



LUND UNIVERSITY

Joint Faculties of Humanities and Theology

The grammaticalized forms of *oku* and *shimau*, are they alone?

Filip Hörberger

Bachelor's thesis
Japanese
Spring term 2016

Lund University
Supervisor: Lars Larm

Abstract

The Japanese language has as any other language been grammaticalized throughout history. Many different aspects regarding the Japanese language has at some point underwent this phenomenon. However, the aspect that will be considered in the following disquisition is the Japanese auxiliary verbs, with consistent focus on the two verbs *oku* and *shimau*. These two verbs have when used a grammatical marker, lost their lexical identity, in terms such as, valency, transitive/intransitive identity and the ability of choice of subject. The research conducted for the following thesis, ultimately investigated a way to emphasize the meanings that these verbs possess as a grammatical marker. Three Japanese native speakers were interviewed for this purpose. A way to emphasize the grammaticalized form of *shimau* was found. *Oku* despite the fact that a similar way to emphasize the grammaticalized form as with *shimau* was found, it was ultimately not as straightforward and clear as with *shimau*.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express an enormous amount of gratitude towards the people whose assistance and constant support made the completion of this paper possible. I would also like to personally thank Lars Larm for all of the advices that he gave me, as well as to the Japanese native speakers who honored me by letting me interview them. Lastly, I would like to thank my great friend Kevin Johansson for all of the help that he has given me throughout the work process.

Table of contents

<i>Abstract</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>List of figures and tables</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Conventions</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>Glossing and abbreviations</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>1. Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>1.1. Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>1.2. Purpose and methodology</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>1.3. Structure</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>2. Grammaticalization</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>2.1. Definition of grammaticalization</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>3. The grammaticalization process of oku and shimau</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>3.1. The oku and shimau of today</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>3.1.1. Clitic forms</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>3.1.2. Derivative meanings</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>3.1.3. Words that co-occur with the grammaticalized forms</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>3.1.3.1. Ukkari</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>3.1.3.2. Tsui</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>3.1.3.3. Sukkari</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>3.1.3.4. Tameni</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>3.1.3.5. Mama</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>3.2. The grammaticalization process throughout history</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>3.2.1. Theory of the grammaticalization process</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>3.2.2. The clitic forms development</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>4. My research</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>4.1. Introduction</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>4.2. Hypothesis</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>4.3. Methodology</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>4.3.1. Informants</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>4.4. Results</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>4.4.1. Emphasizing the grammaticalized form of shimau</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>4.4.1.1. Shimau with ukkari</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>4.4.1.2. Shimau with tsui</i>	<i>25</i>

4.4.1.3. <i>Shimau with tsui ukkari</i>	27
4.4.1.4. <i>Shimau with sukkari</i>	28
4.4.1.5. <i>Ambiguous meanings with shimau</i>	31
4.4.1.6. <i>Summary of the interaction concerning shimau</i>	32
4.4.2. <i>Emphasizing the grammaticalized form of oku</i>	33
4.4.2.1. <i>Oku with tameni</i>	33
4.4.2.2. <i>Oku with mama</i>	35
4.4.2.3. <i>Summary of the interaction concerning oku</i>	37
5. <i>Conclusion</i>	38
5.1. <i>Conclusion of hypothesis</i>	38
5.2. <i>Finishing words</i>	38
<i>Reference</i>	40

List of figures and tables

TABLES

Table 1: Statistic of occurrence.....	4
Table 2: Non-clitic forms and clitic forms of <i>oku</i>	10
Table 3: Non-clitic forms and clitic forms of <i>shimau</i>	10
Table 4: Informants.....	20

FIGURES

Figure 1: The grammaticalization process of <i>-te shimau</i> (Strauss and Sohn 1998: 221).....	15
Figure 2: The phonological change that made <i>oku</i> achieve a clitic form.....	17
Figure 3: The phonological change that made <i>shimau</i> achieve its clitics forms.....	17

Conventions

The following thesis will be adapting a modified version of the Hepburn system, in terms of translations regarding Japanese characters. The modification is that when long vowels needs to be translated, double vowels will be used instead of macrons. For example if ‘yesterday’ needs to be translated it will be written as *kinou* instead of *kinō*. Some of the sources applied in the following disquisition uses different systems besides that of the Hepburn system when Romanizing Japanese characters, therefore they have been altered for the purpose of consistency.

The following typographical conventions that are utilized throughout the thesis are ‘single quotes’. These indicate translated example sentences, translated Japanese vocabulary and Japanese vocabulary in the running text. In all the other cases “double quotes” are used. Non-English vocabulary in the running text is marked with *Italics*.

Glossing and abbreviations

The Leipzig rules for glossing is applied when glossing is needed and the abbreviations applied in the following paper are listed below:

ACC	accusative
CAUS	causative
DAT	dativ
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
LOC	locative
NPAST	nonpast
NOM	nominative
PAR	particle
PASS	passive
PAST	past
POL	polite
SPEC	speculative
TOP	topic
VS	verb stem

1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

The phenomenon grammaticalization is common in many languages around the globe. It is the process where a lexical item loses its own lexical identity as it begins to serve grammatical functions instead. An example of this process is how the old English word “willian” (to want, to wish) evolved into the English auxiliary verb “will”, which is often used today. According to Hopper and Traugott (1993), once a lexical item has begun to be grammaticalized it will continue to evolve, and with time be further grammaticalized. The evolution of the word “willian” nicely illustrates those particular thoughts. However, this is not restricted to the English language. The Japanese language has today through grammaticalization developed its own share of auxiliary verbs. In the sentences below, two Japanese auxiliary verbs, *shimau* and *oku*, are presented. If these two sentences would be examined from the viewpoint of grammaticalization theory, one can immediately identify that both *shimau* and *oku* are not used in their lexical form, instead they are used in a grammatical way (examples taken from Martin 2004).

(1) Okane o otoshi-te shimat-ta.
money ACC drop-GER finish-PAST
‘Oh damn, I dropped all my money’

(2) Teeburu o yoyaku shi-te oi-ta.
table ACC reservation do-GER place-PAST
‘I have made a table reservation (in preparation).’

In the case with (1) *shimau* when used grammatically expresses an idea of “oh damn” which its lexical counterpart does not. Similarly, *oku* when used grammatically expresses another idea than that from its lexical counterpart. In the case with (2), *oku* expresses an idea of “in preparation”.

Within the Japanese language there exist a large number of auxiliary verbs, however, due to the vast amount not all of them can be discussed in the following thesis. The auxiliary verbs that have been chosen are *shimau* and *oku*.

1.2. Purpose and methodology

The purpose of this thesis is to determine whether or not the meanings of the grammaticalized forms of *oku* and *shimau* can be emphasized by using them together with other words, words that has a similar meaning as *oku* and *shimau* in these forms. This is of interest because a detailed research has never previously been written concerning this topic. To investigate this particular phenomenon interviews with native Japanese speakers will be conducted. A more detailed explanation and introduction to the chosen method will be presented in 4.3.

1.3. Structure

The following thesis consists of five sections, each divided into several subsections. This section is utilized as the first. The next section, section two, describes the grammaticalization phenomenon in general. In the third section, the Japanese auxiliary verbs *oku* and *shimau* are introduced and discussed. The grammaticalization process that these two verbs has undergone will also be presented within this section. As for section four, the research conducted for this thesis will be discussed through the results received from the interviews. The last section, section five, will work as a summary and conclusion.

2. Grammaticalization

2.1. Definition of grammaticalization

To define the term that is grammaticalization can be a rather difficult task. The reason for this is that within the world of linguistics, there are a large diversity of views on this phenomenon. However, many linguistics look at the definition by Jerzy Kurylowicz, which is presented below. Nowadays it is considered a classic definition of grammaticalization.

Grammaticalisation consists in the increase of the range of morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.
(Kurylowicz 1975[1965]: 52).

Although, ever since Kurylowicz formulated his definition of grammaticalization the field has expanded and with it, came new discoveries. This made it possible for linguists to make their own interpretation within the field and for them to find their own way through the grammaticalization world. Because of this very reason one might come across alternating definitions when studying grammaticalization. Definitions such as “Grammaticalization is the

diachronic change which gives rise to linguistic expressions which are coded as discursively secondary” which was stated by Peter Harder and Kasper Boye (Narrog & Heine 2011: 63). However, consulting another linguist may result in them providing another definition. For example Zygmunt Frajzyngier believes that grammaticalization is whatever coding of a function inside the grammatical part of a language (Narrog & Heine 2011: 625), while Steve Nicollet considers it to be when the semantic of an expression obtains procedural information, that a grammaticalization has occurred (Narrog & Heine 2011: 401). However, this large diversity of definitions, can often lead to difficulties when discussing this phenomenon. Depending on which definition is chosen, there can arise huge differences when discussing grammaticalization. Because of this, most educated within the area agree on applying the standard definition by Kurylowicz whenever the diversity described above becomes too great of a problem to handle. This has made Kurylowicz definition one of the most referred whilst discussing this phenomenon and therefore it is also adapted into this paper.

3. The grammaticalization process of *oku* and *shimau*

To describe the grammaticalization process of the Japanese auxiliary verbs, *oku* and *shimau*, with its end results and history as comprehensible as possible, a detailed section of the two verbs will first have to be addressed. How they are being used today, what meaning they have as an auxiliary verb as well as a comparison between their lexical and the grammatical counterpart will be addressed. The mentioned section will be followed by a part that will describe the grammaticalization process that these two verbs have undergone throughout history.

