An Analysis of Focus Particles
made, *sae* and *mo*

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ABSTRACT

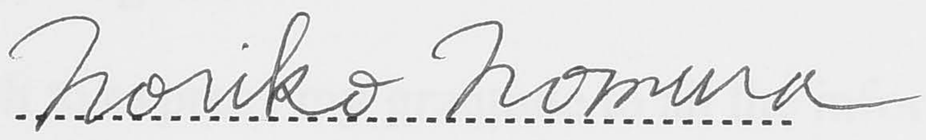
The purpose of the current study is to examine the differences between the Japanese focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, which are generally known as 'scalar' particles. These three particles have similar properties in that they evaluate items/events in terms of their likelihood of satisfying the relevant context. Notwithstanding this similarity, they are not interchangeable in particular contexts and each particle has distinct individual implications when it is used in appropriate contexts.

The analysis reveals that the three particles are distinguished in terms of the way in which they conceptualise other possible alternatives in relation to the focus. On the basis of the idea of different ways of conceptualisation, the findings are as follows: (1) *made* conceptualises more than one alternative concretely presupposed from the context and relates the focus to these alternatives in a one-to-many fashion; and (2) both *mo* and *sae* assemble alternatives as a single set and relate the focus to this set in a one-to-one fashion. However, *mo* and *made* have a scalar function only when used in appropriate contexts.

This study also examined the uses of the three particles by advanced learners of Japanese by means of a questionnaire, and these results were compared with the results of the same questionnaire given to Japanese native speakers. It was found that there were differences between learners and Japanese native speakers with regard to the uses of the three particles. These findings suggest that it is important for teachers to explain the differences in function and implication between the three particles in teaching in order to facilitate the appropriate uses of the three particles by learners.

DECLARATION

Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis is my own work.



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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Abbreviations

ACC	Accusative case marker (*o*)
AUX	Auxiliary verb (*-iru*, *-aru*)
DAT	Dative marker (*ni*)
HON	Honorific form (*-rare*, *o*-Noun)
IMP	Imperative form
NEG	Negative form (*-(a)na-*)
NOM	Nominative marker (*ga*)
PASS	Passive form (*-are*)
PAST	Past tense
POL	Polite form (*-mas-*)
POTEN	Potential form (*-eru*)
QM	Quotation marker (*to*)
Que	Question marker (*ka*)
SFP	Sentence final particle (*yo*, *ne*)
TOP	Topic marker (*wa*)
*X	X is not appropriate.
?X	X is unnatural usage.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

The aim of this study is twofold. The first is to discuss focus particles *toritate-shi*[1] in Japanese, with special attention to the elucidation of the differences between *made*, *sae* and *mo* which are in general referred to as 'scalar' particles (Numata 1986; Teramura 1991; Nakanishi 1995; Yamanaka 1995; among others). The second is to present a teaching approach for facilitating the acquisition by Japanese learners (English speakers) of the three particles.

As widely recognised, the frequent use of particles is one of the distinct features of Japanese grammar. Yamada (1908) classified particles into six kinds in terms of their grammatical relation with the element it is attached to; these six types of particle are case particles *kakari-joshi*, final particles *syuu-joshi*, interjectional particles *kantoo-joshi*, conjunctive particles *setsuzoku-joshi*, correlative particles *kakari-joshi* and adverbial particles *fuku-joshi*.[2] Among the above particles, two categories, correlative particles *kakari-joshi* and adverbial particles *fuku-joshi*, are controversial in terms of their classification.

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[1] The term 'toritate (highlighting or picking out)-shi' was first used by Miyata (1948).

[2] The terms 'correlative particles' for *kakari-joshi* and 'adverbial particles' for *fuku-joshi* are taken from Ono (1996).

In the definitions of these two categories of particles provided by Yamada (1908), their functions are distinguished: correlative particles *kakari-joshi* affect the modality of the predicate of the whole sentence, while adverbial particles *fuku-joshi* modify the predicate in a similar way to adverbs. For example, (1a) and (1b) are examples of the uses of the topic *wa* which is one of the correlative particles.

(1) a. Kodomotachi *wa* utau.
children TOP sing
'The children sing.'

b. * Kodomotachi *wa* utau toki.
children TOP sing when
'When the children sing.'

In (1a), the topic *wa* specifies the predicate *utau* 'sing' and indicates that the preceding noun *kodomotachi* 'children' is the topic of the sentence. In contrast, (1b) is incomplete since the topic *wa* can only be used with the predicate of the main clause and it cannot influence the predicate *utau* 'sing' in the noun clause. The above examples illustrate that correlative particles involve the predicate of the whole sentence.

However, there is a problem in the function of correlative particles as seen above. Okutsu (1986) provides counter-examples in which other correlative particles such as *wa* 'contrast', *mo* 'also' or 'even' specify the predicate in the noun clause, as shown in (2a) and (2b) which are quoted from Okutsu (1986:20).

(2) a. Iro *wa* utsukushii ga, kaori *wa* yoku-nai hana.
colour TOP pretty but smell TOP good-NEG flower
'The flower whose colour is pretty but smell is bad.'

b. Watashi *mo* shitte-iru jijitsu.
I also know-AUX fact
'The fact that I also know.'

As the above account illustrates, correlative particles and adverbial particles are not clearly distinguished by Yamada's (1908) definitions.

Recent studies have shown that correlative particles and adverbial particles have a large number of properties in common, and categorised as focus particles *toritate-shi*, which are recognised as an independent grammatical category in Japanese Grammar (Okutsu 1974; Teramura 1981, 1991; Numata 1986; Masuoka et al. 1995).

Numata (1986:108-109) presents the definition of focus particles as follows:

> Focus particles are words which focus on various constituents in the sentence which are referred to as *jisha* 'the focus' and indicate a logical relationship between the focused item and other possible items which are referred to as *tasha* 'the alternative'.

The following expressions are treated by Numata as focus particles:

mo 'also, even'	*demo* 'even, or something'
sae 'even'	*sura* 'even'
made 'even'	*dake* 'only'
nomi 'only'	*bakari* 'only'
shika 'only'	*koso* 'an emphatic'
nado 'or something'	*nanka* 'such as'
kurai 'about, at least'	*wa* 'contrast'

The above definition has been adopted in many works on Japanese focus particles (for example, Kawaguchi 1995; Noguchi and Harada 1996; Hondo 1998). I also use this definition in this study.

The unique semantic and syntactic properties of focus particles arouse a great deal of interest. With regard to semantic properties, for example, in the sentence *Taroo* ***mo*** *kita* 'Taro also came', it says that Taro came and implies that somebody other than Taro came. As this example illustrates, sentences with focus particles not

only express a proposition with the item/event marked by particles, but also presuppose a proposition with other possible items/events. In this respect, the presence of particles influences the meaning of the sentence (See section 2.3 for a discussion of semantic properties). One of the noteworthy syntactic properties that focus particles have is that they can appear in various positions within a clause such as immediately after noun phrase, verb and adjective (See section 2.2 for details).

As noted above, in this study, I will concentrate on the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, which correspond approximately to 'even' in English. These three particles are similar in meaning, but also have important differences.

(3) Karasu ni ***made / sae / mo*** bakanis-are-ta.
crow by even make a fool of-CAUS-PAST
'I was made a fool of even by a crow.'

In (3), *made*, *sae* and *mo* can be used interchangeably. However, each particle is different from others in its implication (I will discuss the differences in detail in sections 5.2 and 5.3). They also have no exact equivalents on a one-to-one basis in English.

Recent works have attempted to distinguish these particles (Teramura 1991; Numata 1986; Nakanishi 1995). For example, Teramura (1991) pointed out that as for *mo*, a sentence with *mo* has a scalar interpretation when there is common knowledge between the speaker and the listener. Numata (1986) treated the differences between *made* and *sae* in terms of the nature of the focused item/event. Nakanishi (1995) claimed that *sae* has a peculiar function which the other two particles *made* and *mo* do not have. However, it will be shown that these treatments are not convincing (See sections 4.1 and 5.2) and hence, the differences between the three particles have not been sufficiently clarified.

In this connection, there is a problematic aspect in analysing the meanings of focus particles. The interpretations of sentences with focus particles depend on

context or the listener's/reader's subjectivity. This makes it harder to provide a description regarding the differences in their meaning. The following quote attests to these views:

> Focus particles and related expressions are extremely context-dependent, vague and subjective in their meaning and it is all too easy to mistake a specific aspect of the context for the meaning of the particle itself (König, 1991:4).

Complexity of the interpretations of their meanings is most likely to influence learning focus particles. Regarding the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, adequate explanations and exercises are not usually found in textbooks and dictionaries (I will discuss this issue in Chapter 7 in detail) which may cause learners some confusion. In addition, as noted earlier, the fact that the three particles have no exact equivalents on a one-to-one basis in English makes it difficult for learners to acquire their uses. Thus, there is a need to provide sufficient explanation in terms of the differences of the three particles.

In order to fill significant gaps as mentioned above, this present study analyses the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* on the basis of their grammatical functions. The elucidation of the differences of these particles makes it possible to provide sufficient explanation of them in teaching. Given the application of the findings of the study to teaching practice, this study uses a questionnaire in order to find out learners' difficulties in terms of dealing with the three particles (See Chapter 6 for details).

This study is important because the approach taken here, analysing the differences between *made*, *sae* and *mo* on the basis of their properties, helps to elucidate the differences of the Japanese focus particles even though there is some shared meaning between the three.

1.2 Organization

This study is organised as follows: Chapter 2 outlines the syntactic and semantic properties of focus particles in Japanese. In this discussion, the notions of focus and scope are vital to understanding the function of focus particles. The syntactic properties are discussed in comparison with those of case particles. The unique syntactic characteristics of focus particles are shown. With reference to the semantic properties, the two semantic classifications — the 'additive' and 'exclusive' particles given in König (1991) — and the 'scalar' particles to which the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* belong, are introduced.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the shared properties of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*. It is shown that style/mood of sentences with the particles is relevant to the shared meaning. One of the notable shared properties, that the three particles imply a range of alternatives to the focused element, is introduced.

Chapter 4 observes the usages of *mo*, *made* and *sae* in various environments. It is demonstrated that the two particles *mo* and *made* in a scalar use are dependent on context, while its use of *sae* has no dependence.

Chapter 5 deals with the differences in the properties of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*. The differences in function of the three particles are treated in terms of the way in which the alternatives to the focus can be conceptualised. In connection with this, the unique implications of each particle are further examined.

Chapter 6 relates the findings of the study to practical teaching of the three particles. The uses by Japanese learners are examined by means of a questionnaire. The results are compared with those of native speakers, and the learners' difficulties regarding the uses of the three particles are examined.

In Chapter 7, based on the findings in Chapter 6, pedagogical implications are presented. In order to seek the reasons for the unnatural use of the three particles by

learners, selected textbooks are examined. Lack of explanation and inefficient exercises in textbooks seem to be correlated to the unnatural uses of the three particles by learners. Given this, explanations and exercises which are expected to facilitate the acquisition of the appropriate uses of the three particles are offered.

Chapter 8 gives concluding comments.

1.3 Data

In order to examine the uses of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, a large amount of data has been referred to. Data for this study was mainly collected from the written language of novels and Japanese dictionaries (sources are given in the Index of Sources). Treatments of the three particles in previous work were also consulted. Example sentences in this study were constructed by the author (a native speaker of Japanese) unless otherwise indicated.

In addition, a questionnaire was submitted to Japanese native speakers on purpose to see their uses of the three particles and to ascertain their properties. The same questionnaire was also given to advanced learners, and these results were compared with the questionnaire given to Japanese native speakers. These data were used in order to identify learners' difficulties in dealing with the three particles (The results of the questionnaire are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6).

1.4 Romanization

In this study, Japanese is presented in the Hepburn system of romanization, with one modification: long vowels are expressed by a succession of two short vowels aa, ii, uu, ee, oo instead of $\bar{a}$, $\bar{i}$, $\bar{u}$, $\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}$, respectively.

Chapter 2

The syntactic and semantic properties of focus particles

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I summarise the syntactic and semantic properties of focus particles, starting with an outline of the two concepts 'focus' and 'scope' which are important for the analysis of focus particles. The correct identifications of focus and scope are fundamental to understanding a sentence with focus particles. With regard to the semantic characteristics, the Japanese focus particles are looked at after an examination of König's (1991) treatment of English focus particles.

According to König, focus particles are divided into two semantic groups, namely the 'additive' particles and 'exclusive' particles. This classification of English focus particles holds true for Japanese focus particles as well, as pointed out by Noda (1995). For example, *mo* 'also' or 'even', *made* 'even' and *sae* 'even' belong to the 'additive' particles, whereas *shika* 'only', *dake* 'only' and *noni* 'only' belong to the 'exclusive' particles. Furthermore, König refers to a subgroup of additive particles as 'scalar' particles. Scalar particles specify the items/events in terms of a degree of likelihood of satisfying the relevant context. In Japanese the focus particles, *mo*, *made* and *sae* are treated as scalar particles (Numata 1986; Teramura 1991; Nakanishi 1995). The relationship between the focus and other possible alternatives which each particle may specify is identified by taking a closer look at the functions of focus particles from each group.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 2.1 presents a detailed account of focus and scope, as well as other relevant matters, including the alternatives and the positional relation between a focus particle and the focus within the scope of focus particles. Section 2.2 provides the syntactic properties of focus particles in comparison with those of case particles. In section 2.3, the semantic properties of focus particles are discussed and in this discussion, the relationship of focus particles is ascertained. Section 2.4 introduces a subgroup of the 'additive' particles, namely 'scalar' particles. The notion of 'scalar' is significant in that *mo*, *made* and *sae* are classified as 'scalar'. Finally, section 2.5 presents a summary of the chapter.

2.1 Focus and scope

2.1.1 Focus and scope

'Focus' and 'Scope' are key concepts in understanding the function of focus particles. Focus is interpreted by several scholars as follows:

- a focus expresses 'new information' (for example, Halliday 1966; Selkirk 1984);
- a focus expresses highlighting and informativeness (for example, Bolinger 1985);
- a focus establishes a relation between the value of a focused expression and a set of alternatives (for example, Jacobs 1983, 1988; Rooth 1985).

In the above interpretations, the definition of Numata (1986) for Japanese focus particles introduced in Chapter 1 is similar to the interpretation of a focus proposed by Jacobs (1983, 1998) and Rooth (1985). According to Numata, the focus particles indicate a logical relation between the focused item/event (*jisha*) and the other possible

items/events (*tasha*). As previously mentioned, in dealing with the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, I adopt the definition of focus particles provided by Numata and discuss a logical relationship between the focus and the other possible alternatives in section 2.2.

The focus is an element marked by a focus particle (that is, *Taroo* as in *Taroo mo kita.* 'Taro also came'). The focus can be any constituent such as a noun, noun phrase, verb, adjective and adverb, or a clause, as illustrated below (I indicate focus with underlining):

(1) a. Hikkishiken ni gookakushi-ta hito *dake* ga
the written examination pass-PAST person only NOM
mensetsu o uk-eru koto ga dekiru.
interview ACC have-POTEN that NOM can
'Only a person who has passed the written examination can proceed to an interview.'

b. Taro wa sono baaberu o karugaruto *sae* mochiage-ta.
TOP that barbell ACC easily even lift-PAST
'Taro even lifted that barbell easily.'

c. Kimi ga kibishii toreeningu ni tae-ta kara *koso*,
you NOM severe training endure-PAST because emphatic
kin-medaru ga tor-e-ta no da.
the gold medal NOM get-POTEN-PAST that be
'It is because you endured the severe training that you could get the gold medal.'

d. Gamansuru *shika* nakat-ta.
be patient only no-PAST
'The only thing that I can do is be patient.'

In the above sentences, in (1) the focus particles are *dake* 'only' in (1a); *sæ* 'even' in (1b); *koso* 'an emphatic' in (1c); and *shika* 'only' in (1d). The focus of each particle is the noun phrase *hikkishiken ni gookakushita hito* 'people who have passed a written examination' in (1a); the adverb *karugaruto* 'easily' in (1b); the adverb phrase *kimi ga kibishii toreeningu ni taeta kara* 'because you endured the hard training' in (1c); and the verb *gamansuru* 'endure' in (1d). To generalise the above example, various constituents of a sentence can be the focus. The question may arise as to what sort of role focus plays in the sentence. This will be discussed shortly.

As illustrated above, there is no limit to the size of the focus (that is, a word, phrase or clause can be a focus), and various kinds of constituents (that is, a noun, adverb, verb) can be a focus. The focus, however, is not arbitrarily marked by a focus particle. According to Numata (1986) and Numata and Jo (1995) there are restrictions on the elements which can be focused on by focus particles. Some manner adverbs such as *kitto* 'surely', *yahari* 'as expected' and *kesshite* 'never' cannot be the focus of a focus particle. Thus, the following sentence is ill-formed.

(2) * Ashita wa kitto *mo* ame ga furu.
tomorrow TOP definitely also rain NOM fall
'Tomorrow it will definitely also rain.'

Sentence (2) in which an adverb *kitto* 'surely' is focused on by *mo*, is ungrammatical. Numata and Jo (1995:190) explain that manner adverbs cannot be the focus because there are no other elements with which they can contrast. This confirms that the function of a focus particle is to relate the focused item to other items.

2.1.2 Alternatives

The next concern with respect to focus is the alternatives (that is, the other items/events in contrast with the focus). As seen in the definitions of focus particles, the focus is related to the alternatives. Given this, it is important to identify the alternatives for the interpretation of the sentence or discourse containing a focus particle. The way of identifying the alternatives depends on context and/or socially accepted ideas.[3] Consider the following:

(3) a. Ano resutoran wa aji ga ii ueni,
that restaurant TOP taste NOM good as well
nedan *mo* yasui.
price also cheap
'As far as that restaurant is concerned, not only is the food tasty but its price is cheap.'

b. Saishuu shiken ga owat-ta *dake* de-naku,
the final exam NOM finish-PAST only be-NEG-and
shuusyoku *mo* kimat-te hotto shit-ta.
a job also get feel relieved-PAST
'I feel relieved because not only have I finished the final exam, but I got a job.'

(4) a. Saikin wa dansei *demo* keshoo o suru.
recently TOP men even wear makeup
'Recently even men wear makeup.'

---

[3] König (1991) points out that the selection of the alternatives is highly context-dependent. Similarly, Numata (1986) notes that the alternatives are presumed by context or common knowledge.

b. Ishogashii toki wa, shuumatsu *mo*
busy when TOP weekend also
hataraka-nakereba naranai.
work-have to
'When I am busy, I even have to work on the weekend.'

Both sentences in (3) show that the alternatives are dependent on context, and both sentences in (4) are cases where the alternatives are dependent on socially accepted ideas. In (3a), the focus *nedan ga yasui* 'the price of food is cheap' involves the alternative *aji ga ii* 'the taste is good' in the context of the good points of that restaurant. Similarly, in (3b), the focus *shuushoku ga kimatta* '(he) got a job' involves the alternative *saishuu shiken ga owatta* '(he) finished the final exam' in terms of the context about the reasons why the speaker felt relieved. By way of contrast, in (4a) and (4b), the alternatives *josei* 'women' and *heijitsu* 'weekday' in contrast with the focus *dansei* 'men' and *shuumatsu* 'weekend', respectively, are presumed due to socially accepted ideas.

The above examples first of all show that the specification of the alternatives is based on the interpretation of the context from the overall meaning of the sentence. For example, in (3a) the listener/reader can specify the context about the characteristics of that restaurant by integrating the overall meaning of the sentence. More significantly, the examples show the alternatives may not only be explicitly given, as in (3a) and (3b), but may be implicit, as in (4a) and (4b).

In the case where the alternatives are implicit, it should be noted that the alternatives vary depending on the listener's/reader's subjectivity. For example, consider the utterance *Ano hito seikaku wa ii n da kedo ne.* 'As far as that person is concerned, his personality is good.' A focus particle *wa* in the utterance marks the noun *seikaku* 'his personality' and contrasts it with other possible alternatives. The alternatives could be *Hansamu ja nai* 'He is not handsome', *Se ga hikui* 'He is short'

and *Shigoto ga dekinai* 'He is not a good worker', depending on the listener's subjective evaluation toward the focused item. In spite of several choices of alternatives, the focus and the alternatives share some semantic property (that is, *dansei* 'men' and *josei* 'women', as in (4a), share the property of human; *shuumatsu* 'weekend' and *heijitsu* 'weekday', as in (4b), share the property of day). If there is no semantic property in common, two items/events cannot be related to a focus particle.

2.1.3 Scope

As noted earlier, the function of the focus particle is explained by its scope as well as its focus. König (1991) states that scope is an open sentence in which it is possible to substitute a focused expression with other expressions which have some similar semantic characteristics to the focus. The sentence where the focus has been replaced by other expressions states an equivalent meaning to the sentence with the original focus. Consider the following example:

(5) Fred *also* bought a new car.

In (5), the focus of 'also' is Fred and its scope is 'X bought a new car'. (X refers to an individual who bought a new car, such as Mike or John). The meaning of the sentence with another expression (for example, Mike bought the new car) is the same kind as that of the original focus except for the agent who bought a new car.

Numata and Jo (1995:177) define the scope in Japanese as that part of the sentence whose meaning a focus particle can influence and by which the sentence with the original focus is semantically related to those of other possible alternatives; this definition is adopted in the current study. The following example illustrates the scope

in Japanese:

(6) Taroo *mo* Hanako o karakat-ta.
also ACC make a fool of-PAST
'Taro also made a fool of Hanako.'

In (6), the scope is obtained by substituting the element focused on by the focus particle *mo* with X (X represents any of other possible alternatives), and by replacing the particle *mo* with an appropriate particle (that is, a case particle *ga* which notes that X is the agent of the action expressed in the predicate 'make a fool of'). The scope is thus *X ga Hanako o karakatta* 'X made a fool of Hanako'. The focus particle *mo* replaces the focus Taro by other possible candidates such as Jiro, in the scope. Example (6) thus implies that somebody other than Taro, for example, Jiro, made a fool of Hanako.

The above example shows that focus particles indicate the scope as well as the focus, and the scope plays an important role in specifying the semantic contrastive property in the relationship between the focus and the alternatives. For example, in (6), the scope of *mo* selects the property of the focus Taro in contrast with the alternatives, who are the individuals who also made a fool of Hanako.

A focus particle can establish a logical relationship between the focus and the alternatives by means of a semantic contrastive property. Given this, the meaning of the sentence with a focus particle is most likely to be the outcome of the interaction of a focus particle with its scope. Moreover, the role of the scope is fundamental to the function of a focus particle.

An additional example (7) shows that the scope is not always identical to the whole sentence, as was the case in (6).

(7) Hanako wa Taroo ni <u>yasashiku</u> hanashi-tari,

TOP to gently talk-and

<u>kitsuku</u> *mo* hanashi-tari suru.

roughly also talk-and AUX

'Hanako talks to Taro gently as well as roughly.'

In (7), the clause *Hanako wa Taroo ni yasashiku hanasu* 'Hanako talks to Taro gently' and the following clause *kitsuku hanasu* 'she talks to him roughly' share the two nouns (that is, Hanako and Taro) in common, and they have different adverbs, *yasashiku* 'gently' and *kitsuku* 'roughly' respectively. Obviously, the adverb focused by the focus particle *mo, kitsuku* 'roughly', is in contrast with the other adverb *yasashiku* 'gently' in the preceding clause in terms of how Hanako talks to Taro.

Regarding the scope of *mo* in this case, it has to take the predicate *hanasu* 'talk' within the same clause as part of its scope although the two different clauses have the predicate 'talk' in common. If the particle *mo* does not take the predicate 'talk' as part of its scope, the scope will be the focused adverb *kitsuku* 'roughly'. If this were the scope, however, it would not include the sort of action or state to be modified by the adverb. Thus, the scope of *mo* is *X hanasu* 'talk as X' (X refers to manner adverbs) and by means of this scope the focused expression 'roughly' and the alternative 'gently' are contrasted.

The above example suggests that the scope cannot be obtained simply by replacing the element focused on by a focus particle with other possible elements in every case, as pointed out by König, and certain factors influence the specification of the scope, and this will be discussed in section 2.1.4. At the same time, the scope has to include the predicate in order to have the complete meaning which denotes states, actions or events.

It is important to consider specification of the scope in order to identify the semantic property by which the focus and the other possible alternatives are contrasted.

The concept of specification of scope is treated in Numata and Jo (1995). As shown in the above example, a focus particle takes scope over the predicate and this predicate indicates the final constituent of the scope. On the other hand, the leftmost constituent of the scope varies, and this will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.4 The specification of the scope

In this section, how the scope of a focus particle is determined by a position of the particle, is treated. However, the importance of specifying the scope is that not only a focus particle, but also the relevant context, influence its specification. There are two cases of specification of the scope, depending on the position of a focus particle; whether a focus particle occurs immediately after the predicate or immediately after the noun/adverb phrase. The following examples (8a) and (8b) illustrate the former case:

(8) a. Taroo wa sono utsukushii hito ni
TOP that pretty person to
hohoemu *bakari* de, hanashikake-nakat-ta.
smile only be talk-NEG-PAST
'Taro only smiled at the pretty woman, and he did not talk to her.'

b. Uchi no shujin wa watashi ni gohan o tsukutte-kureru *dake* de-naku,
my husband TOP me meal ACC cook-AUX only be-NEG-and
massaaji o shite-kureru.
massage-AUX
'My husband not only cooks a meal for me but massages me as well.'

In both (8a) and (8b), a focus particle immediately follows the predicate. For example, in (8a), the focus particle *bakari* 'only' follows the predicate *hohoemu* 'smile', and in (8b), the focus particle *dake* 'only' follows the predicate *tsukutte kureru*

'cook a meal (for me)'. However, these two examples are different to each other in the way of specifying scope; more specifically, the initial constituent of the scope differs between (8a) and (8b). In (8a), the initial constituent of the scope of *bakari* 'only' is the predicate *hohoemu* 'smile', which is the final constituent of the scope as well. The two noun phrases preceding the predicate (that is, 'Taro' and 'that pretty woman') are not included in the scope since the two comparative clauses share them. Accordingly, the predicate *hohoemu* 'smile' marked by *bakari* 'only' is contrasted with the other predicate *hanashikakeru* 'talk to'.

