

Japanese grammar notes

Jinyuan Wu

September 26, 2022

This note is a more well-organized version of [this note](#). It's a reading note of [Akiyama and Akiyama \(2012\)](#), [Tsutsui and Makino \(1989\)](#), as well as lots of books and articles listed in the reference. The methodology followed is in [this note about my understanding of descriptive grammars](#), i.e. "largely generatively informed but surface-oriented and flat-tree in the appearance".

There is basically nothing new in the note. Sometimes you will find word-by-word copying of the books and papers in the reference. Tables are generally from Wikipedia pages.

Boxes in this note should *not* be considered as paragraphs: they are just there to show my opinion towards certain theoretical aspects or language-specific argumentation or learning advices. The paragraph after a box is to be considered as next to the paragraph before the box.

TODO list:

- The structure of NP, especially the mutual correlation of particles
- Anything between the valency changing suffixes and the tense, polarity, politeness marker
- When can appear before the *te*-form
- The end of clauses: what particles appear?

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Japanese language and its history

Though this note is purely about contemporary Japanese and contains nothing about old texts, knowing a little bit of the history helps a lot in understanding, say, why there are two honorifics systems for things (§ 5.2.1), why the adjective class is large yet closed (§ 2.2.1), etc.

1.2 Previous studies

Japanese is a relatively well-documented language, with a native grammar study tradition.

1.3 Language and culture

Chapter 2

Overview of Japanese grammar

2.1 Phonology and the writing system

Japanese is roughly a mora-timing language, though with some deviation from the prototypical ones. Japanese has a rather trivial inventory of 5 vowel phonemes (§ 3.1) and 15 consonant phonemes (§ 3.2), which can be combined into around 50 moras, and there are three types of special moras – the syllable-final nasal, vowel lengthening, and consonant germination (§ 3.3.1).

The above features results in a native writing system, which includes two sets of mora-based syllabaries called *kanas* (§ 3.6.3) and Japanese Chinese characters, the *kanji* (§ 3.6.4). The spelling system used in this note is a romanization system (§ 3.6.2).

2.2 Parts of speech

2.2.1 Lexical words: nouns and verbs, and everything else

Japanese has a clear noun-verb distinction. This can be found by looking at the morphology: nouns are subject to case marking, which is basically adding a particle to the NP which can be dropped especially in casual speech, while verbs always appear as one of the stem forms plus agglutinative endings.

The following should be recorded concerning a noun: its compatibility with honorifics affixation (§ 5.2)

The following things should be recorded about a verb: its conjugation class (§ 8.2), the valency class (chap. 9), which may also affect how the arguments are marked, TODO: unaccusative and unergative, and its lexical aspect (§ 8.8.1).

There are two adjective classes: the verbal class (or *i*-adjectives) and the nominal class (or *na*-adjectives), with different syntactic distribution (verbal adjectives may fill the predicate slot on their own; nominal adjectives never do so) and morphological appearances (verbal adjectives are more like verbs). Since a so-called nominal adjective can actually be decomposed into a nominal and the copula (§ 8.2.7), in this note, I'll consider nominal adjectives as *adjectival nouns*, and hence the class of verbal adjectives are simply called *adjectives*.

One rare property of modern Japanese is the verb class and the verbal adjective class are already closed classes: they rarely accept new members (though not entirely impossible). What makes Japanese rarer is despite being closed, the verbal adjective class is large.

The vocabulary of Japanese can be divided into three parts according to the etymology: the native words, Sino-Japanese words, and recently borrowed words. This distinction is sometimes of grammatical significance (§ 5.2.1).

2.2.2 Function items

I specifically use the term *function items* instead of *function words* in the title of this section, because the word-or-morpheme-or-phrase problem is especially serious in Japanese morphosyntax (§ 8.1.2, § 8.11). In functional items, we have particles in NPs (chap. 6), SFPs in matrix clauses (§ 10.3), particles used for clause linking (§ 11.2), and auxiliary verbs (§ 8.3.3).

Theoretical aspect 2.1: So-called category of functional items

Though particles are in the grammar and do not really carry category labels like “noun” or “verb” and it actually makes no sense to discuss the categories of them, the traditional practice to list all particles and classify them is practically desirable, as it provides a quick way to navigate across grammatical systems.

Japanese lacks the prototypically pronoun class: so-called pronouns are customized referential nouns like ‘that girl’, and thus the pronoun class is not closed and strictly speaking is not a part of the grammar. The article class is also not attested.

2.3 Noun phrases

In Japanese NPs, gender and number are not marked. The case is marked by an NP-final particle (§ 6.1). The information structure also receive explicit marking by particles, including the topic marker *wa*, and in some cases the nominative marker *ga* has the reading of focus marker (§ 10.1).

2.4 The verb and the clause

2.4.1 The verbal complex

Japanese distinguishes morphologically between the past tense and the non-past tense. A remarkable feature of Japanese is politeness being marked as a part of verb conjugation: morphologically, we have plain and polite forms (Table 8.4). Besides, we also have derivational honorifics prefixes (§ 8.4.2) and periphrastic ways to make a clause “polite” (§ 8.10). These constructions fit in the larger picture of politeness in Japanese (§ 2.7.1).

2.5 Constituent order

Japanese has a strict modifier-first constituent order, and here the term *modifier* includes arguments in a clause (“modifiers of the verb or the verbal adjective”), and even NPs with respect to case particles.

Theoretical aspect 2.2: the notion of head and modifier

This notion of head and modifier is CGEL-like, and is probably related to a strong head-final tendency in the linearization: if a so-called modifier is introduced as a specifier in a functional projection with a root as the core, then obviously the root and the functional heads are realized into one unit (for example a verbal complex) and the “modifier” precedes the unit to ensure the (functional) head-final rule, and therefore in the surface-oriented analysis, we also get a modifier-head constituent order (where *head* means lexical heads). If there is no core root, then trivially the “modifier” is realized in a position before the spellout of functional heads, and the latter is regarded as somehow a head in the CGEL sense, and again we get a modifier-head constituent order, if we understand things like case particles as heads, which is the CGEL approach but not the BLT approach.

Despite the strict modifier-head constituent order, in the clause, the order of core and peripheral arguments and adverbials is relatively flexible, which usually reflects the information structure. Relevant mechanisms include topicalization and the ordering between *wa*-NPs and *ga*-NPs (§ 10.1), scrambling (§ 10.2), TODO: others

2.6 Clause combining

There is a strong tendency in Japanese to use non-finite clauses for embedding (Kayne, 2003).

2.7 Remarkable features

2.7.1 Politeness

Some languages, like Chinese, have a hierarchy of politeness coded in the lexicon. In Japanese this kind of lexical politeness also exists (§ 4.1.1), but some components of the grammar are also about politeness (§ 5.2, § 8.6, § 8.4.2, § 8.10). Some parts of the grammar do not involve any category about politeness, but using them is shunned if the speaker wants to be polite (§ 8.2.2.6). Even spelling is related to politeness (§ 3.6.5).

2.7.2 The role of gender

Japanese doesn't give any place to grammatical gender. However, the gender of the *speaker* is important: there is one dialect for men, and another for women. Grammar points involving gender of the speaker include TODO

2.8 The structure of this note

Theoretical aspect 2.3: The organization in reference grammars

The structure of this note and the contents of chapters follow the examples set by Friesen (2017), Jacques (2021), Grimm (2021), the famous CGEL (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002), and of course Dixon's three volumes of BLT. The nominal chapters (TODO: ref), The notion of verbal complex (chap. 8) is also found in Friesen (2017).

Chapter 3

Phonology and the writing system

3.1 Vowels

3.2 Consonants

3.3 Phonotactics

3.3.1 The scheme of moras

Japanese is usually analyzed as a mora language: each mora occupies one rhythmic unit and is of the same length. There are still some deviations from the perfect mora-timing model: moras with devoiced vowels may be shorter (TODO: ref), and so is geminated consonants (see below), and syllable-based language games and sound changes are observed (Tsujimura, 2013, § 3.3).

The allowed types of moras include V, CV, jV, CjV, R, N, and Q. In the following I will talk about the meaning of the symbols j, R, N, and Q.

3.3.1.1 Semivowel-related moras

Here the symbol j is the glide /j/, which may appear after a non-glide consonant and before a vowel, and the sequence of the three phonemes is still one mora. The appearance of j is called 拗音 *yōon* in Japanese. The glide is only compatible with /a/, /u/ and /o/. The symbol N is a moraic nasal: it constitutes a single mora, called 撥音 *hatsuon* and never appears at the initial of a word. Thus, except for CjV, Japanese doesn't allow multiple consonants, and except for (C)VN, Japanese syllables are always open.

