The Polite Forms in Japanese Complement Sentences

日本語補文中の丁寧語

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Abstract

This study explores the behavior of polite forms in Japanese complement sentences, employing three major approaches. Firstly, we will survey the treatment of polite forms within the transformational generative framework and its problem. Secondly, we will discuss the previous works on the polite forms in Japanese complement sentences and their adequacy. Lastly, we will consider the polite forms in complements and cleft sentences, and their relation to 'koto' and 'no'.

Keywords: Japanese complement sentences, Polite forms, 'no' 'koto', Truth, Emotion

Introduction

There are two different sentence styles in Japanese sentence constructions, that is, plain and polite. If the polite markers, <u>mas</u> after verbs, or <u>des</u> after adjectives and nouns, are used, the sentence is recognized as polite style, if not, it is recognized as plain. In the Japanese embedded sentence constructions, such as complements, relative clauses, conjunctions, adverbial clauses, and cleft sentences, there are three ways of the occurrence of the polite forms, that is, optional, obligatory, and prohibited, when the main predicate is marked with the polite form.

Tagashira (1973), Harada (1976), and Nonaka (1984) explained the behavior of the polite form in Japanese complement sentences in their own ways. Tagashira explained it in terms of the independency of the complement sentences in relation to the main sentences. Harada explained it in terms of the factivity. Nonaka explained it in terms of the emotive-factivity and thematization.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the behavior of the polite forms in the Japanese complement sentences and cleft sentences as surveying the theoretical frameworks, and consider the adequate explanation for it

The Treatment of the Polite Forms within the Transformational Generative Framework

In this section, we will discuss the treatment of polite

forms within the framework of the transformational generative theory in the works by Makino (1968), Prideaux (1970) and Hinds (1973). In the course of the discussion to follow, it will become apparent that none of their works can properly treat the polite forms in the complements. Therefore, a better and more adequate explanation of the polite forms in the complement sentences will be necessary.

Makino (1968: 104-105) presents two proposals of an analysis of Japanese honirifics, one is transformational and the other is lexical. Along the line of transformational approach, he postulates several transformational rules which designates the sentential features [\pm polite] from a set of presuppositions consisting interpersonal relations.

(1) Politeness Assignment Rule

If the speaker is lower in social status than the hearer, then the sentence gets [+Polite] or if the speaker is higher in social status than the hearer and is lower than the subject of the sentence, then the sentence in question obtains [+Polite]. Otherwise, the sentence is marked [-Polite].

Then, the following rule accounts for the differentiation of polite expressions into the two subcategories:

(2) Politeness Differentiation Rule

If the subject of the sentence is equal to the speaker,

[+Polite] gets [+Humble] additionally; if not, it will get [-Humble] (Honorific).

Finally, the relevant morphemes will be marked simultaneously if the sentence marked [+Polite]. This procedure is called the Politeness Harmony rule.

(3) Optional Transformation Rule

$$(\pm AV)$$

→ $[\alpha \text{ Polite}] / S[\overline{\alpha \text{ Polite}}] S$
 $(\pm ADJ)$
 $\pm AV = Noun$
 $+ ADJ = Adjective$
 $- ADJ = Verb$

This rule indicates that any $[\pm Av]$ and $[\pm Adj]$ appearing in a sentence will be assigned either [+Polite] or [-Polite] in accordance with the politeness of the particular sentence. He further states that this formulation is not only simpler but also agrees naturally with the fact that in quotative indirect speech, the quoted sentence itself is not affected by the politeness of the main sentence. His examples are as follows:

(4) a. Tanaka wa tomodati ni asu eiga ni
TM friend to tomorrow movie
ik-u to itta.
go quote said

'Tanaka said to his friend that he would go to see a movie.'

b. Tanaka-<u>san</u> wa <u>o</u>-tomodati ni asu eiga ni pol pol ik-u to iw-<u>are-mas</u>-ita.

respect pol

'Tanaka said to his friend that he would go to see a movie.'

