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Stance taking in Japanese Newspaper discourse: the use and non-use of Copulas *da* and *dearu*

Abstract: The present study aims to demonstrate how writers display their stances in information-oriented written discourse. In particular, the paper analyzes nominal sentences in three newspaper subgenres, and explicates how the Japanese copulas *da* and *dearu*, which are normally considered stylistic variants in written language, are used by journalists as important grammatical resources for expressing their epistemic and evaluative stances toward certain types of information conveyed in nominal sentences. *Da* in newspaper discourse is used as a marker of the writer's commitment to the relevance of the information in the given discourse context. *Dearu*, on the other hand, marks the writer's own interpretive and evaluative stance. In addition, the non-use of a copula (i.e., a bare nominal) also conveys a certain stance of the writer, namely that the information presented is taken to be factual. The specific kind of stance expressed through the use and non-use of these copula types is closely linked to the functional objectives and concerns of the particular genres.

Keywords: Japanese copulas, genre, style, newspaper discourse, information, stance marking

1 Introduction

Stance taking is often associated with interactional discourse, where two or more participants spontaneously exchange their opinions, attitudes, feelings, or commitments concerning a proposition (Biber and Finegan 1989: 92). In

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contrast, formal written texts such as newspaper discourse are generally considered stance-less, as they tend to be more objective and seem to suppress subjective expressions. However, if we take the view that the expression of stance is an essential feature of language (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 2) and every utterance encodes the speaker's (or writer's) point of view (Stubbs 1986: 1), planned written discourse deserves the same analytical attention as spontaneous conversation. Following this perspective, the present study investigates the expression of stance in Japanese newspaper discourse. It will become evident that stance marking is a pervasive phenomenon in newspaper discourse, one which confirms the fundamental nature of stance taking in a wide range of linguistic communication.

The present paper focuses on the copulas *da* and *dearu*, used at the sentence-final position, and demonstrates that the use and non-use of these copulas are not only determined by grammatical or stylistic conventions, but are also motivated by the writer's concern about communicating his/her subjective stance toward certain types of information conveyed in the propositions.[1] In written language, the use of *da* or *dearu* and the omission of a copula (i.e., the zero copula or bare nominal) are usually considered simple alternatives in presenting nominal sentences (Hinds 1986; Uehara 2003: 383–384). Observe the following sentences with variations at the sentence-final positions.

(1) *kore*   *wa*   *pen*   {***da***/***dearu***/***Ø***}.
     this   TOP   pen
     'This is a pen {***da***/***dearu***/***Ø***}.'

(2) *John*   *wa*   *gakusei*   {***da***/***dearu***/***Ø***}.
     (name) TOP   student
     'John is a student {***da***/***dearu***/***Ø***}.'

In the two nominal sentences above, the use of either *da* or *dearu*, or the complete omission of a copula (Ø), does not change the meaning of the propositions. It is difficult to determine whether or not these sentence-final variations have any functional significance in decontextualized, isolated sentences such as (1) and (2). Hinds (1986: 134) presents actual instances of zero copula and *dearu*-

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1 There are formal copula counterparts, *desu* and *dearimasu*, which are marked for politeness. The present study does not deal with the formal copulas, as they rarely appear in the newspaper texts examined in the study.

attached sentences from a magazine article. They are the first two sentences in the article.

(3)   (Hinds 1986: 134; with minor modifications to gloss and translation)
  pakisutan no toshi Karachi ni aru sakkaa-joo ni
  Pakistan GEN city Karachi DAT exist soccer-field DAT
  atsumatta gunshuu wa yaku 3000-nin   Ø.
  gathered crowd TOP about 3000-people [zero copula]
  'The crowd gathered at a soccer field in the Pakistani city of Karachi (was) about 3000 Ø.'
  betsuni sakkaa geemu o kenbutsushi-yoo to iu no de
  particularly soccer game ACC see-VOL   QT say NML COP
  wa naku, karera ga katazu-o-nonde machikamaeteiru
  TOP NEG they NOM hold.one's.breath lying.in.wait
  no wa
  NML TOP
  "isuramu   hoo   ga gunsei   ni
  Islam   law   NOM military.government DAT
  shikoos-areru shunkan"
  carry.out-PASS moment
  dearu
  DEARU
  'They had not come to see a soccer match; they were waiting anxiously for "the moment at which Islamic law would go into effect" **dearu**.'

