in (88) can also be attached to such sentences to indicate that it is a quotation from the person (i.e. Taro).

It is apparent that there are some nuances of semantic difference between -GARU and each of the other devices mentioned. I will not go into the details of this as it is not the principal concern of this thesis. But let us briefly consider one perspective on these forms before concluding this section, namely, the evidentiality continuum advocated by Watanabe (1984). Watanabe considers rashii 'seem' and soo da_2 of hearsay, as well as -GARU to be evidentials. It should be remembered that the analysis of -GARU presented in this study is not in total agreement with Watanabe's observations on the suffix (see 2.6). It should also be noted that some researchers such as Sekizawa (1984:5-8) would disagree with Watanabe's classification of rashii as an evidential. Sekizawa has argued that expressions like rashii etc., which indicate the likelihood of the proposition and give no specific reason for the judgement, be considered as belonging to the category "status", following Foley and Van Valin (1984), and only those expressions which "mark the truthfulness of the proposition in terms of the way the speaker had attained this" (Foley and Van Valin op.cit.:218), such as soo da_2, be considered evidentials. Without quibbling about the details of categorization, let us just accept, for the sake of the argument, Watanabe's position.

Watanabe (op.cit.) discusses the correlations between evidentiality and transitivity with reference to the internal states of the third person. She claims that an invisible event (a person's internal state) which is not prototypically transitive can use the transitive frame to increase its visibility to the highest level when
the strongest evidence is available. She characterizes four of the
evidentials from the highest to the lowest as follows:

- **GARU** direct witness, vision-1, evidential certainty.
  
PAST direct and/or indirect witness through all available,
  reliable information.
  
  **rashii** direct witness, vision-2, appearance does not
  confirm the reality.
  
  **soo desu** indirect witness, hearsay.
  *(polite form of soo da)*

She then presents an evidentiary continuum as below:

- **GARU** > **PAST** > **rashii** > **soo desu**

*(p.249)*

From this perspective -GARU differs from the other forms in that it is
the highest evidential.

One should be reminded, though, that the significant difference
between -GARU and other expressions is that -GARU is suffixed to only
adjectives of feeling but the latter are not restricted in this way.
Rashii, for example, attaches to a sentence ending in an -i adjective,
or a verb (both past and non-past tenses) or a noun or nominal
adjective (without a copula in non-past, and with a copula-past
datta). See the following sentence ending in a verb in the past:

(89) *Taro wa dekaketa rashii.*

*Taro seems to have gone out.*

In this section we have seen various conditions where the person
constraint observed in the preceding sections does not apply, and
where a non-first person subject can take the adjective form.

### 2.10 Classification of -GARU Verbs

The question investigated in this section is: to what semantic
class of verbs could -GARU verbs belong? A few classifications of
-GARU verbs have been proposed. These are based on various semantic
features of the verbs. However, in each case one can adduce some counter-evidence to show that a different categorization is equally possible. I will examine some of the classifications proposed and their relative appropriateness. It will then be suggested that -GARU verbs cannot be easily classified as one particular class of verbs or another but they seem to share properties of each of these classes.

2.10.1 Outline of Previous Classifications

Kuno (1973:83, 139) calls -GARU verbs 'action' verbals, that is verbs like most others, as opposed to 'state' verbals which include all adjectives (including nominal adjectives) and a few stative verbs such as aru 'exist/have', iru 'need', wakaru 'understand', dekiru 'be able to', etc. He states that since -GARU is semantically and lexically [- stative], it does not take ga as a case marker for its object marking, as do state verbals, but its object is, like the action verbals, marked by o.

Ohye (1975) calls -GARU verbs kooi dooshi 'action verbs' (my translation) since -GARU indicates that the third person expresses his feeling outwardly by a certain act or behaviour.

Yoshikawa categorizes some of the -GARU verbs as keizoku dooshi 'durative verbs' (my translation) using the aspectual properties of verbs as a criteria.

Takaki, cited in Martin (1975), points out the resemblance between -GARU verbs and 'verbs of emotion' and 'verbs of continuity' on the basis of Isami's (cited in Martin) taxonomy of verbs. Martin (ibid.) then concludes that -GARU verbs are verbs of emotion, à la Isami.

The following discussion attempts to assess the basis of calling these verbs 'action verbs', 'durative verbs', or 'verbs of emotion'.
First I will examine the class of -GARU verbs on the basis of temporal properties. Secondly, their classification in terms of aspectual properties will be investigated. Thirdly, -GARU verbs as durative verbs will be examined. Then, in relation to this, a feature of the volitionality of -GARU verbs will be studied. Finally, after a brief look at Takaki's claim about the resemblance between -GARU verbs and verbs of continuity, -GARU verbs will be compared with verbs of emotion.

2.10.2 Verb Classes and Temporal Properties

Most Japanese verbs designate action and a few designate state.

The action verbs refer to present time only in their generic or habitual or iterative sense in non-past tense, as shown in (90). Otherwise they refer to future time, as in (91). They include kaku 'write', asobu 'play', taberu 'eat', hanasu 'speak' and benkyoo suru 'study'.

(90) maiban benkyoo suru.
    every night study non-PAST
    '(I) study every night.'

(91) atode benkyoo suru.
    later study non-PAST
    '(I) will study later.'

On the other hand, the stative verbs signal present time in their non-past tense form. They are wakaru 'understand', dekiri 'be able to (do)', aru 'have', aru 'exist', iru 'exist', iru 'need', etc. as illustrated below:

(92) Taroo wa eigo ga wakaru.
    TOP English NOM understand non-PAST
    'Taro understands English.'

(93) watashi (ni) wa okane ga iru.
    I DAT TOP money NOM need non-PAST
'I need money.'

There are, however, a few stative verbs for which the aspectual form TE-IRU is normally required when predicative and in this form they indicate the simple state itself which does not result from any event or action. They are sobiete-iru 'tower', sugurate-iru 'excel' etc. For example:

(94) michi ga magatte-iru.  
road NOM bend STAT  
'The road bends.'

From the point of view of the temporal meaning that they carry, -GARU verbs belong to the class of action verbs because they have generic (as shown in (95)) or habitual interpretations (as in (96) and (97)) in their non-past forms as follows:

(95) gaikoku-jin wa minna Kyooto e ikitagarimasu ne.  
foreigner TOP all Kyoto DIR go DES POL SFP  
'All foreigners want to go to Kyoto, don't they?'

(96) uchi no ko wa inu o miru to kowagaru  
home GEN child TOP dog ACC look COND afraid  
n desu.  
COMP COP POL  
'My child is frightened whenever he sees a dog.'

(97) shujin wa furo-agari ni itsumo tsumetai biiru o  
husband TOP after bath always cold beer ACC  
nomitaragarimasu.  
drink DES POL  
'My husband always wants to drink cold beer after taking a bath.'

2.10.3 Verb Classes and Aspectual Properties

We now turn to the categorization on the basis of aspectual properties. Kindaichi groups Japanese verbs into four classes on the basis of their aspectual properties. According to him doosa dooshi 'action verbs' can be subcategorized into two types of verbs: keizoku dooshi 'durative verbs' and shunkan dooshi 'punctual verbs'.

Durative verbs represent actions or processes that occur for some time, such as taberu 'eat' and yomu 'read'. The aspectual form TE-IRU attached to these verbs indicates present progressive aspect, i.e. the action or process is on-going or in progress at the moment of speech. In other words, the action or process which started some time before the speech event is on-going/continuing and has not been completed, and will possibly stretch out into the future. It parallels the English being progressive construction. Thus,

(98) Taroo wa ima gohan o tabete-iru.
TOP now dinner ACC eat FROG
'Taro is eating dinner now.'

can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

```
start eating speech event finish eating
```

Fig. 1: Progressive Aspect of TE-IRU

Tabete-iru therefore signals a point somewhere in the process which expands from the beginning till the end of eating activities.

The durative verbs have a derived meaning of iterative action, as in the following example:

(99) Taroo wa maiasa jogingu o shite-iru.
TOP every morning jogging ACC do ITER
'Taro jogs every morning.'

The punctual verbs such as shinu 'die', tsuku/kieru '(electricity etc.) go on/off' etc. denote events which finish momentarily. The TE-IRU form attached to these verbs signals the present resultative state, i.e. a state resulting from an already completed action or
event which has continuing relevance at the moment of speech. These verbs take on a perfect meaning with TE-IRU. For example,

(100) denki ga tsuite-iru.
electricity NOM switch on RES
'The electricity is on.'

(101) haha wa go-nen mae ni shinde-iru.
mother TOP 5 years before die RES
'My mother died 5 years ago.'

Jootai dooshi 'stative verbs', examples of which were given earlier, cannot be suffixed by TE-IRU as illustrated by (102) and (103):

(102) Taroo (ni) wa eigo ga { dekite-iru.
DAT TOP English NOM *dekite-iru.
'Taro can speak English.'

(103) watashi (ni) wa okane ga { itte-iru.
I DAT TOP money NOM *itte-iru.
'I need money.'

The last class of verbs in Kindaichi's categorization are called dai yon-shu no dooshi 'type 4 verbs'. These were mentioned earlier (see p.76). This class is rather small and its members take TE-IRU when predicative to indicate a state divorced from any reference to time and independent of an action or event as shown in (104):

(104) yama ga { sobieru.
mountain NOM { sobiete-iru.
tower STAT
'The mountain towers over.'

Thus Kindaichi's four classes of verbs are summarized as follows:
1. stative verbs: TE-IRU cannot be attached
e.g. Taroo wa eigo ga dekiru.
' Taro can speak English.'

2. durative verbs: TE-IRU indicates an action
   in progress:
e.g. Taroo wa ima gohan o tabete-iru.
   'Taro is eating dinner now.'
   (derived meaning) iterative

Action verbs

3. punctual verbs: TE-IRU indicates resultative:
e.g. denki ga tsuite-iru.
   'The light is on.'

4. type 4 verbs: TE-IRU is obligatory, indicating
   simple state:
e.g. michi ga magatte-iru.
   'The road bends.'

2.10.4 -GARU Verbs as Durative Verbs

Following Kindaichi's basic definition of durative verbs,
Yoshikawa (1976) categorises some of the -GARU verbs as durative
verbs. Takaki (cited in Martin 1975), on the other hand notes a
resemblance between -GARU verbs and the type 4 verbs. It is apparent
that there are variations in the classification of -GARU verbs from
one author to the other. In this sub-section I will examine the
validity of classifying -GARU verbs as durative verbs.

We have already seen that -GARU verbs are action verbs from the
perspective of temporal meanings. We have also seen that action verbs
are either 'durative' or 'punctual' on the basis of aspectual
properties. It seems intuitively reasonable that -GARU verbs should
be considered durative verbs. For one thing, -GARU verbs have in
their semantics the sense of feelings, and as Kenny (1966:58) points
out feelings have duration. The internal states of feeling, sadness
or happiness, for example, require some span of time and do not
usually end momentarily. In this sense, -GARU verbs are not punctual
verbs but they are durative verbs.
Let us now examine the extent to which -GARU verbs share other features with durative verbs. First, I will consider the meaning that TE-IRU conveys when used with -GARU verbs. It will be remembered that with durative verbs TE-IRU indicates 'action in progress'. However, the definition of 'action' is not clear. Kindaichi includes a verb of mental activity, kangaeru 'think', among the durative verbs, and Yoshikawa (op.cit.) includes many verbs of psychological and mental activity in the same group (see p.82). It seems necessary to interpret 'action' in the phrase 'action in progress' very broadly to cover 'state' as well. Perhaps 'action in progress' should be characterized as 'situation or process in progress' to classify mental or psychological verbs such as kangaeru 'think' into durative verbs.

Ohye (1975:205-6), however, seems to define 'action' as a physical action. The use of -GARU verbs involves one's physical act or behaviour which is the outward manifestation of one's feeling. In this sense he seems to call -GARU verbs kooi dooshi 'action verbs'. One may be able to interpret -GATTE-IRU, the TE-IRU form of -GARU, in a way such that the process of internal state, i.e., feeling, is on-going and that physical actions accompanied by the feeling are in progress as well. In this interpretation -GATTE-IRU has a feature of 'action in progress' which is the characteristic of the durative verbs. Thus,

(105) akanboo wa ima miruku o hoshigatte-iru.

baby TOP now milk ACC want PROG

'The baby wants milk.'

is understood in such a way that the baby's desire and its physical actions are in progress.

Consider the following example:
TE-IRU also has a 'repetitive' or 'iterative' meaning which in Kindaichi's definition is derived from the progressive meaning of durative verbs. Indeed Martin (op.cit.:360) points out that TE-IRU in -GARU verbs such as -TAGATTE-IRU 'want' has a repetitive meaning, not continuative, on the grounds that emotions pulsate.

'Repetitive' implies that a series of actions or events occur over a certain period of time. This may be seen in examples (107) and (108):

(107) kono ko wa shotchuu miruku o hoshigatte-iru.
    this child TOP very often milk ACC want ITER
    always/constantly
    'This child wants milk constantly.'

(108) Taroo wa itsumo samugatte-iru.
    TOP always cold ITER
    'Taro is cold all the time.'

The feeling of desire occurs repetitively, as seen in (107). Sensations also occur repeatedly, as in (108). However, as we have already seen, -GATTE-IRU indicates continuous aspect. See more examples:

(109) Taroo wa yuube hitoban-juu kuyashigatte-ita.
    TOP last night all night vexed PROG PAST
    'Taro was vexatious all night last night.'

(110) Taroo wa kesa kara zutto onaka ga
    TOP this morning since all along stomach NOM
Itagatte-iru.
painful PROG

'Taro has been suffering from stomachache since this morning.'

It is not certain, for example, in (109) if the vexatious feeling occurred iteratively for the whole night or if Taroo experienced this feeling the whole night through. It can be interpreted in either way. Hence, Martin's claim that TE-IRU indicates repetitive meaning and not continuative does not encompass the entire range of meaning of TE-IRU in -GARU verbs. One should rather say that TE-IRU indicates continuative or iterative meaning depending on the context.

As far as TE-IRU meaning is concerned, -GARU verbs behave like durative verbs.

It is worth noting that the membership of Yoshikawa's durative verbs is more extensive than Kindaichi's. As mentioned earlier, the latter includes only one mental verb in his classification. That verb is kangaeru 'think' which involves a positive mental attitude and volition on the part of the subject, unlike its synonym omou 'think' which incidentally appears in Yoshikawa's classification. Yoshikawa includes most verbs of human activity, some of which are psychological or mental verbs. They include some of the -GARU verbs: urayamashigaru 'envy', iyagaru 'detest/feel disgusted', as well as shinpai suru 'worry', anzuru 'worry', yorokobu 'be glad', omou 'think', kangaeru 'think', gaman suru 'tolerate', negau 'wish', nozomu 'desire', and kurushimu 'suffer', which indicate one's psychological process. For the verbs representing mental activities he includes shinjiru 'believe' and kaishaku suru 'interpret'.

Yoshikawa puts these psychological and mental verbs into the category of durative verbs simply because these activities, in a similar manner as the physical activities such as playing and crying,
last for a certain span of time. However, one of Yoshikawa's criteria for durative verbs is that they should be able to form compounds with the aspectual verb *hajimeru* 'start to (do)' (p.181). Nevertheless, -GARU verbs do not easily compound with such verbs in non-past tense. Compare *benkyoo suru* 'study', which is a typical durative verb of human activity, and *urayamashigaru* 'envy' in the examples below:

(111) a. ashita wa ku-ji ni benkyoo shi-hajimeru. tomorrow TOP 9 o'clock at study CONT start

'(I) will start studying at 9 o'clock tomorrow.'

b. maiban gohan no ato de benkyoo shi-hajimeru. every night dinner after study CONT start

'(I) start studying after dinner every night.'

(112) *Taroo wa ashita urayamashigari -hajimeru. TOP tomorrow envy CONT start

'*Taro will start to envy tomorrow.'

(113) ??Taroo wa tsumetai miruku o nonde TOP cold milk ACC drink GER juppun kurai tatsu to itsumo onaka o 10 minutes about pass whenever stomach ACC itagari -hajimeru. painful CONT begin

'Taro always starts to have a stomachache about ten minutes after he drinks cold milk.'

In general it seem reasonable to claim that the -GARU verbs are unacceptable with *hajimeru* without a special context. For it is rather difficult to determine or be conscious of when one actually starts to feel a particular feeling. This may be even more difficult when the feeling of others is involved. This could apply equally to Yoshikawa's psychological verbs such as *gaman suru* 'tolerate'. Examining the examples in more detail, (112) is unacceptable presumably because one cannot predict when a spontaneous feeling will arise. Example (113) appears to be marginally acceptable because the temporal framework or the situation that triggers the feeling has been specified; the start of the feeling seems to be rather predictable since it has become a habit.
Let us now see the example in past tense in (114):

(114) Taroo wa ani o mite urayamashigari- hajimeta.
brother ACC look GER envy CONT start PAST 'Taro started to envy when he saw his brother.'

The acceptability of (114) is due to the fact that it can be assumed that the rise of emotion became a past event and one can describe it as an objective fact.

The language seems to recognize the difference between the beginning of activities that are predictable and more or less initiated consciously, and feelings that arise spontaneously, suddenly or unexpectedly. To express the beginning of the latter another aspectual verb tends to be used, namely -dasu 'begin', such as in okori-dasu 'begin to get angry' (Himeno 1982:371).

In any case -GARU verbs do not readily combine with -hajimeru as is required for Yoshikawa's durative verbs. It seems that there is a feature that distinguishes -GARU verbs from other verbs. The feature that suggests itself, especially considering the behaviour of these verbs with aspectual compound verbs, is volitionality. This suggestion will be explored in 2.10.5 after considering the applicability of Kindaichi's conditions for durative verbs.

One of Kindaichi's conditions for a verb to be durative is that it should be possible to compound it not only with -hajimeru (as Yoshikawa requires), but also with -owaru 'finish (do)ing', as in tabe-owaru 'finish eating'; -naosu 'do (something) over again', as in yomi-naosu 're-read', and several others. However, -GARU verbs cannot compound with these items, as these examples show:

(115) *Taroo wa urayamashigari-owatta.
TOP envy CONT finish-PAST

'*Taro finished envying.'
The unacceptability of (115) may be due to the fact that -owaru compounds with verbs which indicate volitional activities (see Teramura 1984:178). In (116) also, -naosu 'do it again' requires the volition of the subject and it is not clear if such a feature is wholly associated with -GARU. This may explain their incompatibility.

Be that as it may, it is evident that -GARU verbs do not meet some of the conditions set by Kindaichi for durative verbs. Nor do they satisfy a criterion of Yoshikawa's classification. Thus we cannot exactly name -GARU verbs as durative verbs in either Kindaichi's or Yoshikawa's classifications.

We have all along seen that the feature of volitionality of the subject seems to be crucial for distinguishing -GARU verbs from durative verbs. The precise manner in which -GARU verbs interact with volitionality is examined next.

2.10.5 Volitionality in -GARU Verbs

In order to determine whether the subjects of -GARU verbs are [+volition], the acceptability of -GARU verbs in the imperative and volitional or hortative forms is examined. In general, verbs that occur in the imperative are understood to be volitional. In Japanese, non-volitional verbs do not have the (-y)oo form which indicates both volitional and hortative form. They are also unlikely to form imperatives.

Let us compare -GARU verbs with a volitional verb such as utau 'sing':

(117) a. utae.
    sing IMP
    'Sing.'
b. ?itagare.
painful IMP

'??Be in pain.'

c. ?sabishigare.
lonely IMP

'??Be lonely.'

(118) a. utaoo.
sing HOR

'Let's/I intend to sing.'

b. ??itagaroo.
painful HOR

'??Let's/I intend to be in pain.'