*3.1. The *oku* and *shimau* of today*

The verbs *oku* and *shimau* which are used today coexist with their grammaticalized counterpart. However the lexical and the grammaticalized form are being used differently and they have different meanings. When these auxiliary verbs come in their grammatical forms they always follow the gerund **-te** verb form of the main verb. In his work “A Reference Grammar of Japanese” (2004), Samuel Elmo Martin presents statistics on modern written Japanese which was first published in KKK¹ 25.78b. The statistics presents the frequency of occurrence in the gerund form whilst used together with an auxiliary verb. In table 1 below, it appears that of all the occurrences of the gerund verb form, roughly half of them occurs with an auxiliary verb.

¹ KKK stands for Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuu-jo [National Language Research Institute]

The Japanese language has many auxiliary verbs, however, in this paper only *oku* and *shimau* is of relevance. Consequently, only the said verbs frequencies are presented in table 1. (Martin 2003: 512)

Table 1: Statistic of occurrence

All occurrences of V -te	1.0000
V -te + Auxiliary	<u>.4819</u>
<i>shimau</i>	.0222
<i>oku</i>	.0113

According to table 1, the grammaticalized usage of *oku* corresponds to roughly 2.345% ($0.0113/0.4819 = 0.02345$) and *shimau* as an auxiliary verb is used approximately 4.607% ($0.0222/0.4819 = 0.04607$) of all the occurrences of V -te + Auxiliary.

The example sentences which are presented below are created with the verb *oku* which means ‘to place’ or ‘to keep’. Both the lexical and its grammaticalization form is used to show the reader the syntactic and the semantic differences between the two usages. Examples 3-5 has the lexical form and examples 6 and 7 illustrates the grammaticalized form. Example 3 is taken from Tsuyoshi Ono (1992: 368), whereas the others (4-7) are taken from Kiyoharu Ono (2000: 59):

(3) Yooki ni ire, nijup-pun ok-i-masu.
 container LOC put twenty-minute place-VS²-POL. NPAST
 ‘Put (it) in a container and keep (it there) for twenty minutes’

(4) Taroo wa tsukue o madogiwa ni oi-ta.
 [name] TOP desk ACC near the window LOC place-PAST
 ‘Taroo placed a desk near the window.’

(5) Hanako wa te o hiza no ue ni oi-ta.
 [name] TOP hand ACC lap GEN top LOC place-PAST
 ‘Hanako placed her hands on her lap.’

² Verb stem is a Japanese verb construction.

(6) Hanako wa kodomotachi o sonomama asob-ase-te oi-ta.
 [name] TOP children ACC as they were play-CAUS-GER place-PAST
 ‘Hanako let the children continue to play as they had been.’

(7) Taroo wa yokuzitu ni sonae sono yo zyuubun ne-te
 [name] TOP following day in preparation for that night thoroughly sleep-GER
 oi-ta.
 place-PAST

‘Taroo had slept thoroughly on that night in preparation for the following day’s activity.’

The examples above illustrates the different meanings between the lexical and the grammatical form of *oku*. The lexical form which stated previously means ‘to place’ or ‘to keep’ and has a clearer and a concrete meaning, whilst the grammaticalized form *oku* (which only adds an additional meaning to the proposition already expressed by the main verb) has an abstract meaning and contributes with meanings such as “leave things alone; leave it as it is” according to Martin (2004), which is illustrated in example 6. A second meaning the grammaticalized form has, is according to Kikuchi (2009) “[o]ne intentionally conducts an action, anticipating a certain effect that will result from that action”. This meaning is addressed for in example 7. It is also notable that the lexical form of *oku* cannot be used in an intransitive construction because *oku* in its lexical form is a transitive verb. This is in contrary to the grammaticalized form of *oku*, which can be used in an intransitive construction, this is also shown in example 7. This is a common trait when a verb is grammaticalized and used this way. Although the grammaticalized counterpart works with an intransitive construction the lexical part does not, it only works in a transitive construction. This is also the case with *shimau* which will be accounted for later. A second notable trait with *oku*, is that no matter if it is applied in its lexical or grammaticalized form, it seems that it has an animacy restriction when selecting the subject (Kiyoharu 2000: 59). This can be summarized as syntactic persistence, since the same restriction persisted throughout the grammaticalization process. Later one should realize that *shimau* does not have the same animacy restriction as *oku* while in its grammaticalized form.

The examples below are created with regard to a different verb, the verb *shimau*. Both the lexical form but also the grammaticalized counterpart is being accounted for. The verb, *shimau* in its lexical form means ‘to finish something’ or ‘to put something away’. Both forms are used for the same purpose as with *oku*, to show the reader the syntactic and the semantic differences

between the two usages. Examples 8 and 9 has the lexical meaning while example 10-12 has the grammaticalized. Examples 8-12 are taken from Kiyoharu (2000: 60):

(8) Taroo wa 6-ji ni shigoto o shimau.

[name] TOP 6 o'clock at work ACC finish. NPAST

'Taro finishes work at six.'

(9) Kodomotachi wa kichinto omocha o shimat-ta.

children TOP neatly toys ACC put away-PAST

'The children tidied the toys away.'

(10) Taroo wa moo repooto o kai-te shimat-ta.

[name] TOP already report ACC write-GER finish-PAST

'Taro already finished his report.'

(11) Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o ukkari wasure-te

[name] TOP report GEN submission deadline ACC inadvertently forget-GER

shimat-ta.

finish-PAST

'Hanako inadvertently forgot the deadline for the report.'

(12) Momiji ga sukkari chit-te shimat-ta.

Autumn-leaves NOM completely fall-GER finish-PAST

'The autumn leaves have completely fallen.'

Similar to *oku*, it is easily understood that the two forms have different meanings. As previously stated, the lexical form of *shimau* has the meaning 'to finish' or 'put away', and as with *oku*, the lexical form possesses a clearer and concrete meaning. The grammaticalized form on the other hand has as claimed by the writer Kiyoharu (2000) "its grammatical form *te shimau* gives the modal meaning of emphatically stating things such as finishing some action or ending up doing something inadvertently." In addition to the statement above the "finishing" meaning in the grammaticalized case also implies a feeling of "completely finish something" as opposed to the lexical form, which only implies 'to finish' (Martin 2003: 533). In the above examples, where the grammaticalized form is used and has the 'to finish' meaning, it also contains the feeling of "completely finishing it". As can be understood by looking at examples 10 and 12.

However, the most noticeable difference in interpretations between the two forms is the interpretation of “ending up doing something inadvertently” as can be seen in example 11. Another example of this is provided below. This example is taken from the Japanese language textbook Genki:

- (13) Densha no naka ni kaban o wasure-te shima-i-mashi-ta.
train GEN inside LOC bag ACC forget-GER finish-VS-POL-PAST
‘I inadvertently left my bag on the train.’

The grammaticalized form of *shimau* can also contribute a “negative feeling” or a “frustration feeling”. Those interpretations are often accompanied by the “inadvertently” interpretation as can be noticed in example 13. However, there are cases where they do not come as a pair. Consider the following example (Kondo 2014: 102):

- (14) Akachan o miru to shizenni warat-te shimau.
baby ACC see when automatically smile-GER finish. NPAST
‘I smile unintentionally when I see a baby.’

In example 14, the “inadvertently” interpretation can be shown, however, there is no evidence of a “negative feeling” or any “frustration”. The sentence simply expresses the idea that the person in this sentence, upon seeing a baby, unintentionally smiles. In contrary to this, there are also cases where the grammaticalized form of *shimau* is used only to contribute a “negative feeling” or a “frustration feeling” but are not accompanied by the “inadvertently” interpretation. Consider the following example below taken from Iwasaki (2013):

- (15) Taroo ga kega o shi-te shimat-ta.
[name] NOM injury ACC do-GER finish-PAST
‘Oh, Poor Taro was injured’

In example 15, a “negative feeling”, in this case a feeling of sadness, can be interpreted. As for the “inadvertently” interpretation, there is no evidence of it being expressed in this sentence. The sentence only express the speakers’ opinion to Taro getting hurt and has nothing to do with “inadvertently”. It should also be taken under consideration that the “negative feeling” or “frustration” is always assigned to the speaker and is not addressed from someone else. This means that in the case with example 15, it cannot be guaranteed that Taro feels the same about this incident, even though it is likely he does. However, there may be cases where Taro wanted to get hurt. In such cases, he would not have the same “negative feeling” as the speaker. The

same idea applies for example 16. This means that when the grammaticalized form of *shimau* is used in this way it only expresses the speakers' emotions. Therefore outsiders and sometimes even the subject of a sentence is not always included in these *shimau* expressions.

Another notable fact is that according to Iwasaki, there are ways to emphasize this “negative feeling” or “frustration” that the grammaticalized form of *shimau* already expresses. The grammaticalized form of *shimau* often appears together with the indirect passive verb construction, and doing so enhances the kind of interpretations that *shimau* possess. See example 16 (Iwasaki 2013: 302). When the indirect passive is not followed by the grammaticalized form of *shimau* it indicates adversity or psychological affect (Iwasaki 2013: 160) which is similar to the interpretations of negative emotions the grammaticalized *shimau* also possess.

(16) Taroo ga ame ni fu-rare-te shimat-ta.
[name] NOM rain DAT fall-PASS-GER finish-PAST
'Poor Taro got rained on'

This usage of indirect passive together with the grammaticalized form of *shimau* is not only restricted to the speakers' feelings towards a third person and the incident. Iwasaki also claims that “[...] the speaker can encode his stance toward himself as well”. This can be seen in example 17 below.