3.3.1.2 Prolonged vowels and consonants

The symbol R means a chroneme, which prolongs the last vowel, called 長音 *chōon*. It's compatible with any vowels. Q means geminating the following consonant. It's called 促音 *sokuon*, and may be realized as “pause for a mora” before the consonant. The two abstract phonemes represent adjustment of vowel and consonant lengths, which are all distinctive in Japanese phonology.

The *chōon* and *sokuon* are important to understand certain morphological phenomenon in Japanese, in which the underlying form of a prolonged vowel or consonant is actually a vowel or consonant plus a suffix or prefix. For example, when *o* is followed by *u*, the two vowels are realized as a prolonged *o*: *ō* (TODO: ref).

I should focus here (especially to readers familiar with syllable languages) that N and Q are moras themselves, though the contents of them depend on the phonological environment.

3.4 Accent

3.5 Historical sound change

3.5.1 In verbal conjugation

3.5.1.1 Removing the second *r* or *s*

When two consonants meet each other (TODO: in the verbal complex only?), and the second consonant is *r* or *s*, the second consonant is removed. This is exemplified in marking of the passive and the causative (§ 8.5.1), the alternation of the ending in the terminal form (§ 8.2.2.3), and TODO.

3.5.1.2 Euphonic changes related to *t*

In the past tense (§ 8.6.1), the *te*-form (§ 8.7.2), and the condition form (TODO:ref), we see the need to put a suffix starting with *-t-* to a base ending with a consonant. As is said in § 8.3.1, the default way is to insert an *i* after the consonant, but this *Cit* cluster has already observed some historical sound change, which results in a new form in the internal morphology of verbal elements (§ 8.2.2.8).

3.6 The writing system

3.6.1 Overview

The mora-based phonology of Japanese results in two syllabaries used to write Japanese, called *kanas* 仮名. There are two kinds of kana in contemporary use: one is hiragana 平仮名, the other is katakana 片仮名. Hiragana is used to write grammatical items (like inflectional endings and particles) and a subset of words with native etymology, while katakana is used for newly borrowed words. Ideophones are traditionally written in katakana, though sometimes they are written in hiragana for a softened, adorable appearance.

There exists several romanization systems for Japanese, which are called *rōmaji* ローマ字 ‘Roman letters’. The Hepburn romanization is designed for non-native speakers, which roughly reflects the actually contemporary pronunciation. There are other systems of romanization, which are discussed in § 3.6.2.

3.6.2 Differences between romanizations

Since I (and intended readers) of this note are all non-native speakers, it’s a good idea to first introduce the romanization systems, and for the same reason, the system used in this note is the revised Hepburn romanization, which tells us more about the phonological structure of Japanese in the eyes of an outsider.

All systems of romanization use the same set of letters to represent the five vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*. The letters for the consonants are also largely the same. Consonants without any flavor of the glide *j* are represented by *k*, *g*, *s*, *z*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *h*, *b*, *p*, *m*, *r*, and *w*.

3.6.3 Table of kanas

Below is a table enumerating all hiraganas and their revised-Hepburn romaji correspondence, called *gojūon* 五十音 ‘fifty sounds’:

Table 3.1: The *gojūon* 五十音

	a	i	u	e	o
∅	あ <i>a</i>	い <i>i</i>	う <i>u</i>	え <i>e</i>	お <i>o</i>
k	か <i>ka</i>	き <i>ki</i>	く <i>ku</i>	け <i>ke</i>	こ <i>ko</i>
g	が <i>ga</i>	ぎ <i>gi</i>	ぐ <i>gu</i>	げ <i>ge</i>	ご <i>go</i>
s	さ <i>sa</i>	し <i>shi</i>	す <i>su</i>	せ <i>se</i>	そ <i>so</i>
z	ざ	じ	ず	ぜ	ぞ
t	た	ち	つ	て	と
d	だ	ぢ	づ	で	ど
n	な	に	ぬ	ね	の
h	は	ひ	ふ	へ	ほ
b	ば	び	ぶ	べ	ぼ
p	ぱ	ぴ	ぷ	ぺ	ぽ
m	ま	み	む	め	も
y	や		ゆ		よ
r	ら	り	る	れ	ろ
w	わ	ゐ		ゑ	を

The kana table contains some information about the underlying forms of certain moras. (That's to say, it doesn't exactly faithfully represent how modern Japanese speak.) Certain phonological rules can already be observed in the kana-romaji correspondence in the above table.

Learning note 3.1: Remembering kanas

Hiraganas can be remembered by recalling the spelling of grammatical items. The nominative case particle is か. The genitive case particle is の. From the passive marker られ *rare* and the causative marker させ *sase* (§ 8.5.1), we recognize four kanas. The dictionary form ending of v-stem verbs is る (§ 8.2.2.3). The dictionary form ending of verbal adjectives is い (§ 8.2.6.1). The *te*-form of verbs ends in て (§ 8.7.2). The verb politeness markers ます *masu* and ました *mashita* appear frequently (§ 8.6). TODO

The *hatsuon* is written as ん. The *yōon* is represented as a *Ci* kana plus a small-sized *jV* kana. Thus *kya* is written as きゃ *kiya*.

There is no symbol representing *chōons* explicitly: they are instead represented as two kanas representing their underlying forms. Thus *nō* is written as のう *nou*. The *sokuon* Q is written as っ, a small-sized つ.

3.6.4 The Kanji

3.6.5 Spelling conventions

Verbs and adjectives are written as their kanji spellings (if there are any) plus the kana representing the final mora: 来る, 青い. When conjugated, the final or sometimes the last two or even the last three kana indicates the word's internal morphology (§ 8.2). These kanas are called *okurigana* 送り仮名.

Certain functional items receive spelling that do not faithfully represent their pronunciations. The topic marker *wa* (§ 10.1.1) is written as は, though the kana ordinarily means *ha*. It's impossible to collect all these spelling conventions for functional items at the same place: I'll talk about these conventions together with the morphosyntactic distribution of the functional items.

When several spelling forms of an item are possible, usually there are subtle pragmatic differences between them, including politeness (the more kanjis, the more polite), TODO

3.6.6 Symbols and punctuation

TODO: punctuations, like 、 and 。

Chapter 4

Nominal classes

Theoretical aspect 4.1: How to enumerate nominal classes

The organization of nominal categories is the same as [Friesen \(2017, chap. 3, chap. 4\)](#).

4.1 Pronouns

4.1.1 Personal pronouns

Japanese lacks personal pronouns in the canonical meaning.

Though the so-called personal pronouns are often related to gender, it's not absolute: the correlation between pronouns and gender is more likely to be *external* to the grammar: though the first person pronoun *boku* is usually used by males, it's possible for a woman to use the pronoun because of her dialect or as a suggestion about her unique characteristics.

4.1.2 Demonstratives and interrogative pronouns

Japanese demonstratives and interrogative pronouns are rather regular in their forms: almost each of them can be split into two parts, one indicating the range of the objects denoted, the other indicating the syntactic role of the demonstrative. They are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Japanese demonstratives and interrogative pronouns

	<i>ko-</i>	<i>so-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>do-</i>
<i>-re</i>	<i>kore</i> 'this one'	<i>sore</i> 'that one'	<i>are</i> 'that one over there'	<i>dore</i> 'which one?'
<i>-no</i>	<i>kono</i> '(of) this'	<i>sono</i> '(of) that'	<i>ano</i> '(of) that over there'	<i>dono</i> '(of) what?'
<i>-nna</i>	<i>konna</i> 'like this'	<i>sonna</i> 'like that'	<i>anna</i> 'like that over there'	<i>donna</i> 'what sort of?'
<i>-ko</i>	<i>koko</i> 'here'	<i>soko</i> 'there'	<i>asoko</i> 'over there'	<i>doko</i> 'where?'
<i>-chira</i>	<i>corpuskochira</i> 'this way'	<i>sochira</i> 'that way'	<i>achira</i> 'that way over there'	<i>dochira</i> 'which way?'
<i>-u</i>	<i>kō</i> 'in this manner'	<i>sō</i> 'in that manner'	<i>ā</i> 'in that (other) manner'	<i>dō</i> 'how? in what manner?'
<i>-itsu</i>	<i>koitsu</i> 'this person'	<i>soitsu</i> 'that person'	<i>aitsu</i> 'that (other) person'	<i>doitsu</i> 'who?'

It can be seen Japanese demonstratives are divided into three types according to what they refer to: proximal demonstratives, medial demonstrative, and distal demonstratives.