Though Hinds does not provide any comment on the difference between the two alternatives, we can observe that the type of information conveyed differs between the two sentences. In the first sentence, which uses the zero copula, the writer gives the numerical estimate, "about 3,000 people", which is an objective type of information that can be verified, if necessary. On the other hand, in the second sentence with *dearu*, the writer characterizes the situation through the use of subjective expressions such as *katazu o nonde* 'hold one's breath' and (*shunkan o*) *machikamaeteiru* 'lying in wait (for the moment)'. Quantitative analysis of copular sentences from newspaper texts in the present study reveals that *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula indeed show skewed distribution patterns with respect to the types of information to which they attach, as well as types of articles in which they tend to appear.

  The organization of the rest of the paper is as follows. The next section (Section 2) gives the background for the present study. I will present and discuss previous studies on *da* and *dearu* in 2.1, and situate the present study within the

literature on stance in 2.2. Section 3 presents and describes the data for this study. Section 4 presents the frequency and distribution of three copula types among three newspaper subgenres. The quantitative findings are further explored in Section 5, in which I will qualitatively analyze actual instances of copular sentences and discuss the functions of the three copula types in the three subgenres. The study concludes with a short discussion on the location of stance in spoken and written language in Section 6.

2 Background

2.1 Previous studies on the functions of *da* and *dearu*

In traditional Japanese linguistics (*kokugogaku*), *da* and *dearu* are generally considered a type of auxiliary verb that expresses the speaker/writer's assertion (*dantei*) or affirmative judgment (*kootei handan*) (e.g., Yoshida 1971; Tanaka 2001: 326, 333).[2] With respect to the difference between *da* and *dearu* in written language, *da* is regarded as a colloquial written style, whereas *dearu* is a literary written style. Probably due to the fact that the use of *dearu*-style is particular to written language, some scholars claim that *dearu* indicates objectivity (e.g., Hinds 1986; Yamaguchi 2006: 204–205). In fact, the increase in the use of *dearu* under the *genbun icchi undo* 'the movement for the unification of spoken and written languages' of the Meiji period (1868–1912) has been attributed to the objective nature of *dearu*, which does not include any affective or interactional implications (Yamaguchi 2006: 203–204).

However, this characterization of *dearu* contradicts the types of texts in which *dearu* commonly appears. As we will see below, in newspaper texts, *dearu* is frequently observed in columns and editorials; it rarely appears in news reports. In novels, Tsujimura (1960) reports that *dearu* appears far more frequently than *da* in essays in which the writer freely expresses his/her thoughts. Thus, objectivity does not seem to account for the functional property of *dearu* in actual context of use.

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2 In a broad sense, the auxiliary verb is defined as a word that follows other words and assists them in forming a predicate and/or expresses modality (Yoshida 1971: 7). Yoshida (1971: 34) notes that *dearu* is a compound auxiliary verb in which *aru* is a formal inflecting word with no semantic content in itself.

Tokieda (1950: 184) defines *dearu* as a double-predicating auxiliary, since *de* and *aru* each can be labeled as an auxiliary. Following Tokieda's analysis, Yamazaki (1958: 231) states that *dearu* gives an impression of being strongly assertive and imposing. Yoshida (1971: 413) further argues that *dearu* is suitable when one wants to strongly express subjective opinions, but that its peremptory tone is not appropriate for conversational discourse. These characterizations of *dearu* all point to its function as an intensifier, a concept relevant to the findings in the present study.

In Western linguistic tradition, there has not been much research done on the difference between *da* and *dearu*. Maynard (1985) and Narahara (2002) are notable exceptions. Narahara (2002) argues that *da*, but not *dearu*, overtly marks the speaker's affirmative judgment. To substantiate her claim, she presents three sentence types (those of yes/no questions, sentences with epistemic modals, and those that show the receipt of new information) that indicate the "speaker's lack of knowledge about the relevant information" (2002: 163). In the following yes/no question, the speaker is asking whether or not a given place is quiet.

(4) *asoko*   *shizuka* {Ø/*da/*dearu} *ka*?
     that.place   quiet   Q
     'Is that place quiet?'

The fact that the speaker is asking this question tells us that he/she does not know if the place is quiet and thus cannot affirm the truth of the information. The yes/no question is thus incompatible with the "overt affirmative marking" of *da*. This explains the ungrammaticality of *da* in (4). Narahara does not comment on the unacceptability of *dearu* in (4).[3]

The next sentence (5), with a modal auxiliary *rashii*, can be taken as a response to the question in (4).

(5) *asoko*   *shizuka* {Ø/*da/dearu} *rashii*.
     that.place   quiet   seem
     'It seems like that place is quiet.'

