CONNECTIVE PARTICLES IN JAPANESE

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This study deals with the connective particles in Japanese. Connective particles are those conjunctives which coordinate words, phrases, and clauses; their grammatical function is the linking of linguistic forms enumerated in a simple listing of items, either collectively or alternatively. Such general statements as have been made regarding the connectives appear to have been founded on a partial distribution of the particles. The problem, as indicated by the data here presented, is not as simple as would seem, and an alternative statement is presented in this paper.

The particles chosen for analysis were to, ya, ka, to ka, and zero. Their function and semantic identity is first briefly discussed. Secondly, the possible range of construction types in which they may appear is investigated and the results recorded.[1] Interpretation and a restatement of the data is presented in the concluding paragraphs.

Several extremely common connectives have been chosen for this study (to; ya; ka; to ka; zero). There are indeed other connective particles and particle-like phrases, but these have been excluded in this preliminary analysis for a number of reasons, namely, ambiguity, literary as opposed to colloquial usage, and so forth.[2]

According to structural classifications of the types of syntactical linkage, such connective particles are termed markers, and syntactical linkage by them linkage by marker. The only meaning which is in fact expressed is that a "coordinating relationship" of the kind indicated by the specific connective exists between the forms with which it occurs.[3] Such "coordinate constructions" are of two types in Japanese--the "additive" (to, ya, and zero) and the "alternative" (ka, to ka).[4]

The particle to is perhaps the most common method of additive linkage to the non-Japanese learner of Japanese. It is "an exhaustive 'and' which means you have listed everything in a series."[5] The marker ya is similar to to, but implies that one has listed only some of the items in a series. This connective implies that the speaker "has not mentioned all the nouns that belong in a series but. . . picks out a few samples from a longer list instead of giving the complete series."[6]

The alternative particle ka implies an "or" relationship, or in a stricter interpretation, that the relationship existing between the words or phrases involved is an "either. . .or" proposition. The connective to ka carries the meaning of "and/or something like that."[7]

Finally a not too uncommon type of linkage in Japanese requires no formal connecting particle. Its characteristic is a slight pause after each word listed, except the last. This connective type has been designated by zero. In the conventional orthography, it is often represented by a comma (,) or a centred dot (·), though the latter has not been officially authorized. Usually, the last noun in the series is followed by whatever case-marking particle the sentence requires. For example, Huyu wa, samui desyō ga, haru, natu, aki wa. . . .'Winter will probably be cold, but spring, summer, and fall. . . .'

As a group, the connective markers to, ya, ka, and to ka, have another feature in common. Similar to the case-marking particles, one can pause after them,but not before them. This is illustrated in the following pair of sentences; the first comma in the second sentence indicates just such a short pause.

Gohan to sakana o tabete, otya o nomimasita.

Gohan to, sakana o tabete, otya o nomimasita.

'I ate fish and rice, and drank green tea.'

Treatment of the connectives has been largely confined to simple listing and/or describing in both English and Japanese. However, even as regards this task, certain Japanese grammatical treatments do not always agree with contemporaneous structural analyses, and consequently, one receives a slightly different picture of the situation according to the format of the description. For example, one early description that is typical of a structural approach is a post-war analysis by Bloch. Bloch split substantive expressions into two types, noun expressions and pseudo-clauses. According to Bloch, "a noun expression is an endocentric phrase whose head is a single noun, two or more nouns in apposition, a series of two or more conjunct nouns joined by a conjunctive particle (sic), or a compound numerical expression."[8]

Similarly, some attention has been paid to the question of connective particles in earlier Japanese treatments, but often with an equally superficial array of resulting classifications.[9] For example, one analysis of the connectives is contained in a larger description in the Nihongo no kōzō series.

Sentence parts are classified according to their function and placed into five two-member categories. These are as follows: (1) renyōgo-hirenyōgo 'continuing-

uncontinuing word elements'; (2) setsuzokugo-hisetsuzokugo 'connecting-non-connecting word elements'; (3) rentaigo-hirentaigo 'solidary-non-solidary word elements'; (4) heiretsugo-hiheiretsugo 'parallel-unparallel word elements'; (5) kakari no go-kakarareru go 'dependent-independent word elements'.[10]