TODO: case particle compatibility

4.2 Numerals

Chapter 5

Nominal morphology

5.1 Nominal derivations

5.1.1 Suffixation

5.1.1.1 The agentive *-te*

Only event verbs are able to take the *-te* suffix: verbs about states are unable to undergo such a process. This is an instance of the Japanese lexical aspect of verbs (§ 8.8.1).

5.2 Honorifics

5.2.1 Prefixes for things

For Sino-Japanese nouns, the prefix *go-* is used to add politeness. For native nouns, the prefix *o-* is used instead. Some everyday Sino-Japanese nouns receive the *o-* prefix as well. TODO: how to write in kanji?

5.2.2 Suffixes for people

It should be noted the honorifics suffixes can be applied to so-called personal pronouns: (TODO: ref)

5.2.2.1 *San*

This is the most neutral title. It can be used in most situations: to address men or women, to address

5.2.2.2 *Sama*

Sama (様, さま) is used to address someone of higher status: customers, judges, religious authorities, even deity. It also appears frequently in formal writing, but may be too polite for an ordinary conversation.

5.2.2.3 *Kun*

The title *kun* (君, くん) has two meanings when used to address a male or a female. It can be used for boys and men that are younger than yourself or at the same age as you, especially when you two have a close relation. For example, in workplace it's usually used by a senior member to address a relatively junior member who he or she has kind of personal relation (otherwise it may be considered rude); it's also used by males or females to address a male they have already known for quite a while, and/or have emotional attachment; in the Legislature it's used to address members.

When used for females, *kun* is a more respectful (and much less frequent) version of *chan*, with the meaning of childlike cuteness kept: the female addressed is, for example, sweet and kind, so people use *kun* to imply respectful endearment. It's still not a formal title.

5.2.2.4 *Chan*

Chan is an informal title used for an endearing sense. It can be used for young children, close friends or lovers, family members, and adorable animals as well. It's sometimes used to address a young woman who is no longer a "child" – just like the generalized meaning of *girl* in English.

5.2.2.5 *Sensei*

Sensei (先生, せん せい) is a title used for people mastering a skill well, especially people who would instruct others concerning that skill: teachers, doctors, lawyers, well recognized artists, politicians, the head of a martial art training center, etc.

When the focus is "high academic achievement", *hakase* is a better choice.

5.2.2.6 *Hakase*

Hakase (博士, はかせ), as its kanji version directly reflects, means 'Ph.D.'

5.3 Collective markers

Though Japanese lacks the category of number, there exist several collective markers.

Chapter 6

Particles in noun phrases

There are several systems of particles after NPs: case particles 格助詞 (§ 6.1), and adverbial particles 副助詞 (§ 6.2 – the name is actually misleading, see the relevant section).

Theoretical aspect 6.1: List of particles as a lookup table

Following the example of Jacques (2021), I organize all NP-final particles into one chapter for quick lookup of the distributions of case, adverbial types, etc., that is, their grammatical relations with the rest of the clause.

The systems are not completely compatible (§ 6.3). For example, a well known generalization is structural case markers – the nominative *ga* and the accusative *o* – are erased when NPs are topicalized, while inherent case markers may be kept.

6.1 Case particles

Here is a list of case particles:

- Nominative: *ga*, appearing in certain circumstances as the focus marker (§ 10.1).
- Accusative: *o*
- Dative: *ni*: time and location
- Genitive: *no*
- Lative: *e*, used for destination direction (like in "to some place")
- Ablative: *kara*, used for source direction (like in "from some place")
- Instrumental/Locative: *de*

6.1.1 The accusative case *o*

6.1.1.1 The object

The accusative case is usually used to mark the object. Note, however, that the semantically O argument may also be marked by *ga* and promoted to the initial of the clause, and thus there is no syntactic object in the clause (§ 10.1.3).

6.1.1.2 The path

The path argument ('walk through/along/in ...') is marked as accusative.

6.1.2 The possessive marker *no*

6.2 Adverbial particles, or miscellaneous

The so-called adverbial particle class is a catch-all class for all particles appearing in the NP but hard to classify. They don't necessarily appear on peripheral arguments: *dake*, for example, can appear on an object (§ 6.2.1), and *hodo* can appear on a copular complement.

6.2.1 *Dake*

6.2.2 *Hodo*

6.2.2.1 Approximation

The particle *hodo* may be attached to a countable NP, and takes the reading of *about*. The NP may be a copular complement:

- (1) 1000円ほどです

Sen en hodo desu
1000 yen HODO COP.POL-PRES

‘(It) is about 1,000 yen.’

6.3 Compatibility

Chapter 7

The structure of noun phrases

Chapter 8

The verbal complex

Theoretical aspect 8.1: The notion of verbal complex

In this note I use the term *verbal complex* to denote the BLT verb phrase, i.e. what fills the BLT predicate slot, i.e. the realization of the verbal functional hierarchy – from *vP* to CP. Periphrastic conjugation – things similar to the English *is doing my project* – is also included as a part of the verbal complex.

8.1 Introduction

8.1.1 Typological information

Japanese verbal complexes are headed by verbs or adjectives. A verbal complex headed by an adjective is more limited in the suffix chain (TODO: ref; see below for the meaning of the term *suffix chain*).

Japanese is typologically agglutinative: the morphemes in the verbal complex have relatively clear boundaries, each morpheme representing a grammatical category. Still, there are two important factors in Japanese that deviate away from the perfect agglutinative prototype. The first is there is still some degree of fusion, in which historically analyzable morphemes arguably already form a single fused morpheme (§ 8.6, TODO). The second is most components in the verbal complex – both the lexical head and most functional morphemes – either have *internal* morphology or alter the form of suffixes following them, depending on how you analyze it (Box 8.2). This note follows the well-accepted analysis using the notion of base forms (§ 8.2), though the same phenomenon receives a different (and internal morphology-less) analysis in traditional Korean grammars (Box 8.2).

As is said before, Japanese is strongly modifier-first, and hence productive inflectional morphemes in the verbal complex are predominantly after the main verb, creating the so-called suffix chain (§ 8.3.1); there are also periphrastic conjugations, created by auxiliary verbs following the main verb (§ 8.3.3). Prefixes are highly limited – they are mainly used in derivations and honorifics, the latter being “derivational” to some extent (§ 8.3.2). Some people recognize particles of complement clauses as prefixes of the verbal complex (TODO: ref); I reject this notion in the note.

The head-final feature also means the differences between suffix and auxiliary verbs are somehow vague. Following the standard in the studies of Japanese in the English speaking world, I use the term *auxiliary* to cover both pure inflectional suffixes and auxiliary verbs: the latter may be seen as head verbs or parts of periphrastic conjugation forms depending on their stage of grammaticalization. In either way they appear after the main verb because they are “heads” in the sense of “head-final” typological parameter of Japanese (Box 2.2). § 8.1.2 justifies this distinction.

Theoretical aspect 8.2: About internal morphology of conjugation suffixes

Note that since they are both spellout of functional heads, the fact that auxiliary verbs and suffixes have almost no differences shouldn't surprise anyone. The real problem is the inner morphology of them obviously has no correspondence in the syntactic tree. It's therefore a morphophonological phenomenon, not a morphosyntactic one. This is a mismatch between syntax and phonetic forms, and it's usually analyzed as a result of morphophonological readjustments. The English *have been being assaulted* would be generated by the following vocabulary insertion

[have-en]_{PRES, PERF} [be-ing]_{PROG} [be-en]_{PASS} assault

plus phonetic readjustment rules of “affix lowering”. The same can happen in Japanese, in an exactly the same manner, except now higher functional heads are on the right and the affix like *-ing* or *-en* which is responsible for the inner structure of auxiliaries is now passed from right to left. This makes things even easier, because now the end of each conjugation suffix is directly connected to the “affix” of the higher position conjugation suffix. Indeed, this seems to be the origin of the so-called irrealis form, which is completely unmotivated semantically (§ 8.2.2.1).

Some grammars *do* account for certain constructions in this way. For example, 顾明耀 (2004, pp. 54) analyzes the progressive verb-*te iru* construction (§ 8.8.2) as verb-*teiru*. That is, he recognizes the suffix *te* – usually analyzed as morphologically the same as the *-te* in the non-finite *te*-form (§ 8.7.2), though with a different syntactical status – as a part of the auxiliary *iru*. We may say this is somehow the “correct” analysis, since the *-te iru* is a periphrastic construction and both *-te* and *iru* arise from the *same* functional head in the syntactic derivational tree, just like *be* and *-ing*. But Gu doesn't take one step forward: he – and virtually all Japanese grammarians – doesn't realize we can even go further and analyze the *-te iru* construction as verb stem plus continuative ending plus *-te* plus *iru*, the latter three being analyzed as one unit in the deep syntactical representation. The tradition of Korean grammar, however, does take one step forward and doesn't play with internal morphology of suffixes and stems. What a Japanese grammarian regards as the vowel ending of an internal morphological form of a suffix will be regarded by a Korean grammarian as the starting vowel of the next suffix.

