

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS**  
***AR-U AND I-RU* IN JAPANESE**

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Japanese

Massey University, Palmerston North  
New Zealand

Masami Murata

2003



**SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION**

This is to certify that the research carried out for the Doctoral thesis entitled "SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE" was done by Masami Murata in the School of Language Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. The thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification, and I confirm that the candidate has pursued the course of study in accordance with the requirements of the Massey University regulations.

Supervisor's Name: Professor Kiyoharu Ono

Signature: 

Date: 12/8/03



**Massey University**

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES



School of Language Studies

Private Bag 11 222,

Palmerston North,

New Zealand

Telephone: 64 6 356 9099

Facsimile: 64 6 350 2271

### CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

This is to certify that the research carried out for my Doctoral thesis entitled "SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE" in the School of Language Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand is my own work and that the thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification.

Candidate's Name: Masami Murata

Signature: 村田昌巴

Date: 12 August 2003



**CERTIFICATE OF REGULATORY COMPLIANCE**

This is to certify that the research carried out in the Doctoral thesis entitled “SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE” in the School of Language Studies, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand:

- (a) is the original work of the candidate, except as indicated by appropriate attribution in the text and/or in the acknowledgements;
- (b) that the text, excluding appendices, does not exceed 100,000 words.

Candidate's Name: Masami Murata

Supervisor's Name: Professor Kiyoharu Ono

Signature: 村田昌巳

Signature: K. Ono

Date: 12 August 2003

Date: 12/8/03

# SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF THE EXISTENTIALS

## *AR-U* AND *I-RU* IN JAPANESE

Masami MURATA

### ABSTRACT

This thesis is a descriptive study of the Existentials *ar-u* and *i-ru* in contemporary standard Japanese. The study encompasses not only the lexical-verb usages of *ar-u* and *i-ru*, which are referred to as Lexical Existentials, or LEs, in this thesis, but also the auxiliary-verb usages, which are referred to as Grammatical Existentials, or GEs.

The reasons for undertaking the present study are: (i) the true characteristics of the Japanese Existentials have not been understood accurately in linguistic-typological studies of Existential constructions due to a paucity of purely descriptive studies on the subject published in English; (ii) although a large body of Japanese literature on the nature of both LEs and GEs now exists, it is still fragmentary and a comprehensive account has yet to be produced; (iii) most studies adhere to previously accepted concepts, such as the strict dichotomy between monovalent intransitives and bivalent (or multivalent) transitives, without questioning the validity of such concepts, and, in consequence, the explanations fail to elucidate the fundamental nature of *ar-u* and *i-ru*.

I first claim that LEs are bivalent verbs, contrary to the conventional view that they are monovalent verbs. I then demonstrate that recognition of the bivalent nature of the Japanese LE leads to a unified analysis for various LE constructions, including those which denote the existence of a possessive relation and those which anticipate the existence of a future event.

I divide GEs into two categories: verbaliser-GEs that turn nominals into verbal predicates, and stativiser-GEs that turn active verbal predicates into stative verbal predicates. I argue that the former preserve the bivalent properties inherited from the LE to a significant extent, whereas the latter do not. I also show that stativiser-GEs serve not only as aspect markers but also as quasi-evidential markers.

The significance of this research project is: (1) the provision of a new framework for analysing the LEs *ar-u* and *i-ru* in contemporary standard Japanese, based on the assumption that they are bivalent verbs; (2) the application of the same framework to an investigation of the GEs in order to shed light on the continuity between the LEs and the GEs.

*for my brother Yoichi, whose physical existence is no longer a reality,  
but whose spirit still exists within our hearts*

## Acknowledgements

Words cannot adequately express my profound appreciation to my principal supervisor Professor Kiyoharu Ono. His professional guidance, unconditional support, and enthusiastic encouragement made it possible to complete this work. His fairness, magnanimity, and positiveness have also been an inspiration for me as a human being. I have had the great fortune to study under Professor Ono's mentorship at each stage of my postgraduate studies at Massey University.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my co-supervisor Dr Fumio Kakubayashi. His rigorous scholarship and extensive knowledge as a Japanologist have been a source of inspiration for my studies, and I have greatly appreciated his consistent encouragement of my work.

My former co-supervisor, Professor Charles Randriamasimanana (Providence University, Taiwan), also deserves my thanks for the generous contribution of his time and expertise in the early stages of my study, during his time at Massey University.