Once the semantic feature [+Polite] is assigned the possible elements undergo the politeness transformation as in (4b).

However, he does not credit this analysis much because it is difficult to account for the social relativity into the deep structure, to derive various marked/unmarked morphemes in a sentence from a perfectly marked case by Politeness Harmony rule, and to assume that our base component is loaded with the necessary bits of information of honorific expression.

The approach which Makino thinks to be worth considering is a lexical or interpretive approach. It assumes that politeness affixes are randomly inserted into the deep structure by the lexical insertion rule as long as they meet the strict subcategorization specified in the lexicon for each affix.

- (5) Interpretive Rule For [±Polite]
 - If a given simplex sentence contains any morpheme marked [+Polite], the sentence is interpreted as [+Polite]. If not, it is interpreted as [-Polite].
- (6) Interpretive Rule For [±Humble]
 - If $[\pm AV]$ which is marked [+ Polite] is additionally marked $[\alpha \text{ Humble}]$ in the lexicon, then the sentence is interpreted as $[\alpha \text{ Humble}]$.
- (7) Interpretive Rule For Interpersonal Relations

 If a sentence is interpreted as [+Humble], then the subject of S is [0H+Sp] and [+Sp] is [-H-Sp]. If the sentence is interpreted as [-Humble], then [+Sp] is either [-H-Sp] or [+H+Sp] and [-H-AV-ga].

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α = a variable that ranges over + and -.
[+ADJ] = Adjective
[-ADJ] = Verb
[+Sp] = Speaker
[-Sp] = Hearer
ga = (surface) subject marker
[0H] = no difference in social status between the two humans in comparison
[-AV] = Noun
[+H] = status is higher than that of ···.
[-H] = status is higher than that of ···.
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Makino gives the positive account for the lexical approach because it enables us to avoid referring to the social hierarchy in the deep structure and can be achieved in a more economical way than the former approach. However, it seems natural for the native speaker to assume that the sentential feature is decided first and then the relevant morphemes are marked rather than to assume the sentential feature is decided after the insertion of the affixes. Furthermore, there is no evidence that we can interpret the

sentential feature [±Humble] in terms of the affixes of adjectives/verbs in a sentence since we do have the humble forms of nouns such as shousei: 'I', gusai: 'my wife', heisha: 'our company', settaku: 'my house' and so on.

Makino points out that in quotative indirect speech, the quoted sentence themselves are not affected by the politeness of the matrix sentence. Here, the question arises, namely, the question of how this politeness harmony rule affects complement sentences, and the question of how we can differentiate the sentences which take the polite forms from those which do not.

Prideaux (1970: 17-18) claims that the various levels of 'formality,' what I refer to as the <u>politeness</u>, are provided by features of the subject noun of the sentence. For example, if the subject noun of the sentence has the feature [+Formal], The verbal phrase must also have the feature [+Formal], in which case the use of the polite forms is correctly predicted, and the concordance between the subject and the verb is explained. However, his analysis does not hold, since the use of polite forms is not triggered by the feature [+Formal] of the subject noun of the sentence but rather by the speaker's perception of the speaker-hearer relationship. There are many cases in which the subject noun does not have the feature [+Formal].

The use of suffix <u>mas</u> and <u>des</u> makes a plain sentence into a formal one in Japanese. Observe the following examples:

- (8) a. Boku ga ik-u.

 I SM go
 b. Boku ga ik-i-<u>mas</u>-u.
 I SM go-formal
 'I go.'
- (9) a. Kore wa hon da.This TM book copulab. Kore wa hon des-u.This TM book copula-formal'This is a book.'

The formal suffix \underline{mas} is attached to the verb of the sentence as in (8b). The formal copula \underline{des} is used in the copula sentence like (9b). Those formal sentences are used when the speaker's status is lower or equal to the

addressee, or when the speaker's feeling of formality is concerned at first place whatever the relative social status of speaker and addressee is.