There is another way to analyze English auxiliaries. For English *have been being done*, we may posit the following rules. The auxiliary verb *being* is the default spellout of the progressive aspect: if *-ing* is close to a verb stem, then it goes after that verb stem, but in *being done*, the verb stem has already been incorporated into *done*, so *-ing* is spelt out as *being*. Similarly we have *been*, which is the default spellout of the so-called *Asp_{en}* head (Ramchand and Svenonius, 2014). Thus, the “stems” of auxiliary verbs in the English verb phrase are actually inserted later as a last resort. This works for English, but not for Japanese without necessary amendments: now it's the “stems” of auxiliaries that contains grammatical information, and now the continuative ending *-i* is inserted as a last resort, if we deem the “stem” of an auxiliary can't appear in the final output.

The two analyses have their own pros and cons. For the analysis of the continuative form – which literally appears almost all of the case before a pure conjugation suffix (i.e. “auxiliary verb” in the School Grammar) – the best approach is of course to say it comes from the last resort insertion, somehow as the default form. For the so-called irrealis form, the morphophonological readjustment is of course the best analysis. The rest of the forms are also to be discussed case by case (§ 8.2.2).

For a surface-oriented phenomenological analysis, we may say things like “an auxiliary selects a continuative form or a *te*-form”, and we may also say “an auxiliary actually has a separable part *i* that moves to the component before it”, and we may also say “an auxiliary triggers insertion of a vowel before it”. The first wording is the most phenomenological, and the second and the third correspond to the above two approaches. For a more precise discussion on the first approach, see Box 8.4.

8.1.2 The auxiliary verb/suffix distinction

The distinction between inflectional suffixes and auxiliary verbs – or in other words, the distinction between canonical and periphrastic conjugations – is subtle: they are both after the lexical word, intervening between them and the lexical word is disallowed, they have similar internal morphology, etc. The main criterion used to motivate a distinction between the two seems to be that the latter have lexical uses, while the former don’t. This may be the reason that the School Grammar directly calls them directly as “verbs” (§ 8.11.1). That being said, a suffix-auxiliary verb distinction – essentially a morphological v.s. periphrastic distinction – can still be observed, based on comparison between one-clause constructions and clause combining constructions: what is obviously the first while still having a form resembling the latter is considered periphrastic.

Take the marking of aspect as an example: the plain aspect is marked by nothing, and with in indicative mood (§ 8.6.1) and the plain aspect, the auxiliaries (we are not sure about their nature yet, so let’s use the vague name *auxiliary*) are added in a templatic manner, shown in Fig. 8.1(a) (§ 8.3.1). In a complement clause construction taking a *te*-form (§ 8.7.2), visualized as Fig. 8.1(b), things are different: now the verbal complex of the complement clause ends in *te*, and the main verb of the matrix clause has its own list of auxiliaries with the same rigid order. Now consider the progressive aspect (§ 8.8.2): in the progressive aspect, the templatic chain of auxiliaries after the main verb ends with *te*, and then comes the *iru* (TODO: ref), followed by its own chain of auxiliaries which marks the tense, polarity and politeness. Its form is close to Fig. 8.1(b), though we know the *-te i-* segment is actually the spellout of the progressive aspect head (see Box 8.2 again). Thus, we say the progressive aspect is marked by periphrastic conjugation while the plain aspect is not, and we say in the auxiliary chain found in Fig. 8.1(a-c) is made by suffixes: there is a template of the chain, each slot of which holds one suffix, while the main verb-like ??? position in Fig. 8.1(c) is filled by an auxiliary verb. In Fig. 8.1(b), there are two verbal complexes: one is in the subordinated clause, and the other is in the matrix clause. In Fig. 8.1(c) there is only one verbal complex, but there are two suffix chains.

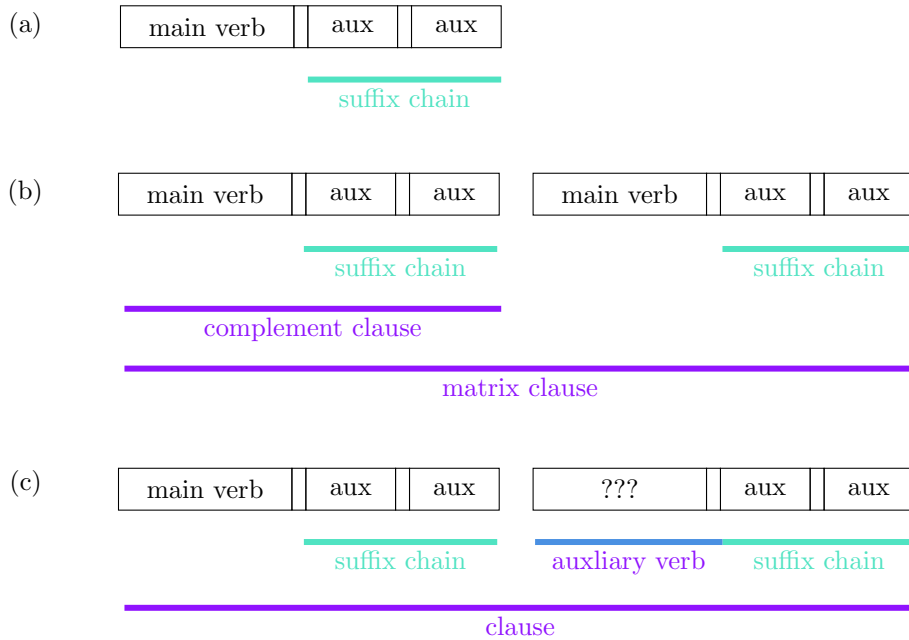


Figure 8.1: Several schemes of verbal complexes (the spaces between elements indicate internal morphology). (a) Templatic morphology (b) Complement clause (c) Periphrastic conjugation

Still, one may say the position of the auxiliary verb is also relatively rigid and therefore the auxiliary verb is also in the template of suffix chain, though some late morphophonological processes somehow “break” the chain. That’s correct: after all, auxiliaries are realizations of the verbal functional hierarchy. So probably the notion of auxiliary verb/suffix distinction is more of historical interest (TODO: phonological word?).

8.1.3 Organization this chapter

This chapter is organized in a bottom-up manner. First I talk about the internal morphology of verbal elements in the verbal complex, that's to say, the internal morphology of verbs, adjectives and auxiliaries (§ 8.2). Then I give an overview of the whole verbal complex in § 8.3. I will talk about the suffix and prefix chains, with brief introduction of the grammatical categories marked by them (§ 8.3.1, § 8.3.2). Auxiliary verbs, like the *iru* in the progressive aspect, are *not* discussed in § 8.3.1: the latter only deals with templatic auxiliaries, i.e. suffixes. They – together with grammatical constructions containing them – are introduced in § 8.3.3.

After § 8.3 is finished, I go into the structure of the verb lexeme and discuss verbal derivations (§ 8.4).

Then I introduce the internal suffix chain in § 8.5. § 8.6 and § 8.7 are about the external suffix chain, in finite and non-finite clauses, respectively. Now the whole suffix chain is finished, and it's time to talk about the aspect, which is all realized by periphrastic conjugation (§ 8.8).

Previous researches, mainly the system of the School Grammar and the Education Grammar, often use seemingly incompatible though translatable terminologies to describe the verbal complex (§ 8.11). Knowing both grammar systems is important for Japanese learners, because (of course) dictionaries are edited by native speakers of Japanese and they use the School Grammar system to carry out their work. This note is a mixture of the two schools.

