A Study of the *Annotative Dual-Sentence Juxtaposition* Construction in Japanese

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This study investigates a type of parenthetical expression in Japanese called an **annotative dual-sentence juxtaposition** (*chūshakuteki nibun-renchi*, ADSJ), exemplified in bold in (1), and explores how it can be analyzed and represented in the RRG theory of clause linkage.

(1)   *Kono   uchi   ni   chigai-nai   ga,   **doko   kara   hait-te   ii   ka**,*
         this   house   COP   different-NEG   but   where   from   enter-TE   good   INT

       katte-guchi   ga   nakat-ta.
       kitchen-door   NOM   not.exist-PST

       Lit. 'It must be this house, but, **where one can enter**, there was no kitchen door.'

This sentence poses no comprehension difficulty to native speakers of Japanese, but is likely to be incomprehensible to most non-native speakers. Domenico Lagana (1975) writes that it appeared at first glance easy to translate. However, his analysis of its structure and recognition of all lexical meanings provided him with absolutely no clue as to how to interpret the sentence as a whole. He eventually gave up hopelessly with this interpretation:

(2)   There is a house (or possibly houses) in a certain place. Currently, the house is not dissimilar to something else, probably to other houses (or looks long unchanged). Someone asks someone else a question: Where can someone (or who) or something (or what) go into it? A LOGICAL LEAP. In the past, there was no backdoor.

       Structurally, this construction resembles an indirect question, e.g. (3):

(3)   ***Doko   kara   hait-te   ii   ka**   wakar-anaka-tta.*
         where   from   enter-TE   good   INT   find-NEG- PST
       Lit. 'I couldn't find **where one could enter** (i.e. where to enter).'

       Indirect questions occur only with certain types of predicates: e.g. communication (*disclose*, *inform*), conjecture (*estimate*, *guess*), decision (*control*, *decide*), inquisitive (*ask*, *be interested in*), knowledge acquisition (*discover*, *learn*), knowledge retention (*forget*, *know*), relevance (*be important*, *matter*). In RRG, indirect questions in Japanese are analyzed as clausal subordination with the interrogative particle *ka* as a complementizer (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 669). As Lagana was baffled, however, the *ka*-marked interrogative constituent in (**Error! Bookmark not defined.**) has no apparent syntactic or semantic relation to the host-constituent, *there was no kitchen door*.
       ADSJ is by no means a tangential construction; it has existed perpetually since Old Japanese (700-800 CE). Today, the most common function of the sentence-medial *ka* is to mark an indirect question, as in (3). However, ADSJ is not derived from this common function. Rather, the indirect question was developed in the 14th to 16th centuries and became popular only in Early Modern Japanese (i.e. 17th to 19th centuries). Therefore, ADSJ should be regarded as an instantiation of a more essential (central) function of the particle *ka*.

Due to the lack of syntactic mechanism to connect the *ka*-constituent and the main (sentence-final) constituent in (1), the former is deemed parenthetical. *Parentheticals* are expressions that are interpolated in, but seemingly independent structurally of, the host sentence. Although enormously diverse in form and complexity, parentheticals generally remark on various aspects of verbal communication, commonly to convey "additional" information, e.g. the speaker's attitude, certainty, or endorsement towards the statement made by the utterance. Semantically and pragmatically, the typical function of the *ka*-constituent in ADSJ is to conjecturally *annotate* how the situation denoted by the main-constituent is brought about, as exemplified in (2).

(2) | *Hiro* | *wa,* | ***netsu*** | ***ga*** | ***aru*** | ***no*** | ***ka***, | *ase* | *o* | *kaite-ita.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | TOP | fever | NOM | exist | NMLZ | INT | sweat | ACC | push.out-was |

Lit. 'Hiro, **if he has a fever**, was sweating.'

RRG provides a rich apparatus for the study of clause linkage by positing four levels of juncture (nuclear, core, clausal, and sentential) and three nexus relations (coordination, subordination, and cosubordination). Because the linked units in cosubordination are dependent upon the matrix unit for one or more of the operators for that level, and because the matrix unit of sentential juncture is *text*, which does not have its own operator, sentential cosubordination is impossible (Van Valin 2005: 201). Combinations of four juncture and three nexus types, then, yield eleven linkage types in universal grammar. As can be seen in (2), the *ka*-junct in ADSJ can have its own subject and predicate that can be distinct from those of the main constituent; therefore, the juncture level is either clausal or sentential, but not nuclear or core.

Nomura (1995), who named this construction *chūshakuteki nibun-renchi*, analyzes it as consisting of two *sentences* being juxtaposed (i.e. coordinated) because the main junct cannot host the *ka*-junct as subordination. However, RRG does not sanction it as sentential coordination because the two constituents cannot have independent illocutionary force (IF) operators. The *ka*-junct is interrogative in form, but, as with the case of indirect questions, it does not carry the illocutionary force of inquiry. That is, there is only one IF operator of the sentence, and it must be declarative. Therefore, the juncture level is clausal, and the nexus type cannot be coordination.

Two subtypes of clausal subordination are recognized in RRG: complements and adverbials. As discussed above, the *ka*-clause in ADSJ is not a complement of the matrix predicate. On the other hand, it can be analyzed as an instance of adverbial subordination. For example, the semantic function of the *ka*-clause in (4) appears to be comparable to a *because*-clause, i.e. "because Hiro (probably) had a fever, he was sweating." However, this type of adverbial modification is hitherto unknown; therefore, such an analysis then needs to posit *ka* as a clausal subordinator (vis-à-vis a complementizer) with independently motivated evidence. The present study advocates that the nexus type involved in ADSJ is clausal cosubordination – an analysis that can account for the difference between (1, ADSJ) and (3, indirect question) without adding extra complexity to the theory.

Although ADSJ has drawn some attention from researchers in Japan (e.g. Hattori 1992, Nomura 1995, Ishii 2003, Takamiya 2003, 2004, Shiba 2016), their works mostly focus on its historical origins and subsequent development, and articles on ADSJ in English are scarce (Some notable exceptions are Serafim and Shinzato 2005 and Kinuhata 2012). The present study will

contribute to enrichment of the RRG theory of clause linkage by reporting a new type of clausal cosubordination, which is often illustrated by switch-reference constructions.

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