

SOME ASPECTS OF JAPANESE SYNTAX:
SETSUZOKU-SHI AND SETSUZOKU-JOSHI

by

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There are two kinds of conjunctions, each belonging to different parts of speech. Two grammatical classes recognized in traditional Japanese grammar are *Setsuzoku-shi* (conjunction) and *Setsuwa-joshi* (conjunctive particle).

Both *Setsuzoku-shi* and *Setsuwa-joshi* can join words, phrases, clauses and sentences together. Unfortunately, the identification of whether a word is *Setsuzoku-shi* or *Setsuwa-joshi* is not easy, because several words which are used to connect belong to both *Setsuzoku-shi* and *Setsuwa-joshi*. An example is the following:

(1) *watashiwa wa jibunchi chisai desu, kedo mo*
 I am (myself) very small but

atsumaru o suzuwa.
 comfortable
 I am very small; however, it is comfortable.

(2) *ima hito no koto o shite wa imasen kedo mo*
 he (she) is not telling the truth but although

watashi ni wa koto o shite mo wa wakariyasu.
 I can tell at once lie or truth. True.

"Although he does not tell the truth all the time,
 I can tell at once whether he is telling the truth or
 not."

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the peculiarities of Japanese syntax is that there are two kinds of conjunctions, each belonging to different parts of speech. Two grammatical classes recognized in traditional Japanese grammar are Setsuzoku-shi (conjunction) and Setsuzoku-joshi (conjunctive particle).

Both Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi conjoin words, phrases, clauses and sentences together. Unfortunately, the identification of whether a word is Setsuzoku-shi or Setsuzoku-joshi is not easy, because several words which are used to conjoin belong to both Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. An example is the following:

- (1) watashi no ie wa taihen chiisai desu. keredomo
my house very small but
sumiyasui n desuyo.
comfortable

'My house is very small; however, it is comfortable.'

- (2) ano hito wa hontoo no koto o iwanai keredomo,
he truth matter tell not although
watashi ni wa sugu uso ka hontoo ka wakarimasu.
I at once lie or truth find

'Although he does not tell the truth all the time,
I can tell at once whether he is telling the truth or
not.'

keredomo in sentence (1) belongs to Setsuzoku-shi and keredomo in sentence (2) belongs to Setsuzoku-joshi which are named hereafter keredomo₁ and keredomo₂ respectively.

In English, the conjunction is regarded as one of the eight parts of speech. It is typically defined as a word used to connect words, clauses, and sentences indicating the relationship of these connected elements. It can be classified into two groups: coordinating conjunction and subordinating conjunction. According to The Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English, "a conjunction is a particle joining syntactically equal things (weak conjunction, e.g., and, therefore) or attaching subordinate clause to its government (strong conjunction, e.g., if, that)." It is apparent that the weak conjunction is the coordinate conjunction, and the strong conjunction is the subordinate conjunction in this definition.

Recently many scholars have analyzed the conjunction, especially the coordinating conjunction; unfortunately, they are not equally concerned with the subordinating conjunction. It is also true in Japanese that so far scholars have been treating mainly the coordinating conjunction.

Purpose of the Study

The aim of this study is to clarify some of the syntactic formalisms involved in Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. Japanese conjunctions are not clearly classified and also they are treated in the parts of speech

under different classes by different grammarians. We will treat the basis for the recognition of these two groups as distinct parts of speech showing the classifications of former grammarians, and dealing with the characteristics of each class.

We will postulate the deep structure of the conjoined sentences and examine the relationship between certain members of the two classes and show how these relations may be accounted for in a grammar of Japanese.

In the last part of this study, we will try to see whether Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi can be treated like conjunctive adverbs and subordinating conjunctions as they are in English, particularly following Lester's treatment.¹ And also we will see whether or not the previous works by two Japanese scholars concerning subordinating and coordinating conjunctions are adequate manifestations of treatment of Japanese Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi.

Organization Aspects

The language analyzed in this study is standard colloquial Japanese. The examples in Japanese are transcribed in the Hepburn style of romanization (the most commonly used romanization in Japan) unless they are quoted from other sources, in which case they are cited as they were written

¹Mark Lester, Transformational Grammar of English (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971).

in the original text. The English translation of the examples is given in single quotation marks. As the method of citing Japanese names, we follow the Japanese custom of citing surname first and given name last. An asterisk indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical or unacceptable to native speakers of Japanese. All Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi will be underlined. If a Setsuzoku-joshi is morphemically a verb or adjective ending, it will be separated from the verb or adjective stem by a hyphen. If it is not a verb or adjective ending, there will be a space between the verb or adjective and the Setsuzoku-joshi. Also in listing members of Setsuzoku-joshi, those that are inflectional endings will be marked by having a hyphen placed in front of them.

The present study is based on the general framework of Chomsky in Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (The M. I. T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

Chapter 2

THE PLACE OF SETSUZOKU-SHI AND SETSUZOKU-JOSHI IN TRADITIONAL JAPANESE GRAMMAR

The classification of words into parts of speech in Japanese is based mainly on their form, meaning, and function within the sentence. Each grammarian has emphasized one factor or another, depending on what he believes to be the most significant in establishing his classification. In the following discussion of parts of speech, we are interested particularly in Setsuzoku-shi (conjunction) and Setsuzoku-joshi (conjunctive particle) in keeping with the purpose of this study.

Previous Descriptions

In the middle of eighteenth century, the most distinguished Japanese classical scholar, Fujitani Nariakira (1739-1779), wrote several books about the grammar of the Japanese language. One of them is called Ayuhi-shoo¹ and the other Kazashi-shoo.² In these he classified four parts of speech:

¹Nariakira Fujitani, "Ayuhi-shoo" (unpublished manuscript, Tokyo, 1773).

²Nariakira Fujitani, "Kazashi-shoo" (unpublished manuscript, Tokyo, 1776).

na: meishi (noun)

yosoi: dooshi (verb) and keiyooshi (adjective)

kasashi: fukushi (adverb) and setsuzoku-shi (conjunction)
and kandoo-shi (interjection).

ayuhi: jo-dooshi (copula) and jo-shi (particle), and
setsubi-ji (suffix)

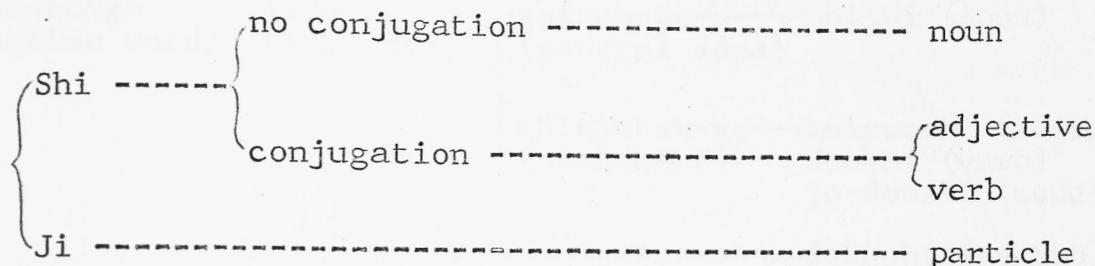
According to him, Setsuzoku-shi belongs to kazashi; and Setsuzoku-joshi, which is one part of jo-shi (particle), belongs to another, namely ayuhi. According to his definition, kazashi and ayuhi both are used with na or yosoi; kazashi, which is literally translated as an ornament, comes before na and yosoi, while ayuhi which is literally translated as a foot, comes after na and yosoi.

Following Fujitani, Suzuki Akira (1764-1837) wrote an article called Gengo Yon-shuu-ron ('The Theory of Four Parts of Speech').¹ He grouped the four parts of speech into two categories:

Shi--A word of this category has meaning by itself, e.g., when we hear the word, we can understand the meaning of it and can have some image of it. It roughly parallels the content word in English.

Ji--A word which always accompanies Shi and composes the phrase with it.

¹Akira Suzuki, "Gengo Yon-shuu-ron" ('The Theory of Four Parts of Speech') (unpublished manuscript, Tokyo, 1824).



Since this textbook is not available to us, it is not possible to go into the details of these classifications. But as some grammarians point out, Suzuki devised a new way to classify parts of speech by dividing words into the Shi-group and the Ji-group which later grammarians maintain with slight modifications even today.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Ootsuki Fumihiko (1847-1928) wrote Koo-nihon Buntan ('Japanese Grammar') in which he applied, with some modification, European notions of the parts of speech to Japanese. As a result, he proposed the following classes for Japanese words classes: meishi (noun), dooshi (verb), keiyooshi (adjective), jodooshi (copula), fukushi (adverb), joshi (particle), kandooshi (interjection), and setsuzokushi (conjunction).

The apparent difference between Ootsuki's classifications and those found in traditional European grammars is the addition of the copula and particle classes and deletion of the preposition and pronoun classes in Ootsuki's grammar.

In the early twentieth century, Yamada Yoshio wrote Nihon Bunpoogaku Gairon ('Introduction to Japanese Grammar'), in which he made four distinctions among words.

{	kannen-go (notion word)	{	jiyoo-go (like Shi)	gainen-go-----meishi (noun) (general idea)
			chinjutsu-go---keiyooshi (adjective) (statement) dooshi (verb) jo-dooshi (copula)	
			fukuyoo-go-----fukushi (adverb) (like Ji) setsuzoku-shi (conjunction)	
	kankei-go-----jo-shi (particle). (reference word)			

The main difference between Suzuki and Yamada is that the latter puts jo-dooshi (copula) into the kannen-go (notion word) with the significance equal to that of keiyooshi (adjective) and dooshi (verb), which have conjugations. Yamada's classification bears similarity to that of Fujitani. Both made four classes of words with the adverb and conjunction as comprising one class. But Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are in completely different categories.

In 1950, Tokieda Motoki wrote Nihon Bunpoo Koogohen ('Japanese Grammar-Spoken Language'). Yamada classified words according to the grammatical function of the words; Tokieda, on the other hand, divided them according to whether or not they conjugate.¹:

¹In Japanese grammar, conjugation does not refer to a time relationship at all, but is concerned with the modified forms of a verb to indicate in what manner it relates to a word or word group that follows it, i.e., whether it stands independently of other sentence elements or combines with a negative or other formative particles.

Shi---	no conjugation-----	meishi (noun), daimeishi (pronoun), fukushi (adverb), rentaishi (participial adject- ive)
	conjugation-----	dooshi (verb) and keiyooshi (adjective)
Ji----	no conjugation-----	kandooshi (interjection), setsuzoku-shi (conjunction), joshi (particle)
	conjugation-----	jodooshi (copula)

Tokieda is, as far as the classification of parts of speech is concerned, the only person who includes Setsuzoku-shi (conjunction) and jo-shi (particle, in which Setsuzoku-joshi [conjunctive particle] belongs), in the same category.

According to Bloomfield,

the languages of the Indo-European family are peculiar in having many parts of speech; no matter upon what constructions we base our schema, a language like English will show at least half a dozen parts of speech, such as substantive, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, co-ordinating conjunction, and subordinating conjunction in addition to interjections. Most languages show a smaller number.¹

Not only Indo-European languages, but also Japanese proved, according to the traditional Japanese grammar, that there are as many as ten parts of speech.

¹Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1933), p. 198.

Otto Jespersen's classifications are the following:

1. substantives (including proper names)
2. adjectives. In some respects 1 and 2 may be classed together as "nouns"
3. pronouns (including numerals and pronominal adverbs)
4. verbs (with doubts as to the inclusion of "verbids"¹)
5. particles (comprising what are generally called adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions . . . coordination and subordination . . . and interjections)²

His fifth category is more or less like Tokieda's Ji-group except Tokieda does not include adverbs in it. The English preposition in his fifth category is equivalent to one part of Japanese joshi (particle). Also the subordinating conjunction in English conjunction is equivalent to one sub-group of jo-shi, namely Setsuzoku-joshi.