(17) Boku wa aitsu ni aidea o nusu-mare-te shimat-ta.
I TOP that guy DAT idea ACC steal-PASS-GER finish-PAST
'I got my idea stolen by that guy'

As Iwasaki claims, example 17 illustrates that this usage of the grammaticalized form of *shimau* can also be used by the speaker towards himself.

Returning to example 12, the reader should notice that there is an intransitive construction occurring. As stated earlier, the grammaticalized form works with intransitive sentences while the lexical works only with transitive ones, the same as with *oku*. Example 12 also express that the grammaticalized form does not have the same animacy restriction when selecting the subject as the lexical form has. Consequently, *shimau* underwent a syntactic neutralization during its grammaticalization process, as its grammaticalized form lost some of its restrictions.

Finally to clarify how far these two auxiliary verbs has come in their respectively grammaticalization processes, consider the following examples:

(18) Hon o oi-te oi-ta.

book ACC place-GER place-PAST

‘I have put the book (somewhere) (for some purpose).’

(19) Hon o shimat-te shimat-ta.

book ACC put away-GER put away-PAST

‘I have (finished) put the book away.’

In both of these examples, the lexical and the grammaticalized form is both used in the same sentence. The lexical is first used which is later followed by the grammaticalized ones. This neatly shows how far these two verbs have come in their grammaticalization development, since it is possible for both of these forms to coexist in the same sentence. According to Ono (1992: 372) which refers to Hopper’s (in press) grammaticalization theory, this trait, expresses one of the four grammaticalization pillars, mainly, the pillar divergence. Divergence is the tendency for the lexical and the grammaticalized form to coexist side by side with each other. The above examples both illustrates this particular pillar nicely.

3.1.1. Clitic forms

Oku and *shimau* have developed clitic forms which originated from their respectively clause-linking system usage³. In most dictionaries these forms are not presented with their original lexical verb, simply because they do not have the lexical meaning. These clitic forms are only used in a grammatical purpose. In modern Japanese these clitic forms all co-exist with their respective origin. However, these forms are only used between family and friends (familiar colloquial speech), as they are considered to be impolite in formal settings. The diagrams below presents the clitic forms for each verb (Kiyoharu 2000: 62)⁴:

³ This construction refers to the system presented earlier in this thesis where a verb in its gerund form (which is marked by the suffix *-te*) is followed by an auxiliary verb without any over conjunction morpheme.

⁴ Depending on which Japanese verb the auxiliary verb is attached to, the gerund form is manifest differently.

‘*oku*’ ‘to place’

Table 2: Non-clitic forms and clitic forms of *oku*

Non-clitic forms	Clitic forms
-te <i>oku</i>	- <i>toku</i>
-de <i>oku</i>	- <i>doku</i>
-te <i>oita</i> (past)	- <i>toita</i> (past)
-de <i>oita</i> (past)	- <i>doita</i> (past)

‘*shimau*’ ‘to finish, to put away’

Table 3: Non-clitic forms and clitic forms of *shimau*

Non-clitic forms	Clitic forms
-te <i>shimau</i>	- <i>chau</i> / <i>-chimau</i>
-de <i>shimau</i>	- <i>jau</i> / <i>-jimau</i>
-te <i>shimatta</i> (past)	- <i>chatta</i> / <i>-chimatta</i> (past)
-de <i>shimatta</i> (past)	- <i>jatta</i> / <i>-jimatta</i> (past)

Clearly, as the reader can see, *shimau* has two different clitic forms when it is used grammatically, as opposed to *oku* which only has one clitic variation. In addition, the second variation of clitic forms that *shimau* has is considered to be more masculine and vulgar in comparison to the other form. It should also be noted that, according to Martin (2004: 533) the grammaticalized form of *shimau* has to obey certain rules depending on whether the gerund is positive or negative. For example, ‘*nonde shimau*’ which means ‘ends up drinking’, has a positive gerund and it can be abbreviated to ‘*non jimau*’ or ‘*non jau*’. However, if the gerund would have been negative, clitic forms cannot be made. Therefore, if a negative gerund sentence is desired only constructions such as ‘*nomanai de shimau*’ which means ‘ends up not drinking’, which is the non-clitic form will be found, it will not be contracted to ‘**nomanai chimau*’ or ‘**nomanai chau*’.

3.1.2. Derivative meanings

The lexical form of *oku* has some derivative meanings on top of its other meanings. It is believed that these interpretations are an outcome of metonymical or metaphorical extensions. Some of *okus*’ derivative meanings are presented in the examples below (Kiyoharu 2000: 63),

(21) Kaigai ni shiten o oku.
overseas LOC branch ACC place. NPAST
'to establish a branch overseas.'

(22) Reikyaku kikan o oku.
cooling off period ACC place. NPAST
'to allow some time for things to cool off.'

(23) Biru ni kanrinin o oku.
building LOC janitor ACC place. NPAST
'to employ a janitor for the building.'

In the examples above, *oku* has different meanings compared to previous encounters. It illustrates metaphorical or metonymical usages such as 'to establish', 'to allow' and 'to employ'. An interesting aspect is that the derivative meanings are thought to have been at least partly involved in the development of the grammaticalized meanings *oku* has acquired.

Shimau on the other hand, did not develop such a metaphorical or metonymical usage as *oku* did. However, there is one usage where *shimau* has a derivative meaning. The following example illustrates this usage (Kiyoharu 2000: 63),

(24) Shimat-ta!
finish-PAST
'damn it!'

This usage of *shimau* is widely and commonly used all around Japan in everyday life. Although apart from the utilization above, *shimau* does not seem to have any other derivative meanings. As with *oku*, the derivative meaning *shimau* has, resembles to some degree the meaning the grammaticalized form has acquired, meanings such as 'ending up doing something inadvertently'.

3.1.3. Words that co-occur with the grammaticalized forms

For the last subsection of this part, a small introduction to a number of different Japanese words that occasionally occur in the same sentences and has a similar meaning as the grammaticalized forms of *oku* and *shimau* will be explained. These words also play a significant role in the research that was conducted for this paper which will be addressed in section four.

3.1.3.1. *Ukkari*

Ukkari can be used both as an adverb and a noun, and it can be translated as ‘carelessly’, ‘thoughtlessly’ or ‘inadvertently’. It has fairly the same meaning as *tsui* (presented below), and in some situations they can be used interchangeably (Makino & Tsutsui 2008: 670). However, the difference between the two words will be discussed in 3.1.4.2. *Ukkari* sometimes occur in sentences with the grammaticalized form of *shimau* where the desired interpretation of *shimau* is ‘ending up doing something inadvertently’. An example of this interaction can be seen in example 11.

3.1.3.2. *Tsui*

Tsui is an adverb and when used with the grammaticalized form of *shimau* it can be translated as ‘unintentionally’, ‘carelessly’, ‘without meaning to’ or that ‘one could not control oneself’. *Tsui* can also be used as a time adverb and in that usage it can be translated to ‘close to the present time’ (Makino & Tsutsui 2008: 670). However, that usage is not of relevance for this thesis. The usage between the grammaticalized *shimau* and *tsui* is showed below:

(25) *Tsui* *tabe-sugi-te* *shimat-ta*.
without meaning to eat-to much-GER finish-PAST
‘I ate too much (without meaning to).’

Tsui and *ukkari* can also be used together in the same sentence, as illustrated below (Kotonoha):

(26) *Kabin o* *tsui-ukkari* *otoshi-te* *shimat-ta*.
vase ACC carelessly drop-GER finish-PAST
‘I carelessly dropped a vase’

As stated earlier there were cases where *ukkari* and *tsui* could be used interchangeably, an example of this is showed below (Makino & Tsutsui 2008: 699):

(27) *Emi ni* [*tsui / ukkari*] *Aki no* *himitsu o* *hanashi-te* *shimat-ta*.
[name] LOC carelessly [name] GEN secret ACC tell-GER finish-PAST
‘I carelessly told Aki’s secret to Emi.’

However, an important point regarding *ukkari* and *tsui* are the situations where they are not interchangeably. The difference between them lies in their usages. Makino & Tsutsui (2008: 670) states that *ukkari* is used “[...] when a careless action comes from the person’s absentmindedness or lack of attention”. *Tsui* on the other hand is used when an action is made

because the actor could not control oneself, due to lack of self-control. Subsequently, *tsui* does not work in sentences that involve verbs that describe actions that cannot be controlled. For example verbs like forget, miss (like in missed the train), etcetera. In following examples, situations where *ukkari* and *tsui* can/cannot be used is illustrated (Makino & Tsutsui 2008: 699):

(28) {ukkari / *tsui} chigau mono o kat-te shimat-ta.
 carelessly wrong thing ACC buy-GER finish-PAST
 ‘I carelessly bought the wrong thing’

(29) Yasukat-ta node {tsui / *ukkari} kat-te shimat-ta.
 cheap-PAST because without meaning buy-GER finish-PAST
 ‘It was cheap, so I just bought it (even though I did not mean to).’

Tsui does not work in example 28 because of the word *chigau* which can be translated to wrong. It was due to carelessness and not because of lack of self-control that the subject bought the wrong thing. However, in example 29 *ukkari* does not work because in this case it was due to lack of self-control (the object was on sale) that the subject bought the thing, it was not because of carelessness.

3.1.3.3. *Sukkari*

Sukkari is an adverb and when used with the grammaticalized form of *shimau* it can be translated to ‘completely’ or ‘thoroughly’. *Sukkari* sometimes occur in sentences with the grammaticalized form of *shimau*, for example in cases where the desired interpretation of *shimau* is “completely finish something”. The usage between *sukkari* and *shimau* can be seen in example 12.