The volitional verb _uta_ can be turned into the imperative and hortative or first person volitional forms. However, -GARU verbs are less acceptable in the imperative, and even less acceptable in volitional or hortative forms. Feeling physically painful and feeling lonely are spontaneous and the occurrence of these feelings cannot possibly be controlled by one's will or intention. Thus one cannot command nor suggest the second person to feel a certain way and to manifest that feeling. One may be able to say that -GARU verbs are [-volition]; however, they are not totally unacceptable since there are situations in which -GARU verbs can be rendered volitional.

We have seen in 2.6 that the direct observation of one's outward expression of feelings triggers the use of -GARU. The manifestation of one's feelings may be affected either intentionally or non-intentionally. Consider the following situation: Some boys are looking at their class-mate receiving an injection, but he does not show that he is in pain. The dialogue in (119) takes place between them:
Taroo: Ken no yatsu chuusha zenzen
GEN fellow injection not at all
itagatte-inai yo.
painful PROG NEG SFP
'The injection is not hurting Ken at all.'

Jiroo: demo hontoo wa itai no sa.
but really TOP painful COMP SFP
'But I am sure that it actually hurts him.'

oi Ken, yasegaman suru-na yo.
hey sham courage NEG IMP SFP
'Hey, Ken, don't endure for the sake of pride.'

Itai no dat tara chanto itagare yo.
painful COMP COP COND properly painful IMP SFP
'If it hurts, show that you feel pain.'

Here, Ken is not showing any sign of feeling pain in the presence of his classmates. His friend interprets the situation as one in which Ken is actually feeling pain but merely concealing it, so he tells Ken to show his real feeling. But only Ken knows if he really feels pain and whether or not he is only acting as if there was no pain.

Consider another situation where two boys are in a queue waiting for an injection converse:

(120) wazato itagaroo ne. soo shitara chuusha
on purpose painful HOR SFP so do COND injection
yamete kureru kamoshirenai yo.
stop GER give might SFT
'Let's show it hurts. Then he might stop giving us the injection.'

The hortative form in (120) is acceptable because it occurs with an adverb which specifies a subject's purposeful initiation of an action. In this example, the boy wants deliberately to show that he feels pain irrespective of what his actual feelings might be. This example suggests that one can control the expression of one's feelings. In linguistic terms, it points to an element of a subject's ability to
control the situation in -GARU verbs. Consider some further examples which highlight the same issue:

(121) A mother says to her child:

hito no mono ga hoshikutemo,  
person GEN thing NOM want even if

hoshigattari-shite wa ikemasen yo.  
want mustn't SFP

'Even though you want to have other people's possessions, you mustn't show that you want them.'

(122) kanashiku-mo-nai no ni kanashigatte misete-iru.  
sad not the least though sad GER show PROG

'Although s/he is not the least sad, s/he is pretending to be sad.'

(123) A movie director tells an actress at the rehearsal,

... hai, koko de kanashigari-hajimeru.  
now here sad CONT start

'... now, (you) start to be sad.'

(121), (122) and (123) show that the subjects of -GARU verbs don't always possess the feeling which the stem adjectives express. One can act as if that feeling is currently being felt in oneself and this can be described by the use of -GARU. The discussion thus far can be summed up as follows: The use of -GARU verbs is dependent on the display of signs or other data by the experiencer. The speaker bases his observation on these and believes that his assessment is true. However, there is no guarantee that the feeling being exhibited really exists within the experiencer, for the expression of such a feeling could be simulated.

Some support of this contention comes from the results of several experiments conducted by Ekman (1984). He found that the mere presence of an emotional (facial) expression does not itself establish the presence of the associated emotion. He states that in private when no display-rules to mask expressions were operative, the biologically based, evaluated universal facial expressions of emotion
are revealed. In public settings people operate within the confines of social and cultural rules and other pressures are therefore more likely to influence the expression of emotion.

At a micro-level, the relationship between the participants in a communicative event also affects the display of feelings. Who can show what feeling to whom and when—all depends on social context. This is particularly pertinent in the Japanese context. Ekman (ibid.:320-1) reports that in an experiment he conducted with American and Japanese university students, both groups manifested nearly identical facial clues to various stimuli (both positive and negative). But when a superior (an authoritative person) was present for the same experiment, the Japanese masked their expression of negative effect with a smile.

The relevance of all this is that when one is describing another's expression of feelings there is no reason to assume that the outward sign is a signal of an existing or even real emotion.

In some cases where -GARU is used, however, one cannot imagine the subject being able to control the manifestation of his feeling or being able to feign a particular feeling. Examine the following examples:

(124) kono inu zenshin furuwasete samugatte-iru yo.
this dog whole body shiver GER cold PROG SFP
'This dog is shivering all over with cold.'

(125) akanboo ga miruku o hoshigatte-iru.
baby NOM milk ACC want PROG
'The baby wants milk.'

(126) akanboo ga naite kaminari o kowagatte-iru.
baby NOM cry GER thunder ACC afraid PROG
'The baby, afraid of the thunder, is crying.'

It is apparent that the dog in (124) and the baby in (125) and (126) may not know how to control the display of their feelings, at least not to the extent that human adults can. These examples therefore
illustrate that the subjects of -GARU verbs could lack the ability to control the expression of feelings.

The main point with -GARU verbs seem to be that they could be [+ volition], more specifically, [+ subject control]. That is, in some contexts they may imply willful control of the display of internal feelings. In other contexts, the manifestation of feelings is beyond the control of the experiencers, yet -GARU can be used. [- subject control] implies that the experiencer cannot prevent himself from behaving the way he does because of the spontaneous feeling within him. This feature can be phrased as the following component:

a) X behaves in this way not because X wants it

a) applies to situations such as those in (124), (125) and (126). On the other hand, [+ subject control] suggests the following component:

b) X behaves in this way because X wants it

(b) can explicate the situations of pretence, such as in (119) and (120) where the boys pretend to have a certain feeling. However, (b) cannot explain the situation of [- subject control]. Thus neither of the components would be needed in the explication of the semantic invariant for -GARU.

2.10.6 -GARU Verbs as Verbs of Emotion

Takaki (cited in Martin 1975) observes that -GARU verbs resemble two subcategories of verbs in Isami's (cited in Martin [ibid.]) classification.36 These are 'verbs of continuity' (which are the same as Kindaichi's type 4 verbs (see 2.10.3)) such as sobieru 'tower' and sugureru 'surpass' and 'verbs of emotion' such as nayamu 'be distressed/suffer' and nikumu 'hate'. After a brief look at the
relationship between -GARU verbs and verbs of continuity, I will examine the features of verbs of emotion in order to see if -GARU verbs belong to verbs of emotion.

In Martin no explanation is presented as to why -GARU verbs resemble verbs of continuity, so that we cannot observe Takaki's claim about their resemblance. It is, though, obvious that -GARU verbs do not belong to this category of verbs, as we have already seen in the discussion of aspectual properties of verbs. Takaki (cited in Martin) enumerates the differences: a) -GARU verbs are terminable whereas verbs of continuity are not; b) the perfect form of -GARU verbs is past in meaning even when adnominalized while the perfect form of the latter has present meaning; c) TE-IRU form of -GARU has repetitive meaning, not continuative meaning, whereas verbs of continuity TE-IRU is semantically empty; d) -GARU verbs permit co-occurrence with adverbs of frequency and time while the latter do not. Besides these points, there are other differences such as -GARU verbs undergo passivization as shown in (127) and causativization as in (128) but verbs of continuity do not, as in (129) and (130):

(127) Taroo wa minna ni choohoogararete-iru. TOP everyone DAT useful/handy PASS
'Taro is found to be serviceable by everyone.'

(128) onna o kanashigarasetari shicha ikenai yo. woman ACC sad CAUS must'n't SFP
'You mustn't cause sorrow to women.'

(129) *yama ni sobierarete iru. mountain DAT tower PASS
'? (I) am towered over by the mountain.'

(130) *michi o magaraseru. road ACC bend CAUS
'* (I) make the road bend.'

It seems that -GARU verbs are only vaguely similar to verbs of continuity, and it is evident that the characterization of -GARU verbs
as bearing some resemblance to verbs of continuity does not seem to be warranted.

Takaki (op.cit.) also states that -GARU verbs resemble verbs of emotion, and Martin (op.cit.) concludes that -GARU verbs belong to verbs of emotion. Indeed, -GARU verbs share the same property with verbs of emotion in that they represent one's emotion and so on. Let us now examine Takaki's and Martin's claims. (Henceforth verbs of emotion is abbreviated to 'EV'.)

Takaki points out that the perfect form of both types of verbs has past meaning when adnominalized as shown in (131a) with -GARU verbs and (131b) with EVs:

(131) a. ikitagatta hito 'a person who wanted to go'
    b. koi-shita hito 'a person (I) loved/
                     a person who loved'

Takaki also points out that -GARU verbs can co-occur with adverbs of frequency and time while EVs cannot. No examples are provided and what is meant by adverbs of frequency and time is not very clear. But if the terms are understood in their traditional usage, then it would seem that one can have EVs co-occurring with them. Example (132) is one in which an EV can occur with an adverb of frequency and in (133) an EV occurs with an adverb of time. The putative difference thus seems to be a similarity rather than a difference:

(132) Taroo wa tokidoki shigoto no koto de nayande-iru. 'Taro sometimes worries about his work.'

(133) Taroo wa kinoo kanashinde-ita yo. 'Taro felt sad yesterday.'

Isami has a [+ feature for EVs for the compatibility with auxiliaries te-yaru/kureru/morau '(I) give/(someone) gives (me)/(I) receive, a favour of (do)ing', and Takaki points out the similarity of
this feature to that of some -GARU verbs with favourable meanings such as **kawaigaru** 'treat with affection'. However, it has to be noted that only a limited number of EVs can be attached by te-yaru/kureru/morau. For example, **shinpai suru** 'worry', **aisuru** 'love', **tanoshimu** 'enjoy' especially can be attached by **te-kureru**. The verbs to which these auxiliaries can be attached are in principle [+volition] (see e.g. Suzuki 1972:397). The EVs mentioned above which can be affixed by them may have the feature of [+volition] unlike other EVs which express only spontaneous emotion etc. (see p.103-4). Some -GARU verbs of favourable meanings such as **kawaigaru** 'treat with affection', as Takaki claims, seem to be able to take these auxiliaries. However, **kawaigaru** is not a typical -GARU verb; it behaves differently from other -GARU verbs. The basic meaning of -GARU is that one observes the other's manifestation of feelings and judges that 'X is currently feeling Y'. The meaning of **kawaigaru** is slightly different; it indicates that the subject performs volitional acts to treat someone with care out of affection. It is unrestricted in terms of the person of subject; it is used for first person subjects as illustrated in the following:

(134) uchi no neko ga inakunatchata no. (watashi ga)  
home GEN cat NOM gone COMPL COMP I NOM  
anna-ni kawaigatte-ita no ni ...  
like that take care PROG PAST though  
'Our cat has gone. (I) cared for it so much, but...'  

In fact, this word has a lexical entry in dictionaries while other -GARU verbs do not normally appear in dictionaries. One could say that **kawaigaru** does not have the basic meaning of -GARU verbs as there has been a shift in its meaning. It is therefore not a good example of -GARU verbs. Since **kawaigaru** has the semantic feature of [+volition] it is easily affixed by those auxiliaries. It is also possible for other -GARU verbs of favourable meaning to be attached by
these auxiliaries, for example, *ureshigaru* 'be glad', *tanoshigaru* 'enjoy', *omoshirogaru* 'be amused', *natsukashigaru* 'be nostalgic' and *koishigaru* 'be dear'. However, the -GARU verbs, especially if attached by *te-yaru* and *te-morau*, seem to imply that the subject (in the case of *te-morau* the *ni*-marked NP) shows his feeling on purpose, i.e. he has control over the display of his feeling. The similarity, then, is only between a small set of EVs and a sub-class of -GARU verbs, which is not strong enough evidence for the resemblance between the two. Martin concludes however, after presenting Takaki's arguments, that -TAGARU and probably other -GARU verbs belong to Isami's verbs of emotion (p.360). Can we really consider -GARU verbs to be in the same class as verbs of emotion? Let us look further at the characteristics of verbs of emotion in comparison with -GARU verbs.

Verbs in general characteristically describe or report an action, event or state; one could say, objectively (from the external world's point of view). Thus, like -GARU verbs, EVs in general describe the third person's feelings in simple present declaratives. EVs can be used for the first person subject which does not imply the direct expression of the speaker's feeling, as the adjective form does, but portrays the speaker's emotional state rather objectively. They are narrative in nature.

Many EVs have morphological and semantic relations with the adjectives of emotion, etc. (some from which -GARU verbs are derived). In Martin (op.cit.) only a few EVs are listed, thus there is some ambiguity as to which verbs Isami has considered. In this discussion I concentrate on EVs which have corresponding -GARU verbs indicating emotion and a few sensation verbs. Some of the derivational patterns are listed below; the -GARU counterparts of the adjectives are also indicated:
1. **-mu** is added to the adjective stem:

(\text{adjective} + \text{-mu} \quad \text{verb})

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>EV</th>
<th>-GARU verb</th>
<th>gloss of EV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanashi-i</td>
<td>kanashi-mu</td>
<td>kanashi-garu</td>
<td>feel sad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanoshi-i</td>
<td>tanoshi-mu</td>
<td>tanoshi-garu</td>
<td>enjoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oshi-i</td>
<td>oshi-mu</td>
<td>oshi-garu</td>
<td>regret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niku-i</td>
<td>niku-mu</td>
<td>niku-garu</td>
<td>hate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natsukashi-i</td>
<td>natsukashi-mu</td>
<td>natsukashi-garu</td>
<td>feel nostalgic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurushi-i</td>
<td>kurushi-mu</td>
<td>kurushi-garu</td>
<td>suffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita-i</td>
<td>ita-mu</td>
<td>ita-garu</td>
<td>hurt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. **-asi** is added to the verb stem:

(\text{verb} + \text{-asi} \quad \text{adjective})

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EV</th>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>-GARU verb</th>
<th>gloss of EV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>urayam-u</td>
<td>urayam-asi-i</td>
<td>urayamashi-garu</td>
<td>envy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netam-u</td>
<td>netam-asi-i</td>
<td>netamashi-garu</td>
<td>feel jealous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hokor-u</td>
<td>hokor-asi-i</td>
<td>hokorashi-garu</td>
<td>boast of/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayam-u</td>
<td>nayam-asi-i</td>
<td>nayamashi-garu</td>
<td>be distressed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are other verbs and adjectives of feeling which are semantically, but not morphologically related:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EV</th>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>-GARU verb</th>
<th>gloss of EV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yorokobu</td>
<td>ureshii</td>
<td>ureshi-garu</td>
<td>feel glad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirau</td>
<td>iya da</td>
<td>iya-garu</td>
<td>dislike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aisuru</td>
<td>kawaii</td>
<td>kawai-garu</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kansha suru</td>
<td>arigatai</td>
<td>arigata-garu</td>
<td>thank/appreciate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are many adjectives which do not have EV counterparts but only have -GARU verbs: for example, *tsurai* 'hard (to bear)', *tsumaranai* 'boring', *omoshiroi* 'interesting', *sabishii* 'lonely' and so on. On the other hand there are a few adjectives of feeling which don't have -GARU versions but have EV counterparts as shown below:
These verbal pairs, EV and -GARU counterparts, broadly speaking, usually have equivalent meanings with the difference brought about by the meaning of -GARU. However, there are instances where the corresponding forms don't necessarily share the same meaning. A case in point is the kurushigaru and kurushimu 'suffer' pair shown in the examples below:

(135) chichi wa sono mondai de *kurushigatte-ita.  
suffer PROG PAST
kurushinde-ita.  
suffer PROG PAST

'The my father was suffering from that problem."

(136) Taroo wa shujutsu-go ni masui ga kirete  
TOP operation after anaesthetic NOM run out
kurushigatte-ita.  
kurushinde-ita.

'Taro was suffering as the anaesthetic ran out.'

Kurushigaru is used for suffering from physical pain, while kurushimu can be used for both physical and mental pain. Thus -GARU verbs and EVs are not always paralleled in their usage.

There are some corresponding forms in which one member has come to be less used. For example, between the forms hoshigaru and an EV, hossuru 'want', the latter is rarely used in colloquial Japanese nowadays.

From previous discussions, it has been noted that the speaker's judgement is involved in the use of -GARU: one observes the other person's outward expressions and makes a judgement that he is in such and such an internal state. Thus the judgement cannot be a totally
objective one. However, the EVs describe the feeling as an objective fact. This may be seen from the following occurrence tests which were also performed with -GARU verbs in section 2.6. Compare the following:

(137) Taro wa te o tataite clapping hands { ureshigatta. glad PAST yorokonda. feel glad PAST

'Taro was glad clapping hands.'

(138) Taro wa kokoro no soka kara from bottom of one's heart { *ureshigatta. glad PAST yorokonda. feel glad PAST

'Taro was glad from the bottom of his heart.'

(139) Taro wa namida o nagashite shedding tears { kanashigatte-iru. sad PROG kanashinde-iru. feel sad

'Taro is sad in tears.'

(140) Taro wa kokoro no oku de wa in the back of one's mind { *kanashigatte-iru. sad PROG kanashinde-iru. feel sad

'Taro is sad at heart.'

The above examples show that observable signs are necessary for the use of -GARU but not for the EVs. This may indicate that for the use of -GARU a speaker implies that his predication involves subjective judgement based on the data he acquired by observing the third person's outward manifestation of their internal state. For the EV, however, the speaker only states what can be considered an objective fact without indicating (linguistically) how he acquired the information.

We have seen earlier that -GARU verbs can be [+ subject control], i.e., one can at least control the manifestation of feelings. Let us
examine this feature with the co-occurrence of the adverb wazato 'on purpose/deliberately' which indicates [+ subject control] with EVs.

(141) Taroo wa wazato
TOP deliberately
{ urayamashigatta.
envy PAST
*urayanda.
envy PAST

'Taro deliberately envied.'

(142) Taroo wa wazato
TOP deliberately
{kuyashigatta.
vexed PAST
* kuyanda.
vexed PAST

'Taro was vexed on purpose.'

The EVs don't occur with the expression wazato. This seems to suggest that EVs represent emotion which are not subject to one's control. Put differently, the linguistic behaviour of EVs vis-à-vis -GARU verbs suggests that the EVs present the feeling as involuntary and not subject to the experiencer's control, i.e. [- subject control]. However, as shown in 2.10.5 the -GARU verbs can present the feeling (or more appropriately the manifestation of the feeling) as voluntary and able to be controlled, other things being equal, by the experiencer.

Let us now examine the imperative and hortative forms of EVs:

(143) nanaji no teki o aise yo.
you GEN enemy ACC love IMP SFP

'Love thy enemy.'

(144) oi, yorokobe.
hey feel glad IMP

'?Hey, feel glad.'

(145) jibun no shita koto o hajiro.
self GEN did thing ACC be ashamed IMP

'Be ashamed of what you did.'

(146) uramu n dattara aitsu o urame yo.
bear a grudge COND he ACC IMP SFP

'?Bear a grudge against him if you feel resentment.'
The acceptability of the imperative forms of EVs seem to vary a great deal depending on the individual verb. A more detailed study may be needed to spell out the restrictions with particular EVs or sub-classes of EVs, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis. At present, the task is to provide a (general) perspective on what the acceptability or otherwise of the imperative forms implies about EVs as a whole. Most of the EVs shown above are possible with imperatives. Does the acceptability of the imperative forms imply the subject's controllability of EVs, given that it is usually said that volitional verbs typically occur in the imperative?