Description of the School Grammar

The Japanese sentence is defined in most of the grammar books as follows:

(1) A sentence is a series of words which expresses a certain notion or emotion.³

(2) A sentence has a subject part and predicate part.

(3) A sentence has one of the three following terminal junctures:

¹Otto Jespersen, The Philosophy of Grammar (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1934). "Verbid," according to Jespersen, is participles and infinitives. P. 87.

²Jespersen, p. 91.

³One word also can be a sentence in this sense, that is, mizu! ('water'), asking 'bring me some water now.'

- i. /↑/, the interrogative, characterized by the fact that the last onsetsu (syllable) is raised one step and followed by a sharp upturn. In this study, we use a question mark to indicate this juncture.
- ii. /↓/, the conclusives characterized by the fact that the phrase or clause ends with a sharp pitch drop. In this study, we use a period to indicate this juncture.
- iii. /||/, the citation or a suspension characterized by the absence of a sharp rise or a sharp drop. In this study, we use a plus sign to indicate less pause than ii.

As a definition of sentence, J. Curme stated: "A sentence is an expression of a thought or feeling by means of a word or words used in such form and manner as to convey the meaning intended."¹ For example, in English

(1) In spring many flowers bloom.

is a sentence conveying the speaker's thought of spring with five words. In the other words, this sentence consists of five words. In Japanese, sentence (1) would be

(2) haru ni wa ooku no hana ga saku.
 spring many flowers bloom

'In spring many flowers bloom.'

If we count the words in this as we did in English, there

¹J. Curme, English Grammar (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1947), p. 97.

are eight words. However, while each word in English has its own meaning, that is to say, we can understand each word by itself, some words in sentence (2) do not have any meaning by themselves. They are ni, wa, no, and ga.

With this in mind, Hashimoto Shinkichi (1882-1945) classified parts of speech differently.¹ One of his characteristics is that he set up bunsetsu (phrase) as the minimum independent unit of a sentence component. He established his grammar, so-called Hashimoto Bunpoo ('Grammar of Hashimoto'), with bunsetsu as a minimum independent unit rather than go (word), which is considered the minimum independent unit in English. Hashimoto would segment sentence (2) into four bunsetsu:

(2') haruniwa ookuno hanaga saku.

Bunsetsu can be defined as the minimum independent unit of a sentence component. There may be a pause after each bunsetsu without disturbing the sentence and without creating difficulty in understanding the meaning of a sentence. Bunsetsu has a certain form and bears a certain meaning. For example, there can be a pause after each bunsetsu in (2') or we can eliminate the pauses, as in (2'').

(2'') haruniwa ookuno hanaga saku.

It is unnatural to have a pause after each word as in sentence (2).

¹Shinkichi Hashimoto, Kokugohoo-Yoosetsu ('The Essentials of Japanese Grammar') (Tokyo: Meiji-Shoin, 1934).

The following treatment by Hashimoto Shinkichi is the most popular one and this is the classification which we learn from high school on.

As we have just seen, according to Hashimoto, a sentence consists of bunsetsu (phrase). Bunsetsu carries a certain form:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Shi or Jiritsu-go} \\ \text{(independent word)} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{Ji or Fuzoku-go} \\ \text{(dependent word)} \end{array}$$

A word which can compose bunsetsu by itself is Shi or Jiritsu-go and a word which cannot compose bunsetsu by itself is Ji or Fuzoku-go.

In the example above, haru (spring), ooku (many), hana (flowers), and saku (bloom) belong to Shi; and ni, wa, no and ga belong to Ji.

Characteristics of Shi and Ji:

Shi: i. Shi alone can constitute a bunsetsu.

ii. Shi always comes before Ji.

iii. In one bunsetsu, there is only one Shi.

Ji: i. Ji alone does not constitute a bunsetsu.

ii. It always comes after Shi.

iii. A bunsetsu need not contain Ji.

iv. More than one Ji may be used in a bunsetsu.

As an example of the case of Ji-(iv), we can show the following sentence with three bunsetsu. The last bunsetsu has five Ji.

<u>ame</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>futte</u>	<u>ika</u>	1 <u>re</u>	2 <u>mase</u>	3 <u>n</u>	4 <u>deshi</u>	5 <u>ta</u>
rain	subject particle	fell	go	potential	polite suffix	not	copula	past tense

'I could not go because it rained.'

After Hashimoto divides words according to whether they belong to the Shi group or the Ji group, he further classifies them according to whether or not they conjugate. His basic system of classification appears in Figure 1.

As can be seen from the above system, Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are differentiated by functions. Setsuzoku-shi (conjunction) is a word which can be used by itself, that is to say when we hear the word by itself we have an idea what it means. On the contrary, Setsuzoku-joshi (conjunctive particle) cannot be used by itself. It must follow words, and with another word, it makes a phrase.

(3) ano hito wa kuchi ga kikenai. sonoue mimi made
he talk cannot besides hear too

tooi
not well

'He can't talk. Besides, he can't hear well.'

(4) shizuka da ga, nemurenai
quiet is though sleep cannot

'Although it is quiet, I can't go to sleep.'

Sonoue in (3) is a Setsuzoku-shi and ga in (4) is a Setsuzoku-joshi. When we hear the word sonoue, we have an idea that the speaker has an intention to add something to

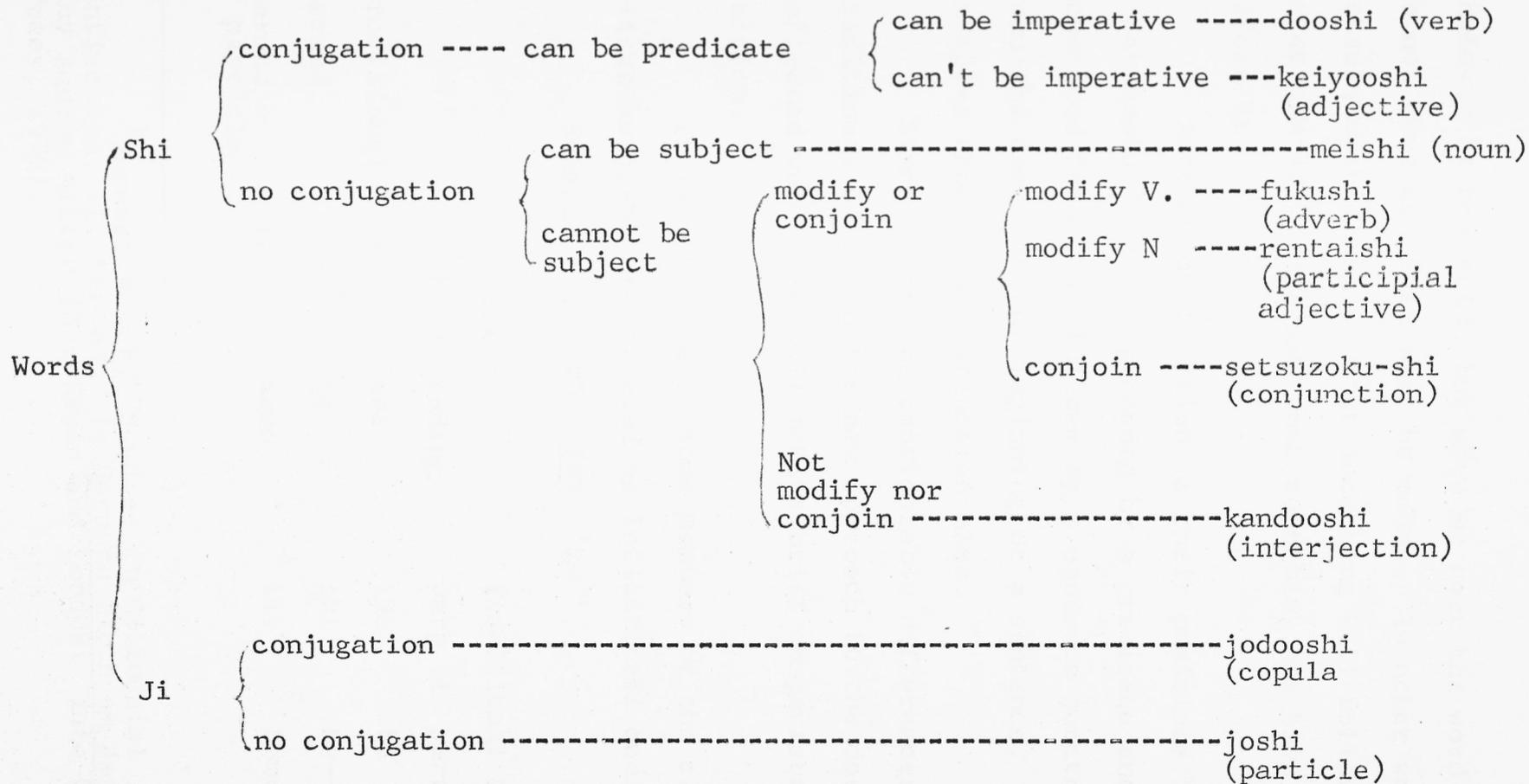


Figure 1

Hashimoto's Systems of Grammatical Classification

whatever he has said, but when we hear the word ga alone, we do not have any idea what he means. In other words, a Setsuzoku-shi implies that something will follow, while a Setsuzoku-joshi implies that something has been left out before it.

Another distinction is their positions in a sentence. A Setsuzoku-joshi is preceded by a predicate and is not separated from what follows by a sentence juncture. A Setsuzoku-shi comes at the beginning of a sentence. The above examples show this distinction also.

Since there are considerable differences between the traditional ways and the new approach to the description of inflected words, we will make a brief comparison in this section.

It is a fact that some members of the class of Setsuzoku-joshi are treated as inflectional endings by Bloch.¹

Example (I) verb. iku 'go'

	Bloch		Traditional Grammar	
	verb	+ ending	verb	+ particle
Provisional	ik-	eba	ike	ba
Gerund	it-	te	iki	te--→ itte
Gerund + particle	it-	temo	iki	temo--→ ittemo

¹Bernard Bloch, "Studies in Colloquial Japanese-I. Inflection, II. Syntax," in Bernard Bloch on Japanese, ed. Roy Andrew Miller (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970).

	verb + ending	verb + particle
Alternative	it- tari	iki tari--> ittari
Imperative	ik- e	ike
Infinitive	ik- i	iki -----
		iki nagara
		iku keredomo

Example (II) adjective. furui 'old'

	Bloch		Traditional Grammar	
	adjective + ending		adjective + particle	
Provisional	furu-	kereba	furukere	ba
Gerund	furu-	kute	furuku	te
Gerund + particle	furu-	kutetmo	furuku	temo
Alternative	furu-	kattari	furuku	tari--> furukattari
Infinitive	furu-	ku	furuku	-----

Note that Bloch's infinitive form of the verb and the adjective can be used as a marker for conjoining sentences. In the following examples, (a) exemplifies Bloch's description and (b) exemplifies the traditional description:

1. (a) kyooto e ik -i, otera mairi o shita
 Kyoto to went temple visited
 'I went to Kyoto and visited temples.'
- (b) kyooto e iki__, otera mairi o shita.

2. (a) eigo ga hanas -e, doitsugo ga hanaseru.
 English speak German speak

'(He) can speak English and German.'

- (b) eigo ga hanase__, doitsugo ga hanaseru.

3. (a) kono budooshu-wa furu -ku, koku ga aru.
 this wine old and good bouquet

'This wine is old and has good bouquet.'

- (b) kono budooshu wa furuku__, koku ga aru.

Traditional grammar does not recognize the dividing of the infinitive form into a Shi (as ik in ik-i) and a Setsuzoku-joshi (as -i in ik-i), because the infinitive was not thought to have an ending. This is partly due to the fact that traditional Japanese grammarians took the basic phonological unit to be the syllable or more precisely the mora, rather than the phoneme.