3.1.3.4. *Tameni*

Tame is originally a noun and can be translated to ‘good’, ‘advantage’ or ‘benefit’. However when used with Japanese particle *ni* it becomes a complex postposition instead. In that case it can be translated to ‘for the sake of’, ‘in favor of’, ‘to one’s advantage’ or ‘in preparation for’. *Tameni* can be found in a lot of different situations throughout the Japanese language, one of them being with the grammaticalized form of *oku*. One of those situations is presented below (Kotonoha):

(30) Kongo no tameni shit-te o-ki-tai.
future GEN in favor of know-GER place-VS-want
'I want to know in preparation for the future'

3.1.3.5. *Mama*

Mama is a noun and can be translated to 'condition' or 'state'. *Mama* is used as a grammatical phrase and it indicates a 'lack of change' or 'leave it as it is'. As with *tameni* it can be found in various situations in the Japanese language, one of them being together with the grammaticalized form of *oku*. One of those situations is accounted for in example 6.

3.2. *The grammaticalization process throughout history*

Firstly, the grammaticalization process that *oku* and *shimau* underwent will be summarized in this part. Secondly a description of how the clitic forms emerged will be presented.

3.2.1. *Theory of the grammaticalization process*

Many linguistics around the world who have researched the grammaticalization phenomena concerning the grammaticalized form of *oku* and *shimau* and its historical background, all agree, without doubt that it is from their lexical counterpart that these forms originated from. In other words, they did not originate as individual words. Two linguists who investigated this phenomena to a great extent is Tsuyoshi Ono and Susan Strauss. In this thesis their work regarding this process will be addressed to some extent, in a summarizing manner. Firstly Strauss' thoughts will be presented and thereafter Ono's ones.

Strauss, together with the Korean linguist Sung-Ock Sohn wrote a paper concerning the similarities between the Korean *-a/e pelita* and the Japanese *-te shimau*. These grammaticalization processes share many properties with each other. (Strauss and Sohn (1998). In their paper, Strauss describes the grammaticalization process that *shimau* underwent, therefore their paper is of relevance to this thesis, even though the comparison to the Korean *-a/e pelita* which has little to no relevance. Strauss theory about *shimau* and its transformation up to this day can be summarized in four stages. The first stage is when *shimau* only existed as a lexical verb, in other words, the grammatical form had not yet begun to develop. Strauss refers to this as the psychical domain. The second stage is when *shimau* started to occur in combinations with other verbs through the gerund form. It also became an aspectual marker during stage two. Stage two can be thought of as the start of the grammaticalization. After that,

the process moved on to stage three, which according to Strauss is when *shimau* became an affective or an emphatic marker. It is also during stage three where clitic forms for *shimau* first appeared. During the last stage, stage four, *shimau* underwent a light or no emphasis “social dialect” development. It was during this stage the clitic forms developed further. With the end of stage four, *shimau* had come a long way in its grammaticalization. A summary of Strauss theory is showed below:

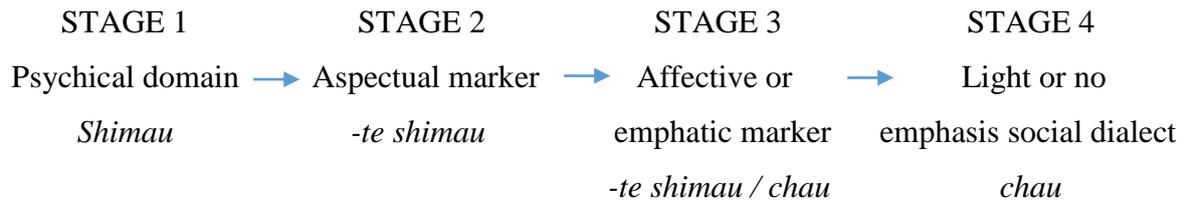


Figure 1. The grammaticalization process of *-te shimau* . (Strauss and Sohn 1998: 221)

With Strauss theory summarized, Ono's theory which is similar to Strauss will be explained and summarized. Ono, in his work “The grammaticization of the Japanese verbs *oku* and *shimau*”⁵ (1992), highlights one interesting aspect in this phenomena. According to Ono, grammaticalization is achievable through merging verbs together in to something that Ono refers to as a clause linking construction. Ono claims that in this usage one of the two verbs obtains some grammatical traits as it loses some of its lexical meaning. This would then make this merge a highly important change in these processes. The summary below regarding the grammaticalization process of *oku* and *shimau*, with consideration to Ono's work, clearly shows that the clause linking construction emerges early in the grammaticalization process. This merge applies for both *oku* and *shimau* (Ono 1992: 385).

(31) *Oku* ‘to place’ or ‘to keep’

(i) *Oku* has a meaning that implies purpose or preparative.

(ii) *Oku* when used as a grammatical mark, comes in a clause-linking construction.

(iii) Instead of simply having a meaning that implied purpose or preparative, it now became a part of *oku* itself. With it, the grammatical usage of *oku* developed to a marker for purpose and preparative. The meaning of volition, which was inherited with the purpose and preparative, contrast with the usage of non-volitional and evidential that *shimau* has.

⁵Ono refers to grammaticalization when he writes grammaticization. They are not different words.

(iv) *Oku* becomes a marker for perfect. This was due to the preparative/purpose meaning *oku* had achieved, together with the meaning of relative length of time which the lexical meaning had, pushed *oku* in that direction.

Before moving on to the grammaticalization process of *shimau*, the reader should note that according to Ono (1992: 369), the verb *shimau* also implies that upon putting something away, it is of some difficulties for the speaker to have access to it. This additional meaning to *shimau* is of some importance regarding this process according to Ono.

(32) *Shimau* ‘to put away’ or ‘to finish’

(i) *Shimau* emphasized the ending of the sentence or the event.

(ii) *Shimau* when used as a grammatical mark, comes in a clause-linking construction.

(iii) The emphasis *shimau* had on the ending of the sentence/event become a marker for perfect through grammaticalization.

(iv) The perfect marker, together with the implications that the lexical meaning *shimau* has (the implications of inaccessibility for the subject after the event) became a marker for the interpretation frustrative as well.

(v) With help from the frustrative aspect, *shimau*, in its grammatical usage, further develops to become a marker for non-volitional, as well as an evidential marker.

Strauss, as well as Ono, states that the grammaticalization process of *shimau* began with the usage as an aspect marker, which is thought to have been inherited from the lexical *shimau* at the start of the development. Shortly after, the aspect marker, little by little expanded its usage to also indicate affectedness. These two linguists, like many other linguists who have researched the grammaticalization process of *shimau*, all share a common belief that during the second stage of the development for *shimau*, a transformation from simply expressing “aspect”, to also indicate modality occurred. The kind of modality that the grammaticalized *shimau* would come to express has already been explained in this thesis. The modality and interpretations, such as “completely finishing something”, “inadvertently”, “negative feeling” and lastly “frustration”.

3.2.2. *The clitic forms development*

The clitic forms that *oku* and *shimau* developed, is a result of a phonological change that accompanied the grammaticalization process. In the figures below, this phonological change

can be observed. To make it as comprehensive as possible, phonetic symbols has been used instead of the Roman writing system.

oku

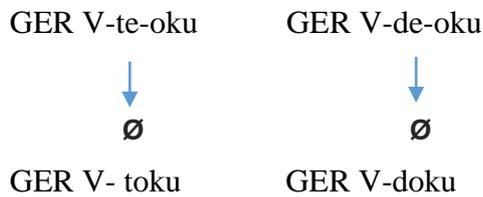


Figure 2: The phonological change that made *oku* achieve a clitic form.

shimau

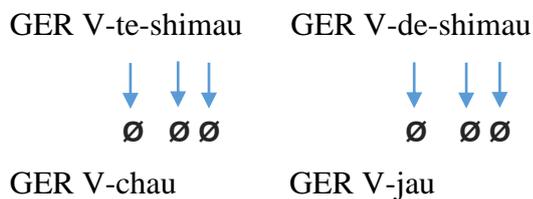


Figure 3: The phonological change that made *shimau* achieve its clitics forms.

As can be observed in the figures, a phonological resegmentation has taken place, which has led to the grammaticalized forms being reduced. As mention earlier these clitic forms are not presented with their original lexical forms in dictionaries, simply because they do not have the same meaning. It is because of that reason these clitic forms can be interpreted as new auxiliary verbs (Ono 1992: 372).

4. My research

4.1. Introduction

If I simply state that harmonizing pairs in the Japanese languages do exist can be a rather hard concept to grasp at first as it can be interpreted in lots of different ways. However, in this thesis, the meaning of harmonizing pairs is very simple. It is the concept where two different words work together and interact with each other throughout the sentence to work as a single unit. Larm, in his work, “On the teaching of Japanese epistemic and evidential markers: theoretical considerations and practical application”, states that “In sentences with modal concord two modal expressions with similar meanings interact to express one single modality”. An example of this is where the Japanese word *hyottoshitara* ‘possible’ harmonizes with the word *kamoshirenai* ‘may’ which is illustrated below (Larm Forthcoming: 5):

(33) Hyottoshitara kare wa kuru kamoshirena-i.
possibly he TOP come.NPAST SPEC-NPAST
'There is a chance that he will come.'

However, this concept is not only restricted to the Japanese language as it can be found in the English language as well, see below (Larm Forthcoming: 5):

(34) He may possibly have forgotten.

In example 34 the modal auxiliary “may” and the adverb “possibly” harmonizes with each other and works together to form a single modality.

