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The development of a marker of speaker's attitude:
The pragmatic use of the Japanese grammaticized verb
shimau in conversation¹

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"Imagination is more important
than knowledge" -- fortune cookie

1. Introduction

A number of studies have noted that Japanese is especially rich in linguistic resources expressing pragmatic meaning (e.g., Akatsuka 1985; Cook 1988; Iwasaki in press; Kamio 1979; Kuno and Kaburaki 1977). One interesting recurring feature associated with these linguistic forms is that the relevant morphemes appear clause-finally: for example, in the honorific system, the verb, which occurs clause-finally, encodes the hierarchical relationship between the referent and the speech participants. So-called "sentence-final particles" express the speaker's affect and epistemological attitudes clause-finally. Further, although Japanese has been known as a rigid verb-final language, we find a number of items expressing pragmatic meanings clause-finally. A recent study by Ono and Suzuki (in press) suggests that this positional tendency of pragmatic meaning in Japanese has motivated the creation of non-verb-final clause where the verb is followed by an element indicating such pragmatic meaning as the speaker's stance toward the referent.

The purpose of the present paper is to illustrate grammaticized uses of the Japanese verb shimau 'put away/finish' in spontaneous informal conversation and to advance a hypothesis regarding potential stages of the grammaticization process whereby the original lexical meaning may have developed pragmatic meanings clause-finally.

The data for this study consist of 15 transcripts of two-to-five party spontaneous informal conversation. These conversations are between 2 and 20 minutes long, which amounts to approximately 90 minutes of data. We systematically extracted all the instances of shimau, totaling 71 cases. Unless otherwise specified, our analysis will be based on these cases.²

First, we will briefly discuss the semantics of the lexical verb shimau. Then we will present several different grammaticized uses of shimau and suggest

a particular path for their development.

2. Lexical Meaning of Shimau

The lexical meaning of shimau is 'put away' or 'finish'; with this meaning it can be used as an independent verb as in:

- (1) doogu o shimau (Iwanami Kokugojiten 1986)
 tool OBJ SHIMAU
 '(I) will put away the tools'
- (2) kyoo no shigoto o shimau (Iwanami Kokugojiten 1986)
 today of work OBJ SHIMAU
 '(I) will be done with today's work'

It should be noted that the meanings of shimau emphasize the endpoint of the activity.

3. Grammaticization of the "Inability to Undo" Meaning

We hypothesize that shimau has begun to be grammaticized into an auxiliary in a new phonological form chau (see Ono, forthcoming for the details). The grammaticized functions are served either by the older form shimau or by the newer form chau, so different degrees of grammaticization may correlate with the choice between the two forms. However, the present paper focuses on the development of different grammaticized uses of both forms together without examining this correlation. Below, the different forms of shimau and chau will be glossed as SHIMAU and CHAU, respectively. Consider (3):

- (3) ano ko wa moo otona ni natte shimatte iru
 that child TOP already adult to become SHIMAU STATE
 'That little girl is now an adult woman'

Shimatte is the gerundive form of shimau. A male and a female speaker are talking about the male speaker's girlfriend, whom he met in high school. The female speaker is slightly older than the male speaker and has a lot more experience in male-female relationships. She is telling him that his girlfriend has grown up from a little girl to an adult woman, which he does not realize. Notice the semantic change that has occurred in (3). The morpheme shimau does not mean 'put away' or 'finish', but rather that the little girl has turned into an adult woman and this process can not be reversed.

- (4) kocchini moo ki-chat-ta
 here already come-CHAU-PST
 '(He) came/has come over here'

Chatta in (4) is the past tense form of chau. The actor referred to in (4) did not like the way he was treated in Japan, came to the U.S., and now does not have to face the problems he had in Japan. We see the same type of semantic change here. The morpheme chau does not indicate the lexical meaning of shimau, but conveys that the situation which he created by getting out of Japan cannot be easily changed.