Learning note 8.3: How to conjugate a verb

First have a look at § 8.2 to , then

8.2 Internal morphology

Theoretical aspect 8.4: Terminological notes

This section analyzes the base forms in Japanese morphology. Here the term *base* has its meaning in general morphology: a construction that's ready to take affixation, and in Japanese grammar, it means an “unfinished verbal complex”. The form of a base (one of those listed in § 8.2.2) is decided by the form of its last suffix (or the verb or adjective stem itself): thus a base ending in the continuative form, i.e. a base whose last suffix is in the continuative form, is a continuative base, and if for one suffix, the previous suffix is always in the continuative form, I say “the suffix is to be attached to a continuative base”. And when I say “attaching something to a continuative base”, what I mean is not restricted to attaching something to the continuative form of a verb stem or an adjective stem – I also mean to attach something to an existing suffix chain whose last suffix ends in the continuative form. Note that the agglutinative nature of Japanese means there is actually no such thing as “*the* continuative base” of a verb: there are several bases of the verb that takes the continuative *form*, and they therefore are *all* continuative bases. When talking about *the* continuative base of a verb, common textbooks are usually talking about the continuative form of the verb, i.e. the continuative base without any suffixes inside. The typological difference between Japanese and, say, Latin, then, is that in the latter, suffixes don't distinguish *what kind of* base they are attached to.

8.2.1 Overview of conjugation classes

Verbal internal morphology of a verbal element or 活用 is decided by its position in the verbal complex and its conjugation class (活用形). According to whether the final sound of the stem is a vowel or consonant, regular Japanese verbs can be divided into **c-stem verbs** and **v-stem verbs**. C-stem verbs are also called 五段動詞 or **group-1 verbs**, because changing the conjugation ending means the final mora may appear in every column of the kana chart (Table 3.1), and v-stem verbs are also called 一段動詞 or **group-2 verbs**, because the last or the second but last mora is always in the same column with the last mora in the dictionary form, which is the present, positive, plain form of the verb (§ 8.6).

一段動詞 can be further divided into 上一段動詞 or *iru*-verbs or **group-2a verbs** and 下一段動詞 or *eru*-verbs or **group-2b verbs**: the final vowel of *iru*-verbs is *i*, and *-ru* is actually the conjugation ending of the terminal form, and similarly the final vowel of *eru*-verbs is *e*.

There are two important irregular verbs: *suru* ‘to do’ and *kuru* ‘to come’. Since the verb category of Japanese is closed, the two verbs are highly productive as light verbs when new verbal meanings are required. They, together with their semi-conventionalized compound with NPs, are collectively called **group-3 verbs**.

Adjectives have their own conjugation pattern (§ 8.2.6). The difference between the adjective conjugation and verb conjugations is larger than the difference between group-1 and group-2 verbs.

Japanese also has a few irregular verbs other than the group-3 verbs. TODO: more discussion

The distinction between c-stem verbs and v-stem verbs is not purely phonological synchronically: in some cases, the suffix has alternations that can’t be attributed to contemporary phonology depending on the conjugation class of the verbal element before it (§ 8.2.2.6, TODO: more). And there are verbs ending in *iru* or *eru* but are c-stem verbs. Though in most cases, the regular morphology of Japanese means you can find all forms of a verbal element from the dictionary form, we still need to know what the stem is – especially, whether it ends in a vowel or a consonant – to cover the full morphological pattern observed.

The internal morphology of each auxiliary verb also follows one of the patterns mentioned above, and this is even true for morphosyntactically inflectional suffixes: the latter are definitely suffixes by comparison with complement clause constructions (§ 8.1.2), but have the same internal morphological patterns with lexical verbs. This makes the traditional School Grammar include them into the category of “auxiliary verbs” (§ 8.11.1). It’s rather weird to talk about “stems” of inflectional suffixes, but for coherence of morphophonological description, it seems necessary use the terms *c-stem* and *v-stem* for inflectional suffixes. Some auxiliaries, like the negator *na-*, conjugate according to the paradigm of adjectives.

8.2.2 The base forms of regular verbs

In this section I list the base forms of verbal internal morphology. Not all of the base forms listed in this section are on the same plane. The terminal form (§ 8.2.2.3) is actually not a part of the internal morphology: it’s basically equivalent to the stem with a present tense marker *-(r)u*, and only appears at the end of the suffix chain, though not necessarily the end of the verbal complex (see the beginning of § 8.6.1). So is the case of the imperative form.

The irrealis form, the hypothetical form, the continuative form (§ 8.2.2.2) TODO: list are about internal morphology. However, the irrealis form, the hypothetical form, TODO: list only appear before one suffix before the end of the suffix chain. Only the continuative form appears everywhere in the suffix chain – which is also what its name implies. Also, it doesn’t mean the irrealis form, the hypothetical form, etc. never appear at the end of the *verbal complex*: we can construct a *te*-form from the euphonic form and then use it to construct a progressive construction (§ 8.8.2).

Box 8.5: Resources on the distribution of base forms

See 顾明耀 (2004, § 3.2.4) (and references in it) for a comprehensive and kana-based description of what can appear after each internal form.

8.2.2.1 The irrealis form

The **irrealis form** (未然形) can be obtained by using *-a* to the final of a c-stem, and by doing nothing to a v-stem. The irrealis form appears in some negative verbal complexes (§ 8.6) as well as in the causative and passive constructions and the combination of the two (§ 8.5.1).

This narrow and semantically unmotivated distribution means the irrealis form seems to be a result of interaction between the verb stem and suffixes with *a* as the underlying starting vowel or with a starting mora *Ca*. Relevant discussions can be found in the aforementioned sections.

Some authors, like 顾明耀 (2004, pp. 64), claim that the *-mai* construction (§ 8.6.4) acts on the irrealis form of v-stem verbs and *suru*. TODO

8.2.2.2 The continuative form

The **continuative form** is the default form for anything that conjugates and is not at the end of a suffix chain (§ 8.3.1), and hence the name. It's obtained by inserting *-i* to the end of a c-stem, and doing nothing to a v-stem. Apart from that, the continuative form is also used in nominalization and non-finite clauses (TODO: ref). The continuative form is also the historical origin of the euphonic form (§ 8.2.2.8).

8.2.2.3 The terminal form

The **terminal form** (終止形) is obtained by attaching *-u* to a v-stem and *-ru* to a c-stem. It appears clearly as a marker of the non-past tense (§ 8.6), and frequently appears at the end of the verbal complex, and hence the name; expectedly, it's also the form appearing in dictionaries, so we also call it the **dictionary form** 辞書形. The difference between the terminal forms of c-stem and v-stem verbs seems to be a result of contraction of successive consonants, in which *C-ru* becomes *Cu* in the surface form (§ 3.5.1.1).

8.2.2.4 The attributive form

The attributive form, as its name suggests, appears mainly in relative clauses (TODO: ref). Its form is exactly the same as the terminal form for regular verbs in modern Japanese, though for the copula *da* – and hence adjectival nominals – there are differences (§ 8.2.4.1, § 8.2.7).

8.2.2.5 The hypothetical form

The **hypothetical form** (仮定形) is obtained by adding *-e* to a c-stem and do nothing to a v-stem. It appears in conditional clauses (§ 8.7.3). Similar to the case in the irrealis form (§ 8.2.2.1), the hypothetical form seems to be the application of the “removing the second *r*” rule (§ 3.5.1.1).

8.2.2.6 The imperative form

The **imperative form** (命令形) only appears in a “real” (i.e. not sugarcoated) command (§ 8.6.5). It's obtained by adding *-e* to the stem of c-stem verbs, and *-ro* (or *-yo* as a written form) to v-stems. It doesn't appear very frequently in public speaking, since as you can expect, it's rather rude.

8.2.2.7 The volitional form

The **volitional form** (意志形 or 推量形) is obtained by adding *-ō* to a c-stem and *-yō* to a v-stem. It's historically the stem plus *-ya-u*, and the *y* sound is deleted after a consonant, so in the same way we say valency changing constructions apply on the irrealis form, we say the volition form was obtained by adding *-yau* to the irrealis form. Then sound changes happened, and *-au* became *-ō*. Some books call it *the second irrealis form*. It's used in the volitional mood and idiomatic constructions involving the volitional mood ending (§ 8.6.3).

8.2.2.8 The euphonic form

The **euphonic form** (音便形) is historically the continuative form when used together with any particle starting with *t-* (§ 8.6.1, § 8.7.2, § 8.7.4), but due to the phonological rule of the contraction between the final consonant of the stem and the *-t-* sound (§ 3.5.1.2), a new form is created. Note that the creation of a new form doesn't summarize the consonant contraction rules. After certain verbs, *-t-* becomes *-d-*.

8.2.2.9 The potential form

The **potential form** (可能形) is obtained by adding *-rare* to a v-stem and *-e* to a c-stem. It's Historically related to the hypothetical form, TODO: how? It's used within the suffix chain to mark the possibility of the event in question (§ 8.5.2).

8.2.3 The internal morphology of group-3 verbs

Compound verbs ending in *suru* or *kuru* conjugate exactly in the same way as *suru* and *kuru*. So to describe the morphology of group-2 verbs, we only need to know the cases for *suru* and *kuru*.