In the case of (8b), the initial constituent of the scope of *dake* 'only' is the noun phrase *gohan* 'meal' and *dake* 'only' takes the predicate *tsukutte kureru* 'cook (for me)' as its scope. Needless to say, this is because the noun phrase *gohan* 'meal' which is not shared by the two comparative clauses, is included within the scope. For this reason, the focused clause *gohan o tsukutte kureru* 'cook a meal (for me)' is related to the alternative clause *massaaji o shite kureru* 'massage (for me)'. Example (8b) shows that the scope is not always the element of the clause that a focus particle immediately follows and that the context is the other factor which determines its specification.

By way of contrast, the other way of specifying scope is the case where a focus particle immediately follows a noun/adverb phrase. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(9) a. Kondo no hisho wa shigoto ga hayai ueni
the new secretary TOP job NOM fast as well
sekininkan *mo* tsuyoi.
responsibility also strong
'The new secretary has a strong sense of responsibility as well as being a fast worker.'

b. Kono resutoran wa aji no yosa de wa teihyoo ga aru kara,
this restaurant TOP good taste be TOP widely recognised because
o-sake wa chotto *dake* nonde, ryoori o takusan tabe-yoo.
HON-drink TOP a bit only drink-and food ACC a lot eat-will
'This restaurant is widely recognised as the one where the food is tasty, so why don't we drink a bit and have a lot of food?'

In the case of a focus particle immediately following the noun/adverb phrase, the noun/adverb phrase is the initial constituent of the scope, and the final constituent is the predicate within the same clause. For example, in (9a), the noun phrase *sekininkan* 'the sense of responsibility' marked by *mo* 'also' is the initial constituent of the scope, and the final constituent is its predicate *tsuyoi* 'strong'. The scope of *mo sekininkan ga tsuyoi* 'her sense of responsibility is strong' is contrasted with the preceding clause *shigoto ga hayai* 'work efficiently'. Similarly, in (9b), the adverb phrase *chotto* 'a bit' marked by a focus particle *dake* 'only' is the initial constituent, and *dake* takes the predicate *nomu* 'drink' as its scope, which is contrasted with the following clause *takusan taberu* 'eat a lot'.

In general, in the case of a focus particle immediately following the predicate, the predicate indicates the final constituent, and the initial constituent is specified depending on whether the noun/adverb phrase is shared by the two comparative clauses. If the noun/adverb phrase is not shared by them, the noun/adverb phrase is the initial constituent of the scope; otherwise, its predicate is the scope. In contrast, in the case of a focus particle immediately following the noun/adverb phrase, the scope includes the noun/adverb phrase and its predicate.

2.1.5 Distribution between a focus particle and the focus within the scope

It has been shown that the scope specifies the range of the semantically contrastive property between the focus and the alternatives. Within this range, focus particles can establish a logical relationship between them. In this section, the interaction between a focus particle, its focus and its scope is discussed from the aspect of the distribution between a focus particle and the focus within the scope, which is dealt with by Numata and Jo (1995).

According to Numata and Jo, who discuss the use of *mo*, there are three types of arrangements for a focus particle and its focus within its scope. The first arrangement is the N (Normal) focus, by which a focus is part of the scope immediately preceding a focus particle, as in (10a), or the focus is identical to the scope, as in (10b). (The focus and the alternative are marked with capitals and the scope is within a bracket.)

(10) a. Kono resutoran wa aji no yosa de wa teihyoo ga aru kara,
this restaurant TOP good taste be TOP widely recognised because
o-sake wa [CHOTTO *dake* nonde], ryoori o TAKUSAN tabe-yoo.
HON-drink TOP a bit only drink-and food ACC a lot eat-will
'This restaurant is widely recognised as the one where the food is tasty, so why don't we drink a bit and have a lot of food?'

b. Uchi no shujin wa watashi ni [GOHAN O TSUKUTTE-KURERU *dake*]
my husband TOP me meal ACC cook-AUX only
de-naku, MASSAAJI O SHITE-KURERU.
be-NEG-and massage-AUX
'My husband not only cooks a meal for me but massages me as well.'

As already observed in section 2.1.4, there is a difference in the position of a focus

particle between (10a) and (10b). In (10a), the focus particle *dake* 'only' occurs after the adverb *chotto* 'a bit', while in (10b), the focus particle *dake* 'only' occurs after the predicate *tsukutte kureru* 'cook (for me)'. In terms of the focus, in (10a), the focus is the adverb *chotto* 'a bit' alone, while in (10b), the focus is the clause *gohan o tsukutte kureru* 'cook a meal (for me)'. With reference to examples such as (10a), it should be noted that the predicates in the two comparative clauses (that is, *nomu* 'drink' and *taberu* 'eat') which are not same but are similar in meaning (that is, the two verbs *nomu* 'drink' and *taberu* 'eat' denote having food), are not included in the focus.

The second arrangement for focus particles and their focus within the scope is termed the B (Backward) focus, by which a focus particle marks the preceding noun/adverb phrase and the focus particle takes the entire clause as its focus, as in (11a) and (11b).

(11) a. Kono seetaa wa IRO GA KIREINA ueni,
this sweater TOP colour NOM pretty as well
[SHITSU *mo* II] kara, ki ni itte-ru.
quality also good because like-AUX
'As far as this sweater is concerned, I like it not only because of its pretty colour but its good quality.'

b. [MONKU *bakari* ITTE], IKKOONI SHIGOTO O SHI-nai.
a complaint only say-and at all work-NEG
'(He) is only complaining and never starts working.'

In both (11a) and (11b), focus particles occur immediately after the noun *shitsu* 'quality' and *monku* 'complaint' respectively and their predicates *ii* 'good' and *iu* 'say' are not shared by the two comparative clauses in either example. What is notable in the B-focus position is that the two comparative clauses are related on the basis of the same context, although these two clauses are not similar semantically and syntactically.

For example, in (11a), the focus *shitsu ga ii* 'the quality is good' and the alternative *iro ga kirei* 'the color is pretty' share in common the context about the good points of a certain sweater. By the same token, in (11b), the focus *monku o iu* 'make a complaint' and the alternative *ikkoni shigoto o shinai* 'do not work at all' share the context about the bad behaviour in the office regarding a certain person.

As seen in the above examples, in the B-focus position the focus is identical to the scope. According to Numata and Jo, a focus particle in the B-focus position may also occur immediately after the predicate which is in the N-focus position, as in (12a) and (12b).

(12) a. Kono seetaa wa IRO GA KIREINA ueni,
this sweater TOP colour NOM pretty as well
[SHITSU GA YOKU *mo* ARU] kara, ki ni itte-ru.
quality NOM good also AUX because like-AUX
'As far as this sweater is concerned, I like it not only because of its pretty colour but its good quality.'

b. [MONKU O ITTE *bakari*] de, IKKOONI SHIGOTO O SHI-nai.
complain only be at all work-NEG
'(He) is only complaining and never starts working.'

The above examples show that there are two cases where a focus particle appears within the scope, namely when a focus particle occurs immediately after the noun/adverb phrase as in (11), or immediately after the predicate as in (12). Given this, it is to be expected that there is a difference in the effect of the overall sentence between the former and the latter. In comparison between (11) and (12), it would be expected that in (11), the noun would be particularly highlighted, although the focus is the clause. This does not hold in the case of (12). Such an effect appears in the discourse use of sentences such as (11). In discourse, a noun followed immediately by a focus particle tends to get phonetic prominence within the focus and naturally, it

draws the listener's attention. In this respect, the position of a focus particle in a sentence is a factor in the discourse effect of the whole sentence.

The third arrangement, F (Forward) focus, is where the focus is the noun/adverb phrase, even though a focus particle marks the predicate, not the noun/adverb phrase, as in (13).

(13) Inaka ni wa [ROOJIN ga atsumaru ***bakari***] de,
country in TOP elderly people NOM gather only be
chittomo WAKAMONO ga atsumara-nai.
at all young people NOM gather-NEG
'Only elderly people gather in the country and young people do not at all.'

In (13), a focus particle *bakari* 'only' marks the predicate *atsumaru* 'gather'. However, *bakari* 'only' focuses on the noun *roojin* 'elders' in contrast with the alternative *wakamono* 'young people'. This is because the predicate *atsumaru* 'gather' is shared by the two comparative clauses.

The F-focus clearly shows the distinction between the focus and the scope. The role of the scope is to specify the semantic contrastive property (for example, *X ga atsumaru* 'X gather' as in (13)) in the relationship between the two comparative clauses, while the role of the focus is only to specify the primary contrastive constituent for the scope (for example, *roojin* 'elderly people' as in (13)). Just as a focus particle which occurs after the noun/adverb phrase (that is, the B-focus position) may appear immediately after the predicate within the scope (that is, the N-focus position), a focus particle in the F-focus position may also appear immediately after the noun within the scope (that is, the N-position), as in (14).

(14) Inaka ni wa [ROOJIN *bakari* ga atsumari],

country in TOP elderly people only NOM gather

chittomo WAKAMONO ga atsumara-nai.

at all young people NOM gather-NEG

'Only elderly people gather in the country and young people do not do so at all.'

The discussion of the positional relation between a focus particle and its focus within the scope can be summarised as follows. (The focus and the scope are marked with the angle brackets and brackets respectively.)

(NP = noun phrase, AP = adverb phrase, FP = focus particle, Pred = predicate)

(i) a focus particle immediately follows the noun/adverb phrase

a. [<NP/AP> FP Pred] (N-focus, Focus≠Scope)

Inaka ni wa [<ROOJIN> *bakari* ga atsumari],
NP FP Pred

chittomo WAKAMONO ga atsumara-nai.

'Only elderly people gather in the country and young people do not do so at all.'

b. [<NP/AP FP Pred>] (B-focus, Focus=Scope)

[<MONKU *bakari* ITTE>], IKKOONI SHIGOTO O SHI-nai.
NP FP Pred

'(He) is only complaining and never starts working.'

(ii) a focus particle immediately follows the predicate

a. [<Pred FP>] (N-focus, Focus=Scope)

Taroo wa sono utsukushii hito ni

[<HOHOEMU *bakari*>] de, HANASHIKAKE-nakat-ta.
Pred FP

'Taro only smiled at the pretty woman, and he did not talk to her.'

b. [<NP/AP Pred FP>] (N-focus, Focus＝Scope)

Uchi no shujin wa watashi ni [<GOHAN O TSUKUTTE-KURERU *dake* >]
NP Pred FP

de-naku, MASSAAJI O SHITE-KURERU.

'My husband not only cooks a meal for me but massages me as well.'

c. [<NP/AP> Pred FP] (F-focus, Focus≠Scope)

Inaka ni wa [<ROOJIN> ga atsumaru *bakari*] de,
NP Pred FP

chittomo WAKAMONO ga atsumara-nai.

'Only elderly people gather in the country and young people do not do so at all.'

As mentioned earlier, there are two possibilities for the position of a focus particle within the scope. For example, a focus particle marking the noun/adverb phrase (for example, (i)a.) may appear immediately after the predicate (for example, (ii)c.).

In this section, the notions of focus and scope and the role of each has been explained. Identifying the focus and the scope is the key to understanding the semantic structure of a sentence containing focus particles. A discussion of the distribution between a focus particle and its focus within the scope is directly relevant to this issue. With reference to the role of each, focus particles interact with the scope in that the scope specifies the semantic contrastive property between the focus and the alternatives, and in this role of the scope, focus particles can establish a logical relationship between the focus and the alternatives. Once again, the specification of the scope depends on not only the focus particle, but also the relevant context. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 following are devoted to a discussion of the properties of the focus particles.

2.2 Syntactic properties

As discussed in section 2.1, the function of the focus particle is to establish a logical relationship between the focus and the alternatives. Consider the following:

(15) a. Taroo *mo* gakkoo ni iku.
also school to go
'Taro also goes to school.'

b. Taroo *dake* gakkoo ni iku.
only school to go
'Only Taro goes to school.'

The above examples are identical except for the focus particles (that is, *mo* and *dake*). In (15a), the focus particle *mo* 'also' is one of the 'additive' particles (See section 2.3) and Taro marked by *mo* is referred to as the focus, and other possible candidates, for example, Jiro or Hanako, are referred to as alternatives. The 'additive' *mo* establishes a logical relationship between Taro and somebody other than Taro with regard to their assertion of the event expressed in the predicate (that is, going to school). Example (15a) has thus the reading that Taro goes to school as well as others.

By way of contrast, the focus particle *dake* 'only' is one of the 'exclusive' or 'restrictive' particles (See section 2.3). A logical relationship with the use of *dake* is naturally different from that of the use of *mo*; the relationship established by *dake* indicates that the affirmative assertion of the focus is in contrast with the negative assertion of others.

The above illustration suggests that focus particles relate the focus to other possible alternatives in two different ways: either as an 'additive' relationship or a 'contrastive' relationship, depending on the type of focus particles (that is, 'additive'

particles or 'contrastive' particles).[4] These two types of relationship are manifestations of the semantic properties of the different focus particles, which are discussed in section 2.3.

A certain relationship, however, can also be found with case particles. Example (16) is a case in point:

(16) Taroo *ga* watashi *ni* yubiwa *o* kure-ta.
NOM me DAT ring ACC give-PAST
'Taro gave me a ring.'

In (16), a case particle *ga* indicates that Taro is the agent of the action expressed in the predicate *kureta* 'gave'; *ni* indicates that *watashi* 'I' is the recipient of the object *yubiwa* 'ring'; and *o* indicates that *yubiwa* 'ring' involved with the action expressed in the predicate is the object.

The above example shows that the function of case particles is to indicate the semantic role of noun phrases in relation to a given predicate. Keeping this in mind, consider the example in (17) below:

(17) Taroo *mo* watashi *ni* yubiwa *o* kure-ta.
also me DAT ring ACC give-PAST
'Taro also gave me a ring.'

Example (17) is identical to (16) except for the use of a focus particle *mo* 'also' substituted for the case particle *ga*. In (17), the focus 'Taro' is related to other possible candidates who may have given me a ring, such as Jiro. The 'additive' *mo* affirms the assertion of the focus 'Taro' toward the event 'giving me a ring'.

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[4] For detailed discussion of a logical relationship between the focus and the alternative see Okutsu (1986:81).

It should be noted that Taro indicates the agent of the action even in the absence of *ga*.

In comparison between a case particle and a focus particle, the fundamental difference in function is shown to be the fact that focus particles involve a relationship with other possible alternatives, while case particles do not.[5]

Focus particles also have the unique syntactic properties of 'optionality' and 'free positionality' which case particles do not have: as discussed in Numata (1986). First of all, the focus particles do not make an obligatory syntactic contribution to a sentence. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(18) a. Taroo wa Jiroo ni *dake* keeki o age-ta.
TOP DAT only cake ACC give-PAST
'Taro gave only Jiro a cake.'

b. Taroo wa Jiroo ni ϕ keeki o age-ta.

* c. Taroo wa Jiroo ϕ keeki o age-ta.

(19) a. Hanako wa ie de *bakari* asonde-iru.
TOP home at only play-AUX
'Hanako plays only at home.'

b. Hanako wa ie de ϕ asonde-iru.

* c. Hanako wa ie ϕ asonde-iru.

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[5] Worthy of note is that *ga*'s usage indicating 'exclusive' is sometimes treated as one of the focus particles (for example, Noda 1995; 1996). For example, *ga* as in *Kurasu no naka de Taroo ga ichiban suki da* 'I like Taro better than any other student in my class' involves the relationship with students other than Taro in my class and in the relationship, the affirmative assertion of the focus 'Taro' is contrasted with the negative assertion of the alternatives 'other students' in terms of the context (that is, the person I like).

In (18a) and (19a), the focus particle *dake* 'only' marks the indirect object *Jiroo* 'Jiro' and *bakari* 'only' marks the place where the action occurs *ie* 'the house' respectively. Examples (18b) and (19b) show that the sentences are grammatical without the focus particles *dake* and *bakari*. In contrast, examples (18c) and (19c) show that the deletion of case particles *ni* and *de*, respectively, is impossible.[6]

The next concern is 'free positionality' which indicates that focus particles have a variety of positions; they can follow noun phrases, combinations of nouns plus case particles, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and so on, while case particles always follow nouns or noun phrases directly. Observe the following:

(20) a. Ani *bakari* ga haha ni home-rareru. (noun + focus particle)
my older brother only NOM mother by praise-PASS
'Only my older brother is praised by my mother.'

b. Kono deguchi wa kinkyuu no toki ni *dake* tukai-masu.
this exit TOP emergency of case in only use-POL
(noun + case particle + focus particle)
'This exit is only used in case of emergency.'

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[6] There are, however, exceptions to the deletion of case particles. The omission of case particles often happens in casual conversation, as shown below.

A: Ima nani ϕ shite-ta no?
now what do-PAST Que
'What are you doing now?'

B: Terebi ϕ mite-ta.
TV watch-PAST
'I was watching TV.'

The utterances in which the two nouns *nani* 'what' and *terebi* 'TV' are not marked by a direct object marker *o*, are acceptable. The reason for this acceptability is because the role of the noun as a direct object of its predicates is obvious. In this regard, the case particles *ni* and *de* , as in (18) and (19) are not likely to be deleted. With regard to the omission of particles, it has been treated as the independent function of the zero particle (null particle) in recent research (for example, Hasegawa 1993; Otani 1995; Maruyama 1996; Kato 1997; Lee 1999).

c. Ryoori wa <u>tamani</u> *shika* shi-nai. (adverb + focus particle)
cooking TOP sometimes only do-NEG
'(I) cook only sometimes.'

d. Kono kodomo wa <u>naku</u> *bakari* de, nani o kii-temo kotae-nai.
this child TOP cry only be, what ACC ask-even if answer-NEG
(verb + focus particle)
'No matter what she/he is asked, this child only cries and does not answer.'

The various possible positions taken by the focus particles in the above examples indicate that the function of these particles has nothing to do with denoting the semantic role of noun phrase in relation to a predicate, which is the function of case particles.

With regard to the relationship between case particles and focus particles, it should be noted that the case particles *ga* and *o* are obligatorily omitted before focus particles (unlike *ni* in example (20b)). The following sentences are thus, ungrammatical in modern Japanese:

(21) * a. Taroo <u>ga *mo*</u> warat-ta.
NOM also laugh-PAST
'Taro also laughed.'

* b. Taroo wa chuugoku-go <u>o *sae*</u> hanasu.
TOP Chinese ACC even speak
'Taro can even speak Chinese.'

A focus particle *mo*, however, can follow the case particle *o* as well as *ni*, as in, for example, *Taro wa chuugoku-go <u>o mo</u> hanasu* 'Taro speaks Chinese as well'. In contrast, *mo* cannot precede *ga*, as in (22), except for the case of unspecified noun phrases (that is, *dare* 'who' and *doko* 'where'), as in (23).

(22) * Taroo *mo ga* nai-ta.
also NOM cry-PAST
'Taro also cried.'

(23) Dare *mo ga* nai-ta.
anybody also NOM cry-PAST
'Anybody cried.'

The focus particles *sae* 'even' and *made* 'even' on the other hand can also precede *ga*. For example, *Taroo sae ga naita* 'Even Taro cried' and *Taroo made ga naita* 'Even Taro cried'.

Furthermore, focus particles can be combined, as in examples (24), (25) and (26), while case particles cannot.[7]

(24) Shinpai de shokuji o suru koto *sae mo* deki-nai.
worry and having a meal even can -NEG
'I am worried about something, and cannot even have a meal.'

(25) Shinyuu ni *made mo* utagaw-are-ta.
my best friend by even doubt-PASS-PAST
'Even my best friend doubted me.'

(26) Kono seihin wa tennen no zairyoo *dake shika* tsukatte-i-nai.
this product TOP natural material only use-AUX-NEG
'This product only uses natural materials.'

There is a constraint that only focus particles which share meaning can be conjoined

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[7] The genitive *no* (of) and ablative particle *kara* (from), are not considered case particles in those situations where they can be conjoined with case particles. For example, *Nihon **kara no** nimotsu* 'the parcel from Japan' and *Kore **kara ga** kibishii* 'It will be more severe from this time'.

(Numata 1992). In (24) and (25), all three particles *sae*, *mo* and *made* share the 'additive' meaning, and in (26), both *dake* and *shika* share the 'exclusive' meaning. Sentences with a combination of particles which do not have similar meanings are ungrammatical, as in (27):

(27) * Kodomo ni *made* shika bakanis-are-ta.
my child by even only make a fool of-PASS-PAST
* 'I was made a fool of even only by my child.'

In (27), the impossibility of the combination of *made* with *shika* is because 'additive' *made* cannot combine with 'exclusive' *shika*.

The syntactic properties of focus particles, 'optionality' and 'free positionality', have been discussed in comparison with case particles. These two syntactic properties are relevant to the function of focus particles. As seen in the discussion of 'optionality', focus particles do not make an obligatory syntactic contribution to a sentence. With regard to 'free positionality', focus particles can mark any constituent of the sentence. These properties are caused by the fact that focus particles involve a relationship between an element and other possible alternatives, not a relationship between a noun phrase and a given predicate, which is the function of case particles. The relationship specified by various focus particles is discussed in the following section.

2.3 Semantic properties

According to König (1991:33), focus particles can be divided into two groups: 'additive' or 'inclusive' particles and 'restrictive' or 'exclusive' particles. 'Additive' particles include other items/events as possible choices for the relevant context; 'Restrictive' or 'exclusive' particles exclude other possible items/events from the

relevant context. He gives examples of English focus particles for each group as follows:

Inclusive (additive) particles:	also, too, as well, either, even, let alone, in addition, likewise, similarly, in particular
Exclusive particles:	merely, only, solely, exactly, purely, alone, exclusively

The following are some examples (capitals show the focus of a focus particle).

(28) John bought A NEW HOUSE, as well/too.

(29) Only MARY met Fred.

As already discussed, sentences with additive particles indicate that the focused item/event satisfies the relevant context and imply that other possible alternatives also satisfy it. A sentence with the use of the additive particle 'as well/too' in (28) says that John bought a new house, and implies that he bought some other items. Analogously, sentences with exclusive particles indicate that the focused item/event satisfies the relevant context and imply that no other alternatives satisfy it. A sentence with the use of the exclusive particle 'only' in (29) says that Mary met Fred and implies that nobody other than Mary had done so. The focus particles of each group share the concept of additive particles or exclusive particles. Concerning additive particles, they have scalar particles as a subgroup, and these are associated with a ranking of the items/events in terms of likelihood (See section 2.4 for a discussion of scalar particles).

A number of different 'additive' particles or 'exclusive' particles have similar meanings. For example, the additive particles 'also', 'too', 'as well' and 'either' are similar in meaning. However, according to König, there is a difference among 'also', 'too', 'as well' and 'either' in terms of the scope of these particles, as illustrated by the following examples quoted in König (1991):

(30) a. I hope they did not lay off PAUL, too.

b. I hope they did not lay off PAUL, either.

Example (30a) has the reading that somebody other than Paul was laid off, while (30b) has the reading that somebody other than Paul was not laid off. These different readings between the two show that 'either' can be used if the preceding negative is in the scope of the particle.

By the same token, both 'only' and 'merely' in the group of exclusive particles are different in the nature of the focus, which is shown by the following example taken from König (1991):

(31) a. Only an EXCELLENT performance will please the boss.

b. ? Merely an EXCELLENT performance will please the boss.

In both (31a) and (31b), 'only' and 'merely' specify a degree expression 'excellent' and the use of 'merely' in this case is unacceptable. According to König, the reason for the unacceptability of 'merely' is due to the fact that 'merely' has to specify the item characterised as unlikely to satisfy the relevant context. Thus, in (31b), 'excellent', which denotes highly likeness to satisfy the context, cannot be focused on by 'merely'. The above examples show that the semantic properties can be different among

members of each group in English in terms of, for example, the specification of the scope and the nature of the focus.

As discussed in the preceding section, the semantic properties of focus particles are manifested in the ways of specifying the relationship between the focus and the alternatives (that is, the additive relationship and contrastive relationship). Noda (1995:33) points out the classification of focus particles on the basis of semantic properties, as listed below:[8]

Inclusive (additive) particles:	*mo* (also, even), *demo* (exemplification), *nado* (exemplification), *made* (even), *sae* (even, minimum necessary)
Exclusive particles:	*wa* (contrast, topic), *dake* (only), *bakari* (only), *shika* (only), *ga* (exclusive), *nara* (condition, topic), *nado* (negative, emphasis), *gurai* (minimum necessary), *koso* (concession, emphatic)

Similar to English focus particles, each individual particle has its own semantic characteristics, as representatively illustrated below:

(32) Koohii *demo* nomi-masen ka?
coffee or something drink-POL-NEG Que
'Would you like to have a cup of coffee or something?'

For example, in (32), the additive *demo* 'or something' termed as *reiji*

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[8] Noda also proposes the classification of focus particles on the basis of the syntactic properties (that is, the types of predicate with which a focus particle can co-occur).

'exemplification' (Noda 1995) or *sentakuteki reiji* 'selective exemplification' (Numata 1992) specifies the item/event as the appropriate or preferable choice among other possible choices for the relevant context. In (32), 'coffee' marked by *demo* is exemplified as one of the possible choices, for example, *o-cha* 'tea', *biiru* 'beer' and so on, for the relevant context (that is, something to drink). In short, the use of *demo* indicates that coffee is selected as an appropriate drink among other drinks that could have possibly been selected. The above example shows that the additive particle *demo* has the semantic characteristics in terms of its specification of the focus in such a way as to identify it as the appropriate choice among other possible choices.

With regard to an example of exclusive particles, the particle *wa* has two different uses: 'topic' and 'contrast', demonstrated as follows:[9]

(33) a. Umi de kodomotachi *wa* tsuri o shi-ta ga,
beach at children TOP fish-PAST but
otonatachi *wa* tsuri o shi-nakat-ta. (contrast)
adults TOP fish-NEG-PAST
'At the beach, the children fished but the adults did not.'

b. Umi de kodomotachi *wa* tsuri o shi-ta. (topic)
beach at children TOP fish-PAST
'The children fished at the beach.'