Those conditions indicate that formal stylization is dependent on the speaker-addressee relationship and there is nothing to do with the formality concord between subject and verb as Prideaux specified.

There is another reason for the inadequacy of Prideaux's analysis, which is examined in the case of a sentence with no subject noun phrase:

(10) a. Atsui.hotb. Atsui des-u.hot copula-formal'It is hot.'

Evidently, there is no way of predicting this formal sentence in Prideaux's analysis since the appropriate expression is selected exclusively by the relationship which exists between a speaker and an addressee.

With respect to this paper, the subjective sentential complement is considered to be the subject noun phrase of a sentence. However, it can be either polite or plain. For instance:

(11) (Otooto ga sin-da) koto wa zannnen-des-u. brother SM die past Nom TM regretable pol is 'It is regretable that my brother died.'

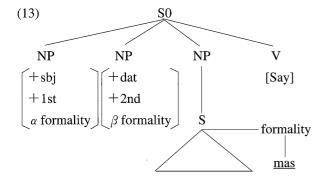
In this case, $\underline{S+koto}$ does not contain any [+Formal] features, and yet the verbal phrase takes the polite form \underline{des} . The NP ($\underline{S+koto}$) with the [-Formal] feature takes a VP with a [+Formal] feature. This contradicts Prideaux's statement, that the deep structure generated by the base must account for concordance, and contain the feature of formality.

Hinds (1973: 56) concerns himself with demonstrating the speaker-hearer relationship in the underlying structure. He considers the conditions for the use of the polite forms as follows:

(12) Formal: (1) The speaker does not use formal forms with those people within a loosely defined group, close friends, family, etc.

- (2) There is a shift to the formal style when the distance to the speaker-hearer relationship.(e.g. telephone conversations, formal meetings, etc.)
- (3) A social superior does not use the formal style when speaking to a social inferior: a social inferior speaking to a social superior is required to use the formal style.

Then he relates three conditions to the structure of the abstract noun phrase in order to show the relationship between the speaker and hearer (s), i.e., to the performative subject and dative, shown as follows:



The 'in-group' condition (12-1) and the 'distance' condition (12-2) are indicated by Greek letters. If they have different degrees of formality, i.e., α and β , the formal $\underline{\text{mas}}$ (or $\underline{\text{des}}$) will be used.

This analysis presents an adequate description of simple sentences. However, it does not adequately explain the occurrence of the polite forms in the complement sentences.

As is apparent from the preceding discussion, the theories of Makino, Prideaux, and Hinds do not adequately answer the question of how each theory works on the behavior of the polite forms in complements. Our concern in the following section is to discuss possible answers to this question.

Previous Works on the Polite Forms in Complement Sentences

Tagashira (1973: 121-134) examines the distribution of the polite forms in the complement sentences with relation to the degree of independency of the embedded sentences to their main sentences. Japanese complement sentences are more independent and less connected to the main sentences than, for instance, relative clauses, and so they can behave like independent sentences, in which they can take the polite forms. Observe Tagashira's examples:

- (14) a. Ano atu-i/*atu-i-<u>des</u>-u hon ga
 that thick pol book
 watakushi-no-de-gozai-<u>mas</u>-u.
 mine be pol
 'Mine is that thick book.'
 - b. Mainiti basu no naka de (mikake-ru/*mikake-<u>mas</u>-u) everyday bus in see pol onna-no-ko ni netu-o-agete-i-<u>mas</u>-u.
 girl is ccrazy about pol
 'I am crazy about a girl whom I see everyday on the bus.'
 - c. Hatoyama-san ga (nakunat-ta/*nakunari-<u>mas</u>-ita) no
 die Nom
 wa itu-no-koto-<u>des</u>-ita kashira.

 TM when pol I wonder
 'I wonder when it was that Mr.Hatoyama passed away.'
 - d. Daigaku o sotugyoo-si-te (kure-ta/*kure-mas-ita)
 university graduate
 toki wa hotto-si-mas-ita.
 when TM relieve past
 'I was greatly relieved when he graduated from college.'