8.2.3.1 *Suru* ‘do’

The verb *suru* means ‘to do’. Its internal conjugation is shown in Table 8.1. Note that there are three irrealis forms: *sa* is used to for valency changing constructions and also appears in some idiomatic phrases, *se* is used in other set phrases (and regularly in Classical Japanese) and also appears in the negative continuative, and *shi* appears before the negative suffix *-na-* (while in Kansai dialect, *sa* is used in negation). The imperative *shiro* is the spoken form, while *seyo* is the written form.

Table 8.1: The internal conjugation of *suru*

	bases			
Irrealis	さ	し	せ	<i>sa shi se</i>
Continuative		し		<i>shi</i>
Terminal		する		<i>suru</i>
Attributive		する		<i>suru</i>
Hypothetical		すれ		<i>sure</i>
Imperative	せよ	しろ		<i>seyo shiro</i>
Volitional		しょう		<i>shiyō</i>
Euphonic		し		<i>shi</i>
Potential		できる		<i>dekiru</i>

8.2.3.2 *Kuru* ‘come’

The verb *kuru* (くる, 来る) means ‘to come’. It’s internal conjugation is shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2: The internal conjugation of *kuru*

	bases			
Irrealis	来	こ		<i>ko</i>
Continuative	来	き		<i>ki</i>
Terminal	来る	くる		<i>kuru</i>
Attributive	来る	くる		<i>kuru</i>
Hypothetical	来れ	くれ		<i>kure</i>
Imperative	来い	こい		<i>koi</i>
Volitional	来よう	こよう		<i>koyō</i>
Euphonic	来	き		<i>ki</i>
Potential	来られる	こられる		<i>korareru</i>

8.2.4 The “to be” verbs

8.2.4.1 *Da*

There is only one synchronically uncontroversial Japanese copula: the irregular *da*. It may mean identity (A *equals* B), property, state, and membership (is-a relation).

The copula is irregular in morphology. We can still define the base forms mentioned in § 8.2.2, but this doesn’t predict the full paradigm of, say, the tense-politeness-polarity complex (§ 8.6).

The base forms mentioned in § 8.2.2 for *da* is listed in Table 8.3. There is no imperative form or potential form: *da* is TODO: lexical aspect: not about an active event Some cells are obviously periphrastic: *de aru* is the continuative form plus the attributive form of *aru* (§ 8.2.4.2). TODO: the origin of *are* This paradigm is seen in the conjugation of adjectival nouns (§ 8.2.7).

Table 8.3: The internal conjugation of *da*

	bases	
Irrealis	だろ	<i>daro</i>
	では	<i>de wa</i>
Continuative	で	<i>de</i>
Terminal	だ	<i>da</i>
Attributive	である	<i>de aru</i>
	な	<i>na</i>
Hypothetical	であれ	<i>de are</i>
	なら	<i>nara</i>
Volition	だろう	<i>darō</i>
Euphonic	だっ	<i>daQ</i>

8.2.4.2 *Aru*

The agentive argument of *aru* is always inanimate: it means “something is there”, “there exists”. This verb is stative TODO: particle *ni*

8.2.4.3 *Imasu*

The verb *imasu* is the animate counterpart of *aru*.

8.2.5 Other irregular verbs

8.2.6 The internal morphology of adjectives

8.2.6.1 The terminal form

8.2.7 The internal morphology of adjectival nouns

The class of so-called adjectival nouns or *na*-adjectives is somehow between a lexical class and a class of noun-copula phrases. TODO: whether the -*na* ending in the attributive form is still in contemporary use (§ 8.2.4.1).

8.3 The structure of the verbal complex

8.3.1 The suffix chain

The suffix chain can be roughly divided into an internal part (on the left side) and an external part (on the right side). The external part is mainly about the marking of tense, polarity and politeness in finite clauses, with certain degree of fusion and strong interaction with external factors (§ 8.6). Japanese also has a rich class of non-finite constructions, in which the marking of tense and politeness is suppressed (§ 8.7). The internal part is about valency changing and marking of modality, the latter also involving certain degree of valency changing (§ 8.5).

In most cases, when an inflectional suffix is added, if the previous form ends in a consonant, an *i* is inserted after the consonant. This results in the so-called continuative form (§ 8.2.2.2). However, the valency changing suffixes *-sase-* and *-rare-* have their initial consonants removed when used together with a *v*-stem, and therefore effectively make the preceding element in the verbal complex into the irrealis form (§ 8.5.1).

The end of a suffix chain may be what is listed in § 8.6. But it’s also possible to end a suffix chain with a partial (or null) external suffix chain, and then to use it as a subordinate clause or as a part of a periphrastic conjugation (for example, a negative *te*-form contains marking for polarity but not tense and politeness, so it involves a part of § 8.6, but not all of it). In the latter cases, the suffix chain usually ends with a suffix in the continuative form (or the euphonic form), possibly followed by a particle like *te*.

8.3.2 Prefixes

Prefixes to verbs and adjectives are rare in Japanese. They are most likely to be honorifics prefixes or derivational prefixes.

8.3.3 Periphrastic conjugation

As is said in § 8.1.2, though in Japanese, due to the strong head-final tendency, it's hard to differentiate suffixes following a verb and auxiliaries following a verb, by comparing relevant constructions with complement clause constructions, we can still draw a line between ordinary conjugations and periphrastic conjugations, though this line is mainly of historical interest and bears little synchronic significance. Japanese employs lots of periphrastic conjugations. Actually, much of the agglutinative flavor of Japanese comes from periphrastic constructions, while the purely suffixal part doesn't create incredibly long verbal complexes. Most of aspectual marking (§ 8.8), the past polite negative form in the indicative paradigm (§ 8.6.1), the *darō* form (§ 8.6.2) TODO: are all periphrastic conjugations.

TODO: list of auxiliary verbs

TODO: *ni* particle at the end of verbal complex

8.4 Stem and stem derivation

8.4.1 The transitive-intransitive correspondence

TODO: verb derivation

8.4.2 The honorifics suffixes

8.5 The internal suffix chain

TODO: possible template: -sase-rare-nakaQ-u?

8.5.1 The suffixes *-rare* and *-sase-*, and the irrealis form

The passive suffix is *-rare-*, and the causative suffix is *-sase-*. When applied upon c-stem verbs, the *r* and *s* sounds are dropped (§ 3.5.1.1), so the passive of c-stem verbs as the irrealis form plus *-re-*, and similarly, the causative of c-stem verbs is the irrealis form plus *-se-*.

It's also possible to apply the passive to the causative: we get 'be made to do sth.' In this case, the suffix is the expected *-saserare-*, called the passive causative. Again, the *s* sound is dropped when used together with a c-stem verb. There is no internal morphology on *-sase-* in this case, because it's a v-stem auxiliary, but for consistency we may say the *-sase-* is in the irrealis form, because *-rare-* applies to the irrealis form of c-stem verbs and hence any v-stem verbs appearing before *-rare-* is also in the irrealis form.

8.5.2 The potential *-rare-* or *-e-*

Adding *-rare-* to c-stems and *-e-* to v-stems means the A argument has certain capacity or possibility to do something. Essentially, this is to say to use the potential form (§ 8.2.2.9).

Note that it's not acceptable to use the potential *-rare-* and the passive *-rare-* together, probably for phonological reasons: repetition sounds awkward (Kuno et al., 1978). It's fine to just use a single *-rare-* to denote "being able to be done".

8.5.3 The desiderative *-ta-*

The suffix *-ta-* has the desiderative meaning. Note that *-ta-* has adjectival internal morphology: for example, its non-past plain form is *-ta-i*.

8.5.4 The potential *-u-*

The suffix *-u-* also serves as a potential marker.

8.6 Mood, tense, polarity and politeness in finite clauses

The marking of categories of tense, politeness and polarity already shows certain signs of fusion, as can be seen in Table 8.4. It's still worthwhile to analyze its inner structure, however, because not all verbal complexes have the three categories marked together. In the *darō* form (§ 8.6.2), politeness may be marked in a separate auxiliary following the tense, polarity and politeness complex of the main verb: in this case, the former may or may not carry the “polite” feature (with a *deshō/darō* alternation), while the latter is always in the plain form instead of the polite form. In non-finite moods, like the *te*-form (§ 8.7.2), the tense marker is forbidden to appear, and the politeness marker is largely limited, but the polarity is well marked.

The above case means the tense-polarity-politeness complex heavily depends on what follows it. Thus, this section is carried out by listing the shape of the complex in different finite moods – and therefore, this section also enumerates all finite moods and their usages. The case of non-finite clauses is discussed in § 8.7.