Example (33a) is an example of the 'contrast' *wa*, where *wa* specifies the preceding noun *kodomotachi* 'children' as satisfying the event 'fishing' in contrast with the alternative *otonatachi* 'adults' which does not to satisfy the event. For the topic '*wa*' in (33b), the noun *kodomotachi* 'children' marked by *wa* is the topic for the action expressed in the predicate (that is, fishing).

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[9] The two uses of *wa* : 'topic' and 'contrast', have been attested in many studies (See, for example, Mikami 1960; Kuno 1973; Inoue 1982; Noda 1995).

The above observation suggests that *wa* divides into contrastive *wa* and topic *wa* depending on the context, as has been pointed out by Maynard (1980), Clancy and Downing (1987) and Lee (1999). In the case of the contrast *wa*, other possible alternatives are explicit in the sentence, while in the case of the topic *wa*, they are not given and the alternatives are possibly presumed depending on context.

It has been shown that there are two types of focus particles classified by the semantic property of inclusion or exclusion. Each focus particle within each group can be further differentiated in terms of how it specifies the focus and the alternatives, as shown in the example of the additive *demo*. In this connection, it is notable that one lexical expression can have two different uses depending on context, as seen in the example of *wa*.

2.4 Scalar particles

As mentioned in the preceding section, scalar particles are a subgroup of the additive particles and are directly relevant to the current study. 'Scalar' particles have distinctive semantic characteristics in that they do not simply include other items/events as possible choices for the relevant context, but they evaluate items/events in terms of their likelihood. In this evaluation, the focus is assessed as less likely to satisfy the relevant context than the other possible alternatives, as Karttunen and Karttunen (1977) and Karttunen and Peters (1979) have pointed out. For example, in a sentence such as 'John even reads Shakespeare', Shakespeare marked by 'even' is considered less likely to be read by John than other authors. Nevertheless, the sentence may be interpreted as John reads Shakespeare. According to König (1991), the English terms 'even', 'let alone', 'in particular' and 'so much as' are scalar particles.

Turning to Japanese focus particles, the additive particles *mo*, *made* and *sae* which correspond approximately to 'even' are considered to be scalar particles

(Numata 1986; Termura 1991; Nakanishi 1995). The following example illustrates the use of these particles:

(34) Buka ni *mo /made /sae* ki o tsukat-ta.
subordinate even take good care of-PAST
'(He) even took good care of his subordinates.'

In the presence of a scale-invoking lexical element, a certain ranking among the relevant items is clearly specified, even though the other possible alternatives are not given in the sentence. For example, in (34), *buka* 'subordinates' lexically induces the scale of the hierarchy. At the same time, the nature of the scale is specified from the relevant context (that is, the likelihood of being taken good care of by the person in question). As a result, *buka* 'subordinates' is placed low on the scale, while other higher positions such as *kachoo* 'manager' and *buchoo* 'director' are ordered on that scale according to the hierarchy.

Under this hierarchical scale, there exists a relationship between the focus and the alternatives. More explicitly, the affirmative assertion of the focus is in contrast with the affirmative assertion of the alternatives toward the relevant context. Given this, the affirmative assertion of the focus, which is evaluated as unlikely to satisfy the relevant context, naturally implies the affirmative assertion of the alternatives, which are evaluated as likely. Example (34) thus has the reading that the person in question takes good care of subordinates, and he naturally takes care of people who are in higher positions than he is too.

The above example shows that scalar particles involve a scalar relationship between the focus and the alternatives in terms of their likelihood of satisfying the relevant context. In this relationship, the focus is characterised as the least likely. It should be noted that these scalar particles do not determine the nature of the scale; the context does this.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, various matters relevant to focus particles have been discussed. First, it is noted that the notions of focus and scope are the key to understanding the function of focus particles.

The distribution of a focus particle and the focus within the scope shows the role of each in a sentence. The scope specifies the semantic contrastive property between the focus and the alternatives, and in this role of the scope, focus particles establish a logical relationship between the focus and the alternative. As for the focus, the distinction between the focus and the scope in an F-focus or N-focus (in the case of a focus particle immediately following the noun/adverb phrase) showed that the role of the focus is to specify the primary contrastive constituent for the scope.

The syntactic properties of focus particles were compared with those of case particles. It was shown that focus particles and case particles are in some ways similar in that they show a certain relationship. However, there is a great difference in the nature of the relationship in which each particle is involved; a logical relationship between the focus and other possible alternatives is involved by focus particles, while a relationship between the noun phrase and its predicate is shown by case particles. Such differences in functions between focus particles and case particles appear in the noteworthy syntactic characteristics of focus particles — 'optionality' and 'free positionality' (See section 2.2).

The semantic properties were treated in terms of the classification of focus particles on the basis of the semantic characteristics given in König (1991). According to König, focus particles are divided into two groups — the 'additive' and 'exclusive' particles. These two semantic classifications influence a logical relationship specified by a focus particle.

It was shown that some additive particles are grouped and termed as 'scalar'. These particles are of special interest in that not only do the focus particles *mo*, *made* and *sae* in the current study belong to this group, but they also have a unique semantic property; the relevant items are evaluated in terms of their likelihood of satisfying the relevant context and the focus is characterised as an unlikely item. Detailed discussion of the 'scalar' *mo*, *made* and *sae* is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Shared properties of *made*, *sae* and *mo*

3.0 Introduction

The three particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* have many similarities and they are often discussed together. In this chapter, the similarities between these particles are examined, as are the various types of sentences where these particles may and may not be used. It will be shown that the three particles cannot be used in sentences with particular style/mood. The unacceptability of the particles in such types of sentences confirms the suggested meaning for the particles. In connection with the properties of *made*, *sae* and *mo*, the idea of different ways of thinking about the alternatives is introduced. This idea will become important later.

Section 3.1 focuses on the shared meaning by observing the contexts where the three particles may be used. Section 3.2 discusses a relationship between the shared meaning and the style/mood of sentences with the three particles. In section 3.3, the shared function is looked at and it is shown that the way of conceptualising other possible alternatives in contrast with the focus is crucial to the interchangeable uses of the three particles. Section 3.4 presents a summary.

3.1 Meaning of *made*, *sae* and *mo*

The meaning of *mo*, *made* and *sae* is characterised as *Igai* 'unexpectedness' (Numata

1986; Nakanishi 1995) on the grounds that the focused item/event satisfies the relevant context against the speaker's expectations. In this section, I consider contexts where these particles are used. The following are examples where *made*, *sae* or *mo* may be used.

(1) a. Kodomo ni *made / sae / mo* baka ni sa-reru to wa,
my child by even make a fool of-PASS that TOP
kuyashii yo.
feel chagrined SEF
'I feel chagrined that I am made a fool of even by my child.'

b. Ikura byooki to wa ie, beddo ni okiagaru no *made / sae / mo*
even though sick that TOP bed on sit up that even
hitode o kari-nakereba naranai to wa nasakenai.
somebody's help ACC get-have to that TOP be ashamed
'I feel ashamed even though I am sick that I need somebody's help in order to sit up on the bed.'

c. Mettani ikara-nai Sakata-san *made / sae / mo*
seldom get angry-NEG Mr. Sakata even
sasugani kore ni wa gekido shi-ta.
even this at TOP get very angry-PAST
'Even Mr. Sakata, who seldom gets angry, got mad at this.'

d. Nanto shiyakusyo de wa, kare no seika ga
what city hall at TOP his the house where he was born NOM
doo natte-iru ka *made / sae / mo* wakara-nai.[10]
what has happened to-AUX Que even know-NEG
'To my surprise, city employers do not even know what has happened to the house where he was born.'

Taking a closer look at (1a) and (1b) first, the predicates *kuyashii* 'be chagrined' in (1a) and *nasakenai* 'be ashamed' in (1b) express the speaker's disappointment. These expressions emerge when a certain outcome is not up to the speaker's expectations. For example, in (1a), the speaker feels chagrined because he was made fun of by children against the speaker's expectations. Similarly, the adverb *sasugani* 'even' in (1c) and the interjection *nanto* 'what or how' in (1d) express the speaker's astonishment toward the event that is contradictory to his expectations or sense of value. For example, in (1c), *sasugani* implies that the speaker is surprised to see that Mr. Sakata, who was thought not to get angry in any circumstance, yet got mad at a certain case.

The above examples show that *made*, *sae* and *mo* occur in contexts where the speaker has strong emotions, such as astonishment, toward an event against the speaker's expectations. A feeling of unexpectedness occurs not only when a situation is below the speaker's expectation, as seen in the above examples, but also when the case is beyond the expectation as shown below. (Examples (2) and (3) are taken from Numata (1992).)

[10] This example is quoted from Teramura (1991:105).

(2) Tootoo tsuki ni *made / sae / mo* iku koto ga kanooninat-ta.

at last moon to even go that ACC become possible-PAST

'At last, even going to the moon has become possible.'

(3) Shokubutsu ni *made / sae / mo* ongaku ga wakaru-rashii.

plants DAT even music ACC understand-seem

'Even plants seem to understand music.'

3.2 Style and mood of sentences with *made*, *sae* and *mo*

There are certain constraints on the types of sentences where *made*, *sae* and *mo* may and may not be used when they have a scalar function. For example, Noda (1995) argues that *sae* can co-occur with an assertive mood such as declarative, while it cannot co-occur with a mood which indicates uncertainty, for example, desire or volition.[11] Noda (1995:29) gives the example below.

(4) * Doro mizu *sae* nomi-tai.

muddy water even drink-want

'I even want to drink muddy water.'

The unacceptability of example (4) is due to the fact that it contains a mood of desire and thus indicates uncertainty.

In fact, such cases are also observed for the other two particles *made* and *mo*. Consider the following examples where scalar particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* can and cannot be used; examples in (5) are the former and those of (6), (7), (8) and (9) are the latter. It should, however, be noted that in some cases in examples (6) - (9), *mo* is

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[11] Teramura (1991) also points out that *sae*, *made* and *mo* may be used in a sentence describing an event which has already happened.

acceptable when it has a scalar meaning (corresponding approximately to 'also' in English), rather than a non-scalar meaning (corresponding approximately to 'even' in English).

(5) Declarative

a. Taroo *made / sae / mo* ki-ta.
even come-PAST
'Even Taro came.'

b. Kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon o kakeru.
child's panties even iron
'(She) irons even her child's panties.'

(6) Question

a. * Taroo *made / sae / mo* ki-masu ka?
even come-POL Que
'Is even Taro coming?'

b. * Kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon kakeru?
child's panties even iron
'Does (she) iron even her child's panties?'

(7) Imperative

a. * Taroo *made / sae / mo* ki-nasai.
even come-POL IMP
'Come, even Taro.'

b. * Kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon kakete-kudasai.
child's panties even iron-POL IMP
'Please iron even the child's panties.'

(8) Conjecture

a. * Taroo *made / sae / mo* kuru-deshoo.

even come-probably

'Even Taro will come.'

b. * Kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon o kakeru-kamoshirenai.

child's panties even iron-might

'Even (she) might iron even her child's panties.'

(9) Desire, volition

a. * Watashi *made / sae / mo* iki-tai.

I even go-want

'Even I want to go.'

b. * Kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon o kake-yoo.

child's panties even iron-will

'I will iron even the child's panties.'

While the grammatical sentences in (5) merely express a statement about the event, the unacceptable sentences in (6), (7), (8) and (9) express particular moods such as unsureness, order, likelihood and wishes. In short, the unacceptable examples in the latter are distinguished from the grammatical examples in the former in that these latter examples express an uncertain mood; hence, this confirms that *made*, *sae* and *mo* are incompatible with such a mood. The following additional examples show further cases where these particles cannot be used:

(10) a. * Taroo *made / sae / mo* kuru kashira.

even come SFP

'I wonder if Taro even comes.'

b. * Kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon kakeru kana.
child's panties even iron SFP
'I wonder if (she) irons even her child's panties.'

The unacceptability of the uses of these particles in the above sentences is induced by the fact that sentence-final particles such as *kashira* 'I wonder', and *kana* 'I wonder' indicate the speaker's uncertainty. Interestingly, however, *made*, *sae* and *mo* can be used in questions in certain contexts as illustrated below:

(11) a. Taroo *made / sae / mo* ki-ta n desu tte?
even come-PAST that be-POL that
'I heard that even Taro came?'

b. E, kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon kakeru no?
Oh child's panties even iron Que
'Oh, you iron even the child's panties, don't you?'

In both (11a) and (11b), the use of *made*, *sae* and *mo* is acceptable because the speaker is not asking whether a certain event is true or not, but is rather requesting confirmation of an unusual fact which he has already accepted (that is, the utterances express the speaker's certainty). For example, in (11b), the speaker is surprised to see/hear that the person in question irons children's panties, and the speaker is confirming the extraordinary event. By this token, *made*, *sae* and *mo* can be used in a conjecture if the speaker believes the event has already happened, as shown in (12).

(12) Sofu wa kodomo no kao *made / sae / mo* wasurete-shimat-ta-yoo-da.
grandfather TOP child's face even forget-AUX-PAST-seem-be
'My grandfather has forgotten even his child's face.'

In addition, the event described in the sentence with the use of these particles may not refer to something that has actually happened, but may refer to events the speaker is certain of:

(13) A: Kono bideo no soosa, muzukashiku-nai desu ka?
this video of the way of using difficult-NEG be Que
'Isn't it difficult to use this video?'
B: Iie, kikai ni yowai roojin *made / sae / mo* deki-masu yo.
No machine be poor at elderly people even can do-POL SFP
'Not at all. Even elderly people who are poor at machines can do it.'

In the above conversation, speaker A asks B whether or not it is difficult for him to use a video and speaker B responds that it is so easy to use that even elderly people who are poor at machines can do it. Speaker B's utterance is not based on a true fact, but on the knowledge or experience he has.

It has been shown above that *made*, *sae* and *mo* are used in declarative sentences and these particles cannot be used with a mood of uncertainty. The feeling of 'unexpectedness' *made*, *sae* and *mo* express is produced when the event, which has already happened or what the speaker believes is going to happen, disagrees with the speaker's expectations. From this viewpoint, it is understandable that *made*, *sae* and *mo* are restricted to contexts of certainty.

3.3 Function of *made*, *sae* and *mo*

As seen in section 2.4, when *made*, *sae* and *mo* are used as scalar particles, they imply that there is a range of alternatives to the focused element in terms of a degree of likelihood. These alternatives, however, may not be explicitly mentioned.

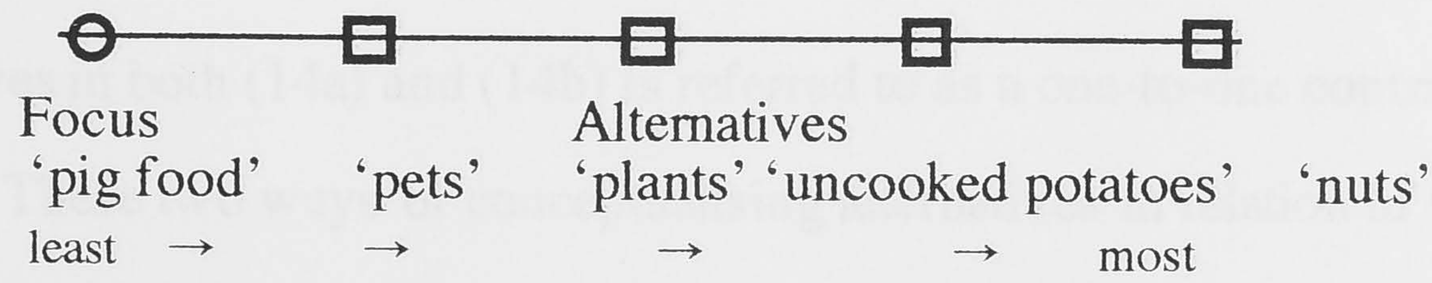
There are two ways in which the alternatives to the focused element can be conceptualised: each alternative can be contrasted individually with the focused element; or else the alternatives can be considered as a group, and this group contrasted with the focused element. To make this account clear, consider the examples (14a) and (14b). (Example (14b) is taken from Nakanishi (1995).)

(14) a. Kono kuni wa dai-kikin ni mimaw-are, hitobito wa
this country TOP a severe famine by suffer-PASS people TOP
buta no esa *made /sae /mo* taberu-yooni nat-ta.
pig food even eat-as become-PAST
'This country suffered from a severe famine, and people even started eating pig food.'

b. Ayumi wa mainichi kodomo no pantsu ni *made /sae /mo* airon o kakeru.
TOP everyday her child's panties even iron
'Everyday, Ayumi irons everything, even her child's panties.'

The first conceptualisation contrasts each alternative individually with the focused item. In (14a), several other possible alternatives such as pets, plants, uncooked potatoes and nuts are characterised more likely to be eaten by humans, and can be thought about in this context. Each of these alternatives is thus contrasted with the focus 'pig food'. Figure 1 represents the relationship between the focus 'pig food' and several alternatives.

Figure 1 The relationship between the focus and several alternatives

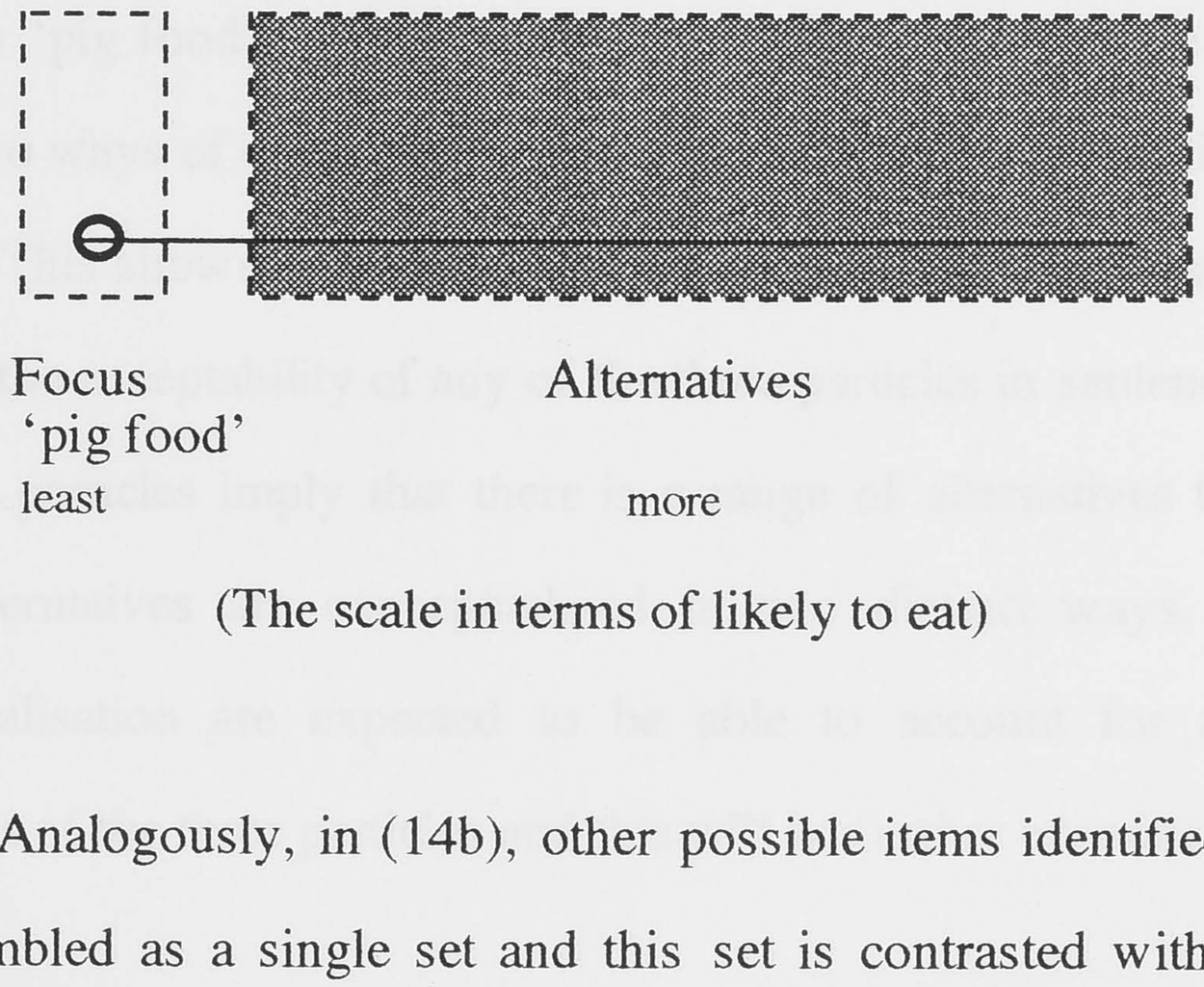


(The scale in terms of likely to eat)

By the same token, in (14b), some other items such as towels, parent's underwear, skirts and shirts are appraised as more likely to be ironed, and can be induced by this context; and they are contrasted individually with the focus 'her child's panties'. A relationship between the focus and several other alternatives is referred to as a one-to-many contrast.

The other conceptualisation contrasts a group of alternatives with the focused element. For example, in (14a), other possible items assessed as likely to be eaten by humans are grouped as one. This group is related to the focus 'pig food' evaluated as unlikely to be eaten by humans, even in the case of a severe famine. Figure 2 represents the relationship between the focus and a group of alternatives as in (14a).

Figure 2 The relationship between the focus and a group of alternatives



(The scale in terms of likely to eat)

Analogously, in (14b), other possible items identified as likely to be ironed are assembled as a single set and this set is contrasted with the focus *kodomo no pantsu* 'her child's panties'. A relationship between the focus and a group of alternatives in both (14a) and (14b) is referred to as a one-to-one contrast.

These two ways of conceptualising alternatives in relation to the focused item have been observed in previous studies (Nakanishi 1995; Numata 1986). While Nakanishi's analysis relies on conceptualising alternatives to the focus as individual

items, Numata's analysis relies on conceptualising alternatives to the focused item as a group. Although there is a difference between the two analyses, both Nakanishi and Numata share the view of meaning and function of the three particles in common; the three particles express a feeling of 'unexpectedness' of the event and they have a scalar function, by which items/events are specified in terms of a degree of likelihood. It suggests that the way in which the speaker/listener conceptualises alternatives to the focused element does not change the above meaning and function of the three particles.

It should be noted that in examples such as those given here, no alternatives are explicitly given. This makes it possible for either Nakanishi's analysis (that is, conceptualising alternatives individually) or Numata's analysis (that is, conceptualising alternatives as a single set) to work, and for any one of the three particles to be used. However, this is not the case where alternatives are precisely given. For example, in (14a), if other possible alternatives such as 'pets', 'plants' and 'uncooked potatoes' are explicitly given, each of those alternatives is necessarily contrasted individually with the focus 'pig food'. Thus, contexts where alternatives are explicitly given do not accept two ways of conceptualising alternatives to the focused item.

This shows that whether or not alternatives are concretely given in contexts is a clue to the acceptability of any of the three particles in sentences. It also shows that the three particles imply that there is a range of alternatives to the focused item and those alternatives are conceptualised in two distinct ways. Those two ways of conceptualisation are expected to be able to account for the individual different properties of the three particles and this will be further examined in section 5.2.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, it has been shown that *made*, *sae* and *mo* have similar meaning and function. These three particles express the speaker's feeling of the unexpectedness of

an event, which is against the speaker's expectations.

With regard to the style/mood of sentences with *made*, *sae* and *mo*, the uses of these particles in a declarative sentence and their uses in sentences with the mood of certainty show that the meaning 'unexpectedness' of the three particles is induced by an event that has already happened or which the speaker believes is going to happen.

It is also shown that the three particles have a function of implying that there is a range of alternatives to the focused item in terms of a degree of likelihood of satisfying the relevant context. There are two ways of conceptualising the alternatives to the focused item: individual alternatives are contrasted with the focus; or else the alternatives are grouped as one and this group is contrasted with the focus.

The notion of conceptualising alternatives is important in that it is directly relevant to the properties of the three particles. Further, the possibility of two ways of conceptualisation determine the sentences where any of the three particles can be used. Sentences in which no alternatives are explicitly given accept the three particles. The two distinct ways of conceptualisation are most likely to be caused by the properties of the particles. This leads to the fact that the three particles have individual distinct properties, which will be examined in section 5.2.

Chapter 4

The usages of *mo*, *made* and *sae*

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter how each particle is used in various environments is considered. The analysis of the differences in properties of scalar *made*, *sae* and *mo* in Chapter 5 is indispensable for the clarification of other usages of each particle apart from a scalar use. It is important to understand the primary meanings of *made*, *sae* and *mo* since these are closely related to their individual scalar functions, which are discussed in section 5.2. Further, these individual functions lead to the differing implications which each particle has when used in appropriate contexts. Teramura (1991) points out that the meanings which an item has in different uses are related to each other.[12] A clear distinction between the usages of each particle is not always drawn, as shown in the example of a case particle *ga* which may also have a function as a focus particle 'exclusive' *ga*, depending on context (section 2.2).

The chapter is organised as follows: the usages of *mo*, *made* and *sae* are discussed in sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 respectively. It is shown that a shared evaluation between the speaker and the listener is necessary for *mo* to have a scalar meaning; the focused expression indicating anything other than a spatial or temporal point makes it possible to have a scalar meaning for *made*; and there are no constraints on *sae* having a scalar meaning. Finally, section 4.4 summarises this chapter.

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[12] A similar view is also pointed out by Numata (1995).

4.1 *Mo*

Teramura (1991:73) points out that *mo* essentially indicates that given the frame X *mo* P, X is associated with P (the predicate) in addition to something other than X being associated with P. He gives the following example:

(1) Mori-san no oku-san *mo* shoonikai desu.
Mr. Mori's wife also paediatrician be-POL
'Mr. Mori's wife is also a paediatrician.'