I am also indebted to Professor John Newman (University of Alberta, Canada) for intellectually stimulating discussions, which deepened my understanding of cross-linguistic phenomena, during his time at Massey University.

I would also like to thank Professor Emeritus Fumio Tamamura (Doshisha University, Japan), who guided me into the world of language studies and fostered my interest in the field of Japanese linguistics, and Professor Masayoshi Shibatani (Kobe University, Japan/Rice University, USA), who has constantly given me warm encouragement and astute advice.

I also feel blessed to have made the personal acquaintances of Professor Emeritus Yoshihiko Ikegami (University of Tokyo/Showa Women's University, Japan) and Professor Satoshi Kinsui (Osaka University, Japan), who specialise in research areas that are directly related to the topic of this thesis. They kindly gave me helpful suggestions and comments on my thesis project.

My great thanks and appreciation also go to Mrs Fay Butts, who proofread all the drafts of my thesis, and gave me invaluable suggestions for improving the style of the thesis.



I am grateful to the School of Language Studies, formerly headed by Professor Emeritus Glynnis Cropp, and currently by Dr Ellen Soullière, for providing a supportive research environment and generous financial support.

Many other scholars and friends have given me the benefit of their help and advice. In particular, I would like to acknowledge the following people: Professor Hisashi Noda (Osaka Prefectural University, Japan), Professor Kenichi Mihara (Osaka University of Foreign Studies, Japan), Professor Masahiko Arai (Edogawa University, Japan), Dr Gus Habermann (Massey University), Mr David Butts (Massey University), Dr Hiroji Ishida, Mr Richard Donovan (Ritsumeikan University, Japan), Mr Takumi Tagawa (University of Tsukuba, Japan), Mr David Yoshikazu Oshima (Stanford University, USA), Mr John Hundleby, Mr Matthew Dyke, and Mr Toshiaki Yamauchi.

Although the present thesis has benefited a great deal from comments and suggestions from various people, including those whom I mentioned above, responsibility for the text (with any remaining errors) is entirely mine.

I would like to acknowledge the mental and physical support provided by my parents, parents-in-law, and other family members. Without their understanding and encouragement, I could not have continued my study in this beautiful country, Aotearoa.

Finally, I wish to express my most profound gratitude to my wife, Yoko, who has supported me in every possible way. She has put up with my emotional ups and downs, and given me strength to endure and complete this thesis. The very last words that my brother said to me before his journey of no return were, “never give up”. Without Yoko’s love and unfailing faith in me, I could not have kept this promise with my brother.

## Table of Contents

List of abbreviations .....	page	xii
Notes on Japanese examples and texts .....		xiii

### Chapter 1: Introduction

<b>1.1 Existentials in Japanese</b> .....	1
1.1.1 <i>Wago</i> existentials and hybrid existentials .....	1
1.1.2 Basic functions of Japanese existentials .....	2
<b>1.2 Studies of <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i> by the Four Great Grammarians</b> .....	10
1.2.1 Yamada grammar - Yamada (1908, 1922a, 1922b, 1936) .....	10
1.2.2 Matsushita grammar - Matsushita (1901, 1928, 1930) .....	13
1.2.3 Hashimoto grammar - Hashimoto (1934, 1935, 1937) .....	14
1.2.4 Tokieda grammar - Tokieda (1941, 1950) .....	15
1.2.5 Summary of the Four Great Grammarians' studies .....	18
<b>1.3 Research objectives and organisation of this thesis</b> .....	21
1.3.1 Research objectives .....	21
1.3.2 Organisation of this thesis .....	22

### Chapter 2: Lexical Existentials and Bivalency

<b>2.1 Three kinds of LOCATIONAL constructions</b> .....	23
<b>2.2 Intransitive and transitive constructions</b> .....	31
<b>2.3 Bivalency of <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i></b> .....	38
2.3.1 DOMAIN and ENTITY .....	38
2.3.2 Analysis of different types of LE sentences .....	39
<b>2.4 ADNOMINAL <i>aru</i></b> .....	51
<b>2.5 Differences between <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i></b> .....	56
2.5.1 Animacy restriction .....	56
2.5.2 Diachronic extension of the sphere of <i>i-ru</i> .....	61
2.5.3 Other differences between <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i> .....	63
2.5.3.1 Potential suffix .....	63
2.5.3.2 Passive suffix .....	63
2.5.3.3 Honorific suffix .....	64
2.5.3.4 Causative suffix .....	66
2.5.3.5 Imperative form .....	67
2.5.3.6 <i>Ar-u</i> as a pure LE and <i>i-ru</i> as a converted LE .....	68
<b>2.6 Summary of Chapter 2</b> .....	70