With the concept of harmonizing pairs in mind, I thought about whether the grammaticalized form of *oku* and *shimau* ever occurs in similar situations. A situation where they too act as a harmonizing pair with another word and together works as a single unit. Would this be true, and situations like this do exist, it would be an interesting aspect to look in to, whether a sentence change according to the usage of these different pairs, mainly in terms of if the meaning of the grammaticalized form of *oku* and *shimau* are being emphasized when used as a harmonizing pair. The research conducted specifically for this thesis investigates that particular aspect. The method of choice for this research is discussed later in this section.

4.2. Hypothesis

Even before my research was conducted, and before I had read Iwasaki’s work concerning *shimau* and that it was possible to emphasize the interpretation the grammaticalized form *shimau* possesses, I had a hunch that using the words presented in 3.1.4 with the grammaticalized forms they are presented with would emphasize the meanings these forms have. Even though Iwasaki said nothing similar about *oku*, I still believed that different ways to emphasize the meaning of the grammaticalized form of *oku*, existed. Simply because stating something more than once, makes it obvious that it is something of importance that the speaker wants the listener to understand, this in turn can also be described as emphasizing it. With mentioned reasoning in mind, I concluded the hypothesis that the words presented in 3.1.4 would come to have an emphasizing effect on these two verbs when they are used grammatically. This hypothesis was also strengthened later on when I read Iwasaki’s work, at least concerning *shimau*. This made me determined that the outcome of my research concerning this, would point in the desired direction.

4.3. Methodology

To investigate whether the stated hypothesis was true, whether or not it is possible to emphasize the meanings of the grammaticalized forms of *oku* and *shimau*, I believed that conducting interviews with Japanese native speakers was the best way to research this. The topic and the hypothesis researched in this thesis is more abstract than concrete and for that reason sometimes a straight answer can be hard to give, when asked different questions concerning this. Because of that, doing a survey might have been problematic as it would not have given the people who would have answered the survey the same opportunity to elaborate their answer as with people being interviewed. Discussing a topic rather than only answering questions would also give more detailed answers and insights. With the points stated above taken in consideration, interviews were ultimately the researched method.

Three Japanese native speakers were chosen as informants for the interviews. A brief introduction to the three informants will be presented in the next section. As for the questions asked, a small example will be reviewed. The words presented in section 3.1.4 was the chosen words to interact with the grammaticalized forms as a harmonizing pair. With those words, I created a set of sentences with every sentence having at least one different version of itself. This was achievable with the help of a Japanese corpus (Kotonoha)⁶ and sources used in this thesis. *Shimau* had three different versions of every sentence created whilst *oku* had only two. For *shimau*, the first version had only the grammaticalized form (it did not come as a harmonizing pair with any of the words presented in 3.1.4), the next version had only one of the words presented in 3.1.4 (it was not accompanied by the grammaticalized form), and the last version had both the grammaticalized form and one of the words presented in 3.1.4. The example below illustrates the different versions of the same sentence, regarding *shimau*, so that the reader can understand how the questions were arranged (this example was also one of the questions asked during the interviews). The alterations between every version has been highlighted.

(35) *shimau*

- (i) Chigau mono o kat-te **shimat-ta**.
wrong thing ACC buy-GER finish-PAST
'I carelessly bought the wrong thing.'

⁶ The corpus which was used. For link see reference page at the end of the thesis.

(ii) **Ukkari** chigau mono o kat-ta.
 carelessly wrong thing ACC buy-PAST
 ‘I carelessly bought the wrong thing’

(iii) **Ukkari** chigau mono o kat-te **shimat-ta**.
 carelessly wrong thing ACC buy-GER finish-PAST
 ‘I carelessly bought the wrong thing.’

Concerning *oku*, the first version had only one of the words presented in 3.1.4 (it was not accompanied by the grammaticalized form) while the other one had both the grammaticalized form of *oku* accompanied by of the words from 3.1.4. As with *shimau* the example below illustrates the different versions of the same sentence. The alterations between every version has been highlighted.

(36) *oku*

(i) Ashita no shiken no **tame ni** takusan tabe-ta.
 tomorrow GEN game GEN in preparation for a lot eat-PAST
 ‘I ate a lot in preparation for the game tomorrow’

(ii) Ashita no shiken no **tame ni** takusan tabe-**te oi-ta**.
 tomorrow GEN game GEN in preparation for a lot eat-GER place-PAST
 ‘I ate a lot in preparation for the game tomorrow’

During the interviews the informants were showed one version at the time and after each version, questions were asked concerning “interpretation”, “feeling”, “nuance” etc. This was in general how the interviews were conducted.

4.3.1. Informants

The people who were interviewed were all Japanese native speakers. Informant 1 was a 21 year old female from Tokyo, informant 2 was a 20 year old male from Nara and the last informant, informant 3 was a 20 year old male from Kyoto.

Table 4: Informants

	Sex	Age	Birthplace
Informant 1	Female	21	Tokyo
Informant 2	Male	20	Nara
Informant 3	Male	20	Kyoto

4.4. Results

The way the results will be presented is that only the version with both the grammaticalized form and its harmonizing word will be glossed, concerning *shimau* the other versions will be referred to as version (i) and version (ii). However they will only be presented and translated not glossed. However the alterations between every version will be highlighted. A summary of the different versions concerning *shimau* is showed below:

Shimau

Version (i): Only the grammaticalized form of *shimau* not accompanied by a harmonizing word.

Version (ii): Only the harmonizing word not accompanied by the grammaticalized form of *shimau*.

Version (iii): Both the grammaticalized form of *shimau* and a harmonizing word.

(For a concrete example of this summary look at example 35)

For *oku*, the version that will be fully glossed is the version with both the grammaticalized form of *oku* and its harmonizing word. The other version will be referred to as version (i) and will be presented but not glossed. However the alterations between every version will be highlighted. A summary of the different versions concerning *oku* is presented below:

Oku

Version (i): Only the harmonizing word not accompanied by the grammaticalized form

Version (ii): Both the grammaticalized form of *oku* and a harmonizing word.

(For a concrete example of this summary look at example 36)

4.4.1. Emphasizing the grammaticalized form of *shimau*

4.4.1.1. *Shimau* with *ukkari*

As has been presented earlier in 3.1.4.1, *ukkari* has a meaning which is similar to the grammaticalized form of *shimau*, such as ‘carelessly’, ‘inadvertently’ etc. In the following part the results regarding *shimau* and its interaction with *ukkari* will be presented.

Question 1:

Version (i): Chigau mono o katte **shimatta**.

‘I (carelessly) bought the wrong thing.’

Version (ii): **Ukkari** chigau mono o katta.

‘I carelessly bought the wrong thing’

Version (iii): **Ukkari** chigau mono o kat-te **shimat-ta**.

carelessly wrong thing ACC buy-GER finish-PAST

‘I carelessly bought the wrong thing.’

Every informant agreed that version (iii) had the most “carelessly” feeling about it, and when they were asked to compare version (i) with version (iii), they said that having *ukkari* in the sentence together with the grammaticalized form was the reason why version (iii) had the most “carelessly” feeling. However they had some different opinions regarding version (i) and version (ii). Informant 1 and informant 2 felt that version (i) (the version without a harmonizing word) was simply a fact, only stating “I bought the wrong thing”, whilst version (ii) (the version with only a harmonizing word) expressed regret over the action, in this case buying. It was also more emotional in comparison to version (i). Informant 3, claimed that both version (i) and (ii) was regretful. In regard to their different opinions, they all believed version (iii), as has been stated, were the most emotional and regretful.

Question 2:

Version (i): Boku wa shiranai neko o koroshite **shimatta**

‘I (carelessly) killed a cat I did not know.’

Version (ii): Boku wa shiranai neko o **ukkari** koroshita.

‘I carelessly killed a cat I did not know.’

Version (iii): Boku wa shi-ranai neko o **ukkari** koroshi-te **shimat-ta**.

I TOP know-NEG cat ACC carelessly kill-GER finish-PAST

‘I carelessly killed a cat I did not know’

As with question 1, all of the informants agreed that in version (iii) the interpretation of “carelessly” was the strongest. Such as ‘you truly **carelessly/accidentally** killed the cat and you feel regretful over it’. However, informant 1 claimed that it could be interpreted as an excuse because the extensive-usage of “carelessly” coming from both the grammaticalized form and *ukkari*. Informant 1 also stated that version (i) was more of a fact with a slight hint of regret, simply stating “I carelessly killed the cat’, whilst version (ii) as with version (iii) could be interpreted as an excuse. Informant 2 and 3 expressed similar comments however according to them, version (i) had more regret than only a slight hint of it.

Question 3:

Version (i): Dame na koto o yat**te shimatta**.

‘I (thoughtlessly) did something I was not allowed to’

Version (ii): Dame na koto o **ukkari** yatta.

‘I thoughtlessly did something I was not allowed to’

Version (iii): Dame-na koto o **ukkari** yat-**te shimat-ta**.

not-allowed something ACC thoughtlessly do-GER finish-PAST

‘I thoughtlessly did something I was not allowed to’

Every informant, as with the other questions, stated that version (iii) had the most “thoughtlessly” interpretation of all the versions. The answers after that were similar to the rest, with informant 1 claiming that version (i) was a fact, however informant 2 also said the same thing, also stating that it felt narrative. Whilst informant 3 stated that it expressed some regret/guilt. Such as the subject feeling guilty of what he/she did. Concerning version (ii) informant 1 once again expressed that it felt excuse-like. Informant 2 and informant 3 had similar opinions regarding version (ii), claiming that it expressed guilt and regret.

Question 4:

Version (i) Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o wasure**te shimatta**.

‘Hanako (inadvertently) forgot the deadline for the report.’

Version (ii): Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o **ukkari** wasureta.