8.6.1 The indicative paradigm

8.6.1.1 The indicative paradigms for regular verbs

In the indicative paradigm, the complex of tense, polarity and politeness, appears in a fully developed way and is the last part of the verbal complex in the indicative mood – only SFPs may follow them. But this fully developed tense, polarity and politeness marking shown below may appear in other moods, and not always at the end of the verbal complex. There is, for example, a periphrastic conjugation used in the presumptive mood, in which *darō* or *desho* is added after the tense, polarity and politeness marking (§ 8.6.2). Table 8.4 shows the indicative paradigm for regular verbs. Note again that words like “terminal base” are not restricted to bases of the head verb/adjective: it's possible to have suffixes preceding the tense-polarity-politeness complex.

Table 8.4: The tense-polarity-politeness complex for regular verbs in the indicative mood

		affirmative	negative
non-past	plain	terminal base	irrealis base plus <i>-nai</i>
	polite	continuative base plus <i>-masu</i>	continuative base plus <i>-masen</i>
past	plain	euphonic base plus <i>-ta</i> or <i>-da</i>	irrealis base plus <i>-nakatta</i>
	polite	continuative base plus <i>-mashita</i>	continuative base plus <i>-masen deshita</i>

Besides the modern forms listed in Table 8.4, the *-nai* negative non-past plain form has two more archaic and dialectal allomorphs: *-nu* and *-n*. The latter is the regular contraction of the former. The two markers are all attached to an irrealis base. Using the two negators are considered somehow informal, but *-n* is used at the end of the *-masen* form, and the latter is considered formal.

It should be noted that Table 8.4 is not the whole story of the external structure of the indicative verbal complex. In the table we only find two politeness degrees: the plain form and the polite form. However, there exist a large number of periphrastic honorifics forms (§ 8.10) to convey higher degree of politeness. And although only tense is shown in the paradigm, Japanese does have periphrastic constructions for aspect (§ 8.8).

Some comments should be made regarding the inner structure of each cell of the paradigm. It's easy to find the negative polite past form is a periphrastic one, made by adding *deshita*, the past polite form of the copula *da* (§ 8.2.4.1). The past polite affirmative ending *-mashita* can be decomposed into *-[mas-i]-ta*, where *-ta* is the past tense marker, which, as we see in Table 8.4, is added to the euphonic form i.e. the continuative form when the stem ends in *-s*. Comparing this with *-masu*, we find *-mas-* is a c-stem auxiliary, and *-masu* can be composed into *-mas-u*, which is the terminal form of *-mas-*. By comparing *-nai* and *-nakatta*, we find a negator *-na-* with adjectival internal morphology (§ 8.2.6), so *-nai* is *-na-i* and *-nakatta* is *-nakaQ-ta*. In the ending *-masen*, the final *-n* is the contracted version of *-nu* discussed above, while the *-mase-* part is the contraction of the earlier *mawirase-* ‘to do, to offer’. We may say *-mase-* is the irrealis

form of *masu*, because historically it was so, and synchronically, in other cases *-n* is attached to an irrealis base.

Thus, the endings mentioned in Table 8.4 can be glossed better as Fig. 8.2.

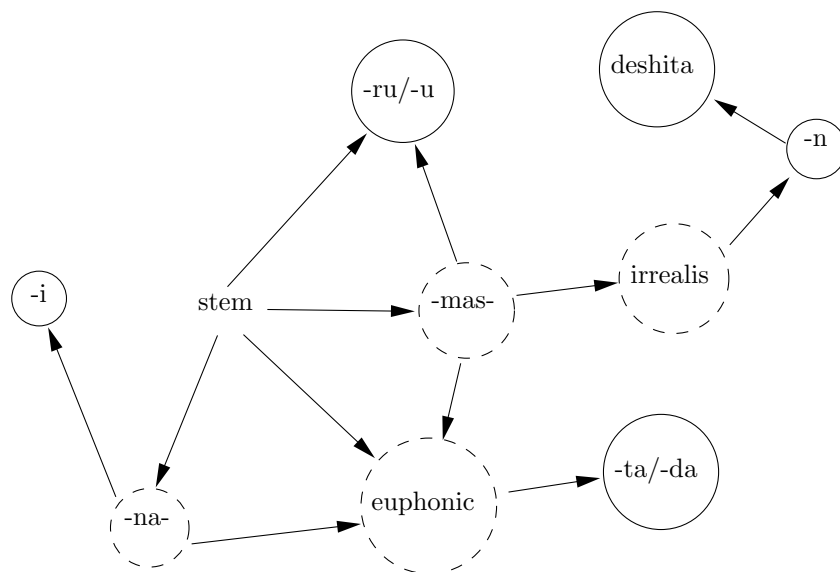


Figure 8.2: The inner structure of the tense-polarity-politeness complex, where dotted circles correspond to “unfinished” forms

8.6.1.2 The indicative paradigm for adjectives

8.6.2 The *darō* (*deshō*) presumptive mood

There are several moods that may be called presumptive in Japanese. The *darō* form is a presumptive construction. It’s obtained by attaching *darō* (the volition form of *da* in Table 8.3) or *deshō* (TODO: origin) to the end of a plain form tense-polarity-politeness complex, the latter carrying the tense and the polarity categories, but not politeness. The *darō* form is the plain form while the *deshō* form is the polite form.

8.6.3 The *-ō* (*-mashō*) volitional mood

The *-ō* form (and its polite version, the *-mashō* form) may be seen as another presumptive mood beside the *darō* form (§ 8.6.2), and here to connect it with the volitional form (§ 8.2.2.7), we call it the volition mood. The volition mood is always in the non-past tense, but it’s able to serve as the mood of a complete *sentence* – not just an embedded clause – so I still regard it as a finite mood.

The *-ō* form is obtained by attaching *-ō* to a c-stem and *-yō* to a v-stem. So basically, it’s just the volitional form. The *-mashō* form is obtained by attaching *-mashō* to a continuative form.

8.6.3.1 As a suggestion

The *-ō* form may be used as a suggestion: ‘let’s ...’; to be polite, the *-mashō* form is actually used more frequently. This usage is still somehow abrupt and is used mostly by men (Akiyama and Akiyama, 2012, pp. 112).

8.6.3.2 As a guess

It’s also possible to use the *-ō* form as a guess of someone else’s future action.

TODO: 慣用型 <https://zhuanlan.zhihu.com/p/35089043>

8.6.4 The *-mai* negative volitional mood

The suffix *-mai* is used as the negative version of the volitional mood: “something should never be done”. For v-stems, *-mai* is added directly; for c-stems, *-umai* is attached instead. People may say *-mai* is attached to the terminal form of c-stems and the irrealis form of v-stems, though the latter statement is meaningless because we can say it’s the continuative form as well.

This mood is largely replaced by the negative *darō* form (§ 8.6.2).

8.6.5 The imperative mood

8.7 Non-finite forms and norminalization

Japanese has a strong tendency to use non-finite clauses, i.e. clauses that are somehow “deficient” in the marking of certain grammatical categories when it comes to embedding. TODO: basically they are all 接続助詞 forms

8.7.1 The continuative form as the so-called infinitive

After a zero derivation, a verbal complex with its last suffix ending in the continuative form becomes a non-finite one.

The negative marker *-zu*; the particle *ni* of purpose – where should I place it?

8.7.2 The *te*-form or the so-called gerund

The *te*-form is an euphonic base plus the particle *-te*, or in a more traditional account, a continuative base plus *-te* plus *onbin* rules (§ 3.5.1.2). It’s sometimes called the gerund, though the name is kind of misleading, because the term *gerund* hints at the possibility of a non-finite clause to fill argument positions, while *te*-form is usually used to fill *adverbial* positions. It’s called the gerund because it is used to form the periphrastic progressive aspect in a way resembling the English *be doing* progressive.

8.7.3 The *-ba* conditional mood

Attaching *-eba* to a c-stem and *-reba* to a v-stem and we get the *-ba* conditional mood. In other words, attaching *-ba* to the hypothetical form of a c-stem (§ 8.2.2.5) and *-reba* to the hypothetical form of a v-stem, and we get the *-ba* conditional mood. This alternation of the form of the conditional mood marker seems to be yet another example of the “no second *r*” rule (§ 3.5.1.1), and therefore we can analyze the deep form of the conditional mood marker involved in the *-ba* construction as *-reba*, in which the *r* sound is thrown away when the suffix is added to a c-stem. This is also the likely origin of the hypothetical form: since *r* is lost for c-stems, effectively, attaching *-reba* to a c-stem means to add *-e* to the end of the stem and then attach *-ba*.