## Chapter 3: The POSSESSIVE-LE Construction

<b>3.1 Transitive analysis of POSSESSIVE-LE <i>ar-u</i></b> .....	71
3.1.1 Subjecthood of NPs .....	73
3.1.2 ‘DOMAIN <i>ni</i> ’, ‘DOMAIN <i>ni wa</i> ’, and ‘DOMAIN <i>wa</i> ’ .....	80
3.1.3 Animacy of the DOMAIN argument .....	89
3.1.4 Animacy of the ENTITY argument .....	90
3.1.5 The Absolute-Existential sentence .....	92
<b>3.2 Non-transitive analysis of the LE construction</b> .....	96
3.2.1 Double-subject analysis of the LE construction .....	96
3.2.2 The double-DOMAIN construction .....	100
<b>3.3 DATIVE case and LOCATIVE case</b> .....	106
<b>3.4 Contiguity Theory</b> .....	115
<b>3.5 DOMAINS and ENTITIES that typically produce a POSSESSIVE interpretation</b> ..	119
3.5.1 Prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences .....	119
3.5.2 Non-prototypical POSSESSIVE-LE sentences .....	123
<b>3.6 Japanese POSSESSIVE-LE constructions in linguistic-typological studies</b> .....	130
<b>3.7 Summary of Chapter 3</b> .....	139

## Chapter 4: The EVENT-LE Construction

<b>4.1 LE <i>ar-u</i> as a PROCESS predicate</b> .....	141
4.1.1 The concept of <i>KOTO</i> .....	144
4.1.2 ENTITY NPs with a [+ <i>KOTO</i> ] feature .....	146
4.1.3 Marginal nouns .....	149
<b>4.2 Monovalent use of the EVENT-LE</b> .....	153
<b>4.3 Assimilation of STATIVE-LE sentences and EVENT-LE sentences</b> .....	162
<b>4.4 Summary of Chapter 4</b> .....	166

## Chapter 5: The VERBALISER-GE Construction

<b>5.1 The <i>de ar-u</i> construction</b> .....	168
5.1.1 Identity of <i>de</i> in [NP <i>de ar-u</i> ] .....	170
5.1.2 Auxiliary Analysis and Particle Analysis .....	174
<b>5.2 Bivalency of the VERBALISER-GE construction</b> .....	180
<b>5.3 The <i>Eel</i>-sentence</b> .....	187
5.3.1 The <i>Eel</i> -sentence controversy .....	187
5.3.2 The <i>Eel</i> -sentence and Contiguity Theory .....	189
<b>5.4 Monovalent use of the VERBALISER-GE</b> .....	198
<b>5.5 The [quantifier + <i>ar-u</i>] construction</b> .....	202
5.5.1 Non-genuine NP arguments .....	202
5.5.2 Number and size .....	204
5.5.3 The covert argument in the <i>Persimmon</i> -sentence .....	206
<b>5.6 The <i>de i-ru</i> construction</b> .....	214
<b>5.7 Summary of Chapter 5</b> .....	225