‘Hanako inadvertently forgot the deadline for the report.’

Version (iii) Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o **ukkari**
 [name] TOP report GEN submission deadline ACC inadvertently
 wasure-**te shimat-ta.**
 forget-GER finish-PAST
 ‘Hanako inadvertently forgot the deadline for the report.’

All of the informants had similar answers concerning this question. Version (iii), according to them, had the strongest feeling of regret and was the most emotional of the three versions. Informant 2 and 3 also interpreted version (iii) as a strong excuse, claiming that the context is probably a student apologizing to a teacher regarding the report. The reason for the strong excuse-like interpretation is similar to informant 1’s answer concerning question 2, that the over usage of “inadvertently” is probably the cause for the strong excuse-like interpretation. Concerning version (i), all agreed that it was only a fact, simply stating that you forgot the deadline, whilst version (ii) according to informant 1, was more emotional than version (i) but not more than version (iii). Informant 2 and 3, claimed version (ii) to also be an excuse but not quite as strong as version (iii), commenting the context for version (ii) is most likely between friends.

Question 5:

Version (i): Okotta kara sono hidoi koto o itte **shimatta.**
 ‘Because I was angry, I (thoughtlessly) said those awful things’

Version (ii): Okotta kara sono hidoi koto o **ukkari** itta.
 ‘Because I was angry, I thoughtlessly said those awful things’

Version (iii): Okot-ta kara sono hidoi koto o **ukkari** it-**te**
 angry-PAST because those awful things ACC thoughtlessly say-GER
shimat-ta.
 finish-PAST
 ‘Because I was angry, I thoughtlessly said those awful things’

Question 5 received similar answers as the rest, with version (iii) expressing the most regret and “thoughtlessly” in comparison to the other versions. Version (i) and (ii) were similar as their nuance was almost the same, however the informant could not quite put their finger on

what the difference in nuance were. Informant 1 and 2 commented that version (i) felt more emotional than version (ii) which felt more narrative and like a fact.

4.4.1.2. *Shimau with tsui*

As has been presented earlier in 3.1.4.2, *tsui* has a meaning which is similar to the grammaticalized form of *shimau*. *Tsui* can be translated as ‘carelessly’, ‘without meaning to’ etc. In the following part the results regarding *shimau* and its interaction with *tsui* will be presented.

Question 6:

Version (i): Omoshirosugita kara, mite **shimatta**.

‘It was too funny so I (carelessly) watched it.’

Version (ii): Omoshirosugita kara, **tsui** mita.

‘It was too funny so without meaning to I watched it.’

Version (iii): Omoshirosugi-ta kara **tsui** mi-te **shimat-ta**.

too funny-PAST because without meaning to watch-GER finish-PAST

‘It was too funny so without meaning to I watched it.’

In this case, all of the informants had similar opinions regarding every version. They stated that version (i) was a fact, however, without *tsui* they interpreted it as the subject watched it on purpose and was not due to lack of self-control. Version (ii) which was also only a fact was however also expressing that the subject could not control oneself. This is in contrast to version (i). As with *ukkari* the informants felt that concerning version (iii) using *tsui* with the grammaticalized form emphasized the meaning “could not control myself”, was the most emotional and regretful of the three versions.

Question 7:

Version (i): Sono koto ga hidoi to shitteiru noni kangaete **shimatta**.

‘Even though I knew those things were awful I (carelessly) thought about it.’

Version (ii): Sono koto ga hidoi to shitteiru noni **tsui** kangaeta.

‘Even though I knew those things were awful, without meaning to I thought about it.’

Version (iii): Sono koto ga hidoi to shitteiru noni **tsui**
 those things NOM awful PAR knew even though without meaning to
 kangae-**te shimat-ta.**
 think-GER finish-PAST
 ‘Even though I knew those things were awful, without meaning to I thought
 about it.’

Informant 1 had trouble separating version (i) and (ii), stating that they were similar. She had a feeling that they were different in some way however had trouble determine what that different was. She however claimed that version (ii) was emotionless. Informant 2 and 3 stated that version (i) had some regret/guilt over the fact that the subject thought about those things however the same regret/guilt could not be found in version (ii), it remained a fact, illustrating that the subject simply, not on purpose thought about those things. Concerning version (iii), the informants claimed that it emphasized the interpretation of “not on purpose”, “without meaning to” and was also the most emotional.

Question 8:

Version (i): Okotta kara sono hidoi koto o **itte shimatta.**

‘Because I was angry, I (from lack of self-control) said those awful things’

Version (ii): Okotta kara sono hidoi koto o **tsui itta.**

‘Because I was angry, I could not control myself from saying those awful things’

Version (iii): Okot-ta kara sono hidoi koto o **tsui** **it-te**
 angry-PAST because those awful things ACC lack of self-control say-GER
shimat-ta.
 finish-PAST

‘Because I was angry, I could not control myself from saying those awful things’

This question and question 5 is similar except instead of *ukkari*, *tsui* is used instead. The answers were similar concerning that version (i) expressed that the subject was emotional concerning the event. Version (ii), according to the informants, was emotionless and only a fact stating that the subject could not control oneself. Version (iii) was interpreted as the version with the strongest feeling of “could not control oneself” and was the most emotional. However, using *ukkari* or *tsui* had an effect on the sentence as a whole. When *ukkari* was used it was an interpretation of ‘thoughtlessly’ and that the subject did not realize that those things he/she said

were bad until after he/she had said them. However, using *tsui*, the subject knew the things were bad, but could not control oneself from saying them, according to the informants.

Question 9:

Version (i): warai dashite **shimatta**.

‘I (without meaning to) started to laugh.’

Version (ii): **tsui** warai dashita.

‘I without meaning to started to laugh.’

Version (iii): **tsui** wara-i dashi-te **shimat-ta**.

without meaning to laugh-VS start-GER finish-PAST

‘I without meaning to started to laugh.’

Question 9 received similar answers as the above question with all the informants stating that the subject in version (i) had some regret/guilt over the fact he/she laughed. Version (ii) was interpreted as a fact, was objective and with no regret or guilt from the subject. The answers regarding version (iii) remained the same, with it having the strongest feeling of “without meaning to” and was the most emotional.

4.4.1.3. *Shimau* with *tsui ukkari*

Tsui and *ukkari* can be used together which was presented in 3.1.4.2. In the following part the results regarding *shimau* and its interaction with *tsui* together with *ukkari* will be presented. These versions will be different from previous versions (only at this part will they be different), version (i) had *ukkari* with the grammaticalized form of *shimau*, whilst version (ii) had *tsui* with *shimau*. Lastly, version (iii) had both *tsui*, *ukkari* and the grammaticalized form of *shimau*.

Question 10:

Version (i): Emi ni **ukkari** Aki no himitsu o hanashite shimatta.

‘I carelessly told Aki’s secret to Emi.’

Version (ii): Emi ni **tsui** Aki no himitsu o hanashite shimat-ta.

‘I carelessly told Aki’s secret to Emi.’

Version (iii): Emi ni **tsui-ukkari** Aki no himitsu o hanashi-te
 [name] LOC carelessly [name] GEN secret ACC tell-GER
 shimat-ta.
 finish-PAST
 ‘I carelessly told Aki’s secret to Emi.’

Of these three versions, all the informants felt that version (i) was the most emotional. This proves that using *tsui* together with *ukkari* does not emphasize the grammaticalized form more than when *tsui* and *ukkari* were used alone. There is also a difference between version (i) and (ii). In version (i) with *ukkari*, the subject accidentally told Emi about Aki’s secret. However, with version (ii) with *tsui* the subject due to lack of self-control told the secret to Emi. According to the subjects, the secret might have been a funny one and therefore the subject could not resist telling it. Because of that reason the informants felt that version (i) had more guilt than version (ii). They also claimed that version (iii) felt more of an excuse than the others, however, which has already been stated, version (iii) did not emphasize the meanings of the grammaticalized form.

Question 11:

Version (i): **ukkari** shite shimatta.
 ‘I carelessly did it.’

Version (ii): **tsui** shite shimatta.
 ‘I could not control myself from doing it.’

Version (iii): **tsui-ukkari** shi-te shimat-ta.
 carelessly do-GER finish-PAST
 ‘I carelessly did it.’

Identical answers for question 11 were received as with the previous question. Version (iii) was not the most emotional and did not emphasize the grammaticalized form. As with question 10, version (i) expressed more guilt than version (ii).

4.4.1.4. *Shimau* with *sukkari*

As has been presented earlier in 3.1.4.3, *sukkari* has a meaning which is similar to the grammaticalized form of *shimau*, such as ‘completely’ or ‘thoroughly’. In the following part the results regarding *shimau* and its interaction with *sukkari* will be presented.

Question 12:

Version (i): Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o wasurete **shimatta**.

‘Hanako completely forgot the deadline for the report.’

Version (ii): Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o **sukkari** wasureta.

‘Hanako completely forgot the deadline for the report.’

Version (iii): Hanako wa repooto no teishutsu kigen o **sukkari**

[name] TOP report GEN submission deadline ACC completely

wasure-**te shimat-ta**.

forget-GER finish-PAST

‘Hanako completely forgot the deadline for the report.’

Question 4 and 12 is similar except instead of *ukkari* which was used in question 4, in question 13 *sukkari* is used instead. By using *sukkari* the answers changed. However as version (i) was the same for both questions (because neither *ukkari* nor *sukkari* was present in that version) the answers concerning that version did not change. It remained simply stating a fact. Version (ii) with *sukkari* on the other hand was interpreted as a fact and not as an excuse as version (ii) with *ukkari* was. Version (ii) simply stated that the subject totally forgot about the deadline. Version (ii) also expressed no guilt according to them. Informant 3 expressed that he felt that the difference between *ukkari* and *sukkari* was that when using *ukkari*, the subject, as the deadline approached forgot it as he/she was doing something else, whilst *sukkari* expressed a stronger feeling of “Oh damn, that’s right, I totally forgot that”. Lastly according to every informant version (iii) with both *sukkari* and the grammaticalized form of *shimau* was the most emotional and had the strongest feeling of “completely”.