8.7.4 The *-tara* conditional mood

8.7.5 The *-nara* conditional mood

8.7.6 The *-to* conditional mood

8.8 Aspects

8.8.1 The lexical aspect

<https://www.japanesewithanime.com/2020/08/lexical-aspect.html>

Verbs with different lexical aspect yield different meanings when placed in seemingly similar constructions. In Japanese, there are roughly four kind of verbs with regard to lexical aspects: continuous verbs, momentary verbs, stative verbs and adjectival or “type-4” verbs. Stative verbs never appear in the *-te iru* construction (§ 8.8.2), while adjectival verbs never appear not being in the construction. And there are differences in the meaning of the *-te iru* construction between

the continuous verbs and momentary verbs. This four-fold classification is robust with several tests (顾明耀, 2004, § 3.1), shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5: The four lexical aspects and their distributions and semantics

	event		stative	state
	continuous	momentary		adjectival
<i>-te iru</i>	imperfective	perfect	-	(always in this construction)
imperative	+		-	-

8.8.2 The *-te iru* construction

8.9 The benefactive constructions

The giving and receiving verbs in Japanese (§ 9.3) have developed a grammaticalized use of benefactive constructions, i.e. ‘someone does something for someone else’ or ‘someone is done a favor by someone else by doing something’.

TODO: 授受关系

8.10 Periphrastic honorifics

When the polite forms of the verb (§ 8.6) is not sufficient to express one’s respect, certain periphrastic honorifics constructions are used.

8.11 Notes about previous studies

8.11.1 The School Grammar and “auxiliary verbs”

Here is a little terminological confusion: in the School Grammar inflectional suffixes, sometimes also auxiliary verbs, are called 助動詞 ‘auxiliary verb’, while auxiliary verbs are called 補助動詞 ‘helping verbs’. The confusion of the two is easily understood, because both of them appear after the main verb and are attached closely to the main verb and have internal morphology (§ 8.2.1). The fact that the accepted writing system for Japanese doesn’t distinguish words (§ 3.6.6) – whatever this term means – also contributes to native speakers’ decision to call suffixes (and sometimes auxiliary verbs) “auxiliary verbs”, and then they have to invent another name for more prototypical auxiliary verbs.

§ 8.2.2 is written in a School Grammar view. The difference between § 8.2.2 and traditional School Grammar is the euphonic form is included, while traditional School Grammar rejects its status as a single form and use phonological rules to cover it (TODO: ref). Though this is also an acceptable analysis, I find it inconvenient practically and problematic theoretically: other “forms” of verbal internal morphology also seem to be derivable from regular morphophonological rules, and rejecting one of them is equivalent to rejecting all of them, if we are to be very self-consistent. So I include this form anyway.

8.11.2 The Education Grammar

The sections after § 8.2 are written in the spirit of the Education Grammar. So-called “forms” in the Education Grammar are actually *processes*. Thus, the theory of verb conjugation in the Education Grammar is actually a mixture of the Item-and-Process approach and the Word-and-Paradigm approach. The definition of each form is “removing the final kana of ... and attaching ... to its end” (for example, instead of saying “the *te*-form is traditionally built by the continuative form plus *te*”, an Education Grammar book may use the following formulation: “the *te*-form is obtained by removing *-masu* from the end of the verb and then add *-te*”), which can be seen as a rule relating two cells in the conjugation paradigm. The difference between the standard Word-and-Paradigm approach and the Education Grammar is the so-called “forms” can be applied for more than once: we may talk about “the *x* form of the *y* form of *z*” and not

just “the y form of z ”, so this is a typical Item-and-Process description. By doing so, the School Grammar avoids the notion of internal morphology for each element in the verbal complex. The price is advanced learners have to spend much more time to memorize the rules of all the different forms – essentially internal conjugation of the last element plus one or more auxiliaries attached, and the internal morphology ending may also be seen as a part of the auxiliaries (Box 8.2).

Chapter 9

Arguments of verbs

- 9.1 ‘I hit the wall ...’: prototypical transitive and intransitive verbs
- 9.2 ‘I think, I feel’:
- 9.3 Giving and receiving

Chapter 10

Clausal constituent order and information packaging

10.1 Topic and subject

The difference between the so-called topic marker *wa* and the subject marker *ga* is a long problem in Japanese grammar. This section provides a tentative summary of the function of each.

10.1.1 The function of *wa*

The meaning of NP-*wa* can be summarized as ‘as for NP, I know ... (the rest I’m not talking about)’. Thus *wa* is a canonical marker of topic, and the NP it’s attached to must be somehow a “known object”.

When two clauses containing *wa* are conjoined together, we get the meaning of ‘as for ..., I know ...; (but) as for ..., ...’, and this naturally has a contrastive meaning, as in (TODO). Note that though it’s possible that the *wa*-NPs in the two clauses are different, because the above construction is contrasting two clauses, not two NPs.

- (1) TODO: example of contrastive

10.1.2 The function of nominative *ga*, with or without *wa*

10.1.3 Multiple *ga*

10.1.4 Summary of constructions

10.2 Scrambling

10.3 Sentence final particles

SFPs are useful in oral communication.

Box 10.1: Resources on SFPs

This section is based on [Akiyama and Akiyama \(2012, § 6.4\)](#).

10.3.1 *Ka*

The SFP *ka* is the interrogative marker. It marks both open and closed questions. To make a question open, just introduce interrogative pro-forms.

10.3.2 *Ne*

The SFP *ne* invites the listener to confirm a claim: ‘..., don’t you think so?’ We have the following examples:

- (2) Atsui desu ne
hot NE
'It's hot, isn't it?'

10.3.3 *Yo*

The SFP *yo* is used to make a very strong assertion.

Chapter 11

Subordination and coordination

As is often the case, there are fewer information packaging devices in subordinated clauses. TODO: topicalization,

Theoretical aspect 11.1: Matrix clauses and subordinated clauses

From a generative perspective, both a matrix clause (which is actually a sentence in the sense of BLT, though it can still be embedded as an argument of a verb like ‘say’) and a subordinated clause are CPs. The structural differences between the two are mainly about the lack of certain functional projections in the subordinated clause. Speaking of so-called Force projection(s), the subordinated clause usually only contains the marking of imperative, declarative, etc., without specification of detailed speech act, which may be marked by SFPs in Japanese (and Chinese). Since topicalization is also a CP process, we can expect it’s more restricted in subordinated clauses.

11.1 Adverbial clauses

11.1.1 Conditional clauses

11.2 Clauses linked by particles

TODO: Compatibility with SFPs This section is a more annotated version of [Akiyama and Akiyama \(2012, § 6.3\)](#).

11.2.1 *Ga*

11.2.1.1 The concessive construction

The particle *ga* may be attached to the end of a clause and has the reading of ‘despite the circumstance’.

A conventionalized construction in oral speech is to avoid the main clause and end the utterance with *ga*. In this way, it’s a marginal SFP.

- (1) Ikitakatta desu ga ...

11.2.1.2 Neutral linking

We can also just use *ga* as ‘and’.

11.2.2 *Kara*

11.2.2.1 The causal construction

Bibliography

- Nobuo Akiyama and Carol Akiyama. *Japanese grammar*. Simon and Schuster, 2012.
- Dianne Friesen. *A grammar of Moloko*. Number 3 in African Language Grammars and Dictionaries. Language Science Press, Berlin, 2017. doi: 10.5281/zenodo.824016.
- Nadine Grimm. *A grammar of Gyeli*. Number 2 in Comprehensive Grammar Library. Language Science Press, Berlin, 2021. doi: 10.5281/zenodo.4737370.
- Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. doi: 10.1017/9781316423530.
- Guillaume Jacques. *A grammar of Japhug*, volume 1. Language Science Press, 2021.
- Richard S Kayne. Antisymmetry and japanese. *English Linguistics*, 20(1):1–40, 2003.
- Susumu Kuno et al. Japanese: A characteristic of language. *Syntactic typology*, pages 57–138, 1978.
- Gillian Ramchand and Peter Svenonius. Deriving the functional hierarchy. *Language Sciences*, 46:152–174, 2014. ISSN 0388-0001. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2014.06.013>. URL <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0388000114000540>. New Directions in Universal Grammar.
- Natsuko Tsujimura. *An introduction to Japanese linguistics*. John Wiley & Sons, 2013.
- Michio Tsutsui and Seichi Makino. *A dictionary of basic Japanese grammar*. Japan Times, 1989.
- 顾明耀. 标准日语语法. 修订版高等教育出版社, 2004.