The sentences (14a) and (14b) are the relative clause sentences and contain nouns which are identical to the head nouns (although those nouns are deleted, and are not represented in the surface structure). While the sentences (14c) and (14d) are the complement sentences which do not contain such nouns. Accordingly, they do not have the 'connection' to the succeeding nouns and are more independent and less connected to the main sentences, which means that they can take both polite and plain forms.

Tagashira further explains that the polite embedded sentences are more personal, i.e., the speaker is making the statement to some event of situation in which he himself is involved rather than something which exists outside his concern. For example, in (14c), with the polite form, the speaker wants to imply that Mr. Hatoyama's death was for the speaker more than just another death

which the speaker learned about and forgot; it resulted in the speaker's undergoing some emotional experience (sorrow, joy, relief, or some other type of emotion).

Harada (1976: 499-561) analyzes the behavior of the polite forms in the complement sentences in terms of the factivity. Observe Harada's examples:

(15) a. (Hon-zitu kaku mo oozei no kata-gata ni go-sankai today so many people Hp come itadaki-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto wa makoto ni arigata-i koto receive pol past Nom TM truly be hard thing de gozai-<u>mas</u>-u.

be pol present

Comp think pol

'I do appreciate it that so many people have gathered here today.'

b. (Yamada-kun ga kono tabi Nooberu-syo o SM this time Nobel prize OM zyuyo-sare-mas-ita) koto wa mina-sama go-zonzi give pol past Nom TM all Hp know to omoi-mas-u.

'I think you all know that Mr.Yamada was given the Nobel Prize lately.'

(16) *a. (Ano kata wa hon-zitu wa go-kesseki <u>des</u>-u) that person TM today Hp absent pol to omoi-<u>mas</u>-u.

Comp think pol

'I think that he is absent today.'

*b. (Suzuki-san ga o-ide ni nat-te-i-<u>mas</u>-u)

Hp come pol

ka dooka go- zonzi-<u>des</u>-u ka? whether Hp know pol

'Do you know whether Mr. Suzuki is here?'

Harada assumes that the factivity of the embedded sentences, in which the speaker presupposes that the statements 'so many people gathered here today' in (15a) and 'Mr. Yamada was given the Nobel Prize lately' in (15b) are true facts, may be expressed in a polite way. The non-factivity of the embedded sentences, where the speaker asserts that the statements 'he is absent today' in (16a) and 'Mr. Suzuki is here' in (16b) are not true propositions, may not be expressed in a polite way.

Nonaka (1984: 143-159) observes the behavior of the

polite forms in complement sentences in terms of emotivie-factivity, tense, and positional conditions such as subjective position and objective position.

Nonaka further observes four different conditions of emotive-factive predicates and their positions:

(17) a. Emotive-factive, Subject clauses

<u>afigatai-koto-da</u> 'be a grateful thing'

<u>kanashii-koto-da</u> 'be a sad thing'

<u>yorokobasii-koto-da</u> 'be a happy thing'

b. Emotive-factive, Object clauses

<u>zannnenni-omo-u</u> 'regret'

<u>kanasiku-omo-u</u> 'feel sad'

<u>fukaini-omo-u</u> 'resent'

c. Non-emotive-factive, Subject clauses <u>iumademo-nai</u> 'go without saying' <u>sirarete-iru</u> 'be well known'

d. Non-emotive-factive, Object clauses

<u>kakus-u</u> 'hide'

<u>wasure-ru</u> 'forget'

<u>kizuk-u</u> 'be aware'

zihaku-suru 'confess'

The predicates in (17a), as shown in (18), may optionally contain the polite forms in their complement sentences. The predicates in (17b), as shown in (19), may not contain the polite forms in their complement sentences. The predicates in (17c), as shown in (20), allow the use of the polite forms. The predicates in (17d), as shown in (21), do not take the polite forms in their complement sentences. Nonaka's examples are:

(18) (Sensei ga o-nakunarini-nari-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto wa teacher SM Hp die pol past Nom TM kanasii-koto-<u>des</u>-u. sad thing pol present

'It is a sad thing that the teacher passed away.'