We will follow the traditional system for the following reasons:

- (I) The traditional system implicitly recognizes that certain groups of forms have similar functions even though they make different morphophonemic connections.
- (II) Bloch's system, in emphasizing morphophonemic realities, loses sight of the common function of particles, which it is the purpose of this paper to explore.
- (III) By treating the forms under one heading, the comparison of them with Setsuzoku-shi (conjunction) is made easier.

Chapter 3

EXAMINATION OF SETSUZOKU-SHI AND SETSUZOKU-JOSHI BY FUNCTION

As we have seen in the last chapter, Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi do not belong to the same parts of speech. According to the traditional Japanese school grammar, Setsuzoku-shi forms one part of nine parts of speech, and Setsuzoku-joshi is a subclass of particles, a different part of speech. Even so, there are some similarities between these two in terms of the functions they perform. Basically, both function to mark various conjoint relations between phrase markers within a sentence. They conjoin the following phrase markers.

1. NP + NP

Setsuzoku-shi

eigo narabini furansugo 'English and French'
English and French

kuo aruiwa shiro 'black or white'
black or white

Setsuzoku-joshi

aka to kuro 'red and black'
red and black

chichi ka haha 'father or mother'
father or mother

2. S + S (surface: clause conjoining)

Setsuzoku-joshi

haru ga kita noni, sakura ga sakanai.
 spring came though cherry flowers not bloom

'Although spring has come, cherry flowers do not bloom.'

(a) kare wa eigo ga hanase__, doitsugo ga hanaseru.
 he English speak German speak

'He can speak English and German.'

(b) hiru hataraki__, yoru gakkoo e itta
 daytime work night school to went

'He worked in the daytime and went to school at night.'

(a) and (b) are the cases which were mentioned in the last chapter. Both hanase__ and hataraki__ are infinitive forms of verbs hanasu (speak) and hataraku (work) respectively. These two sentences, however, can be written with Setsuzoku-joshi without changing their meanings.

(a') kare wa eigo ga hanase-te, doitsugo ga hanaseru.

(b') hiru hatarai-te, yoru gakkoo e itta.

And also the sentences (a) and (b) can be written with Setsuzoku-shi:

(a'') kare wa eigo ga hanase__, sonoue doitsugo ga hanaseru.

(b'') hiru hataraki__, soshite yoru gakkoo e itta.

Since Setsuzoku-shi conjoins NPs and sentences, the above cases are rather exceptional. We are not going into the details here, but wish merely to show that these cases are possible with infinitive form verbs.

3. S + S (surface: sentence conjoining)

Setsuzoku-shi

ji wa yomeru. shikashi kakenain desu
 letter read but write not

'He can read. But he can't write.'

Ame ga yanda. sorede niiji ga dete iru.
 rain stopped so rainbow appear

'The rain stopped. So the rainbow appeared.'

The first half of this chapter deals with the function of words classified as Setsuzoku-shi and the second half deals with Setsuzoku-joshi.

Setsuzoku-shi

Setsuzoku-shi is an uninflected word which is used to conjoin noun phrases, and sentences. Under each type of conjoining, there may be one or more different categories:

- (A) Concatenation, (B) Disjunctive, (C) Causative and (D) Adversative.

The function of the concatenation is simply adding what precedes it to what follows it. Since this function is to put two or more appositive noun phrases and sentences together, there is not much difference if we change the order of the words. Concatenation words are oyobi, narabini, mata, shikamo, katsu, sonoue, omakeni, sarani, soreni, and sohite, etc., all of which mean 'and.'

Examples of concatenation:

- i) Noun phrases conjoining

kyooto oyobi nara 'Kyoto and Nara'
 and

eigo narabini doitsugo 'English and German'
and

yama mata yama 'mountain on mountain'

shoori mata shoori 'victory after victory'

(The word mata should be differentiated from other coordinate forms because this form is used only when two identical words are conjoined. An interesting fact is that the English translations of the word mata are different from the other two.)

ii) Sentences conjoining

are wa yoi. sorekara kore mo yoi.
that good and this also good

'That article is good. And this article is good, too.'

jigyooroo ga neage saretu. soreni hondai mo takai.
tuition raised and books also expensive

'The tuition was raised. And the books are expensive.'

A disjunctive or selectional word is a word like matawa, aruwa, soretomo, moshikuwa, etc., all of which mean ('or'). The order of the noun phrases, clauses, or phrases joined by a disjunctive may be changed without changing the meaning of a sentence.

Examples of disjunctive:

i) Noun phrases conjoining

yama aruwa umi 'mountain or sea'
or

yoosoo moshikuwa wasoo 'western dress or Japanese
or kimono'

ii) Sentences conjoining

gogo kara eiga ni iku? soretomo ikanai?
 afternoon movie go or not go

'Do you want to go to the movie in the afternoon?
 or don't you?'

A causative word does not conjoin words or clauses, but sentences. Almost always the first sentence states the reason or cause of the second sentence. Causative words are sokode, (soo)suruto, (soo)shitara, sorenara, soodesukara, and soredakara, etc., all of which have meanings 'so' or 'thus.'

Examples of causative:

ii) Sentences conjoining

sore wa muzukashi sugiru. dakara are o tokoo.
 it hard too so that try

'It is too hard to solve. So let's try that.'

tomodachi ga kita. sorede uchi ni ita.
 friends came so home stayed

'My friends came. So I stayed at home.'

An adversative word is also used only to conjoin sentences. The Adversative has a dissociative function, serving to express a contrast between the first sentence and the second sentence. Adversative words are keredomo₁, demo, tokoroga, ga₁, (soo)desuga, and (soo)desukeredomo, etc., all of which mean 'but.'¹

¹As ga and keredomo rank as either Setsuzoku-shi or Setsuzoku-joshi, we will differentiate between the two classes by means of subscripts: ga₁ and keredomo₁ are Setsuzoku-shi and ga₂ and keredomo₂ are Setsuzoku-joshi.

Examples of adversative:

ii) Sentences conjoining

okane wa aru nodesu. tokoroga dooshite iinoka
money there is but what to do

wakaranai.
know not

'He has a plenty of money. But he does not know what to do with it.'

hidoi ame desu. keredomo₁ ikanakereba narimasen.
hard rain but must go

'It is raining hard. Still I have to go.'

yoku taberu. ga₁ chittomo futoranai.
well eat but a bit fat not

'He eats well. But he does not put on weight.'

Setsuzoku-joshi

We notice that Setsuzoku-shi can conjoin noun phrases and sentences, but not clauses. Setsuzoku-joshi conjoins clauses. We classify Setsuzoku-joshi into (A) Concatenation: -te_a, shi, and ba_a; (B) Disjunctive: ka; (C) Causative: node, kara, and -te_b, etc.; (D) Adversative: noni, -temo, nagara_a, ga₂, and keredomo₂, etc.; (E) Simultaneity: nagara_b; and (F) Provisional: ba_b, nara, and to.¹

¹The subscripts X_a and X_b are used to differentiate between homophonic Setsuzoku-joshi which have different functions.

(A) Concatenation

- a. honya e it -te_a¹, hon o katta
bookstore went and book bought

'I went to the bookstore, and bought some books.'

- b. sake mo nomanai shi, tabako mo suwa na.
sake drink not and cigarette smoke not

'He does not drink nor smoke.'

- c. tabemono mo are ba_a, nerutokoro mo aru.
food there is and bed there is

'We have both things to eat and a place to sleep.'

(Ba_a is a free variant of shi so that we can change the above shi to ba_a with a slight change of the preceding verb form, i.e., in Bloch's words, a change of the Non-past indicative to the Provisional. Their meanings are the same.)

(B) Disjunctive

- a. gogo kara eiga ni ikitai desu ka, ikitaku nai desuka.
afternoon movie want to go or want to go not

'Do you want to go to the movie in the afternoon or don't you want to go?'

¹While shi and ba_a in the concatenation do not contain the time element, -te_a does. For example, b) and c) can be written like the following without changing their original meanings:

- c') tabako mo suwanai shi, sake mo nomanai.
d') neru tokoro mo are ba_a, tabemonomo aru.

But not the case of a):

- a') hon o kat -te_a honya e itta.
'I bought some books and then went to the bookstore.'

While in a) 'I went to the bookstore and there I bought some books,' in a') 'I bought some books at one store and then went to another bookstore.'

As is apparent from the above, -te_a has a time connotation in it so the event in the clause before -te_a must occur before the event in the clause after -te_a.

(C) Causative

- a. sensei ga kibishii node, seito ga benkyoosuru.
 teacher strict students study

'Because the teacher is strict, students study.'

- b. kaminoke ga nobi -te_b, migurushii
 hair grow not neat

'Because his hair grows long, he doesn't look neat.'

- c. kanojoo wa yasashii kara, sugu hito ni doojoosuru.
 she kind sympathize

'Because she is kindhearted, she sympathizes with everybody.'

(D) Adversative

- a. hayaku toko ni tsuita noni, nakanaka netsukarenai
 early bed went long time sleep not

'Although I went to bed early, it took a long time to go to sleep.'

- b. anohito wa chuui shi -temo, kikanai.
 he warn do listen not

'Although I warned him, he did not listen.'

- c. warui to shiri -nagara_a, yatta.
 wrong know did

'Although I know it was wrong, I did it.'

(E) Simultaneous

- a. kare wa itsumo aruki -nagara_b, hon o yomu.
 he always walk book read

'He always reads books while he walks.'

(F) Provisional

- a. anata ga ike -ba_b watashi mo iku.
 you go I too go

'If you go, I will go, too.'

- b. hayaku eki e iku to, sono kisha ni maniau.
 hurry station go train catch

'If you hurry to the station, you can catch the train.'

Chapter 4

UNDERLYING RELATIONS BETWEEN SETSUZOKU-SHI AND SETSUZOKU-JOSHI

As we have seen, Setsuzoku-shi can conjoin noun phrases and sentences but never clauses, while Setsuzoku-joshi can conjoin clauses.

In the previous chapters, we have shown that both Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi perform similar functions. The words belonging to Setsuzoku-shi can be classified into four categorical functions: (A) Concatenation, (B) Disjunctive, (C) Causative, and (D) Adversative. We name these Group I. The words belonging to Setsuzoku-joshi can be classified in the same way as Setsuzoku-shi. However, Setsuzoku-joshi have two extra categorical functions: (E) Simultaneity, and (F) Provisional. We name these Group II.

In this chapter, we will concentrate on those Setsuzoku-shi that conjoin sentences and those Setsuzoku-joshi that combine clauses to show that these forms can and should be considered surface forms of the same underlying structures.

In his article Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi, Hashimoto Shiroo discussed the relation between these

forms.¹ He stated that Setsuzoku-joshi can be changed to Setsuzoku-shi but not vice versa. As examples he gave us:

(1-a) koogi shita tokoroga, ken mo hororo datta.
 protest did though tart refusal

'Although I made a protest against him, he gave me a tart refusal.'

to

(1-b) koogi shita. tokoroga ken mo hororo datta.

'I made a protest against him. But he gave me a tart refusal.'

(2-a) neko wa nezumi o ou mono da. tokoroga kono neko
 cat mouse run after but this cat

wa nezumi o miru to nigeru.
 mouse see when run away

'Cats run after mice. But this cat runs away whenever he sees a mouse.'

but not

(2-b) * neko wa nezumi o ou mono da tokoroga, kono neko wa
 nezumi o miru to nigeru.

According to Hashimoto, these examples demonstrate that, whereas a Setsuzoku-joshi can be changed into a Setsuzoku-shi, the reverse is not possible. However, Hashimoto's conclusion is completely unsatisfactory.

Tokoroga has several stylistic free variants², and if we replace tokoroga with one of them, the meaning is

¹Shiroo Hashimoto, "Setsuzoku-shi to Setsuzoku-joshi," Kooza Nihongo no Bunpoo 3 ('The Grammar of Japanese-seminar') (Tokyo: Meiji-Shoin, 1967), pp. 163-177.

