Nobuko Kibe, Tetsuo Nitta, Kan Sasaki (Eds.)
Handbook of Japanese Dialects

Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics

Edited by
Masayoshi Shibatani
Taro Kageyama

Volume 7

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Preface

The project of compiling a series of comprehensive handbooks covering major fields of Japanese linguistics started in 2011, when Masayoshi Shibatani received a commission to edit such volumes as series editor from De Gruyter Mouton. As the planning progressed, with the volume titles selected and the volume editors assigned, the enormity of the task demanded the addition of a series co-editor. Taro Kageyama, Director-General of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, was invited to join the project as a series co-editor. His participation in the project opened the way to make it a joint venture between NINJAL and De Gruyter Mouton. We are pleased to present the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (*HJLL*) as the first materialization of the agreement of academic cooperation concluded between NINJAL and De Gruyter Mouton.

The HJLL Series is composed of twelve volumes, primarily focusing on Japanese but including volumes on the Ryukyuan and Ainu languages, which are also spoken in Japan, as well as some chapters on Japanese Sign Language in the applied linguistics volume.

- *Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology*
- *Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*
- *Handbook of Japanese Syntax*
- *Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Dialects*
- *Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics*
- *Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics*
- *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*
- *Handbook of the Ainu Language*

Surpassing all currently available reference works on Japanese in both scope and depth, the *HJLL* series provides a comprehensive survey of nearly the entire field of Japanese linguistics. Each volume includes a balanced selection of articles contributed by established linguists from Japan as well as from outside Japan and is critically edited by volume editors who are leading researchers in their individual fields. Each article reviews milestone achievements in the field, provides an overview of the state of the art, and points to future directions of research. The twelve titles are thus expected individually and collectively to contribute not only to the enhancement of studies on Japanese on the global level but also to the opening up of new perspectives for general linguistic research from both empirical and theoretical standpoints.

The *HJLL* project has been made possible by the active and substantial participation of numerous people including the volume editors and authors of individual chap-

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ters. We would like to acknowledge with gratitude the generous support, both financial and logistic, given to this project by NINJAL. We are also grateful to John Haig (retired professor of Japanese linguistics, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa), serving as copy-editor for the series. In the future, more publications are expected to ensue from the NINJAL-Mouton academic cooperation.

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Professor of Linguistics, Rice University/Professor Emeritus, Kobe University

Taro Kageyama, Director-General, National Institute
for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL)

Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama

Introduction to the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics*

Comprising twelve substantial volumes, the *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (HJLL) series provides a comprehensive survey of practically all the major research areas of Japanese linguistics on an unprecedented scale, together with surveys of the endangered languages spoken in Japan, Ryukyuan and Ainu. What follows are introductions to the individual handbooks, to the general conventions adopted in this series, and an overview of the minimum essentials of contemporary Standard Japanese. Fuller descriptions of the languages of Japan, Japanese grammar, and the history of the Japanese language are available in such general references as Martin (1975), Shibatani (1990), and Frellesvig (2010).

1 Geography, population, and languages of Japan

Japan is situated in the most populous region of the world – Asia, where roughly one half of the world population of seven billion speak a variety of languages, many of which rank in the top tier among languages of the world in terms of number of native speakers. Japanese is spoken by more than 128 million people (as of 2013), who live mostly in Japan but also in Japanese emigrant communities around the world, most notably Hawaii, Brazil, and Peru. In terms of the number of native speakers, Japanese ranks ninth among the world's languages. Due partly to its rich and long literary history, Japanese is one of the most intensely studied languages in the world and has received scrutiny both within the domestic grammatical tradition and in traditions outside Japan such as the Chinese philological tradition, European structural linguistics, and the tradition of generative grammar originating in America. The *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* intend to capture the achievements garnered over the years through analyses of a wide variety of phenomena in a variety of theoretical frameworks.

As seen in Map 1, where Japan is shown graphically superimposed on Continental Europe, the Japanese archipelago has a vast latitudinal extension of approximately 3,000 kilometers ranging from the northernmost island, roughly corresponding in latitude to Stockholm, Sweden, to the southernmost island, roughly corresponding in latitude to Sevilla, Spain.

Contrary to popular assumption, Japanese is not the only language native to Japan. The northernmost and southernmost areas of the Japanese archipelago are inhabited by people whose native languages are arguably distinct from Japanese. The southernmost sea area of Okinawa Prefecture is dotted with numerous small islands where Ryukyuan

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Map 1: Japan as overlaid on Europe.
Source: Shinji Sanada. 2007. Hōgen wa kimochi o tsutaeru [Dialects convey your heart]. Tokyo: Iwanami. p. 68.

languages are spoken. Until recent years, Japanese scholars tended to treat Ryukyuan language groups as dialects of Japanese based on fairly transparent correspondences in sounds and grammatical categories between those language groups and mainland Japanese, although the two are mutually unintelligible. Another reason that Ryukyuan languages have been treated as Japanese dialects is that the Ryukyuan islands and Japan form a single nation. In terms of nationhood, however, Ryukyu was an independent kingdom until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it was forcibly annexed to the feudal domain of Satsuma in southern Kyushu.

A more recent trend is to treat Ryukyuan as forming a branch of its own with the status of a sister language to Japanese, following earlier proposals by Chamberlain (1895) and Miller (1971). Many scholars specializing in Ryukyuan today even confer language status to different language groups within Ryukyuan, such as the Amami language, Okinawan language, Miyako language, etc., which are grammatically distinct to the extent of making them mutually unintelligible. The prevailing view now has Japanese and Ryukyuan forming the Japonic family as daughter languages of Proto-Japonic. HJLL follows this recent trend of recognizing Ryukyuan as a sister language to Japanese and devotes one full volume to it. The ***Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*** provides the most up-to-date information pertaining to Ryukyuan language structures and use, and the ways in which these languages relate to Ryukyuan society and history. Like all

the other handbooks in the series, each chapter delineates the boundaries and research history of the field it addresses, presents the most important and representative information on the state of research in that field, and spells out future research desiderata. This volume also includes a comprehensive bibliography of Ryukyuan linguistics.

The situation with Ainu, another language indigenous to Japan, is much less clear in terms of its genealogical relationship to Japanese. Various suggestions have been made relating Ainu to Paleo-Asiatic, Ural-Altaic, and Malayo-Polynesian or to such individual languages as Gilyak and Eskimo, besides the obvious candidate of Japanese as a sister language. The general consensus, however, points to the view that Ainu is related to Japanese only indirectly, if at all, via the Altaic family with its Japanese-Korean sub-branch (see Miller 1971; Shibatani 1990: 5-7 for an overview). Because Ainu has had northern Japan as its homeland and because HJLL is also concerned with various aspects of Japanese linguistics scholarship in general, we have decided to include a volume devoted to Ainu in this series. The ***Handbook of the Ainu Language*** outlines the history and current state of the Ainu language, offers a comprehensive survey of Ainu linguistics, describes major Ainu dialects in Hokkaido and Sakhalin, and devotes a full section to studies dealing with typological characteristics of the Ainu language such as polysynthesis and incorporation, person marking, plural verb forms, and aspect and evidentials.

2 History

Japan's rich and long literary history dates back to the early seventh century, when the Japanese learned to use Chinese characters in writing Japanese. Because of the availability of abundant philological materials, the history of the Japanese language has been one of the most intensely pursued fields in Japanese linguistics. While several different divisions of Japanese language history have been proposed, Frellesvig (2010) proposes the following four linguistic periods, each embracing the main political epochs in Japanese history.

1.	Old Japanese	700–800	(Nara period, 712–794)
2.	Early Middle Japanese	800–1200	(Heian period, 794–1185)
3.	Late Middle Japanese	1200–1600	(Kamakura period, 1185–1333; Muromachi period, 1333–1573)
4.	Modern Japanese	1600–	(Edo, 1603–1868; Meiji, 1868–1912; Taishô, 1912–1926; Shôwa, 1926–1989; Heisei, 1989–2019; Reiwa 2019–)

This division reflects a major boundary between Pre-modern and Modern Japanese brought about by some radical changes in linguistic structure during the Late Middle Japanese period. Modern Japanese is often further subdivided into Early Modern (Edo,

1603–1868), Modern (Meiji, 1868–1912; Taishô, 1912–1926), and Present-day Japanese (Shôwa, 1926–1989; Heisei, 1989–2019; Reiwa 2019–).

The ***Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics*** will present the latest research on better studied topics, such as segmental phonology, accent, morphology, and certain salient syntactic phenomena such as focus constructions. It will also introduce areas of study that have traditionally been underrepresented, ranging from syntax and Sino-Japanese (*kanbun*) materials to historical pragmatics, and demonstrate how these contribute to a fuller understanding of the overall history of Japanese, as well as outlining larger-scale tendencies and directions of change that have taken place within the language over its attested history. Major issues in the reconstruction of prehistoric Japanese and in the individual historical periods from Old Japanese to Modern Japanese are discussed, including writing and the materials available for historical study, influences of Sino-Japanese on Japanese, the histories of different vocabulary strata, the history of honorifics and polite language, generative diachronic syntax, and the development of case marking.

3 Geographic and social variations

Because of the wide geographical spread of the Japanese archipelago from north to south, characterized by high mountain ranges, deep valleys, and wide rivers as well as numerous islands, Japanese has developed a multitude of dialects, many of which differ from each other in a way more or less like current descendants of the Romance language family. Like historical studies, the research tradition of dialect studies has a unique place in Japanese linguistics and has attracted a large number of students and amateur collectors of dialect forms as well as professional linguists. The ***Handbook of Japanese Dialects*** surveys the historical backdrop to theoretical frameworks of contemporary studies in Japanese geolinguistics and includes analyses of prominent research topics in cross-dialectal perspective, such as accentual systems, honorifics, verbs of giving, and nominalizations. The volume also devotes major attention to sketching the grammars of dialects from the northern island of Hokkaido to the southern island of Kyushu, allowing a panoramic view of differences and similarities among representative dialects throughout Japan.

Besides having a physical setting that has fostered geographic variation, the society of Japan has exhibited differing types of social structure over the years, starting from the time of the nobility and court life of the Old and Early Middle Japanese periods, through the caste structure of the feudalistic Late Middle and Early Modern Japanese periods, to the modern democratic society of the Modern and Present-day Japanese periods. These different social structures have spawned a variety of social dialects, including power- and gender-based varieties of Japanese. The ***Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*** examines a wide array of sociolinguistic topics ranging from the history of Japanese

sociolinguistics, including foreign influences and internal innovations, to the central topics of variation due to social stratification, gender differences, and discourse genre. Specific topics include honorifics and women's speech, critical discourse analysis, the pragmatics of political discourse, contact-induced change, emerging new dialects, Japanese language varieties outside Japan, and language policy.

4 Lexicon and phonology

The literary history of Japan began with early contacts with China. Chinese apparently began to enrich the Japanese lexicon even in pre-historic periods, when such deeply assimilated words as *uma* 'horse' and *ume* 'plum' are believed to have entered the language. Starting in the middle of the sixth century, when Buddhism reached Japan, Chinese, at different periods and from different dialect regions, has continuously contributed to Japanese in an immeasurable way affecting all aspects of grammar, but most notably the lexicon and the phonological structure, which have sustained further and continuous influences from European languages from the late Edo period on. Through these foreign contacts, Japanese has developed a complex vocabulary system that is composed of four lexical strata, each with unique lexical, phonological, and grammatical properties: native Japanese, mimetic, Sino-Japanese, and foreign (especially English).

The ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*** presents a comprehensive survey of the Japanese lexicon, word formation processes, and other lexical characteristics seen in the four lexical strata of contemporary Japanese. The agglutinative character of the language, coupled with its intricate system of vocabulary strata, makes it possible for compounding, derivation, conversion, and inflection to be closely intertwined with syntactic structure, giving rise to theoretically intriguing interactions between word formation processes and syntax that are not easily found in inflectional, isolate, or polysynthetic types of languages. Theoretically oriented studies associated with these topics are complemented by ones oriented toward lexical semantics, which also bring to light theoretically challenging issues involving the morphology-syntax interface.