The kanji, or Chinese characters (並, 列), given for the heiretsugo-hiheiretsugo category are indicative of their function, that of "enumerating, running in rows, or standing abreast." Such an analysis, though it compares grammatical categories and grammatical relationships interchangeably, is reminiscent of structuralism's listing of constructions as either endocentric or exocentric and then labelling the parts contained therein. Thus, for example, the study discusses characteristics of rentaigo as limiting or qualifying the following hirentaigo (e.g., takai / yama 'tall / mountain'; kono / uti 'this / house'; kondo no / nitiyōbi 'this coming / Sunday'), in comparison to the heiretsugo which do not limit or qualify the following hiheiretsugo (e.g., ko to / hei 'X and / Y'; Tōkyō oyobi / Kyōto 'Tokyo as well as / Kyoto'; tora ya / zō 'tiger and / elephant'), but which stand abreast on equal structural footing.[11]

In those studies of Japanese which concern themselves with the particles at all, grammarians have implied different things regarding the formal relationships of the connectives to the items they link and the appropriate case-marking particles which link them with the remainder of the sentence. Take to, for instance....Martin, for example, says that "in an exhaustive listing of two or more things, each noun is followed by whatever particle is appropriate to link the phrase up with the rest of the sentence."[12] However, Bloch and Jorden, in their discussion of to, state that the "last noun in the series takes whatever particle the sentence requires."[13] Similar statements are made for the remaining connectives.

The privileges of occurrence for the various connectives in relation to the items that they coordinate and the numerous sentence particles are simply too complicated to be adequately described by a single cover statement. Obviously, the combinatorial possibilities of the connectives must be presented before their analysis is judged complete. This short study, then, intends to simply examine which combinatorial possibilities do exist for such markers.

The several connective particles were put into various constructions, using the most common sentence particles-- wa 'topic marker', ga 'topic marker', ni 'in, at, on', de 'in, at', kara 'from', o 'object marker', e 'to', made 'up to, until', mo 'too, also', no 'possessive marker', yori 'comparative marker', and to 'with'.[14] In the following

discussion, the substantive slots are indicated by A and B. Both nouns and noun substitutes may occur in these positions (A and B); the group termed noun substitutes includes pronouns, place words, and nominalizations with no, such as Verb no and Adjective no.[15]

In colloquial Japanese, however, these slots would be filled by select tokens of the nominal class, the choice being in part determined by the following sentence particles and in part by cross-sentence selectional features. Thus, sample sets of items were used in the actual elicitation in order to offset the question of selectional feature matching and to avoid semantic clashes with the sentence particles.

Five sets of formulae were used to elicit the reasonable combinatorial possibilities for to. These were: /A to B p/; /A to B to p/; /A p to B p/; /A p to B p to/; and /A to p B to p/.[16] See Table 1.

Table 1. to (The symbol 'x' stands for an occurrence; the symbol 'o' for a non-occurrence.)

	/A to B to p/	/A to B p/	/A p to B p to/	/A to p B to p/	/A p to B p/
wa	x	x	o	o	o
ga	x	x	o	o	o
ni	x	x	x	o	x
de	x	x	x	o	x
kara	x	x	x	o	x
o	x	x	o	o	o
e	x	x	x	o	x
made	x	x	x	o	x
mo	x	x	o	o	o
no	x	x	x	o	x
yori	x	x[17]	o	o	o
to	x	x	o	o	o

Four sets of formulae were used to elicit the reasonable combinatorial possibilities for ya. These were: /A ya B p/; /A ya B ya p/; /A ya B p ya/; and /A p ya B p/. See Table 2.

Table 2. ya

	/A ya B p/	/A ya B ya p/	/A ya B pa ya/	/A p ya B p/
wa	x	o[18]	o	o
ga	x	o	o	o
ni	x	o	o	x

Table 2.	/A ya B p/	/A ya B ya p/	/A ya B pa ya/	/A p ya B p/
de	x	o	o	x
kara	x	o	o	x
o	x	o	o	o
e	x	o	o	x
made	x	o	o	x
mo	x	o	o	o
no	x	o	o	x
yori	x	o	o	o
to	x	o	o	o

Five sets of formulae were used to elicit the reasonable possibilities for ka. These were: /A ka B p/; /A ka B ka p/; /A ka p B ka p/; /A p ka B p ka/; and /A p ka B p/. See Table 3.

Table 3. ka

	/A ka B p/	/A ka B ka p/	/A ka p B ka p/	/A p ka B p ka/	/A p ka B p/
wa	x	x	o	o	o
ga	x	x	o	o	o
ni	x	x	o	x	x
de	x	x	o	x	x
kara	x	x	o	x	x
o	x	x	o	o	o
e	x	x	o	x	x
made	x	x	o	x	x
mo	x	x	o	o	o
no	x	x	o	x	x
yori	x	x	o	o	o
to	x	x	o	o	o

Four sets of formulae were used to elicit the reasonable possibilites for to ka. These were: /A to ka b p/; /A to ka B to ka p/; /A to ka p B to ka p/; and /A p to ka B p to ka/. See Table 4.