²See Chapter 3, p. 23.

still the same. For example, if we replace tokoroga with ga in examples (1-a), (1-b), (2-a), and (2-b), we get the following results:

(1-a') koogi shita ga₂, ken mo horohoro datta.

'Although I made a protest against him, he gave me a tart refusal.'

(1-b') koogo shita. ga₁ ken mo horohoro datta.

'I made a protest against him. But he gave me a tart refusal.'

(2-a') neko wa nezumi o ou mono da. ga₁ kono neko wa nezumi o miru to nigeru.

'Cats run after mice. But this cat runs away whenever he sees a mouse.'

(2-b') neko wa nezumi o ou monoda ga₂, kono neko wa nezumi o miru to nigeru.

'Although cats run after mice, this cat runs away whenever he sees a mouse.'

We notice that, while (2-b) is ungrammatical, (2-b') is grammatical. This means that Setsuzoku-shi can be changed into Setsuzoku-joshi, contrary to Hashimoto's notion.

The reason why Hashimoto's example tokoroga in (2-b) does not work is that this particular form can be used as Setsuzoku-joshi only when the preceding predicate¹ is in the past tense. However, it can be used as Setsuzoku-shi regardless of the kind of predicates in the sentence

¹A predicate is an element which contains an inflected word as its nucleus.

preceding it. Hashimoto simply missed this point. Another example of tokoroga with the preceding past tense predicate is:

(3-a) seeru de fuku o katta. tokoroga chiisakute kirenai.
 sale dress bought but small wear not

'I bought my dress on sale. But it turned out to be too small to wear.'

(3-b) seeru de fuku o katta tokoroga, chiisakute kirenai

'Although I bought my dress on sale, I cannot wear it because it is too small.'

If we change the past tense verb katta ('bought') as in

(3-b) to its present tense form kau ('buy'), the sentence becomes ungrammatical;

(3-b') * seeru de fukuo kau tokoroga, chiisakute kirenai.

This relationship not only occurs when the same form can be either a Setsuzoku-shi or Setsuzoku-joshi, but also when the forms of the Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are different, as long as both have the same meaning. For example:

(4a) moo haru da noni, mada samui.
 spring still cold

'Although it is already spring, it is still cold here.'

(5a) kono hon wa nedan ga takai node, te ga denai.
 this book price high afford not

'As this book is too expensive, I can't afford it.'

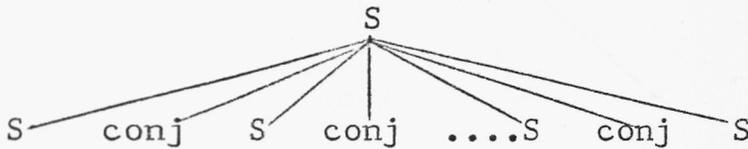
(5b) kono hon wa nedan ga takai. sorede tega denai.

'This book is too expensive. So I can't afford it.'

This evidence strongly suggests that Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are surface forms of the same deep relations.

We offer an hypothesis about the relation between Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. First of all, all the conjoining sentences can be diagrammed:

1-A



There is no inherent limit to the number of elements that can be strung together in a conjoined structure. To

imooto ga kyooto e it -te_a, fuku o katta
 sister kyoto went and dress bought

('My sister went to Kyoto and bought her dress'),

we can add another conjoined sentence to give

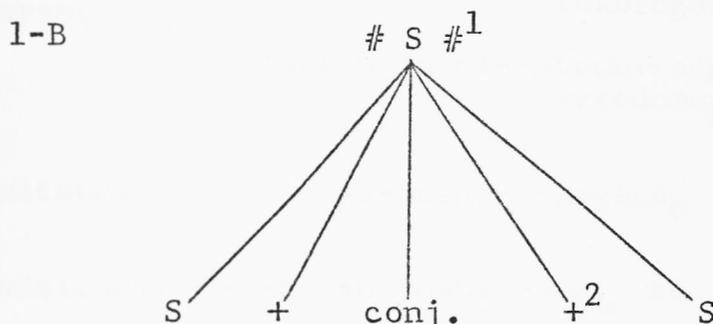
imooto ga kyooto e it -te_a, fuku o katta. soshite
 and

tomodachi no uchi e yotta
 friend of home visited

('My sister went to Kyoto and bought her dress, and then visited her friend').

Obviously, there is no point at which we can draw a line and say that the addition of another conjoined element would make the sentence ungrammatical. We have the situation of 1-A, where the dots indicate that the number of sentences strung together in parallel could be extended indefinitely

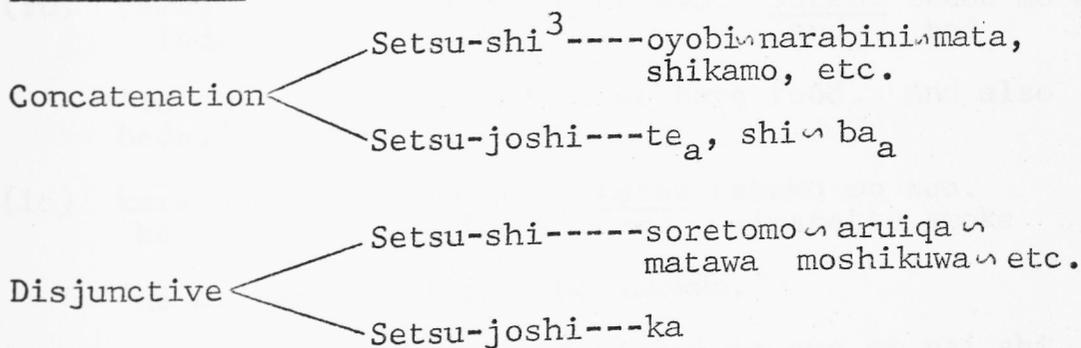
with conjunctions which are Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. All the conjoining sentences in Japanese have the following diagram as a deep structure:



Explanation of Relations

Here we try to explain the relationships between Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi fit into categories as follows:

Conjunctions



¹# indicates sentence boundaries.

²+ indicates clause boundaries.

³Setsu-shi is an abbreviation for Setsuzoku-shi and Setsu-shi is an abbreviation for Setsuzoku-joshi.

Causative $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Setsu-shi} \text{-----} \text{sokode} \curvearrowright \text{suruto} \curvearrowright \\ \text{soshitara} \curvearrowright \text{sorenara} \curvearrowright \\ \text{etc.} \\ \text{Setsu-joshi} \text{---} \text{te}_b \curvearrowright \text{kara} \end{array} \right.$

Adversative $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Setsu-shi} \text{-----} \text{keredomo}_1 \curvearrowright \text{demo} \curvearrowright \\ \text{tokoroga}_1 \curvearrowright \text{ga}_1 \\ \text{Setsu-joshi} \text{---} \text{temo} \curvearrowright \text{nagara}_a \curvearrowright \text{ga}_2 \curvearrowright \\ \text{keredomo}_2 \end{array} \right.$

Simultaneity ----- Setsu-joshi --- nagara_b

Provisional ----- Setsu-joshi --- ba_b to

(A) Concatenation

(1a) watashi no tomodachi no hitori wa oya mo nai.
 my friends one parents not

sonoue kyoodai mo nai.
 and brothers not

'One of my friends does not have parents. And also he does not have brothers and sisters.'

(1b) yamagoya ni wa tabemono mo aru. soreni beddo mo aru.
 lodge food and bed

'In this mountain lodge, we have food. And also beds.'

(1c) kare wa sake mo nomu. katsu tabako mo suu.
 he sake drink and cigarette smoke

'He drinks. And also he smokes.'

(2a) watashi no tomodachi no hitori wa oya mo nai shi,
 kyoodai mo nai.

'One of my friends has neither parents nor brothers and sisters.'

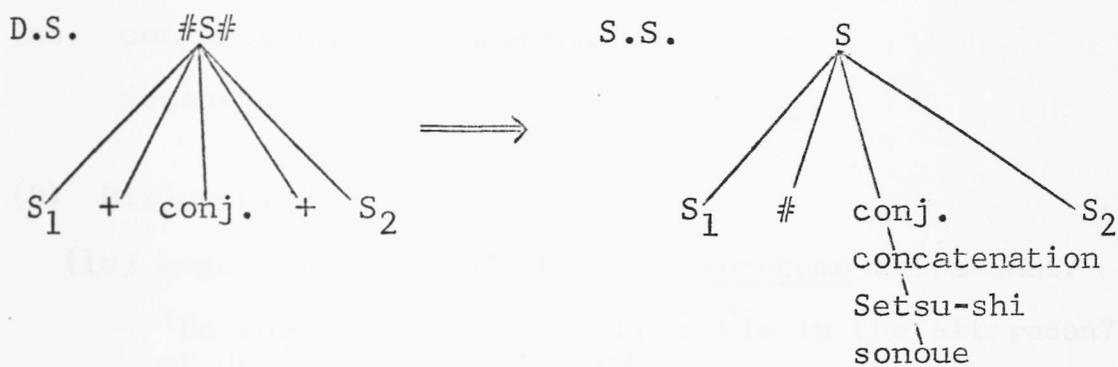
(2b) yamagoya ni wa tabemono mo aru shi, beddo mo aru.

'We have both food and bed in the mountain lodge.'

(2c) kare wa sake mo nomu shi, tabako mo suu.

'He drinks and smokes.'

Sentences (1a), (1b), and (1c) are derived as follows:



Concatenation Setsuzoku-shi Transformation

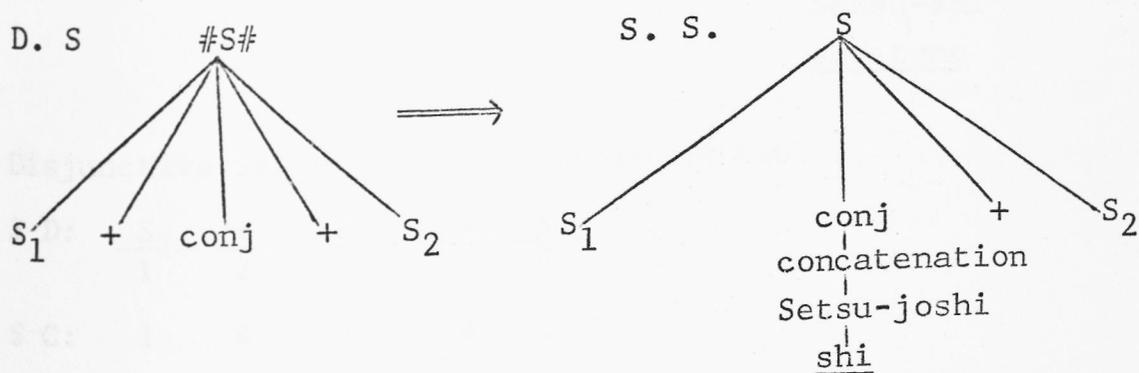
S D: $\frac{S_1}{1}$ - $\frac{+}{2}$ $\frac{conj}{3}$ $\frac{+}{4}$ $\frac{S_2}{5}$ -

S C: 1 # 3 \emptyset 5

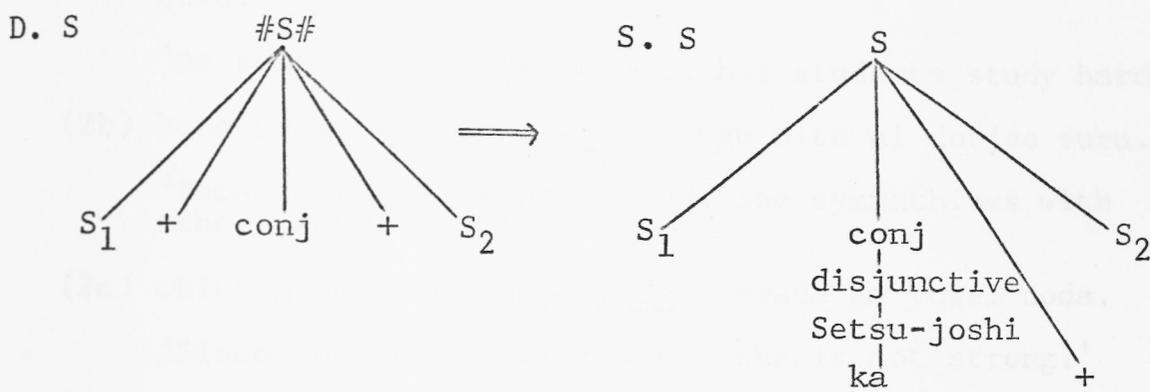
Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow concatenation

Setsu-shi \longrightarrow sonoue \curvearrowright soreni \curvearrowright katsu

Sentences (2a), (2b), and (2c) are derived as follows:



A sentence (2a) is derived as follows:



Disjunctive Setsuzoku-joshi Transformation:

S D: $\frac{S_1}{1}$ - $\frac{+}{2}$ $\frac{conj}{3}$ $\frac{+}{4}$ $\frac{S_2}{5}$ -

S C: 1 \emptyset 3 4 5

Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow disjunctive

Setsu-joshi \longrightarrow ka

(C) Causative

(1a) ano sensei wa kibishii. sorede seito ga yoku
benkyoo suru.