The four lexical strata characterizing the Japanese lexicon are also relevant to Japanese phonology, as each stratum has some characteristic sounds and sound combinations not seen in the other strata. The ***Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology*** describes and analyzes the basic phonetic and phonological structures of modern Japanese with a main focus on standard Tokyo Japanese, relegating the topics of dialect phonetics and phonology to the ***Handbook of Japanese Dialects***. It includes several chapters dealing with phonological processes unique to the Sino-Japanese and foreign strata as well as to the mimetic stratum. Other topics include word tone/accent, mora-timing, sequential voicing (*rendaku*), consonant geminates, vowel devoicing and diphthongs, and the appearance of new consonant phonemes. Also discussed are phonetic and pho-

nological processes within and beyond the word such as rhythm, intonation, and the syntax-phonology interface, as well as issues bearing on other subfields of linguistics such as historical and corpus linguistics and research on the L2 acquisition of Japanese phonology.

5 Syntax and semantics

Chinese loans have also affected Japanese syntax, though it is unclear to what extent they have affected Japanese semantics beyond the level of lexical semantics. In particular, Chinese loans form two distinct lexical categories in Japanese – verbal nouns, forming a subcategory of the noun class, and adjectival nouns (*keiyō dōshi*), which are recognized by some as forming major independent lexical categories along with noun, verb, and adjective classes. The former denote verbal actions and, unlike regular nouns denoting objects and thing-like entities, can function as verbs by combining with the light verb *suru*, which is obviously related to the verb *suru* 'do'. The nominal-verbal Janus character of verbal nouns results in two widely observed syntactic patterns that are virtually synonymous in meaning; e. g., *benkyoo-suru* (studying-DO) 'to study' and *benkyoo o suru* (studying ACC do) 'do studying'. As described in the ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation***, the lexical category of adjectival noun has been a perennial problem in the analysis of Japanese parts of speech. Property-concept words that fall into this class, such as *kirei* 'pretty' and *kenkoo* 'health/healthy', do not inflect by themselves, unlike native Japanese adjectives, and, like nouns, require the inflecting copula *da* to perform the predication function, hence the label of adjectival noun for this class. However, many of these cannot head noun phrases – the hallmark of the nominal class – and some even yield nouns via *-sa* nominalization, which is not possible with regular nouns.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*** and the ***Handbook of Japanese Syntax*** make up twin volumes because many chapters in the former deal with syntactic phenomena, as the brief discussion above on the two Sino-Japanese lexical categories clearly indicates. The syntax handbook covers a vast landscape of Japanese syntax from three theoretical perspectives: (1) traditional Japanese grammar, known as *kokugogaku* (lit. national-language study), (2) the functional approach, and (3) the generative grammar framework. Broad issues analyzed include sentence types and their interactions with grammatical verbal categories, grammatical relations (topic, subject, etc.), transitivity, nominalizations, grammaticalization, voice (passives and causatives), word order (subject, scrambling, numeral quantifiers, configurationality), case marking (*ga/no* conversion, morphology and syntax), modification (adjectives, relative clause), and structure and interpretation (modality, negation, prosody, ellipsis). These topics have been pursued vigorously over many years under different theoretical persuasions and have played important roles in the development of general linguistic theory.

For example, the long and sustained study of the grammatical relations of subject and topic in Japanese has had a significant impact on the study of grammatical relations in European as well as Austronesian languages. In the study of word order, the analysis of Japanese numeral quantifiers has been used as one of the leading pieces of evidence for the existence of a movement rule in human language. With regard to case marking, the way subjects are case marked in Japanese has played a central role in the study of case marking in the Altaic language family. Recent studies of nominalizations have been central to the analysis of their modification and referential functions in a wide variety of languages from around the globe, with far-reaching implications for past studies of such phenomena as parts of speech, (numeral) classifiers, and relative clauses. And the study of how Japanese prosody plays a crucial role in interpretation has become the basis for some important recent developments in the study of wh-questions.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*** presents a collection of studies on linguistic meaning in Japanese, either as conventionally encoded in linguistic form (the field of semantics) or as generated by the interaction of form with context (the field of pragmatics). The studies are organized around a model that has long currency in traditional Japanese grammar, whereby the linguistic clause consists of a multiply nested structure centered in a propositional core of objective meaning around which forms are deployed that express progressively more subjective meaning as one moves away from the core toward the periphery of the clause. Following this model, the topics treated in this volume range from aspects of meaning associated with the propositional core, including elements of meaning structured in lexical units (lexical semantics), all the way to aspects of meaning that are highly subjective, being most grounded in the context of the speaker. In between these two poles of the semantics-pragmatics continuum are elements of meaning that are defined at the level of propositions as a whole or between different propositions (propositional logic) and forms that situate propositions in time as events and those situating events in various modes of reality including non-actual worlds, e. g., those hoped for (desiderative meaning), denied (negation), hypothesized (conditional meaning), or viewed as ethically or epistemologically possible or necessary (epistemic and deontic modality). Located yet closer to the periphery of the Japanese clause are a rich array of devices for marking propositions according to the degree to which the speaker is committed to their veracity and for marking differing perceptual and cognitive modalities as well as for distinguishing information that is presupposed versus affirmed.

These studies in Japanese syntax and semantics are augmented by cross-linguistic studies that examine various topics in these fields from the perspectives of language universals and the comparative study of Japanese and other languages. The ***Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics*** sets as its primary goal uncovering principled similarities and differences between Japanese and other languages around the globe and thereby shedding new light on the universal and language-particular properties of Japanese. Topics ranging from inalienable possession to numeral classifiers, from spatial deixis to motion typology, from nominalization to subordination, and other

topics closely related to these are taken up within the framework of typological universals. Additionally, various aspects of Japanese such as resultative-progressive polysemy, entailment of event realization, internal-state predicates, topic constructions, and interrogative pronouns, are compared and contrasted with other specific languages, including Ainu, Koryak, Chinese, Korean, Newar, Thai, Burmese, Tagalog, Kapampangan, Lamaholot, Romanian, French, Spanish, German, English, Swahili, Sidaama, and Mayan languages.

6 Psycholinguistics and applied linguistics

HJLL includes two volumes containing topics related to a wider application of Japanese linguistics and to those endeavors seeking grammar-external evidence for the psycho-neurological reality of the structure and organization of grammar. Incorporating recent research on the study of the cognitive processes and brain mechanisms underlying language use, language acquisition, and language disorders, the ***Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics*** presents the current state of scholarly understanding of the mechanisms of language acquisition and language processing. In particular, the volume seeks answers to the question of how Japanese is learned/acquired as a first or second language, and pursues the question of how Japanese sentences are comprehended and produced. The chapters in the acquisition section allow readers to acquaint themselves with issues pertaining to the question of how grammatical features (including pragmatic and discourse features) are acquired and how the language domain of the brain develops, with respect to both language particular and universal features. Specific topics dealt with include Japanese children's perceptual development, the conceptual and grammatical development of nouns, Japanese Specific Language Impairment, narrative development in the L1 cognitive system, and L2 Japanese acquisition and its relation to L1 acquisition. The language processing section focuses on both L1 and L2 Japanese processing, covering topics such as the role of prosodic information in production/comprehension, the processing of complex grammatical structures such as relative clauses, processing issues related to variable word order, and lexical and sentence processing in L2 by speakers of different native languages.

The ***Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics*** complements the Psycholinguistics volume by examining language acquisition from broader sociocultural perspectives, including language as a means of communication and as a social behavioral system, emphasizing pragmatic development as central to both L1 and L2 acquisition and to overall human development. Topics approached from these perspectives include the role of caregiver speech in early language development, literacy acquisition, and the acquisition of writing skills. Closely related to L1 and L2 acquisition and development

are studies of bilingualism/multilingualism and the teaching and learning of foreign languages, including Japanese as a second language, where topics are discussed such as cross-lingual transfer from L1 to L2, learning errors, and proficiency assessment of second language acquisition. Chapters dealing with topics more squarely falling in the domain of applied linguistics cover issues in corpus/computational linguistics (including discussions of CHILDES for Japanese and the YK corpus, both widely used in research on Japanese as a second language), clinical linguistics (including discussions of language development in children with hearing impairment and other language disorders, Down syndrome, and autism), and translation and interpretation. Technically speaking, Japanese Sign Language is not a variety of Japanese, but in view of the importance of this language in Japanese society and because of the rapid progress in sign language research in Japan and abroad and for what it has to offer to the general theory of language, chapters dealing with Japanese Sign Language are also included in this volume.

7 Grammatical sketch of Standard Japanese

The following pages offer a brief overview of Japanese grammar as an aid to a quick grasp of the structure of Japanese that may prove useful in studying individual, thematically organized handbooks in this series. One of the difficult problems in describing non-European languages using familiar technical terms derived from the European grammatical tradition concerns mismatches between what the glosses may imply and what grammatical categories they are used to denote in the description. We will try to illustrate this problem below by way of a warning not to take all glosses at their face value. But first some remarks are in order about the conventions of transcription of Japanese, glossing of examples, and their translations used in this series.

7.1 Writing, alphabetic transcription, and pronunciation

Customarily, Japanese is written by using a mixture of Chinese characters (for content words), *hiragana* (for function words such as particles, suffixes, and inflectional endings), *katakana* (for foreign loans and mimetics), and sometimes the Roman alphabet. Because Japanese had no indigenous writing system, it developed two phonogram systems for representing the phonological unit of "mora," namely *hiragana* and *katakana*, by simplifying or abbreviating (parts of) Chinese characters. *Hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries are shown in Table 1, together with the alphabetic transcriptions adopted in the HJLL series.

Table 1: Alphabetic transcriptions adopted in HJLL.

Transcription	*a*	*ka*	*sa*	*ta*	*na*	*ha*	*ma*	*ya*	*ra*	*wa*	*n*
hiragana	あ	か	さ	た	な	は	ま	や	ら	わ	ん
katakana	ア	カ	サ	タ	ナ	ハ	マ	ヤ	ラ	ワ	ン
Transcription	*i*	*ki*	*si*	*ti*	*ni*	*hi*	*mi*	–	*ri*	–	
hiragana	い	き	し	ち	に	ひ	み	–	り	–	
katakana	イ	キ	シ	チ	ニ	ヒ	ミ	–	リ	–	
Transcription	*u*	*ku*	*su*	*tu*	*nu*	*hu*	*mu*	*yu*	*ru*	–	
hiragana	う	く	す	つ	ぬ	ふ	む	ゆ	る	–	
katakana	ウ	ク	ス	ツ	ヌ	フ	ム	ユ	ル	–	
Transcription	*e*	*ke*	*se*	*te*	*ne*	*he*	*me*	–	*re*	–	
hiragana	え	け	せ	て	ね	へ	め	–	れ	–	
katakana	エ	ケ	セ	テ	ネ	ヘ	メ	–	レ	–	
Transcription	*o*	*ko*	*so*	*to*	*no*	*ho*	*mo*	*yo*	*ro*	*o*	
hiragana	お	こ	そ	と	の	ほ	も	よ	ろ	を	
katakana	オ	コ	ソ	ト	ノ	ホ	モ	ヨ	ロ	ヲ	

Because of phonological change, the columns indicated by strikethroughs have no letters in contemporary Japanese, although they were filled in with special letters in classical Japanese. If all the strikethroughs were filled, the chart would contain 50 letters for each *hiragana* and *katakana*, so the syllabary chart is traditionally called *Gojū-on zu* (chart of 50 sounds). To these should be added the letter ん or ン representing a moraic nasal [N], on the rightmost column.

The "50-sound chart," however, does not exhaust the *hiragana* and *katakana* letters actually employed in Japanese, because the basic consonant sounds (*k, s, t, h*) have variants. The sound represented by the letter *h* is historically related to the sound represented by *p*, and these voiceless obstruents (*k, s, t,* and *p*) have their respective voiced counterparts (*g, z, d*, and *b*). Table 2 shows letters for these consonants followed by five vowels.

Table 2: Letters for voiced obstruents and bilabial [p].

Transcription	*ga*	*za*	*da*	*ba*	*pa*
hiragana	が	ざ	だ	ば	ぱ
katakana	ガ	ザ	ダ	バ	パ
Transcription	*gi*	*zi*	*zi*	*bi*	*pi*
hiragana	ぎ	じ	ぢ	び	ぴ
katakana	ギ	ジ	ヂ	ビ	ピ
Transcription	*gu*	*zu*	*du*	*bu*	*pu*
hiragana	ぐ	ず	づ	ぶ	ぷ
katakana	グ	ズ	ヅ	ブ	プ
Transcription	*ge*	*ze*	*de*	*be*	*pe*
hiragana	げ	ぜ	で	べ	ぺ
katakana	ゲ	ゼ	デ	ベ	ペ

Table 2 (continued)

Transcription	*go*	*zo*	*do*	*bo*	*po*
hiragana	ご	ぞ	ど	ぼ	ぽ
katakana	ゴ	ゾ	ド	ボ	ポ

It is important to note that Tables 1 and 2 show the conventional letters and alphabetical transcription adopted in the text of the HJLL series; they are not intended to represent the actual pronunciations of Japanese vowels and consonants. For example, among the vowels, the sound represented as "u" is pronounced as [ɯ] with unrounded lips. Consonants may change articulation according to the vowels that follow. The following will require particular attention.