## Chapter 6: The STATIVISER-GE Construction

<b>6.1</b>	<b>STATIVISER and ASPECTUALISER</b>	227
<b>6.2</b>	<b>The STATIVISER-GE and aspectual meaning</b>	230
6.2.1	Aspectual meanings of <i>V-te i-ru</i>	230
6.2.2	Aspectual meanings of <i>V-te ar-u</i>	238
<b>6.3</b>	<b>The [STATE verb + GE] construction</b>	247
6.3.1	STATE verbs in Japanese	247
6.3.2	<i>Mie-ru</i>	252
<b>6.4</b>	<b>The [PSYCHOLOGICAL verb + GE] construction</b>	258
6.4.1	First-person subjects and third-person subjects	258
6.4.2	<i>Omo-u</i>	260
6.4.2.1	Nakau (1979) and Shirai (2000)	260
6.4.2.2	The concept of <i>witness status</i>	264
6.4.3	The [+at-the-scene] feature and <i>witness status</i>	277
6.4.4	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> and <i>witness status</i>	281
<b>6.5</b>	<b>The STATIVISER-GE construction and bivalency</b>	284
6.5.1	The STATIVISER-GE and the VERBALISER-GE	284
6.5.2	<i>V-te ar-u</i> and valency	287
6.5.2.1	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> and LE <i>ar-u</i>	287
6.5.2.2	Type-P <sub>1</sub> <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	288
6.5.2.3	Type-P <sub>2</sub> <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	296
6.5.2.4	Type-P <sub>3</sub> <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	299
6.5.2.5	Type-A <sub>1</sub> <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	304
6.5.2.6	Type-A <sub>2</sub> <i>V-te ar-u</i> construction	307
6.5.2.7	STATIVISER-GE <i>ar-u</i> and valency	312
6.5.3	<i>V-te i-ru</i> and valency	313
6.5.3.1	STATIVISER-GE <i>i-ru</i> and LE <i>i-ru</i>	313
6.5.3.2	Intermediate usage of <i>i-ru</i>	314
6.5.3.3	Typical STATIVISER usage of <i>i-ru</i>	317
6.5.3.4	Location and state	319
<b>6.6</b>	<b>Summary of Chapter 6</b>	324

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1	'Existential verbs' as a subcategory of 'verbs'	325
7.2	Incompleteness of the [subject + <i>ar-u/i-ru</i> ] construction	326
7.3	The copula and the copular sentence	326
7.4	Evidentiality	327
7.5	Extension of the sphere of <i>i-ru</i>	327
7.6	<i>Content</i> -displaying and <i>relation</i> -forming	328
7.7	Abstractness of lexical meaning and grammatical multi-functionality	329
7.8	Final remarks	331

<b>Appendices</b>	332
<b>Appendix 1</b> About the Original Corpus	332
<b>Appendix 2</b> Statistical data on usages of <i>ar-u</i> and <i>i-ru</i> in the Original Corpus	338
<b>Bibliography</b>	343

## List of Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	N	noun
ADJ	adjective	NEG	negative
ADV	adverbial	NOM	nominative
AUX	auxiliary	NOMI	nominaliser
CAUS	causative	NP	nominal phrase
CLS	classifier	NPST	non-past
COND	conditional	PASS	passive
CONJ	conjunctive	PL	plural
COP	copula	PNM	prenominal
DAT	dative	POL	polite
EMPH	emphatic	POTEN	potential
FP	final particle	PST	past
GE	grammatical existential	Q	question/interrogative
GEN	genitive	QT	quantifier
GER	gerundive	QTV	quotative
HONO	honorific	S	subject
IMP	imperative	SFE	sentence-final expression
INF	inferential	<i>s.t.</i>	something
INTJ	interjection	TOP	topic
LE	lexical existential	V	verb
<i>lit.</i>	literally	VP	verbal phrase
LOC	locative		

## Notes on Japanese examples and texts

### A. Romanisation

The Japanese examples and grammatical terms, including the proper nouns in examples, are Romanised based on the Kunrei system, and written in italics. However, unlike the Kunrei system, the long vowels are indicated by double vowels.

examples: *Tookyoo* ‘Tokyo’, *zyodoosi* ‘auxiliary’  
*syooten* ‘shop’, *syoten* ‘bookshop/publisher’

Bibliographic information, such as names of Japanese scholars, novelists, and publishers, and titles of books and papers in Japanese, is Romanised based on the Hepburn system, and is not italicised apart from the titles of books and journals.

examples: Tokyo ‘Tokyo’, shoten ‘publisher’, Matsushita ‘Matsushita’,  
*Jodoshi no kenkyu* ‘A Study of Auxiliaries’

When citing works by other scholars in which different Romanisation systems are adopted, such systems are converted into the system outlined above.

### B. Hyphenation

The basic patterns of hyphenation used in the Japanese examples are given below, with some explanatory notes.