'That teacher is strict. So his students study
very hard.'

(1b) kanojoo wa yasashii. dakara sugu hito ni doojoo suru.

'She is kindhearted. So she sympathizes with other
people easily.'

(1c) chittomo undoo shinai. soredakara karada go

yowai no da.

'She seldom exercises. That is why she is not
strong.'

(2a) ano sensei wa kibishii node, seito ga yoku benkyoo suru.

'As that teacher is strict, his students study hard.'

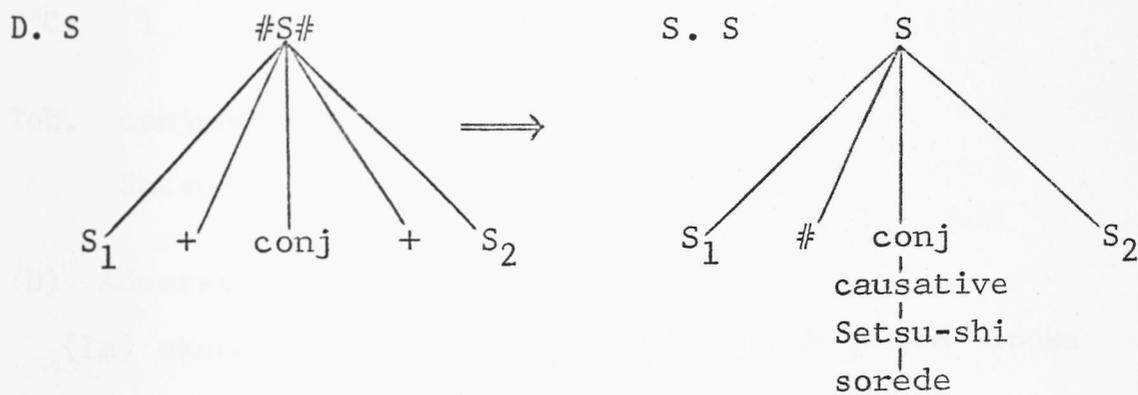
(2b) kanojoo wa yasashii kara, sugu hito ni doojoo suru.

'Because she is kindhearted, she sympathizes with other people easily.'

(2c) chittomo undoo shinai node, karada ga yowai nodu.

'Since she seldom exercises, she is not strong.'

Sentences (1a), (1b) and (1c) are derived as follows:



Causative Setsu-shi Transformation:

S D: $\frac{S_1-}{1}$ $\frac{+}{2}$ $\frac{conj}{3}$ $\frac{+}{4}$ $\frac{S_2-}{5}$

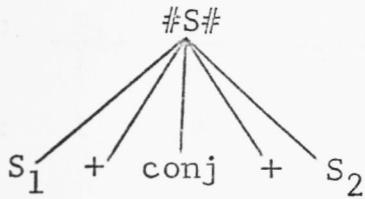
S C: 1 # 3 \emptyset 5

Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow causative

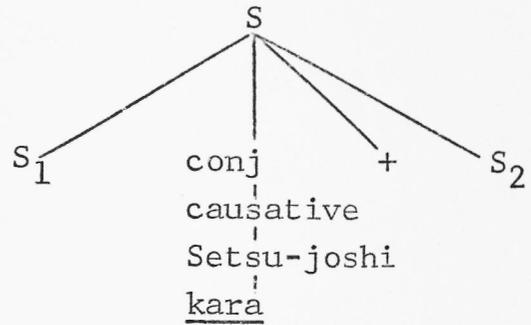
Setsu-shi \longrightarrow sorede \curvearrowright dakara \curvearrowright soredakara

Sentences (2a), (2b), and (2c) are derived as follows:

D. S.



S. S



Causative Setsu-joshi Transformation:

S D: $\frac{S_1}{1}$ - $\frac{+}{2}$ $\frac{conj}{3}$ $\frac{+}{4}$ $\frac{S_2}{5}$ -

S C: 1 \emptyset 3 4 5

Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow causativeSetsu-joshi \longrightarrow kara node

(D) Adversative

(1a) okane wa aru no desu. tokoroga dooshite iinoka
wakaranai.

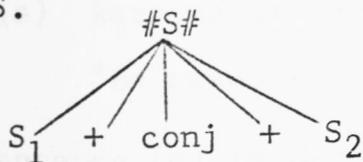
'I have plenty of money. But I don't know what to
do with it.'

(2a) okane wa aru no desu ga₂, dooshite iinoka warakanai.

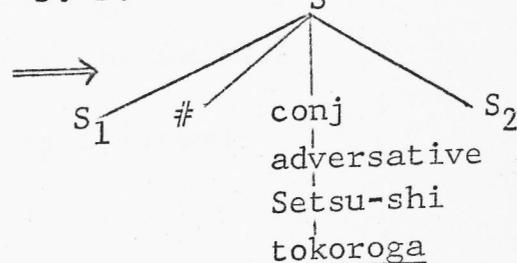
'Although I have plenty of money, I don't know what
to do with it.'

A sentence (1a) is derived as follows:

D. S.



S. S.



Adversative Setsu-shi Transformation:

S D: $\frac{S_1-}{1}$ $\frac{+}{2}$ $\frac{\text{conj}}{3}$ $\frac{+}{4}$ $\frac{-S_2-}{5}$

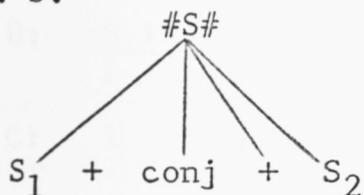
S C: 1 # 3 \emptyset 5

Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow adversative

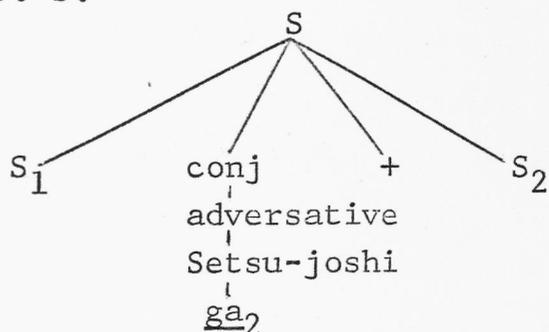
Setsu-shi \longrightarrow tokoroga

A sentence (2a) is derived as follows:

D. S.



S. S.



Adversative Setsu-joshi Transformation:

S D: $\frac{S_1-}{1}$ $\frac{+}{2}$ $\frac{\text{conj}}{3}$ $\frac{+}{4}$ $\frac{-S_2-}{5}$

S C: 1 \emptyset 3 4 5

Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow adversative

Setsu-joshi \longrightarrow ga₂

(E) Simultaneity

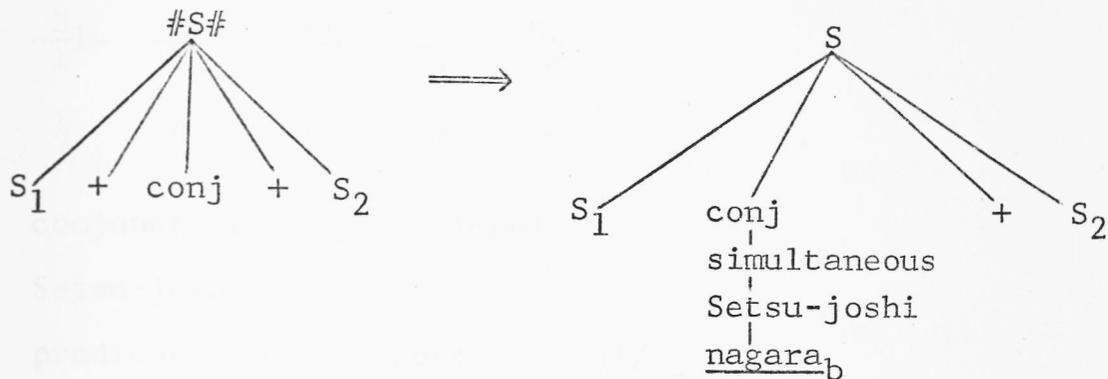
(a) kara wa aru ki -nagara_b, hon o yomu.

'He reads books while he walks.'

A sentence (a) is derived as follows:

D. S.

S. S.



Simultaneous Setsu-joshi Transformation:

S D: $\frac{S_1}{1} \quad \frac{+}{2} \quad \frac{conj}{3} \quad \frac{+}{4} \quad \frac{S_2}{5}$

S C: 1 \emptyset 3 4 5

Tob. conjunction \rightarrow simultaneous

Setsu-joshi \rightarrow nagara_b

predicate in S₁ \rightarrow infinitive/ nagara_b

(F) Provisional

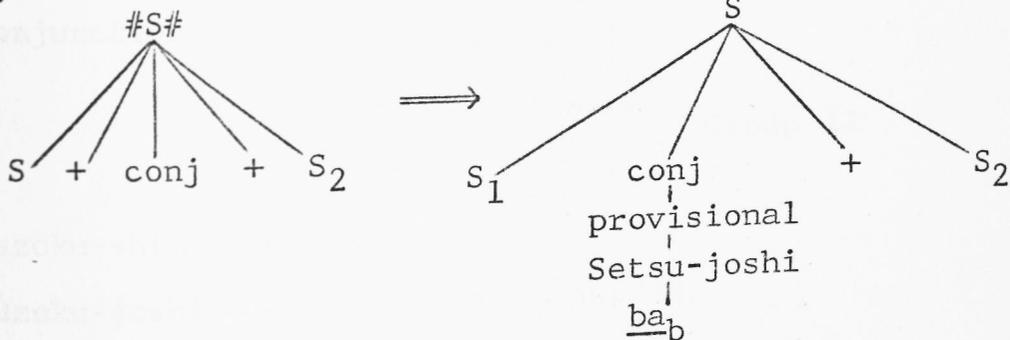
(a) hayaku eki ni ike -ba_b, sono kisha ni mani au.

'If you hurry to the station, you can catch the train.'

The above sentence is derived as follows:

D. S.

S. S.



Provisional Setsu-joshi Transformation:

$$S D: \frac{S_1-}{1} \quad \frac{+}{2} \quad \frac{\text{conj}}{3} \quad \frac{+}{4} \quad \frac{S_2-}{5}$$

$$S C: \quad 1 \quad \emptyset \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

Tob. conjunction \longrightarrow provisional

Setsu-joshi \longrightarrow ba_b

predicate in S₁ \longrightarrow provisional/ ba_b

We have seen so far, for both Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi, that we can postulate the same deep structure. In other words, sentences with Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are the surface forms of the same deep relations, and each different category goes through slightly different transformations.