(19) ?Watasi wa (sensei ga o-nakunarini-nari-mas-ita) koto o Zannnenni-omotte-ori-mas-u.'regret''I regret that the teacher passed away.'

(20) (Kare ga fuseishuttu no izin-de-ari-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto wa Unparalled a great be TM

iu-mademo-ari-<u>mas</u>-en.
go without saying
'It goes without saying that he was a great man with
few parellels in history.'

(21) ??Sensei wa (zibun ga musuko o zisatu ni reflexive son OM suicide oiyari-mas-ita) to zihaku-si-mas-ita.

drive pol confess pol past 'Teacher confessed that he drove his son to commit suicide.'

The symbol '?' represents the acceptability of the sentence, and the symbol '??' represents the higher degree of awkwardness than the symbol '?'.

Nonaka further observes that among the predicates in (17c), there are some examples which become awkward when the polite forms are used in the complements. See the following examples:

- (22) ? (Colonbusu ga America o hakken-si-mas-ita) koto
 Columbus SM OM discover pol past Nom
 wa yuumei-des-u.
 TM pol
 'It is well known that Columbus discovered
 America.'
- (23) ? (Beru ga denwa o hatumei si-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto

 Bell phone invent pol past Nom

 wa yoku-sirarete-i-<u>mas</u>-u.

 TM well known pol

 'It is well known that Bell invented the telephone.'

The reason why the sentences (22) and (23) become awkward is that the sentence (20) contains the speaker's subjective judgment such as 'he was a great man with few parallels in history' is true based on his judgment, but the propositions in (22) and (23) are true as historical events and no speaker's judgment is added.

Nonaka's assumption is that the polite forms are allowed in emotive-factive sentences only when those complements are in subjective position and past tense appears in the complements.

Correlation with 'koto/no' and Polite Forms

On the subject about the form and meaning of Japanese complement constructions, it has been discussed separately on syntactic properties and on semantic properties. Some observations on the semantic and syntactic correlation of Japanese complementation and nominalizer have been presented by the scholars who were interested in the complementation of 'koto/no.'

As for the analysis of semantic correlation between 'koto/no' and matrix verb, Kuno's (1973), Josephs' (1976) and McCawley's (1978) work should be noted.

The insightful attempt at a preliminary classification of Japanese complement types along semantic lines appears in Kuno (1973: 213-222) . He points out that the factive versus non-factive distinction discovered by the Kiparskys' (1971) is applicable to Japanese complement sentences, where it is realized by 'koto/no' complements and 'to' complements, respectively. His contribution, however, is his attempt to account for the distribution of the nominalizers 'koto' and 'no' in terms of the propositions they nominalize. Thus, 'koto' is used to nominalize a proposition that the context allows (or forces) us to construe as an abstract concept, while 'no' nominalizes a proposition that can (or must) be understood as a concrete event. Accordingly, there are significant correlations between semantic classes of matrix verbs (e.g., verbs of perception, and verbs of mental activity) and the type of co-occurring complement (<u>S+koto</u> versus <u>S+no</u>).

Josephs (1976: 344) draws heavily on cooccurence restrictions between 'koto/no' and various sets of matrix verbs in order to determine the inherent semantic features of these nominalizers. In his work, it becomes a basic way that the cooccurrence restrictions observed between 'koto/no' and matrix verbs are not idiosyncratic but are due to a principle of semantic compatibility.

McCawley (1978: 207) proposes that the choice of the nominalizer involves an invisible hierarchy of truth:

(24) no (physical perception verbs sucu as miru 'see' no/koto
truth no/koto/to
to (counter-factual verbs such as omoi-kom-u
'think wrongly')

The diagram (24) shows that following the line from the bottom to the top, the truth value of the complement

increases, and the choice of the nominalizer is dependent upon the degree of truth.