- (5) *atte nai to ai-tai toka omou kedo ac-chau to tsumannai*
 see not when see-want COMP think but see-CHAU when boring
 'When (I) don't see (her), (I) feel like seeing (her), but once (I) see (her),
 (I find it) boring'

Example (5) illustrates the same point. The speaker is saying that when he does not see his girlfriend, he feels like seeing her, but once he sees her, it is boring. The morpheme chau emphasizes the realization of the situation in which he sees her, which makes him bored.

It is a logical implication of the verb shimau that the item which has been put away is now less accessible or that the activity would now be difficult to undo. These implications have become the meaning of the grammaticized shimau/chau. We call this meaning "inability to undo." The newly developed auxiliary shimau/chau can be productively used with any lexical verb and in fact all the instances of shimau/chau in our data are auxiliaries; none of them is used as a lexical verb. Thus the distributional characteristics, the semantic change, and the phonological change provide evidence for the change in the structural status of shimau/chau from a lexical verb to an auxiliary.

4. Shimau/Chau Indicating Speaker's Negative Attitude

Interestingly, in some cases, shimau/chau has acquired the meaning that the speaker has a negative attitude about the situation described in the clause (cf. Iwasaki, in press). This meaning is clearly an extension of the meaning "inability to undo." We hypothesize that the speaker often emphasizes the "inability to undo" meaning by using shimau/chau when what has been done turns out to be what should not have been done. In the following examples, shimau/chau strongly indicates not only the meaning "inability to undo", but the speaker's negative attitude, such as regret or criticism, toward the situation described in the clause. Notice that this use of shimau/chau has moved from the domain of propositional semantics into pragmatics, because shimau/chau has come to incorporate the speaker's subjective view in its meaning in the course of grammaticization. It should also be emphasized that this newly developed pragmatic meaning is expressed clause-finally, just like other pragmatic devices such as sentence-final particles or honorifics.

Consider Example (6):

- (6) atashi mo sono toki kai-chat-ta wa yo
 I also that time write-CHAU-PST PTL PTL
 'I also wrote (to her) at that time'

Two people are talking about having a surprise party for a friend's birthday. The speaker had received a letter from this friend saying that she wants to visit her sometime soon. So the speaker told her to come visit. In other words, the speaker had already written the reply in which she hinted that they will get together soon, before she came up with the idea of the surprise party. Chau here indicates the speaker's regret that she had already written to the friend.

We have noticed that when the subject of the clause is the second or the third person, shimau/chau can indicate the speaker's criticism of the referent.

Observe Example (7):

- (7) nani yutte-n no yo
 what say-PROG NOM PTL
 'What (nonsense) (you) are saying!'

katteni jibun dake kangae-chatte sa
 selfishly self only think-CHAU PTL
 '(You) selfishly thought (about it) by yourself'

Chatte is the gerundive form of chau. In this example, two people are having an argument. The speaker is criticizing the addressee for planning things by himself without consulting her. The second line without the morpheme chau (i.e., kangaete sa) would simply report what happened without converging any subjective attitude. The co-occurrence of chau with katteni 'selfishly' strongly conveys the speaker's negative attitude.

Example (8) also illustrates the speaker's criticism, but this time, towards a third party. Two interlocutors are talking about a mutual male friend. The speaker is surprised and frustrated to hear that this friend spends hours talking about everything that happens to him here in the U.S. to his family members in Japan over the phone:

- (8) sonna koto made ic-chau n da
 such thing even say-CHAU NOM COP
 '(He) even says that!?'

In this example, chau indicates not only the sense "inability to undo," but also the speaker's negative attitude towards the situation described in the clause, and more specifically, criticism towards this friend who is the referent of the clause.

We have introduced examples of the meaning of shimau/chau expressing the speaker's negative attitude, which is an extension from propositional

semantics to the domain of pragmatics. We have also mentioned that shimau/chau is another illustration of morphemes expressing a pragmatic meaning in clause-final position in Japanese. In the following, we introduce a more recent development of grammaticized uses of shimau/chau which, interestingly, indicates the speaker's "guiltily" positive attitude toward the situation.