As a conclusion, we assume that the sentences with Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi can be treated the same way.

We have formulated the forms as follows:

$$S \longrightarrow S \quad + \quad \text{conjunction} \quad + \quad S$$

conjunctions	}	Concatenation Disjunctive Causative Adversative	Group I
	}	Simultaneity Provisional	Group II

Setsuzoku-shi \longrightarrow Group I

Setsuzoku-joshi \longrightarrow Group I and Group II

Chapter 5

SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTION AND CONJUNCTIVE ADVERB

--APPLYING LESTER'S TREATMENT--

In English, the Conjunction is one of the eight parts of speech. As a definition, Curme, in his English Grammar, gave us the following:

A conjunction is a word that joins together sentences or parts of a sentence:

- (1) Sweep the floor and dust the furniture.
- (2) He waited until I came.¹

In his first example 'and' is a coordinate conjunction; and in the second example, 'until' is a subordinate conjunction.

The coordinate conjunction conjoins two or more words, phrases, and clauses or sentences together and indicates that the conjoined utterances are parallel as the following sentences indicate.

- (3) Tom and John are good friends.
- (4) Is he in the house or outside the house?
- (5) He worked hard, but he failed.

Like Japanese conjunctions, English coordinate conjunctions can be classified into four types.

(A) Concatenation

- a. He has two brothers and three sisters.

¹Curme, p. 29.

b. He can speak both English and German.

(B) Disjunctive

a. Is he an Englishman or an American?

b. Do you know either English or French?

(C) Causative

a. He went early, so he could get a seat.

b. It will rain, for the barometer is falling.

(D) Adversative

a. He is still young, but he is equal to the task.

b. He is not my brother, but my cousin.

In this chapter we will see whether or not Lester's treatment of subordinating conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs applies to Japanese conjunctions. He mentions sentences embedded in subordinating adverbs. According to him,

subordination is a process in which sentences embedded in certain types of adverbs are transformed into subordination adverb clauses. There appear to be at least four such types of adverbs: reason, condition, time, and place.¹

The subordinating conjunction conjoins the subordinate clause to the principal clause. The subordinate clause is either a noun clause or an adverbial clause:

(1) He knows that I am right.--noun clause

(2) He is so honest that everybody loves him.
--adverbial clause

¹Lester, p. 263.

(3) He asked me if I could speak English.--noun clause

(4) I would speak with her if I could speak English.
--adverbial clause

In his discussion of subordinate conjunctions, Lester dealt only with adverbial clauses.

In English, adverbial clauses can be divided into (1) reason, (2) condition, (3) time, and (4) place. The following are the examples:

(1) reason

a. He will succeed, because he is earnest.

b. Since you said so, I believed it to be true.

c. As it was hot, we went swimming.

(2) condition

a. We will start if it is fine tomorrow.

b. Although he is poor, he is happy.

(3) time

a. He got up before I got up.

b. Let's wait till he comes.

(4) place

a. His house stands where three roads meet.

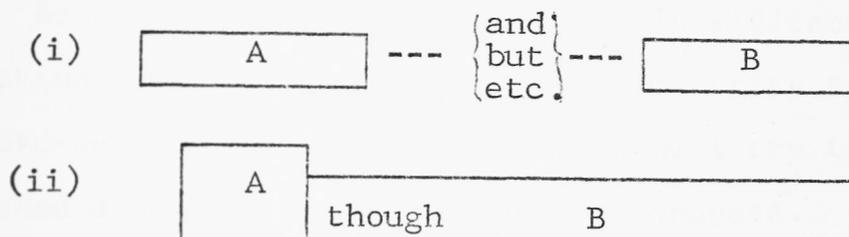
b. You may plant it wherever you like.

Except for the (A) Concatenation and (B) Disjunctive categories of coordinate conjunctions, the English coordinate conjunctions and the subordinate conjunctions look similar in some sentences.

(i) He is a coward, but he is big.

(ii) He is a coward, though he is big.

Sentence (i) is conjoined by the coordinate conjunction 'but,' while sentence (ii) is conjoined by the subordinate conjunction 'though.' The traditional relationship can be seen easily in the following diagram.



Subordinating Conjunction

According to Lester, the traditional subordinating conjunction is the subordinating adverb. He makes a clear distinction between the subordinating adverb and the conjunctive adverb. The following example (1) contains a subordinating adverb and example (2) contains a conjunctive adverb:

- (1) He picked tuna because it was cheaper.
- (2) John was at the scene; however, he did not see the accident.

According to Lester, "One of the characteristics of embedded subordinating adverbs was the ability of the entire subordinating adverb to undergo the adverb switch rule."¹ We can change sentence (1) to (1'):

¹Lester, p. 291.

(1') Because it was cheaper, he picked tuna.

But when we apply this to sentence (2):

(2') *However; he did not see the accident; he was at the scene.

The result is ungrammatical.

As we look at his interesting classifications of conjunctions, we notice the peculiar similarity to Japanese Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. We will try to apply his method and ways of description to Japanese.

What he calls the subordinating adjective is very close to Setsuzoku-joshi which is the conjunctive particle. Since he divides the subordinating adverbs in four ways--reason, condition, time, and place--we will try this first.

The category (A) reason is equal to that of Japanese and the category (B) condition is equal to two categories of Japanese conjunction, namely adversative and provisional. Lester states that adverbs of (C) time and (D) place are different from (A) reason and (B) condition. According to him, the adverbs of time and place do not contain conjunctive adverbs. Instead they have question words ('when[ever]' or 'wher[ever]') or time expression words ('before,' 'as soon as,' and 'after'). He suggests that the most natural way to treat adverbs of time and place would be to assume that the embedded sentence must contain an adverb of time or place which is replaced by the appropriate question word or time expression. In Japanese, adverbs of time and place do

not have equivalent conjunctions. As a matter of fact, the adverb of time may consist of noun alone, as in the examples below, which contain (C-1) toki ('the time' or 'when'), or may consist of noun plus particle, as in example (C-3) which contains ato de ('after'). Also the adverb of place consists of a noun plus particle like tokoro de ('the place where') in (D-2) below.

(A) reason

1. yuushoku o tabenakatta node, hanbaagaa o tabeni yotta.
'I stopped off for a hamburger since I had missed my dinner.'
2. yasukatta node, kare wa maguro o katta.
'He picked tuna because it was cheaper.'
3. kurakunatta node, soosa o yamenaba naranakatta.
'We had to abandon the search, as it was getting dark.'

(B) condition

1. hayaku koko ni konakere -ba_b, kare o oite ikou.
'We will leave without him if he does not get here soon.'
2. motto umaku yaranakere -ba_b, yameta hoo ga yoi.
'You had better quit unless you can do better than that.'
3. ame wa futte inakatta keredomo₂, kasa o motte deta.
'I took my umbrella even though it was not raining.'

(C) time

1. himana toki oyori kudasai.
'Drop over whenever you are free.'

2. kare wa kuru mae ni denwa shita.

'He called before he came.'

3. kare ga kaetta ato de, sore ga nakunatta no ni kizuita.

'I noticed it was missing after he left.'

(D) place

1. te ni hairu tokoro(dokode demo), shinsen na yasai o katta.

'They bought fresh supplies wherever they could.'

2. shokubutsu no ooi tokoro de, mihon o atsumeta.

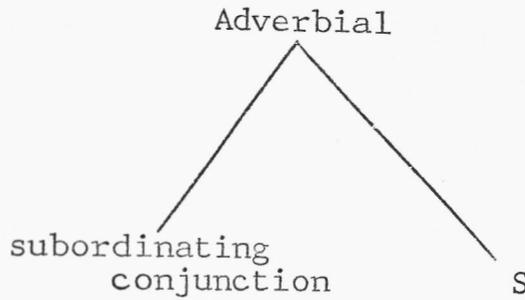
'He collected samples where the vegetation was especially thick.'

Unlike English conjunctions, Japanese Setsuzoku-joshi always come at the end of the first clause, not at the beginning of the second clause. The following is what Lester states:

There seems to be a difference between sentences embedded as adverbs of reason and conditions on the one hand and sentences embedded as adverbs of time and place on the other.¹

Lester draws tree diagrams to represent an adverb of reason or an adverb of condition as consisting of two sub-components: a subordinating conjunction and an embedded sentence.

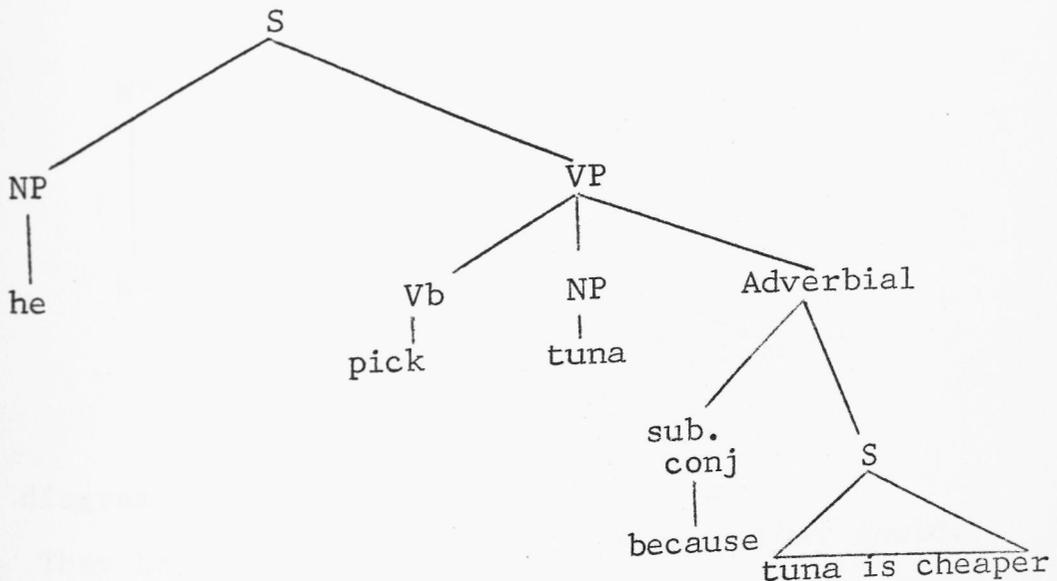
¹Lester, p. 264.



According to Lester, the adverbs of time and place do not contain conjunctive adverbs. Instead, as the embedded sentence begins with question words or a time expression, he assumes that the embedded sentence must itself contain an adverb of time or place.

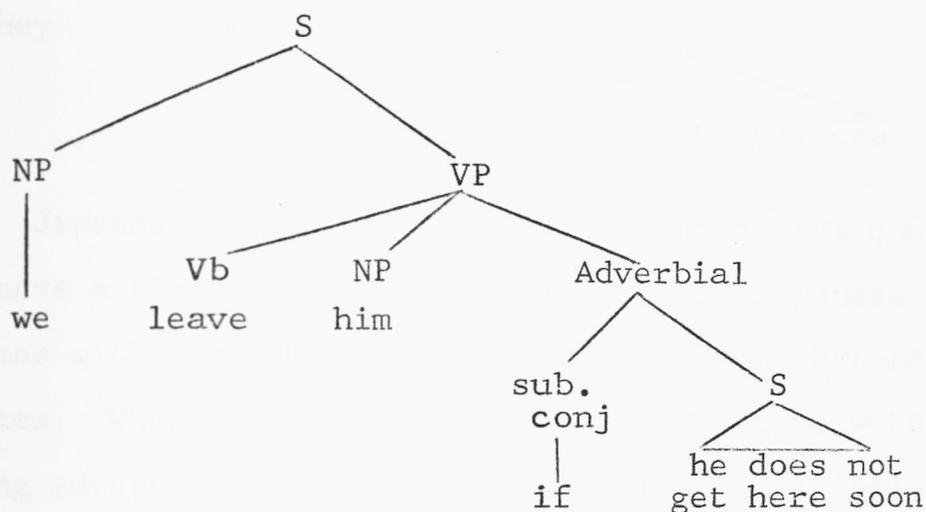
A tree diagram of the adverb of reason:

- a. He picked tuna because it was cheaper.