In (1), X refers to *Mori-san no oku-san* 'Mr. Mori's wife' and P refers to *shoonikai* 'paediatrician'. *Mo* involves a relationship with other possible alternatives referring to X' (that is, somebody who is a paediatrician), for example, *Mori-san* 'Mr. Mori'. *Mo* affirms that Mr. Mori is a paediatrician (that is, X' satisfies P). As a result, the sentence with the use of *mo* says that X satisfies P as well as X' (that is, Mr. Mori's wife is a paediatrician as well as Mr. Mori). In this use of *mo*, *mo* corresponds to the English 'also' and belongs to the group of simple additive particles. Recall that the exclusive *wa* has two uses (that is, 'topic' and 'contrast'), and whether *wa* indicates 'topic' or 'contrast' is basically dependent on context (See section 2.3). As is the case with *wa*, it is context that can bring about a scalar interpretation of *mo*.

Teramura (1991) presentes the view that *mo* has a scalar reading of 'unexpectedness', which corresponds to the English 'even' or 'if'; in X *mo* P, the fact that X satisfies P is judged to be unlikely or unexpected by common knowledge between the speaker and the listener.

(2) Indo-jin *mo* sono karasani bikkuri. (A curry advertisement)[13]

Indians even that spice surprise

'Even Indians are surprised at that spice.'

In (2), the sentence implies that other people, such as Americans and Japanese, are surprised as well as Indians. It is common knowledge shared by the Japanese that India is the home of curry and thus Indians are expected not to be surprised, no matter how spicy a curry is. Owing to this common knowledge, the sentence may have a reading that this curry is so spicy that even Indians are surprised. Without such common knowledge, *mo* simply corresponds to the English 'also' and the sentence would have indicated that Indians are surprised at such spicy curry, as well as some other people.

What is noteworthy is the fact that as shown in the above example, *mo* itself does not have a distinct scalar function. A sentence with *mo* can imply a scalar reading only when there is common knowledge between the speaker and the hearer that the focused expression is less likely to satisfy the relevant context than other possible expressions.

However, not only common knowledge but also a shared evaluation between the speaker and the listener can induce a scalar interpretation. In other words, *mo* has a scalar interpretation if there is a context in which the speaker explicitly evaluates the focused item as the least likely to satisfy the relevant context and thus the listener assesses the focus in a similar way to the speaker. Consider the example below:

(3) Tanaka-san *mo*, kyoo wa hayabayato sono paatii ni yatteki-ta.

Mr. Tanaka also/even today TOP early that party to come along-PAST

'Mr. Tanaka also came along to that party.'

'Even Mr. Tanaka came along to that party.'

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[13] Example (2) is slightly altered from an example of Teramura (1991).

In (3), if there is not a particular context which motivates the listener to evaluate the focus 'Mr. Tanaka', *mo* has a non-scalar reading. Example (3) thus implies that there are other people who came along to that party besides Mr. Tanaka.

In contrast, in the presence of a particular context, such as that 'Mr. Tanaka' is well-known for hating parties and does not always come, the utterance (3) may be produced by the speaker based on this fact and then indicates that the speaker evaluates 'Mr. Tanaka' as the least likely to come. In this case, a listener who also has information about Mr. Tanaka naturally assesses 'Mr. Tanaka' as the least likely. As a result, for the affirmative assertion of the focus (that is, Mr. Tanaka came along to that party), the sentence is interpreted by the listener as indicating that the speaker is surprised at this event. This example shows that a shared evaluation between the speaker and the listener, by which the focus is appraised as the least likely to satisfy the relevant context, may cause the sentence with *mo* to have a scalar interpretation.

In addition to the above meanings of *mo*, Teramura notes that in the frame X *mo* P, if X refers to a quantifier, *mo* expresses an evaluation. The value of the focus is assessed as 'a large quantity' or 'a small quantity'. Consider the following example cited in Teramura (1991:77)[14]:

(4) O-kyaku ga 50-nin *mo* ki-ta.
HON-guest ACC 50-people as many as come-PAST
'As many as fifty guests came.'

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[14] The example is slightly modified from that of Teramura.

Example (4) says that fifty guests came, although the speaker was expecting less than fifty guests to come. In this use of *mo*, *mo* relates the focused quantity *50-nin* 'fifty guests' to the alternative, which is less than fifty guests. From the event (that is, fifty guests came), *mo* indicates that the speaker evaluates fifty guests as a large number. According to Teramura, *mo* in affirmative sentences with a quantifier indicates that the value of the focus is characterised as 'a large number'.[15] In contrast, *mo* in negative sentences may assess the focused quantity as 'a large quantity' or 'a small quantity' depending on context. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate such uses of *mo*, which are taken from Numata (1992:10):

(5) Takushii de kaeru no ni wa, o-kane ga
taxi by come home in order to TOP HON-money ACC
3-zen en *mo* tari-nai.
three thousand yen as much as be enough-NEG
'Three thousand yen are not enough in order to come home by taxi.'

(6) Ichi nichi-juu kakatte-mo, bokin wa wazuka
all day long spend in spite of funds TOP just
5-sen en *mo* atsumara-nakat-ta.
five thousand yen no less than raise-NEG-PAST
'(I) did not raise even five thousand yen in spite of spending all day long fund-raising.'

In (5), the speaker had expected that to come home by taxi would cost less than three thousand yen, for example, two thousand yen. In fact, three thousand yen are not enough to do so. *Mo* in this case evaluates the focus 'three thousand yen' as a large amount.

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[15] Similar observations are found in Numata (1986,1992), Soga (1975) and Takahashi (1978).

In contrast, in (6), the speaker had thought that he/she could have raised more than five thousand yen, for example, ten thousand yen, if he/she spent all day long raising funds. The amount donated, however, did not reach five thousand yen and hence, the focus 'five thousand yen' is assessed as a small amount.

What seen in the above examples (4), (5) and (6) in the case of *mo* specifying a quantifier is that *mo* involves the speaker's evaluation toward the focused quantity (that is, a large or small quantity) under a relationship with another quantifier. In this connection, when a quantifier marked by *mo* is one which only refers to the minimal quantity of the relevant context, the sentence is always negated, as in (7):

(7) Ano sensee to wa ichi-do *mo* hanashi-ta koto ga nai.
that professor with TOP once even talk-PAST that ACC no
(Lit. I have not talked with that professor even once.)
'I have never talked with that professor.'

Similarly, in the case where *mo* marks adverbs which indicate a small quantity such as *sukoshi* 'a bit' and *chotto* 'a bit', the sentence has a completely negated meaning, as in (8):

(8) Sono koto wa sukoshi *mo* shira-nai.
that TOP not any know-NEG
(Lit. I do not know anything about that.)
'I know nothing about that.'

Numata (1986) points out that in this use of *mo*, both the assertion of the focus and that of the alternative are affirmed upon the negative predicate. Put differently, the assertion of all relevant items is negated and consequently, the sentence expresses a completed negation. Numata's account suggests that *mo* focusing on a minimal quantity involves a relationship with other possible alternatives which share some

semantic property with the focus. For example, in (7), the alternatives can be the numbers as to how often the speaker has ever talked with that professor. In the same way, in (8), the alternatives can be to what extent the speaker knows about whatever is under discussion.

Further, *mo* following WH-words such as *dare* 'who' and *nani* 'what' can be used in negative sentences with a completely negated meaning, as in (9) and (10):

(9) Sono koto wa dare *mo* shira-nakat-ta.
that TOP anybody know-NEG-PAST
'Nobody knew that.'

(10) Asu no paatii ni wa nani *mo* motteika-nakute ii.
tomorrow of party to TOP anything bring-NEG fine
'I do not have to bring anything for the party tomorrow.'

Other WH-words such as *itsu* 'when', *doko* 'where', *dochira* 'where' and *doo* 'somehow' with *mo* can be used in both affirmative and negative sentences. Such WH-words with *mo* in affirmative sentences mean 'all', and in negative sentences they mean 'none'. The following examples show that *doko mo* 'everywhere' or 'anywhere' can be used in both affirmative and negative sentences:

(11) Kurisumasu no jiki wa *doko mo* konde-iru.
Christmas of time TOP everywhere be crowded-AUX
'During a Christmas season, everywhere is crowded.'

(12) Kenkoo-shindan no kekka, *doko mo* waruku wa nakat-ta.
a physical examination of result everywhere bad TOP no-PAST
'After having a physical examination, nothing was wrong with me.'

In the usage of *mo* focusing on WH-words, the focused WH-words are specified as unspecified items. For example, *dare* 'who' refers to a representative selected at random from the group of people relevant to the context (that is, somebody among people who would have been expected to know that in (9)). In this regard, in (9), that the unspecified focus *dare* 'who' does not know the fact in question, implies that nobody knows it. Once again, *mo* in this usage relates the focus to the alternatives and this usage will be referred to as the 'postulational selective use of *mo*' on the basis of the above account.

So far, four kinds of uses of *mo* have been considered: (i) a simple additive use corresponding approximately to the English 'also'; (ii) a scalar use corresponding approximately to the English 'even'; (iii) an evaluative use focusing on a quantifier; and (iv) a postulational selective use focusing on WH-words.

Teramura distinguishes the following usage of *mo* in (13a) from the above usages of *mo* and labels it *eitan* 'exclamatory'. (Example (13b) is given for the purpose of comparison.)[16]

(13) a. Toshi no se *mo* oshitsumatte-ki-ta.
the end of the year getting closer-AUX-PAST

b. Toshi no se ga oshitsumatte-ki-ta.
the end of the year ACC getting closer-AUX-PAST
'The end of the year was getting closer.'

The term *eitan* 'exclamatory' is used on the grounds that the sentence with *mo* expresses the speaker's impression toward the event. For example, (13a) indicates

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[16] Numata (1986,1992,1995) also distinguishes this usage of *mo* from others and labels it *yawarage* (toning down the affirmation of the statement).

that the speaker is impressed with the fact that the end of the year is getting closer. In (13a), with regard to the focus, it is plausible that the focus of *mo* is not the noun *toshi no se* 'the end of the year', but the entire clause *toshi no se ga oshitsumatte kita* 'the end of the year is getting close', which means that *mo* is in the B-focus position. Recall that a focus particle in the B-focus position involves a relationship with another clause in terms of the relevant context (See section 2.1). In this respect, in (13a), the focused clause is most likely to be contrasted with other possible clauses regarding the context of events that remind the listener/reader of the end of the year.

However, in this sentence, other possible alternatives cannot easily be presupposed from the context or socially accepted ideas. It is expected that *mo* in this usage also involves other possible alternatives. This is supported in comparison with (13b). Example (13b) is identical to (13a) except for the use of a case particle *ga*. In (13b), what *ga* does in the sentence is to indicate the noun phrase *toshinose* 'the end of the year' as the subject in relation to its predicate *oshitsumattekita* 'getting close' and does not involve a relationship with other clauses. It means that the sentence contains no information other than the event described in the sentence. In (13a), however, *mo* involves other possible items and consequently, the sentence implies that other items satisfy the relevant context as well as the focus. For example, the speaker may presuppose other events characterised as relevant to the end of the year such as the event that people are getting busy with preparing for the new year.

In addition, Numata (1995:42-53) delineates the usage of *mo* in idiomatic expressions apart from *mo* as a focus particle. The following sentences are examples of such usages, which are taken from Numata (1995):

(14) Haji o kai-ta. *soremo* manza no naka de da.
feel humiliate-PAST and in the public be
'I felt humiliated. And I was even in public.'

(15) Isogashii *mo* isogashii. Me ga mawaru hodo isogashii.

busy and busy feel dizzy as busy

'I am as busy as a bee. I am so busy I even feel dizzy.'

(16) Fukoo ni *mo*, suigai no ueni, sinsai no higai ga kasanat-ta.

unfortunately a flood besides an earthquake ACC suffer-PAST

'Unfortunately, (we) not only suffered from an earthquake, but even a flood hit us.'

Numata notes that *soremo* 'and' in examples such as (14) has a function as a conjunction, and *mo* is a part of it. Similarly, *mo* as in (15) can be paraphrased by *soremo* 'and' and emphasises how busy I am by connecting the same expression 'busy'. In (16), *fukoo ni mo* 'unfortunately' as a whole modifies the following sentence and *mo* has no function on its own in this use.[17]

The usages of *mo* can thus be summarised as follows:

(i) simple additive use

(ii) scalar use

(iii) evaluative use

(iv) postulational selective use

(v) exclamatory use

(vi) idiomatic use

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[17] Numata (1995:50-53) refers this usage of *mo* as *keishiki fukushi* 'adverbs which have no function on their own as adverbs and require the preceding expression', which was first termed by Okutsu (1986).

These usages of *mo*, except for (vi) idiomatic use, have a function in common, by which *mo* involves an inclusive relationship with other possible alternatives. This suggests that *mo* in a variety of uses has a function as a focus particle and the context where *mo* is used differentiates its meanings. The differences among the above uses of *mo* are dependent on the characteristics of the focus or the alternatives. For example, in (i), the focus and the alternatives are referred to as the same kind, and in (ii) - (v), the focus or the alternatives add certain peculiarities. In (ii), all items/events are ranked in terms of likelihood and the focus is ranked lowest on a contextually relevant scale. In (iii), all items are restricted to a quantity. The focus in (iv) is confined to WH-words characterised as a postulational choice among other possible choices, and in (v), the other possible alternatives are unspecified from the overall meaning of the sentence.

Looking particularly at scalar uses, it is possible to distinguish *mo* in a scalar use from (iii) evaluative use, (iv) postulational selective use and (v) exclamatory use. *Mo* may have a scalar function except when it focuses on a quantifier, a WH-words, or when other possible alternatives involved in a relationship with the focus are unspecified. Such a distinction is, however, invalid for the division between (i) a simple additive use and (ii) a scalar use. Thus, it can be seen that the distinction between a scalar meaning and a non-scalar meaning may not be clear-cut, and depends very much on the particular context in which *mo* is used.

4.2 *Made*

Teramura (1991) suggests that *made* essentially indicates that in the frame X *made* P,

the state or action described by P continues up to the limit of X which refers to a spatial or temporal point. In this sense, *made* corresponds to the English 'as far as', 'till, up to' and 'until'. He gives the following examples:

(17) Sanji *made* matsu.
three o'clock until wait
'I will wait until three o'clock.'

(18) Hikooki de Sendai *made* iku.
plane by as far as go
'I will travel as far as Sendai, and I will go by plane.'

In (17), *made* indicates the continuation of the state of waiting until three o'clock. Similarly, in (18), *made* indicates the continuation of the action of going to Sendai (in northeast Japan) as the limit of distance. In terms of the focus, *made* emphasises the extreme of the focused expression for the relevant context whenever the focused expression marked by *made* does not refer to a spatial or temporal point. This is illustrated by the following example:

(19) Inu *made* ore o baka ni suru.
dog even me ACC make a fool of
'Even a dog can make a fool of me.'

In (19), the focus *inu* 'dog' is identified as the least likely to make a fool of me, the speaker, compared with others, such as my brothers and friends who would appear to be more likely to do so. Notice that a dog does not indicate a spatial or temporal point, but a concrete object. *Made* in this case specifies the focus under the inclusive relationship with other possible alternatives. These facts suggest the possibility as to whether *made* has a scalar reading or a non-scalar reading depends on context. A

further example is presented below.

(20) Kakao ga karada ni ii to iu uwasa ga hiromaru to, dono mise demo
cacao ACC good for our bodies QM that rumour ACC spread once any shop even
kokoa ga urikireru to iu chingenshoo *made* okot-ta.
cocoa ACC be out of stock QM that a peculiar phenomenon even occur-PAST
'Once the rumour that cacao was good for our bodies spread, even a peculiar phenomenon occurred, that cocoa was out of stock in all the shops.'

In (20), the focused noun *chingenshoo* 'a peculiar phenomenon' is not a space, time nor a concrete object which is the case in (19), but rather a situation. The situation that cocoa is out of stock in all the shops in this context is against the speaker's/listener's expectation and accordingly, example (20) with *made* is interpreted in a 'scalar' way.

It should be noticed that there are cases where the focused expression indicating a spatial or temporal point is ranked low on a scale for the relevant context by *made* when *made* is used in particular contexts. Needless to say, in these cases *made* has a scalar function.

(21) Kare wa ano kanpooyaku ga te ni ire-taku-te,
he TOP that herbal medicine ACC get-want-and
chuugoku *made* kai ni it-ta.
China even buy in order to go-PAST
'He wanted to get that herbal medicine and he even went as far as China in order to buy it.'

(22) Kongetsu wa shigoto ga isogashiku-te,

this month TOP job ACC busy-and

nichiyoobi *made* shukkinshi-nakerebanaranai.

Sunday even go to work has to

'I have been so busy with my job this month that I even have to go to work on Sundays.'

In (21), the noun 'China' focused on by *made* is a place and hence, *made* may refer to the focus as the end point of an action (that is, he went as far as China in order to buy that herbal medicine since he wanted it). On the other hand, the fact that the person in question went as far as China in order to buy that herbal medicine possibly indicates the speaker's surprise because it would have been more expected for him to buy it inside the country, rather than going as far as China to do so. Therefore, the focus 'China' is assessed as the least likely place of the range of places where he may go to buy that herbal medicine. In those cases, *made* is a scalar.

Analogously, in (22) where *made* focuses on the noun 'Sunday' referring to a temporal point, *made* can be interpreted as either non-scalar or scalar. A non-scalar *made* simply indicates the noun 'Sunday' as the end time until when the speaker has to keep working, while a scalar *made* induces a scale of days of the week when the speaker may go to work and it ranks the focus 'Sunday' low on this scale.

The above examples show that the types of noun focused on by *made* do not always distinguish the meanings of *made*, but the particular context does, just as in the case of *mo*.

Besides the above usages, Numata (1986) distinguishes the usage of *made* in idiomatic expressions. Consider the following examples from Numata (1986:187,192):

(23) Hoo ni fure-nai *made mo* doogiteki sekinin wa ookii.
law for break-NEG although morally responsibility TOP great
'Although he does not break the law, he must take a great responsibility for it from a moral viewpoint.'

(24) Kore wa sankoo *made* ni shimesu no desu ga.
this TOP information for show that be-POL though
'I will show this for your information, though.'

(25) Wakara-nakere-ba, akirameru *made* da.
understand-NEG-if give up There's nothing else I can do
'There's nothing else I can do. I will give it up if I do not understand (it).'

(26) Konna koto wa imasara iu *made mo* nai.
such that TOP again tell do not have to
'I do not have to tell you such things as that again.'

Numata explains that the complete phrases such as *made mo* as in (23) and *made ni* as in (24), are used in the same way in that they modify the sentence or predicate which follows.[18] The phrase with *made mo* is used as a disjunctive corresponding approximately to *although* in the English translation, as in (23) and the phrase with *made ni* is used as an adverb which indicates the purpose of showing 'something', as in (24). *Made* in both (25) and (26) is observed as a part of the idiomatic expressions *made da* 'There's nothing else I can do' and *made mo nai* 'do not need to', respectively.

[18] Numata (1986:187) classifies *made mo* and *made ni* as the group of *keishiki fukushi*.

To summarise, *made* has three uses: (i) a non-scalar use corresponding to the English 'as far as', 'till, up to' and 'until'; (ii) a scalar use corresponding to the English 'even'; and (iii) an idiomatic use. The function of *made* is influenced by context. Whenever the focus refers to something other than a space or time, *made* is a scalar.

4.3 S*ae*

Teramura (1991) notes that in the frame X *sae* P, X is characterised as the least likely to connect with P. For example, note the following:

(27) Kare wa sukina tabako *sae* yame-mashi-ta.
he TOP favourite smoking even give up-POL-PAST
'He even gave up his favourite habit, smoking.'

In (27), the noun phrase *sukina tabako* 'his favourite habit, smoking' which explicitly expresses the evaluation, creates a scale for the likelihood of the things he gave up. The focus 'his favourite habit, smoking' is characterised as the least likely thing for him to give up and the sentence suggests that other things which are less favourite, would have been more likely to have been given up by him. Irrespective of the presence of the lexical expression indicating the evaluation as the case of (27), *sae* has a scalar meaning.

(28) Taroo *sae* gakkoo ni it-ta.
even school to go-PAST
'Even Taro went to school.'

(29) Kaze ga tsuyoku-nat-te, ame *sae* furidashi-ta.
wind ACC strong-AUX-and, rain even start to fall-PAST
'The wind got stronger and it even started to rain.'

In both (28) and (29), the nouns focused on by *sae*, 'Taro' and 'rain' respectively, do not indicate the speaker's evaluation on their own. It is the presence of *sae* that induces a scale for the relevant context. In (28), Taro is identified as being the least likely to go to school. Thus, what the sentence implies is that the speaker did not expect Taro to go to school. Similarly, in (29), that it had started to rain does not produce the speaker's surprise at all. However, as a result of the fact that *sae* ranks this event low on a scale of likelihood, the sentence implies that this event is unexpected and that there are other things regarding weather conditions which may surprise the speaker.

Therefore, sentences with *sae* have a scalar reading even though contexts do not explicitly express the speaker's evaluation toward the focused item/event.

Teramura (1991) and Numata (1986) claim that when *sae* is used in provisional sentences,[19] it has a different meaning.

(30) Eigo *sae* hanas-e-reba, eikaiwa no kyooshi ni nar-eru.
English even speak-POTEN-if English conversation teacher become-POTEN
'If only you could speak English, you would be able to become
an English conversation teacher.'

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[19] The provisional ending *(-ker)-eba*, generally indicates a necessary condition, that is, 'provided that', 'so long as', or (in the negative) 'unless' (See Backhouse 1993:159).

According to the account proposed by Numata (1986), in (30) *sae* specifies the provisional clause *eigo ga hanaseru* 'you could speak English' and affirms the assertion of this clause for the eventuality described in the clause which follows. This implies that the assertion of the other possible conditions (for example, you have teaching experience) are negated. The usage of *sae* in provisional sentences is termed *hitsuyoo saiteigen* 'the minimum necessary' by Numata.

This term is based on the idea that only the provisional clause with *sae* is necessary for a conditional relation to the clause which follows, and other possible conditions are unnecessary. More precisely, by the interaction of *sae* with the provisional clause, if the conditional relation is asserted to hold for the least likely case (that is, the focused condition), the assertion of less unlikely cases (that is, other possible conditions) is not naturally concerned. Given this, *sae* in the provisional clause involves a relationship to other possible clauses which would have been expected to satisfy the conditional relation. This suggests that *sae* in provisional clauses is also scalar.

In short, the uses of *sae* are summarised as follows: (i) a scalar use in non-provisional clauses corresponding to the English 'even'; and (ii) a scalar use in provisional clauses corresponding to the English 'if only'.

4.4 Summary

To sum up the usages of *mo*, *made* and *sae*, the first two may have a 'scalar' and a 'non-scalar' use, while *sae* always indicates scalar:

mo → a scalar function 'evaluative' ← 'even'
(in a context where there is a shared evaluation between the speaker and the listener)
→ a non-scalar function 'a simple additive' ← 'also'

made → a scalar function 'evaluative' ← 'even'
(the focused expression refers to anything except a spatial or temporal expression)
→ a non-scalar function 'indicative of the limit of the spatial or temporal point' ← 'as far as, till, up to, until'

sae → a scalar function 'evaluative' ← 'even'

First, regarding the usages of *mo*, its scalar use corresponds approximately to the English 'even' which is contingent on a context which prompts both the speaker and the listener to evaluate the focused item, and its non-scalar use corresponds approximately to the English 'also'. Analogous to *mo*, the usages of *made* are divided into a scalar use corresponding approximately to the English 'even', and a non-scalar use corresponding approximately to the English 'as far as', 'till', 'up to' and 'until'. Its scalar use is dependent on context where the focused item refers to anything except a spatial or temporal expression. It should be noted that the usage of *sae* is a scalar use alone, corresponding approximately to the English 'even', and its use has no dependence such as in the cases of *mo* and *made*. While both *mo* and *made* have scalar and non-scalar uses, what is being claimed here is not that these particles are polysemous; rather, these two particles are essentially non-scalar in meaning (unlike *sae*), but in appropriate contexts, a scalar interpretation is induced. This will be discussed further in section 5.2.

Chapter 5

The different properties of *made*, *sae* and *mo*

5.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the differences in properties of *made*, *sae* and *mo*. The functions of *made* and *sae* are first compared, and then the comparison of the function of *mo* with those of the two particles *made* and *sae* follows. The notion of conceptualising other possible alternatives in contrast with the focus is a clue to the analysis of those differences. Distinct, individual properties of the three particles are confirmed by results of a questionnaire submitted to Japanese native speakers.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 5.1 starts with an introduction to the questionnaire. The subjects of the questionnaire, and the procedure and data is introduced in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 respectively. Section 5.2 analyses the differences in function of the particles. The differences between *made* and *sae* are first focused on in section 5.2.1. These have been previously treated in terms of the notion of the speaker's expectation toward the involvement of the focused item (Numata 1992) or the function of *sae* (Nakanishi 1995). It is demonstrated that these treatments are incapable of sufficiently dealing with the differences. In section 5.2.2, the function of *mo* is discussed and compared with the two particles *made* and *sae*. Section 5.2.3 summarises the individual functions of the particles. Section 5.3 discusses the implications of each particle. It is shown that the function of each

particle produces individual unique implications when they are used in appropriate contexts. Finally, section 5.4 summarises the discussion.

5.1 Questionnaire

Underlying the use of questionnaires is the aim of the current study — a clarification of the differences in function of *mo*, *made* and *sae*, and the implications of this for an effective teaching method which will facilitate the acquisition of these three focus particles. A questionnaire (refer to the Appendixes A and B for its full contents) submitted to Japanese native speakers was designed to verify the analysis of the characteristics of each particle. This questionnaire was also designed to measure the differences in use of these particles between Japanese native speakers and learners. If a difference were to be found, for instance, if the majority of Japanese native speakers used *made* in a certain context whereas learners used *sae*, such results would serve as evidence that the learners had not sufficiently acquired the usage of *made*. The reasons for such inappropriate use of a focus particle then need to be examined, since the information obtained through this examination may provide valuable data about an appropriate approach to teaching these focus particles.

5.1.1 Subjects

Copies of the questionnaire were distributed to and collected from twenty-four Japanese learners and forty-two Japanese native speakers.