Question 13:

Version (i): Momiji ga chitte **shimatta**.

‘The autumn leaves have completely fallen.’

Version (ii): Momiji ga **sukkari** chitta.

‘The autumn leaves have completely fallen.’

Version (iii): Momiji ga **sukkari** chit-**te** **shimat-ta**.
autumn-leaves NOM completely fall-GER finish-PAST
'The autumn leaves have completely fallen.'

Regarding question 14 the informants had similar opinions. Informant 1 claimed that for some reason version (i) felt emotional and was not only stating a fact. This is interesting as she often claimed the other first versions to be. Informant 2 and 3 also claimed version (i) contained an emotional touch. As for version (ii), they all agreed that it was only a fact. The emotional touch could not be found in version (ii). It simply illustrated, from an objective perspective, that the leaves had completely fallen. Version (iii), which contained both *sukkari* and the grammaticalized form, was the version with the strongest interpretation of “completely” and was the most sentimental.

Question 14:

Version (i): Watashi no kanojou ga kawatte **shimatta**.
'My girlfriend has completely changed.'

Version (ii): Watashi no kanojou ga **sukkari** kawatta.
'My girlfriend has completely changed.'

Version (iii): Watashi no kanojou ga **sukkari** kawat-**te** **shimat-ta**.
I GEN girlfriend NOM completely change-GER finish-PAST
'My girlfriend has completely changed.'

Once again the informants claimed that version (iii) had the strongest the “completely” interpretation, on top of that, they also felt that in version (iii) the subject did not like that his/her girlfriend changed. Concerning version (i) and (ii), informant 1 interpreted them as facts. However version (ii), she said expressed a more complete change in comparison to version (i). In fact informant 2 and 3 also stated that version (ii) was simply a fact, only expressing the overall change in the girlfriend. However they stated that version (i) had a similar feeling of “did not want her to change” as version (iii) did, but not quite as strong.

Question 15:

Version (i): Denki ga kiete **shimatta**.
'The light turned off completely.'

Version (ii): Denki ga **sukkari** kieta.

‘The light turned off completely.’

Version (iii): Denki ga **sukkari** kie-te **shimat-ta.**

light NOM completely turn off-GER finish-PAST

‘The light turned off completely.’

The answers for question 15 were similar to the answers for question 14, with informant 1 stating that version (i) and (ii) being a fact, with version (ii) expressing the “completely” stronger. Informant 2 and 3 answered similar as well, as they expressed that version (i) had a slight interpretation as “did not want for the light to be turned off”. Version (iii) once again, expressed the most emotional and emphasized “completely” the most.

4.4.1.5. Ambiguous meanings with *shimau*

The grammaticalized form of *shimau*, because of its many interpretation it has, can be ambiguous. With the two following questions I wanted to clarify how strong of interaction these words have on the grammaticalized form of *shimau*, more than has already been. The difference in every version is that they had either *ukkari*, *tsui* or *sukkar* with the first version without any of them.

Question 16:

Version (i): tabe-te shimat-ta.

eat-GER finish-PAST

‘I (completely/due to lack of self-control/thoughtlessly) ate it.’

Version (ii): ukkari tabete shimatta.

‘I thoughtlessly ate it.’

Version (iii): sukkari tabete shimatta.

‘I completely ate it.’

Version (iiii): tsui tabete shimatta.

‘I (due to lack of self-control) ate it.’

Question 17:

Version (i): non-de shima-ta.

drink-GER finish-PAST

‘I (completely/due to lack of self-control/thoughtlessly) drank it.’

Version (ii): ukkari nonde shimatta.

‘I thoughtlessly drank it.’

Version (iii): sukkari nonde shimatta.

‘I completely drank it all.’

Version (iiii): tsui nonde shimatta.

‘I (due to lack of self-control) ate it.’

Both question 16 and 17 received similar answers from the informants. They all claimed that without context, the first version (i) could be interpreted in many ways. However, when one of these words were used, that word alone determined the interpretation of the grammaticalized form of *shimau*. That is why version (ii)-(iiii) could only be interpreted one way. This neatly illustrates how strong the interaction between these words can be with the grammaticalized form of *shimau*.

4.4.1.6. Summary of the interaction concerning *shimau*

The results concerning the interaction between the chosen words and the grammaticalized form of *shimau*, is straightforward. It appears that regardless of the context and which informant asked, the version with both a harmonizing word and the grammaticalized form had always the strongest interpretation of the meaning that *shimau* possesses. It was also the most emotional in comparison to the other versions. When asked about the interaction between these words and *shimau* in general, concerning the research topic, they all agreed that the meaning *shimau* has is emphasized. This concerns other contexts and situations as well. However, when *tsui* and *ukkari* were used together it did not emphasize more than when they were used alone with *shimau* (look question 10-11). It also appears that the context can make version (iii) to be interpreted as a strong excuse because the extensive usage of these meanings. Concerning version (i) and (ii), depending on which informant asked the answers changed. Informant 1 and informant 3 sometimes had different comments regarding the two versions. Informant 2 had

similar comments with both the informants at some point. The difference is not related to gender as informant 2, who was a male, agreed with informant 1, who was a female. Birthplace might be the cause why they answered differently, as all the informants had different birthplaces. However, the cause might simply lie on an individual level, and then it would not be related to gender, age and birthplace etcetera. Regardless of the above acknowledgements, the answers can be summarized as, depending on the context and which informant asked, version (i) or (ii) is either a fact or emotional. For example, informant 1 believed that most of version (i) was only a fact with a few exception such as question 13 with *sukkari*, where she stated it was not only a fact as it was emotional as well. The same for question 8 with *tsui*, as she also felt an emotional feeling concerning the event. Informant 2 and especially informant 3 on the other hand more often stated that version (i) felt emotional and was simply not only a fact (but cases where they too felt that version (i) was only a fact existed as with question 4). However, version (i) were never more emotional than version (iii). Concerning version (ii), informant 1 at some cases also interpreted that version as more emotional in comparison to version (i), as with question 1 with *ukkari*. She had similar comments on question 4, that the 2nd version felt more emotional than version (i). Informant 2 and 3 also stated that version (ii) sometimes were emotional. However, the cases where they expressed those thoughts was only with *ukkari*. For *tsui* and *sukkari* the 2nd version was always a fact. All of the informants agreed on this. This indicates that *ukkari* might have an emotional touch to it, a touch that both *tsui* and *sukkari* does not possess. Whether or not if *ukkari* has an emotional touch it did not affect the emphasizing ability as both *tsui* and *sukkari* also had that effect on the grammaticalized form of *shimau*. As for the ambiguous questions, they neatly illustrate that depending on which harmonizing word one uses, the meaning of the grammaticalized form changes. This once again illustrates the bond between these words and *shimau*.

4.4.2. *Emphasizing the grammaticalized form of oku*

4.4.2.1. *Oku with tameni*

As has been presented earlier in 3.1.4.4, *tameni* has a meaning which is similar to the grammaticalized form of *oku*, such as ‘in preparation’. In the following part the results regarding *oku* and its interaction with *tameni* will be presented.

Question 18:

Version (i): Ashita no shiken no **tame ni** takusan tabe-ta.

‘I ate a lot in preparation for the game tomorrow.’

Version (ii): Ashita no shiken no **tame ni** takusan tabe-te
tomorrow GEN game GEN in preparation for a lot eat-GER
oi-ta.
place-PAST
'I ate a lot in preparation for the game tomorrow.'

Concerning question 18, the informants had similar answers. Version (i) was only a fact, stating why you ate so much. Version (ii) on the other hand, because of the grammaticalized form of *oku*, the informants interpreted it as the subject of the sentence being more invested for the game tomorrow in comparison to version (i). They also stated that the “in preparation” was being emphasized, as it had a stronger feeling of that meaning.

Question 19:

Version (i): tesuto no **tameni** kono kanji o oboete kudasai.
'Please remember this kanji in preparation for the test.'

Version (ii): tesuto no **tame ni** kono kanji o oboe-te **oi-te**
test GEN in preparation for this kanji ACC remember-GER place-GER
kudasai.
please
'Please remember this kanji in preparation for the test.'

The informants, once again had similar comments regarding every version. They stated that version (i) was an instruction and harder in the tone than version (ii). Version (ii), was also a suggestion more than an instruction and therefore softer in the tone. It also implied “you should better”, “in your benefit” etc. However the interpretation of “in preparation” was not stronger than version (i). They were similar in that aspect.

Question 20:

Version (i): Kyou, tomodachi no tanjoubi no **tame ni** purezento o katta.
'Today I bought a present for my friends' birthday.'

Version (ii): Kyou, tomodachi no tanjoubi no **tame ni** purezento o kat-**te**
today friend GEN birthday GEN for present ACC buy-GER
oi-ta.

place-PAST

‘Today I bought a present for my friends’ birthday.’

Question 20 received similar answers as question 18, with all the informants stating that version (i) was only a fact, simply stating why the subject went and bought a present, there is no point of focus as well according to the informants. As for version (ii), the informants felt that the focus was tilted to why the subject went and bought a present, in this case for the subjects’ friends’ birthday. This in turn expressed a stronger feeling of “in preparation” than version (i) according to them.