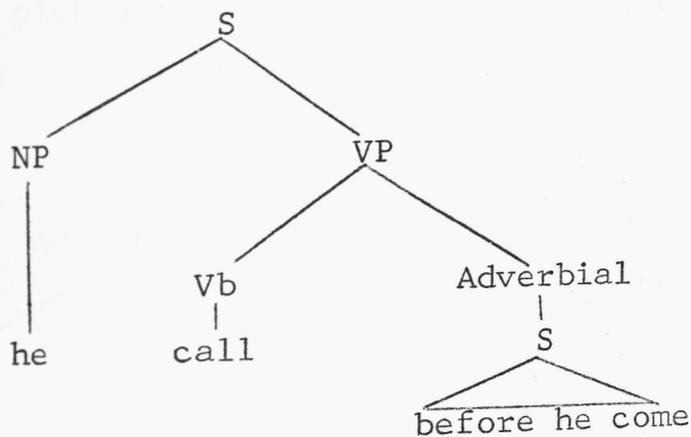
A tree diagram of the adverb of condition:

- b. We will leave him if he does not get here soon.



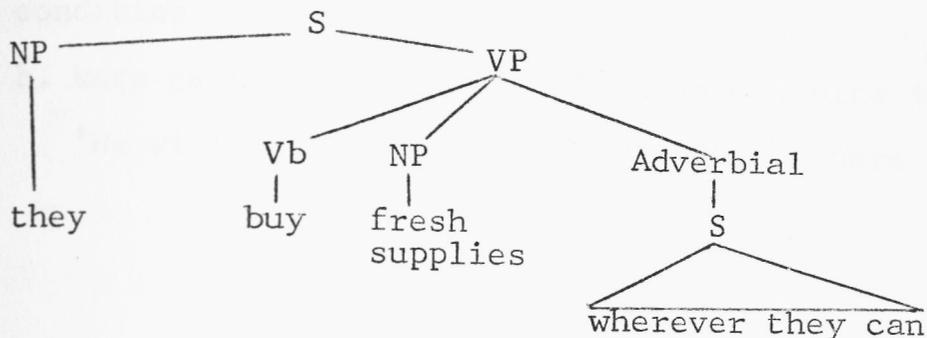
A tree diagram of the adverb of time:

- c. He called before he came.



A tree diagram of the adverb of place:

- d. They bought fresh supplies wherever they could.

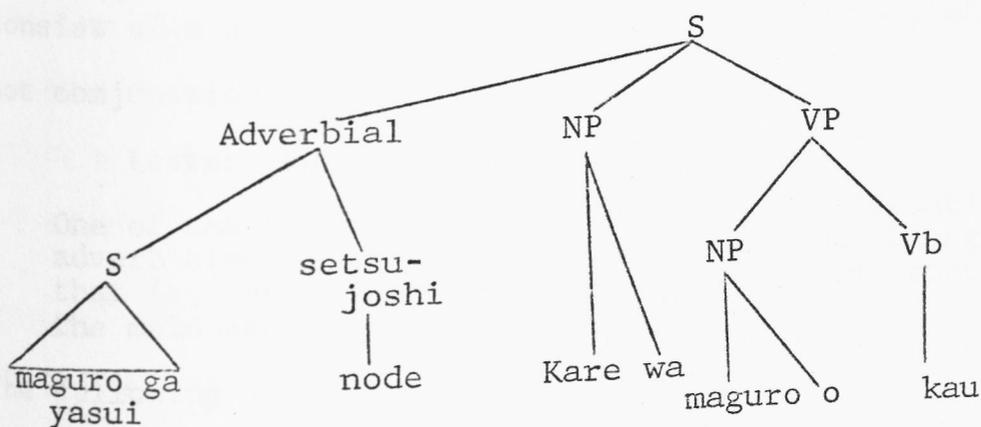


Japanese sentences containing subordinate conjunctions have a fixed word order, that is, all Japanese sentences with subordinating conjunctions come before main sentences. When we translate Lester's sentences with subordinating adverbs into Japanese, we will get the following tree diagrams:

(A) reason

a. maguro ga yasui node, kare wa sore o katta.

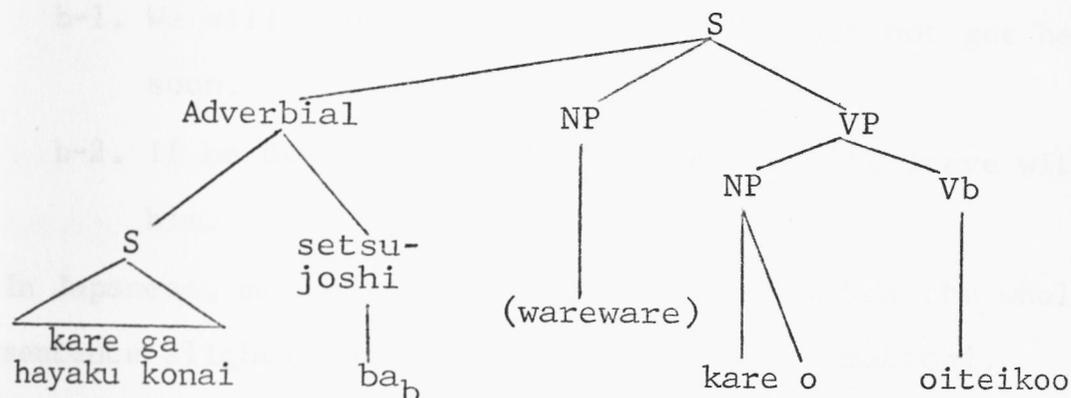
'He picked tuna because it was cheaper.'



(B) condition

b. kare ga hayaku konakere -ba_b, kare o oite ikoo.

'We will leave him if he does not get here soon.'



Even though there might be some interesting similarities between English time and place adverbs and those of Japanese, we are not going to treat these in this study. It is simply because in Japanese adverbs of time and place do not belong to the categories of conjunctions. As we have seen, both consist of a noun alone or a noun plus particle, which are not conjunctions.

Lester states

One of the basic characteristics of subordinating adverb clauses is that they can always be inverted, that is, they can be moved, as a unit, in front of the main sentence.¹

The following are examples:

¹Lester, p. 266.

(A) reason

a-1. He picked tuna because it was cheaper.

a-2. Because it was cheaper, he picked tuna.

(B) condition

b-1. We will leave without him if he does not get here soon.

b-2. If he does not get here soon, we will leave without him.

In Japanese, moving the adverbial clause makes the whole sentence slightly unnatural, but not ungrammatical.

(A) reason

a-1'. maguro ga yasui node, kare wa sore o katta.

a-2'. kare wa sore o katta. maguro ga yasui i node.

(B) condition

b-1'. hayaku konakere -ba_b, kare o oite ikoo.

b-2'. kare o oite ikoo, hayaku konakere -ba_b

When we hear sentences (a-2') and (b-2'), we notice that the speaker intentionally inverted the order of two clauses, in other words, their meanings are still the same, but he wants to emphasize the first clause more than the second clause.

Pronominalization and Deletion

In English it is possible to pronominalize one of two identical noun phrases in conjoined sentences; we can have either

(a) Because tuna was cheaper, he picked it.

or

are the free variants of each other, and sonoue, soreni, and sarani are the free variants of each other.¹

It is adequate to classify the conjunctive adverb into three categories: (A) Concatenation, (B) Causative and (C) Adversative.

We can easily notice that conjunctive adverbs superficially resemble subordinating conjunctions, as it was pointed out that one of the characteristics of subordinating adverbs is the ability of the entire subordinating adverb clause to move in front of the principal clause. Thus, the sentence

He failed examinations because he didn't study hard.

can be changed to

Because he didn't study hard enough, he failed examinations.

However, we can not do this to the sentences which have conjunctive adverbs.

John was at the scene; however, he did not see the accident.

to

*However, he did not see the accident, John was at the scene.

Another thing which Lester states is:

The second (or conjoined) sentence cannot be moved, but the conjunctive adverb can. . . . The conjunctive adverb usually can be moved to any of several positions in the middle of the second sentence or clear to the end.²

¹See Chapter 3, p. 23.

²Lester, p. 291.

In English,

John was at the scene; he did not, however, see the accident.

also

John was at the scene; he did not see the accident, however.

In Japanese, Setsuzoku-shi cannot occupy different positions in a sentence except for those Setsuzoku-shi which have adversative function.

John wa sonoba ni ita. jike o shikashi minakatta.

or

John wa sonoba ni ita. jik o minakatta. shikashi.

The other two categories, when Setsuzoku-shi are moved, sound unnatural, though not ungrammatical.

If we apply this movement process to the subordinating conjunction in English, the results are always ungrammatical sentences. Thus,

*He picked tuna, it, because, was cheaper.

or

*He picked tuna, it was cheaper because.

This is also true with Setsuzoku-joshi in Japanese. Thus,

*maguro ga node yasukatta kare wa katta.

or

*maguroga yasukatta kare wa node katta.

So far in this chapter, we have been mainly following Lester's work. We notice that the relationship between the Japanese Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi distinctions is

similar to that of English conjunctive adverbs and subordinating conjunctions.

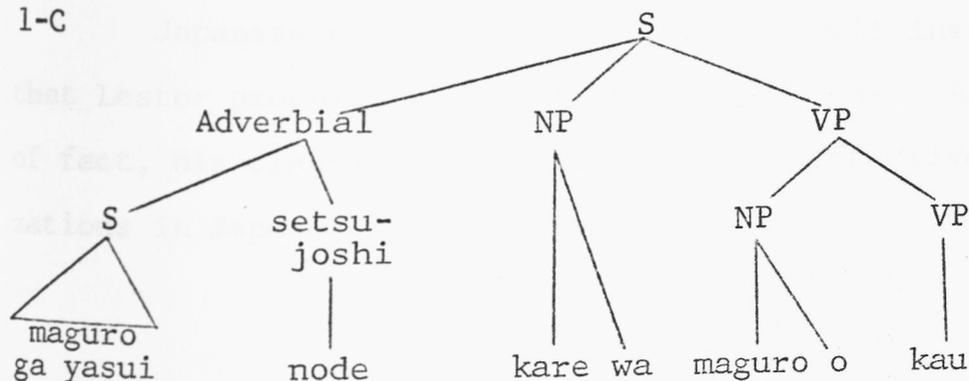
Both Setsuzoku-joshi and subordinating conjunctions combine clauses while Setsuzoku-shi and conjunctive adverbs conjoin two independent sentences. However, by trying to fit Japanese into the mold of English as far as Japanese conjunctions are concerned, they lose sight of important generalizations that can be made about conjunctions in Japanese.

When we applied Lester's examples with subordinating adverbs to Japanese, we got:

a. maguro ga yasui node, kare wa katta.

'He picked tuna because it was cheaper.'

1-C



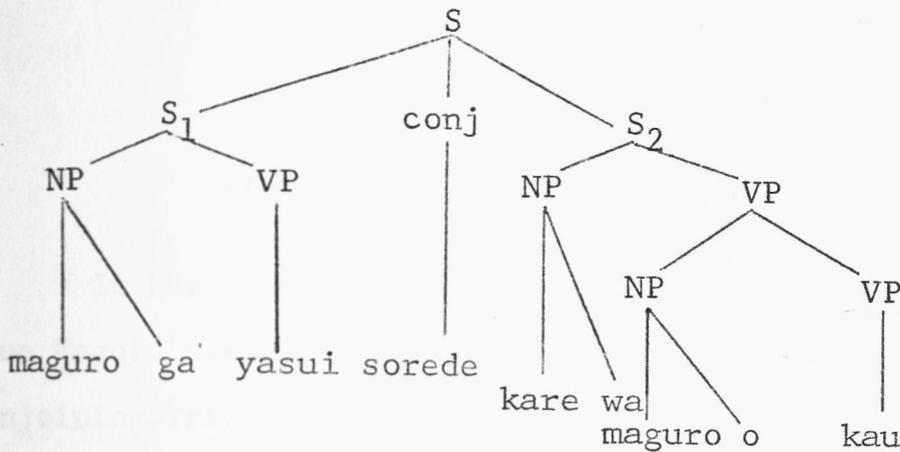
The above sentence can be rewritten:

b. maguro ga yasui. sorede kare wa katta.