Table 4. to ka

	/A to ka B p/	/A to ka B to ka p/	/A to ka p B to ka p/	/A p to ka B p to ka/
wa	x	x	o	o
ga	x	x	o	o
ni	x	x	o	x
de	x	x	o	x
kara	x	x	o	x
o	x	x	o	o

Table 4.

	/A to ka B p/	/A to ka B to ka p/	/A to ka p B to ka p/	/A p to ka B p to ka/
e	x	x	o	x
made	x	x	o	x
mo	x	x	o	o
no	x	x	o	x
yori	x	x	o	o
to	x	x	o	o

Only one possibility exists for zero as a connective. The question really is whether the pause used as a connective linker may appear with the various sentence particles. See Table 5.

Table 5. Zero.

desu	x
wa	x
ga	x
ni	x
de	x
kara	x
o	x
e	x
made	x
mo	x
no	x
yori	x
to	x

CONCLUSIONS.

In formulating a general summary of the co-occurrence privileges of the connective particles and the following sentence particles, preliminary conclusions will be presented first, and then final summary statements.

First, the following characteristics may be noted for the individual connectives.

to . Two basic formulae are possible for to: /A to B p/ and /A to b to p/. Thus, the last noun is not necessarily followed by the sentence particle; rather it may be followed by a second (or third, etc., depending upon the number of nouns listed) appearance of to.

The formulae /A p to B p/ and /A p to B p to/ occur, but only with certain of the sentence particles. These are: ni, de, kara, e, no, and usually made. (Occurrence with made is somewhat questionable; made is accepted with to, ya, ka, and to ka, although with reservation. Borrowing an appropriate description from an informant, made in this context "seems to be able to be said" (iesō desu), perhaps by virtue of its semantic resemblance to kara, ni, e, etc.)

On this basis, it might be profitable to set up two categories of sentence particles when discussing their relations with the connectives. Thus, p^1 would include ni, de, kara, e, made and no; p^2 would include, wa, ga, o, mo, yori, and to.

The formula /A to p B to p/ does not occur.

ya. The formula /A ya B p/ may co-occur with all of the sentence particles. Unlike to, ya may not appear a second time, before the sentence particle. Thus, the phrase /A ya B ya p/ is not possible. In the formula /A p ya B p/, ya occurs with the p^1 group.

Neither /A ya B ya p/ nor /A ya B p ya/ occur.

ka. Similar to to, ka may also occur optionally in the second position. Thus, both /A ka B p/ and /A ka B ka p/ occur. The formula /A p ka B p ka/ and /A p ka B p/ occur with the p^1 group.

The formula /A ka p B ka p/ does not occur.

to ka. Similar to to and ka, to ka may also appear optionally in the second position,

allowing as possible both /A to ka B p/ and /A to ka B to ka p/. The formula /A p to ka B p to ka/ occurs where the 'p' represents particles of the p^1 group.

The formula /A to ka p B to ka p/ does not occur.

zero. Connective linkage by zero does occur with all sentence particles and desu the copula verb. Thus, A, B desu, A, B wa, and so forth, are all equally possible.

If one provides for two sub-categories of the connective class c^1 and c^2, adequate description of the co-occurrence combinations of the connectives and sentence particles is easily obtained. If c^1 equals to, ka, and to ka, c^2 equals ya, and p^1 and p^2 the values previously given them, the entire system of co-occurrence privileges may be summarized by the following four formulae.

1. $A + c^1 + B (\pm c^1) + \begin{Bmatrix} p^1 \\ p^2 \\ p \end{Bmatrix}$

2. $A + p^1 + c^1 + B + p^1 + c^1$

3. $A + p^1 + \begin{Bmatrix} c^1 \\ c^2 \\ c \end{Bmatrix} + B + p^1$

4. $A + c^2 + B + \begin{Bmatrix} p^1 \\ p^2 \\ p \end{Bmatrix}$

Each of the five connectives may theoretically occur in construction an indefinite number of times. However, the logical extremes of the grammar and the practical usage of language make this more of a possibility than a practical consideration.

The connectives do not, however, share privileges of combinatory occurrence. That is, they do not co-occur with one another in construction. Thus, for example, to may not appear with ya (e.g., *N to N ya), and so on. This holds true for all possible combinations of the connectives here treated and is likely true for the rest.