Question 21:

Version (i): raishuu no supiiichi kontesuto no **tame ni** takusan renshuu shinakya.

‘I must practice a lot in preparation for next week speech contest.’

Version (ii) raishuu no supiiichi kontesuto no **tame ni** takusan renshuu
next week GEN speech contest GEN in preparation for a lot practice
shi-**te oka-nakya.**

do-GER place-must

‘I must practice a lot in preparation for next week speech contest.’

Concerning version (i) all of the informants agreed that it was only a fact stating that the subject seriously needs to practice for the speech contest, however it was still only stating a fact. As for version (ii), informant 1 explained that her interpretation was that the subject was more invested in training for the speech contest. However, informant 2 and 3 interpreted it as (in comparison to version (i)) that the subject was not in the same rush to practice for the contest. It was not quite as urgent as in version (i). Regardless of their individual comments none of them felt that the “in preparation” meaning was emphasized.

4.4.2.2. *Oku with mama*

As has been presented earlier in 3.1.4.5, *mama* in its usage as a grammatical phase has a similar meaning to the grammaticalized form *oku*, such as ‘leave it as it is’. In the following part the results regarding *oku* and its interaction with *mama* will be presented.

Question 22:

Version (i): Okaasan wa musuko ni sono **mama** geemu o saseta.

‘The mother let her son play as he was doing.’

Version (ii): Okaasan wa musuko ni sono **mama** geemu o sase-**te**
mother TOP son in that state game ACC do-CAUS-GER
oi-ta.
place-PAST

‘The mother let her son play as he was doing.’

Both version (i) and (ii) were similar in the way, that the informants interpreted the two versions, similar to each other. They both expressed the idea that the mother let her son keep playing as he was doing. However according to them, version (ii) emphasized the idea of “as he were” more than version (i). This was due to the combination of *mama* and the grammaticalized form of *oku*.

Question 23:

Version (i): Sono **mama** ni shite kudasai.

‘Please leave it as it is.’

Version (ii): Sono **mama** ni shi-**te** **oi-te** kudasai.
in that state do-GER place-GER please

‘Please leave it as it is.’

The answers for question 23 were similar to question 19, in the sense that version (i) was interpreted as more rude, harder in the tone and a stronger order than version (ii). Version (ii) was also order-like however softer. As with question 19, the informants did not feel that the meaning of “leave it as it is” were being emphasized. The similarities between 19 and 23 is the usage of “please” at the end of the sentence. This might be the cause of why it is not being emphasized, however the informants could not clarify this.

Question 24:

Version (i): Gohan dakedo sono **mama** nesaseru?

‘Even though it is dinner should we let him sleep?’

Version (ii): Gohan dakedo sono **mama** ne-sase-**te** **oku?**
 dinner even though in that state sleep-CAUS-GER place.NPAST
 ‘Even though it is dinner should we let him sleep?’

This question received similar answers as question 22. Version (i) and (ii) both implied a “leave him as it is” feeling. However, version (i) was colder in comparison to version (ii). The informants all claimed that version (ii) had a feeling of and I quote informant 2, “It has a feeling of his face is so cute so let him sleep”. The other informants said similar things, expressing that version (ii) felt kinder because of this interpretation, this in turn emphasized the “leave it as it is” meaning according to them.

4.4.2.3. Summary of the interaction concerning *oku*

Regarding *oku* all of the informants always had similar comments. The clear difference in answers as with *shimau* was not found with *oku*. The results concerning the harmonizing words and their interaction with the grammaticalized form of *oku* was not as straightforward and clear as they were with *shimau*. The version with both a harmonizing word and the grammaticalized form did not always have the strongest interpretation of the meaning that *oku* possesses. However what can be observed is that in the cases where they were emphasized, *oku* always finished the sentence alone and had no additional meaning attached to it. For example in question 21, *oku* in version (ii) also possesses the meaning “must”, coming from ‘na kya’. This in turn can have affected where the focus of the event lay, pushing the focus too much away from *oku*’s meaning “in preparation” to “must” instead. This would explain why there is no emphasizing effect in this case as “must” is maybe a stronger feeling. In the other cases, as in question 23, the Japanese word for please, finished the sentence, which also might have placed the focus on something else beside that from the meanings of *oku* in its grammaticalized form. However when the Japanese native speakers were asked concerning this, they could not give a clear answer as they too had problem determining the cause. It might also simply be the context that determine whether or not it has an emphasizing effect on the sentence. As with the cases concerning *mama* where there was no emphasizing effect, the context was interpreted as someone giving order. For *tameni* the cases with no emphasizing effect, where the context when someone gave instructions, suggestions, request, obligation etc. This can also have pushed the focus too much away from the grammaticalized meanings and therefore did not applied an emphasizing effect.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Conclusion of hypothesis

The research conducted specially for this thesis was designed to investigate the effect of using words that have a similar meanings of the grammaticalized forms of *shimau* and *oku* together with those forms and observe the results regarding that interaction, in particular, if the meanings that those forms possess is emphasized. With my hypothesis I believed an emphasizing ability would be possible to obtain through this interaction, such as the emphasizing effect the interaction between the indirect passive and the grammaticalized form of *shimau* has according to Iwasaki. My reasoning was simple, stating something more than once, makes it obvious that it is something of importance that the speaker wants the listener to understand, this in turn can be described as emphasizing it. According to the results it seems like concerning *shimau* and the words, *ukkari*, *tsui* and *sukkari*, it appears that in every case, regardless of the context, when these words interacted with the grammaticalized form of *shimau* there were always an emphasizing effect on the meanings that the grammaticalized form of *shimau* possessed in comparison to when these words and *shimau* were used alone. This made the stated hypothesis true, that the emphasizing ability did exist at least concerning *shimau*. Regarding *oku* and the chosen words, *tameni* and *mama*, the stated hypothesis was partly right. In the questions asked about these two words and their interaction with the grammaticalized form of *oku*, in roughly half of them an emphasizing ability existed in comparison to when *tameni* or *mama* were used alone. The presumed or believed reason behind why some of the cases had no emphasizing ability has already been discussed, however, they can be summarized as focus, context or difference in how the sentence ended. Therefore the stated hypothesis concerning *oku* were only partly right as a clear emphasizing ability was not found, however, evidence of its existence was discovered.

5.2. Finishing words

The present thesis was made with the purpose to clarify whether or not the meanings of the grammaticalized forms of *shimau* and *oku* could possibly be emphasized, and for this purpose three Japanese native speakers were interviewed. As for the question asked in the title of this paper, whether or not the grammaticalized forms of *oku* and *shimau* are alone, an answer can easily be found throughout this paper. The answer is simply no, they are not alone. For *shimau* the answer is more obvious than with *oku*. When the grammaticalized form of *shimau* occurred with any of the harmonizing words presented in this paper they always worked together to

express a single idea. The grammaticalized form of *shimau* was for that reason not alone. Regarding *oku*, in some cases it worked together with the harmonizing word, however, not in every situation. However, because of the situations they worked together it can be concluded that the grammaticalized form of *oku* is not always alone.

As for potential topics for the future, if more research in this topic is desired, one might consider, because of the few people interviewed, interviewing a larger group of people as it would give stronger results. New contexts and situations could also be applied, as that would make it more general. However, probably the most interesting topic for the future would be a more detailed research concerning *oku* and the emphasizing ability. A more detailed research into *oku* would certainly clarify the rules regarding emphasizing the grammaticalized form of *oku*, as those rules are still unclear.

Reference

- Banno, E, 2011: *Genki 2: An Integrated Course in Elementary Japanese*. Tokyo: Japan Times.
- Hopper, P. J. & Traugott, E. C. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Iwasaki, Shoichi. 2013. *Japanese: Revised edition*. Amsterdam : John Benjamins Pub. Co., cop.
- Kaori Kondo, *An inquiry into the grammaticalization process of Japanese auxiliary verbs: With special reference to -te shimau and -te oku* (2014)
- Kikuchi, Y. (2009) *-te oku no bunseki* [An analysis of *-te oku*]. *Tookyo Daigaku Ryuugakusei Center Kyooiku Kenkyuu Ronshuu*, 15, 1-20.
- Kiyoharu Ono (2000) "Grammaticalization of Japanese Verbals, *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 20:1, 39-79
- Kurylowicz, Jerzy (1975[1965]). 'The evolution of grammatical categories', *Esquisses linguistiques* 2: page 38-54.
- Larm, L. (Forthcoming). 'On the teaching of Japanese epistemic and evidential markers: theoretical considerations and practical applications'. In Hebert, D. (ed.) *International Perspectives on Translation, Education and Innovation in Japanese and Korean Societies*. Springer.
- Makino, S. and Tsutsui, M. (1989). *A dictionary of advanced Japanese grammar*, Tokyo: Japan Times.
- Martin, S.E. (2004). *A Reference Grammar of Japanese*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Narrog Heiko and Bernd Heine (ed), "The Oxford Handbook of GRAMMATICALIZATION", Oxford University Press (Published 13 October 2011)
- Ono, Tsuyoshi. "The Grammaticalization of the Japanese verbs *oku* and *shimau*", *Cognitive Linguistics*, 3(4), 367-390 (1992)
- Shounagon, *Gendai Nihongo Kakikotoba Kinkou Koupasu* (Shounagon, *Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese*). At <http://www.kotonoha.gr.jp/shonagon/>

Strauss, S. & Sohn, S (1998). "Grammaticalization, aspect, and emotion: The case of Japanese *-te shimau* and Korean *-a/e pelita*", *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, 8, 217-230. Stanford: CSLI.