Learners

The subjects who were used for this study were all native speakers of English. Their Japanese was at the advanced level and they had received formal instruction in Japanese in Japan or in their home institutions (Australia or the USA) for more than two years. They were able to handle everyday conversation rather comfortably. The reason for the selection of students at the advanced level as subjects was due to the fact that intermediate students asked to do questionnaires were not familiar with the scalar use of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, although this topic was expected to be covered at the intermediate level (See section 7.2.1 for details).

Native speakers

The subjects were Japanese native speakers living in Canberra. Most were exchange students at the Australian National University or public servants in Canberra. All of them had lived in Japan at least until the age of eighteen and the majority of them received a tertiary education in and around Tokyo.

5.1.2 Procedure and data

The questionnaire consisted of twenty questions which were divided into two sections, I and II, which contained declarative sentences. For section I, subjects were requested to fill in the applicable marks among three choices: (i) ○ should be chosen if the particle underlined is interchangeable with another one and the meaning remains the same; (ii) × should be chosen if the particle underlined is not interchangeable with another one; (iii) △ should be chosen if the particle underlined is

interchangeable, but its meaning in the context is different from that of the original one. For example, the question below is an example of questions and answers in section I:

かのじょ　ははおや　いっしょ す　　りょうり
(彼女は、母親と一緒に住んでいて、料理をほとんど
したことがなかった。)

かのじょ だいがくせい　　た
彼女は大学生になっても、ごはんも炊けない。
まで（×）
さえ（◯）

(She stays with her mother and seldom cooks.)
Although she has become a uni student, she cannot cook even rice.

For section II, they were requested to translate sentences from English into Japanese, focusing on the underlined part by using one or a combination of the particles *mo*, *made* and *sae*. For the Japanese learners, some English translations for Japanese words that subjects might not have known were given. The following is an example of the question and answers in section II:

If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.
[Translation]
(私にさえできるから、あなたにもできるはず。)

For section II, it was possible to see the actual uses of each particle by the subjects, since the subjects were required to produce a certain focus particle on the basis of the subjects' subconscious recognition of the semantic characteristics of each particle.

5.2 The differences in function of scalar particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*

5.2.1 Comparison between *made* and *sae*

In analysing the differences in function of the three particles, in this section *made* and *sae* are first compared. Numata (1992) attempts to explain the differences between *made* and *sae* in terms of the notion of the speaker's expectation toward the involvement of particular items in propositions. Numata claims that the focused expression is ranked low by *made* on a scale of the speaker's expectation. This means that the focused expression is identified as least likely in the speaker's expectation, but that it nevertheless, satisfies the proposition. This result would be beyond the speaker's expectation. Numata considers that the opposite is the case with *sae*, and that an expression focused with *sae* is ranked high in expectation, but does not satisfy the proposition, with the result being below the speaker's expectation. Numata gives (1) and (2) to support her arguments:

(1) Suzuki senshu wa yuushuu de, zenkokutaikai no
Mr. Suzuki athlete TOP valuable be the final game of
kesshoo ni *made* / ? *sae* kachinokot-ta.
the national athletic meet to even win-PAST
'Mr. Suzuki was such a good athlete that he even won his way to the final game of the national athletic meet.'

(2) Suzuki senshu wa fuchoo de, yosen
Mr. Suzuki athlete TOP out of condition be preliminary
ni *sae* / ? *made* kachinokor-e-nakat-ta.
to even win-POTEN-NEG-PAST
'Mr. Suzuki was so out of condition that he did not even make it to the preliminary game.'

Numata claims that a sentence such as (1) would presuppose that winning through to the final game of the national athletic meet is ranked low on the expectancy scale, and suggests that other games which are ranked higher than the final game, such as the preliminary game, would have been more expected to be won than the final game of the national athletic meet. In fact, Mr. Suzuki won all the games except for the final game and reached the point where he competed in the final game. In this case, the fact that Mr. Suzuki won his way to the final game is beyond the speaker's expectation. Thus *sae*, which regards the focused item as below the speaker's expectation, cannot replace *made*.

She claims that a sentence such as (2), on the other hand, would presuppose that winning the preliminary game is ranked high on the expectancy scale and suggests that other games which are ranked lower than the preliminary game, such as the semi-final game, would have been less likely to have been won than the preliminary game. In this case, the fact that Mr. Suzuki failed in the preliminary game is below the speaker's expectation. Thus, *made* which regards the focused item as beyond the speaker's expectation cannot replace *sae*.

The above examples show that the differences in properties between *made* and *sae* are associated with the nature of the focused item; if the assertion of the focus toward the event described in the sentence is beyond the speaker's expectation, *made* is used. Alternatively, if it is below the speaker's expectation, *sae* is used.

However, Numata's view is not convincing in that the reason for the unacceptability of *made* in (2) could simply be due to the fact that *made* cannot occur in a negative sentence (Noda 1995; Nakanishi 1995). In addition, examples with *sae* in which the focused expression is ranked low on the scale of expectancy are easily found as shown in (3) and (4). (Example (4) is taken from Makino and Tsutsui (1995:363).)

(3) Inu ni *sae / made* hito no kimochi ga wakaru-rashii.
dog even human's feelings ACC understand-seem
'Even dogs seem to understand human's feelings.'

(4) Kanojo wa gendai Nihongo wa mochiron,
she TOP modern Japanese TOP not to mention
koten *sae / made* yom-eru.
classical Japanese even read-POTEN
'She can read even classical Japanese, not to mention modern Japanese.'

The foci in (3) and (4) marked by *sae* and *made* respectively, must be assumed to denote the low point on the scale of expectancy from Numata's analysis. For example, in (3), dogs are thought not to be able to understand human's feelings. Similarly, in (4), Numata's analysis would suggest that classical Japanese is ranked low on the scale of reading that non-native speakers of Japanese can read. These examples thus support the view that *made* and *sae* cannot be differentiated by evaluating the focus of particles as a 'high' or 'low' rank on the relevant scale. Hence, Numata's claim is not satisfactory.

Nakanishi (1995) claims that *made* and *sae* are interchangeable in contexts where the focus particle involves a relationship with a number of other possible alternatives. This is shown by the following example, which was given as (13b) in Chapter 3 and reproduced here for convenience:

(5) Ayumi wa mainichi kodomo no pantsu ni *made / sae / mo* airon o kakeru.
TOP everyday her child's panties even iron
'Everyday, Ayumi irons everything, even her child's panties.'

According to Nakanishi, in (5), the relevant items are ranked on a contextually given scale (that is, the likeliness to iron), and the focused noun phrase *kodomo no pantsu* 'child's panties' is in contrast with a number of other possible alternatives, for example,

trousers, shirts, towels and so on.

The analysis proposed by Nakanishi, however, is difficult to accept because it does not fit well with certain types of examples for *sae*, such as the following:

(6) Mise ya ginkoo ya hoteru no hokani, saakasu *made / ? sae*
shop and bank and hotel besides circus even
eki no naka ni at-ta no ni wa, odoroi-ta.
station of inside at exist-PAST that TOP surprise-PAST
'I was surprised to find shops, a bank, a hotel, and even a circus inside the station.'

(7) Soosofu ga yuushuu dakara to itte, sono ko ya mago ya
great-grandfather NOM excellent because that his child and grandchild and
hi-mago *made / ? sae* tensai no yooni iu no wa, machigai da.
great-grandchild even genius as if call that TOP wrong be
'Just because great-grandfather is a genius, it is wrong that his child, grandchild, and even his great-grandchild are called geniuses.'

Sentences (6) and (7) share the context where more than one other alternative is in contrast with the focus. For example, in (6), the alternatives are *mise* 'shops', *ginkoo* 'bank' and *hoteru* 'hotel', and in (7), they are *sono ko* 'his child' and *mago* 'his grandchild'. The inappropriateness of *sae* here appears to be the result of the representation of the alternatives. As noted in section 3.3, *made* and *sae* as well as *mo* are interchangeable in contexts such as (5) where more than one possible alternative is thought about. Notice that in the context in (5), however, the alternatives are not given in the sentence, while in both (6) and (7), they are precisely provided.

A context such as (5) where the alternatives are not given has no restriction on the way in which the alternatives are conceptualised. The two ways of conceptualisation discussed in section 3.3 are possible; more than one individual other

alternative is thought about or other possible alternatives are grouped as a set. In contrast, a context such as (6) or (7) where the alternatives are concretely given restricts the way in which they can be conceptualised. That is, in both (6) and (7) in which more than one alternative is given, the focus is necessarily related to the alternatives in a one-to-many fashion.

The above examples suggest that the difference in function between *made* and *sae* can be treated in terms of the way of conceptualising the alternatives. Given that examples (6) and (7) accept *made* rather than *sae*, it is concluded that the function of *made* is to relate a focus to more than one other possible alternative and accordingly, that of *sae* is to relate a focus to a single set of alternatives. In this regard, Nakanishi's claim that the shared function of *made* and *sae* is to invoke a relationship with a number of other alternatives is valid for *made*, whereas it is not for *sae*.

In the following sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.1.2, the individual functions of *made* and *sae* are examined in more detail.

5.2.1.1 The function of *made*

As far as *made* is concerned, its function as a scalar reflects its basic function as discussed in section 4.2. *Made* basically indicates the limit of the point to which something is done, as in an example such as *sanji made matsu* 'I'll wait for someone/something until three o'clock'. This basic function of *made* is expected to associate to a certain spread; for example, as in *sanji made matsu* 'I'll wait for someone/something until three o'clock', *made* associates a span from an unspecified time up to three o'clock.

Parallel to the noun phrase marked by *made* referring to a temporal point, in the case of the focused noun phrase referring to alternatives, *made* would be expected to induce a spread from an alternative ranked high on a scale of likelihood up to the

focus which is ranked low (that is, in (6), a spread from shops via other possible alternatives such as bank and hotel up to circus regarded as something likely inside the station). This suggests that there must be several items within a span and consequently, in contexts where *made* occurs, more than one alternative is relatively concretely presupposed.

An additional point that needs to be mentioned is that *made* tends to co-occur with verbs which indicate a spread of time, space or situations. The following result from the questionnaire provides support for this view:

(Q1) Saigai no eikyoo wa, tonari no kuni_____oyonde-iru.
disaster of effect TOP neighbouring of country even spread-AUX
(Lit: The effect of the disaster is spreading into even the neighbouring country.)
'The effect of the disaster is even spreading into the neighbouring country.'

Result: *made* 88% *sae* 7% *mo* 5%

In (Q 1), 88 per cent of the native speakers chose *made* of the three particles, *made*, *sae* and *mo*. The selection of *made* is probably because a verb following a focus particle referring to a length of time or space, such as *oyobu* 'spread', naturally combines with a range, which *made* induces. The noun *tonari no kuni* 'the neighbouring country' is the focus of *made*, and is evaluated as the least likely place of the range of places affected by the disaster. From the context, the number of other possible alternatives, for example, the centre of the disaster, the town 100 meters away from its centre, and so on, are evaluated as more likely places to be influenced by the disaster, and can be relatively concretely thought about. *Made* fits well in a context such as (Q1) where a number of alternatives are involved.

Teramura's view (1991) gives positive support for the above observation. According to him, *made* co-occurs with verbs which indicate a temporal or spatial extent or a range of situations, and the interaction of these verbs with *made* refers to

the continuation of a state or an action and its end point. The following examples are taken from Teramura (1991:180):

(8) a. Eki *made* hashit-ta.
station as far as run-PAST
'I ran as far as the station.'

b. San-ji *made* kyuukeishi-masu.
3 o'clock until have a rest-POL
'I will have a rest until 3 o'clock.'

Oyobu 'spread' was the only verb of spatial transference[20] in the questionnaire, and consequently the use of *made* with other such verbs was not attested in the questionnaire. However, it is clear that *made* often co-occurs with verbs of spatial transference such as *(ni) itaru* 'get in', *(ni) tassuru* 'get to', *(ni) tsutawaru* 'spread into' and *hirogaru* 'spread, extend'.

5.2.1.2 The function of *sae*

Given that *sae* involves a relationship with a single set of alternatives, examples in which *sae* may be used while *made* may not are as follows. (Example (9a) is taken from Nakanishi (1995:310).)

(9) a. Shirooto ni *sae / ? made* wakaru fudoosan-tooshi.
a nonprofessional even understand a real estate investment
'Even a nonprofessional understands real estate investment.'

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[20] This semantic classification of verbs is that of "A Descriptive Study On the Meaning and Uses of Japanese Verbs" by The National Language Research Institute Report XXXXIII:1972:21,312,400).

b. Hataraki-sugiru to karada no joobuna hito *sae* / ? *made*,
work too hard when in good health people even
byooki ni naru koto ga aru Dakara, karada no yowai
become sick that NOM have so in bad health
hito wa, juubunni ki o tsuke-ta hooga ii.
people TOP take a good care of-PAST had better
'Even people in good health when they work too hard become sick.
So people in bad health had better take good care of themselves.'

These two examples share a context in common in that the alternative implied in the sentence is in contrast with the focus in a one-to-one fashion. For example, the focus *senmon-ka* 'professional' in (9a) and *karada no joobuna hito* 'people in good health' in (9b) are related to the alternatives *shirooto* 'non-professional' and *karada no yowai hito* 'people in bad health', respectively. The function of *sae* is confirmed by the following result of the questionnaire:

(Q2) Watashi (ni)_____dekiru kara, anata ni *mo* dekiru-hazu.
I even can do because you also can do-should
'If <u>even</u> I can do (it), you should be able to as well.'

Result: <u>*sae* 84%</u> *made* 0% *mo* 2%
others 14%

(Q2) has a similar context as those of the above examples (9a) and (9b) in that the other possible choices are grouped as a set, namely 'you', and this set is related to the focus 'I' in a one-to-one fashion. The acceptability of the use of *sae* is much higher than those of the other two particles, *made* and *mo*.

In connection with the function of *sae*, Nakanishi (1995) claims that in certain contexts *sae* cannot be analysed as establishing a relationship with possible alternatives, but is used exclusively to emphasise the focused expression.

(10) Sono kao ni wa nanika kono kyanpasu de okotte-iru koto
that face on TOP something this campus on happen-AUX that
zentai o bakanishi-ta-yoona reishoo *sae* / * *made* ukande-iru.
entire ACC mocking of-PAST-look like sneer even express-AUX
'(His) face is even expressing a sneer as if (he) is mocking everything happening on campus.'

According to Nakanishi, in (10), *sae* affirms the assertion of the focus *reishoo* 'sneer' for the event expressed by the predicate *ukandeiru* 'expressing' without relating to other possible alternatives. Sentence (10) consequently, simply notes an extraordinary event (that is, his face is expressing a sneer). This view proposed by Nakanishi is problematic, in that an analysis of *sae* which rejects a relationship with other possible alternatives, contradicts the analysis of *sae* as a focus particle.

The distinct feature of a context such as (10) is that other possible alternatives, which are not given in the sentence, are not easily thought about from the overall meaning of the sentence. For example, in (10), it is difficult to conceptualise other possible alternatives in contrast with the focus *reishoo* 'sneer'. The reason for this is the nature of the lexical expressions *reishoo* 'sneer' and *ukandeiru* 'is expressing' in (10) which do not easily associate with other possible choices. However, it is possible to consider that a relationship between the focus and other possible alternatives is established by *sae* in examples such as (10). *Sae* relates the focus *reishoo* 'sneer' to a set of other possible alternatives, but in a context such as (10), identifying each individual item of the alternatives is not of great importance and hence, the alternatives can be grouped as a set of unspecified items and contrasted with the focus as a set. Such a function of *sae* is borne out by the questionnaire:

(Q3) Suki ni naru to, sono heibonna

fond in become when that ordinary

kao ga kireini_____mi-e-ta.

face NOM pretty even look-POTEN-PAST

'Once (he) fell in love with her, her ordinary face <u>even</u> looked pretty.'

Result: <u>*sae* 79%</u> made14% *mo* 2%

others 5 %

This sentence in the questionnaire is similar to the case of example (10) in that the other alternatives are not specifically induced by the context and accordingly, the focus is likely to be related to a set of unspecified items. The high percentage of use of *sae* supports this account of the function of *sae*.

As discussed in section 4.3, *sae* is used in a provisional clause and its way of conceptualising other possible conditions to the focused condition is related to the fact that *sae* can be used in a provisional clause, but *made* cannot.

(11) Eigo *sae* / * *made* hanas-e-reba,

English even speak-POTEN-if

eikaiwa no kyooshi ni nar-eru.

English conversation teacher become-POTEN

'If only you could speak English, you would be able to become an English conversation teacher.'

In (11), which was given as (25) in section 4.3, *sae* evaluates the provisional clause (that is, if only you could speak English) as the least likely condition for the eventuality described in the following clause (that is, you would be able to be an English conversation teacher).

As seen in Numata's term 'the minimum necessary' referring to the provisional clause, when the focused condition which is the least likely case fulfils the

possibility of the following clause (that is, the possibility of becoming an English conversation teacher), the sentence implies that other conditions which are more likely cases (for example, you have teaching experience and you have a teaching certificate), naturally fulfil such a possibility. In those cases, that the other conditions are considered individually, is not of great importance and thus they are grouped as a single set and this set is contrasted with the focused condition in a one-to-one fashion. This one-to-one relationship between the focused condition and the other possible conditions is incompatible with the one-to-many relationship *made* establishes and in consequence, *made* cannot be used in a provisional clause.

5.2.2 Comparison of *mo* with the two other particles *made* and *sae*

On the basis of the functions of *made* and *sae* discussed in the previous section, this section considers how *mo* differs from them. As noted in section 4.1, sentences using *mo* have a scalar reading when there is a context which motivates both the speaker and the listener to evaluate the focused item. If the listener does not evaluate the focused item on a scale, *mo* has a non-scalar reading for the listener. This distinction is clear when *mo* is compared with the two other particles *made* and *sae*.

(12) a. Taroo *mo* ki-ta.
also come-PAST
'Taro also came.'

b. Taroo *sae / made* ki-ta.
even come-PAST
'Even Taro came.'

The sentence (12a) presupposes that Taro came and that somebody other than Taro

came to school. Such a reading shows the function of *mo* as an additive particle and it is difficult for (12a) to have a scalar interpretation. In contrast, (12b) where *mo* is replaced by *sae* or *made*, has a reading that Taro came against the speaker's expectation and the sentence implies that the other people who would have possibly come, naturally came.

The importance of the difference in function of *mo* and the two other particles *made* and *sae* is the fact that *mo* does not establish an evaluative relationship between the focus and the alternatives without a context which prompts both the speaker and the listener to evaluate the focus as the least likely. Rather in these cases *mo* establishes a simple additive relationship, while *made* and *sae* establish an evaluative relationship even without such a context.

Interestingly, the difference in function between *mo* and the other two particles may provide an explanation as to why *mo* can be combined with *made* or *sae*, while *made* and *sae* cannot combine with each other. Recall that two different focus particles which share some meaning can be conjoined (See section 2.2), as shown in (13a) and (13b).

(13) a. Shinpai de shokuji o suru koto ***sae mo*** deki-nai.
worry and having a meal that even can do-NEG
'I am worried about something and cannot even have a meal.'

b. Shinyuu ni ***made mo*** utagaw-are-ta.
my best friend even doubt-PASS-PAST
'Even my best friend doubted me.'

Analogously, *dake* 'only' and *shika* 'only' which share exclusive meaning in common can be conjoined, as shown in (14). (Example (14) is taken from Yamanaka (1992).)

(14) Go-nin ***dake shika*** ko-nakat-ta kara, yakyuu ga deki-nakat-ta.
five people only only come-NEG-PAST because baseball NOM can do-NEG-PAST
'Because only five people came, we could not play baseball.'

Yamanaka (1992) points out that the acceptability of combining *dake* and *shika* is due to the fact that the way in which these two particles establish a relationship is different. For example, what *dake* does in (14) is to affirm the assertion of the focused noun phrase *go-nin* 'five people' toward the event described in its predicate *kuru* 'come' and to negate the assertion of the alternatives. In contrast, what *shika* does is to evaluate the affirmative assertion of the focus toward the event as the thing that does not meet the speaker's expectations. Such different ways of specifying the focus make the combination of *dake* with *shika* possible.

Equivalent to the above case, the combination of *mo* with *made* and *sae* can be explained on the basis of the way in which they specify the focus. A scalar *made* or *sae* shows that the speaker evaluates the focus in terms of its likelihood of satisfying the proposition, whereas a genuinely simple additive particle *mo* simply states that the focus satisfies the proposition. This analysis suggests that *mo* itself does not have a scalar function, while *made* and *sae* do.

It is interesting to compare *mo* with the German additive particle *auch*, which König (1991:63-64) notes can have a scalar function in the same way:

(15) a. *Auch* RIESEN haben klein angefangen.
'Even giants started from small beginnings.'

b. Fritz verkauft *auch* AUTOS.
'Fred also sells cars.'

Sentence (15a) has a scalar interpretation, in which *auch* corresponds to the English 'even', whereas sentence (15b) has no scalar interpretation and here *auch* corresponds

to the English *also*. König explains that the German *auch* has a scalar use whenever the focus denotes the extreme value for the relevant prediction, such as giants in (15a). The above example indicates that some simple additive particles can be used as scalar particles in appropriate contexts.

With reference to the way in which the alternatives to the focused item are conceptualised regarding a scalar *mo*, Numata (1995) points out that *mo* conceptualises the other possible alternatives as a set and is not concerned with differences in rank among each member of this set. The following example and account are from Numata (1995:28):

(16) Kare wa doryokushi-te tootoo raten-go *mo* rikai dekiru-yooni nat-ta.
he TOP make an effort finally Latin even can come to understand-PAST
'He made such an effort that he came to understand even Latin.'

In (16), a number of other possible alternatives which one might be better able to understand than Latin, for example, Russian and Greek, and so on, are presupposed from the context. However, *mo* relates the focused item 'Latin' to the set of foreign languages except for Latin. In this relationship, *mo* does not influence the arrangement of the alternatives on any scale of likelihood. Given this, *mo* as a scalar shares the way of conceptualising the alternatives with *sae*.

5.2.3 Summary of the functions

Above, in a comparison between *mo* and the two other particles *made* and *sae*, it has been shown that unlike *made* and *sae*, *mo* does not have a scalar function unless there is a context which motivates both the speaker and the listener to appraise the focus as the least likely item. In short, *sae* and *made* induce a scale for the relevant context in terms of likelihood, while *mo* does not. This is a fundamental difference in the

function of *mo* and the two other particles, *made* and *sae*.

Thus, each function of *made*, *sae* and *mo* discussed in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 may be represented as in Figures 1, 2 and 3 below:

Figure 1 The function of *made*

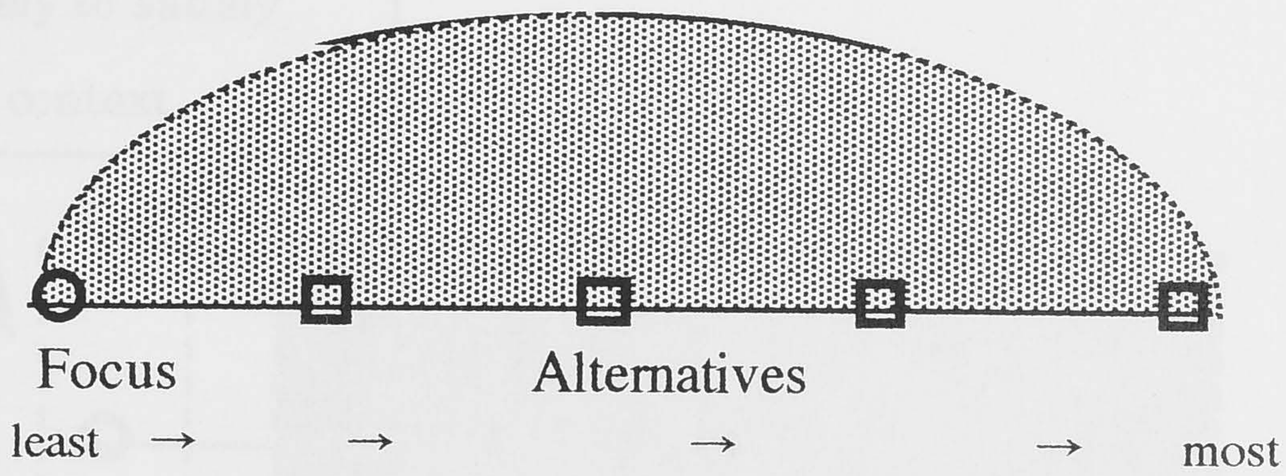

Figure 1 represents the function of *made*. The basic meaning of *made* indicating a limit of space or time naturally induces the idea of a spread. The function of a scalar *made* relates the focus to more than one relatively concrete alternative within a spread. The focus is ranked low on the scale and the alternatives are ranked higher on the scale of likelihood.

Figure 2 The function of *sae*

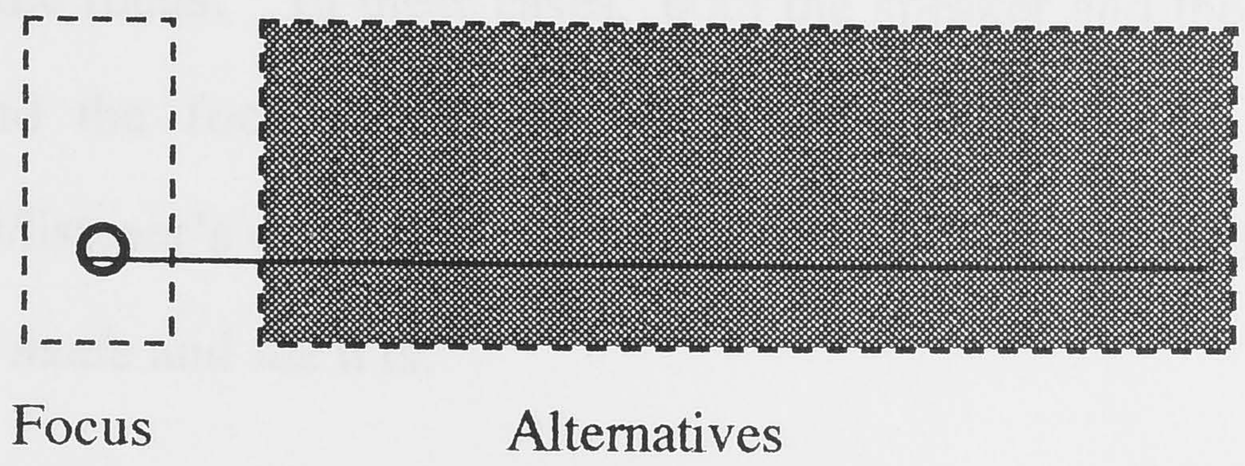

Figure 2 shows the function of *sae*. Here, the focus is contrasted with the single set of the possible alternatives. These alternatives are not considered individually by the speaker, but rather as a set.

