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A Study of the *Annotative Dual-Sentence Juxtaposition* Construction in Japanese

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1. Introduction

This study investigates the Japanese construction called *chūshakuteki nibun-renchi*, which I translate as 'annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition'. This construction is little known even in the Japanese linguistics circle. Today, I'm going to describe what it is and to discuss how it can be analyzed and represented in the RRG theory of clause linkage.

A simple type of the annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition construction is exemplified by this sentence.

(1)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka,***	*ase o kaiteita.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	was.sweaing

An equivalent construction doesn't exist in English, so it's difficult to translate it structurally faithfully, but, literally, it's something like:

'Hiro, **if having a fever**, was sweating.'

The particle *ka* is the interrogative marker that typically appears at the end of interrogative sentences, for example:

(2) a. *Ame* *desu.*
rain COP

'It's raining.'

b. *Ame* *desu* *ka.*
rain COP INT

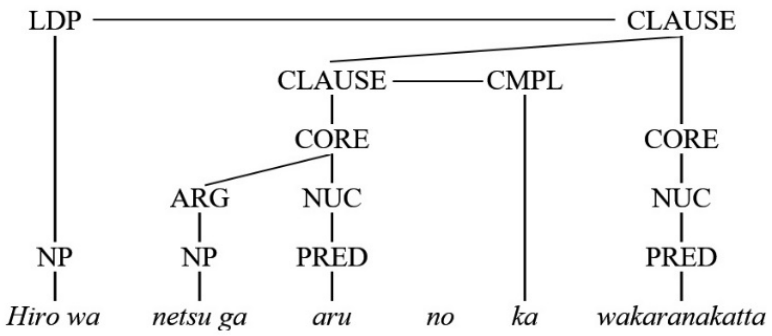
'Is it raining?'

Ka also appears sentence-medially to mark an indirect question, for example:

(3)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka***	*wakaranakatta.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	could.not.determine

'Hiro couldn't determine **if he had a fever**.'

This sentence is not so exotic because the predicate *wakaranakatta* 'couldn't determine' can naturally take an indirect question as its complement. In RRG, the indirect question is analyzed as clausal subordination with the interrogative particle *ka* as a complementizer.



The *wa*-marked phrase, *Hiro wa*, is normally considered a topic and placed in the Left Detached Position, and I consider, tentatively though, the nominalizer *no* to be a clausal operator.

However, indirect questions can be hosted only by certain types of predicates, for example,

(4) a. Communication: *inform*, *tell*, *show*
b. Conjecture: *estimate*, *guess*, *predict*
c. Inquisitive: *ask*, *investigate*, *wonder*

and several other types of predicates of mental activity as well. In (1), however, *ase o kaiteita* 'was sweating' can't semantically accommodate an indirect question.

Semantically and pragmatically, the typical function of the *ka*-marked constituent in annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition is to comment on the main-clause situation by providing the speaker's inference as to how the situation is brought about. In other words, this construction expresses *abductive reasoning*.

Deduction applies a principle (or law) to an observed case and predicts a result,

Major Premise:	A fever causes sweating.
Minor Premise:	Hiro has a fever.
Inference:	Therefore, Hiro is sweating.

Induction proceeds from observed cases to establish a principle

Observation:	Hiro has a fever and is sweating.
Observation:	Maki has a fever and is sweating.
Observation:	Ken has a fever and is sweating.
	.
	.
	.
Inference:	Therefore, a fever causes sweating.

By contrast, abduction proceeds from an observed result, invokes a law, and infers that something may be the case:

Observation:	Hiro is sweating.
Invoked Principle:	A fever causes sweating.
Inference:	Therefore, Hiro has a fever.

In (1),

(1)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka,***	*ase o kaiteita.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	was.sweaing

'Hiro, **if having a fever**, was sweating.'

the speaker observes that Hiro is sweating, which evokes the law that when people have a fever they sweat, and from these, the speaker infers that Hiro has a fever.