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3 The acceptability of the sentences (4) to (10) may change if the past tense of the copulas *da* and *dearu*, *datta* and *deatta*, respectively, are used. The use of the past tense *datta* and *deatta* is outside the scope of this paper.

Narahara states that epistemic modals convey the speaker's conjecture and thus express the lack of certainty on the part of the speaker.[4] This is why the use of *da* results in ungrammaticality. The acceptability of *dearu* with *rashii* leads Narahara to speculate that *dearu* may not be overtly marked for the affirmative.

The receipt of information refers to the speech act of acknowledging new information (Narahara 2002: 160). Suppose the speaker of (4) above received the answer in (5) from his/her interlocutor and subsequently uttered (6).

(6) *aa, soo {Ø/*da/$^?$dearu^5} ka.*
     INJ   so   Q
     'Oh, (is) that so.'

According to Narahara, instances of the receipt of new information, like yes/no questions, are incompatible with *da* as they signal the speaker's *past* lack of knowledge. Although Narahara's conclusion regarding the use of *da* basically echoes previous studies in traditional Japanese linguistics, unlike those studies, it finds a fundamental functional difference between *da* and *dearu*.

Maynard (1985) argues that *da* is used with the immediate mode of speech in direct discourse while *dearu* is used with the reflective mode of speech in indirect discourse. She presents three contexts where only *da* or *dearu* may be used. First, *da* but not *dearu* appears with so-called pragmatic or interactional particles such as *ne* and *yo*. Observe the next two sentences with the particle *yo* (7) and *ne* (8).

(7) *ima   san-ji   {Ø/da/*dearu}   yo.*
     now   three-o'clock   IP
     'Now (it's) three o'clock, I tell you (*yo*).'

(8) *moo   san-ji   {Ø/da/*dearu}   ne.*
     already three-o'clock   IP
     '(It's) already three o'clock, isn't it (*ne*)?'

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4 The auxiliary *rashii* can also function as a hearsay evidential (Ishida 2006; Mushin 2001; Trent 1997). In general, evidentiality refers to the source of information, while epistemic modality refers to the degree of the speaker's commitment to the information presented (De Haan 1999).

5 Note that *dearu* is possible if (6) (and to a lesser extent [4]) was said by a King to a servant (Iwasaki, personal communication). This is accounted for by the phenomenon called "role language," which is a type of linguistic stereotype related to a speaker's/character's personal images (see Kinsui 2003).

The particles *yo* and *ne* are only used in spontaneous interaction between two or more participants. In the direct interactional exchange, only the combination of *da* and *yo/ne* is appropriate. The combination of *dearu* and *yo/ne* sounds highly unnatural because, according to Maynard, *dearu* indicates that the content of the preceding sentence reflects some forethought on the part of the speaker.

The next sentence type, "sentences of immediate description" (Maynard 1985: 373) or *genshoobun* (after Nagano 1972: 120),[6] illustrates her point more clearly.

(9)   *a,*   *kaji* {Ø/*da*/*dearu}.
       INJ   fire
      'Oh, (it's) fire!'

(10) *soo* {*Ø/*da*/*dearu}. *apaato*   *no*   *kagi* *o*   *kake-te-kuru* *no*
      so   apartment GEN lock ACC lock-TE-ASP NML
      wasureta.
      forgot
      'Oh, no! I forgot to lock my apartment.'

The speaker of (9) has just noticed a fire and immediately calls out what he/she has seen. In this context, either the zero copula or *da* can be used, but *dearu* is unacceptable. The fact that *da*, but not *dearu*, is compatible with sentences of immediate observation suggests that *da* and *dearu* are not interchangeable and that the types of information the copulas follow differ. *Da* may be attached to an utterance indicating that the speaker has just attained the information through direct perception, as in (9), or to remembering, as in (10), in spontaneous direct discourse. *Dearu*, on the other hand, follows remarks or judgments reached after some thinking process.[7] I agree with Maynard that *da* and *dearu* follow different types of information, but the particular context of examples (9) and (10), namely, that of direct interactional discourse, makes it difficult to discern the reason for the ungrammaticality of *dearu*. Since *dearu* almost exclusively appears in written discourse, its mere appearance in interactional spoken discourse may result in unnaturalness. The more suitable data for investigating *dearu* would be written texts in which *dearu* regularly appears.

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6 The sentence type basically parallels what Kuno (1972: 272) terms "neutral description."
7 As one reviewer points out, the difference in the type of information *da* and *dearu* follow may also be associated with iconicity (Haiman 1983). The conceptual distance between the actual perception/remembering of an event and the speaker's interpretation of the event is greater in the case of *dearu*, the longer form of the two, than that of *da*.