Figure 3 The function of *mo*

Mo has a scalar function in a context where there is a shared evaluation between the speaker and the listener

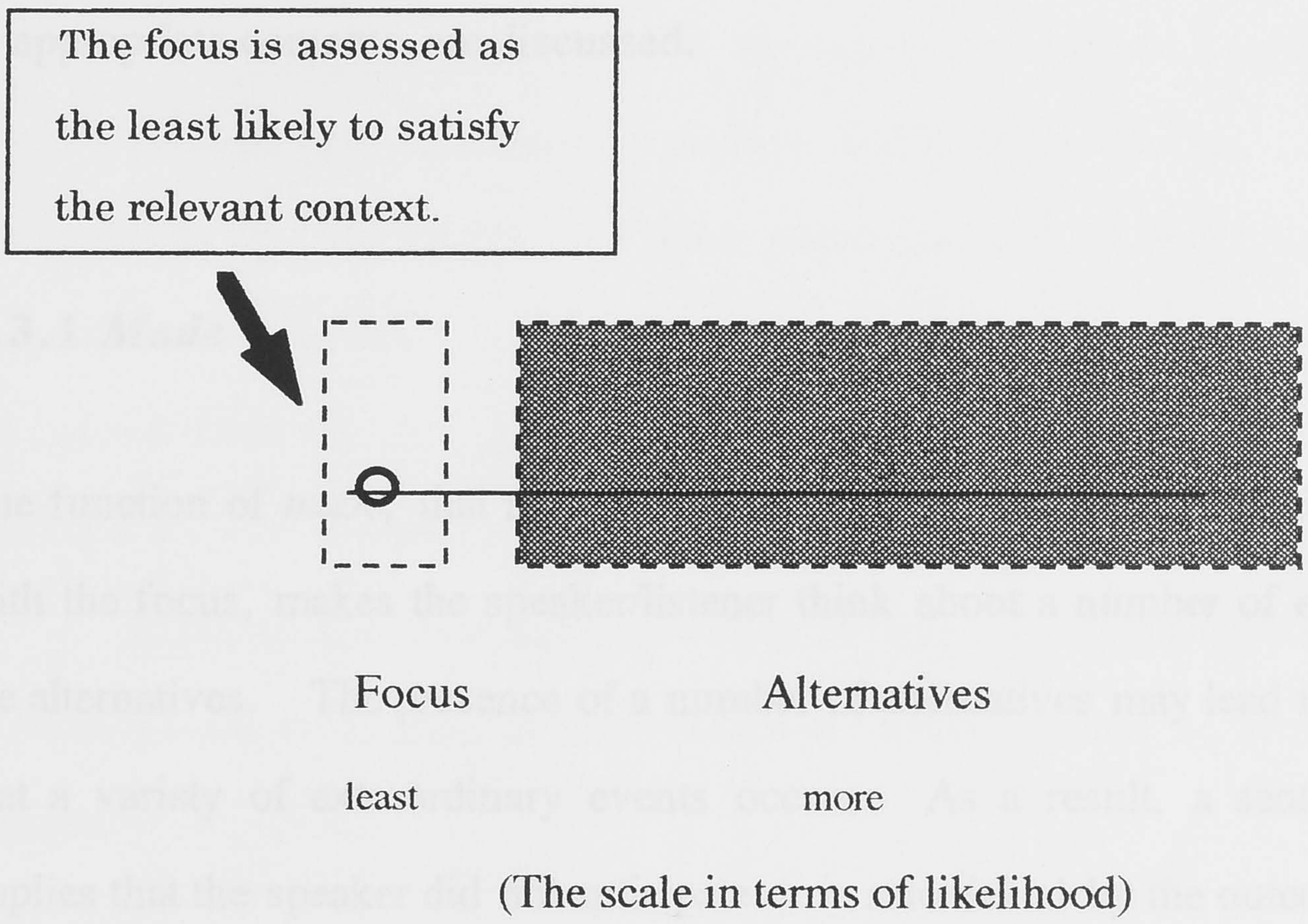

Figure 3 represents the function of *mo*. Its function is the same as that of *sae* as shown in Figure 2. However, *mo* differs from *sae* in that a scalar *mo* is possible only when there is a context which prompts both the speaker and the listener to evaluate the focus. In these cases, both the speaker and the listener have a scale in mind, and the focused item is linked with a low point on this scale by the speaker's/listener's evaluation. Thus, the focus is not placed low on a scale by *mo*, while for *made* and *sae* it is.

5.3 The differences in implications of *made*, *sae* and *mo*

The sentences with scalar particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* express the speaker's feeling that the event was unexpected and against the speaker's expectations, as discussed in

section 3.1. In addition to this meaning, the particles have individual implications when they are used in appropriate contexts. Such implications emerge as a result of the interaction of the function of each particle (See section 5.2) with particular contexts. In this section, the individual implications which emerge from the use of each particle in appropriate contexts, are discussed.

5.3.1 *Made*

The function of *made,* that more than one relatively specific alternative is in contrast with the focus, makes the speaker/listener think about a number of events shown by the alternatives. The presence of a number of alternatives may lead to the implication that a variety of extraordinary events occurs. As a result, a sentence with *made* implies that the speaker did not anticipate or is astonished by the outcome of a number of events occurring. Observe the following examples:

(17) a. Nihon no kekkon-hirooen ni iku to, gookana syokuji to
Japanese wedding reception to go if sumptuous meal and
o-sake, soreni o-miyage *made* motasete-kureru.
HON-drink and HON-gift even give-AUX
'If you go to a wedding reception in Japan, you can receive
a sumptuous meal, drinks and even gifts.'

b. Sodaigomi no naka ni wa, shinpin to machigaeru-yoona
large articles among TOP new things mistake-look like
mono *made* sutete-at-ta.
things even dispose of-AUX-PAST
'Among the large articles (which people throw away), even things which could be mistaken for new things are disposed of.'

In (17a), although there are two alternatives given in the sentence (that is, a sumptuous meal and drinks), things other than these two items are possibly thought about and the focus *omiyage* 'gifts' is evaluated as a very unlikely thing to get at a wedding reception. In the case of (17b), the other possible alternatives are not provided in the sentence. However, more than one other possible alternative, for example a used television, desk, closet, and so on, can be concretely presupposed from the context. Similar to (17a), in relation to the alternatives, the noun phrase *shinpin to machigaeru-yoona mono* 'large items which could be mistaken for new things' is assessed as an extremely unexpected item for the context. Both (17a) and (17b) effectively express the speaker's surprise toward the outcome of a variety of events induced by the context.

In connection with this implication of *made*, Teramura (1991) points out that a sentence with *made* has the connotation of 'anything' and he gives the following example:

(18) (the title of an article on a diary agency)

O-makase jidai nikki *made*

HON-leaving something to someone the time diary even

'The time when we can even leave keeping a diary to someone.'

In sentence (18), of all the things the speaker can think of leaving to someone else, for example, baby-sitting and cleaning, keeping a diary is the least likely. Thus, this sentence implies that since diary-keeping can be left to someone else, so can everything else, including things that are not worthy of leaving to someone. Once again, this connotation is due to the function of *made* and contexts such as (18), where more than one concrete alternative in contrast with the focus is conceptualised, are appropriate for *made*.

5.3.2 *Sae*

Sæ does not imply a number of events which would be indicated by a variety of other possible alternatives to the focus as *made* does. *Sæ* implies that the speaker finds the event described in the sentence to be unexpected, and that there is some other possible alternative characterised as more likely to satisfy the proposition as well as the focus. For example, (19) where *sæ* is replaced by *made* in (17b) states that the speaker is surprised to see large items which could be mistaken for new things disposed of, and from this event it is inferred that some other possible alternatives assessed as less likely large articles, could be thrown away.

(19) Sodaigomi no naka ni wa, shinpin to machigaeru-yoona
large articles among TOP new things mistake-look like
mono *sae* sutete-at-ta.
things even dispose of-AUX-PAST
'Among the large articles (which people throw away), even things which could be mistaken for new things are disposed of.'

As already illustrated in section 5.2.1.2, *sæ* is appropriate to be used in contexts where other possible alternatives are not precisely conceptualised from the overall meaning of the sentence since the focused expression and its predicate do not easily associate with other alternatives. Example (20) has such a context[21]:

[21] Example (20) is taken from Shimoda Harumi (1991) *Za Kuiin* (The Queen).

(20) Naimen wa issai tow-are-zu, tada yooshi nomi ga buki
the inside TOP not at all take account of-PASS-NEG just figure only ACC weapon
to iu moderu no shigoto ni, hisokani konpurekkusu *sae* kanjite-iru.
that modeling secretly has a kind of inferiority complex even-AUX
'(She) even has a kind of inferiority complex secretly toward modeling in which only her figure is her weapon without what is inside of her being taken account of at all.'

In (20), the other alternatives are not induced by this context. *Sae* thus assembles the alternatives as a single set of unspecified items and relates this set to the focused expression *konpurekkusu o kanjiteiru* 'have a kind of inferiority complex'. Sentences which have contexts such as (20) not only express the speaker's surprise at the event but also hint that there is another event which is relevant to this context. That this implication is caused by *sae* is confirmed by the fact that the sentence with a case particle *o* instead of the focus particle *sae* does not involve a relationship with other possible alternatives, but only indicates the object of the action expressed in the predicate. However, this other event cannot be concretely thought of in the context and the ambiguous nature of this other event causes the event in the original sentence to seem additionally unexpected.

Therefore, in (20), a fashion model is likely to be proud of the job since modeling is thought to be showy by the majority of people. In spite of this idea, the fashion model in question has a kind of inferiority complex toward modeling. As a result, this sentence produces the speaker's surprise at such an event and implies the fashion model in question might have other feelings toward modeling which may also surprise the speaker. These other feelings cannot be precisely identified and hence, this unsureness increases the unusualness of the event expressed in the sentence.

5.3.3 *Mo*

The implication which *mo* creates is related to its function as a simple additive particle. As noted in section 5.2.2, a sentence with *mo* can be interpreted in a 'non-scalar' way or a 'scalar' way by the listener/reader. This interpretaion of *mo* may be referred to as 'ambiguity'. The following result of the questionnaire shows the 'ambiguity' of *mo*:

(Q4) Keiribu no Tanaka-san to Hayashi-san ga furin-shite-iru
accounts dept. of Mr. Tanaka and Ms. Hayashi NOM have a love affair- AUX
to iu uwasa wa, chihoo no shiten ni *made* tsutawatte-i-ta.
QM that rumor TOP local of branch to even spread-AUX-PAST
'The rumor that Mr. Tanaka and Ms. Hayashi in the accounts dept. are having a love affair has been spreading even through to the local branches.'

Result:	*mo*	interchangeable with *made* 74 %
		not interchangeable with *made* 2 %
		interchangeable with *made* with some change of meaning 24%
	sae	interchangeable with *made* 86 %
		not interchangeable with *made* 7 %
		interchangeable with *made* with some change of meaning 7%

The result shows that 74 per cent of the native speakers accept *mo* instead of *made* in the given context with no change in meaning. This is probably because the context in (Q4), that the gossip has been spreading through to the local branches, is considered to be unusual by most native speakers. As a result, the focused expression 'the local branches' is assessed as the least likely place to which the gossip should spread and accordingly, *mo* in this use is analysed as scalar, just as *made* is.

Notwithstanding this, 24 per cent of the native speakers accept *mo* on the condition that the sentence with *mo* has a somewhat different meaning from the sentence with *made*. In contrast, only 7 per cent of the native speakers accept *sae* with a different meaning from the sentence with *made*. This result implies that most native speakers think that *sae* used in (Q4) indicates a similar meaning to *made*. This contrasts with the much higher percentage of native speakers (24%) who accept *mo* with some change in meaning, suggesting that when *mo* replaces *made* in (Q4) it is interpreted in a 'non-scalar' way by most native speakers. In this case, the focus 'the local branches' is not evaluated as the least likely, but rather the meaning of *mo* in (Q4) is interpreted as similar to the English 'also'. Thus, sentences with *mo* may indicate that the focused item satisfies the proposition as well as some other alternatives, or else it may express the speaker's feeling of the unexpectedness of the event described in the sentence.

The 'ambiguity' of *mo* leads to the fact that *mo* as a scalar is frequently used in a negative sentence (Niwa 1995). The following example was cited in Niwa (1995):

(21) Mizu *mo* nom-e-nai.
water even drink-POTEN-NEG
'I cannot even drink water.'

In (21), the focused item *mizu* 'water' is the most likely thing to be able to drink. Put differently, it is believed that anybody can drink water. However, the focus 'water' does not satisfy the proposition (that is, somebody cannot drink water) and subsequently, the sentence expresses that the speaker is surprised by this event.

Mo in a negative sentence such as (21) is considered to be a scalar rather than a simple additive particle. The reason for this is that when the focus expected to be

the most likely does not satisfy the proposition, this invokes a feeling of the unexpectedness or surprise, rather than making the listener think of other alternatives which do not satisfy the proposition in addition to the focus. Therefore, in example (21), the meaning of *mo* is not ambiguous but it indicates a scalar meaning which corresponds to the English 'even'.

5.4 Summary

In this chapter, the individual properties of *made*, *sae* and *mo* have been analysed. The way in which other possible alternatives in contrast with the focus are conceptualised is a key to analysing the differences in function of the three particles.

Made relates the focus to more than one relatively concrete alternative. *Sae* and *mo*, on the other hand, both involve a relationship between the focus and a single set of other possible alternatives.

Because of their distinct functions, each particle has individual connotations when it is used in appropriate contexts: *made* expresses the speaker's astonishment at the outcome of a variety of events occurring; *sae* expresses the speaker's surprise about the event described in sentence. *Sae* used in a particular context also implies that there is another event which cannot be precisely thought of in the context, and this uncertainty increases the unusualness of the event indicated; and *mo* gives rise to an ambiguity between a 'non-scalar' reading and a 'scalar' reading when a context does not motivate the listener/reader to evaluate the focused item, even though the speaker/writer evaluates it.

The differences between the three particles have been described in terms of their functions and implications. Those differences between the particles alter the appropriateness of their use in particular contexts.

Taking into account the properties of each particle, in the next chapter learners' uses of *mo*, *made* and *sae* will be analysed from the results of a questionnaire given to them in order to find out their difficulties.

Chapter 6

The use of *made*, *sae* and *mo* by Japanese learners

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the use of *made*, *sae* and *mo* by Japanese learners (English speakers) is analysed on the basis of the data obtained through a survey questionnaire.[22] In Chapter 3, it was demonstrated that *mo*, *made* and *sae* share a certain function and meaning in common, while they are different to each other in the way they conceptualise the relationship with the other possible alternatives. It is therefore, expected that Japanese learners would have some difficulties in dealing with these expressions, as there is no one-to-one mapping of form and meaning in English which corresponds to each of them, and it is also expected that this would appear in the results of the questionnaire given to the learners. With respect to *made* and *sae*, the way in which the alternatives for each particle can be conceptualised is not known to the learners. As for *mo*, it is expected that a certain difference will be found in the use of *mo* as a scalar between native speakers and learners.

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[22] The subjects include English native speakers who had studied Japanese for more than five years and cannot be referred to as learners. Nevertheless, I used the results of the questionnaire given to those subjects for the following reasons. The time for careful selection of the subjects was short in the current study and from the results of the questionnaire, it was possible to demonstrate the continuing difficulties of *made*, *sae* and *mo* for non-native speakers.

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 6.1 analyses the learners' responses in comparison with those of native speakers. Section 6.2 summarises some findings drawn from the analysis.

6.1 Analysis of questionnaires

I examined tendencies in the use of *made*, *sae* and *mo* by learners in comparison with those of native speakers. The examination was based on the function of each particle indicated in Chapter 5. (Detailed results are given in the Appendixes C and D.)

6.1.1 Shared function and meaning between *made*, *sae* and *mo*

As previously noted, the function of an English scalar particle 'even', as pointed out by Karttunen and Karttunen (1977), is similar to that of *made*, *sae* and *mo*, in that the focus is characterised as the least likely, among the other possible choices, to satisfy the relevant context. On account of this function, the meaning produced by the affirmative assertion of the focus is referred to as 'unexpectedness'. In this regard, it is expected that learners can deal with *made*, *sae* and *mo* without difficulty in contexts where the three particles are interchangeable. The results of the questionnaire and their relevance to the use of each particle is discussed in the following sections.

6.1.2 *Made*

As noted in section 5.2.1, the function of *made* is to relate the focus to more than one other possible alternative in terms of their likelihood. This function provokes the use of *made* in contexts where more than one alternative can be concretely presupposed.

As indicated in section 5.2.1, (Q1) contains a typical context in which *made* occurs.

(Q1) Saigai no eikyoo wa, tonari no kuni_____oyonde-iru.
disaster of effect TOP neighbouring of country even spread-AUX
(Lit: The effect of the disaster is spreading into even the neighbouring country.)
'The effect of the disaster is even spreading into the neighbouring country.'

Result: JN *made* 88% *sae* 7% *mo* 5%
JL *made* 79% *sae* 13% *mo* 8%

(JN:Japanese native speakers, JL: Japanese learners)

The rate of use of *made* by learners was high (79%). There could be two reasons for this high rate. In (Q1), first of all, the focused noun, *tonari no kuni* 'the neighboring country', denotes a spatial point therefore being associating with the basic meaning of *made* which indicates the limit of the spatial or temporal point (See section 4.2). It is believed that learners selected *made* because the noun refers to a space or time and thus facilitated the use of *made*. The second possible reason would be that the selection of *made* by learners manifests the fact that learners have acquired the function of *made*. However, this can be seen not to be entirely true, from the results of (Q2) of the questionnaire:

(Q2) Seikai de no sono chii hoshisa ni,

world of politics in that position want for

kankei no nai hito ni _____ wairo o okut-ta.

relation of be-NEG people even bribe ACC give-PAST

'He gave a bribe <u>even</u> to people who had no relation to him because he wanted to gain that position in the world of politics.'

Result: JN <u>*made* 83%</u> *sae* 14% *mo* 2%

JL <u>*made* 54%</u> *sae* 17% *mo* 29%

In (Q2), the reason that more than 80 per cent of native speakers chose *made* from the three particles, *made*, *sae* and *mo* is because of the relatively concrete display of other possible alternatives, for example, *seijika* 'politicians' and *yuukensha* 'the eligible voters' presupposed from the context in (Q2) about the individual to whom the person in question gave a bribe. In contrast, the result for the selection of *made* by approximately half of the learners (54%) suggests that without the focused noun indicating a space or time in a sentence such as in (Q1), learners do not positively choose *made*. In this respect, it cannot be concluded that learners have acquired the function of *made*. (The relatively high rate of using *mo* by learners (29%) compared with that of native speakers (2%) is discussed in section 6.1.4.)

6.1.3 *Sae*

As previously demonstrated in section 5.2.1, the following question has a context where the focus is contrasted with the set of other possible alternatives in a one-to-one fashion and consequently, *sae* is preferably used by native speakers.

(Q3) Watashi (ni)_____dekiru kara, anata ni *mo* dekiru-hazu.

I even can do because you also be able to do-should

'If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.'

Result: JN *sae* 84% *made* 0% *mo* 2% others 14%

JL *sae* 92% *made* 0% *mo* 0% others 8%

The high rate of the use of *sae* by learners clearly suggests that they have acquired the function of *sae*. In contrast, in the following question which also has a typical context for *sae*, the rate of use of *sae* by learners was much lower than that of (Q3).

(Q4) Suki ni naru to, sono heibonna kao ga kireini____mi-e-ta.

fond in become when that ordinary face NOM pretty even look-

POTEN-PAST

'Once (he) fell in love with her, her ordinary face even looked pretty.'

Result: JN *sae* 79% *made* 14% *mo* 2% others 5%

JL *sae* 46% *made* 13% *mo* 29% others 12%

As discussed earlier, the difference in context between (Q3) and (Q4) is the manner of giving the alternatives in a sentence. In the former, the alternative 'you' in contrast with the focus 'I' is explicitly given in the sentence, while in the latter, alternatives are not given in the sentence and they are not easily conceptualised by the context. Recall that in a context such as (Q4), *sae* relates the focus to a set of unspecified alternatives. The above results of the question show that learners use *sae* in a context where the alternative is precisely given in the sentence and is related to the focus in a one-to-one fashion, while they less frequently use *sae* in a context where the alternative is not given in the sentence, and a set of unspecified alternatives is contrasted with the focus in a one-to-one fashion. It should thus be noted that the use of *sae* in a context such as (Q4) needs to be explained when teaching this particular particle.

6.1.4 *Mo*

As discussed in section 4.1, the function of *mo* as a scalar rests on a context which motivates both the speaker and the listener to evaluate the focus as least likely. Without such a context, *mo* serves as a non-scalar. It was demonstrated that *mo* as a scalar tends to occur in a negative sentence. The following results of (Q5) attest to the frequent use of *mo* in a negative sentence.

(Q5) Kanojo wa daigakusei ni natte *mo*, gohan <u>*mo*</u> tak-e-nai.
she TOP a uni student become-although rice even cook-POTEN-NEG
'She cannot cook even rice although she has become a uni student.'

Result:	JN	*sae*	interchangeable with *mo* 98%
			interchangeable with *mo* with some change of the meaning 2%
	JL	*sae*	interchangeable with *mo* 88%
			interchangeable with *mo* with some change of the meaning 12%

The results show that both native speakers and learners interpreted *mo* as a scalar in this case, since *sae* was highly accepted as having a similar meaning to *mo*. This is because in a negative sentence such as (Q5), the focus *gohan o taku koto* 'cooking rice' indicates the easiest cooking among other possible choices by common knowledge and contrarily, the assertion of the focus (that is, be able to cook rice) is negated. The overall effect of the sentence thus shows the speaker's surprise and accordingly, the possibility of whether or not other choices satisfy the context is not considered. In a word, in a negative sentence with the focus explicitly referring to the most likely item, *mo* tends to evaluate items in terms of their likelihood rather than simply including other items as possible choices for the relevant context.

On the other hand, in questions which have an affirmative context, the results showed differences between native speakers and learners as can be seen in (Q6) and (Q7). ((Q4) is repeated here as (Q7) for convenience.)

(Q6) Seikai de no sono chii hoshisa ni,
world of politics in that position want for
kankei no nai hito ni _____wairo o okut-ta.
relation of be-NEG people even bribe ACC give-PAST
'He gave a bribe <u>even</u> to people who had no relation to him because he wanted to gain that position in the world of politics.'

Result: JN *made* 83% *sae* 14% <u>*mo* 2%</u>
JL *made* 54% *sae* 17% <u>*mo* 29%</u>

(Q7) Suki ni naru to, sono heibonna kao ga kireini_____mi-e-ta.
fond in become when that ordinary face NOM pretty even look-POTEN-PAST
'Once (he) fell in love with her, her ordinary face <u>even</u> looked pretty.'

Result: JN *sae* 79% *made* 14% <u>*mo* 2%</u> others 5%
JL *sae* 46% *made* 13% <u>*mo* 29%</u> others 12%

In both (Q6) and (Q7), the rate of use of *mo* by learners (both rates for the two questions were 29 per cent) was much higher than that of native speakers (both rates for them were 2 per cent).[23] This demonstrates that native speakers tend to avoid the use of *mo* in an affirmative context by reason of its ambiguous meaning (See section 5.3.3), whereas learners use *mo* in those cases. Needless to say, if the listener/reader agrees with the speaker's/writer's evaluation, *mo* as a scalar can be used in an affirmative sentence.

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[23] While the rates of use of *mo* by non-native and native speakers were the same for (Q6) and (Q7), *mo* was not always accepted by the same people in the two cases.

From the above examination, the avoidance of the use of *mo* in a context where *made* or *sae* is possible should be indicated to learners in teaching.

6.2 Summary

The shared function of the three particles, *made*, *sae* and *mo* is similar to 'even', by which the relationship between the item/event and other possible items/events in terms of their likelihood is established and the focused item/event is characterised as less likely to satisfy the relevant context. This fact implies that it is not difficult for learners to handle *made*, *sae* and *mo* in contexts where the three particles are interchangeable and therefore share a function similar to 'even'.

The fundamental difference between the three particles and 'even' is that 'even' does not have the notion of conceptualising other possible alternatives, while the three particles have their own unique ways in which alternatives are conceptualised. As noted before, each function of the three particles is relevant to their use. Given this, it was expected that learners would find difficulty in the selection of the most suitable particle from among the three particles if they had never received any information about the differences in their functions.

The results of the questionnaire demonstrate that this is the case, and from those results, the use of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* by learners can be described as follows. For *made*, learners have difficulties i) when *made* may be used in contexts where more than one other possible alternative is concretely presupposed; and ii) when *made* co-occurs with verbs referring to a temporal, spatial extent or a range of situations. For *sae*, learners are not acquainted with the use of *sae* in contexts where the focused item is contrasted with a set of unidentifiable other possible alternatives which are not given in the sentence. Finally, in the case of *mo*, learners

often use *mo* in an affirmative sentence where there is an absence of the shared evaluation toward the focus between the speaker and the listener, and do not seem to be aware that in these contexts *mo* may be interpreted by the listener as a non-scalar corresponding to 'also' in an English translation.