As will be discussed later, the speaker doesn't assert that the *ka*-marked situation is the cause of the main-clause situation. What *ka* signals typically in annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition is the speaker's conjecture and uncertainty. Let's call the constituent marked with *ka* the "annotative *ka*-clause."

When the subjects of the two conjoined clauses are identical, English provides the present participle construction. For example,

(1)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka,***	*ase o kaiteita.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	was.sweaing

can be translated as 'Possibly having a fever, Hiro was sweating', and *ka* indicates possibility.

However, the annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition construction freely accommodates clauses with different subjects. Consider this one. This is the opening sentence of a Japanese novel:

(5)	*Kono*	*uchi*	*ni*	*chigai-nai*	*ga,*	***doko***	***kara***	***hait-te***	***ii***	***ka,***
	this	house	COP	different-NEG	but	where	from	enter-TE	good	INT

katte-guchi	*ga*	*nakat-ta*.	
kitchen-door	NOM	not.exist-PST	

Lit. 'It must be this house, but, **entering from where**, there was no kitchen door.'

The annotative *ka*-clause here, corresponding to *entering from where*, has no semantic relation whatsoever with *there was no kitchen door*. What *entering from where* does is to explain why the narrator mentions the lack of a kitchen door. That is, the protagonist of this novel is a maid who was supposed to enter the employer's house not through the main entrance, but through a kitchen door, but there was no kitchen door. So the narrator points it out to convey the protagonist's puzzlement.

English doesn't allow to connect *entering from where* and *there was no kitchen door* in a single sentence. Annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition is very common in Japanese, and this sentence

poses no comprehension difficulty to native speakers of Japanese, but it's likely to be incomprehensible to most non-native speakers.

2. Parentheticals

Due to the lack of syntactic mechanism, the annotative *ka*-clause in (1) is deemed parenthetical. *Parentheticals* are expressions that are interpolated in, but seemingly independent structurally of, the host sentence. Parentheticals are enormously diverse in form and complexity, but they generally remark on various aspects of verbal communication, typically to convey "additional" information, for example, the speaker's attitude, certainty, or endorsement towards the statement made by the utterance.

Some common types of parentheticals found in many languages of the world are:

(6) a. Comment clauses: This **I think** shows that our company is appreciated.
b. Reporting verbs: The reason **she said** for the disaster was engine failure.
c. Non-restrictive relative clauses: There was a theologian talking about the Big Bang **which I thought was brilliant**.
d. Question tags: He suffered great mental distress **didn't he** after the war.

These are only some examples of parentheticals. Certain types of parentheticals have been studied syntactically for a long time, e.g., Haj Ross's (1973) work on *slifting* (which is something like, How old is she, *did she say?*) and Joseph Emonds' (1979) study of nonrestrictive relative clauses, in which Emonds concludes that they are at deep structure coordinated clauses.

However, many researchers have determined the relationships between the parenthetical and the host expression to be non-syntactic. Consider this extreme case:

(7) The main point—why not have a seat?—is outlined in the middle paragraph.

Most analysts are likely to agree that *why not have a seat?* in (7) is a non-syntactic incorporation, and attempting to account for this incorporation in syntax would sound absurd.

Nevertheless, many parenthetical expressions must marginally or *necessarily* be dealt with in the domain of syntax. To delimit syntactically incorporated parentheticals is an interesting topic to investigate. And, for that, we need to survey the structural types of parentheticals available in world's languages. The one investigated in this study is not available in English or other European languages and, consequently, not yet known broadly.

3. The Annotative Dual-Sentence Juxtaposition Construction

Annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition is by no means a tangential construction in Japanese. It has existed continuously since Old Japanese. This sentence is taken from *Man'yōshū* (a collection of Japanese poetry compiled in the 8th century).