To provide a clue to this question, let us compare the response of EV imperatives with that of a volitional verb such as benkyoo suru 'study':

(150) a. isshoukenmei benkyoo shinasai.
    hard study IMP POL
    'Study hard.'

    b. hai, shimasu.
       yes do POL non-PAST
       'Yes, I will.'

(151) a. oii, yorokobe.
    hey feel glad IMP
    '?Hey, feel glad.'

    b. ??hai, yorokobimasu.
       yes feel glad POL non-PAST
       '?Yes, I will.'
A positive response to the EV imperatives is odd as in (151) and (152) while it is felicitous for the benkyoo suru imperative as in (150). The oddity seems to stem from the fact that emotions are spontaneous and one cannot intend to have a particular emotion or willfully choose to feel something. For benkyoo suru, by contrast, the addressee can willfully choose to comply or not to comply with the request or desire of the speaker. This explanation implies that EVs are [- subject control]. This view is further borne out by the fact that even though most EVs have imperative forms, they are not used as "pure" imperatives which indicate an order or a command to make someone do something. They are generally interpreted as a speaker's wish or hope or advice (see Suzuki op.cit.:318; Bolinger 1967 and note 32). Surely, the imperatives of volitional verbs could also be interpreted as a speaker's wish etc. In the following example, there is a volitional verb (i.e. kuru 'come') but the addressee (i.e. the New Year) is inanimate and cannot do by itself what the speaker wants. The speaker only wishes that the state of affairs (i.e. the coming soon of the New Year) is realised:

(153) oshoogatsu, hayaku koi.
the New Year soon come IMP
'May the New Year come soon.'

It seems however that one can hardly interpret the imperatives of non-volitional verbs as an 'order'. This is understandable because if I order you to perform a volitional act, to study for example, I expect or assume that you can do it and you have to do what I say (although you could also refuse to comply with my order). But if I
order you to perform a non-volitional act such as feel glad for instance, I cannot assume that you will do it, because I know that you cannot intentionally bring it about. (If my 'order' is not carried out, it could not be considered a refusal because it would be due to inability to execute it.) Because of this it is no longer an order but I would wish/hope/advice that you feel glad and assume that you will attempt to adopt a positive attitude towards what I say without necessarily doing what I want.

This difference is evident, I suggest, in the illocutionary structures of the imperative forms of volitional and non-volitional verbs which are both interpreted as expressing a speaker's wish/hope/advice. Compare the following tentative paraphrases for benkyoo shiro (=I wish you would study) [a volitional verb], and yorokobe (=I wish you would feel glad) [a non-volitional verb]:

benkyoo shiro:  a) I say: I want you to study  
b) I think it will be good if you do it  
c) I assume that you can do it  
d) I say it because I want to cause you to do it  
e) I don't know if you will do it

yorokobe:  a) I say: I want you to feel something  
(i.e. feel glad)  
b) I think it will be good if it happens  
c) I know you cannot cause it to happen  
d) I say it because I want you to try to cause it to happen

(parts of the components that are identical in both formulae are underlined)

Thus although both volitional and non-volitional verbs could be used in imperative structures to express wishes etc., there are slight differences between them in terms of the illocutionary force conveyed.
-GARU verbs in the imperative form can also be interpreted as wishes. Maybe one could say they imply a speaker's strong wish etc. A husband who bought a gift for his wife and notices that his wife does not look happy, for example, could say to her:

(154) sekkaku katte kita n da kara, sukoshi wa with great pain bought COMP COP as a little
ureshigare yo.
glad IMP SFP

'As I bought it with great pain, be glad.'

Here, the husband wants his wife to feel glad and express it. One could very roughly paraphrase the relevant part of this utterance, *ureshigare* as follows:

*ureshigare*  a) I say: I want you to feel something (i.e. feel glad)

b) I say it because I want to cause you to show what I want you to feel
c) I think it will be good if you cause it to happen
d) I don't know if you will do it

The difference between the -GARU verb and the other verbs is apparent from the various formulations. Although the -GARU verb is acceptable in the imperative form, people tend to add the imperative form of *te-kureru* 'someone gives (me) favour of (do)ing' to -GARU as shown in (155):

(155) sekkaku katte kita n da kara, sukoshi wa
ureshigatte-kure yo.

'As I bought it with great pain, be glad for me.'

In general, it can be said that the acceptability of EVs in imperatives does not mean that they are volitional or [+ subject control]. It has been shown that they are non-volitional or [- subject control] even in the context of the imperative.
It appears that the non-volitional nature of EVs makes them less acceptable in the hortative. Roughly speaking, the hortative expresses a speaker's intention or suggestion to an addressee for them to do something. All things being equal, one cannot intentionally plan to do something that he cannot willfully bring about. Thus non-volitional verbs (including EVs) tend to be unacceptable in the hortative. Consider the following examples:

(156) ??furusato o natsukashimoo.
    hometown ACC feel nostalgic HOR

    'Let's/I intend to feel nostalgic for home.'

(157) ??hannin o nikumoo.
    criminal ACC hate HOR

    'Let's/I intend to hate the criminal.'

(158) ??kami o osoreyoo.
    God ACC fear HOR

    'Let's/I intend to fear God.'

(159) ??kanojo o aisoo.
    she ACC love HOR

    'Let's/I intend to love her.'

(160) omoikkiri tanoshimoo.
    as much as possible enjoy HOR

    'Let's enjoy ourselves/I intend to enjoy myself.'

Except for tanoshimu 'enjoy' in (160) the hortative forms of the EVs are unlikely to be acceptable. Tanoshimu which has both imperative and hortative forms seems to imply not only the internal feeling but also certain activities done with the subject person's volition. See further examples:

(161) motto jinsei o tanoshimoo.
    more life ACC enjoy HOR

    'Let's/I intend to enjoy our/my life more.'

(162) ashita wa tsuri o tanoshimoo.
    tomorrow TOP fishing ACC enjoy HOR

    'Let's/I intend to enjoy fishing tomorrow.'
Tanoshimu seems to indicate that by engaging in certain activities, such as in life (161) and fishing (162), one feels pleasure, thus it may involve the volitionality of the subject person to some extent. Thus it may not be appropriate to regard this verb as a typical EV.

The verb aisuru 'love', in spite of its unacceptability in (159), can be turned into a hortative when it indicates not only the feeling itself but also some activities which are done out of that feeling.

(163) shizen o aisoo.
    nature ACC love HOR

'Let's/I intend to love nature.'

The sense of the word aisuru is different in (163) to the one used in (159); in (163) it does not only express a loving feeling, but it also expresses the speaker's will or the urging toward the addressee to perform some activities out of his volition, i.e. take care or treat with affection or treasure nature. It seems that those EVs that have hortative forms involve not only the 'passive' feeling but also the 'active' performance of some activities out of one's will. If there is such an element in the context, the hortative forms are acceptable; if not, then they are unacceptable.

This is similar to the behaviour of -GARU verbs. We have seen previously that one can willfully perform activities of pretence. In this context the hortative form is possible as in (164):

(164) wazato itagaroo.
    on purpose painful HOR

'Let's/I intend to show pain deliberately.'

However, if such a situation is not present, then the hortative form of -GARU verbs are unacceptable for the same reason that EVs are unacceptable; one cannot intentionally plan to bring about a certain feeling.

Finally, the negative imperatives will be examined. Compare the volitional verb nomu 'drink' in (165), the EV in (166) and the -GARU verb in (167):
Both the EV and the -GARU verbs occur freely in the negative imperatives. Similarly, a negative response to both of them is acceptable:

(168) a. sonna-ni sake bakari nomu-na.
   'Don't drink only alcohol so much.'

b. hai, moo nomimasen.
   'No, I won't drink any more.'

(169) a. sonna-ni kanashimu-na yo.
   'Don't feel so sad.'

b. un, moo kanashimanai.
   'No, I won't feel sad any more.'

(170) a. sonna-ni kanashigaru-na yo.

b. un, moo kanashigaranai.
   'No, I won't be sad any more.'

It will be recalled that a response to the positive imperative forms of EVs was likely to be infelicitous (see p.99ff.). But a response to the negative imperative is acceptable. The reason for this may be that one is less likely to willfully choose emotions to arise spontaneously in oneself in the case of the response to affirmative imperatives. However, one can willfully choose or intentionally be determined to resist or suppress emotions in the case
of negative imperatives. Suzuki (op.cit.:328) states that the non-past negative form can indicate the intention of the subject in the case of volitional verbs, as shown in (171):

(171) ayamachi wa nido-to kurikaeshimasen. mistake TOP again repeat POL NEG non-PAST

'I will never repeat my mistake.'

As the examples in (168), (169) and (170) suggest, the subject's intention may be expressed in the non-past negative. This may be analogous to the use of a similar negative form in (172) for the speaker's intention:

(172) hoshigarimasen, kastsu made wa. want POL NEG non-PAST win until

'I/We won't want anything till we win the war.'

(172) is a war slogan which expresses the strong intention or determination to resist the desire for something until a certain goal is achieved.

Although the speaker may be determined to avoid a certain feeling, there is no assurance that one can really stop or control the spontaneous emergence of a feeling no matter how strongly determined one may be. One can, however, express one's positive intention to do so. Both EVs and -GARU verbs are used in this context, and in this respect they are both treated as [+ intentional].

2.10.7 Summary

To recapitulate, an attempt has been made to determine the semantic class of -GARU verbs. It has been shown that from a perspective of temporal properties, -GARU verbs belong to the class of 'action verbs'. From the viewpoint of aspectual properties, -GARU verbs have some features of 'durative verbs'. They are [+ durative].
The progressive or continuous meaning of TE-IRU and its derived iterative meaning are all possible with -GARU verbs. It should be noted that because classifications such as Yoshikawa’s do not differentiate between volitional and non-volitional durative verbs, and because -GARU verbs can be [+ volition], more specifically [+ subject control], they tend not to behave in the same way syntactically as some of the typical durative verbs of human activities such as taberu 'eat' and benkyoo suru 'study'. For example, -GARU verbs can compound with -hajimeru 'start to (do)' in non-past tense like other typical durative verbs if they are presented as [+ subject control]. Otherwise they do not satisfy such a criterion.

It has also been seen that the claim of the resemblance between -GARU verbs and 'verbs of continuity' is untenable in the light of the many differences that exist between the two classes. Finally, the differences between 'verbs of emotion' and -GARU verbs were examined. It has been found that although some of the EVs are semantically and morphologically related to the adjectives that -GARU suffixes, some important differences exist between EVs and -GARU verbs. They both denote emotions etc., but EVs describe the feelings of others objectively and have characteristics of a written style, whereas -GARU verbs describe others' feelings based on one's judgement by observing the expressions of others. They are thus not as objective as EVs. EVs are generally [- subject control], whereas -GARU verbs could be [+ subject control]. That is, both types of verbs are [- subject control] in the sense that feelings emerge spontaneously and are not subject to human will or control. -GARU verbs could be [+ subject control], because one can control the display of one's feelings, but this does not apply to EVs. However, both EVs and -GARU verbs can be viewed as [+ intentional] where the subject can have the determination
and will to avoid or resist having a feeling (whether this is attained
or not is another matter).

Thus it has been demonstrated that -GARU verbs, though they share
some of the features of each class, do not belong to this or that
class.

2.11 A Semantic Representation of -GARU

We have investigated and arrived at certain features of -GARU. It
is the purpose of this section to draw these together and propose,
tentatively at least, semantic formula to account for the meaning that
this word conveys. '-GARU' has been used as a citation form of the
morph '-GAR' throughout the study. However, in this sub-section
'-GAR' is employed, being detached from the temporal marker -U, to
describe the meaning of this morpheme precisely.

In the course of the discussion of the general features of -GAR
certain aspects of its meaning emerged which can be summarised as
follows:

(i) -GAR is suffixed to adjectives of feeling. It is used to
mark predications about the feelings of people (or
animates) usually of the third person whether the feeling
is real or faint. The component suggested by this feature
could be formulated as:

   I can say X feels something (Y)

where X is a sentient being and Y is the name of a
feeling.

(ii) Its use depends on the kind of evidence that one acquires
or could acquire through his senses directly. This
suggests that part of the speaker's meaning has to do with the person saying it, not because someone else has told him, but because he has direct evidence for it. Thus this component could be:

I say this not because someone else said it
I say this because of what can be observed about X

It is quite clear that other people can get access to the internal states of others through observing them, but it is also the case that it is only the experiencer who knows exactly what he is feeling; even ignoring cases of deception or pretence, it seems quite true, as Wittgenstein (op.cit.) notes, that others cannot know what I feel with the same certainty with which I know it. It appears that this is one of the ideas encoded in -GAR; that whatever the speaker says about the feeling of another, and although other people may agree with his judgement, it is only the experiencer who is aware of what he really feels. This is even more so in cases of pretence when an 'experiencer' actually knows that he does not have the particular feeling. The speaker is only left to believe that the outward manifestation is a reflection of what may or may not be happening inside the experiencer. Thus it would seem that another feature of -GAR is (iii) below:

(iii) The speaker assumes that it is only the experiencer who knows the truth of the assertion made. The speaker does not claim that he knows how the experiencer feels. This component could be phrased as:

I don't say this because I know how X feels

(iv) It is assumed that the feeling is intense. Because it is intense, it is hard for the experiencer to conceal how he
feels. Even in cases where one pretends to have a particular feeling, one can only externalize it if one pretends that it is being intensely felt. Intensity, it has been argued, is the key to the outward behaviour and this seems true of both real and simulated feeling.

(v) The person talked about should have displayed, verbally or non-verbally, his internal state to the speaker or to people who are in a situation to be able to observe him. Typically, the display-behaviour is the clue and so the speaker asserts his proposition because he thinks the only reason for such behaviour on the part of the experiencer is the feeling.

Features (iv) and (v) outlined here yield a component of the semantic structure of -GAR which could be phrased as:

I think X behaves in such a way because of how much X feels Y

(vi) The evidence is made public and the speaker assumes that either other people would agree with his judgement or his judgement is shared by other people. That is, other people could make the same judgement if they were to observe the experiencer also. This feature could be formulated as:

I think other people would say the same thing (about X)

Putting all these components together one can propose a semantic representation for the basic meaning of the morph -GAR as follows:
X wa Y -GAR

a) I can say X feels something (Y)
b) I don't say this because I know how X feels
c) I say this not because someone else said it
d) I say this because of what can be observed about X
e) I think X behaves in such a way because of how much X feels Y
f) I think other people would say the same

It has been indicated in the Introduction that the adequacy of the semantic explications is tested through their substitution for the explicand salva significatione in all its contexts. The formula is tested in some of the contexts. The claim is that any occurrence of -GAR that meets these conditions can be substituted for by the formula.

Let us first examine the following example:

(173) gaikoku-jin wa minna Kyooto e ikitagaru.
foreigner TOP all Kyoto DIR go DES non-PAST

'All foreigners want to go to Kyoto.'

In (173) -GAR is attached by the non-past tense form -U which indicates the generic or habitual or iterative meaning. The speaker or other people observe foreigners over time and make a judgement that foreigners in general want to go to Kyoto. The meaning of (173) could be paraphrased as follows:

a) I can say all foreigners want to go to Kyoto
b) I don't say this because I know how foreigners feel
c) I say this not because someone else said it
d) I say this because of what can be observed about them
e) I think foreigners behave in such a way because of how much they want to go to Kyoto
f) I think other people would say the same
As shown above, the formula proposed for -GAR is applicable in this context of generic sense.

Let us now look at (174) in which -GAR is attached by the aspectual form TE-IRU:

(174) Taroo wa samugatte-iru.

'Taro is cold.'

The meaning of (174) can be represented as follows:

a) I can say Taro feels cold now
b) I don't say this because I know how Taro feels cold
c) I say this not because someone else said it
d) I say this because of what can be observed about Taro
e) I think Taro is behaving in such a way
   because of how much Taro feels cold
f) I think other people would say the same

Now in (a) is introduced and also the progressive 'be-ing' is added in (e) because of the presence of TE-IRU. They represent part of meaning supplied by this item. Thus the formula is applicable in aspectual situations that are current or related to present time.

The implication of this is that the semantics of -GAR interacts with the semantics of other constituents within the construction that it partakes in.

Having characterized the basic meaning of -GAR, I now want to propose interpretations for its marked use with the first person as an illustration of the basic principle. The following example reminds us of this special context of split-ego:
In this context an extra-linguistic feature is added, namely, X is the speaker. Naturally, the participant role in the formula would have to be adjusted to reflect this situation. At first sight component (b) "I don't say this because I know how X feels" does not seem to fit this situation. For split-ego there is no question about the ego knowing how he feels. It seems the effect is brought about precisely by this apparent asymmetry between knowing how you feel yet presenting it as what someone else is saying about you. (b) is thus not appropriate in this context, and needs modification. It would be replaced by the following component: "I don't say it this way because I don't know how I feel". Furthermore, an extra component (c) in the following formula should be added, since it is other people who do not know how the speaker feels, but the speaker knows how he feels:

a) I can say I feel pain now
b) I don't say it this way because I don't know how I feel
c) I say it this way because I don't think other people know how I feel
d) I say this not because someone else said it
e) I say this because of what can be observed about myself
f) Other people would think I am behaving in such a way because of how much I feel pain
g) I think other people would say the same

The interaction between the context and the basic meaning of -GAR has produced the interpretation outlined above. It is the context that contributes components to the core meaning of -GAR as explicated above. It is still evident that the basic components suggested for -GAR are also applicable.
From the tests above it emerges that the formula which has been proposed for -GAR can be substituted salva significatione in the contexts surveyed. The formula is thus appropriate as a representation of the basic meaning of -GAR.

So far the formula has been tested against several environments in which -GAR occurs. It proved to be satisfactory. Now, we shall examine another context in which it occurs in the light of the explication. Recall that it was noted in Chapter 1 that it was misleading for one textbook to include the adjective tsuyoi 'strong' in the list of -GAR taking adjectives without further comment. It was also indicated that in this context -GAR conveyed a slightly different meaning. If this observation is right, then the basic meaning proposed could not be substituted for it in the context of tsuyoi. Consider the following example:

(176) sonna-ni tsuyogatte misete mo muda yo.  
so much strong GER show though useless SFP

'It is no use flaunting your strength.'

The English gloss suggests the conveyed meaning; the subject is probably displaying deliberately that he has strength. This fact at least is known to the speaker. This means that the component (b) "I don't say this because I know how X feels" is not applicable. What the speaker knows is that the subject is exaggerating his powers and the speaker uses -GAR precisely because of this.

Furthermore, other people would not think or say that the subject is strong either because of the way in which he is behaving. They would rather detest his way of flaunting his strength.

All this seems to suggest that we need to postulate a second but related meaning of -GAR. Let us look further at similar types of adjectives. Consider the following examples:
(177) aitsu minna no mae de eragatte-iru ze.
that fellow everyone in front of self-important SF

'He is fancying himself a great man in front of everyone.'

(178) anna kakkoo o shite, hitori-de
like that dressed by oneself

ikigatterya ii sa.
chic/stylish COND good SFP

'Leave him be, pretending to be swank, dressed up like that.'

(179) kare wa nanni demo tsuugaru kuse ga aru.
his TOP anything expert/connoisseur habit NOM have

'He has a habit of pretending to know everything/He has a tendency of fancying himself a knowing one.'