There are two Romanization systems widely used in Japan. One, known as the Hepburn system, is more widely used in public places throughout Japan such as train stations, street signs, as well as in some textbooks for learners of Japanese. This system is ostensibly easier for foreigners familiar with the English spelling system. Another, the *Kunreishiki* (the cabinet ordinance system), is phonemic in nature and is used by many professional linguists. The essential differences between the two Romanization systems center on palatalized and affricate consonants, as shown in Table 3 below with some representative syllables for which the two Romanization renditions differ:

Table 3: Two systems of Romanization.

Hiragana	**IPA**	**Hepburn**	**Kunreishiki**
し	[ʃi]	shi	si
しゃ	[ʃa]	sha	sya
しゅ	[ʃɯ]	shu	syu
しょ	[ʃo]	sho	syo
じ and ぢ	[ʤi]	ji	zi
じゃ	[ʤa]	ja	zya
じゅ	[ʤɯ]	ju	zyu
じょ	[ʤo]	jo	zyo
ち	[tʃi]	chi	ti
ちゃ	[tʃa]	cha	tya
ちゅ	[tʃɯ]	chu	tyu
ちょ	[tʃo]	cho	tyo
つ	[tsɯ]	tsu	tu
づ and ず	[dzɯ]	zu	zu
ふ	[ɸɯ]	fu	hu

Except for the volumes on Ryukyuan, Ainu, and Japanese dialects, whose phonetics differ from Standard Japanese, HJLL adopts the Kunreishiki system for rendering cited

Japanese words and sentences but uses the Hepburn system for rendering conventional forms such as proper nouns and technical linguistic terms in the text and in the translations of examples.

Japanese sentences cited in HJLL look as below, where the first line transliterates a Japanese sentence in Kunreishiki Romanization, the second line contains interlinear glosses largely following the Leipzig abbreviation convention, and the third line is a free translation of the example sentence.

(1) *Taroo wa Ziroo to Tookyoo e it-te kutusita o kat-ta.*
Taro TOP Jiro COM Tokyo ALL go-GER sock ACC buy-PST
'Taro went to Tokyo with Jiro and bought socks.'

The orthographic convention for rendering Japanese is to represent a sentence with an uninterrupted sequence of Sino-Japanese characters and *katakana* or *hiragana* syllabaries without a space for word segmentation, as in 太郎は次郎と東京へ行って靴下を買った for (1). In line with the general rules of Romanization adopted in books and articles dealing with Japanese, however, HJLL transliterates example sentences by separating word units by spaces. The example in (1) thus has 10 words. Moreover, as in *it-te* (go-GERUND) and *kat-ta* (buy-PAST) in (1), word-internal morphemes are separated by a hyphen whenever necessary, although this practice is not adopted consistently in all of the HJLL volumes. Special attention should be paid to particles like *wa* (topic), *to* 'with' and *e* 'to, toward', which, in the HJLL representation, are separated from the preceding noun or noun phrase by a space (see 7.3). Remember that case and other kinds of particles, though spaced, form phrasal units with their preceding nouns.

7.2 Word order

As seen in (1), Japanese is a verb-final, dependent-marking agglutinative language. It is basically an SOV language which marks nominal dependent arguments by particles (*wa*, *to*, *e*, and *o* above) and whose predicative component consists of a verbal stem with a variety of suffixes, auxiliary verbs, and semi-independent predicate extenders pertaining to the speech act of predication (see section 7.6). While a verb is rigidly fixed in sentence final position, the order of subject and object arguments may vary depending on pragmatic factors such as emphasis, background information, and cohesion. Thus, sentence (2a) with the unmarked order below, in principle may vary in multiple ways as shown by some possibilities in (2b)-(2d).

(2) a. *Taroo ga Hanako ni Ziroo o syookai-si-ta.*
Taro NOM Hanako DAT Jiro ACC introducing-do-PST
'Taro introduced Jiro to Hanako.'

b. *Taroo ga **Ziroo o** Hanako ni syookai-si-ta.*
c. ***Hanako ni** Taroo ga Ziroo o syookai-si-ta.*
d. ***Ziroo o** Taroo ga Hanako ni syookai-si-ta.*

Adverbs, likewise, can be rather freely placed, though each type of adverbs has its own basic position.

(3) a. ***Saiwainimo*** *Hanako ga gohan o tai-te kure-te i-ta.*
luckily Hanako NOM rice ACC cook-GER GIVE-GER BE-PST
'Luckily Hanako had done the favor of cooking the rice (for us).'
b. *Hanako ga **saiwainimo** gohan o tai-te kure-te i-ta.*
c. *Hanako ga gohan o **saiwainimo** tai-te kure-te i-ta.*

Notice that while the verbal complex in the sentence above is not as tightly organized as a complex involving suffixes, a sentence adverb cannot be placed within the verbal complex, showing that the sequence of *tai-te kure-te i-ta* forms a tighter constituent which, however, permits insertion of the topic particle *wa* after each of the gerund-forms. (See section 7.4 below on the nature of gerund-forms in Japanese.)

As the normal position of sentence adverbs is sentence initial, manner and resultative adverbs have an iconically-motivated position, namely before and after the object noun phrase, respectively, as below, though again these adverbs may move around with varying degrees of naturalness:

(4) *Hanako ga **isoide** gohan o tai-te kure-ta.*
Hanako NOM hurriedly rice ACC cook-GER GIVE-PST
'Hanako hurried did the favor of cooking the rice (for us).'

(5) *Hanako ga gohan o **yawarakaku** tai-te kure-ta.*
Hanako NOM rice ACC softly cook-GER GIVE-PST
'Hanako did the favor of cooking the rice soft (for us).'

The fact that an object noun phrase can be easily separated from the verb, as in (2b.d), and that adverbs can freely intervene between an object and a verb, as in (5), has raised the question whether Japanese has a verb phrase consisting of a verb and an object noun phrase as a tightly integrated constituent parallel to the VP in English (cf. **cook hurriedly the rice* – the asterisk marks ungrammatical forms).

7.3 NP structure

Noun phrases, when they occur as arguments or adjuncts, are marked by case particles or postpositions that are placed after their host nouns. Because case markers can

be set off by a pause, a filler, or even longer parenthetic material, it is clear that they are unlike declensional affixes in inflectional languages like German or Russian. Their exact status, however, is controversial; some researchers regard them as clitics and others as (non-independent) words.

Elaboration of Japanese noun phrases is done by prenominal modifiers such as demonstratives, genitive noun phrases, or adjectives, as below, indicating that Japanese is a consistent head-final language at both nominal and clausal levels.

(6) a. *kono Taroo no kaban*
this Taro GEN bag
lit. 'this Taro's bag'
b. *Taroo no kono kaban*
Taro GEN this bag
lit. 'Taro's this bag'

Japanese lacks determiners of the English type that "close off" NP expansion. The literal translations of the Japanese forms above are ungrammatical indicating that English determiners like demonstratives and genitive noun phrases do not allow further expansion of an NP structure. Also seen above is the possibility that prenominal modifiers can be reordered just like dependents at the sentence level. The order of prenominal modifiers, however, is regulated by the iconic principle of placing closer to the head noun those modifiers that have a greater contribution in specifying the nature and type of the referent. Thus, descriptive adjectives tend to be placed closer to a head noun than demonstratives and genitive modifiers of non-descriptive types. Interesting is the pattern of genitive modifiers, some of which are more descriptive and are placed closer to the head noun than others. Genitives of the same semantic type, on the other hand, can be freely reordered. Compare:

(7) a. *Yamada-sensei no kuroi kaban*
Yamada-professor GEN black bag
'Professor Yamada's black bag'
b. **kuroi Yamada-sensei no kaban*
(O.K. with the reading of 'a bag of Professor Yamada who is black')

(8) a. *Yamada-sensei no gengogaku no koogi*
Yamada-professor GEN linguistics GEN lecture
'Professor Yamada's linguistics lecture'
b. **gengogaku no Yamada-sensei no koogi*
(O.K. with the reading of 'a lecture by Professor Yamada of linguistics')

(9) a. *Yamada-sensei no kinoo no koogi*
Yamada-professor GEN yesterday GEN lecture
lit. 'Professor Yamada's yesterday's lecture' 'Yesterday's lecture by Professor Yamada'
b. *Kinoo no Yamada-sensei no koogi*

(10) a. *oomori no sio-azi no raamen*
big.serving GEN salt-tasting GEN *ramen*
lit. 'big-serving salt-tasting *ramen* noodles'
b. *sio-azi no oomori no raamen*

(11) a. *atui sio-azi no raamen*
hot salt-tasting GEN *ramen*
'hot salt-tasting *ramen* noodles'
b. *sio-azi no atui ramen*

Numeral classifiers (CLFs) pattern together with descriptive modifiers so that they tend to occur closer to a head noun than a possessive genitive phrase.

(12) a. *Taroo no san-bon no enpitu*
Taro GEN three-CLF GEN pencil
'Taro's three pencils'
b. **san-bon no Taroo no enpitu*

Numeral classifiers also head an NP, where they play a referential function and where they can be modified by a genitive phrase or an appositive modifier, as in (13a, b). They may also "float" away from the head noun and become adverbial, as in (13c).

(13) a. *Taroo wa gakusei no* ***san-nin*** *o mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student GEN three-CLF ACC see.by.chance-PST
'Taro saw three of the students by chance.'
b. *Taroo wa gakusei* ***san-nin*** *o mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student three-CLF ACC see.by.chance-PST
lit. 'Taro saw student-threes by chance.'
c. *Taroo wa gakusei o* ***san-nin*** *mikake-ta.*
Taro TOP student ACC three-CLF see.by.chance-PST
'Taro saw students, three (of them), by chance.'

As in many other SOV languages, so-called relative clauses are also prenominal and are directly placed before their head nouns without the mediation of "relative pronouns" like English *which* or *who* or "complementizers" like *that*. Predicates in relative clauses

are finite, taking a variety of tense and aspect. The subject may be replaced by a genitive modifier. Observe (14a).

(14) a. *Boku mo [Taroo ga/no kat-ta] hon o kat-ta.*
I ADVPART Taro NOM/GEN buy-PST book ACC buy-PST
'I also bought the book which Taro bought.'
b. *Boku mo [Taroo ga/no kat-ta] no o kat-ta.*
I ADVPART Taro NOM/GEN buy-PST NM ACC buy-PST
'I also bought the one which Taro bought.'

The structure used as a modifier in the relative clause construction can also head a noun phrase, where it has a referential function denoting an entity concept evoked by the structure. In Standard Japanese such a structure is marked by the nominalization particle *no*, as in (14b).

7.4 Subject and topic

Some of the sentences above have noun phrases marked by the nominative case particle *ga* and some by the topic marker *wa* for what appear to correspond to subject noun phrases in the English translations. This possibility of *ga*- and *wa*-marking is seen below.

(15) a. *Yuki ga siro-i.*
snow NOM white-PRS
'The snow is white.'
b. *Yuki wa siro-i.*
snow TOP white-PRS
'Snow is white.'

As the difference in the English translations indicates, these two sentences are different in meaning. Describing the differences between topic and non-topic sentences has been a major challenge for Japanese grammarians and teachers of Japanese alike. The difference in the English translations above, however, is indicative of how these two sentences might differ in meaning. Sentence (15a) describes a state of affairs involving specific snow just witnessed, whereas (15b) is a generic statement about a property of snow unbounded by time. Thus, while (15a) would be uttered only when the witnessed snow is indeed white, (15b) would be construed true even though we know that there are snow piles that are quite dirty.

A similar difference is seen in verbal sentences as well.

(16) a. *Tori ga tob-u.*
bird NOM fly-NONPST
'A bird is flying/is about to fly.'
b. *Tori wa tob-u.*
bird TOP fly-NONPST
'Birds fly.'

Non-topic sentences like (15a) and (16a) are often uttered with an exclamation accompanying a sudden discovery of a state of affairs unfolding right in front of one's eyes. The nonpast tense forms (*-i* for adjectives and *-(r)u* for verbs) here anchor the time of this discovery to the speech time. The nonpast tense forms in (15a) and (16b), on the other hand, mark a generic tense associated with a universal statement.