(8) *Kamunaduki* ***sigure*** ***no*** ***tune*** ***ka*** *waga* *seko* *ga*
October early.winter.rain GEN usual.state.of.affairs INT my dear GEN

yato *no* *momiti* *ha* *tirinubeku* *miyu*
house GEN yellow leaf must.fall seem

'In October, **(I wonder) if it's normal in/because of early-winter rain**, the yellow leaves in your garden seem to fall (soon)'

Today, as already mentioned, the most common function of *ka* that occurs sentence-medially is to mark an indirect question. However, annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition is not derived from this common function. Rather, the indirect question was developed in the 14th to 16th centuries and became popular only in Early Modern Japanese, i.e., 17th to 19th centuries. Therefore, annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition should be regarded as an instantiation of a more essential function of the particle *ka*.

4. An RRG Account of the ADSJ Construction

RRG provides a rich apparatus for the study of clause linkage by positing four levels of juncture (nuclear, core, clausal, and sentential) and three nexus relations (coordination, subordination, and cosubordination). Van Valin (2005) argues that sentential cosubordination is impossible because in cosubordination, the linked units are dependent upon the matrix unit at least for one operator for that level. The matrix unit of sentential juncture is text, and text doesn't have its own operator. Therefore, Van Valin argues, combinations of four juncture levels and three nexus relations yield eleven juncture-nexus types in universal grammar. We will now attempt to analyze annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition by applying mechanisms available in RRG.

As can be seen in (5),

(5) *Kono* *uchi* *ni* *chigai-nai* *ga,* ***doko*** ***kara*** ***hait-te*** ***ii*** ***ka,***
this house COP different-NEG but where from enter-TE good INT

katte-guchi *ga* *nakat-ta*.
kitchen-door NOM not.exist-PST

Lit. 'It must be this house, but, **entering from where**, there was no kitchen door.'

the annotative *ka*-clause and the main clause can have distinct subjects and predicates. Therefore, the juncture level is either clausal or sentential, but not nuclear or core, which must share some arguments.

Takashi Nomura, who named this construction *chūshakuteki nibun-renchi*, which I translate as 'annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition', analyzes this construction to be comprised of two juxtaposed (i.e., coordinated) sentences because the main clause can't host the annotative *ka*-clause as its subordinated constituent. However, RRG can't sanction it as sentential coordination because the two constituents can't have independent illocutionary force operators. The annotative *ka*-clause is interrogative in form, but, as with the case of indirect questions, it doesn't carry the illocutionary force of inquiry. That is, there is only one illocutionary force operator of

the sentence, and that must be declarative. Therefore, the juncture level is clausal, and the nexus type must be either subordination or cosubordination.

Two subtypes of clausal subordination are recognized in RRG: complements and adverbials. As discussed earlier, the annotative *ka*-clause is not a complement of the matrix predicate. On the other hand, it could be analyzed as an instance of adverbial subordination.

For example, the semantic function of the annotative *ka*-clause in (1), *Hiro wa,* ***netsu ga aru no ka****, ase o kaiteita*, appears to be comparable to a *because*-clause, that is,

(1)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka,***	*ase o kaiteita.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	was.sweaing

'Hiro, **if having a fever**, was sweating.'

(9)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***node,***	*ase o kaite-ita.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	because	was.sweaing

'Because Hiro had a fever, he was sweating.'

The only difference between (1) and (9) is that with *no ka* in (1), Hiro's having a fever is only the speaker's conjecture, whereas with node in (9), Hiro's having a fever is presented as a fact.

Node, which is commonly translated into English as 'because', was derived from the combination of the nominalizer *no* and the copula *de* during Early Modern Japanese. Following this common practice, it is interesting to analyze *noka* as a subordinate conjunction, indicating 'possibly because'.

However, adverbial modification with *ka* is hitherto unknown; therefore, such an analysis then needs to posit *ka* as a clausal subordinator (vis-à-vis a complementizer) with independently motivated evidence.