With respect to the recent studies of the complementizer 'koto/no,' Hashimoto (1990) and Oshima (1999) focus on the semantic correlation between the matrix sentences and the complement sentences which allow only 'no', only 'koto,' and both. We will not go any further of their studies now, but it is worth examining the distribution of 'koto/no' in the sentences we are discussing, that is, the sentences which allow polite forms in the complement sentences. Observe the following sentences:

- (25) (Sensei ga o-nakunarini-nari-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto/*no wa teacher SM Hp die pol past Nom TM kanasii-koto-<u>des</u>-u.
 sad thing pol present
 'It is a sad thing that the teacher passed away.'
- (26) (O-futari ga go-kekkon-sare-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto/*no wa
 Hp two SM Hp marry pol past Nom TM
 yorokobasii-koto-<u>des</u>-u.
 happy thing pol present
 'It is a happy thing that the two have married.'
- (27) (Sensei ni miokutte-itadaki-mas-ita) koto/*no wa teacher send off pol past Nom TM arigatai-koto-des-ita.

 happy thing pol past
 'It was a happy thing that the teacher sent me off.'

Above sentences have the predicates in (17a), which are categorized as 'emotive-factive and subjective clauses.' The use of 'no' is not allowed in those sentences. If the polite forms are not used in the above sentences, the use of both 'no' and 'koto' become acceptable. See the following examples:

- (28) (Sensei ga naku-nat-ta) koto/no wa teacher SM Hp die past Nom TM kanasii-koto-da.
 sad thing be present
 'It is a sad thing that the teacher passed away.'
- (29) (Futari ga kekkon-si-ta) koto/no wa two SM marry past Nom TM

yorokobasii-koto-<u>da</u>.
happy thing be present
'It is a happy thing that the two have married.'

(30) (Sensei ni miokutte-itada-ita) koto/no wa teacher send off past Nom TM arigatai-koto-<u>dat</u>-ta.

happy thing be past
'It was a happy thing that the teacher sent me off.'

The question is what the difference between the sentences (25) ~(27) and the sentences (28) ~(30) is. It is noticeable for a native speaker that the former sentences are uttered in a formal speech, while, the latter sentences are uttered to the speaker himself or the speaker thinks those things in his/her mind. In other words, the former sentences are recognized as formal 'reportive' sentences, and the propositions, such as 'the teacher passed away,' 'the two have married,' and 'the teacher sent me off,' are presupposed by the speaker and the hearer (s). Meanwhile, the latter ones are recognized as 'non-reportive' sentences and those propositions are presupposed only by the speaker.

Furthermore, let us examine the sentences which have the predicates in (17c) , which are categorized as 'non-emotive-factive and subject clauses.'

- (30) (Kare ga fuseishutu no izin-de-ari-<u>mas</u>-ita) koto/*no wa unparalled a great be TM iu-mademo-ari-<u>mas</u>-en. go without saying 'It goes without saying that he was a great man with few parallels in history.'
- (31) (Sensei ga sore o hatumei-sare-mas-ita) koto/*no teacher it OM invent wa yoku siraretei-mas-u.
 TM well is known pol past
 'It is well known that the teacher invented it.'

Same as the sentences (25) ~(27), the use of 'no' makes the above sentences ungrammatical. Again, if the polite forms are not used in the above sentences, the use of both 'no' and 'koto' becomes acceptable. See the following examples:

- (32) (Kare ga fuseishutu no izin-de-at-ta) koto/no wa

 Unparalled a great be past TM

 iu-mademo-nai.

 go without saying

 'It goes without saying that he was a great man with few parallels in history.'
- (33) (Sensei ga sore o hatumei-si-ta) koto/no teacher it OM invent Nom wa yoku siraretei-ru.
 TM well is known past 'It is well known that the teacher invented it.'