[Verb]

	Inflection types			
	Regular I	Regular II	Irregular (2 verbs only)	
V-nonpast	<i>mi-ru</i> ‘look’	<i>kak-u</i> ‘write’	<i>ku-ru</i> ‘come’	<i>su-ru</i> ‘do’
V-past	<i>mi-ta</i>	<i>kai-ta</i>	<i>ki-ta</i>	<i>si-ta</i>
V-gerundive / V-conjunctive	<i>mi-te</i>	<i>kai-te</i>	<i>ki-te</i>	<i>si-te</i>
V, (adverbial stop)	<i>mi,</i>	<i>kak-i,</i>	<i>ki,</i>	<i>si,</i>
V-polite suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-mas-u</i>	<i>kaki-mas-u</i>	<i>ki-mas-u</i>	<i>si-mas-u</i>
V-negative suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-na-i</i>	<i>kaka-na-i</i>	<i>ko-na-i</i>	<i>si-na-i</i>
V-passive suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-rare-ru</i>	<i>kaka-re-ru</i>	<i>ko-rare-ru</i>	<i>sa-re-ru</i>
V-potential suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-rare-ru</i>	<i>kak-e-ru</i>	<i>ko-rare-ru</i> <i>ko-re-ru</i>	∅
V-causative suffix-nonpast	<i>mi-sase-ru</i>	<i>kaka-se-ru</i>	<i>ko-sase-ru</i>	<i>sa-se-ru</i>
V-conditional suffix	<i>mi-reba</i>	<i>kake-ba</i>	<i>ku-reba</i>	<i>su-reba</i>

Note 1: Regular II verbs have roots that end with a consonant. Therefore, strictly speaking, *kaki-mas-u*, for example, should be written as *kak-i-mas-u* (root + ending + suffix + ending). However, the system above is adopted for simplification. The same rule is applied to the nominalised usage (for example, *kaki* in *o-kaki ni nar-u* ‘write’ (honorific)). However, the adverbial-stop usage (for example, *kaki* at the end of a subordinate clause) is hyphenated as *kak-i*, and the gloss ‘V-CONJ’ is given.

Note 2: Potential verbs, such as *mieru* ‘can be seen/can see’ and *kikoeru* ‘can be heard/can hear’, are hyphenated as *mie-ru* and *kikoe-ru*, rather than *mi-e-ru* and *kiko-e-ru*, since there is no synchronic evidence to suggest that the *e* in these forms is the potential suffix *e*.

[Noun + Copula/Particle/Affix]

Noun + copula / polite copula-nonpast	<i>tesuto</i> (‘test’) <i>da</i> / <i>tesuto des-u</i>
Noun + copula-past / polite copula-past	<i>tesuto dat-ta</i> / <i>tesuto desi-ta</i>
Noun + particle (locative / genitive / nominative)	<i>tesuto de</i> / <i>tesuto no</i> / <i>tesuto ga</i>
prefix + Noun	<i>go-kazoku</i> ‘(your) family’ <i>o-tya</i> ‘tea’
Noun + suffix	<i>Yamada-san</i> ‘Mr/Ms Yamada’ <i>Amerika-zin</i> ‘U.S. nationals’ <i>watasi-tati</i> ‘we’
Numeral + counter suffix	<i>san-nin</i> ‘three people’ <i>go-kai</i> ‘fifth floor’

Note 3: Copula *da* is not separated into *d* and *a*.

Note 4: Polite Copula (past) *desita* is hyphenated as *desi-ta*, not *des-i-ta*. (see Note 1)

Note 5: No hyphen is placed between a Noun and a Copula.

Note 6: No hyphen is placed between a Noun and a Particle.

Note 7: A hyphen is placed between a Noun and an affix if the noun can be used without the attached affix.

examples: *o-ko-san* ‘(your) child’, not *o-kosan* or *oko-san*  
*gohan* ‘meal’, not *go-han*.

Note 8: A hyphen is always placed between a numeral and a counter suffix.