The present study advocates that the nexus type involved in annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition is clausal cosubordination.

This analysis can account for the difference between

(3)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka***	*wakaranakatta.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	could.not.determine

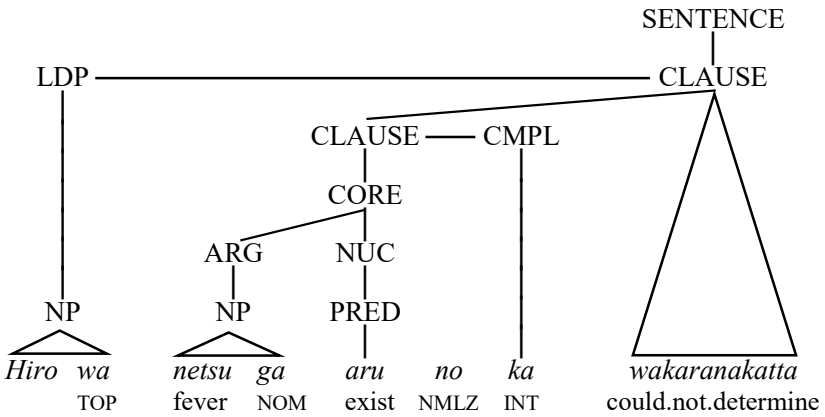
'Hiro couldn't determine **if he had a fever**.'

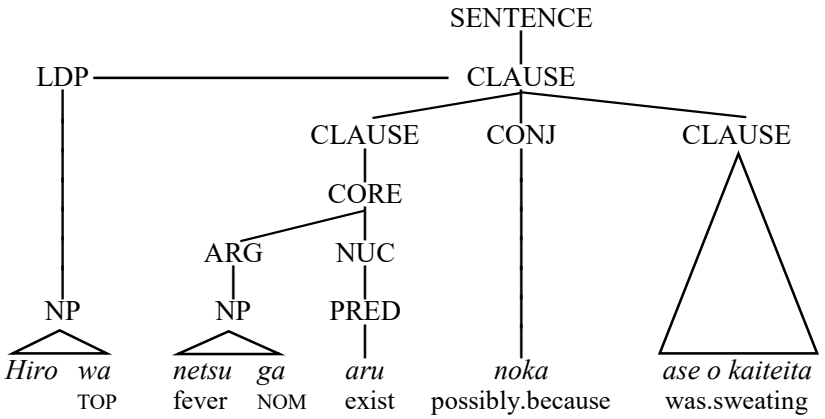
which involves an indirect question and, therefore, in clausal subordination and

(1)	*Hiro*	*wa,*	***netsu***	***ga***	***aru***	***no***	***ka,***	*ase o kaiteita.*
		TOP	fever	NOM	exist	NMLZ	INT	was.sweaing

Lit. 'Hiro, **if he has a fever**, was sweating.'

which involves annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition and, I analyze its structure to be clausal cosubordination.





This analysis may appear inconsistent because in clausal subordination, *no ka* is analyzed as a combination of the nominalizer *no* and the complementizer *ka*, whereas in clausal cosubordination, *noka* is analyzed as a single cosubordination conjunction.

However, as mentioned earlier, *node*, which is translated as 'because', was derived from the combination of the nominalizer *no* and the copula *de* as recently as in Early Modern Japanese. For another example, *noni*, which is translated as 'although', also developed in Early Modern Japanese from the combination of the nominalizer *no* and the conjunctive particle *ni*.

Therefore, to consider *noka* to be a single cosubordination conjunction might be accepted widely in the future.

The present study will contribute to enrichment of the RRG theory of clause linkage by reporting a new type of clausal cosubordination. The concept of cosubordination is unique to RRG, and, therefore, it's not easy to comprehend thoroughly. Clausal cosubordination is often illustrated by

switch-reference constructions, but the annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition construction can demonstrate the difference between clausal subordination and clausal cosubordination very clearly.

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