These explanations can perhaps be extended to time-bound topic sentences seen in (17b) below.

(17) a. *Taroo ga hasit-ta.*
Taro NOM run-PST
'Taro NOM ran.'
b. *Taroo wa hasit-ta.*
Taro TOP run-PST
'Taro ran.'

That is, while (17a) describes an occurrence of a particular event at a time prior to the speech time, (17b) describes the nature of the topic referent – that Taro was engaged in the running activity – as a universal truth of the referent, but universal only with respect to a specifically bound time marked by the past tense suffix.

Topics need not be subjects, and indeed any major sentence constituent, including adverbs, may be marked as topic in Japanese, as shown below.

(18) a. *Sono hon wa Taroo ga yon-de i-ru.*
that book TOP Taro NOM read-GER be-NONPST
'As for that book, Taro is reading (it).'
b. *Kyoo wa tenki ga yo-i.*
today TOP weather NOM be. good-NONPST
'As for today, the weather is good.'
c. *Sonnani wa hayaku wa hasir-e na-i.*
that.way TOP quickly TOP run-POTEN NEG-NONPST
'That quickly, (I) cannot run.'

7.5 Complex sentences

Like other Altaic languages, compound sentences in Japanese do not involve a coordinate conjunction like English *and*. Instead, clauses are connected by the use of inflected verb forms, as in (19a) below, where the *-i* ending is glossed in the HJLL series as either INF (infinitive) or ADVL (adverbal) following the Japanese term *ren'yō-kei* for the form. While the *-i* ending in the formation of compound sentences is still used today, especially in writing, the more commonly used contemporary form involves a conjunctive particle *-te* following the *-i* infinitive form, as in (19b) below. In HJLL, this combination is glossed as GER (gerund), though the relevant Japanese forms do not have the major nominal use of English gerund-forms.

(19) a. *Hana wa sak-i, tori wa uta-u.*
flower TOP bloom-INF bird TOP sing-NONPST
'Flowers bloom and birds sing.'
b. *Hana wa sa-i.te, tori wa uta-u.*
flower TOP bloom-GER bird TOP sing-NONPST
'Flowers bloom and birds sing.'

Both the *-i* and *-ite* forms play important roles in Japanese grammar. They are also used in clause-chaining constructions for serial events (20a), and in complex sentences (20b)-(20d), as well as in numerous compound verbs (and also in many compound nouns) such as *sak-i hokoru* (bloom-INF boast) 'be in full bloom', *sak-i tuzukeru* (bloom-INF continue) 'continue blooming', *sa.i-te iru* (bloom-GER be) 'is blooming', and *sa.i-te kureru* (bloom-GER GIVE) 'do the favor of blooming (for me/us)'.

(20) a. *Taroo wa [ok-i/ok.i-te], [kao o ara-i/arat-te],*
Taro TOP rise-INF/rise-GER face ACC wash-INF/wash-GER
[gohan o tabe-ta].
meal ACC eat.PST
'Taro got up, washed his face, and ate a meal.'
b. *Taroo wa [sakana o tur-i] ni it-ta.*
Taro TOP fish ACC catch-INF DAT go-PST
'Taro went to catch fish.'
c. *Taroo wa [aruk-i nagara] hon o yon-da.*
Taro TOP walk-INF SIMUL book ACC read-PST
'Taro read a book while walking.'
d. *Taroo wa [Hanako ga ki-ta no] ni awa-na-katta.*
Taro TOP Hanako NOM come-PST NM DAT see-NEG-PST.
'Taro did not see (her), even though Hanako came.'

(20d) has the nominalized clause marked by the particle *no* followed by the dative *ni*, also seen in (20b) marking the purposive form. In modern Japanese the *no-ni* sequence has been reanalyzed as a concessive conjunction.

7.6 Context dependency

The context dependency of sentence structure in Japanese is much more clearly pronounced than in languages like English. Indeed, it is rare that Japanese sentences express all the arguments of a verb such as a subject (or topic) and an object noun phrase included in the sentences used above for illustrative purposes. A typical dialog would take the following form, where what is inferable from the speech context is not expressed.

(21) a. Speaker A: *Tokorode, Murakami Haruki no saisin-saku*
by.the.way Murakami Haruki GEN newest-work
yon-da ka.
read-PST Q
'By the way, have (you) read Haruki Murakami's latest work?'

b. Speaker B: *Un, moo yon-da.*
uh-hu already read-PST
'Uh-hu, (I) have already read (it)'.

In (21a) A's utterance is missing a subject noun phrase referring to the addressee, and B's response in (21b) is missing both subject and object noun phrases. In some frameworks, sentences like these are analyzed as containing zero pronouns or as involving a process of "pro drop," which deletes assumed underlying pronouns. This kind of analysis, however, ignores the role of speech context completely and incorporates information contextually available into sentence structure. In an analysis that takes seriously the dialogic relationship between speech context and sentence structure, the expressions in (21) would be considered full sentences as they are.

7.7 Predicative verbal complexes and extenders

Coding or repeating contextually determinable verb phrases, as in (21b), is less offensive than expressing contextually inferable noun phrases, presumably because verb phrases have the predication function of assertion, and because they also code a wide range of other types of speech acts and of contextual information pertaining to the predication act. Declarative sentences with plain verbal endings like the one in (21b) are usable as "neutral" expressions in newspaper articles and literary works, where

no specific reader is intended. In daily discourse, the plain verbal forms "explicitly" code the speaker's attitude toward the hearer; namely, that the speaker is treating the hearer as his equal or inferior in social standing, determined primarily by age, power, and familiarity. If the addressee were socially superior or if the occasion demanded formality, a polite, addressee honorific form with the suffix *-masu* would be used, as below.

(22) *Hai, moo yom-i-masi-ta.*
yes already read-INF-POL-PST
'Yes, (I have) already read (it).'

Referent honorific forms are used when the speaker wishes to show deference toward the referent of arguments – subject honorific and object honorific (or humbling) forms, depending on the type of argument targeted. If (21b) were to be uttered in reference to a social superior, the following would be more appropriate:

(23) *Un, (Yamada-sensei wa) moo yom-are-ta.*
uh-hu (Yamada-professor TOP) already read-SUB.HON-PST
'Uh-hu, (Professor Yamada has) already read (it).'

This can be combined with the polite ending *-masu*, as below, where the speaker's deference is shown to both the referent of the subject noun phrase and the addressee:

(24) *Hai, (Yamada-sensei wa) moo yom-are-masi-ta.*
Yes (Yamada-professor TOP) already read-HON-POL-PST
'Yes, (Professor Yamada has) already read (it).'

As these examples show, Japanese typically employs agglutinative suffixes in the elaboration of verbal meanings associated with a predication act. The equivalents of English auxiliary verbs are either suffixes or formatives connected to verb stems and suffixed forms in varying degrees of tightness. These are hierarchically structured in a manner that expresses progressively more subjective and interpersonal meaning as one moves away from the verb-stem core toward the periphery. For example, in the following sentence a hyphen marks suffixal elements tightly bonded to the preceding form, an equal sign marks a more loosely connected formative, which permits insertion of certain elements such as the topic particle *wa*, and a space sets off those elements that are independent words following a finite predicate form, which may terminate the utterance.

(25) *(Taroo wa) ik-ase-rare-taku=na-katta rasi-i mitai*
(Taro TOP) go-CAUS-PASS-DESI=NEG-PST CONJEC-NONPST UNCERT
des-u wa.
COP.POL-NONPST SFP
'(Taro) appears to seem to not want to have been forced to go, I tell you.'

The final particle *wa* above encodes the information that the speaker is female. A male speaker would use *yo* or *da yo*, the latter a combination of the plain copula and *yo*, instead of *desu wa* above, or combinations such as *da ze* and *da zo* in rough speech.

Non-declarative Japanese sentences, on the other hand, frequently suppress auxiliary verbs, the copula, and the question particle, especially in casual speech, where intonation and tone of voice provide clues in guessing the intended speech act. Casual interrogatives take the form of (26a) with a nominalization marker bearing a rising intonation, marked by the question mark in the transcription, whereas fuller versions have the interrogative particle *ka* or a combination of the polite copula and *ka*, as in (26b).

(26) a. *Moo* *kaer-u* *no?*
already return-NONPST NM
'Going home already?'

b. *Moo* *kaer-u* *no* *(des.u)* *ka.*
already return-NONPST NM (COP.POL-NONPST) Q
'Going home already?'

Requests are made with the aid of an auxiliary-like "supporting" verb *kureru* 'GIVE (ME THE FAVOR OF . . .)', its polite form *kudasai*, or its intimate version *tyoodai*, as seen in (27a). Again, these forms are often suppressed in a highly intimate conversation and may result in a form like (27b).

(27) a. *Hayaku* *kaet-te* *kure/kudasai/tyoodai.*
soon return-GER GIVE.IMP/GIVE.POL-IMP/GIVE.INTI
'(Please) come home soon (for me/us).'

b. *Hayaku* *kaet-te* *ne.*
soon return-GER SFP
'(Please) come home soon, won't you?'

The use of dependent forms (e. g., the gerund *-te* form above) as independent sentences is similar to that of subjunctive forms in European languages as independent sentences, as illustrated by the English sentence below.

(28) *If you would give me five thirty-cent stamps.*

Conditionals are used as independent suggestion sentences in Japanese as well. For example, (29a) has a fuller version like (29b) with the copula as a main-clause verb, which can also be suppressed, giving rise to the truncated form (29c).

(29) a. *Hayaku kaet-tara?*
quickly return-COND
lit. 'If return quickly.' 'Why don't you go home quickly?'
b. *Hayaku kaet-tara ikaga des-u ka.*
quickly return-COND how COP.POL-NONPST Q
lit. 'How would it be it if (you) went home quickly?'
c. *Hayaku kaet-tara ikaga?*
quickly return-COND how
'Why don't (you) go home quickly?'

Understanding Japanese utterances requires full recourse to the elements of speech context, such as the nature of the speaker and the hearer and the social relationship between them, the information "in the air" that is readily accessible to the interlocutors, and the formality of the occasion. Indeed, the difficult part of the art of speaking Japanese is knowing how much to leave out from the utterance and how to infer what is left unsaid.

8 Conclusion

Many of the interesting topics in Japanese grammar introduced above are discussed in great detail in the Lexicon-Word Formation volume, the Syntax volume, and the present Semantics and Pragmatics volume of the HJLL series.. The Historical Linguistics volume also traces developments of some of the forms and constructions introduced above. The Sociolinguistics volume gives fuller accounts of sentence variations motivated by context and discourse genre.