Finally connective particles of the c^1 group (except to in certain instances) coordinate words, phrases, and clauses, whereas the c^2 group do not. Simple modifier-head phrases and modifier-head phrases including a verb can be joined in this way. For example, takai yama $\begin{Bmatrix} c^1 \\ c^2 \\ c \end{Bmatrix}$ fukui mizūmi 'tall mountains $\begin{Bmatrix} c^1 \\ c^2 \\ c \end{Bmatrix}$ and deep lakes' and Tōkyō kara kuru ressya $\begin{Bmatrix} c^1 \\ c^2 \end{Bmatrix}$ Kyōto o hatsu ressya 'the train from Tokyo $\begin{Bmatrix} c^1 \\ c^2 \\ c \end{Bmatrix}$ the train leaving

Kyoto' but only suki ni iku c^1 uti ni iru c^1 'to go skiing c^1 to remain at home c^1.' Zero, however, can and does occur, so that when speaking of the linkage of clauses by the simple connectives the c^1 group would now include ka, to ka, and zero as members.

FOOTNOTES.

[1] The various constructional possibilities were presented to Japanese informants and the native speakers' acceptance or rejection of a particular form is our criteria of linguistic judgment as well.

[2] For example, the following have been excluded: mo; ka soretomo; ka mata wa; oyobi; arui wa; narabi ni; and mata wa.

The particle mo has been deleted for several reasons. First of all, mo is obviously not a singular entity, but rather a homophonous morph representing several semantic ranges. Secondly, the distribution of mo (the mo whose meaning is unambiguously that of linkage, that is, denoting 'also, too') is such that it may co-occur with the very particles we have chosen to investigate.

The phrases ka soretomo and ka mata wa are, in most cases substitutable for the particle ka.

The connectives oyobi and narabi ni are more literary forms than colloquial forms, and occur rather infrequently in spoken Japanese.

The phrases arui wa and mata wa are indeed connective phrases, but their privilegs of occurrence extend further than do those of the other connectives. Whereas the latter coordinate words, phrases, and clauses, arui wa and mata wa may also link longer items of discourse, like sentences, paragraphs, etc. Between two nouns, mata wa often means 'or' like the particle ka. However, ka is more likely to be used when the meaning is 'one or the other, but not both', whereas mata wa is more likely to appear where the meaning intended is 'sometimes one and sometimes the other'. Furthermore, mata wa usually appears when the two nouns mentioned are the only possible alternatives, while ka between two nouns often implies that other alternatives might be mentioned.

[3] Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), p. 214.

[4] See Hockett for further explanation of classifications. Ibid., 185.

[5] When to stands between two nouns as a connecting link, it means 'and'. When, however, it stands after a noun that is not linked to some immediately following noun, it

means 'with'. It is possible to posit a semantic relationship between the first to 'and' and the second to 'with'. It is possibly supported by such idiomatic phrases as to chigau 'to differ from' and onaji to 'the same as', and probably by to issyo ni Verb 'to verb together with'.

[6] Bernard Bloch and Eleanor H. Jorden, Spoken Japanese (New York, 1946), p.273.

[7] It should not be confused with the quotative formula to ka, as in komban kuru to ka itte imasita, '.....was saying something about coming tonight'. See Samuel Martin, Essential Japanese (Tokyo, 1954, 1962) p. 213.

[8] Bernard Bloch, "Studies in Colloquial Japanese II: Syntax," Language 22.200-48 (1946); also in Readings in Linguistics, Joos, M., ed. (New York, 1958), p. 167.

[9] The function of the setsuzokushi 'connecting particles' (actually sentence-connecting markers in much of the literature) appears to be less sparingly dealt with. However, these markers are not so much markers of coordinate relations between words and phrases as they are between higher level elements like clauses and sentences.

[10] Michio Nakamura, ed., Nihongo no kōsō (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 41-61.

[11] Ibid., p.41-42.

[12] Martin, Essential . . ., pp. 67-68

[13] Block and Jorden, Spoken . . ., p. 85.

[14] See Martin, Essential . . ., for further discussion of the various sentence particles.

[15] Other parts of speech exhibit specialized types of linkage. Adjectives, whether they occur as modifiers of nouns or clause predicators, exhibit special affixes. Verbs, for example, where they are enumeratively linked, commonly appear in the

infinitive form or with the-tari affix.

[16] Slant lines are used to separate the formulae for ease in reading. Small cap 'p' stands for the sentence particles.

[17] Although the sequence to to is possible, it is apparently unlikely to occur, because of the tendency to avoid contiguous syllables and/or words that are homophonous.

[18] The phrase are ya kore ya 'this and that' is an exception to this rule, and occurs with all particles.

[19] This phrase is somewhat awkward by reason of the homophonous ka kara sequence.

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