'Tuna was cheaper. So he picked tuna.'

However, as the conjunctive adverb (Setsuzoku-shi in Japanese) joins two independent sentences, we get the following tree diagram:

1-D



As we have seen in the previous chapter, because sentences with Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are the surface forms of the same deep relations, they can be treated as they were in Chapter 4.¹

Japanese conjunctions do not fit well into the scheme that Lester proposes for English conjunctions. As a matter of fact, his classifications do not make effective generalizations in Japanese conjunctions.

¹See pp. 34-41.

Chapter 6

COORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

In her dissertation, A Study of Japanese Syntax, Inoue Kazuko treats conjoined constructions as a result of 'Conjoining Transformations.' According to Inoue,

The connectives have usually been classified according to their meanings or according to the types of construction they conjoin. For example, (1) tara in ame ga hur tara uti ni imasu. 'If it rains, I will stay home.' is called conditional according to its meaning, (2) ga, in kinoo ik ta ga titi ni ae nakatta. '(I) went yesterday but could not see (my) father,' is called "Clause particle" since it connects two clauses.¹

This statement is insufficient, for both connectives, tara in (1) and ga in (2), connect clauses. For example,

(1) a. ame ga furu. 'It rains.'

b. uchi ni imasu. 'I stay home.'

a. connective b.: ame ga fut -tara, uchi ni imasu.

'If it rains, I'll stay home.'

(2) a. kinoo itta. 'I went yesterday.'

b. chichi ni ae nakatta. 'I could not see my father.'

a. connective b.: kinoo itta ga, chichi ni ae nakatta.

'I went yesterday but could not see my father.'

¹Kazuko Inoue, A Study of Japanese Syntax (micro-filmed Doctor's dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964), p. 130.

is not concatenation (te_b). As a matter of fact, te_b is a causative Setsuzoku-joshi. For example:

P. kono oyu wa atsui. 'This water is too hot.'

P'. kono oyu ni hairenai. 'I can't get into this hot water.'

D. kono oyu wa atuku -te_b, hairenai.

'Because this water is too hot, I can't get into it.'

Since te_a and te_b have the same form and belong to Setsuzoku-joshi, it is insufficient not to mention the second form and function.

Inoue treats several forms as coordinate conjunction words. They are i) zero form, which is an infinitive form of the previous predicate verb; ii) -te ('and'); iii) shi ('and'); iv) ga, ('but'); v) tari . . . tari ('now . . . now'); and vi) nagara ('while'), etc. All of them except v) tari . . . tari belong to Setsuzoku-joshi in the traditional grammar.

It is apparent that Inoue does not treat Setsuzoku-shi at all. For these translated words ('and,' 'but,' etc.), she takes her classifications model from that of English. 'And' and 'but' belong to coordinate conjunction words in English. It seems that Inoue does not notice the peculiarities in Japanese conjunctions, namely the existence of two kinds of conjunctions, Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi.

Her treatments of subordinations are similar to those

of coordinations, that is to say, she takes her classification model from English. As subordinate conjunction words, Inoue treats i) kereba ('if'), ii) nara ('if'), iii) kara ('after'), iv) made (ni) ('until'), v) maeni ('before'), vi) niturete ('as'), vii) toki ('when'), viii) tokoroga ('though'), ix) kara ('since'), x) tokoro ('when'), and so forth.

They are the translations of English subordinate conjunction words. In her list of words in Japanese, some are adverbs, made(ni), mae(ni), and niturete, some are nouns, toki and tokoro, and some are Setsuzoku-joshi, kereba, nara, and kara.

There is a rather strange example in her treatment of subordination rules.

P. are wa sensei da. 'That is the teacher.'

P'. kono mondai o kiite miyoo. 'I'll ask (him) this question.'

D. are ga sensei nara, kono mondai o kiite miyoo.

'If that is a teacher, I'll ask (him) this question.'¹

As an explanation of how the subordinate conjunction nara is generated, Inoue states in the footnote that da + reba becomes nara. But it seems that this explanation is far-fetched. It is more natural to generate the following:

D. are ga sensei da kara, kono mondai o kiite miyoo.

'Since he is a teacher, I'll ask (him) this question.'

¹Inoue, p. 144.

It is obvious that Inoue treats mainly Setsuzoku-joshi as connectives; in other words, she does not recognize Setsuzoku-shi as connectives. This is due to her classifications which are similar to those of English. It is inadequate to treat Japanese conjunctions as they are treated in English. As was true in the last chapter, when Lester's treatment was applied, Inoue's treatment also fails to recognize the underlying forms of Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi conjunctions in Japanese.

Soga, in his dissertation, Some Syntactic Rules of Modern Colloquial Japanese, also treats conjunctions. He, like Inoue, deals with subordinating constructions and coordinating constructions. Compared with Inoue's, his treatment is much more detailed.

In his chapter titled "Subordination Constructions," he quotes Bloch, saying "Bloch made a clear-cut distinction between 'real clause' and 'pseudo-clause.'"¹ According to Bloch, a pseudo-clause serves as an adverbial phrase, so naturally Soga considers subordinating constructions as adverbial constructions.

He treats several so-called subordinating construction words, some of which are not in our subordinating conjunction list. In an earlier chapter, Soga mentions words

¹Matsuo Soga, Some Syntactic Rules of Modern Colloquial Japanese (microfilmed Doctor's dissertation, Indiana University, Michigan, 1966), p. 277.

sunawati ('that is to say'), and tatoeba ('for example') as conjunctions. These two words do come at the beginning of the second sentences, as the following examples show, but they do not belong to the conjunction words. As a matter of fact, they belong to the fukushi ('adverb') in the traditional Japanese grammar.

- a) kare ga benkyooka da # tatoeba kinoozyuuzikan benkyoo su ta.

'He is a studious person. For example (he) studied ten hours yesterday.'

- b) ronbun ga daizida. # sunawati, kenkyuu ga daizi da.

'Articles are important. That is to say, research is important.'

Soga says that

... we consider that when a speaker has to use conjunctions, he may have some notions of incompleteness at the end of S_1 , and S_2 will be necessary for the purpose of supplying the meaning to S_1 .¹

However in both of the above sentences there is not any notion of incompleteness; moreover, we can take off tatoeba and sunawati from the above sentences, and both a) and b) have two sentences.

In Soga's subordinating constructions, he considers first the nagara construction. This he calls nagara₁ to make it separate from nagara₂, which he treats as the result of a coordinate construction. He does not give a precise

¹Soga, p. 252.

reason why he makes this distinction, even though they are the same form.

- (1) kare ga (hon o yomi nagara₁) bentoo o tabeta.
 he book read while lunch ate

'He ate his lunch while he read.'

- (2) nihonjin de ari nagara₂ nihongo ga wakaranai.
 Japanese is though Japanese know not

'Although he is a Japanese, he does not understand the Japanese language.'

Because Soga states that subordinating constructions are adverbial constructions, according to the traditional Japanese grammar, he should logically conclude that both nagara₁ and nagara₂ clauses are adverbial constructions and thus naturally belong to the same category, since in traditional Japanese grammar they are classified as adverbials.

He treats ni constructions, hodo constructions and to constructions as subordinate clauses. But it seems that they are embedded sentences instead of conjoined sentences. For example, as a hodo construction, he gives the following:

- (3) ie ga kabin ga tana kara otiru hodo yureta
 house vase shelf from fall shook

'The house shook to the extent that the vase was going to fall from the shelf.'¹

The above sentence is an embedded sentence and is different from the conjoining sentence. The embedded sentences are those derived by embedding (i.e., inserting) one sentence within another and the conjoining sentences are those derived

¹Soga, p. 241.

by conjoining two sentences (i.e., by adding one sentence to another).

If his example sentence is a conjoining sentence, it should be the following:

(4) ie ga yure ta node, kabin ga tana kara ochiru hodo datta.

'Because the house shook, the vase was almost going to fall from the shelf.'

Besides, the word hodo is not a subordinate conjunction, but belongs to another kind of particle meaning degree. It is also adequate to think that his example (3) is the case that the conjunctive particle is omitted:

(3') kabinga tana kara ochiru hodo (ni), ie ga yureta.

'The house shook to the extent that the vase was about to fall from the shelf.'

As the coordinating conjunctions, he mentions sohite ('and'), soretomo ('or'), shikashi ('but'), and suruto ('and then'), etc. As an example of what Soga has done, we will use the case of shikashi ('but'):

variants of shikashi

shikashi \implies $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{ke(re)do(mo)\} \\ \{(da)ga_2\} \end{array} \right\}$

One thing that we may mention is that the free variants may occur either after a major break or before a major break. When they occur, before the break, they seem to give the impression that the construction is one of subordination. However we consider that they are still basically coordinate constructions. . . .¹

¹Soga, p. 271.

His examples are:

(51) mati ga₁ tiisai# keredomo syootengai ga₁ nigiyaka
town small but business district crowded
da.

'The town is small, but the business district is bustling.'

(52) mati ga₁ tiisai keredomo# syootengai ga₁ nigiyaka da.

'Although the town is small, the business district is bustling.'

He considers that (52) might be derived from (51) simply by shifting the break.

As we have seen so far, the conjoining word before a major break is Setsuzoku-joshi (conjunctive particle) and the conjoining word after the major break is Setsuzoku-shi (conjunction). The former is equivalent to English subordinating conjunctions and the latter is equivalent to English coordinating conjunctions.

Although Soga treats both breaks as major breaks and regards both as of the same kind, actually they are not the same breaks at all. The one in (51) is the sentence break --that is, it comes at the end of a sentence--and the one in (52) is a pause after a subordinate clause. According to Han, the one in (51) has sharp fall and it is shown as /↓/, while the one in (52) has no significant change and is shown as //.¹

¹Mieko S. Han, Japanese Phonology, An Analysis Based upon Sound Spectrograms (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1962), p. 143.

Both Soga and Inoue divide conjunctions between the subordinations and the coordinations as is done in English. They simply fail to recognize the deep relationships between Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi in Japanese.

It is a fact that Japanese students learning English conjunctions often face difficulties in understanding the terms 'subordination' and 'coordination.' It is because in Japanese there are no such classifications.

We have two kinds of conjunctions, namely Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. Since Setsuzoku-shi is one part of speech and Setsuzoku-joshi is another part of speech, it is hard to recognize them as having the same functions, that is to say, their conjoining ability to noun phrases, clauses and sentences.

Our postulation that Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are surface manifestations of the same deep relation seems adequate, especially after the classifications based on English grammar are seen.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY

As was stated in Chapter 1, the primary purpose of this study was to suggest that surface level constructions with Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi conjunctions can be derived from one deep structure using the transformational generative framework. Chapter 2 sketched the traditional descriptions of Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi. In Chapter 3, we examined the functions of Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi, and in Chapter 4, on the basis of this examination, we postulated that Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi are surface manifestations of the same underlying structure. In Chapters 5 and 6, we tried to analyze Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi in terms of the treatment of conjunctions as found in English, i.e., that of Lester, and as found in Japanese, i.e., those of Inoue and Soga. What we found in all of them is that their treatments fail to bring out the deep relationships between Setsuzoku-shi and Setsuzoku-joshi.

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