Appendix: List of abbreviations for HJLL

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ACOP	adjectival copula
ADJ	adjective
AND	adnominal
ADV	adverb(ial(izer))
ADVL	adverbial
ADVPART	adverbial particle
AGR	agreement

AGT	agent
ALL	allative
AN	adjectival noun
ANTIP	antipassive
AP	adverbial particle, adjective phrase
APPL	applicative
ART	article
ASP	aspect
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
AUXV	auxiliary verb
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
COHORT	cohortative
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CONC	concessive
CONCL	conclusive
COND	conditional
CONJEC	conjectural
CONJCT	conjunctive
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
D	demonstrative
DECL	declarative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DESI	desiderative
DIST	distal
DISTR	distributive
DO	direct object
DU	dual
DUR	durative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
ETOP	emphatic topic
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclamatory, exclusive
EXPL	expletive
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund(ive)
H	high (tone or pitch)

HON	honorific
HUM	humble
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INT	intentional
INTERJEC	interjection
INTI	intimate
INTR	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
ITERA	iterative
k-irr	k-irregular (*ka-hen*)
L	low (tone or pitch)
LB	lower bigrade (*shimo nidan*)
LM	lower monograde (*shimo ichidan*)
LOC	locative
MPST	modal past
MVR	mid vowel raising
N	noun
n-irr	n-irregular(*na-hen*)
NCONJ	negative conjectual
NEC	necessitive
NEG	negative
NM	nominalization marker
NMLZ	nominalization/nominalizer
NMNL	nominal
NOM	nominative
NONPST	nonpast
NP	noun phrase
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
OPT	optative
P	patient-like argument of canonical transitive verb, preposition, postposition
PART	particle
PASS	passive
PST	past
PCONJ	present conjectural
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite
POLCOP	polite copula
POSS	possessive
POTEN	potential
PP	prepositional/postpositional phrase
PRED	predicative

PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PRES	presumptive
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROV	provisional
PROX	proximal/proximate
PST	past
PSTCONJ	past conjectural
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive
Q	question/question particle/question marker
QD	quadrigrade (*yodan*)
QUOT	quotative
r - irr	r - irregular (*ra-hen*)
REAL	realis
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
RES	resultative
RESP	respect
S	single argument of canonical intransitive verb, sentence
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SFP	sentence final particle
SG	singular
SIMUL	simultaneous
s-irr	s-irregular (*sa-hen*)
SPON	spontaneous
SPST	simple past
STAT	stative
TOP	topic
TR	transitive
UB	upper bigrade (*kami-nidan*
UNCERT	uncertain
UM	upper monograde (*kami-ichidan*)
V	verb, vowel
VN	verbal noun
VOC	vocative
VOL	volitional
VP	verb phrase

Languages

ConJ	contemporary Japanese
EMC	Early Middle Chinese
EMJ	Early Middle Japanese
EOJ	Eastern Old Japanese

J-Ch	Japano-Chinese
LMC	Late Middle Chinese
LMJ	Late Middle Japanese
JPN	Japanese
MC	Middle Chinese
MJ	Middle Japanese
MK	Middle Korean
ModJ	Modern Japanese
OC	Old Chinese
OJ	Old Japanese
pJ	proto-Japanese
pK	proto-Korean
SJ	Sino-Japanese
Skt	Sanskrit

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1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
AC	adversative conjunction
ACAUS	anticausative
ACC	accusative
ACPT	acceptance
ADD	additive
ADN	adnominal
ADNZ	adnominalizer
ADR	addressive
ADV	adverb(ial)
ADVL	adverbalizer
ADVRS	adversative
AHON	anti-honorific
ALL	allative
ANIM	animate
APRX	approximate
ASP	aspect
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CEX	counter expectation
CLF	classifier
CMP	comparative
CMPR	compromise
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
CONC	concessive
COND	conditional
CONF	confirmative
CONJ	conjunctive
CONJEC	conjecture
CONT	continuous
COP	copula
CSL	causal
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DES	desiderative
DEST	destinative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
DIREV	direct evidential
DIST	distal
DMD	demand
DSAT	dissatisfaction
DUB	dubitative

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EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EVAL	evaluative
EVEN	even
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
EXP	experiential, experiencer
EXPL	exemplative
EXT	extreme
FAM	familiar
FILL	filler
FN	fomal noun
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
HCR	hypocoristic
HEDGE	hedge
HON	honorific
HOR	hortative
HS	hearsay
HUM	humble
ICP	inceptive
IMP	imperative
INDEF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
INFO	information
INFR	inferential
INGR	ingressive
INJ	interjection
INST	instrumental
INT	invitation
INTL	intentional
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LIM	limitative
LOC	locative
LST	listing
LV	light verb
MAN	manner
MES	mesial
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NPST	non-past
OBL	oblique
OBLG	obligative
PASS	passive
PEJ	pejorative
PERS	person

PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite
POS	possibility
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
POTA	potential (ablitiy)
POTC	potential (circumstantial)
PRM	permissive
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROSP	prospective
PROX	proximate
PRPR	preparative
PST	past
PURP	purposive
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
REC	recitation
REF	reflexive
REM	reminiscence
REQ	request
RES	resultative
RHET	rhetorical
RST	restrictive
SEEM	seeming
SEQ	sequential
SFP	sentence final particle
SG	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SP	spontaneous
TERM	terminative
THM	thematic vowel
TOP	topic
VBLZ	verbalizer
VOL	volitional

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Nobuko Kibe, Tetsuo Nitta, and Kan Sasaki

Introduction: Japanese dialects

This volume is the first full-fledged handbook on the subject of Japanese dialects written in English. Our aim is to explain Japanese dialectology in an accessible manner, drawing upon prior scholarship and integrating the most recent findings from the field of general linguistics. This introductory chapter comprises three sections: Section 1 is an overview of the classification of regional variations of the Japonic languages from the perspective of comparative linguistics; Section 2 is a brief introduction to each subsequent chapter; and Section 3 illustrates the notation employed for the examples in this volume.

1 Japanese, Ryūkyūan and Hachijō languages

It is necessary to first discuss the dialect situation in Japan. In particular, the status of the languages of the Ryūkyūan archipelago and the one spoken on the islands of Hachijōjima and Aogashima has been a major question in the study of Japanese dialects. From the Meiji period until recently, these languages have been considered dialects of Japanese. This decision stems from the following circumstances.

Modern Japanese dialect studies began in earnest during the Meiji period under the influence of Western linguistics. In 1902, the Meiji government established the Committee for Investigation of the Japanese Language, tasked with codifying "Kokugo" (Standard Japanese). This initiative included a nationwide survey of dialects, resulting in the publication of two seminal reports: *On'in bunpuzu* [*Phonological atlas*] in 1905 and *Kōgohō bunpuzu* [*Grammatical atlas*] in 1906. These pioneering atlases unveiled the linguistic diversity across Japan for the first time, offering invaluable insights on numerous fronts (see Chapter 1). Misao Tōjō, who was involved in the creation of the two atlases, became interested in how Japanese dialects could be classified, and proposed a dialect division theory; namely, the idea that "a geographical division map, based on historical interpretation, would indicate a diachronic 'differentiation process' within a single language" (see Chapter 1 this volume). Tōjō delineated Japanese into two primary dialect groups: the Ryūkyūan dialects and the Mainland dialects (Tōjō 1927, 1934, 1953). The Mainland dialects were further divided into the eastern dialects (from Hokkaidō to Gifu and Aichi), western dialects (from Hokuriku to Chūgoku and Shikoku), and Kyūshū dialects.

Regarding the variety spoken on Hachijōjima and Aogashima, Tōjō categorized it as one of the eastern dialects of the Mainland dialects (Tōjō 1953). Tōjō's pioneering work, providing a seminal framework for dialect divisions during the first half of the

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20th century, exerted a profound influence on Japanese dialect studies, in which both Ryūkyūan and Hachijō were treated as dialects of Japanese.

Prior to Tōjō's influential work, however, Basil Hall Chamberlain had raised the possibility that Ryūkyūan ("Luchuan" by Chamberlain) and Japanese are sister languages descended from the common ancestor language (Chamberlain 1895). Four decades later, Shirō Hattori used the tools of comparative linguistics for a detailed analysis of the phonological correspondences among Ryūkyūan, the Mainland Japanese dialects of Kyōto and Tōkyō, and Central Old Japanese and attempted a reconstruction of *Nihon sogo* (proto-Japanese), the putative ancestral language of these varieties (Hattori 1932, 1959: 83, 1976, 1978–9). In addition, on the basis of apparent innovations shared by the Kyūshū dialects and Ryūkyūan languages, Hattori argued that Kyūshū dialects and Ryūkyūan developed from a common ancestor, proto-Kyūshū-Ryūkyūan (Hattori 1959: 86, 1976). In recent years, Yōsuke Igarashi and others have followed in Hattori's footsteps and are pursuing this Proto-Kyūshū-Ryūkyūan hypothesis (Igarashi 2016, 2023).

It was Tadao Hōjō who first suggested that several characteristics of the Hachijō language can be traced back to those of the eastern old Japanese dialects, whose features are gleaned from the eastern poems (so-called 東歌/adzuma-uta) of *Man'yōshū* (Hōjō 1948). Hattori, too, attached great importance to this point, and inferred that Eastern Old Japanese (the ancestor of the Hachijō and the eastern old Japanese dialects) branched off from proto-Japanese at a very early stage. Since Hachijō, Kyūshū dialects, and Ryūkyūan exhibit common characteristics that differ from Central Old Japanese, Hattori concluded that Proto-Kyūshū-Ryūkyūan, Central Old Japanese, and Eastern Old Japanese diverged from Proto-Japanese (Figure 1). Notice that Eastern Old Japanese here represents a parent language of Hachijō and the variety whose features are partially reflected in *Man'yōshū* and is not a parent language of the contemporary eastern variations; the dialects spoken today in the eastern regions of Tōhoku and Kantō are hypothesized to have developed from the Central Old Japanese along with those spoken in Chūbu, Hokuriku, Kinki, Chūgoku, and Shikoku areas, contrary to the earlier treatment of them by Tōjō (see Kindaichi 1967).

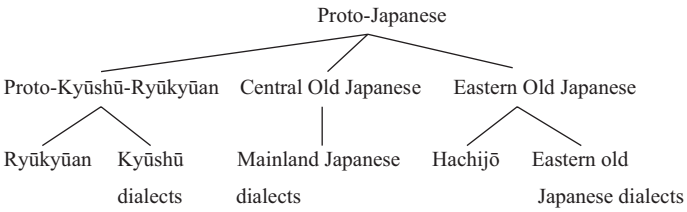


Figure 1: Shared lineage of Ryūkyūan, Mainland Japanese dialects, and Hachijō based on Hattori (1959, 1976).

In this way, in Japan, Hattori emerged as a central figure spearheading advancements in understanding the genesis of Mainland Japanese, Ryūkyūan, and Hachijō. Throughout his research program, Hattori consistently referred to the ancestral language of

these as “Nihon sogo (proto-Japanese)”. In recent years, however, the mainstream view is that Ryūkyūan and Hachijō are sufficiently different from the mainland Japanese dialects, meriting the treatment of them as independent languages. This thinking calls into question the designation of the common ancestor as “proto-Japanese”. Current practice is to restrict the label “Japanese” to “Mainland Japanese” and to call the family of languages spoken in the Japanese archipelago “Japonic”. The ancestral language of Japanese, Ryūkyūan and Hachijō is now referred to as “proto-Japonic” (Serafim 1994, 2003). Reflecting these developments in recent years, UNESCO’s *Atlas of the world’s languages in danger (3rd edition)* (Moseley 2009), recognizes Ryūkyūan and Hachijō as distinct languages rather than as dialects of Japanese.

One of the most recent attempts at the classification of the Japonic languages is found in De Boer (2020). According to her, Japonic has four branches: Eastern Old Japanese, Central Old Japanese, Kyūshū-Ryūkyū, and Izumo-Tōhoku. The distinction between Eastern Old Japanese and Central Old Japanese follows the distinction found in the *Man’yōshū*, and the Kyūshū-Ryūkyū branch corresponds to Hattori’s (1959, 1976) proto-Kyūshū-Ryūkyūan. Shared linguistic characteristics in the Izumo and Tōhoku dialects form the basis for establishing the Izumo-Tōhoku branch. This newly proposed branch represents a significant departure from the traditional classification of the languages of the Japanese archipelago.

2 Structure and contents of this volume

This volume encompasses the mainland Japanese dialects. While the Ryūkyūan and Hachijō are now considered independent languages rather than mere dialects of Japanese, Hachijō has often been discussed in conjunction with Japanese (see Kaneda (2001), and Hirako and Pellard (2013) for recent developments). Since the scale of Hachijō is too small to merit a separate volume, it is included in this volume under the designation of the Hachijō dialect (Chapter 29). The Ryūkyūan languages, on the other hand, are treated separately as Volume 11 of this Series, the *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*.

The present volume is structured as follows: Part I “Overview of Japanese dialectology”, Part II “Topics in Japanese dialectology” and Part III “Sketch grammars of Japanese dialects”. Part I covers the fundamental aspects of dialectology, including classification, dialect division and geolinguistics. Part II deals with a broad range of topics in Japanese dialects, including phonetic, phonological and prosodic aspects, and grammatical topics, including case-marking and related phenomena, tense and aspect, potential expressions, verbs of giving and their extended usage, honorifics and related expressions, nominalization, and sentence-final particles. Part III provides grammatical sketches of fourteen representative dialects, including the Hachijō dialect. Each chapter within this section delineates the linguistic characteristics of the respective dialect.

Part I Overview of Japanese dialectology

Chapter 1 "The classification and division of Japanese dialects" by Seiya Abe serves as an overview and discussion of various dialect division theories and of geolinguistic studies using isoglosses. In the first half of this chapter, Tōjō's dialect division theory, which had an immense influence on dialect studies in Japan, as well as various dialect division proposals based on this theory – Tsuneo Tsuzuku's dialect division, Haruhiko Kindaichi's dialect division, Yoichi Fujiwara's dialect division, and Mitsuo Okumura's dialect division – are introduced, and the characteristics and issues of each proposal are discussed. In the latter half of this chapter, three dialect isogloss bundles in Japan are discussed. Bundle I is called the "Itoigawa-Hamanako dialect boundary", dividing the eastern and western dialects. Bundle II is called the "ABA pattern distribution", dividing Japan into a central region B and a periphery A surrounding it to form a peripheral distribution of dialect forms. Bundle III is called the "North-South isogloss band" which extends from east to west and divides dialects into southern and northern variants. In summary, Abe advocates for a critical reevaluation of Tōjō's dialect division theory, underscoring the imperative of revisiting established frameworks within the realm of Japanese dialectology.