Note 9: A hyphen is placed between a Noun and the Verb *su-ru* ‘do’, when the two together form a predicate.

examples: *benkyoo-su-ru* ‘study’, *yooi-su-ru* ‘prepare’

### [Adjective and Adjectival Noun]

	Adjective	Adjectival Noun (≤ Noun)
ADJ-nonpast (predicative)	<i>uresi-i</i> ‘happy’	( <i>sizuka da</i> ) ‘quiet’
ADJ-past (attributive / predicative)	<i>uresikat-ta</i>	( <i>sizuka dat-ta</i> )
ADJ-pronominal (attributive)	<i>uresi-i</i>	<i>sizuka-na</i>
ADJ-adverbial	<i>uresi-ku</i>	( <i>sizuka ni</i> )
ADJ-conjunctive	<i>uresi-kute</i>	( <i>sizuka de</i> )

Note 10: In this thesis the form usually labelled as a *keiyoo-doosi* ‘adjectival verb’ is regarded as the combination of an Adjectival Noun and a Copula. In the same manner as for an ordinary Noun, no hyphen is placed before and after an Adjectival Noun, except for the case in which it is used in the pronominal position, accompanied by *na* (for example, *sizuka-na*, as in the table above).

### [Adverb]

Note 11: Adverbs are sometimes accompanied by a Particle, such as *to* or *ni*. No hyphen is placed between the adverb and the particle.

examples: *yukkuri to* ‘slowly’, *karakara ni* ‘dryly’

### [Adnominal]

Note 12: Adnominals do not inflect. Therefore, no hyphen is inserted.

examples: *ookina* ‘big’, *aru* ‘a certain’

### [Sentence-Final Expression]

Note 13: There are some fixed expressions used at the end of a sentence. Their morphological structures are indicated using the hyphenation system above, if



applicable. However, the gloss SFE (Sentence-Final Expression) is given with the basic modal meaning in parentheses, and no individual gloss is given to each constituent, except for the tense-marking endings (if any).

examples: *hazudatta* → *hazu dat-ta*  
SFE (supposition)-PST  
*kamosirenai* → *ka mo sire-na-i*  
SFE (possibility)-NPST  
*daroo* → *daroo*  
SFE (conjecture)  
*monoda* → *mono da* [see Note 3]  
SFE (reminiscence)

When citing works by other scholars in which different kinds of hyphenation systems are used, such systems are converted into the system outlined above, unless it is important to keep the original hyphenation for the purpose of discussion.

### C. Sources of examples

#### (i) Examples from the ‘Original Corpus’

Examples are often cited from a corpus that contains all the sentences in 68 sources (15 drama/movie scenarios, 5 interviews or tripartite talks, 5 scientific essays, 7 novels, and 36 short stories). The corpus is referred to as the ‘Original Corpus’ in the thesis text. The criteria for selecting the materials and full bibliographic information for each source are given in Appendix 1. However, the following points should be noted.

Note 14: When an example from the Original Corpus appears for the first time in the thesis text, the source of the example is indicated at the end of the example, using the following format:

[material category/material number: page number]

examples: [SC01:42], [TK02:15]

The following abbreviations are used for the material categories:

SC drama/movie scenarios  
TK interviews or tripartite talks  
SE scientific essays  
NV novels/short stories

The material number is a number given to each publication contained in the Original Corpus. See Appendix 1 for the correspondence between the material number and each publication.

Note 15: When an example from the Original Corpus represents spoken conversation, this is indicated by double quotation marks.

Note 16: For the sake of comparison, an alternative word or phrase is sometimes added to the original example. In such a case, the following format is used.

{ A / B / C }

The word or phrase in the original is always placed in the leftmost position within the parentheses, and underlined.

(ii) Examples from works by other scholars

Examples are also cited from studies by other scholars. Bibliographic information for the source studies is provided with the examples. The Romanisation and hyphenation systems outlined above are applied to such examples. However, where double quotation marks appear in the original texts, these are left unchanged in this thesis.

(iii) Examples produced by the writer

Examples produced by the writer of this thesis are also used in the discussions. In such examples, double quotation marks are placed around typical conversation-style sentences.

Note 17: (This note is applicable to all three kinds of examples discussed above)

When glosses and/or translations are omitted in subsequent appearances of

examples, the location of their first appearance is indicated using the format [see (example number)].

#### **D. Acceptability judgement**

In the course of discussion, unacceptable examples are sometimes used. The following marks indicate unacceptability.

- \* completely unacceptable
- ?? not completely unacceptable, but very unnatural or elliptical
- ? acceptable, but slightly unnatural or elliptical

Unacceptable examples marked by \* are accompanied by glosses, but are not translated.

When citing works by other scholars in which different kinds of marking systems are used, such systems are converted into the system outlined above. For example, an example marked by ?? as an unacceptable sentence in the literature is marked by \* in this thesis.