An additional point that needs to be noted here is that, as seen in the results of the questionnaire given to native speakers, the selection of the three particles is not always centred on one particle since how alternatives which are not given in the sentence are conceptualised varies depending on the listener's/reader's subjective evaluation of the relevant items/events. Nevertheless, the results from the native speakers demonstrate that there are tendencies for each particle to be preferentially used in certain contexts. Given this, in order for learners to acquire a natural use of the three particles, some suggestions for teaching the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* are made in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Implications for teaching

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I put forward some suggestions for teaching the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* on the basis of the findings discussed in Chapter 6. Section 7.1 discusses which proficiency level of the Japanese language covers the usages of *made*, *sae* and *mo*. In section 7.2, I then analyse selected textbooks designated as being appropriate for intermediate and advanced students. In section 7.2.1, the coverage of a scalar use of the three particles in textbooks is first centred on. In section 7.2.2, explanation and exercises provided by textbooks regarding the three particles are the primary concerns. Further, the relevance of the findings about the use of the three particles by learners examined in Chapter 6 is discussed in relation to the content of explanation and exercises in textbooks in section 7.2.3. In section 7.3, I make some suggestions for teaching the three particles based on the results of the analysis in sections 7.1 and 7.2 and section 7.4 summarises the discussion of the chapter.

7.1 Japanese language proficiency level in terms of the introduction of *made*, *sae* and *mo*

The Japan Foundation gives a list of grammatical points and vocabulary which are expected to conform with each proficiency level of the Japanese-Language Proficiency

Test.[24] The list is mainly based on existing textbooks which are widely used in Japan and abroad. Table 1 shows the proficiency level where the uses of *mo*, *made* and *sae* are expected to be covered according to the test criteria.

Table 1: The proficiency level where *mo*, *made* and *sae* are expected to be introduced as proposed by The Japan Foundation

	mo	***made***	***sae***
At the beginners' level	**also** *Tanaka-san ga kimashita. Soshite, Hayashi-san **mo** kimashita.* ('Mr. Tanaka came and Mr. Hayashi also did.') **as many as** *Kare wa ringo o ichido ni itsutsu **mo** tabemashita.* ('He ate as many as five apples all at once.') **(not) any** *Kanojo wa **nani mo** iwanakatta.* ('She did not say anything.')	**as far as, till,** **up to, until** *Tokyo kara Osaka **made** ikimasu.* ('I am going to go from Tokyo to Osaka.')	
At the intermediate level			**even** *Kodomo ni **sae** sono mondai wa tokeru.* ('Even children can answer the question.') **If - only,** **as long as** *Kono kusuri o nomi **sae** sureba, zutuu wa naorimasu.* ('If only you would take this medicine, your headache will get better.')

[24] The Japanese-Language Proficiency Test is under the auspices of The Japan Foundation and the Association of International Education, Japan. The test assesses learners' proficiency in the Japanese language. The proficiency test consists of four levels and each has three categories of questions: writing and vocabulary, listening and reading comprehension, and grammar. Many universities in Japan require a foreign student to have a qualification of Level 1 in this test for their admission.

As shown in Table 1, the meanings of *mo* corresponding to the English 'also', 'as many as' and '(not) any' and those of *made* which correspond to the English 'as far as', 'till', 'up to' and 'until' are items to be covered at the beginners' level. The meanings of *sae* corresponding to the English 'even' and 'if - only' and 'as long as' within the provisional sentences are items to be covered at the intermediate level. As far as *made* is concerned, some idiomatic expressions are covered at the intermediate level. They are: - *made mo nai* 'not need (to go as far as)' (as in *Wazawaza soko ni iku made mo nai daroo.* 'It is probably not necessary for you to take the trouble to get there.'); - *made da* 'There's nothing else I can do' (as in *Kono shiken ni ochitara, Nihon e iku keikaku o yameru made da.* 'There's nothing else I can do. I will give up on going to Japan if I fail this test.'); and - *nai made mo* 'Even though - not' (as in *Kanojo wa okora nai made mo, amari hanasanakatta.* 'Even though she was not angry at me, she did not talk very much.').

The meanings of *mo* and *made* corresponding to the English 'even' are not listed. They might not be covered at all. However, given that *mo* and *made* are frequently used with the same meaning as *sae* by Japanese native speakers, and in order for learners to widen the range of expressions and understand the implications that each particle has, *mo* and *made* should be presented with explanations of the shared and different functions and meanings between *made*, *sae* and *mo*.

7.2 Analysis of textbooks

Based on the idea that *sae* should be introduced at the intermediate level as proposed by the Japan Foundation, I selected 18 textbooks designated for intermediate and advanced students, in order to observe how *made*, *sae* and *mo* corresponding to the English 'even' are dealt with; how explanations of three particles are presented; and what sort of exercises are provided. The following shows a list of the textbooks

selected. All of them are widely used in Japan and abroad.

(1) *An Integrated Approach to Intermediate Japanese* by Miura, A. and Hanaoka, N. M., 1994, The Japan Times.

(2) *Intensive Course in Japanese Intermediate* by Japanese Language Promotion Center, 1980, Language Services Co., Ltd.

(3) *Chuukyuu Nihongo* by Japanese Language Centre for International Students, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1994, Bonjinsha.

(4) *Nihongo Hyoogen Bunkei Chuukyuu I II* by Tsukuba University, 1983.

(5) *Bunka Chuukyu Nihongo I* by Bunka Institute of Language, 1994, Bonjinsha.

(6) *Intermediate Japanese An Integrated Course* by Mizutani, N., 1987, Bonjinsha.

(7) *Japanese for You* by Ohso, M. and Koyama, Y., 1988, Taishukan.

(8) *Authentic Japanese: Progressing from Intermediate to Advanced* by Kamata, O., 1998, The Japan Times.

(9) *Sounding Natural in Japanese* by Tanahashi, A. and Oshima, Y., 1998, The Japan Times.

(10) *We Mean Business: Japanese for Business People Intermediate Level* by Yoneda, R., Fujii, K., Shigeno, M. and Ikeda, H., 1996, 3A Corporation.

(11) *Rapid Reading Japanese Improving Reading Skills of Intermediate and Advanced Students* by Miura, A. and Oka, M., 1998, The Japan Times.

(12) *Japanese Cultural Episodes for Speed Reading* by Miura A. and Sakamoto, T., 1997, Bonjinsha.

(13) *Nihongo Chuukyuu I* by The Japan Foundation Japanese Language Institute, 1990, Bonjinsha.

(14) *A Course in Modern Japanese* by Nagoya University, 1988.

(15) *Chuukyuu kara manabu teemabetsu Nihongo* by Arai, R., 1991, Kenkyusha.

(16) *Intermediate Japanese I II* by Osaka University of Foreign Studies, 1968.

(17) *An Introduction to Advanced Spoken Japanese* by Inter-University Studies Center for Japanese Language Studies, 1987, Sokensha.

(18) *Intermediate Japanese Reading Skill Builder* by Tomioka, S. and Takaoka, S., 1992, ALC.

7.2.1 Coverage

Table 2 summarises the textbook review. The numbers in Table 2 refer to how many textbooks out of 18 cover the uses of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* as a scalar, and give explanations and exercises regarding the three particles.

Table 2: Textbook review

	made	*sae*	*mo*
coverage	7	13	4
explanations	1	2	1
exercises	3	3	2

As shown above, 7 out of 18 textbooks deal with *made*, 13 cover *sae*, and only 4 cover *mo* as a scalar corresponding to 'even' in an English translation. Note also that 4 out of 18 textbooks do not cover any of three particles.

The fact that very few textbooks give explanations and exercises reflects the aims of these intermediate and advanced textbooks. Most textbooks for learners at the beginners' level place emphasis on acquiring set phrases and each lesson contains set phrases. They range from simple to more complex, for example, the set phrase *V-te* (the form of linking predicates or sentences generally corresponding to 'and' or '-ing' in an English translation) is introduced at the early stage of learning as are the set phrases *V-te kudasai* (the imperative form corresponding to 'please do something') or

V-te mo ii desu ka (the phrase to express a permission or concession corresponding to 'May I'). As these examples show, the order of presenting set phrases in each lesson at the beginners' level is systematic so that learners can efficiently learn them, and explanations of grammar and exercises are also provided for learners to be able to deepen their understanding of what they have learned.

As far as the three particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* are concerned, both *mo* and *made* are well explained in beginners' textbooks in terms of their 'non-scalar' uses (See sections 4.1 and 4.2), and exercises are given. However, *sae* is not covered very much at this level.

In contrast, textbooks for learners at the intermediate or advanced level focus on improving a specific skill: speaking, reading, listening and writing (See Noda 1986). For example, the textbook *Rapid Reading Japanese* intends to help students acquire the techniques of scanning and skimming, and the skills of prediction, anticipation and deduction which are necessary for rapid reading. Learners are expected to obtain specific information from the text, not comprehend word for word. In this textbook, neither grammatical points nor exercises are provided, but questions are given in order to check comprehension of the main points. The idea that the intermediate or advanced level learners have already learned numbers of set phrases at the beginners' level is assumed in textbooks for the intermediate or advanced level.

There are some expressions which are not covered at the beginners' level, such as the scalar use of the particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* as discussed above. As very few intermediate and advanced textbooks give explanations and exercises regarding these particles, as shown in Table 2, it is natural that there are learners at the intermediate or advanced level who have not acquired the appropriate uses of these focus particles. It is important for the Japanese language teacher to be aware that the texts alone do not help students acquire the correct uses of the three particles and hence, they need to supply explanations and exercises for the three particles.

The necessity of explanation is supported by the study conducted by Inaba

(1993). Inaba investigates the acquisition of Japanese conditionals *to*, *ba*, *tara* and *nara* by native speakers of English. There is a difference in semantic property between Japanese and English conditionals in that Japanese conditionals *to*, *ba*, *tara* and *nara* are subject to a semantic restriction, namely a time sequence restriction (that is, the action/state expressed by the subordinate clause containing *to*, *ba*, *tara* or *nara* must take place before the action/event expressed by the main clause), while English conditionals 'if' and 'when' are not.

Inaba found that native speakers of English do not acquire the appropriate use of Japanese conditionals irrespective of length of stay in Japan or a period of learning Japanese in the classroom. She concluded that learners need to have instruction which will allow them to become aware of those things which Japanese conditionals cannot do. In this connection, Schmidt (1990) points out that noticing the features of the target language is required in order to acquire the correct usage.

7.2.2 Explanations and textbook exercises

With regard to explanations, only *Authentic Japanese: Progressing from Intermediate to Advanced* presents explanations of each particle. First of all, *made* is explained as follows:

> *Made* emphasises the extreme situation and expresses the speaker's surprise. *Mo* and *sae* are similar in meaning to *made*. (textbook supplement p34)[25]

---

[25] With regard to the textbooks observed in this section, the sentences and instructions are given in Japanese, and have been translated by me; I have added translations of Japanese expressions or words.

The above explanation has three problematic points: firstly, it does not cover the function of *made* as a scalar, by which the item/event is specified as the least likely to satisfy the context described in the sentence. Secondly, the explanation that *made* expresses the speaker's surprise is not appropriate. Rather, the result of the fact that the focused item/event satisfies the context against the speaker's expectations produces the speaker's surprise. Lastly, the explanation that the three particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* share a meaning in common may cause learners to believe that the three particles can be interchanged in most cases. Additional explanation should be provided. For example, *made* is preferably used in contexts where more than one other possible choice can be presupposed from the context.

Concerning *sae*, the explanation in *Authentic Japanese* is as follows:

> In 'N (de) *sae*....' *sae* picks out some extreme case and implies that other things/people besides N naturally do something, or that it goes without saying that other things/people besides N do something. (textbook supplement p34)

Similar to the explanation of *made*, this explanation is ambiguous about the nature of the extreme case. It would be clearer to explain that the item/event specified by *sae* is characterised as the least likely item among other possible choices for the relevant context. Again, an additional explanation regarding the frequent use of *sae* is required. For example, *sae* is by preference used in contexts where the item/event marked by *sae* is related to a set of unspecified other possible choices in terms of the relevant context.

The use of *mo* is explained by giving a set phrase: - *ni mo oyobu* 'reach the extent that...':

- *ni mo oyobu* 'reach the extent that ...' or - *ni mo naru* 'even become' indicates that a certain situation becomes extreme. *Oyobu* in - *ni mo oyobu* or *naru* in - *ni mo naru* can be omitted in headlines of newspapers. - *ni mo itaru* 'reach the extent that ...' is similar to these. (textbook supplement p56)

The above explanation is problematic in that the set phrases such as - *ni mo oyobu* 'reach the extent that ...' or - *ni mo itaru* 'reach the extent that ...' are presented as the usage of *mo*. As noted in section 5.2.1, verbs indicating a temporal or spatial extent such as *oyobu* 'reach' and *itaru* 'reach' tend to co-occur with *made* rather than *mo*. It is also attested to in the results of the questionnaire given to native speakers; 88 per cent of respondents chose *made* rather than the other two particles in the sentence where a verb *oyobu* 'reach' follows the particle. Given this, presenting the set phrases as seen in the above explanation might make learners confused when they come across a set phrase - *ni made oyobu* 'reach the extent that ...' or - *ni made itaru* 'reach the extent that ...' used by native speakers.

In general, the explanations regarding the three particles provided by the textbook miss the most important point. They do not indicate their function as scalars; the three particles involve a relationship with other possible items and the item marked by a particle refers to the least likely item to satisfy the relevant context. In addition, it is problematic to omit an explanation of the difference in function between the three particles and it may lead to the misunderstanding that the three particles are replaceable in any context.

The next concern is textbook exercises. Exercises should present contexts where each particle is typically used so as to distinguish each function. In this connection, exercises for *made* in *Intermediate Japanese Reading Skill Builder* are notable in that this book introduces a set phrase - *ni made oyobu* 'reach the extent that ...' as the use of *made*. The exercises are composition drills to construct sentences using - *ni made oyobu* 'reach the extent that ...' by making reference to the

example in the main text, as shown below (p68):

> Complete ③ and make up an original sentence for ④ similar to the sentences in examples ① and ②.
>
> ex: ① Hooshoku jidai ni okeru gendaijin no higeki *mo*, sudeni doobutsu ni *made* oyondeiru.
> 'Even the animals have already suffered from the tragedy of people living in a time of satiation.'
> ② Seikai oshoku jiken wa, shusoo ni *made* oyonda.
> 'The political corruption even reached the prime minister.'
> ③ Orinpikku de kin-medaru o totta nyuusu wa,
> _____
> 'The news that (he) had got a gold medal in the Olympic Games _____.'
> ④ _____

For example, the answers of these questions could be as follows:

> ③ ...kare no sotsugyooshita shoogakko ni *made* oyonda.
> '...has even reached the primary school where he graduated.'
> ④ Taifuu no eikyoo de, daiya no midare wa densha dake de naku, basu ni *made* oyondeiru.
> 'Because of the typhoon, disruption of the schedule is even spreading into the buses as well as the trains.'

In contrast, the composition drill for *made* provided by *Chuukyuu kara manabu teemabetsu Nihongo* is not helpful for learners to acquire the use of *made*. The drill is as follows (p30):

ex: Sono gijutsu o tsukau hito no kokoro no mochikata *made mo* mondai ni shiteiru no desu.

'It even considers the mental state of people who use the technology.'

① Totemo onaka ga suiteite_____*made* tabeteshimaimashita.

'I was so hungry that I even ate up_____.'

② Kono hon o yonde, _____*made* wakaruyooni narimashita.

'I even got to understand _____after reading this book.'

Questions continue up to No. 5.

The problematic point in the above drill is that it does not demonstrate why *made* needs to be used in the contexts given in each sentence. Rather, the contexts given in the sentences are those for which any of the three particles would be acceptable. This problem is due to the fact that the alternatives are not given in the sentences and consequently, there are no restrictions on the way in which alternatives can be conceptualised.

Noteworthy is an exercise for *sae* provided by *Nihongo Hyoogen Bunkei Chuukyuu II*. Its main text is as follows (p5):

> Nichijoo mochiiteiru arifureta kotoba ga, chotto kumiawase o kaetarishita dake de, totsuzen sugoi chikara o motta kotoba ni henboosuru. Sore ni koso kotoba to iu mono o mochiiru koto no fushigisa, osoroshisa *sae* aru...
>
> (*Kotoba no chikara* "The power in words" in Ooka, Makoto.)

'Everyday words suddenly change into words which have great power by slightly rearranging their combinations. It is because of such changes that there is wonder and even fear of using words...'

The question for this main text is (p 17):

> "osoroshii" to "osoroshiku *sae* aru" no chigai o setsumeishinasai.
> (Explain the differences between "fearful" and "even fearful".)

The above exercise is remarkable for two reasons. Firstly, it provides a sentence with a context where *sae* frequently occurs. In this context, *sae* involves a relationship with unspecified alternatives which are not precisely presupposed from the overall meaning of the sentence. Second, the above question concerns the implication of *sae*. As noted in section 5.3.2, the implication of *sae* is to induce a feeling of unusualness or strangeness of the event described in the sentence since the alternatives to the focused expression are not brought to mind by the context. Such a question gives learners an opportunity to become aware of the distinct characteristics of each particle.

7.2.3 Correlation of results from analysis of textbooks and uses of *made*, *sae* and *mo* by Japanese learners

The results of the analysis of the textbooks show that *sae* is relatively well covered by the textbooks (13 out of 18 textbooks). Recall that 92 per cent of the learners correctly chose *sae* in a context such as that in *Watashi ni* ***sae*** *dekiru kara, anata ni mo dekiru hazu.* 'If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.' (See section 6.1.3). This suggests that learners are familiar with the use of *sae* in contexts in which the focus is contrasted with a single set of alternatives explicitly given.

On the other hand, learners did not appropriately use each of the three particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* in contexts where other possible alternatives to the focused expression were implicit. This is possibly due to the fact that none of the 18 textbooks refer to the function of each particle, nor give examples in which each

particle is typically used. Needless to say, textbook exercises do not help learners understand the individual function of the particles. These textbooks may mislead learners such that they are completely unaware that the three particles can be distinguished by the way in which the alternatives to the focus are conceptualised, and that each particle is used in appropriate contexts on this basis of this conceptualisation.

To summarise, the above discussion suggests that the lack of explanation by textbooks of the function of each particle and ineffective exercises can be an important factor in the unnatural uses of *made*, *sae* and *mo* by learners.

7.3 Suggestions for teaching the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*

As demonstrated in section 7.2, existing textbooks do not give sufficient explanations and exercises. Some suggestions for teaching the three particles are made below on the basis of the findings.

In respect of explanations, the difference in function of the three particles should be supplemented. Such explanation is important in that the difference in their functions leads not only to a difference in the implication of each particle but also to the appropriateness of using each particle in particular contexts. In teaching words which have no English counterparts in a one-to-one fashion, such as the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, an explanation of the function and meaning of each word is needed so that learners notice the characteristics of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*; noticing the characteristics of constructions is required as a preliminary stage in acquisition, as noted by Schmidt (1990).

Textbook exercises should include sentences which have a context where each particle is typically used. For example, *made* tends to occur in contexts where more than one other possible alternative occurs. In addition, *made* often co-occurs

with verbs indicating a temporal, spatial extent or a range of situations. As for *sæ*, it is preferably used in a context where the focus is related to a set of alternatives. A scalar *mo* tends to occur in a negative context. In this regard, Long (1988:15) points out that "instruction which allows a *focus on form* referring to instruction that, in some meaningful way, draws attention to the target language structure in context, produces a faster rate of learning than instruction with no *focus on form*."

As far as the three particles are concerned, the most significant difference between them is the way in which other possible alternatives are conceptualised. It is fundamental for learners to be able to identify the focus and the alternatives in a given context. Japanese language teachers need to ask learners what is contrasted with the focus in the sentences and in what way the focus and the alternatives are related to each other. In particular, learners need to have ample exercises in cases where the alternatives are not given in the sentence.

Ichikawa (1997:213-214) gives convincing support for the above view. She analysed the errors in terms of the use of the focus particle *mo* by Japanese learners. According to her, the most frequent error made by learners is an improper positioning of *mo* — an expression which cannot be the focus is marked by *mo*. Learners also tend to omit *mo* in a position in which *mo* is needed to focus on an item. Especially, such errors often occur in contexts where other possible alternatives are not given in the sentence. Ichikawa points out that these errors demonstrate that learners do not acquire the function of *mo*. Put differently, learners do not understand what item should be focused on by *mo* in a relationship with other possible alternatives.

Once learners get to understand the use of each particle through the above exercises, it is desirable to give them exercises in which they are asked what the sentence with each of the three particles implies, as seen in the exercise for *sæ* in section 7.2. To be able to interpret the individual implication of the three particles may lead to understanding the speaker's/writer's feelings which are implicit in the sentence.

7.4 Summary

This chapter has provided Japanese language teachers with suggestions for teaching the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*. Before making some suggestions, 18 selected textbooks designated for intermediate and advanced students were analysed in order to examine the correlation between the unnatural uses of the three particles by learners surveyed in the questionnaire and the contents of textbooks. It was found that there are almost no textbooks which provide explanations regarding the usages of the three particles.

As for exercises, in general, the sentences used in textbook exercises do not contain those contexts where each particle is frequently used. Furthermore, although conceptualising other possible alternatives is crucial for understanding the differences in function among them, the sentences in the exercises seemed not to be carefully chosen in this respect. Such lack of explanation and inefficient exercises are possibly one of factors in the inappropriate uses of the three particles as demonstrated by the results of the questionnaire given to learners.

Given this, some suggestions for teaching the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* are as follows: first of all, it should be noted that the difference in function between the three particles needs to be clearly explained. In this connection, using figures, as shown in section 5.2.3, might be helpful in visually distinguishing them.

Exercises should contain sentences which have a context where each particle is normally used. Japanese language teachers should confirm the learner's understanding regarding the function of the three particles by asking them to identify the focus and the alternative in a given sentence. Such exercises may enrich learners' understanding of the functions of the three particles.

Recall that the interpretations of sentences with focus particles depend on context or the listener's/reader's subjectivity (See Chapter 1). In this respect, it might be difficult for learners to interpret sentences with the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*

because of the difference in cultural values, depending on context. In this case, the teachers should supplement the explanation with information on the subject of cultural aspects in the background of the speaker's/writer's evaluation.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This study has examined the differences between the Japanese focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*, which are usually known as 'scalar' particles. These three particles overlap in that they relate an item/event to the other possible items/events in terms of their likelihood and in this relationship, the focus is characterised as the least likely item for the relevant context. As a result, for satisfying the context of the focus, the sentence expresses that the speaker finds the event unexpected (See sections 2.4 and 3.1).

Previous research (Teramura 1991; Numata 1986; Nakanishi 1995) has attempted to show the differences between the particles mainly from the aspect of semantic properties or by dealing with each particle individually. For example, Teramura (1991) claims that the meaning of *mo* as a scalar depends on common knowledge between the speaker and the listener. In Numata's view, *made* and *sae* are distinguished in terms of the notion of the speaker's expectation of the involvement of the focused item/event in propositions. Although Nakanishi (1995) distinguished *sae* from the other two particles *made* and *mo* with regard to the function of *sae*, this function was incompatible with the function of the focus particles (See section 5.2.1.2).

It was demonstrated that previous research did not adequately explain differences between the three particles. Notwithstanding this, by consulting the treatments of the three particles in previous research (Numata 1986; Nakanishi 1995), it was found that all three particles have the property that they cause a conceptualisation of the alternatives to the focused expression (See section 3.3). The idea of

conceptualisation is crucial for elucidating the differences between the three particles in this study.

In investigating the differences of the three particles, the primary usages of each particle were also examined on the basis of the idea that those primary usages must relate to their scalar usage and they could account for the differences between the three (See Chapter 4). It was then shown that both *mo* and *made* essentially have a non-scalar use, but have a function as scalar in appropriate contexts, while *sae* has only a scalar function.

Analysis of the data from novels and Japanese dictionaries demonstrated that the three particles are distinguished by the way in which they conceptualise alternatives; *made* conceptualises more than one alternative concretely presupposed from the context and relates the focus to these alternatives in a one-to-many fashion. Both *mo* and *sae* assemble alternatives as a single group and the focus is contrasted with this group in a one-to-one fashion. As mentioned above, *mo* and *made* as scalars are dependent on context. *Mo* has a scalar function when there is a context which motivates both the speaker and the listener to evaluate the focus as the least likely item. Without such a context, *mo* has a non-scalar meaning. And *made* is a scalar when the focused expression indicates anything other than a spatial or temporal point. A non-scalar meaning of *made* indicating the limit of a spatial or temporal point induces the idea of a spread and this idea determines the way in which *made* conceptualises alternatives.

The fact that the primary usages of *mo* and *made* influence their scalar functions suggests that examining the primary meanings of the lexical expressions may lead to illuminating the properties of their other usages.

The three particles were also distinguished by the implications which they induce because of their individual unique functions: *made* implies the speaker's surprise about the outcome of a number of events occurring; *sae* increases the unusualness/strangeness of the event described in the sentence; and *mo* has a

connotation of ambiguity between a 'non-scalar' interpretation and a 'scalar' interpretation (See section 5.3).

The significance of this study, however, is not confined to the three particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*. The clarification of the properties of each particle in this study may contribute to a systematic analysis of Japanese focus particles which share a function and meaning in common. For example, the focus particles *dake*, *bakari* and *shika* are such a case, all of them corresponding approximately to 'only' in English. The type of systematic analysis carried out in this study is expected to be valid for the analysis of these three particles.

A second note concerns the application of the above elucidation of the differences of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo* to teaching practice. The unnatural uses of the three particles by learners which are demonstrated by the results of the questionnaire (See Chapter 6) suggests that existing textbooks alone do not help students acquire the appropriate uses of the three particles. Supplemental explanation in terms of the differences in function between the three particles as well as effective exercises are necessary. With reference to exercises, it is important to encourage learners to identify other possible alternatives which contrast with the focus in any particular context (See section 7.3). Those exercises are also expected to be useful in assisting learners to understand the functions of the focus particles in general since they have a shared function, by which a relationship with alternatives is invoked.

To conclude, the interpretations of focus particles depend on context and the speaker's subjective evaluation of the relevant context (See Chapter 1), and sometimes they are influenced by the involvement of cultural aspects in the speaker's evaluation of the relevant context. Such complexities in interpretation may lead to a lack of explanation of the differences in meaning of the focus particles *made*, *sae* and *mo*. In this respect, a systematic approach to the analysis of the differences in function of each particle in this study may contribute to linguists paying more attention to the way in which those differences are described.