5. Shimau/Chau Indicating Speaker's Guiltily Positive Attitude

Consider the following example (9) in which the speaker is reporting to his male friend about a skiing trip he went on with two girls:

- (9) Uno o yatte shimaj-mashi-ta yo
 Uno OBJ do SHIMAU-POLITE-PST PTL
 '(I) played Uno (with the girls)'

Shimaj is a continuative form of shimau. In this example, evidently, the speaker had a great time with the girls and does not regret that he played Uno (a card game) at all. However, he uses shimau. In this example, shimau does not indicate the speaker's regret, but rather, the speaker's feeling of pleasure mixed with guilt, since the speaker had a good time without the addressee. Several examples of shimau/chau in our data follow a clause which describes a situation in which only the speaker benefits and not others, and is thus not completely justifiable. In such situations, the speaker may have started using shimau/chau to indicate his/her guilty happiness with ill-gotten gains or supposedly regrettable outcomes. (This feeling may be nicely captured by the Japanese expression shimeshime.)

A further illustration of this use of shimau/chau in our data can be seen in example (10):

- (10) boku dat-tara itadai-chau kedo
 I COP-if have-CHAU but
 'I would have (her)'

Two interlocutors are talking about a mutual friend who had received a gift from a married woman and was harassed about it by her husband. The speaker criticizes the friend for being wishy-washy about his relationship with the woman. Then the speaker says that if he were in his friend's shoes, he would not be wishy-washy, and have the woman completely. By using chau, the speaker not only expresses the endpoint of the activity (having the woman), but also claims proudly that, from his viewpoint, having the woman completely is more desirable than treating her ambiguously in spite of the ethical problems. Chau here is thus not directly a marker of the speaker's negative attitude, but is a further extension, because it indicates the speaker's pride in his conviction in the face of his recognition of the negative social reactions it could provoke.

Consider the following example (11):

(11) atashi sa
I PTL

kookoosee ni sa
high.school.student by PTL

Shibuya no sa
Shibuya of PTL

Ichimarukyuu no mae de sa
Ichimarukyuu of front at PTL

nanpa s-are-chat-ta
approach do-PASS-CHAU-PST

'I was approached by high school boys in front of
the Ichimarukyuu Bldg. at Shibuya Station'

The speaker is reporting that she was approached by a group of high school students. She feels very flattered, because it means that she looked young enough to be approached by guys who were ten years younger than she was. Her use of chau does not indicate her negative attitude: rather, she proudly reports to her colleagues that she is flattered, but also indicates the slight guilt, since she is the only one who had such a lucky experience.

We think that shimau/chau indicating the speaker's guiltily positive attitude has emerged relatively recently. One piece of evidence for this analysis is that this use of shimau/chau intuitively feels new to us, as native speakers, and it seems to us that only members of the younger generation use shimau/chau this way. As we suggested above, this recently developed meaning of shimau/chau seems to be related to negative shimau/chau, since it indicates that the speaker has guilt about being in such a lucky situation all by himself/herself without the hearer or others. Moreover, the activities described in the clause in which this type of shimau/chau occurs have some kind of negative social connotations (e.g., having a married woman).

We have argued that the meaning of shimau/chau has been extended from the domain of propositional semantics (i.e., "inability to undo") into pragmatics (i.e., speaker's negative or guiltily positive attitude). What this means is that the speaker's subjective view has crept into the meaning of shimau/chau in the course of the linguistic grammaticization from a verb shimau to an auxiliary shimau/chau.