In (177), for example, the subject is showing off in a conspicuous way that he has the property of being great, and the speaker, observing his behaviour, passes a negative judgement on him. It is apparent that -GAR which is attached to the sub-class of adjectives such as erai 'great/eminent', iki da 'stylish' and tsuu da 'expert' does not carry exactly the same meaning as formulated before. I suggest the following sub-meaning of -GAR in the usages described:

\[
X \text{ wa } Y \text{ -GAR }_2 \\
\begin{align*}
\text{a) } & \text{ I think one could say something good about } Y \\
\text{b) } & \text{ I think } X \text{ wants people to think that he is } Y \\
\text{c) } & \text{ I say this not because someone else said it} \\
\text{d) } & \text{ I say this because of what can be observed about } X \\
\text{e) } & \text{ I say this because of the way } X \text{ behaves} \\
\text{f) } & \text{ I don't think } X \text{ is } Y \\
\text{g) } & \text{ I think something bad can be said about } X \\
\text{ because of that} \\
\text{h) } & \text{ I think other people would say the same}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
(X = \text{subject} \\
Y = \text{adjective of good disposition})
\]
One syntactic-semantic justification postulating a separate meaning for this usage is that the adjectives in this class relate to good disposition. They are marginally adjectives of feeling but their focus is on property rather than the associated feeling. This usage, one could speculate, could have originated from its use in cases of pretended feeling.

Be that as it may, the similarities and differences between the two senses are apparent from a comparison of the two formulae. They both have the components (c) "I say this not because someone else said it"; (d) "I say this because of what can be observed about X" and; (f) (or (h) in -GAR₂) "I think other people would say the same". They also share component (e) which relates to the behaviour of the one being observed but which corresponds to one another only in part. These components that overlap for the two senses are presumably the central ideas entailed by -GAR.

For the two uses there is a difference in the mental posture of the speaker. For -GAR₁, the speaker indicates his lack of knowledge and certainty about what is happening in X, whereas for -GAR₂ the speaker expresses his disbelief or lack of conviction about the state of X. This is represented in the components of the formulae: "I don't say this because I know how X feels" for -GAR₁ and "I don't think X is Y" for -GAR₂. A further and crucial difference between -GAR₁ and -GAR₂ is that the latter has the component (g). This characterizes the value judgement not only of the speaker but also of other people concerning the behaviour of X. Such a judgement is not associated with -GAR₁. Despite these differences it should be clear that for both uses a speaker has to observe someone's outward manifestation of a certain state and then pass a judgement. Predications are made about people on the basis of such observation. Unsurprisingly therefore, the two meanings are related and the specialized one (-GAR₂) can be used as a clue to, and evidence for, the meaning of -GAR.
2.12 Summary

In this chapter a detailed description of the grammar and meaning of -GARU has been presented. The class of adjectives to which -GARU is suffixed was identified. Various features of the morpheme in terms of its syntax, distribution and semantics have also been uncovered. It was found that -GARU occurs with adjectives of intense and temporary feelings. For the use of -GARU one needs direct evidence acquired through one's senses. The general person constraint or ego/non-ego distinction involved in the use of -GARU was also described. It was also noted that the person constraint was not always observed. Thus, under special circumstances the ego can use -GARU about himself. Similarly, the adjective form can be used about non-ego as well.

The latter part of the chapter was devoted to the classification of -GARU verbs. It was shown that these cannot be classified as this or that type of verb; rather they share properties with the various verb classes such as durative verbs and verbs of emotion at different levels. One distinguishing feature that was noted was that -GARU verbs can be [+ subject control].

Finally, semantic explications were proposed for the linguistic item under investigation. The formulae, it is hoped, capture the real meaning of the expression.
3.1 Introduction

With the background provided in the previous chapter, let us now attempt an explanation for the problem in Japanese syntax that has been discussed in several places in this study. Briefly the essential aspects of the grammatical facts and the problem can be recapitulated as follows: in general, adjectives of feelings are used for the first person in the present tense; for non-ego, however, they may be verbalised with -GARU or marked with other suffixes etc.

There are exceptions to this general rule. Under certain conditions a predication about ego could be made indirectly, thus marking the adjective form with -GARU, for example. Similarly, the adjective form, without any marker, can be predicated directly by a non-ego subject.

The principles seem to be contravened in some syntactic environments as well. Thus, in questions the adjective form is used for the non-ego addressee. Complex syntactic constructions that involve embedded clauses provide another domain within which the rule does not apply. Thus if the adjectives occur in relative clauses or in various other types of subordinate (or adverbial) clauses, such as conditional, reason and quotative clauses, they could be unmarked irrespective of whether the subject is ego/non-ego.

In this chapter an attempt is made to elucidate -GARU and related phenomena.
The various explanations that have been offered in previous studies of these phenomena can be grouped, for the sake of convenience, into (i) those that are 'formal' or 'structural', and (ii) those that are 'functional' in orientation. In the next section I will briefly summarise some of the formal approaches. This is followed by a review of the major 'functional' explanations that have been proposed. I will then propose a conceptually based framework within which much of the observable data could be explained and systematized. In doing this I basically assume that grammatical issues are motivated by cognitive factors and that semantic, pragmatic, discourse as well as cognitive notions can be employed in explaining grammatical facts that seem otherwise intractable. The explanatory strategy draws upon the insights of the 'functional' interpretations that have previously been suggested (by scholars such as Kuroda and Akatsuka). The proposed model differs from these in at least two respects: (i) it is integrated in nature, i.e. the parameters are not treated as independent of each other, and (ii) it employs the notion of markedness which has not been formerly invoked in explaining the phenomena in question.

3.2 Selected Formal Approaches: A Summary

The summary below concentrates on two main streams of the syntactic explanations that have been offered. They are those that relate to performative analysis (à la Ross) and those that have to do with factivity conditions (following the broad distinction drawn by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) between factive and non-factive predicates). These are discussed in turn.
3.2.1 Performative Analysis

The main tenet of what has come to be known as the performative hypothesis proposed by Ross (1970) and other generative semanticists is that every sentence has in its underlying or semantic structure a performative verb such as 'state', 'ask', 'order' etc. That is, in its deep structure, every sentence has a higher/highest clause made up of a subject, I (speaker), a performative verb, e.g. say, and an indirect object, you (addressee). A deep structure could be represented in a linear way as:

I say to you S

To get the surface structures from underlying forms a syntactic transformation of performative deletion is optionally applied. Ross (1970) supports the performative hypothesis with fourteen or so arguments. One of these relates to the person restriction on English verbs like 'lurk', 'loom', and 'purport', and Japanese -GARU verbs. In simple declarative sentences these verbs do not take first person subjects, but when they occur in embedded clauses, the restriction no longer holds.

Ross (ibid.:265) claims that the facts of -GARU verbs in Japanese can be accounted for in terms of placing an identity constraint of the subject of the clause and its higher clause. He writes: "the general restriction then, is that the subject of verbs in -GARU not be identical with the subject of the first verb up." According to this interpretation (1) is unacceptable because in its deep structure the higher subject is identical with that of the embedded clause. Example (2) is however acceptable because moving a step up from the lower clause, the clause containing the -GARU verb with the first person subject, the subject of the next verb is not identical with it:
Ross' account has been accepted by many Japanese grammarians as a plausible explanation for the grammatical facts (e.g. Sawada 1973; Ohye 1973). Teramura (1973), for example, inspired by the general claims of the performative hypothesis, suggested that for the sentences containing words that denote feelings there is a higher clause which represents kanjoo hyooshutsu no muudo 'the mode of expressing one's feelings directly' (my translation) if the experiencer in the lower clause is the first person. This is applicable only at the time of utterance. It does not apply if there is a shift in tense or in person.

The performative analysis cannot handle all the instances of -GARU. Take the example of cases involving split-ego of the speaker (see 2.8.2 and see below for further discussion). For such utterances the subject of the first verb up is identical with the subject of the -GARU verb (see the diagram of example (1)). The performative analysis predicts that such a structure should not occur. It could
therefore not be used to explain it. It seems that the performative analysis is suitable for some cases but it cannot account for everything. It is the partial inadequacy of the performative analysis that led to the postulation of the factivity condition for -GARU verbs.

3.2.2 Factivity

In their classic paper on factivity Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) draw a distinction between factive predicates, e.g. 'remember', and 'admit', and non-factive predicates, e.g. 'think', 'believe', and 'assume'. One of the systematic differences between the two classes pointed out by the Kiparskys' is that the factives presuppose the truth of their embedded clauses while the non-factives do not.

Taking this distinction as a point of departure, Sawada (1973) and Katoa (1977) examine the distribution of -tai and -tagaru 'want' in the complement clauses of both factive and non-factive verbs. They both claim that -tagaru always appears in the complement clause of factive verbs. Factive verbs such as mitomeru 'admit' and shiru 'know' do not take a bare adjective form but the -GARU form in their complement clauses as illustrated in the following:

(3) Nikuson wa fushigi no kuni o
    Nixon top wonderland ACC
    hoomon shitai
    visit DES
    *hoomon shitagatte-iru
    PROG
    to omotte-iru.
    COMP thinking

'Nixon wants to visit the wonderland.'
In (3) and (4) the subjects of the higher and lower clauses are identical, i.e., Nixon. According to the performative hypothesis, the adjective form \(-tai\) should be acceptable, as in (3). However, in (4) it is inappropriate and the utterance is felicitous if the \(-GARU\) form is used.

Sawada (ibid.) explains that this occurs because the sentence has a factive verb in the matrix clause. He claims that the factivity condition predominates over the identical subject condition as required within the performative analysis framework. He tabulates the distribution of \(-tai\) and \(-tagaru\) with respect to the factivity condition and the identical subject condition as follows:

| Table 3: Distribution of \(-TAI\) and \(-TAGARU\) with respect to FC and ISC |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| predicate        | +FC   | +FC   | -FC   | -FC   |
| condition        | +ISC  | -ISC  | +ISC  | -ISC  |
| \(-TAI\)         | -     | -     | +     | -     |
| \(-TAGARU\)      | +     | +     | -     | +     |

\(FC\) = Factivity Condition (\([+FC]\) indicates the matrix verb is factive)

\(ISC\) = Identical Subject Condition (\([+ISC]\) indicates the subjects of the embedded and matrix clauses are identical)

+ = can occur

- = cannot occur
The issues that emerge from the formal approaches indicate that one cannot arrive at a holistic perspective of the problem from by using each of them independently or using them in combination. A recourse to cognitive and semantic principles that underly the phenomena could lead to some solutions. Some advances have been made in this area and these are discussed in the next section.

3.3 Previous 'Functional' Explanations: A Brief Survey

One writer, Ohye (1973; 1975) provides a bridge, as it were, between the formal explanations outlined in the previous section and the functional interpretations to be reviewed here. His works constitute a thorough description of the basic phenomena concerning -GARU. He also offers many insightful explanations of various puzzles. He makes use of a mixture of formal and functional views in his explanations. However, the explanations are not drawn together in a coherent framework. This chapter attempts to provide a much needed integration of the various explanations. The review will concentrate mainly on the works of Kuroda (1973; 1976) and Akatsuka (1978; 1979), although mention will be made of Kuno and Kaburaki's (1977) empathy theory as well.

3.3.1 Kuroda's Approach

Kuroda (1973, see also 1976) observes that the distinction between the adjective forms and the -GARU forms corresponds to the epistemological dichotomy that Russell (1940), for example, draws between the use of language to: (i) indicate facts and, (ii) express the state of the speaker. For the adjective forms the difference between these two functions does not exist. For the -GARU verbs however the speaker, so to speak, is both expressing his state and indicating the facts of the state of others.
The main thrust of Kuroda's account is that to explain the exceptions "we must differentiate two grammatical styles in Japanese" (1973:384). These are the reportive and the non-reportive styles. Example (5) is acceptable in reportive style while (6) is acceptable in the non-reportive:

(5) Taroo wa kanashigatte-iru.
  Top sad PROG

'Taro is sad.'

(6) Taroo wa kanashii.

'Taro is sad.'

The reportive style is used in the paradigmatic setting of linguistic performance and also in first person and/or non-first person stories. In this style the rules are observed. The narrator's/speaker's judgement of the situation is the orientation in this style.

The non-reportive style is used only in non-first person stories where events are represented from the point of view of a character who is the referent of the subject of a sentence. Because of this, non-ego subjects predicated directly about with adjectives are acceptable in this style. Here the narrator is not the interpreter of the situation but situations are represented from the character's own perspective.

The two styles so distinguished therefore differ in the way they treat sensation words. However, as Kuroda himself acknowledges, the grammatical status of some of the occurrences of -GARU are rather subtle, for example, the first person with -GARU verbs. (To be fair to Kuroda he noted that such utterances were not of principal concern to him.) While such sentences may be acceptable in the non-reportive style, they tend to show up in the paradigmatic setting of linguistic performance as well, which generally employs reportive style (according to Kuroda). This implies that it does not seem possible to account for all the data only by the distinctions in style. It
suggests that we need other parameters such as epistemology, the need for which Kuroda recognises but does not explore in any detail. The latter concept has been applied by Akatsuka to various phenomena in Japanese and English.

3.3.2 Akatsuka's Approach

Akatsuka (1978;1979) approaches the problem of ego/non-ego distinction from what she calls a natural and pragmatic constraint that bears on aspects of language use viz; "humans are not mind readers." She explains that "it is impossible for anyone to enter another person's inner consciousness and directly experience his internal feelings, sensations, emotions or beliefs" (1979:7). This is why in Japanese one cannot predicate the ideas of a non-ego directly. Using evidence from the domain of factive complement, taking predicates in English and Japanese, she sets up an epistemological framework which shows that knowledge acquired through direct experience belongs to the subjective domain of the individual while knowledge acquired via someone else's knowledge belongs to the objective domain. This correlates with the truth of utterances. In her (1978) paper she shows how complementizer choice in Japanese relates to, and is dependent on, the truth, whether as subjectively judged or objectively viewed, of the proposition in the embedded clause.

She claims that the utterances based on knowledge acquired through direct experience and visual perception are "truer" than those based on knowledge acquired through abstract reasoning.

Akatsuka (1979:20ff) goes on to contrast her epistemological framework with the four principles of Kuno and Kaburaki's (1977) empathy theory. She points out that the two theories are different in
terms of their claims and predictions: "Above all else", she argues, "our theory (Akatsuka's, ST) explicitly rejects a hierarchial relationship...for 'I', 'you' and 'third person'. Instead, we claim that there is an opposition of an 'immediately experiencing ego' and some person X who is being diagnosed. But this X can be 'you' 'third person' or even the speaker himself" (ibid.). She implies that the empathy framework makes incorrect predictions about predicates that exhibit person constraints such as mental verbs and adjectives of feeling in their use in present tense declarative sentences.

Such restrictions are presumably and admittedly better explained by the epistemological framework. But there are other problems which appear to be better explained by empathy principles than by the epistemological framework. For example, it is acceptable, given the right context, for a speaker to empathize with the addressee and present the addressee's feelings as his own. For instance, a mother empathizes with a sleepy child by saying nemutai '(You feel) sleepy'. But the mother could not perform the same act if the child was not the addressee. Presumably, Akatsuka's epistemological theory would predict that this should be possible because clearly there is an ego and an X being diagnosed - a prediction which seems inconsistent with the data. In the empathy theory, however, this is quite well explained by the speech act participant hierarchy. It predicts and claims that of all the persons it is more difficult for a speaker to empathize with the third person than with himself or with the hearer. The two theories, in my view, have their strengths, and each accounts for different aspects of the phenomenon better than the other.

What all this leads one to is that while each of the notions that have been invoked, style, epistemology and empathy, have some relevance to the problems at hand, each one by itself is not adequate. Furthermore, employing a system that makes use of only these three parameters might be equally inadequate.
My suggestion is that in addition to these notions there is the need to explicitly introduce in the explanatory model the concept of subjectivity which has hitherto been subsumed implicitly under epistemology in previous explanations. The notions of empathy and viewpoint should also be elaborated and made more precise in the framework. Above all, the important notion of markedness should be incorporated in the model for the explanation. To my knowledge, this last notion, markedness, has not been used in the proposed explanations. I shall next outline how these notions can operate in an integrated framework which can account fairly systematically for the features in the previous chapter.

3.4 Towards an Integrated Explanatory Framework

The details of the framework are presented in this section. Although the model operates as a network and the applications of the notions to the interpretation are simultaneous, the system will be described in a step-by-step fashion for clarity of presentation. The principles of markedness on which the schema hinges are outlined and then the parameters and the inter-connections used are explained.

3.4.1 Markedness

Intuitively, the notion of markedness implies that in a system where there are two or more members, one member very often tends to be more normal, more usual and less specific than the others (see Comrie 1976). The more usual form which tends to occur more frequently is said to be unmarked and the others are marked. There are other senses in which a form is said to be marked or unmarked in linguistic analysis (see Zwicky 1978 for a survey of these, and see also Jacobson [1939] 1984).
For the purposes of this study the following criteria seem most relevant: (i) the more normal or usual member of an opposition is the unmarked one. For example, a distinction will be made between two basic modes of communication; the linguistic paradigmatic mode and the narrative. In this system the unmarked mode is the linguistic paradigmatic because it is more normal than the narrative. (ii) marked categories tend to have more morphological (or phonological) material than the unmarked ones, and (iii) unmarked terms tend to be less specific and less informative than the marked ones.

It is fairly obvious that the difference between the adjective forms and the -GARU verbs is the presence in the latter of 'extra' linguistic material viz -GARU. In this sense, the -GARU verbs are marked in relation to the adjective forms. -GARU verbs are marked in another sense, too. They are more complex semantically than the bare adjective forms. Evidently, the first person, the locutionary agent, has more knowledge about, and can speak more authoritatively on, what he feels/experiences than he could about someone else's experiences.

Verbs, or more generally predicates, of emotion and perception, as Tiersma (1982:846) points out, tend to defy the general markedness principle of verbs, namely, third person forms of verbs are unmarked (Greenberg 1966). He argues that this is a case of local markedness in verbs:

While it ... seems generally true that the third person is unmarked compared to the other persons, certain types of verbs ... show signs of being exceptions. The following principle may be formulated:

Verbs of perception and emotion may be locally unmarked.

This translates into the fact that a predication about ego in the domain of emotions and perceptions is simpler than a predication about a non-ego (as presented by a speaker), which seems psychologically reasonable. Tiersma adduces some statistical evidence for this contention from Spanish text counts (reproduced in part below):
It should be remembered that unmarked forms, in general, tend to have a higher text frequency than marked ones (Greenberg op.cit.).

All this leads to the conclusion that the bare adjective forms are unmarked and the -GARU forms are marked. In fact, one can extend this notion to make the general assertion that the adjectives of feeling with conjectural markers such as rashii, soo da etc. as well as no da are marked.

From these observations, it is important to note that markedness can be general or local or it may be relative, varying in a continuous fashion. Neutralization of the marked/unmarked opposition may also occur in certain domains. These principles of markedness are made use of in the description of the framework.
3.4.2 The Framework

The description of the explanatory model begins by differentiating between various modes of communication. An explanation of the system of -GARU usage follows, and the interrelations between the notions and subjectivity are then elaborated upon.

A primary distinction that has to be recognized in the explanatory strategy is that of two modes of communication. One is the normal paradigmatic linguistic mode of communication. In this mode, generally speaking, people typically talk about reality. The other mode is what may be called a construct mode: a mode in which people create reality. This is the mode of the narrative. This dichotomy is similar to, but not necessarily identical with, related distinctions that have been drawn by others. For example, Benveniste (1959) recognises a contrast between discourse (discours) and narration (histoire); Weinrich (1964; cited in Lyons (1982)) also notes a dichotomy between narration (Erzählen) and commentary (Besprechen). Hamburger (1968; discussed in Kuroda 1976) claims that narration (Erzählen) is categorically different from statements (Aussage); and Lyons (1977;1982) distinguishes between an 'experiential' and a 'historical' mode of description. Each of these authors has different perspectives on the basic distinction they draw. It is however remarkable that each author generally draws a line between narration and non-narration. It is also recognised by these authors that the rules of grammar as they apply in one mode may be different from their operation in the other.