Chapter 2 "Dialect formation in Japanese: Evaluating Yanagita's theory of peripheral distribution of dialect forms" by Takashi Kobayashi critically examines the theory of peripheral distribution of dialectal forms and its relevance within contemporary theories of dialect formation. In this chapter, it is first explained that Yanagita's theory involves three distinct phases: "propagation", "acceptance", and "preservation". The chapter then delves into a discussion of the issues pertinent to each phase as follows: (a) for the "phase of propagation", the issues are the kind of words conveyed and factors causing the propagation of language forms; (b) for the "phase of acceptance", the issues center on intralinguistic and extralinguistic (social) factors in acceptance and regional differences in the way of thinking about acceptance of language forms; and for the "phase of preservation", the issues are the preservation of old linguistic forms of the central dialects in peripheral regions and language forms unique to specific regions. In conclusion, the chapter highlights that the issues explored therein are anticipated to emerge as crucial themes within the realm of dialect formation theory in the future.

Chapter 3 "Geolinguistics of Japanese" by Takuichirō Ōnishi provides an outline of the geolinguistics of Japanese and traces the historical development of the field. This chapter is structured into the following eight sections, each addressing key aspects of geolinguistic inquiry. (a) Introduction to the discovery of isoglosses and distributions: An exposition of early endeavors such as *Butsurui Shōko* (1775), *On'in bunpuzu* [*Phonological atlas*] (1905), and *Kōgohō bunpuzu* [*Grammatical atlas*] (1906). (b) The theory of peripheral distribution of dialectal forms: An Overview of Yanagita's proposition. (c) A clash concerning the goals of dialectology: An explanation of the differences between

the research of Yanagida and Tōjō. (d) The victory of effective methodology: An introduction to the Takesi Sibata's geolinguistic research methodology. (e) The linguistic atlas of Japan: An introduction to the NINJAL's *Linguistic atlas of Japan* (LAJ) and exemplary analyses employing it. (f) Dialect atlases of smaller areas: An introduction to the dialect atlases focusing on specific regions. (g) Editing maps and releasing data through standardized procedures: The standardization of methodological practices and data dissemination in the *Grammar atlas of Japanese dialects* (GAJ). (h) The variety of analyzes of dialect distribution: An introduction to new research methods, including Geographic Information System (GIS) techniques.

Part II Topics in Japanese dialectology

Chapter 4 "Sound variations in the mainland Japanese dialects" by Masao Aizawa provides an overview of the phonetic variation of segments, i.e., vowels and consonants, in traditional Japanese dialects. The "mainland Japanese dialects" in this chapter are all the dialects spoken in the Japanese archipelago minus the Ryūkyūan dialects (Ryūkyūan languages) spoken in the islands south from Kikaijima, east of Amami Ōshima. The dialects spoken in Hokkaidō are also excluded from the discussion because of their historical background, i.e., their relatively recent formation. Concerning vowels, four topics are discussed: the distribution of the central vowel [ï] corresponding to Standard Japanese [i]; the distribution of the diphthong [ei] corresponding to Standard /ee/; phonetic variation in the coalescence of the vowel sequences /ai/, /oi/ and /ui/; and the distinction between the long non-high back vowels [ɔː] and [oː]. Concerning consonants, five topics are discussed: variation in phonetic realization, including denasalization and fricativization of /g/, traditionally realized as [g] in word-initial position and [ŋ] in non-word-initial position; preservation and loss of prenasalization of voiced obstruents; preservation, loss, and change into other consonants of the labialized velar stops in [kwa] and [gwa]; the distribution of palatalized fricatives and affricates before [e], i.e., [ʃe], [ʒe], and [dʒe], corresponding to Standard Japanese /se/ and /ze/; and variation in the mergers of /zi/, /zu/, /di/, and /du/ (so-called *yotsugana*).

Chapter 5 "VOT in Japanese dialects" by Mieko Takada examines the variation in the voice onset time (VOT) of stop consonants in word-initial position across Japanese dialects, considering five key factors: place of articulation, following vowel, region, generation, and gender. Drawing from analysis conducted on two phonetic corpora, Takada presents several generalizations pertaining to voiced stops. Firstly, regarding place of articulation, it is found that the velar position exhibits the most significant effect on voicing lag. Additionally, high vowels are observed to exert the greatest influence on VOT values among following vowels. Regionally, Tōhoku dialects notably display VOT values predominantly concentrated in the semi-voiced region above 0 milliseconds, contrasting with non-Tōhoku regions where values are distributed both above and

below 0 milliseconds. With regard to generation, the VOT values of the grandchildren's generation were greater than those of the grandparent's generation. A gender difference can be observed in the Kantō and West region: across generations, the VOT values of females were higher than those of males, and the gender difference is especially striking in the grandchildren's generation. This chapter also points out an implicational relationship among positive VOT value in word-initial position, prenasalization, and voicing of stops in word-medial position: the area where the VOT of word-initial voiced stops is positive is included in the area where word-medial prenasalization and voicing of stops are found. The last part of this chapter deals with diachronic change in the VOT range of voiced and voiceless stops.

Chapter 6 "Accent in Japanese dialects" by Nobuko Kibe is an overview of the variety of accentual systems in Japanese dialects. The notions of accent kernel and tonal register are introduced. Accent kernel is defined as the distinctive features of accentual units characterized by pitch movement, including location and direction. On the other hand, tonal register refers to the distinctive features of accentual units characterized by their specified shapes. Japanese dialects are categorized into four major types based on their accentual characteristics: dialects with both accent kernel and tonal register; dialects with accent kernels; dialects with a fixed number of accent kernel positions (N-pattern dialects); and dialects which lack accentual distinctions. Different types of accent kernel are also distinguished: lowering kernels, which lower the pitch of the following prosodic unit, ascending kernels, which are characterized by a rise in pitch on the prosodic unit that is associated with the accent kernel, and raising kernels, which raise the pitch of the following prosodic unit. Similarly, tonal register is further classified into subtypes, including high-level register, low-rising register, and high-falling register, each exhibiting specific pitch contours over the course of the accentual unit. To illustrate these accentual systems, the chapter utilizes data from representative dialects of each type, providing concrete examples to facilitate understanding and comparison. This chapter exemplifies accentual systems using data from representative dialects of each type.

Chapter 7 "Intonation in Japanese dialects" by Yōsuke Igarashi surveys Japanese dialect intonation systems in terms of boundary pitch movements (BPM), prosodic phrasing, and how intonation is used to mark focus. The chapter begins by examining BPM in question sentences, categorizing Japanese dialects into several types based on their distinct patterns: dialects employing a rising BPM for both yes-no questions (YNQ) and wh-questions (WHQ), dialects utilizing a rising BPM exclusively for WHQs, dialects employing a rising BPM solely for YNQs, and dialects lacking a BPM for expressing interrogativity. Additionally, dialects with specific BPMs conveying meanings beyond questions are explored. With regard to prosodic phrasing, dialects are classified as category α dialects, where prosodic word boundaries are almost obligatorily marked by prosody, category β dialects, where prosodic word boundaries are frequently not marked by prosody, and dialects which are intermediate between category α and category β.

The variety of causes of dephrasing among dialects is also discussed: left-branching phrase structures cause dephrasing in most dialects, and wh-questions and noun modifying structures with a genitive-marked noun or the "*mo*/*temo* construction" induce dephrasing in some dialects. Dialectal variation in downstep and prosodic marking of utterance-finality are also discussed. Dialectal differences in focal-dephrasing is the last topic of this chapter, providing the discussion of the principle of dephrasing in many Japanese dialects, including the Tōkyō dialect.

Chapter 8 "Metaphorical expressions in sericultural vocabulary" by Saeko Arai explores the metaphorical usage of sericultural vocabulary in Gunma Prefecture, a prominent center of sericulture in Japan. The chapter begins with a comprehensive survey of the variation in word forms denoting "silkworm" and their geographical distribution. It then proceeds to explore the metaphorical usage of sericultural terminology in Gunma, where the decline of the sericultural industry has led to the adoption of sericulture-related words in unrelated contexts. Arai's analysis centers on 14 key words related to sericulture, each exhibiting metaphorical extensions in various domains: words denoting rearing periods in a year metaphorically used to classify people according to the season they were born in; words representing stages of growth metaphorically referring to individuals in different life stages; words describing illness symptoms metaphorically employed to express people's health conditions; words delineating ways of raising metaphorically utilized to describe methods of caring for children; and words associated with mulberry metaphorically denoting women past the prime age for marriage or plum trees that have become overgrown from a lack of pruning. The last part of this chapter advocates an analysis of the metaphorical mechanism yielding the usages in fields other than sericulture.

Chapter 9 "Case and related phenomena in Japanese dialects" by Kan Sasaki deals with the dialectal variation observed in case particles, case alignment, case frames, syntactic properties of oblique elements, and voice. Concerning case alignment, this chapter illustrates differential object marking in the Mitsukaidō and Sendai dialects, split intransitivity in the Kumamoto dialect, and examines the validity of an ergative analysis for experiencer NPs marked with *gani*, an experiencer-specific case particle, in the Kantō area. With regard to voice, the topics covered include the variation of case forms used with the agent of the passive, restricted double accusative marking in causative constructions in the Mitsukaidō dialect, the anticausative in Hokkaidō, and the double causative in the Shuri dialect. Diachronic changes, such as the grammaticalization of case particles from other grammatical categories and the decline of dialectal case particles among the modern younger generation, are also discussed.

Chapter 10 "Grammaticalization of aspect and tense in Japanese dialects" by Satoshi Tsuda deals with the variation of aspect and tense in Japanese dialects and the grammaticalization of existential verbs as a source of morphemes expressing aspect and

tense. This chapter begins with a survey of the tense and aspect system of Standard Japanese, which manifests a non-past (*-ru*) / past (*-ta*) opposition in tense and a perfective (*-ru*/*ta*) / durative (*-te i-ru*/*-te i-ta*) opposition in aspect. It then introduces tense and aspect systems which differ from that of Standard Japanese. Tense systems with a three-way distinction, non-past (*-ru*) / past (*-ta*) / disassociated past (*-tat-ta*), are exemplified with the data from Tōhoku dialects, where the meaning of the past form extends to present perfect. Aspectual systems with a three-way distinction, perfective (*-ru*) / progressive (*-jor-u*) / resultative (*-tor-u*), are illustrated with data from western Japanese dialects. Concerning the aspectual forms, besides the basic usages, extended usages such as evidentiality and attitudinal expression are discussed. The chapter concludes with the history of research related to dialectal variation of aspect.

Chapter 11 "Potential expressions in Japanese dialects" by Katsumi Shibuya provides an overview of potential expressions employed in Standard Japanese and Japanese dialects. This chapter begins by introducing the forms, meanings, and syntactic properties of potential expressions in Standard Japanese and proceeds to the dialectal variation of potential expressions. Potential expressions specific to dialects are illustrated: non-past form of verb + (*ni*) 'DAT' *ii* 'good' in Tōhoku dialects, potential expression with the adverb *joo* 'good.INF' + verb in Kinki and Shikoku dialects, infinitive form of verb + *kir-* 'cut' in the Fukuoka dialect, infinitive form of verb + *ga* 'NOM' *nar-u* 'become-NPST' in the Kagoshima dialect, and so on. The distribution of these forms is presented in four maps. The presence or absence of a formal distinction between ability and circumstantial potential in dialects is illustrated. The chapter also delves into the historical development and grammaticalization processes of potential expressions, providing insights into their evolution and usage patterns over time.