6. The "Automatic" Meaning of Shimau/Chau

The last grammaticized use of shimau/chau is what we call "automatic."
Consider (12)-(14):

- (12) harawa-nakute mo ii n daroo kedo haratte shimau to
 pay-not EMPH good NOM guess but pay SHIMAU PTL
 '(I) guess (I) don't have to pay, but (I find myself) paying'
- (13) warac-chau
 laugh-CHAU
 '(I find myself) laughing/(It makes me) laugh'
- (14) California de toru shashin tte minna yoku tore-chau mon
 California in take photo TOP all well take-CHAU PTL
 'Photos taken in California all come out well'

In (12), the speaker is saying that he knows he does not have to pay for everything when he goes out with his girlfriend but he somehow finds himself paying because it is a type of social expectation in Japan. In (13), while the speaker says waracchau '(I) find myself laughing/It makes (me) laugh', she bursts into laughter about someone's totally unthinkable behavior. In (14), the speaker is saying that any photos taken in California naturally come out well.

The uniting feature of the use of shimau/chau in (12)-(14) seems to be that the activity expressed in the clause is projected to have occurred automatically without volition or control. This is clearly related to the lexical meanings of shimau 'put away/finish', which emphasize the endpoint of the activity. Recent studies (cf., DeLancey 1985) have suggested that linguistic events can consist of several different phases, including the actor's volition, control and endpoint. We hypothesize that the endpoint orientation of the lexical meanings of shimau have developed into a marker for automaticity, because focusing on the endpoint implies the absence of such phases as the actor's volition and control in the event structure.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that the Japanese verb shimau 'put away/finish' is developing into a new auxiliary shimau/chau, and we have proposed a course of meaning change during its grammaticization. The meaning change is hypothesized as in (15):³

(15)

		inability		speaker's		speaker's
	-->	to undo	-->	negative	-->	guiltily
put away				attitude		positive
finish		(ex. 3,4,5)		(ex. 6,7,8)		attitude
(ex. 1,2)						(ex. 9,10,11)
	-->	automatic				
		(ex. 12,13,14)				

The lexical verb shimau has been grammaticized into an auxiliary shimau/chau, which conveys the meaning of "inability to undo." It has then taken on a sense of the speaker's negative attitude, since many situations which have become unchangeable often have undesirable consequences for the speaker. Further, this meaning is later extended to convey the speaker's guiltily positive attitude, i.e., pleasure mixed with some guilt about the situation. We have also suggested that shimau/chau has developed the meaning of "automatic" occurrence of the situation through the endpoint orientation of the lexical meanings of shimau.

The meaning change from propositional semantics into pragmatics associated with the process of grammaticization has rarely been documented (see Traugott 1989 for an exception). The present study is a contribution to this neglected aspect of language change.

Another thing that deserves attention is that this newly developed morpheme, which expresses the speaker's attitude, occurs clause-finally and its position is consistent with other forms indicating pragmatic information in Japanese (i.e., sentence-final particles, honorifics etc.). The behavior of shimau, which shows patterns in our conversational data, confirms Du Bois's claim (1985; 1987) that grammaticization is motivated by recurring patterns in everyday language use. Thus, these Japanese data provide an interesting example that will contribute to our understanding of grammaticization (e.g., Du Bois 1985; 1987; Givon 1979; 1989; Kurylowicz 1965; Lehmann 1985; Traugott 1989; Traugott and Heine 1991).

Notes

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Some of the ideas expressed in this paper are also discussed in Ono (forthcoming). Though that paper treats some areas much more extensively than

the present paper, it is based on constructed examples, while the present paper contains further developed views on this topic based on real conversational discourse. It should be pointed out that "perfect," "frustrative," and "non-volitional" in the earlier paper roughly correspond to "inability to undo," "speaker's negative attitude," and "automatic" respectively in the present paper.

2. Some of the examples have been cleaned up for the purpose of presentation.

3. A similar semantic development of shimau is suggested by Yoshikawa (1982). Also, Genetti (1986) discusses similar types of grammaticization process of two lexical verbs, tol- 'to put/keep', dhun(-k)- 'to finish', into auxiliaries in Newari.

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