For our purposes, it should be observed that we can invoke the notion of markedness in relation to the two basic modes where the unmarked mode is the one in which we talk about real things that have
happened or are happening. We also hypothesize about things that could happen but we also question or deny situations that we conceive as real. It is also important to realise that there are 'submodes', so to speak, in each domain as well as styles that can be employed in either mode. For example, we can have a self-expression (or expressive/performative) mode.

Apart from this, a speaker in the normal mode or an author/narrator in the construct mode can assume various viewpoints in presenting a communication. He may assume his own viewpoint or the viewpoint of others. The perspective that is taken has implications for the form and interpretation of the message.

A further general observation with respect to the modes of communication that have been identified is that the normal paradigmatic linguistic mode of communication is thought of as being more subjective than the construct mode (see Lyons 1982; Benveniste 1958). (See below for a discussion of the notion of subjectivity.) I shall now discuss each mode using the relevant factors.

3.4.2.1 The Paradigmatic Linguistic Mode

Let us examine the rules of -GARU usage as they pertain to (i) tense (ii) whose viewpoint the speaker assumes and (iii) the epistemological implications, namely, whether the speaker is experiencer or not (i.e. experiential vs non-experiential mode) in the normal mode of linguistic communication. These implications will not be fully developed until the section on subjectivity.

Let us begin with the unmarked tense, i.e. the present tense (Lyons 1977; Greenberg 1966). If the speaker presents the message from his own point of view in this tense then the general rules are observed. That is, predications about ego's internal state are made with adjective forms while those relating to non-ego are made using
-GARU verbs. The epistemological implications here are fairly transparent: the speaker cannot know the feelings of another with the same level of assurance as he does his own. This fact is reflected in the linguistic expression. Extra morphological (or phonological) material is added to indicate that the conceptualization of the latter is more complex. Thus when the speaker assumes his own viewpoint, predications about non-ego's internal feeling are linguistically (and conceptually) marked. Predications about ego are unmarked.

The speaker can however assume the viewpoint of an OTHER. Here two possibilities are available. One of them is where the speaker assumes the OTHER'S position and makes predications about the OTHER - the addressee or the third person. He projects himself, as it were, into the consciousness of the OTHER and presents his feelings as if he (the speaker) were experiencing them. This has been described in some detail elsewhere in this study (see 2.8.2). What should be pointed out here is the epistemological implications and how they are linguistically coded. Because the speaker assumes the viewpoint of the OTHER, it could be taken that he knows the feelings the way he knows his own. At least this is the way it is presented grammatically; in the adjective form instead of the expected -GARU verb. This is especially true if the OTHER is the addressee, because in most instances of this sort there is a special relationship between the speaker and the addressee. An example of this is where a mother says (7) to her baby:

(7) aa nemutai.
    ah INT sleepy

'Ah, sleepy.'

In this case, which is in fact exceptional, the situation is conceptually marked and one would expect a linguistic marking, but it appears that the marked context triggers a modification of the linguistic rules. This case could be described as the case of a
speaker having empathy for the addressee (i.e. empathetic identification). It could be argued that the rules are respecified to give prominence to the fact that the speaker is empathising with the addressee.¹

The viewpoint assumed by the speaker could be employed to explain some cases of the non-occurrence of -GARU in embedded and dependent clauses. If a speaker assumes his own viewpoint throughout the utterance, then the adjective would be marked by -GARU. However, if the viewpoint is that of the subject of the embedded clause, one finds adjective forms. In this case, second and third person subjects may take adjective forms as follows:

(8) sonna-ni kekkon shitai nara, shitemo ii.  
so much marry DES COND do may

'If you want to marry so much, you may.'

(9) Taroo wa sabishii toki ni rekoodo o kiku.  
Top lonely when record ACC listen

'Taro listens to records when he is lonely.'

In these cases the information is presented from the subject person's perspective.

While assuming the viewpoint of the OTHER the speaker may make a predication about himself as well. The speaker, as it were, stands outside himself and reflects on and observes himself from the perspective of other people. This is also a marked situation in terms of viewpoint. It is also linguistically marked, that is, -GARU is used. Conceptually/referentially, however, the experiencer is the same as the speaker. Although the speaker is the experiencer and the judge, he presents the message as though he was being observed or diagnosed by somebody else. This is what has been referred to as the speaker having a split-ego. Here again the linguistic rules are contravened to produce a dramatic impact. By the use of this strategy, it appears, the speaker vividly presents what his feelings are:
(10) watashi ga konna-ni hoshigatte-iru noni, chichi wa
I NOM so much want PROG though father Top
zettai katte kurenai.
ever buy GER give NEG

'Although I want it so much, my father never buys it for me.'

There is another situation in which the speaker may assume the
viewpoint of OTHER, in a sense, in the paradigmatic mode and make
predications about himself. This may be referred to as cross-world
identification.

When a speaker speaks about himself in a picture or as he looks
at himself in a mirror, the -GARU verb could be used. Here the
speaker could be said to be reflecting on his own image:

(11) Looking at himself in a video film taken just after
he lost a tennis match one could say:
zuibun kuyashigatte-iru naa.
awfully vexed PROG SFP

'(I) am very vexed.'

It can be said that in the unmarked tense where a speaker uses
his own viewpoint, the normal linguistic rules are followed. Where he
uses the viewpoint of the OTHER the rules are reversed, viz -GARU may
be used when talking about himself and the adjective form may be used
for non-ego.

There is a double system of rules in the marked tense, the past
tense. Grammatically, the adjective form can be used for non-ego.
The experience of the OTHER in the past has become an objectified fact
and the speaker can obtain information about the past feelings of the
OTHER before the time of utterance. In fact, in colloquial speech
particles such as no da 'it is the case that' are usually attached.

The use of the adjective form instead of the linguistically
marked -GARU form can also be explained in terms of markedness. There
is a tendency for languages not to pile up marked categories in one
item (Jakobson [1939] 1984). The past is a marked temporal category;
it would appear that to add another marked category may be overloading the system. It seems that the language does not want to have two marked categories in the same item.

At another level, the rules of the present are operative in the past as well: the adjective form for ego and the -GARU form for non-ego. Here, the emphasis seems to be on presenting the situation as experienced by the speaker some time in the past as opposed to what someone else experienced in the past.

When the tense is past, the speaker can choose to present an 'objective' description. This is when the adjective forms are used for all persons. The speaker can also choose to present the message subjectively. Here he makes a distinction between what he felt in the past and what others felt. The only difference between this one and the present tense one is in the time of the experience in relation to the moment of the utterance.

With the normal mode we have seen how the rules of the grammar with respect to the adjectives of feelings vary according to the tense and viewpoint assumed by the speaker and the implications of these from an epistemological standpoint. The lynchpin of the model, it must be stressed, is markedness. Thus if within a particular domain one identifies the marked context, then one would expect the rules to be changed. For example, the rule could be changed due to neutralization, as in the past when the message is objectively presented, or reversed as when the speaker assumes the viewpoint of OTHER, or simply suspended. This last situation obtains in the construct mode which we discuss next.
3.4.2.2 The Construct Mode

The crucial thing about the construct mode is that reality is suspended and with it the attendant linguistic and markedness principles. Temporal differences are not very significant. The viewpoint that the speaker or author or narrator adopts is what is relevant for the construct mode. There are at least three possibilities: the author could adopt an omniscient viewpoint towards the participant; he may adopt the first person participant perspective; or he may assume an external objective viewpoint. Each of these viewpoints has its own grammatical and epistemological systems.

With the omniscient viewpoint (Kuroda's omniscient narrator) the author is considered to have complete access to all that the participant characters feel. Because of this, bare forms of adjectives of feeling are permissible for ego or non-ego. They are used to directly present the experiences of the participants in the discourse. An author may choose such a perspective in order to create a dramatic effect on his audience. He wants the audience to become each character and experience their feelings. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(12) Motoko wa ...... kuyashii. iya da. sonna koto ga dekiru mon ka ..... can on earth
Bun chan wa nantokashite ... shiritakatta. ..... TOP somehow know DES PAST
aa nan daroo na. boku wa Motoko chan no Ah INT What I think SFP I TOP GEN
koto ga ki ni natte shiyoo ga nai n da yoo. NOM anxious cannot help COMP COP SFP
'Motoko is vexed. (She) is disgusted. How on earth can I (Motoko) do such a thing? .... Bun wanted to know somehow. .... Ah, I (Bun) wonder what it is. I (Bun) cannot help thinking about Motoko.'
Where the author adopts a first-person participant viewpoint the situation is similar to what obtains in the paradigmatic mode when the speaker assumes his own viewpoint. Here the author identifies with one participant which is ego. Therefore he has access to this ego's feelings. The internal states of all other participants, all things being equal, are not available to him. To make predications about these, -GARU may be added on to adjectives of feeling.

Note that as in the paradigmatic mode, although in reality the speaker can only completely know his own feelings, he could to a certain extent 'jump' into the minds of others and present their feelings from their perspective. An author in the construct mode who adopts a first person participant outlook can also enter the minds of other participants and present their feelings from their perspective. The implications as described for the normal mode are applicable here as follows:

(13) wagahai wa neko de aru. ... hatena nandemo
I TOP cat COP how strange INT likely
yoosu ga okashii to nosonoso haidashite miru
state NOM odd COMP sluggishly creep out GER try
to hijooni itai. ..... doomo hijooni kurushii.
COND very painful really very painful
..... ganrai kono shujin wa nani to itte
by nature this master TOP nothing special
hito ni sugurete dekuru koto mo nai ga
person DAT excel GER can COMP there is NEG but
nan ni demo yoku te o dashitagaru.5
anything often attempt DES
'I am a cat. ... How odd! Wondering if something is wrong I crept out slowly, then something hurts terribly. ... I feel very painful. .... My master does not have anything special which is superior to other people, but he often wants to try everything.'

The third possibility is that the author stands outside and allows each character to express himself without the author's
intervention (Grimes 1975:319ff.). Such a viewpoint could be referred to as being objective in a sense. Here, everybody speaks for themselves and the characters can talk about one another. Whichever situation is appropriate will demand the necessary rules. From this viewpoint the author denies himself access to any of the characters' internal states and he does not identify with any of the characters. The audience is given the liberty of interpreting the feelings of each character as they are described as illustrated by (14): 6

(14) roojin wa minami no hoo o koishigarimashita.
old man TOP southern part ACC miss POL PAST

... "hayaku hima o moratte kaeritai mono da."
soon leave one's service go home DES

to roojin wa iimashita.
QUOT old man TOP say PAST

'The old man missed the south. ... The old man said, "I want to be dismissed and go home soon."'

In (14) the writer leaves the character to talk for himself.

In summary, in the construct mode the author can assume three viewpoints. If he adopts an omniscient viewpoint, all things being equal, there is no difference in predication for first person or third person. If the author adopts a first person participant perspective, then the rules as they apply in the normal mode are employed. The first person may be allowed to reflect upon himself. Thus -GARU may also be used in the first person. Finally, an objective perspective may be employed by the author.

3.4.2.3 Subjectivity

The major parameters of mode of communication, tense and participant/person viewpoint all relate to subjectivity. 7 Markedness, which has been extensively employed in the explanation, also correlates with subjectivity. In addition, the epistemological status of the speaker vis-à-vis the subject of the predication has subjective
dimensions. In this section the various linkages are surveyed. This is preceded by brief comments on subjectivity itself and what it is construed to be in this study.

Various authors use the term subjectivity in slightly different ways. The sense in which the term is used in this study and its application in the explanation is inspired by the views of especially Benveniste (1958), Lyons (1982) and Langacker (1983; 1985).

"Subjectivity", according to Lyons (op.cit.:102), "refers to the way in which natural languages in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs." The opposite of this, objectivity, implies that a speaker does not express himself. Since there are different degrees to which a speaker can involve himself in what he is saying, it seems reasonable to construe subjectivity as a scalar notion. The end points of its continuum are subjectivity and objectivity.\(^8\)

At least, one can identify three points on this scale: \(^9\)

Subjective

(i) speaker is completely involved and expresses his own attitudes, feelings and beliefs explicitly

(ii) speaker expresses his judgement (concerning the feelings, beliefs and attitudes of others)

(iii) speaker's non-involvement and non-expression of his attitudes, beliefs, feelings and judgement

Objective

It should be emphasised that these three situations are points on a continuum so that a given expression can occur on the scale relative to any of them. As one moves from (i) through (iii) the speaker's involvement in what he is saying decreases until it reaches a point where it is absent. At that point, (iii), it could be argued, a
speaker only states facts. The difference between the first point and
the second point is that anything a speaker says is about himself —
expressing what his state is and indicating facts about himself. However, the second point pertains to a speaker's judgement on what
another person's state is or to facts about that person. In point of
fact these two points are the most relevant for our concern. The
second point is probably the intersection point of the extreme ends of
things subjective and things objective. It is the mid-point of the
scale. In this area a speaker codes the degree of reliability he
attaches to a proposition without necessarily casting doubt on it.

The varying degrees of a speaker's certainty for utterances that
occur in the mid-point of the scale tend to be grammatically marked
cross-linguistically. Thus utterances that do not represent a
speaker's subjective feelings and beliefs (i.e. utterances about
others) are therefore asserted with relative confidence. Such
utterances require an indication of the epistemic and evidential
source, and justifications which form the foundation of the
proposition. They are based not on direct experience but on a
speaker's evaluation or inference. For example, the Japanese
adjectives of feelings are marked with -GARU or other morphemes for
utterances that occur in this range in the subjectivity scale.

Other languages such as Polish, Czech and Mapun, a Chadic
language spoken in Nigeria, (see Frajzyngier 1985) have grammatical
means of indicating a speaker's doubt about the veracity of what
somebody (a third person) says, but not what a speaker himself says.
For example, in Mapun, paa is a morpheme that indicates 'doubt' and it
is not used in embedded constructions that report about a first
person. Compare the following examples:

(15) a. wur sat mun ni din yol muan
  3sg say 1pl Compl 3sg Coref go trip
  'He told us that he went on a trip.'
b. wur sat mun ni din paa yol muan

'He told us that he went on a trip but maybe he didn't go.'

c. n sat mo ni an mbi yol muan
lsg tell 3pl Compl lsg Fut go trip

'I told them that I will go on a trip.'

d. *n sat mo ni an paa mbi yol muan

'I told them that I will go on a trip but I may or may not go.'

(p.246)

The analogous morphemes in Polish and Czech are niby and pry respectively. However, unlike Mapun, when these morphemes occur with the first person, they mean roughly "I said X but I lied".

Epistemology is closely related to subjectivity and one can discern correlations between the epistemological basis of an utterance and its position on the subjectivity scale. To illustrate this relationship, I use the epistemological mode set out by Chung and Timberlake (1985) and relate it to the data: "The epistemological mode evaluates the actuality of an event with respect to a source" (op.cit.:244) (source is used here to mean participant). For the present purposes, the source will be assumed to be the speaker. An event/proposition may be asserted as actual, i.e. real beyond question (hence with certainty), but most utterances may be asserted to be dependent in several ways on the source (in this case the speaker). A submode of this category is the experiential. An event/situation is characterised as experienced by the source, i.e. speaker. For our purposes the first person utterances that contain adjectives of feeling are experiential. Those utterances that do not describe a situation as experienced by the speaker may be considered non-experiential (Lyons 1982).

The non-experiential mode encompasses a number of sub-domains.
The inferential/evidential sub-domain presents statements as based on or inferred from evidence other than the speaker's own experience. Recall that evidentials such as rashii, soo da etc. can also be used to talk about the feelings of the third person. The speaker does not, incidentally, necessarily cast doubt upon the proposition in an explicit way but he more or less distances himself from it.

Another sub-domain is the quotative - the event is characterized as reported from another source. This mode has to do with reported speech (direct/indirect speech and the intermediary). Quotative devices are another means of talking about the feelings of non-ego. We have seen examples from Japanese and in the next chapter we shall encounter another language which uses the quotative for similar purposes.

The quotative, from the speaker's point of view, represents knowledge that has been indirectly acquired. At the same time it ascribes a source and responsibility for the message being conveyed to someone else. The difference between the quotative and the evidential in my view is that the speaker is less involved in the quotative. For the evidential, the speaker imposes his judgement on the evidence as presented, whereas for the quotative he only reports what someone else, in this context the experiencer, had said. In terms of the subjectivity scale proposed the evidentials are more subjective than the quotatives.

Chung and Timberlake have a final submode called the 'construct' mode. In this mode reality is suspended. This is perhaps similar to the construct mode used in this study. In this mode the speaker etc. does not exist as an experiencing, conscious ego. We have indicated that such a mode is less subjective. It probably belongs, in a sense, to the objective domain.

It has been noted that tense is a domain of the subjective. We
have indicated that between the present tense and the past tense it is
the present which is subjective. The present signifies that the event
is taking place now; it implies that the experiencer is undergoing the
event at the time. We have already seen how the rules operate in the
present with a clear subjective perspective and how the rules are
neutralised in the past if the message is presented as objectified.
The present tense therefore correlates with the subjective end point.

One can correlate the category of grammatical person, too, with
the subjectivity scale. Obviously the subjective end point would
correspond to the first person. Viewed from this angle, utterances
about second and third persons are less subjective. It is no wonder
therefore that in general these receive -GARU marking (Langacker 1985
also suggests a correlation between his subjectivity scale and what he
calls a proximity scale - a scale involving 'person'). One thing that
one has to allow for here is the possibility of viewpoint shift. That
is, the speaker (ego) should be able to assume the viewpoint of OTHER
on the person scale. This has implications for the epistemological
basis of utterances which have been described earlier.

Markedness also correlates with the subjectivity scale. The
unmarked point is the subjective end point. It should be remembered
that our system of explanation centred on the marked vs unmarked in
each domain. Once the unmarked is recognised it implies it is the
subjective one in the system.

Langacker (1985) also makes some insightful observations on the
correlations between markedness and subjectivity, in particular his
subjectivity scale is worthy of attention. Langacker (op.cit.:126)
notes that the position of an utterance on the subjectivity scale
correlates iconically with the extent to which one or the other
participant receives phonological symbolization. In the following
examples (16) is more objective, or rather, the speaker views himself
quite objectively and in (17), the speaker is perceived less objectively but in (18) the speaker is construed very subjectively:

(16) The person uttering this sentence doesn't really know.

(17) I don't really know.

(18) Don't really know.

A corollary of this claim is that within a system where there is a choice between implicit and explicit mention, an utterance that involves implicit mention would tend to be more subjectively construed while explicit mention implies objectification, in a sense. Langacker comments that such a hypothesis might help elucidate the syntactic differences and interpretation of the following sentences:

(19) I want to be rich.

(20) I want me to be rich.

(20) implies that the speaker perceives himself more objectively as an OTHER. Lyons (op.cit.:107) also observes that the difference between

(21) I remember switching off the light.

(22) I remember myself switching off the light.

is that in (22) the speaker is reflecting on himself as an OTHER.

One can also interpret and relate these observations more specifically to markedness: the second sentences of each pair have more phonological material, hence could be said to be marked in comparison with the first. Indeed this is what the contrast between implicit and explicit mention means. The links between markedness and subjectivity are once more apparent; the marked form tends to be more objective and the unmarked tends to be subjective.

By way of summary, a subjectivity scale has been proposed which has several correlates. The scale with its correlates may be represented diagrammatically as follows:
It is evident that the parameters mentioned before all have correlates with subjectivity. One can thus start to explain any utterance involving a subjective element from the subjective end point of the scale, call it the zero point or the origo (to use Bühler's (1982) term for the I, here and now). The correlates of the subjective zero point in our system include: experiential, first person, present, paradigmatic mode and the unmarked.