Chapter 12 "Verbs of giving in Japanese dialects" by Mizuho Hidaka deals with the geographical distribution and development of verbs of giving. Hidaka's analysis reveals a distinct pattern of distribution, where dialects exhibiting a lexical opposition between centrifugal verbs (indicating movement away from the speaker) and centripetal verbs (indicating movement toward the speaker) are concentrated in the central region of Japan. Surrounding these dialects are areas where such a lexical opposition is absent. This distribution suggests that dialects featuring the opposition in grammatical person directionality emerged from those lacking it. In regions where dialects with and without this opposition come into contact, a gradual transformation occurs in the usage of the verb *kure-ru* 'to give', particularly in its directional implications. Two key constraints influence this transformation: (1) The "situatedness constraint": a presentation sentence retains the centrifugal direction use of *kure-ru* more readily than a narrative sentence. (2) The "grammaticalization constraint": a main-verb usage of *kure-ru* retains its centrifugal direction meaning more readily than when used as an auxiliary verb. The strength of these constraints varies across different regions. The situatedness constraint

holds greater influence in the western part of eastern Japan, while the grammaticalization constraint is more pronounced in the eastern part of eastern Japan.

Chapter 13 "Honorifics and related expressions in Kansai dialects" by Chie Takagi deals with attitudinal expressions, namely, honorific, polite, and anti-honorific expressions. Japanese dialects are classified into *keigo*-less dialects (dialects without honorifics) and *keigo*-present dialects following Katō (1973). The Kansai (Kinki) area, renowned for its rich linguistic heritage, is highlighted as a region where honorific and politeness systems are particularly well-developed. This chapter illustrates the usage of various suffixes for attitudinal expressions: honorific suffixes -(*r*)*ar*-, -(*s*)*aserar*-, -(*i*)*nasar*-, and *o*-V-(*i*)*asubas*-; anti-honorific suffixes -(*i*)*jor*-, -(*i*)*jar*-, and -(*i*)*jaɴs*-; and the polite suffix -*mas*-. The person restriction on the subject for certain honorific and anti-honorific suffixes is discussed, referring to Miyaji (1987) and Tsuji (2009). The honorific usage of the gerundive suffix -*te* in dialects is also exemplified. The chapter also explores attitudinal expressions that do not utilize verbal suffixes, encompassing address and reference terms, polite copulas, honorific and anti-honorific existence verbs, and sentence-final particles.

Chapter 14 "Japonic nominalizations in cross-dialectal perspective" by Masayoshi Shibatani and Tetsuo Nitta outlines the variety of adnominal modification structures and nominalizations in Ryūkyūan and Japanese dialects and advocates an analysis of the diachronic change concerning these structures based on the theoretical framework of nominalization developed by Shibatani (2019), where genitive-marking of adnominal modifier NPs and adnominal endings of predicates are regarded as nominalizers and *juntaijoshi* (quasi-nominal particles) function as NP-use markers. This chapter argues that the synchronic variation and the diachronic development of nominalizers and NP-use markers for N(oun)-based and V(erb)-based nominalizations, including a transitional situation, can be explained by considering the NP use of N-based nominalization to be a locus of innovation.

Chapter 15 "Sentence-final particles" by Masaru Inoue provides a semantic analysis of the major sentence-final particles (SFPs) found in the dialect spoken in the Inami area of Nanto City in Toyama Prefecture as an example of the semantic analysis of SFPs in Japanese dialects. The sentence-final expressions analyzed in this chapter include *ŋai* / *ŋaja* corresponding to SJ *noda*, interrogative *ke* and *ka*, and SFPs used in imperative and declarative sentences. In both declarative and interrogative sentences, *ŋai* conveys information to the addressee, and *ŋaja* expresses a change in the speaker's perception. While *ke* has a clear meaning of asking for information from the addressee, *ka* expresses the state of the speaker's perception regarding hypothesis construction, question generation, and information acceptance. Imperative sentences with *ja* and *ma* are coercive imperatives, imposing an obligation on the addressee, and are differentiated according to whether or not there are circumstances that do not match the speaker's intentions; imperative sentences with *ka* are permissive imperatives, giving permission to the

addressee. SFPs for declarative sentences are divided into two groups: *tɕa*, *wa*, which can be followed by *nee*, and *dʑe*, *dʑa*, *ŋa*, which cannot be combined with other SFPs. *tɕa*, *wa* express the speaker's mode of judgment: "established" versus "provisional". *dʑe*, *dʑa*, *ŋa* are used in situations where there is a conflict between existing assumptions and reality, and denote whether the speaker takes the position of "perplexity", "acceptance of reality", or "recommendation to accept reality" in the situation.

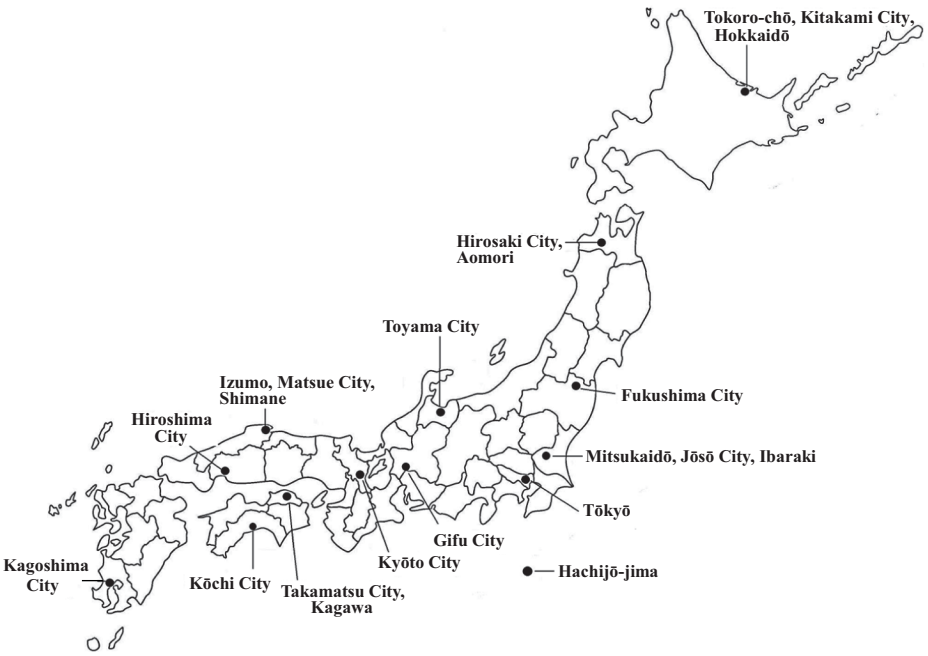
Part III Sketch grammars of Japanese dialects

Part III provides grammatical sketches of fourteen representative dialects. The fourteen dialects have been selected so that each region from Hokkaidō to Kagoshima is represented, and the list of topics included in the sketches is based on Shimoji (2013, 2017, 2018). At the end of each sketch, "Topic" (Local phenomena) was added to describe phenomena specific to that dialect. Below is a list of the fourteen dialects covered in this part, Map 1 showing their locations, and a list of the topics included in the dialect sketches.

List of dialects

List of topics

4 Verb morphology
  4.1 Inflectional morphology, 4.2 Voice, 4.3 Aspect, 4.4 Mood,
  4.5 Respect language forms, 4.6 Existential verbs
5 Morphology of adjectives and copulas
  5.1 Basic structure, 5.2 Word classes
6 Adnominals, adverbs, and interjections
7 Interrogatives
8 Focus particles and other information-structure markers
9 Clause-final particles
  9.1 Nominalization particles,
  9.2 Conjunctive particles and suffixes,
  9.3 Sentence-final particles
10 Topic (Local phenomena)



Map 1: The fourteen dialects covered in Part III (Drawing by Kibe).

3 Writing, alphabetic transcription

As was noted at the beginning of this volume in the "Introduction to the Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics", Standard Japanese (SJ) is romanized using the Kunrei-shiki (ISO 3602) system throughout the Series. In this volume too, the Kunrei-shiki system is used for SJ words and sentences. For example, as shown below in (1) and (2), SJ sentences are written in the Kunrei-shiki system and followed by the label "(SJ)".

(1) *watasi wa so-no hon o yom-u.* (SJ)
1SG TOP MES-ADNZ book ACC read-NPST
'I read the book.'

(2) *basu ga daigaku ni tuk-u.* (SJ)
bus NOM university LOC arrive-NPST
'The bus is arriving at the university.' (from Chapter 10)

On the other hand, words and sentences in regional dialects are written in broad phonetic transcription. Examples (3) and (4) below are taken from Chapter 17 "Tsugaru dialect (Western Aomori)". In Part III, since the cited sentences are unambiguously dialect examples, they are not followed by a dialect label.

(3) *wa ojoŋ-e-rü.*
1SG swim-POTA-NPST
'I am able to swim.'

(4) *suïttsï kade-ɸ-te os-asan-ne.*
switch hard-ADV-GER push-POTC-NEG
'The light switch is hard to push (because it is clogged with dust, has deteriorated over time, or the like).' (from Chapter 17)

The reason for using broad a phonetic transcription to represent dialect forms is to enable readers to see the phonetic differences among dialects by just looking at the example sentences. For example, (3) and (4) above show that in this dialect the vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as central [ï] and [ü]. Also, nasal [ŋ] is used intervocalically (as in [ojoŋ-e-rü] /ojog-e-ru/ 'able to swim' in (3)), and /t/ is pronounced [d] intervocalically (as in [kade] /kate/ 'hard' in (4)). If phonemic transcriptions were used instead, (3) and (4) would be written as in (3′) and (4′), making it difficult to see characteristic features of

the Tsugaru dialect. For this reason the use of a broad phonetic transcription for dialect words and sentences is preferable.[1]

(3′) *wa ojog-e-ru.*

(4′) *suittsi kate-ϕ-te os-asan-ne.*

When consulting example sentences in this volume, it is important to keep in mind the writing conventions that have been adopted. Caution is necessary, especially when a dialect example and an SJ example are both cited. For example, in Chapter 15, the characteristics of sentence-final particles in the Inami dialect (ID) of Toyama Prefecture are explained by comparing ID sentences with SJ sentences. (5a) and (6a) below are ID examples, whereas (5b) and (6b) are SJ examples, and since the systems for representing ID and SJ differ, the romanization can differ even when an ID form and an SJ form are phonologically identical. Although the ID and SJ romanizations are not the same, the underlined portions in (5) (*jasumi* [ID] and *yasumi* [SJ] 'holiday') and in (6) (*taꞓika* [ID] and *tasika* [SJ] 'probably'; *ju:be* [ID] and *yuube* [SJ] 'last night') do not differ phonologically in ID and SJ; they are /jasumi/, /tasika/, and /juube/ in both. It is therefore essential to pay careful attention to the label ([ID] or [SJ]) following each sentence.

(5) a. *sekkaku jasumi na ŋaja sakai, . . .* [ID]
preciously holiday COP.ADN NMLZ.COP CSL
b. *sekkaku yasumi na nda kara,. . .* [SJ]
preciously holiday COP.ADN NMLZ.COP CSL
'As it is a precious holiday, . . .'

(6) a. *taꞓika ju:be meŋane koko ni oi-ta ne:↓.* [ID]
probably last.night glasses here LOC put-PST SFP
b. *tasika yuube megane o koko ni oi-ta yo nee↓.* [SJ]
probably last.night glasses ACC here LOC put-PST SFP SFP
'Certainly, I put my glasses here last night.' (from Chapter 15)

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1 Section 2 (Phonology) of each chapter in Part III includes a phoneme inventory and the phonetic forms and allophones of each phoneme. Please refer to these accounts for the phonemic system of each dialect.

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Part I: **Overview of Japanese dialectology**

Seiya Abe

1 The classification and division of Japanese dialects

1 Dialect typology and research on the division of Japanese dialects

Research on the geographical division of dialects is included, in a broad sense, in the typology of dialects. As such, it is a topic applicable to any language. There are two dialectological approaches to the classification of dialects within a single language: Classification by "dialect typology" and a phylogenetic classification from a diachronic perspective.

The study of Japanese languages, including dialects, has developed anew since the end of the samurai era and the introduction of Western linguistics which followed the beginning of modernity in the Meiji era (1968). The study of dialects, on the other hand, began with a study of the geographical differences and historical relationships between the various dialects aimed at establishing the first national "standard" language, and thus developed independently before being influenced by developed anew Western linguistics.

Research on the geographical classification of dialects in Japan has been greatly influenced in recent years (since roughly 1900) by the "dialect division theory" of Tōjō Misao. Tōjō's dialect division theory was proposed both to capture concrete characteristics of the various dialects and their geographical scope, and also to systematically ascertain the mutual similarities between dialects (or their diachronic relatedness). The dialect division theory was the first theory in dialectology proposed by a Japanese scholar. Subsequent dialect research developed in parallel with Tōjō's division theory for some time. Regarding the question of whether the ideas behind Tōjō's division theory were diachronic or synchronic, each researcher had their own understanding, and the dialect division theory later developed in the form of a mixture of typological synchronic divisions and diachronic divisions. In this way, under the influence of Tōjō's theory, dialect division theory in Japan developed in a unique way, different from dialectology in the West.