Meanwhile, in the cleft sentence constructions, 'koto' and 'no' distribute differently from the sentences (25)~(27). See the following examples:

- (34) a. (Sensei ga o-nakunarini-nari-mas-ita) *koto/no teacher SM Hp die pol past Nom wa kyonen no koto des-u.
 TM last year of thing pol present 'It was a last year's incident that the teacher passed away.'
 - b. (Atira ni mie-mas-u) *koto/no wa there see Nom TM Fuzi-san de gozai-mas-u.
 Mt. Fuji is pol present 'You can see Mt. Fuji over there.'
 - c. (Kore kara o-misesi-mas-u) *koto/no wa now from Hp show pol Nom TM kyokugei-des-u.

 acrobatics pol present
 'It is the acrobatics that we will show now.'

When the polite forms are used in the embedded sentences, as in (34a), (34b), and (34c), 'koto' can not be used. Even if the polite forms are not used, ungrammaticality to use 'koto' is unchanged. See the following examples:

(35) a. (Sensei ga nakunat-ta) *koto/no wa teacher SM Hp die past Nom TM kyonen no koto da.

last year of thing pol present

- 'It was a last year's incident that the teacher passed away.'
- b. (Atira ni mie-ru) *koto/no wa Fuzi-san da. there see Nom TM Mt. Fuji is 'You can see Mt. Fuji over there.'
- c. (Kore kara mise-ru) *koto/no wa kyokugei-da.

 now from show Nom TM acrobatics is

 'It is the acrobatics that we will show now.'

As shown in the above, in the cleft sentence constructions, only 'koto' is selected and either plain or polite style is possible. And the polite forms are used when the speaker announce the propositions formally to the hearer (s).

From the observations in this section, the use of the polite forms in complements correlates with 'koto/no' in emotive-factive and subjective clauses, or in non-emotive-factive and subjective clauses, and in the cleft sentences. The common features between the former and the latter may lie on the 'reportive' statements of the propositions.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the behavior of polite forms in Japanese complement sentences. In the course of this discussion, two major approaches were overviewed: (1) Within the transformational generative framework, the semantic and syntactic treatment of polite forms were discussed by the scholars such as Makino (1968), Prideaux (1970), and Hinds (1973). It resulted that each theory had difficulty to treat the behavior of polite forms in Japanese complement sentences. (2) As for the previous works on the polite forms in complement sentences, Tagashira's work (1973), Harada's work (1976), and Nonaka's work (1984) were discussed. Harada's and Nonaka's works have tried to deal with the interrelationship between the semantically categorized main predicates and the allowability of polite forms in the complements along the line of the Kiparskys' discussion. While Tagashira's work tried to explain it in terms of the independency of the complements to the main sentences. However, each assumption has not reached a thorough explanation of the behavior yet. In the section 4, we try to examine the correlation with 'koto/no' and the use of polite forms in the complement sentences and the cleft sentences. It is shown that there are some correlations in the use of polite forms and 'koto/no'.

The significance of this paper is its overview of the theoretical frameworks of polite forms and the observations of the behavior of polite forms in complements and cleft sentences. However, it is as yet premature to reach the accurate and adequate explanation for the behavior of polite forms in complements and cleft sentences. We need to elaborate more on clarifying the behavior of polite forms in the complements, cleft sentences, and 'koto/no' nominalizers.

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日本語補文中の丁寧語

The Polite Forms in Japanese Complement Sentences

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要約

本稿は、日本語補文中の丁寧語の分析について三つの観点から考察している。第一は、変形文法での丁寧語の理論的枠組みとその問題点であり、第二は、従来の研究における補文中の丁寧語の使用条件とその妥当性についてであり、第三は、補文中や分裂文中の丁寧語と「こと」、「の」との関連性についてである。

キーワード:日本語補文,丁寧語,「の」「こと」,真実,感情