How does all this relate to -GARU and its related phenomenon in terms of subjectivity vis-a-vis markedness? It has been claimed that the zero point on the subjectivity scale is the subjective point and also the unmarked one linguistically in terms of subjectivity. It is now proposed that any variation on one of the correlates of the zero point - any change in person, tense, or experiential mode produces a marked form either linguistically or contextually or both.

Let us illustrate the implications of the proposal. First, a change from first person to any other person is a movement from the zero point therefore the standard presentation requires that it should be marked. For example:

(23) watashi wa atsui.
I TOP hot
'I am hot.'

(24) Taroo wa atsugatte-iru.
TOP hot PROG

'Taro is hot'.

This is the general rule that has been rather over-emphasised in the literature. A movement away from the experiential mode also triggers the use of a marked form. Even in the first person when a speaker chooses to present a situation in which he is directly experiencing a feeling at the same time that he is observing himself from the OTHER's viewpoint, he chooses the marked form. This situation has been described as split-ego. I suggest that it is the situation which is presented as marked that compels the speaker to make a non-standard choice of using -GARU on the first person, in fact linguistically the marked form as shown in (25):

(25) watashi ga konna-ni itagatte-iru noni
I NOM this much painful PROG although
haisha wa chiryoo o yame yoo to shinai.
dentist TOP treatment ACC stop HOR NEG

'Although I am in such pain, the dentist won't stop treating me.'

A variation on tense, from present to past where the message is presented as an objectified fact in general leads to a neutralization. A movement from the origo, the predicate is marked. Compare especially the unmarked form and the marked form for the third person subject in the past, (27b) and (27c) respectively:

(26) a. watashi wa kanashii.  (Present)
I TOP sad (Adj)

'I am sad.'
In addition, if a communication is presented in a construct system such as a dream and/or more especially in the world of fiction, a marked context is created and therefore the principles that apply also operate on the basis of subjectivity.

The interaction between subjectivity and markedness has been pointed out. It has been argued that the degree of subjectivity of an utterance correlates (iconically) with its markedness linguistically or contextually. The suggestion is that if the issues involved in the syntax of -GARU are examined within an epistemological framework that has markedness as one of its parameters, many of the things that have remained unclear might be illuminated.

Simply put, any predication that involves adjectives of feelings satisfies all the coordinates of the origo of the subjectivity scale which is unmarked and therefore does not use -GARU. If the utterance has features that make it appear elsewhere on the scale, it is marked. Above all, it seems that if the utterance is presented in the non-experiential mode, then all other things being equal, -GARU (or the conjectural suffixes and no da etc.) would mark the adjectives of feelings.
Our observations here are consistent with the tendency in
languages across the world to overtly signal that an utterance is
non-subjective (Givón 1982).

3.5 Summary

An attempt has been made to explain in a unified way the data
concerning -GARU and its related phenomena. It was shown that to
explain these we need to use an integrated network of notions. At
each stage and in each domain, once decisions are made on what the
mode of communication is and what the tense and whose viewpoint the
speaker is assuming, one can predict the grammatical choice that is
made. We may present the following schema:

Assuming the normal mode of conversation and holding the
speaker’s viewpoint constant

Tense: Present → Past

[Grammar rules] neutralization → Adj. for all person

First person Adj. non-- OTHER -GARU neutralization

First person Adj. OTHER -GARU

Holding the present tense constant

Whose viewpoint?: Speaker shift → OTHER

[Grammar rules] reversed → First person -GARU

OTHER Adj.

Mode of
Communication: Normal → Construct

[Grammar rules] suspend → the use of -GARU
or Adj. depends on
the author's viewpoint

To reiterate the major claim of the model suggested, each of the
notions invoked works in an interdependent manner. Also, that
marked/unmarked contrasts are needed to fully understand the way one's
own feelings or those of others are expressed.
CHAPTER 4

SOME CROSS-LINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

4.1 Introduction

A comment that pervades most of the literature on -GARU is that it is a unique feature of Japanese. The point seems to have been exaggerated. -GARU is characteristically Japanese but its epistemological implications are not necessarily uniquely Japanese. A close examination of parts of various languages reveals that the epistemological principle that underlies -GARU and other related phenomena with respect to person constraint is operative in their grammars, admittedly, under different guises. In this chapter, some of these phenomena are explored. In one respect, the issues raised may provide empirical support for the explanatory model developed in the previous chapter. Above all, it seems that it should be worthwhile for teachers of Japanese as a second language to be aware of some of these parallels in other languages and perhaps to draw on them in the presentation of -GARU and the adjectives of feeling to which -GARU is suffixed.

First, areas of Japanese grammar which are also sensitive to the ego/non-ego distinction are outlined. Then data is presented from a selected number of diverse languages: Korean, Hua, English, French and Polish to show that in these languages there is a semantic and/or grammatical contrast between ego and OTHER in the treatment of predications that have a subjective component.
4.2 Japanese

Apart from adjectives of feelings whose sensitivity to the distinction between SELF and OTHER has been discussed throughout this study, there are other domains where the person constraint is also evident. Two of these will be pointed out here, namely, verbs that have a subjective component, e.g. mental verbs, and choice of modals.

For the subjective verbs, the contrast is effected linguistically through the tense-aspect marking system. Thus the simple non-past form of mental verbs such as omou 'think', kangaeru 'think', shinjiru 'believe', komaru 'be troubled', mairu 'be dumfounded', kanshin suru 'be deeply impressed', utagau 'doubt', kurushimu 'suffer' take only a first person subject in simple present declarative sentences and indicate the speaker's feeling at the moment of the utterance (Teramura 1984; Akatsuka 1979 among others). Consider the following examples:

(1) a. watashi wa soo omou.
    'I think so.'

(2) a. kodomo no itazura ni komaru.
    child GEN mischief DAT have a hard time
    'I am troubled by my child's mischief.'

To make the sentence with the third person subject acceptable, one has to add the aspectual form TE-IRU as in (3) or other forms of conjecture or hearsay etc. It also becomes grammatical if the tense
shifts to the past (though usually a form such as no da is added for colloquial speech) as shown in (4):

(3) Yamada san wa kodomo no itazura ni
Mr. TOP child GEN mischief DAT
komatte-iru.
having a hard time
'Mr. Yamada is troubled by his child's mischief.'

(4) kare wa soo omotta (no da).
he TOP so think PAST it is the case that
'He thought so.'

Similar to this phenomenon is the observation made by Ohye (1975:198) that the past form of some mental and sensation verbs such as tsukareru 'become tired', odoroku 'get surprised', and the idioms like onaka ga suku 'become hungry' and nodo ga kawaku 'become thirsty' indicate the speaker's direct expression of feeling at the moment of speaking as shown below: 1

(5) a. aa, tsukareta.
oh INT tired PAST
'Ah, I am tired.'

b. Taroo wa ?tsukareta.
TOP (tsukarete-iru.
RES
'Taro is tired.'

We have seen that the non-past form of some mental verbs and the past form of some mental and sensation verbs are used to express the speaker's internal state at the time of the utterance. The third person subject cannot be predicated about with these since the speaker cannot get access to the third person's feeling at the moment of his utterance. However, by attaching the aspectual form TE-IRU which indicates that the person has been in that state from the past, the speaker can indicate that he acquired the information about the third person before making the utterance. TE-IRU can be used for the first person subject as well. In this case the speaker views his internal
state, which is continuing form the past to the present, rather reflectively or objectively.

There are other parts of the grammar in which similar restrictions on person are operative. One of these is in the choice of modals in utterances. For example, modals of intention such as -(y)oo and the negative -mai permit only first person subjects. For the third person, constructions such as to omotte-iru '(X) thinks', or to itta '(X) said' and so on have to be added.

In the foregoing some examples of other areas of Japanese grammar which are sensitive to the ego/non-ego distinction have been presented. In the following sections the reflections of the contrast between SELF and OTHER in the grammars of other languages in the domain of subjective predicates are explored in the hope of drawing some cross-linguistic comparisons and generalizations.

4.3 Korean

In Korean, according to Martin and Lee (1969:126), people do not ordinarily presume to state flatly what another person feels or thinks: such inner feelings can be known only at secondhand and the Koreans use indirect means to refer to them. One way of doing this is to add an auxiliary hay to verbs that denote emotions, e.g. 'dislike', 'glad'. The effect of this is that it externalizes the feeling and grammatically it changes the stative verb into a processive one. Compare the following examples:

(6) Kim sensayng i wa se, coha yo.

'I'm glad Mr. Kim is here.'
(It's nice that Mr. Kim has come.)

(7) Kim sensayng i wa se, coha hay yo.

'Someone else is glad that Mr. Kim is here.'

Other pairs of predicates are listed below (the subjects in (a) are
first person, while the ones in (b) are second or third person i.e. you, he, she, they):

(8) a. siph. e yo
b. siph. e hay yo
'want to/would like to'

(9) a. silh. e yo
b. silh. e hay yo
'dislike'

(10) a. kippe yo
b. kippe hay yo
'happy/glad'

Even more intriguing is the fact that, like Japanese, the person distinction with respect to 'experiential sentences' is neutralized in the past tense in declaritives in Korean. Korean thus marks in its grammar a difference between ego and non-ego experiences.

4.4 Hua

In Hua - a Papuan language of the eastern highlands of New Guinea - one can only talk about the third person's wants or feelings by using a direct quotation. For the first person, a desiderative suffix is used (Haiman 1980). Consider the following examples:

(11) desumi ('') hue.
'I want to eat.'

(12) "dogue" hie.
(Lit. "I will eat", he says.)
'He wants to eat.'

(13) desimi ('') hie.
'He is about to eat.'
(*He wants to eat.)

The implication of this is that the only way that a speaker can know
what another person wants is through their telling him. Hence the
only way to predicate about it is to quote them directly.

Like in other languages examined in this chapter, the difference
between saying things about one's feelings and about those of others
is not maintained in the past. The construction used for past desires
of first person or other person is the direct quote:

(14) "ugue" hue.

(Lit. "I will go", I said.)
'I wanted to go.'

Clearly, Hua also signals the current experiences of the speaker
in a different way from the way it signals the ones of others in its
grammar, i.e. non-ego's mental states are expressed by direct
quotation.

4.5 English

All the languages surveyed so far have explicit grammatical means
of indicating the ego/non-ego distinction. In English, however, the
contrast may be said to be covertly shown. Nevertheless, it is
possible to see and glean a similar distinction, at least at a
semantic level in certain domains, particularly those involving a
subjective component. In this section an attempt is made to indicate
the areas of English grammar in which it is possible to talk of a
contrast semantically between ego and non-ego. The focus is on two
kinds of construction: one of these is the 'feel + Adj' construction.
The difference between this construction and the 'be + Adj'
construction are examined, as well as the differences between the
first person subject and third person subject of these constructions.
The second construction concerns parenthetical and psych-movement
verbs. It is shown that subtle semantic differences are evident when
these are used with the first person subject and with the third person
subject.
In English, the semantic differences between 'be + Adj' and 'feel + Adj' constructions where the adjective denotes an emotion or sensation seem to parallel the contrast between 'Adj -GARU' and 'Adj' predications in Japanese. Sometimes it is difficult to appreciate the difference between (15a) and (15b) below. The truth is that there are some fine semantic distinctions between them. These are outlined below:

(15) a. I'm hungry/sad/angry.

b. I feel hungry/sad/angry.

For one thing (15b) is more 'subjective' than (15a). In (15a) the speaker implies that the sensation or emotion has some "objective, physiological basis" (Wierzbicka 1980:135) while (15b) does not have such an implication. The effect of this implication is more obvious with third person subjects. As Wierzbicka (ibid.) puts it: "... the person who says 'X is hungry' implies, however vaguely, that X's condition can be found out by someone other than X; the sentence 'X feels hungry' implies that the condition is known to X alone and cannot be detected or inferred from anything unless X tells people about it." In this quotation the example is a sensation but the observations apply to emotions as well.

The difference between 'X is Adj' and 'X feels Adj' is even more evident if X is an animal. In the following examples (16b) is less acceptable than (16a):

(16) a. Fido is hungry/sleepy.

b. (?)Fido feels hungry/sleepy.

(Examples from Wierzbicka 1980:134)

This is probably because for (16a) there may be something in the dog's (Fido) behaviour that makes it possible for a speaker to observe and judge that Fido is hungry. However in (16b) a speaker may only be
able to say such a thing if Fido tells him. (16b) conveys a piece of information that cannot be gathered from Fido's behaviour. The oddity of (16b) may diminish if it is interpreted as a form of speech in 'free indirect style' where the speaker, so to speak, enters the state of consciousness of the subject and speaks from his consciousness. It seems reasonable to infer from this that the 'feel + Adj' construction with a third person subject implies that the speaker assumes the viewpoint of the subject and presents information about him. One should be reminded here of the use of the adjective form with a third person subject which illustrates an instance of a shift in viewpoint of the speaker.

A further subtle difference between the two types of construction under consideration may suggest that the 'feel + Adj' one, from a linguistic point of view, is presented as involuntary, i.e. beyond the control of the experiencer, while the 'be + Adj' one does not have such an implication.

To summarize the semantic contrasts that have been pointed out, partial semantic representations of the two constructions are presented below (adapted from Wierzbicka 1980:140):

(i) \text{I'm Adj} \\
\text{something happens in me} \\
\text{something can be said about me because of that}

(ii) \text{I feel Adj} \\
\text{something happens in me} \\
\text{not because I want it} \\
I can say something about myself because of that

(iii) \text{X is Adj} \\
\text{something happens in X} \\
\text{something can be said about X because of that}
(iv) ∴ X feels Adj

something happens in X

not because X wants it

X can say something about himself because of that

The main difference between both constructions is brought out by the presence in the formulae for (ii) and (iv) of a 'not because I/X want(s) it' which accounts for the involuntary nature of the 'feel + Adj' construction. In addition, in (ii) and (iv) the subject experiencer can say something about himself. In (i) and (iii), however, it is not only the subject experiencer who can say something about himself, other people can as well. This is the reason for the partial identity in the last component of the formulae for (i) and (iii).

It is apparent that English also provides its speakers with a means of expressing spontaneous emotions and sensations which are subjectively experienced and construed, namely, the form 'feel + Adj'. This probably is analogous to the use of the 'Adj' form in Japanese, at least if the 'feel + Adj' has a first person subject. Furthermore, the 'be + Adj' construction implies that something observable about the subject is available for other people to be able to see. This corresponds, in my view, in some respects at least, to -GARU. Besides, just as the use of the adjective form in Japanese for the third person implies free indirect discourse/style, so the use of 'feel + Adj' constructions in English involves such a style in the third person.

These observations seem to be at odds with some of the comments and glosses that appear in the literature. Ross (1970), for example, interpretes -GARU as 'feel'. He glosses omoshirogaru as 'feel interested'. Ohye (1975:205) also translates -GARU as 'feel'. Thus a
form such as sabishigaru is given the English equivalent 'feel lonely'. He explains that this is because 'feel' is an objectified subjective verb. This may be so, but it seems that when it is in combination with an adjective of feeling it is more subjective than the 'be + Adj' construction. Ortony et al. (1986) have recently noted that the difference between these constructions is more obvious when the adjective does not normally connote emotion. Such an adjective takes on an emotional overtone in the 'feel + Adj' context but not in the 'be + Adj' one. Thus the difference between 'feel abandoned/neglected' and 'be abandoned/ neglected' is that the former has an emotional overtone while the latter does not.

The evidence presented here would seem to suggest that the 'Adj -GARU' form is best glossed as 'be + Adj' in English.

Let us move now to another part of English syntax which also has a hidden difference between first person forms and third person forms. From a grammatical point of view, English allows its speakers to express directly the internal state of others. English treats 'I am cold,' and 'I think ...,' vs 'He is cold,' and 'He thinks ...,' in the same way in the grammar without indicating the semantic complexity of the latter. In a recent article, Kunihiro (1982) compares Japanese and English in this domain. He argues, on the basis of evidence from the areas of self-reflexivization, passivization and reference to oneself in the second person, that in English the first person is objectified and the speaker views the first, second and third persons on the same level from outside. In Japanese by contrast, the viewing arrangement distinguishes between ego as a speaker and non-ego as OTHERS. He presented these views pictorially as follows:
The diagrams are quite impressive and quite illuminating. However, they might be taken as superficial representations of what is expressed grammatically in both languages rather than as what takes place necessarily in the conceptual configurations. I will argue that parts of English grammar provide evidence that the first person is not always objectified in English as Kunihiro suggests.

Parenthetical verbs such as 'know', 'believe', 'suppose', 'guess', 'hear', 'assume', 'think', 'feel', 'perceive' (Urmson 1972) and psych-movement verbs such as 'seem', 'appear', 'strike' etc. (Postal 1970) show in their semantics and grammar that Kunihiro's diagram for Japanese is applicable to English as well, though perhaps not to the same extent. Urmson (op.cit.) points out, among other things, that the first person present perfect tense use of parenthetical verbs, signals the emotional, social, logical and evidential background of statements from the speaker's perspective, "but when not in the first person present they report the statement-cum-signal rather than making it" (op.cit.:236). These may have other derivative uses but all come from this basic function. Such derived uses are more intricate and need not detain us here. He argues that when Jones says: "X is, I believe, at home" and someone reports it as "X is, Jones believes, at home" the latter but not the former is "oratio obliqua". In their parenthetical uses, the first person format, they show rather than state, i.e., they are not used in a descriptive sense.

At least for these verbs the semantics of the first person forms
and those of the other person forms are different. They show that the first person is subjectively viewed rather than objectively construed.

This situation parallels, in the view of this writer, the difference between the adjectives and the corresponding -GARU verbs; the adjectives are self-expressive while the -GARU verbs are descriptive.

In fact, it is hard to find some parentheticals with third person subjects. Bolinger (1971:545) admits that he is bothered about the peculiarity of the following:

(17) a. ?John hears that you are a liar.
(18) a. ?John understands that you are a liar.
(19) a. ?John guesses that you are a liar.

Of course, the corresponding first person forms are acceptable:

(17) b. I hear that you are a liar.
(18) b. I understand that you are a liar.
(19) b. I guess that you are a liar.

With the psych-movement verbs, a person distinction between ego and non-ego seems to be maintained. Utterances with these verbs and non-ego subjects are less acceptable:

(20) \{ \text{seems to} \} \{ \text{me} \} \{ \text{?you} \} \{ \text{?him} \} \text{that you are a liar.}

In standard usage the situation is analogous to the non-use of adjectives of feeling for other persons in Japanese.

What is more, just as the person restriction on Japanese adjectives disappears when the tense is past, the constraint on the psych-movement is also non-operative. Thus all the sentences shown below are very appropriate:

(21) \{ \text{seemed to} \} \{ \text{me} \} \{ \text{John} \} \text{that you are a liar.}

The English data have been explained along similar lines as those
of the Japanese. Characteristically, the psych-movement verbs such as 'seem' and 'strike' are said to be 'more subjective'\textsuperscript{6} (or inherently subjective) than the parentheticals like 'think' and 'perceive'. It has also been suggested that for the latter the speaker is a telepath or a mind reader who can know about the inner life of others. This is why superficially there is no person difference in English (Postal 1970; Ohye 1975). This is a plausible way of interpreting the grammatical facts but I maintain that an examination of the semantic subtleties reveals that the conceptualization is similar to that found in the Japanese situation.

In fact, Akatsuka (1971) has argued that the similarities between English psych-movement verbs and Japanese "emotive adjectives" are not accidental but show that the Japanese adjectives are "indeed psych-movement verbs."\textsuperscript{7}

It can be concluded that the features of psych-movement verbs and parentheticals in English indicate a covert reflection of epistemology in grammar. In Japanese, on the other hand, it has an overt category.