In addition, parallel to the development of Tōjō's theory, a great number of studies based on Western research were also conducted, and, as a result, attempts were made to divide dialects by "isoglosses" and to classify them using the concept of "dialect regions".

In the first half of this chapter, I will introduce Tōjō's dialect division theory, which had an immense influence on dialect studies in Japan, as well as research proposing dialect divisions based on this theory. The latter half will describe representative isogloss studies and dialect regions located in the central part of Japan.

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Before getting into these topics, however, I will discuss past records concerning dialect divisions in Japan that form the background to Tōjō's ideas. These records, from before the modern era, influenced the diachronic thinking in the formation of Tōjō's proposal.

2 Awareness of dialect divisions (Preceding Tōjō's dialect division theory)

Dialectical differences were interpreted as geographically distributed 1,300 years before the proposal of Tōjō's dialect division theory, and these views also had an effect on the theory's development. This section will introduce some representative examples of this historical awareness of dialect divisions.

Early classical period (Nara period)

In the *Man'yōshū*, an eighth century poetry collection, there is a volume called *adzuma-uta,* 'eastern poems', that contains poems solely from the present-day eastern Japan region. Grammatical, phonetic, and lexical features that differ from the poems in other volumes can be found in these poems, allowing confirmation of the existence of an eastern Japanese dialect at the time (the Tōgoku dialect). Examples include characteristics that still remain in eastern Japanese dialects today, such as the use of the suffix *-ro* to form the imperative of monograde verbs (e.g., *mi-ro* 'look.at-IMP'), and use of the form **nafu*, considered to be the source of the modern negative verbal suffix *-nai*, as well as pronunciation of western Japanese /ti/ as /si/. Accordingly, awareness of a bipartite division can be identified in the partition of the country into eastern Japan, the scope of the *adzuma-uta*, which includes the area of today's Niigata, Nagano, and Shizuoka Prefectures and regions east of these (excluding a part of Niigata called Koshi no kuni), and western Japan as everything to the west.

Late classical period (Heian period)

The *Tōdaiji-fujumonkō*, a record kept by priests at Tōdaiji, a temple in Nara, in the early ninth century, contains fragments of manuscripts for *hōe*, sermons given at Buddhist ceremonies. These are labeled "Tōgoku (当国=our local country) dialect" (=dialect of today's western dialect areas), "Hida dialect" (dialect of today's Nagano region), "Tōgoku (東国=eastern country) dialect" (dialect of today's eastern dialect areas) and "Mōjin (Emishi) dialect" (=a particular characteristic eastern dialect), showing perception of a four-way dialect division.

Medieval (Kamakura-Muromachi period)

Around the fifteenth century, there was a proverb that read "*Kyō 'e', Tsukushi 'ni', Bandō 'sa'.*" '"E" in Kyōto, "ni" in Tsukushi (modern Kyūshū), and "sa" in Bandō (modern eastern Japan)', showing the different directional particles used in the different regions named, and demonstrating perception of a three-way dialect division. In addition, in the Muromachi *Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam com Adeclaração em Portuges* 'Dictionary of the Japanese language with explanations in Portuguese attached' published in 1603–1604 by the Society of Jesus, Kyūshū forms are marked *shimo* 'below', indicating a recognition of the uniqueness of Kyūshū dialects. The dialects of several regions are also recorded in *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*, a Japanese grammar book written in Portuguese by João Rodriguez for missionaries to study Japanese, published over the period 1604–1608, However, this subsumes forms from all eastern Japanese dialects under the term Bandō. From these two works, it is clear that in the latter half of the medieval period, there was an awareness of the Kyūshū dialects as having special characteristics.

Early modern (Edo period)

In *Butsuruishōko*, an Edo period collection of dialect forms from across Japan, Japanese dialects are divided into eastern and western, with the boundary between the two running along the borders between modern Shiga and Mie Prefectures and modern Gifu and Aichi Prefectures. In addition, there were numerous collections of dialect forms written in the Edo period. An interesting point is whether the dialect forms are translated into (glossed with) Kyōto or Edo (modern Tōkyō) forms. For example, until the mid-eighteenth century, the various dialect forms were glossed with Kyōto forms, but in the years following, they were glossed with Edo forms. This demonstrates that, from the latter half of the eighteenth century, the language of Edo had been spreading throughout the country.

The location of the east-west boundary in the *Man'yōshū* (seventh century), and that of *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* (seventeenth century), coincide with the east-west boundary found in the Meiji period dialect studies to be described later (see Figure 1.1). This boundary line is the oldest recorded Japanese dialect boundary line. Because the line coincides with a line drawn from Itoigawa in Niigata Prefecture on the Japan Sea coast to Hamanako on the Pacific coast, it is called the "Itoigawa-Hamanako dialect boundary" (See section 5 for more details).

While this boundary is considered to be primary in most theories of dialect division, there is also an interpretation in which it is a secondary division. This latter interpretation takes into consideration the fact that phonetic and accent boundaries run further to the west, and the fact that the records in the *Man'yōshū* may not have shown a linguistic division but an administrative one.

3 The dialect division theory of Tōjō Misao

3.1 Background to the appearance of Tōjō's division theory

During the Meiji period, in order to establish a national standard language, the Ministry of Education and the National Language Investigative Committee (*Kokugo Chōsa Iinkai*) conducted a "Phonological Survey of Colloquial Usage" (*On'in Kōgohō Torishirabe*), publicizing the results in *Kōgohō Chōsa Hōkokusho* (Report of Survey on Colloquial Usage). The results showed an east-west boundary running along the eastern sides of modern Toyama, Gifu, and Aichi Prefectures (the so-called Itoigawa-Hamanako dialect boundary). Recognition of the fact that this coincided with the boundary in the *Man'yōshū* triggered the development of Tōjō's dialect division research.

3.2 Characteristics of Tōjō's dialect division theory

Tōjō proposed his dialect division theory as one field of dialectology in *Kokugo no Hōgen Kukaku* 'Japanese Dialect Division' in 1927. Tōjō defined dialect division as follows.

> Considering that Japanese can be divided into a number of dialects, that division is dialect division. This dialect division is completely different from the distribution of individual lexical phenomena. [. . .] Dialect division must be determined considering phonology, grammar, and vocabulary all together. (Kokugogaku dai-jiten: 857)

Tōjō stated that divisions should be established not on the basis of "individual colloquial language phenomena" but "considering phonology, grammar, and vocabulary all together". However, even looking at other works by Tōjō, he nowhere gives a clear definition of "division" or of a standard for "division". At the time when Tōjō published his division theory, surveys of the dialects of various areas had just begun, and insufficient information on dialects was available. Since research had not progressed to a stage where one could concretely show national-level dialect characteristics that would form a standard for division, in some ways, a lack of clarity was unavoidable. However, since theoretical ambiguity remained, there were many cases among researchers' subsequent proposals for division in which specific standards for division were not clearly stated.

Another characteristic of Tōjō's theory is that he considered not only the current distribution of dialects, but also introduced a diachronic interpretation, valuing a historical perspective (See Nakamata 1997). Furthermore, he also took into consideration the dialect awareness of the residents themselves. Tōjō himself made the following statements in various works (Underlining by author).

- When did Japanese divide into a number of dialects; I do not know when the period was, but it was probably a very long time ago. In ancient times in the Tōhoku region . . .. (Tōjō 1927: 8)
- Transfer of changes in Japanese through the ages unchanged to the region has produced the Honshū and Kyūshū dialects. (Tōjō 1927: 24)
- Research on dialects [. . .] has as its goal identifying differences in dialects and clarifying how the divisions involved occurred. (Tōjō 1953: 14)
- We must be able to compare dialects, examine the differences in their systems, determine their interrelationships, deduce the order of their division, and clarify the whole picture of the Japanese language in terms of geographical divisions. This is the theory of dialect division. (Tōjō 1953: 14)
- The factors that govern dialectal divisions are [. . .] one is geographical [. . .], another is social [. . .], and in addition, ethnic factors may be considered as a cause of the development of dialects. (Tōjō 1953: 14)

As can be seen from these descriptions, Tōjō believed that a geographical division map and a table of sequential division of dialects indicate a diachronic "differentiation process" within a single language, based on historical interpretation (see Nakamata 1997).

3.3 Outline of Tōjō's divisions

Tōjō's first proposal for division appeared in *Dainihon Hōgen Chizu* (1927), and a list of divisions was published in *Kokugo no Hōgen Kukaku* (1927). In addition to the differences in dialects, administrative divisions, topographical divisions, and interpretations of the history of the Japanese language were also given comprehensive consideration. After that, a second draft (*Nihon Bungaku Dai-jiten*, 1934: 671–674), in which some of the proposed divisions were revised, and a third (final) draft (*Nihon Hōgengaku*, 1953), in which the proposed dialect divisions and their list were revised again, were presented. The third draft is shown in Figure 1.1.

The third proposal included the following elements: 1) The Japanese language is first divided into two: mainland dialects and Ryūkyū dialects. Both of these are then subdivided into three: the former into eastern dialects, western dialects, and Kyūshū dialects, and the latter into the Amami dialect, the Okinawa dialect, and the Sakishima dialect. 2) The "east-west dialect boundary" between the eastern and western dialects is located in the western part of Niigata, Gifu, and Aichi Prefectures. (In the *Kōgohō Chōsa Hōkokusho* mentioned earlier, the east-west boundary line (the Itoigawa-Hamanako boundary line) was drawn along the eastern edges of Toyama, Gifu, and Aichi Prefectures.). 3) The Shikoku dialects were reorganized. 4) The Hachijō-jima dialect, which retains vestiges of the eastern dialect of the Nara period, was made independent as a subclass of the eastern dialect. In particular, the position of the "east-west dialect boundary" in (2) has

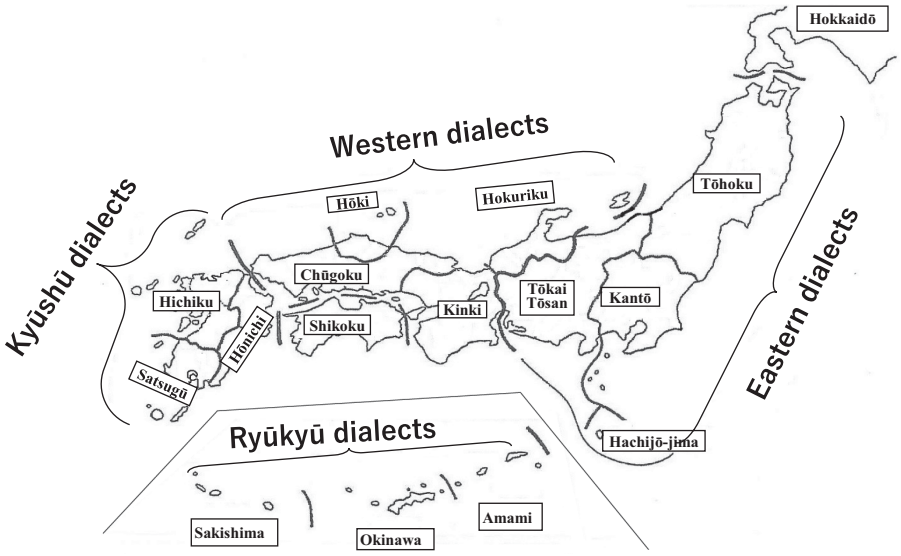

Figure 1.1: Tōjō's dialect divisions (third proposal) (From Katō 1977: 62, *Iwanami kōza Nihongo 11: Hōgen, Iwanami*).

been the subject of differing opinions in subsequent studies, depending on whether the boundary is based on phonetics and accent or on vocabulary and grammar.

4 Various dialect division proposals

The following is a list of the major dialect division proposals published after Tōjō.

4.1 Tsudzuku Tsuneo

Tsudzuku Tsuneo published a table of divisions four years before the third Tōjō proposal (Tsudzuku 1949), and Figure 1.2 was produced by Katō (1977) based on Tsudzuku's proposal. It is characterized by the following points: (1) The phonological and grammatical linguistic phenomena that form the basis for demarcation are clearly indicated. (2) Priority was given to differences in the language itself, not to the area or population of the region. (3) It was not bound by administrative units. As a result, the Tsudzuku proposal includes new demarcation lines and new divisions that make small areas independent (e.g., Hachijō-jima). Specifically, it has the following features.