APPENDIX A　Questionnaire for Japanese Native Speakers

「とりたて助詞」『も』『まで』『さえ』に関するアンケート

野村　功子

日本語助詞の中でも、「とりたて助詞」とよばれる『も』『まで』『さえ』は文の中で、互いに交換しても解釈が変わらなかったり、また文脈により、交換できなかったり、微妙に解釈が異なったりすることがあります。
本研究は、『も』『まで』『さえ』の使い方について実態調査を行い、その調査結果の分析を通して、これら三つの助詞の用法と相違点を明らかにし、かつそれらを日本語教育の中でどのように扱うべきか、その効果的な指導案を提示することを目的にしています。

アンケートにご協力宜しくお願い致します。

1. アンケート実施日　１９９８年　　月　　日

2. 名前　　（　　）

3. 年齢　15 - 20 [　] 21 - 25 [　] 26 - 30 [　] 31 - 35 [　] 36 - 40 [　]
　　41 - 45 [　] 46 - 50 [　] 51 - 55 [　] 56 - 60 [　] 61 -　 [　]

4. 性別　　男性・女性

5. 職業　　（　　）

6. 出身地　（　　）

I.　次の文の下線の語を、別の二つの語で置き換えた場合に、それぞれの語について、下記の指示に従って、あてはまる記号を記入してください。

＊○印：置き換えても基本的には同じ意味で、普通に言うもの

＊X 印：置き換えられないもの

＊△印：置き換えることはできるが、そうすれば、元の意味と非常に変わってしまうと思うもの

記号の書きもれがないように注意してください。

例）普段、運動をしていなかったので、かけっこをしたら、彼は娘にさえ負けてしまった。
も　（ ○ ）
まで（ ○ ）

1.　（彼女は、母親と一緒に住んでいて、料理をほとんどしたことがなかった。）彼女は大学生になっても、ごはんも炊けない。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

2.　（クリスマスでほとんどの学生は国へ帰ってしまった。）寮の中では、自分が水を飲む音までが部屋中に響くようである。
も　（　）
さえ（　）

3.　（みちこは三人の子供のよい母親だったが、親友の結婚式に出席するため、やむなくベビーシッターに子供を預けた。）彼女は一人になった時、解放されたような楽しさえ覚えた。
も　（　）
まで（　）

4.　経理部の田中さんと林さんが不倫しているというううわさは、地方の支店にまで伝わっていた。
も　（　）
さえ（　）

5.　受験生のたかおは、家族旅行についてきたものの、海岸でさえ勉強していた。
も　（　）
まで（　）

6.　簡単な足し算を間違えて、生徒からも馬鹿にされた。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

7.　最近は、何でも他人に頼み出産までを他人に依頼する人があるらしい。
も　（　）
さえ（　）

8.　小さい時は、友達にいじめられて泣いてばかりいたあの太郎が、もう今年で大学生にもなるらしい。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

9.　夜中に一人で墓地の前を通るのは、彼のような大男も足がすくんでしまう。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

10.　病院の建物が破壊され、入院患者の死亡者が続出しさえした。
も　（　）
まで（　）

II. 次の英語文を日本語に訳してください。その際、下線部分を強調させてください。 [ ]の部分は省いてください。

e.g. Even in winter it's only a single shirt for him.

(あの人は冬でさえシャツ一枚です。)

1. [She is blind and deaf, so she was not expected to go to even a primary school.]

[彼女は目と耳が不自由だったので、小学校さえ行くことを期待されていなかった。]

She made so much effort that （非常に努力して）she could even graduate from university.

( )

2. [Recently, the number of children is low in families, so mothers tend to overprotect them.]

[最近は子供の数が少ないので、母親は過保護になりがちである。]

I hear that they even accompany them to the ceremony for new employees（会社の入社式について 行く）, not to mention college entrance examinations（大学入試は言うまでもなく）.

( )

3. If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.

( )

4. Enemy troops （敵の軍隊）took away （持ち去った）even all the furniture (家具) and cars, not to mention food (食料はもちろん).

( )

5. [Once he fell in love with her,] [好きになると、]

her ordinary face（その平凡な顔）even looked pretty.

( )

6. The effect of the disaster （災害の影響）is even spreading into（及んでいる）the neighboring country.

( )

7. [Because he wanted to gain that position in the world of politics,]

[政治界でのその地位欲しさに、]

he gave a bribe（賄賂を贈った) even to people who had no relation with him.

( )

8. [On such a heavy snow day,] [こんな大雪の日は、]

even if I stay inside the house, the cold chills my hands and feet（寒さで手足が冷たくなる）.

( )

9. He did not even think that he could sell his paintings (自分の絵が売れるようになるとは).

( )

10. No foreigner wants to eat expensive *sushi* badly enough to pay for it himself （自分で金を払う）.

( )

APPENDIX B Questionnaire for Japanese Learners

Questionnaire about 'Toritate' particle in Japanese

Noriko Nomura

'Toritate' particle in Japanese corresponds to the so-called 'focus particles' in English. Among these particles, MO, MADE, and SAE function as an emphatic marker in some contexts. They are similar in meaning and interchangeable depending on context.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to clarify the differences in usage among those three particles and find out its systematic explanation for Japanese learners. Thank you for your cooperation.

Date: _____

Name: _____ (Please fill in your name. It is needed in case of inquiry.)

Age: 15 - 20 [ ] 21 - 25 [ ] 26 - 30 [ ] 31 - 35 [ ] 36 - 40 [ ] 41 - 45 [ ] 46 - 50 [ ] 51 - 55 [ ]
56 - 60 [ ] 61 - [ ]

Gender: male [ ] female [ ]

Occupation: _____

What is your mother tongue? _____

What other language(s) do you speak? _____

Have you ever been to Japan? If you have, please briefly state;

(a) How long? _____

(b) When? _____

(c) Where in Japan? _____

(d) For what purposes? _____

Have you ever studied Japanese? If you have, please briefly state;

(a) How long? _____

(b) When? _____

(c) Which Japanese textbook? _____

I. When the underlined words in the following sentences are replaced by another two words, please fill in the applicable marks according to the following instruction in both parentheses.

* ○; if another word is interchangeable and the meaning remains the same.
* X ; if another word is not interchangeable.
* △; if another word is interchangeable, but its meaning in context is very different from that of the underlined word. Please make sure to fill in all the gaps.

ふだん　うんどう　　かれ　むすめ　　ま
e.g. 普段、運動をしていなかったので、かけっこをしたら、彼は娘にさえ負けてしまった。
も　（ ○ ）
まで　（ ○ ）

He seldom took any exercise, so when he had a race with his daughter, he was beaten even by her.

かのじょ　ははおや　いっしょ　す　　りょうり　　かのじょ　だいがくせい
1. （彼女は、母親と一緒に住んでいて、料理をほとんどしたことがなかった。）彼女は大学生になっても、

た
ごはんも炊けない。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

(She stays with her mother and seldom cooks.) Although she has become a uni student, she cannot cook even rice.

がくせい　くに　かえ　　りょう　なか　　じぶん　みず　の　おと
2. （クリスマスでほとんどの学生は国へ帰ってしまった。）寮の中では、自分が水を飲む音までが
も　（　）
へやじゅう　ひび　　さえ（　）
部屋中に響くようである。

(Most students have gone home because of Christmas.) In the dorm, even the sound of my swallowing a glass of water seems to echo through all rooms.

さんにん　こども　　ははおや　　しんゆう　けっこんしき　しゅっせき
3. （みちこは三人の子供のよい母親だったが、親友の結婚式に出席するため、やむなくベビーシッターに

こども　あず　　かのじょ　ひとり　　とき　かいほう　　たの　　おぼ
子供を預けた。）彼女は一人になった時、解放されたような楽しさえ覚えた。
も　（　）
まで（　）

(Michiko is a good mother of three children. She couldn't help but ask a baby-sitter to look after them because she had to attend her friend's wedding.) When she was alone, she even took pleasure, as she felt liberated from her children.

けいり　たなか　はやし　ふりん　　ちほう　してん　つた

4. 経理部の田中さんと林さんが不倫しているというううわさは、地方の支店にまで伝わっていた。
も　（　）
さえ（　）

The rumor that Mr. Tanaka and Ms. Hayashi in the accounts department are having a love affair has been spreading even through to the local branches.

じゅけんせい　かぞくりょこう　　かいがん　べんきょう

5. 受験生のたかおは、家族旅行についてきたものの、海岸でさえ勉強していた。
も　（　）
まで（　）

Although Takao who was a student preparing for an entrance examination, made a trip with his family, he was studying even at the beach.

かんたん　た　ざん　まちが　　せいと　　ばか

6. 簡単な足し算を間違えて、生徒からも馬鹿にされた。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

He mistook a simple addition, so he was made a fool of even by his students.

さいきん　なん　たにん　たの　しゅっさん　たにん　いらい　ひと

7. 最近は、何でも他人に頼み出産までを他人に依頼する人があるらしい。
も　（　）
さえ（　）

It seems that there are some people who ask others to do everything, even to give birth for them.

ちい　とき　ともだち　　な　　たろう　　ことし　だいがくせい

8. 小さい時は、友達にいじめられて泣いてばかりいたあの太郎が、もう今年で大学生にもなるらしい。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

Even Taro, who used to be teased by his friends and only cry when he was a child, seems to have already become a uni student this year.

よなか　ひとり　ぼち　まえ　とお　　かれ　　おおおとこ　あし

9. 夜中に一人で墓地の前を通るのは、彼のような大男も足がすくんでしまう。
まで（　）
さえ（　）

Even a big man like him, is paralysed with fear when he passes in front of a graveyard alone in the middle of the night.

びょういん　たてもの　はかい　　にゅういんかんじゃ　しぼうしゃ　ぞくしゅつ

10. 病院の建物が破壊され、入院患者の死亡者が続出しさえした。
も　（　）
まで（　）

The hospital was destroyed and inpatients had been dying one after another.

II. Please translate the following sentences into Japanese except for the [ ] part. Please emphasise the underlined part by using one or combinations of focus particles MO, MADE, and SAE in your answer.

e.g. Even in winter it's only a single shirt for him.

ひと　ふゆ　　いちまい
(あの人は冬でさえシャツ一枚です。)

1. [She is blind and deaf, so she was not expected to go to even a primary school.]

かのじょ　め　みみ　ふじゆう　　しょうがっこう　い　　きたい
[彼女は目と耳が不自由だったので、小学校さえ行くことを期待されていなかった。]

ひじょうに　どりょく
She made so much effort that （非常に努力して） she could even graduate from university.

(　　)

2. [Recently, the number of children is low in families, so mothers tend to overprotect them.]

さいきん　こども　かず　すく　　ははおや　かほご
[最近は子供の数が少ないので、母親は過保護になりがちである。]

かいしゃ　にゅうしゃしき　　い
I hear that they even accompany them to the ceremony for new employees（会社の入社式について行く）,

だいがくにゅうし　い
not to mention college entrance examinations（大学入試は言うまでもなく）.

(　　)

3. If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.

(　　)

てき　ぐんたい　　もち　さ　　かぐ
4. Enemy troops （敵の軍隊） took away （持ち去った） even all the furniture（家具） and cars,

しょくりょう
not to mention food (食料はもちろん).

(　　)

す
5. [Once he fell in love with her,] [好きになると、]

へいぼん　かお
her ordinary face （その平凡な顔） even looked pretty.

(　　)

さいがい　えいきょう　　およ
6. The effect of the disaster （災害の影響） is even spreading into（及んでいる） the neighboring country.

(　　)

7. [Because he wanted to gain that position in the world of politics,]

せいじかい　　ちい　ほ

[政治界でのその地位欲しさに、]

わいろ　おく

he gave a bribe（賄賂を贈った） <u>even to people who had no relation with him</u>.

(　　)

おおゆき　ひ

8. [On such a heavy snow day,] [こんな大雪の日は、]

さむ　　てあし　つめ

<u>even if I stay inside the house</u>, the cold chills my hands and feet（寒さで手足が冷たくなる）.

(　　)

じぶん　　え　う

9. He did not <u>even think</u> that he could sell his paintings (自分の絵が売れるようになるとは).

(　　)

じぶん　かね　はら

10. No foreigner wants to eat expensive *sushi* <u>badly enough to pay for it himself</u> （自分で金を払う）.

(　　)

APPENDIX C　Questionnaire Results Section I

Japanese native speakers 42 subjects

Q#		mo			made			sae		
		○*	X*	△*	○	X	△	○	X	△
1	ご飯__炊けない。(Gohan__takenai) *she cannot cook even rice.*	◎			2	37	3	41		1
2	自分が水を飲む音____が部屋中に響くようである。(Jibun ga mizu o nomu oto__ga heyajuu ni hibikuyoo de aru) *Even the sound of my swallowing a glass of water seems to echo through all rooms.*	9	29	4	◎			19	22	1
3	彼女は一人になった時、解放されたような楽しさ____覚えた。(Kanojo wa hitori ni natta toki, kaihoosaretayoona tanoshisa__oboeta) *When she was alone, she even took pleasure, as she felt liberated from her children.*	7	11	24	21	13	8	◎		
4	経理部の田中さんと林さんが不倫しているというううわさは、地方の支店に____伝わっていた。(Keiribu no Tanaka-san to Hayashi-san ga furinshiteiru to iu uwasa wa, chihoo no shiten ni__tsutawatteita) *The rumor that Mr. Tanaka and Ms. Hayashi in the accounts department are having a love affair has been spreading even through to the local branches.*	31	1	10	◎			36	3	3
5	受験生のたかおは、家族旅行についてきたものの、海岸で____勉強していた。(Jukensei no Takao wa, kazokuryokoo ni tsuitekita monono, kaigan de__benkyooshiteita) *Although Takao who was a student preparing for an entrance examintaion, made a trip with his family, he was studying even at the beach.*	29		13	30	10	2	◎		
6	簡単な足し算を間違えて、生徒から_馬鹿にされた。(Kantanna tashizan o machigaete, seito kara_ baka ni sareta) *He mistook a simple addition, so he was made a fool of even by his students.*	◎			22	17	3	29	7	6
7	最近は、何でも他人に頼み出産____を他人に依頼する人があるらしい。(Saikin wa, nan de mo tanin ni tanomi shussan_o tanin ni iraisuru hito ga arurashii) *It seems that there are some people who ask others to do everything, even to give birth for them.*	13	24	5	◎			20	21	1
8	あの太郎が、もう今年で大学生に__なるらしい。(Ano Taro ga, moo kotoshi de daigakusei ni_ narurashii) *Even Taro seems to have already become a uni student this year.*	◎			16	23	3	1	35	6
9	彼のような大男__足がすくんでしまう。(Kare no yoona oo-otoko__ashi ga sukundeshimau) *Even a big man like him, is paralysed with fear.*	◎			13	25	4	38	3	1
10	病院の建物が破壊され、入院患者の死亡者が続出し____した。(Byooin no tatemono ga hakaisare, nyuuin kanja no shiboosha ga zokushutsushi__shita) *The hospital was destroyed and inpatients had been dying one after another.*	6	32	4	8	30	4	◎		

* ○ refers to that another word is interchangeable and its meaning remains the same.
* ×refers to that another word is not interchangeable.
* △ refers to that another word is interchangeable, but its meaning in context is very different from that of the underlined word.

Japanese learners 24 subjects

Q#		*mo*			*made*			*sae*		
		○*	X*	△*	○	X	△	○	X	△
1	ご飯__炊けない。(Gohan__takenai) *she cannot cook even rice.*	◎			4	16	4	21		3
2	自分が水を飲む音____が部屋中に響くようである。(Jibun ga mizu o nomu oto__ga heyajuu ni hibikuyoo de aru) *Even the sound of my swallowing a glass of water seems to echo through all rooms.*	6	14	4	◎			15	8	1
3	彼女は一人になった時、解放されたような楽しさ____覚えた。(Kanojo wa hitori ni natta toki, kaihoosaretayoona tanoshisa__oboeta) *When she was alone, she even took pleasure, as she felt liberated from her children.*	11	3	10	12	6	6	◎		
4	経理部の田中さんと林さんが不倫しているというううわさは、地方の支店に____伝わっていた。(Keiribu no Tanaka-san to Hayashi-san ga furinshiteiru to iu uwasa wa, chihoo no shiten ni__tsutawatteita) *The rumor that Mr. Tanaka and Ms. Hayashi in the accounts department are having a love affair has been spreading even through to the local branches.*	16	1	7	◎			15	5	4
5	受験生のたかおは、家族旅行についてきたものの、海岸で____勉強していた。(Jukensei no Takao wa, kazokuryokoo ni tsuitekita monono, kaigan de__benkyooshiteita) *Although Takao who was a student preparing for an entrance examintaion, made a trip with his family, he was studying even at the beach.*	17		6	5	13**	1	◎		
6	簡単な足し算を間違えて、生徒から__馬鹿にされた。(Kantanna tashizan o machigaete, seito kara__ baka ni sareta) *He mistook a simple addition, so he was made a fool of even by his students.*	◎			11	8	5	14	8	2
7	最近は、何でも他人に頼み出産____を他人に依頼する人があるらしい。(Saikin wa, nan de mo tanin ni tanomi shussan__o tanin ni iraisuru hito ga arurashii) *It seems that there are some people who ask others to do everything, even to give birth for them.*	7	10	7	◎			12	11	1
8	あの太郎が、もう今年で大学生に__なるらしい。(Ano Taro ga, moo kotoshi de daigakusei ni__ narurashii) *Even Taro seems to have already become a uni student this year.*	◎			3	18	3	4	18	2
9	彼のような大男__足がすくんでしまう。(Kare no yoona oo-otoko__ashi ga sukundeshimau) *Even a big man like him, is paralysed with fear.*	◎			15	8	1	21	2	1
10	病院の建物が破壊され、入院患者の死亡者が続出し____した。(Byooin no tatemono ga hakaisare, nyuuin kanja no shiboosha ga zokushutsushi__shita) *The hospital was destroyed and inpatients had been dying one after another.*	8	14	2	9	11	4	◎		

* ○ refers to that another word is interchangeable and its meaning remains the same.
* ×refers to that another word is not interchangeable.
* △ refers to that another word is interchangeable, but its meaning in context is very different from that of the underlined word.

**As for *made* , no answers are 5.

APPENDIX D　Questionnaire Results Section II

Japanese native speakers 42 subjects

Q#		*MO*	NUM. OF ASR		*MADE*	NUM. OF ASR		*SAE*	NUM. OF ASR		OTHERS	NUM. OF ASR	
1	彼女は非常に努力して大学～ She made so much effort that she could even graduate from university.	大学を卒業することもできた。	4		大学まで（も）卒業できた。	22		大学さえ（も）卒業できた。	6		大学をなんとか卒業することができた。 *nantoka* ; she managed to graduate from university.	1	
		大学をも卒業した。	1		大学にまで進んで卒業した。	1		大学を卒業することさえ（も）できた。	3		ついに大学を卒業できた。 *tsuini* ; she could finally graduated from university.	1	
					大学を卒業する（こと）までになった。	2					n/a	1	
			5	12%		25	60%		9	21%		3	7%
2	大学入試は言うまでもなく、会社の入社式～ Ihear that they even accompany them to the ceremony from new employees, not to mention college entrance examinations.	入社式にもついて行く。	1		入社式にまでついて行く。	23		入社式にさえ（も）行く。	7		n/a	1	
					入社式までついて行く。	1		入社式でさえ（も）行く。	2				
					入社式について行くことまでする。	1		入社式さえ行く。	1				
								入社式についてさえ行く。	1				
								入社式について行くことさえ（すら）ある。	2				
								入社式について行きさえ（も）する。	2				
			1	2%		25	60%		15	36%		1	2%
3	私～、あなたにもできるはずだ。 If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.	私にも	1					私でさえ（すら）	24		私でも *de mo* ; Even I～	5	
								私にさえ（すら）	8		n/a	1	
								私にでさえ	1				
								私さえ	2				
			1	2%		0	0%		35	83%		6	14%
4	敵の軍隊は、食料はもちろん、家具や車～持ち去った。 Enemy troops took away even all the furniture and cars, not to mention food.	家具や車も	4		家具や車まで（も）	29		家具と車さえ（も）	6				
		家具や車のすべても	1		家具や車にまで	1		家具と車でさえも	1				
			5	12%		30	71%		7	17%		0	0%
5	その平凡な顔～ Her ordinary face even looked pretty.	（が）かわいくも見えた。	1		その平凡な顔まで（も）	6		（が）きれいにさえ見えた。	18		その平凡な顔でも *de mo* ; Even her ordinary face～	1	
								（が）かわいくさえ見えた。			（が）すごくかわいく見えた。 *sugoku* ; ～looked extremely pretty.	1	
								（が）かわいらしくさえ見えた。					
								（が）美しくさえ見えた。					
								その平凡な顔さえ（も）	8				
								その平凡な顔でさえ	7				
			1	2%		6	14%		33	79%		2	5%
6	災害の影響は、隣の国～及んでいる。 The effect of the disaster is even spreading into the neighboring country.	近隣の国々にも	2		隣の国にまで（も）	32		隣国にさえ	3				
					隣国まで（も）	5							
			2	5%		37	88%		3	7%		0	0%
7	彼は関係のない人～賄賂を贈った。 He gave a bribe even to people who had no relation with him.	関係のない人々にも	1		関係のない人にまで（も）	32		関係のない人々にさえ	6				
					関係のない人まで（にも）	3							
			1	2%		35	83%		6	14%		0	0%
8	～、手足が寒さで冷たくなる。 ～even if I stay inside the house, the cold chills my hands and feet.							家の中にいてさえ（すら）	15		家の中にいても *-te mo* ; Even if I stay inside the house,～	19	
								家の中でさえ	1		家の中にいたとしても *to shite mo* ; Even if I stay inside the house,～	5	
											家の中でも *de mo* ; Even inside the house,～	2	
			0	0%		0	0%		16	38%		26	62%
9	自分の絵が売れるようになるとは、～ He did not even think that he could sell his paintings.	思いもしなかった。	32		売れるようになることまで考えなかった。	1		思いさえ（すら）しなかった。	7		夢にも思わなかった。 *yume ni mo* ; (He) never dreamed that～	2	
		考えもしなかった。						考えさえしなかった。					
		思ってもいなかった。						思ってさえいなかった。					
		考えてもいなかった。						考えてさえ（も）いなかった。					
								考えたことさえなかった。					
			32	76%		1	2%		7	17%		2	5%
10	自分で～、高い寿司を食べたいという外国人はいない。 No foreigner wants to eat expensive *sushi* badly enough to pay for it himself.				金を払ってまで	37					金を払おうと（は）しない *haraoo to (wa) shinai* ; (They) are not willing to pay for it.	2	
					金を支払おうとするまでには	1					金を払えるとしても *haraeru to shite mo* ; Even if (they) can pay for it,～	1	
											余に高くて、食べようともしない。 *tabeyoo to mo shinai* ; (They) do not even think of eating it.	1	
			0	0%		38	90%		0	0%		4	10%

Japanese learners 24 subjects

Q#		MO	NUM. OF ASR		MADE	NUM. OF ASR		SAE	NUM. OF ASR		OTHERS	NUM. OF ASR	
1	彼女は非常に努力して大学～ She made so much effort that she could even graduate from university.	大学も卒業した。 大学を卒業することもできた。	5 2 7	29%	大学まで卒業した。 大学を卒業までできた。	5 4 9	38%	大学さえ出た。 大学を卒業さえできました。	5 3 8	33%		0	0%
2	大学入試は言うまでもなく、会社の入社式～ I hear that they even accompany them to the ceremony from new employees, not to mention college entrance examinations.	入社式にもついて行く。	2 2	8%	入社式にまでついて行く。 入社式について行くまでする。	9 2 11	46%	入社式にさえ行く。 入社式について行きさえする。	8 3 11	46%		0	0%
3	私～、あなたにもできるはずだ。 If even I can do (it), you should be able to as well.		0	0%		0	0%	私でさえ	22 22	92%	私でも *de mo* ; Even I～	2 2	8%
4	敵の軍隊は、食料はもちろん、家具や車～持ち去った。 Enemy troops took away even all the furniture and cars, not to mention food.	家具や車も	5 5	21%	家具や車まで	18 18	75%	家具や車さえ	1 1	4%		0	0%
5	その平凡な顔～ Her ordinary face even looked pretty.	その平凡な顔も （が）きれいにも見えた。	6 1 7	29%	その平凡な顔まで （が）きれいまでに見えた。	1 2 3	13%	その平凡な顔でさえ （が）きれいにさえ見えた。	9 2 11	46%	その平凡な顔でも *de mo* ; Even her ordinary face～ n/a	2 1 3	13%
6	災害の影響は、隣の国～及んでいる。 The effect of the disaster is even spreading into the neighboring country.	隣の国にも	2 2	8%	隣の国にまで（も）	19 19	79%	隣の国（に）さえ	3 3	13%		0	0%
7	彼は関係のない人～賄賂を贈った。 He gave a bribe even to people who had no relation with him.	関係のない人々にも	7 7	29%	関係のない人にまで	13 13	54%	関係のない人々にさえ	4 4	17%		0	0%
8	～、手足が寒さで冷たくなる。 ～even if I stay inside the house, the cold chills my hands and feet.		0	0%	家の中にいるまで（も）	1 1	4%	家にいるさえ	7 7	29%	家の中にいても *-te mo* ; Even if I stay inside the house,～ 家の中でも *de mo* ; Even inside the house,～	14 2 16	67%
9	自分の絵が売れるようになるとは、～ He did not even think that he could sell his paintings.	思ってもみなかった。 考えてもみなかった。	6 6 12	50%		0	0%	考えさえしなかった。 思いさえしなかった。 自分の絵が売れるようになることさえ考えていなかった。	6 3 3 12	50%		0	0%
10	自分で～、高い寿司を食べたいという外国人はいない。 No foreigner wants to eat expensive *sushi* badly enough to pay for it himself.	金を払う外国人も	1 1	4%	金を払ってまで（も）	21 21	88%	金を払いさえして	2 2	8%		0	0%

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