Similarly in French the psych-movement verbs and parentheticals display a semantic difference between those with first person subjects and those with third person subjects. The French situation is discussed next.

4.6 French

Urmson (op.cit.: 298) defends himself against the criticism that he verifies his (philosophical) thesis about parentheticals from one language, English, by observing that "(T)he actual point about parenthesis seems to apply to French." That is, when verbs such as croire 'believe', regretter 'regret', penser 'think', imaginer 'imagine', etc. are used in the first person present, they signal and orient the hearer toward the way the speaker perceives the statements
with which they are associated. But the other uses, i.e. the non-first person present ones are descriptive.

The same view was later articulated by Prince (1976) in another connection (although without reference to the former). Prince (ibid.) examines the syntax and semantics of NEG-Raising with evidence from French. 8

She finds that NEG-Raising has "a function which may...be called 'meta-information-hedging' or 'metastatement-hedging'" (p.414) and which operates on sentences whose highest verb is also a 'hedge' or metastatement operator. Verbs of hedging (Lysvåg 1975) - parentheticals such as 'think', 'guess', 'imagine', 'suppose' etc. and psych-movement verbs such as 'seem', 'strike', 'appear' etc. and their French equivalents, Prince argues, "have two rather different meanings" (p.416): the "literal" and the "metaphoric" (= parenthetical sense à la Urmson, op.cit.) senses. In their usage in the latter sense they are metastatement hedges and they do not occur with the progressive. Above all, they occur with first person subjects and are thus performative in nature. Prince considers them metaphoric or "phony" performatives.

The sentence in (22) below has both the "literal" and "metaphoric" senses. This is evident from the English glosses where the literal sense is the one associated with the progressive.

(22) J'imagine que Fifi est très riche.

'I imagine/am imagining that Fifi is very rich.'

Although Prince does not explicitly discuss the third person usage in French, one can infer from the copious English examples that (23) below implies the report of a hedged opinion of someone else, i.e.

Max:

(23) Max imagine que Fifi est très riche.

'Max imagines that Fifi is very rich.'
In fact, since the main point of the author was to show that NEG-Raising is a hedging device in French as well as English, she concentrates on this and discusses the person and tense restrictions on the verbs of hedging more with English examples. (Her findings are similar to those outlined by Urmson which were discussed in 4.5.) She notes at the end of her discussion that "(T)he situation in French in respect to person and tense is identical...." (op.cit.:423).

In sum, Prince notes that the verbs which she calls "phony" performatives when used as hedges, i.e. as parentheticals, indicate "the speaker's (subjective) interpretation of the world" (p.415); they do not take the progressive, they exhibit a marked preference for the first person present and in the context of indirect discourse the restrictions are altered in ways which are totally predictable (pp. 424-5).

The parallels between the French, and for that matter the English, and the Japanese situations are quite apparent: Japanese adjective forms have a marked preference for the first person. In indirect discourse contexts the rules are different both for the adjective forms and the -GARU verbs, although they are not entirely unpredictable. Needless to say, the case of Japanese mental verbs is almost identical.

The similarity in these phenomena, in these languages, with respect to their underlying conceptualization is brought out even more forcefully in the work of Shnukal (1980) who elaborates on Prince's views. She argues that "(V)arious devices, paralinguistic, prosodic and syntactic are available to a speaker who, for whatever reason, wishes to establish a 'psychic' distance between himself and his utterance. These devices vary from language to language and include gestures, facial expressions... intonation and stress...; and certain syntactic phenomena" (op.cit:287). The feature of maintaining a
distance is what she calls "tentativeness". It is pointed out that among the syntactic clues of tentativeness in English and French are: choice of verbs of hedging; parenthetical verbs and psych-movement verbs; and other stereotypical parenthetical expressions such as

\( (\text{me}) \text{ semble-t-il} \) 'it seems (to me)'

\( (\text{me}) \text{ paraît-til} \) 'it appears (to me)'

à mon avis 'in my opinion'

à ma connaissance 'to my knowledge'

-GARU in Japanese may well be a morphological indicator of tentativeness, generally speaking. It does signal a 'psychic' distance between the speaker and the subject of the utterance. The essence of -GARU as we have seen is to indicate epistemological uncertainty about other minds. Hence the devices pointed out for French and English by Prince and Shnukal are in many ways related to -GARU.

Above all, it should be mentioned that the spirit of this chapter is to explore in different languages the mechanisms that exist for signalling the difference between speakers' lack of knowledge of other minds. It is assumed that there is a tendency to indicate it, even if it is not linguistically transparent, and that it surfaces in various forms. The English and French data so far adduced bear testimony to this. In these languages the signal is fairly opaque.

Another language, Polish, also indicates a similar 'psychic' distance between the speaker and what is being said in a subtle way and in an area of grammar that is slightly different from the ones we have seen so far. The Polish data is examined next.
4.7 Polish

An implied semantic difference is manifested in Polish between the first person and third person with respect to constructions that have a subjective and experiential dimension. In a recent study of the Polish dative Wierzbicka (1986) notes that an agent can be referred to by means of the dative if it is viewed as an experiencer. In such constructions the truth of the event is presupposed and the emphasis is on the subjective experience of the agent.

(24) Świetnie mi się spało.
'Swietnie mi się spało.'

Wierzbicka (ibid.:419) observes:

This construction, which embodies a purely subjective perspective, is largely restricted to first person in statements and second person in questions. If third person is used, it usually indicates free indirect style, i.e. narration carried from a point of view situated inside the protagonist's consciousness.

Just as with other languages we have seen, Polish also distinguishes between ego and non-ego in this subjective construction.

4.8 Summary

Across the rather divergent languages surveyed in this chapter, one can see that they all in some way manifest a difference between ego and non-ego with respect to predications that may be said to have subjective dimensions. This may be covertly done, as is the case in English and French, or overtly marked. There are those languages that employ morphological marking such as Korean, Japanese and Polish to some extent, and others such as Hua signal the difference through syntax. For all the languages, however, all persons are treated equally in the past.
The moral that can be drawn from the data from the small sample of languages covered in this chapter seems indeed to be that "languages differ in what they must convey and not in what they can convey" (Jakobson [1959b] 1971:264; emphasis in original, see also Jacobson [1959a] 1971:492). It has been claimed that all human beings and therefore all cultures consciously or unconsciously make a primary distinction between SELF and OTHER (Brown 1984). It is also fairly well documented that such a contrast is realised in and expressed in all or nearly all languages in one way or another. Apart from this, it appears that further investigation of many more languages might show that there is a tendency for languages to indicate a contrast between SELF and OTHER, between what is experienced and known directly and what is not experienced or known directly with respect to subjective predicates. It has been shown that some languages must express these oppositions with respect to subjective feelings. From this study, the clearest examples are Japanese, Korean and Hua. The ways in which they express them also vary. At the same time, it must be recognized that a full documentation or justification of this proposition requires not only investigation of the Japanese situation, or only one language for that matter, but also similar research into the means by which other languages show the difference between ego and non-ego with respect to feelings.
This study has principally been concerned with the ways in which the principles of a cognitive universal are instantiated in the language-specific grammar of Japanese. The cognitive feature is that of the inaccessibility of 'other minds'. The study focussed upon one main form, -GARU, which Japanese uses to codify what is happening in others (among other forms). In the process, it has, one hopes, been shown that the extent and nature of the presences of this constraint in Japanese grammar is enormous and although other languages may show it sporadically, its manifestation in Japanese is systematic.

In Chapter 1 there was a survey of the way in which -GARU is presented in a number of beginners' level textbooks. The level of adequacy of the presentation was found to vary. All in all, the glosses and explanatory notes could be helpful to learners, although some of their explanations are unclear and incomplete. As it stands, learners would have to use a selected number of the books under review to supplement and complement their knowledge about this item.

Chapter 2 has described fairly systematically the salient properties of -GARU. Its interpretation in specific contexts was also highlighted. It was shown that -GARU has two closely related meanings. We have also seen that -GARU is an example of the reflection of epistemology in grammar. The idea of the epistemological constraint on the internal state of others is what is encapsulated in the form -GARU.

It is surmised that this constraint is a cognitive universal
which finds expression in human languages. Some examples of this were provided in Chapter 4. It was discovered that languages tend to encode the basic idea of lack of knowledge about 'other minds' in varying ways and to varying degrees. Japanese does it to a great extent and with great clarity.

An explanatory framework has been suggested in Chapter 3 which might have relevance for the interpretation and elucidation of phenomena that pertain to knowledge of other minds.

In effect, this study could be described as a grammar of -GARU in a typological perspective. But one can approach grammar from a number of viewpoints: a structural description of a grammar, or part thereof, concerns itself with the analysis of forms that occur; a cognitive, perceptual or psychological approach attempts to provide psychological and cognitive explanations for the grammatical forms; another approach is the socio-cultural one, or a grammar rooted in an ethnographic or anthropological base. All of these approaches can be motivated from a discourse-based context of understanding linguistic phenomena. To gain a holistic understanding of a topic in a grammar, it should be described from each of these angles. Needless to say, it is not an easy task.

The present study has concerned itself with a structural description and a psychological/conceptual explanation of -GARU. The socio-cultural dimensions of this aspect of Japanese grammar deserve further and much needed research - a task which is outside the scope of the present study.

Linguistic anthropologists might be interested to explore and correlate some of the things known about Japanese society and culture with the phenomena described. Is it sheer accident that there are linguistic devices which are used to make predications about other minds given the social norm of a taboo on expressing one's feelings?
How does -GARU usage fit in with the concept of amae, for example, how is it tied to the concept of face in politeness as expounded by Brown and Levinson (1978). Answers to these questions would help to greatly elucidate the usage of -GARU.

There are still more unresolved issues in the realm of pragmatic factors involved in the usage of -GARU, all of which ought to be explained. There is a tendency not to use -GARU for a senior/respected person — a point made in one of the beginners' textbooks (see 1.3.4). We can speculate about the reason for this based on the Japanese social norm which considers overt displays of one's feelings to be inappropriate. Japanese people are reluctant to directly express feelings verbally or non-verbally, presumably out of consideration to others, for the sake of harmonious interaction. They trust others to infer their internal state. Thus to describe someone in authority or a superior as expressing his feeling without hesitation may be considered impolite. However in a private setting, the social context reduces the inhibition of the expression of feeling. For example, in one's family, where one would assume little psychological distance between the participants in the communication, free direct expressions are likely to be employed, and one may report the feelings of a superior with -GARU.

It is reasonable to say that a starting point for further research is the analysis of the structure, meaning and cognitive basis of the morpheme — a task that has been undertaken in this modest work.
INTRODUCTION - NOTES

1. Epistemology is the concern of a number of disciplines: not only philosophy but also cognitive psychology, artificial intelligence, mathematics, sociology, anthropology and not the least linguistics. It is in a sense an 'interdiscipline'. A central question which epistemologists address is "what is knowledge and how does it arise?" Other questions of interest are "what, if anything, can we know?" and "what is the relation between perceiving and knowing?" Questions of epistemology are relevant to linguistics generally in a number of areas such as epistemic modality, epistemological mode (as set out by Chung and Timberlake 1985) and above all to evidentiality (see Chafe and Nichols (eds.), forthcoming). Increasingly, linguists are adopting an epistemological approach to various linguistic phenomena. Some of the studies which adopt an epistemological analysis of Japanese include Kuroda (1973), Akatsuka (1978; 1979) and recently of Okinawan by Shinzato (1986). Shinzato (1984) is another study that considers epistemology in linguistic analysis. I got to know of it after the present research had been completed. I could therefore not review nor incorporate any of its findings in the present work. The present study will illustrate one instance of the reflection of epistemology in grammar.

2. Other forms include no da 'it is the case that', conjectural markers such as rashii 'seem', yoo da 'seem', soo da 'look' and so on.

3. The examples are restricted to third person sentences only. The complications of second person declarative sentences are discussed later in section 2.8.1.

4. When the present progressive aspectual form TE-IRU is attached to the morph -GAR, its final consonant /r/ undergoes assimilation and becomes a /t/ as in -GAT-TE-IRU.

2. All underlining in the quotations in this chapter is my own.

1. In this section only, the morphs are separately written in order to help the reader understand the morphological composition of the form. (i) for -i adjectives and the copula (da) for the na adjectives indicate that the tense is non-past.

2. hoshi-(i) takes only an NP as a second argument (though the first NP is often deleted especially if it is the first person or the second person (in question)). Whereas -ta-(i) attaches to the I-base or the continuative form of a verb and takes only a VP:

   e.g. (1) (watashi wa) mizu ga
       I TOP water NOM
       *-ta-i.
       *nomi- hoshi-i.

       'I want water.'

       (2) (watashi wa) mizu ga
       I TOP water NOM
       nomi- ta-i.
       drink DES NON-PAST

       'I want to drink water.'

Thus, in Japanese the distinction between wanting to realize an action or condition and wanting to acquire an object is effected by the use of -ta-(i) and hoshi-(i) respectively.

3. Japanese adjectives have, however, been semantically classified using different parameters. Kusanagi (1977), for example, classifies them into six categories using a parameter which he calls ninchi sayoo 'recognition process' (my translation). They are adjectives of description, comparison, judgement, preference, sensation and emotion.

4. In fact, some grammarians, e.g. Nishio (1972), classify many of these adjectives as 'objective' adjectives though they have some properties of 'emotive adjectives'.

5. Topics are marked by the particle wa. This overrides the grammatical role marking in discourse, but in this sub-section the concern is with the syntactic cases rather than the discourse ones, therefore the topic marking strategy will be ignored in the discussion.
6. Some of the adjectives such as *ureshii* take one or two arguments.

7. *Suki da* 'like' and *kirai da* 'dislike' take the same case marking patterns as *hoshii* and *-tai*, however, they cannot be *-GARU* verbalized (see 2.5 for a discussion).

8. Kuno (1973:88-90) for example considers that pattern (a) NP₁ *ga* NP₂ *ga* Adj. is the basic form and pattern (b) NP₁ *ni* NP₂ *ga* Adj. to be derived by a rule of *ga/ni* conversion. Another view, taken by Tonoike (1975-76) and Shibatani and Cotton (1976-77), among others, maintains that pattern (a) is derived from (b). In this approach 'subjectivization' or 'nominativization' rules are proposed to convert the (b) patterns into that of (a). Kuroda (1978) specifically refers to this pattern as "ergative".

9. In Russian an opposition is maintained between a nominative personal construction in which the verb agrees in person, number and gender in past with the subject (e.g. (1)) and a dative impersonal construction in which the verb invariably takes the form of the third person neuter singular (e.g. (2)). Although the contrast is applicable in virtually all actions and states, the observations here will be limited to only the area of perception, emotion and sensation words (see Wierzbicka 1980:137ff):

   (1) Ja byl goloden.  
       'I was hungry.'

   (2) Mne xotelos' *est*.  
       (to me it wanted itself to eat)  
       'I felt hungry.'

The contrast between the two constructions, Wierzbicka argues, can be accounted for in terms of the presence of the semantic component "not because I want it" in the impersonal dative construction and its absence in the nominative personal construction. This is made clearer when one compares the semantic representations for these constructions formulated by Wierzbicka (see ibid. for full justification of each component). For example, the semantic formula of (1) is as follows:
because of something that can be said about my body
something happens in my body
something can be said about my body because of that
and for (2):
something happens in my body
not because I want it
something can be said about my body because of that


11. The latter theory of second NP as an 'object' is followed by Kuno (1973) and others. Kuno states that there are cases where ga is used to mark the direct object of all 'transitive' stative verbals (e.g. -i adjectives, na adjectives and a certain class of transitive verbs). There is a slight difference, however, between Tokieda's and Kuno's claims; that is, Tokieda uses the term kyakugo 'object' for a normal o marked object; Tokieda stresses that the terms taishoogo 'object' and taishoogo-kaku 'objective case' are created specifically to indicate the ga-marked NP in such constructions as adjectives of feelings.

12. The source of emotion can be expressed in conditional or reason clauses without using a case marked NP:

   e.g. (1) sore o kiite ureshii wa.
       that ACC hear GER glad SFP
       'I am glad to hear that.'

   (2) hitori de iru to totemo tsurai no.
       by oneself stay COND very hard SFP
       'It breaks my heart to be alone.'

   (3) minna kaette shimatta node sabishii.
       everyone return COMPL PAST as lonely
       'I feel lonely as everyone has gone home.'

13. The source of emotion could be referred to as 'stimulus' as in Talmy's (1985:99) use of the word.
14. Some adjectives of sensation do not need to specify the location where the sensation is felt. For example, in case of nemutai 'sleepy', himojii 'hungry' and so on, the location does not appear as NP₂ as it is commonly understood:

e.g. (1) *watashi wa onaka ga himojii.
I TOP stomach NOM hungry

(The intended meaning is the same as in (2))

(2) watashi wa himojii.
'I am hungry.'

15. Some of the adjectives of sensation take ga in -GARU derived forms, since the NP₂ and the adjective have become an idiom such as atama ga itai 'have a headache', ha ga itai 'have a toothache': e.g. Taroo wa atama ga/?o itagatte-iru. 'Taro has a headache.' (Ohye 1975:206).

16. Morita (1977:172), for example, suggests that most -GARU taking adjectives imply a 'negative' value.

17. Needless to say, each feeling has a degree of intensity (Kenny 1966:56). Feelings may be faint or unbearable or they may grow in intensity. For example, pain may be slight or be intense to the point of being unbearable.

18. Yogaru, the -GARU form of ii 'good', seems mostly restricted to its usage in the manifestation of sexual excitement by women. It is not a normal state; the excitement and satisfaction is so extreme as to make a woman vocalize the intense sexual feeling. It is usually used in the expression yogari goe (o ageru) '(make) a voice which is sexually satisfied'.


20. These examples point to a difference between -GARU and '-GARU followed by quotative or hearsay' expressions. The semantics of the latter implies that the speaker received the information
from a secondary source, most commonly from a verbal report, and did not witness or gather any first-hand information. For GARU, however, one needs first-hand evidence.

21. This is the sort of situation that obtains with questions about the first person or ego's feelings seen for example in English:

  e.g. Am I feeling cold? (see Ross 1973).

22. Examples (72) and (73) are taken from Yonen Ichi-kumi no Ohimesama (1985) by Toshi Yoshida. Tokyo: Rironsha.

23. A similar case is mentioned by Sawada (1973:84) who suggests that it is related to what Suzuki (1973:168) calls kyookanteiki-dooitsuka 'empathetic identification'. One example is the use of address and reference terms of papa or otoosan 'father' by mothers for their husbands. In doing so, the mothers assume the viewpoint of their children.

24. It is rather hard to adequately describe the meaning of no da. Many linguists have attempted to account for its basic semantic function. The theories put forward can be divided into four categories: (i) explanation (ii) objectification (iii) known information (iv) established proposition (for further discussion see Kunihiro 1984).

25. Soo da has two different functions. Soo da\textsubscript{1} attaches to the I-base or the continuative form of an adjective or a verb and means 'it looks like'. Soo da\textsubscript{2} as shown in (87) is attached to an independent sentence to indicate hearsay.

26. They are also called 'type 4 verbs' (my translation) in Kindaichi's classification of verbs.


28. The English equivalent for these four classes of Kindaichi's are my own translations.
29. The iterative meaning of TE-IRU when attached to action verbs can also be expressed in the non-past tense form of verbs (Suzuki 1972:382). Similarly -GATTE-IRU in (107) and (108) can be substituted by -GARU. See the following with non-past form of the verb in (107):

kono ko wa shotchu miruku o hoshigaru.
'This child wants milk constantly.'

30. See Asari Nazikian (1986) for a detailed discussion about the features of verbs which compound with -owaru. She enumerates the features of [+ process], [+ bound] i.e. [+ terminable] and [+ agentive].

31. 'Volition' is used with a number of senses in the linguistic literature. A subject who does something out of his own volition is said to have done it consciously, or willfully, or deliberately. This implies that such a subject can control the situation/event in which he is participating. In this study 'volition' will be understood in two main ways: (i) as the subject being able to control the situation and, (ii) as a subject having an intention or willfully planning to participate in a situation/event. The former is referred to as [+ subject control] and the latter as [+ intention]. A situation is said to be [+ subject control] if the subject can do something about and direct its realization. For example, if one can regulate the display of one's emotions, then the situation is under the control of the subject. A subject is [+ intention] if he decides/plans to consciously put himself in a certain state, e.g. one can plan not to have a certain emotion. Whether one is able to do something about a situation is a separate question from one's intention to do so. For example,

nemuroo to shita ga nemurarenakatta.
sleep HOR tried but sleep POT NEG PAST
'I tried to sleep, but I couldn't.'

32. Sadock and Zwicky (1985:172) for example state that verb forms which are not ordinarily understood to take agentive subjects tend not to be used in imperatives.
33. It is possible for non-volitional verbs to have (-y)oo form, but it indicates the speaker's inference:

   e.g. asu wa ame ga furimashoo.
   tomorrow TOP rain NOM fall POL HOR

   'It will rain tomorrow.'

   However, such a form is rarely used except in a written style, and nowadays -daroo is used (Suzuki 1972:317-8).

34. There are some cases where non-volitional verbs have imperative forms:

   e.g. ame, ame, fure, fure ...
   rain fall IMP

   'Rain, rain ...'

   See p.98ff. for further discussion.

35. The debate about whether emotions are 'passive' and just happen to people, or whether they are 'active', is pertinent here. The linguistic data suggests that although they may not just happen they are not willful acts of the experiencer.

36. Isami's subcategorization of verbs (in Martin pp.280-2) is based on a componential analysis of verbs using inherent features such as (self-initiated) movement, emotion, "goal"-direction, and change (of state) - as well as the aspeccual features of continuity and terminability. His analysis yields eight subcategories of verbs and seven components:

1. verbs of movement e.g. aruku 'walk', hashiru 'run'  
2. verbs of action e.g. suru 'do', miru 'look'  
3. verbs of emotion e.g. nikumu 'hate', nayamu 'be troubled'  
4. verbs of continuity e.g. sobieru 'tower', tadayou 'float'  
5. predicative verbs e.g. naru 'become', kawaru 'change'  
6. verbs of change e.g. kieru 'disappear', fueru 'increase'  
7. shift verbs e.g. tsuku 'arrive', deru 'leave'  
8. temporary verbs e.g. owaru 'end', kireru 'cut', chiru 'fall'
The verbs of emotion and the verbs of continuity have the following features:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>continuity</th>
<th>terminability</th>
<th>change</th>
<th>movement</th>
<th>emotion</th>
<th>goal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb of emotion</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb of continuity</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tests for these categories are based on the co-occurrence possibilities of the verbs "with three kinds of adverbial phrases (DURATION, FREQUENCY and TEMPORAL MANNER [fast/slow/abrupt/etc.]) and with ten gerund-connected auxillaries". The feature values of verbs of emotion and verbs of continuity are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>emotion verb</th>
<th>continuity verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DURATION</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FREQUENCY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMPORAL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-te iru</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simau</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>finish (doing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iku/kuru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>do ... and go/come, go/come...ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>try (doing) and see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>do/leave (for a future use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaru/morau etc.</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>give/receive a favour of (doing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>something is in a certain state which has been brought about by someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. It is not clear that these remarks are all Takaki's or Martin's. I have indicated my reservations about point (c) in section 2.10.4.
38. Other EVs are unlikely to take te-yaru/kureru/morau, however, depending on which of these auxiliaries are attached its acceptability changes:

e.g. (1) a. aitsu o urande-yaru.
that fellow ACC bear the grudge

'??(I) will bear the grudge against him (for him).

b. *aitsu ni urande-morau.
DAT

'*He will bear the grudge against me (for me).

c. *aitsu ga urande-kureru.
NOM

'*He will bear the grudge against me (for me).

(2) a. ??omae no tame ni konna-ni
for your sake like this

nayande-yatte-iru no da zo.
be distressed/suffer COMP COP SFP

'?I suffer so much for your sake.'

b. *boku no tame ni kimi ni nayande-moratte
on my account you DAT

mooshiwakenai.
sorry

'?I am sorry for you for suffering on my account.'

c. boku no tame ni nayande-kurete-iru tsuma
on my account wife

ga itooshii.
NOM dear

'I love my wife who is suffering because of me.'

To find an explanation for the varying degree of acceptability, further investigation of the semantics of these auxiliaries and each verb would be necessary, however, this is not the main concern of the present study.

39. The suffixation of -tai to some non-emotion verbs also produces adjectives of feeling:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>gloss of V.</th>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>gloss of Adj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kusugu-ru</td>
<td>'tickle'</td>
<td>kusugut-tai</td>
<td>ticklish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemu-ru</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>nemu-tai</td>
<td>sleepy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemu-ru</td>
<td>'smoke'</td>
<td>kemu-tai</td>
<td>smoky/annoying</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. Some adjectives, such as shinpai da, are not -GARU suffixed, perhaps because their parts of speech are nominal i.e. na adjectives, and because they already have verbal counterparts (EV) and thus do not need to be verbalized. This may apply to suki da and kirai da as well, however, I have attempted to explain these two verbs of likes and dislikes in terms of permanence of feeling (in 2.5).

41. See also Ohye (1973:150; 1975:210).

42. See note 33 for the hortative forms of non-volitional verbs.

43. A parallel to the Japanese phenomena can be found in English. See the following examples:

(1) a. ?Feel happy.
    b. Try to feel happy.
    c. Don't feel so sad.

(2) a. *Feel cold.
    b. *Try to feel warm.
    c. *Don't feel cold.

Examples (1) and (2) represent emotions and sensations respectively. In (1), (a), the positive imperative is odd, but (b), with 'try to' and (c), the negative imperative forms are acceptable. All the counterparts of these in (2) are unacceptable; presumably because even if one tries to control bodily sensations, it is quite impossible to do so. They are beyond the control of the experiencer. For emotions, by contrast, one can at least try or desire to control a feeling or avoid the feeling altogether.
1. Kuno (1979: 287) postulates a Syntactic Prominence Principle of Empathy which he states:

   Give syntactic prominence to a constituent whose referent you are empathising with.

I suppose one plausible extension of this principle is in a situation where there is a choice between two forms and one chooses the unexpected form to give a cue to the addressee that something else is going on. In this case, to show that the speaker empathises with the addressee, the linguistic expression which is not the normal one, one would expect, is used. This, in my view, is a case of syntactic prominence which borders on empathy.

2. An author or narrator who adopts such a viewpoint - the all knowing viewpoint - has been referred to as 'the omniscient narrator' in works of literacy criticism (see Kuroda 1973; 1976 for the implications of such a narrator of texts involving Japanese -GARU and other phenomena). See also Banfield (1982) for an overview of the linguistic effects in English.

3. A style in which a speaker assumes the viewpoint of the third person and runs in and out of his consciousness is known as "free indirect style" (Banfield 1982).

4. These examples are from Yonen Ichi-kumi no Ohimesama (1985) by Toshi Yoshida. Tokyo: Rironsha.

5. These examples are from Wagahai wa Neko de aru (1956) by Sooseki Natsume. Tokyo: Chikuma Shoboo.


7. See Benveniste's (1958: 227) comment in connection with tense, in this regard "(U)ltimately, human temporality with all its linguistic apparatus reveals the subjectivity inherent in the
very using of language." See also Lyons (1977; 1982) among others.

8. Langacker (1985) proposes a similar scale. His terminology and conception of observing arrangements are idiosyncratic, hence they are not completely adopted, but his views are reflected in the discussion.

9. Impressionistically, one can suggest that the worlds proposed by Popper (1972) cited in Lyons (1979:135) could be linked with the subjectivity scale. In essence, Popper's World 3; the world of objective and autonomous knowledge roughly speaking corresponds to the objective end point. Popper's World 2; the subjective world of human beliefs, expectations, intentions etc. correlates roughly with the subjective end point. It should be noted though that Popper, if I understand Lyons correctly, makes use of this not only for the first person, but he claims other person's minds also relate to their subjective attitudes. One can say that Popper's World 1 relates to the mid-portion of the scale - the real world of persons, animals and physical objects (and of situations in which they are involved.) I suggest that the speaker imposes his perception and judgement on these objects with various degrees of certainty and knowledge.

10. Both Givón (1982, see also 1984) and Akatsuka (1985) have proposed independently epistemic scales which are similar. They both note that the midportions represent a speaker's varying degree of certainty. They also note the cross-linguistic tendencies for it to be expressed by some linguistic material.

11. The abbreviation in (15) indicates the following: 1 = first person, 3 = third person, sg = singular, pl = plural, Compl = complementizer, Coref = coreferential form and Fut = future.
1. In this usage the past form does not refer to past time. Cross-linguistically, the past tense form in languages is employed to convey other secondary meanings (Comrie 1985). A use of past tense form in Norwegian which seems to parallel this Japanese situation is its use "to express a present surprise or other affective connotation" (Comrie ibid.:20). Brown (private communication) also reports that in Fula, a Niger-Congo language of West Africa, verbs meaning 'intend', 'think', 'believe', 'become angry/surprised/frightened/happy/thirsty/tired' among others have present meaning when used in the past.

2. For further observations on person constraint in Japanese, see Nitta (1979) who classifies sentences into four types according to the person constraint on subjects and sentence final forms.

3. -(y)oo and -mai can be used for non-ego subject, which however indicates the speaker's conjecture: 
   e.g. Taroo ni wa sonna koto wa deki-mai.
   'Taroo won't be able to do such a thing.'

4. The romanization used here follows the Yale system. The morpheme could also be written as ha as in -ko sip hante 'want to' (see Ogoshi 1982:78).

5. His examples are: "I told myself that ..." and "I couldn't bring myself to do that" for self-reflexivization and "I was surprised" and "I am satisfied" for passivization (p.8). When one scolds or encourages or reflects on oneself in English, as well as French and German, the second person pronoun is often used: Talking to himself, John can say, "Come on, John, you can do it" or "You should never have done such a thing." A similar observation is made by Suzuki (1978:30). For detailed observations on the use of address terms for self and other persons see Suzuki (1973; 1975 and 1978).

6. This is the description that Postal (1970:115) offers. Bolinger (1971:546) in a rejoinder to the former suggests it should be substituted by "PURELY subjective having no admixture of the speaker's point of view" (emphasis in original).
7. Compare the following quotes from Postal and Teramura which Akatsuka (1971:8) puts side by side to portray the parallels between English psych-movement verbs and Japanese 'emotive adjectives'. About English psych-movement verbs Postal (1970:114-5) writes:

All the relevant verbals which undergo Psych Movement must, in nonhabitual, nonmodal, present-tense, declarative contexts have an Experiencer NP which is a coreferent of the 'subject' NP of the next highest verb of saying/thinking. In superficially unembedded declarative clauses this means coreference to the 'subject' of the deleted performative verb. Such coreference requires the Experiencer NP to be first person.

Later he remarks:

It is not immediately obvious how this account explains the permissibility of sentences like:

It struck Harry that you were a vampire.

which are in the past tense (underlining Postal's) (p.117).

On Japanese 'emotive adjectives' Teramura observes as follows:

It has often been noted and discussed by Japanese grammarians that there are a fairly large number of adjectives in Japanese, all expressing some kind of emotion or feeling, which, in the present indicative form, can be used as predicates for only first person subjects in independent clauses.

He also comments that:

More perplexing is the fact that a sentence which is unnatural because of its non-first person subject predicated by an emotive adjective turns out to be perfectly acceptable when we change the form of adjective into past tense form (underlining Akatsuka's).

(The quotes of Teramura are cited in Akatsuka 1971:8)

8. NEG-Raising is a transformation that has been proposed in generative grammar to account for the ambiguity of (1) which has two readings, (2a and 2b):

(1) It is not immediately obvious how this account explains the permissibility of sentences like:

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(The quotes of Teramura are cited in Akatsuka 1971:8)
(1) Max doesn't believe that Anna will leave.

(2a) It is not the case that Max believes that Anna will leave.

(2b) Max believes that Anna won't leave.

The NEG-Raising transformation applies to underlying structures such as (2b) to yield (1). This rule applies only to a certain class of verbs: parentheticals and psych-movement verbs are the most prominent.

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DEFINING EMOTIONS, SENSATIONS AND PERCEPTIONS

What are (do we mean by) emotions, sensations and perceptions? These concepts are difficult to define (but by no means impossible). Fehr and Russell (1984:464) observe that "(E)everyone knows what an emotion is until asked to give a definition. Then, it seems, no one knows." This applies in every respect to the other concepts as well. In what follows, an attempt is made to indicate the way in which these terms are to be understood in this study. These should be taken as heuristic definitions. They are based on the insights provided in the literature, especially in the works of Kenny (1966), Wierzbicka (1980) and Ortony et al. (1986). The definitions only attempt to capture those features of the notions that are relevant from the point of view of linguistic semantics and they do not attempt to resolve the disagreements that psychologists, philosophers and anthropologists have had for centuries (see Kenny 1966; Izard 1977; Weirzbicka 1980; Ekman and Friesen 1982; Shweder and Levine 1984; Scruton 1986; Ortony et al. 1986 inter alia).

The literature on these concepts is voluminous and each of the terms has been variously defined. Emotions, for example, have been defined as mental states, as behaviour, as a type of physiological activity and as a type of judgement. Anthropologists interpret emotions as cultural creations (Levy 1984; Rosaldo 1984 and Scruton 1986).

Two properties seem crucial for defining and distinguishing emotions from the rest: emotions refer to feelings or psychological/mental states which are not directly subject to the will. Ortony et al. (op.cit.:2), for example, claim that "...words that are good examples of emotions share certain features: they refer to mental (i.e. psychological) states (as opposed to physical or bodily ones) and their predominant referential focus is on affect (as opposed to behaviour or cognition)."
Emotions also differ from sensations and perceptions in the kind of information they provide to the experiencer. They are a source of self-knowledge. The differences in this respect are pointed out by Kenny. He writes:

Emotions, unlike perceptions, do not give us any information about the external world ... Nor do they give us information about our own bodies as sensations do: ... Still, one can learn facts about oneself from emotions: ... a pang of jealousy may be my first clear indication that I am in love (Kenny op.cit.:56).

Thus through emotions one learns things about oneself and as a result can say things about oneself. Emotions are also consequent to certain thoughts and attitudes which are not necessarily beyond the control of the experiencer. Emotions tend to have definite duration.

On the basis of these observations, it is assumed in this study that by saying

'X has/feels an emotion'

is meant

something happens in X's mind/in X

X can say something about himself because of that

Examples of emotion in Japanese are: kanashii 'sad', nikurashii 'hateful', koishii 'beloved', urayamashii 'envious', ureshii 'glad' and tanoshii 'happy'.

Sensations, by contrast, are typically bodily states and they have bodily causes which may not be controllable by the experiencer. "One characteristic of non-mental conditions (i.e. sensations, ST) is that they tend not to be susceptible to voluntary control" (Ortony et al., op.cit.:6). But as Ryle (1959:58; quoted in Wierzbicka (1980:142)) notes, the boundary between emotions and sensations (and one might add perceptions) is indeterminate. He writes: "there is no sharp line between the general conditions which one would call 'bodily' and the general conditions which one would call 'mental'. One would report feeling out of sorts to a doctor and feeling depressed, perhaps, to a psychiatrist. But both practitioners might be interested to hear that one felt languid, fidgety or vigorous. Startling world news may stop one being sleepy, while something out of a bottle might dispel one's depression." Also, sensations provide information to the experiencer about what is going on in his body.
They differ from emotions (and perceptions) in this respect. (See Kenny: "Nor do they (= emotions, ST) give us information about our own bodies as sensations do..." quoted earlier.) From these properties, one can assume that to say that

'X has/feels a sensation'

is to imply that

something happens in X's body/in X

something can be said about X's body because of that

Examples of sensation words in Japanese are nemutai 'sleepy' kayui 'itchy', darui 'languid', itai 'painful', atsui 'hot' and samui 'cold'.

Opposed to sensations and emotions are perceptions. These provide information about the external world and not necessarily about the internal conditions of the experiencer as emotions and sensations do (see Kenny (ibid.) "Emotions, unlike perceptions, do not give us any information about the external world").

Another significant difference between perceptions on the one hand and emotions and sensations on the other is that there are organs of perception through which external world stimuli are received but there are no organs of emotion or sensations. ("There are not organs of emotion as there are organs of perception" Kenny (ibid.)) Information about the world is channelled through these organs. Although there are no organs of sensation, sensations tend to be localized and different emotions have sensations that are characteristic of them. They thus tend to be linked with specific parts of the body e.g. the throbbing of the heart tends to be associated with fear but we do not feel fear with the heart. As Kenny (op.cit.:56-7) points out:

To say that a sensation is localized in a particular part of the body is not to say that the part of the body is the organ of sensation in question. ...In general, to sense something in a part of one's body is not at all the same as to sense something with a part of one's body. Quite the contrary: what is sensed with an organ is never a sensation in one's body at all (emphasis in original).

Thus one can describe the process of perception as involving "an initial stimulus coming from the external world and causing some part of the body to send a message to the owner of that body, thereby
causing him to have some information about the part of the world which acted as the initial stimulus" (Wierzbicka 1980:107). It might be added that in the context of the adjectives of perception of concern to us the "owner of the body" passes a value judgement on the information received. Thus to say that,

'X perceives Z to be Y'

is to signal that

X can say something (Y) about Z because of something part of X's body tells him about Z

Examples of perception words in Japanese are: fushigi da 'wondrous', urusai 'noisy/annoying', choohoo da 'useful', mendoo da 'troublesome' and kitanai 'dirty'.

It has been noted that the boundaries between these concepts are not very clear cut. Take the example of words like kemutai 'smoky', mabushii 'dazzling', atsu 'hot' (by touch), and tsumetai 'cold' (by touch); are they perceptions or sensations? It is evident from our characterizations that they somehow fit either of the two classes. In one sense, something about the external world is conveyed by a part of the body but in the process the body as a whole is affected and therefore something can be said about the experiencer's body. Perhaps they should be referred to as sensations started by perceptions. Thus some feelings may share properties of two or more of the categories.

The definitions proposed have focussed on the differences between the three concepts, nonetheless emotions, sensations and perceptions have some things in common. Kenny, for example, notes that "(D)uration, intensity and blending are properties shared by feelings of all kinds, whether perceptions, sensations or emotions" (p.56). That is, all feelings may last for a short or for a long time; they may also be indeterminate between two feelings. Emotions, sensations and perceptions can be expressed physically in voice quality or facially. (Many languages have words that indicate the physical symptoms of these feelings, e.g. blushing, heart throbbing). They may also be expressed in behaviour. (Words may exist in languages for this as well, for example, 'violence' and 'weeping' in English are behaviours occasioned by feelings but are not feelings themselves). On the basis of these observable features feelings are ascribed to people.
Because predications are made on the basis of observations, one problem has continued to exercise the minds of psychologists and philosophers, namely: how reliable is the observer's judgement? In other words, how sure are we that person X 'really' experiences the feeling that has been attributed to him? This problem cannot be easily resolved and the way it relates to the use of -GARU has been highlighted throughout the study.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