According to Maynard, one syntactic environment in which *dearu* but not *da* can be used is the complement clause. In the next sentence (11a) taken from Maynard (1985: 375), a complement clause in the square brackets is headed by a complementizer/nominalizer *koto*.

(11) a. [*kore ga   watashi no   kaita   ronbun {*da/dearu*}] *koto*
          this   NOM   I   GEN   wrote   thesis   NML
          wa   akiraka desu.
          TOP   obvious COP
          'It's obvious that this is the thesis I wrote.'

The content of the complement clause represents the speaker's judgment rather than an immediate description of an event. Since interpretation cannot be reached immediately and requires some thought process on the part of the speaker, *da* results in ungrammaticality. Although Maynard's explanation seems plausible, the unacceptability of *da* may be a consequence of syntactic restriction rather than semantic incompatibility. For example, if we insert the expression *to yuu* after the complement clause, either *da* or *dearu* becomes a grammatical choice.

(11) b. [*kore ga   watashi no   kaita   ronbun {da/dearu}] to   yuu*
          this   NOM I   GEN   wrote   thesis   QT   say
          koto   wa   akiraka desu.
          NML   TOP obvious COP
          'It's obvious that this is the thesis I wrote.'

The *to yuu* indicates the lower degree of certainty on the part of either the speaker or the addressee (as judged by the speaker) about the information expressed in the complement clause (Iwasaki 2002: 200–206). In (11b), the predicate *akiraka desu* 'is obvious' suggests that the speaker is certain about the information but judges the addressee not to be so. More importantly, the complement clause in (11b) represents the speaker's interpretation just as in (11a), so the acceptability of *da* contradicts Maynard's analysis. In addition, if we replace the complementizer *koto* with another complementizer *no*, the resulting sentence is (11c).

(11) c. [*kore ga   watashi no   kaita   ronbun {na/*da/dearu}] no*
          this   NOM   I   GEN   wrote   thesis   NML
          wa   akiraka desu.
          TOP   obvious COP
          'It's obvious that this is the thesis I wrote.'

In (11c), the attributive form of the copula *da*, namely, *na*, is a possible gram-matical choice. Furthermore, if a nominal adjective instead of a noun was used in the complement clause as in (12), the attributive form of the copula can be used with either *koto* or *no*.

(12) [*asoko*   *ga*   *shizuka* {*na/*da/dearu*}] {*koto/no*}   *wa*
        that.place   NOM   quiet   NML NML   TOP
        akiraka   *da*.
        obvious   COP
        'It's obvious that that place is quiet.'

As we have seen above, when the copulas are used sentence-internally, the ungrammaticality of the copula *da* may result from syntactic rather than seman-tic or pragmatic constraints. While the *dearu* copula type only has one form for both conclusive and attributive syntactic positions, the *da* copula type has different forms for these positions. The copulas' inflectional forms are repre-sented in (13) and (14).

(13)   Forms of *dearu*
        Conclusive: *dearu*
        Attributive: *dearu*

(14)   Forms of *da*
        Conclusive: *da*
        Attributive: *na* (following nominal adjective); *no/na* (following noun)

Sentence-internal positions may require forms other than conclusive forms, and hence are not an ideal environment for comparing functions of *da* and *dearu*. For this reason, in the present study, I will limit my data to sentence-final occurrences of the zero copula, *da*, and *dearu*.

   The traditional Japanese linguists' and Narahara's claim that *da* (but not *dearu*) indicates the speaker's assertion (*daintei*) or affirmative judgment is compatible with the function of *da* found in the present study; however, the present study seeks to locate the function of *da* in the actual discourse context, rather than within a constructed sentential environment. The characteristics of *dearu* suggested in Maynard are also relevant to the current study. Unlike *da*, *dearu* follows the information that is reached after reflection and interpretation on the part of the speaker.

   In terms of the source of data, an ideal data set for a comparative examina-tion of *da* and *dearu* would consist of formal written texts in which both copula

types are regularly used. Maynard (1985) looks at the uses of *da* and *dearu* in modern novels, and proposes that fiction writers deploy *da* and *dearu* to manipulate the viewpoint from which they present events in narrative scenes. When *da* is used, an event is reported from the internal viewpoint, as if the writer is witnessing the event then and there. On the contrary, when *dearu* is used, an event is described from the external point of view, that is, the writer is an outsider to the scene and is narrating "about" that event. The internal–external distinction is not applicable to the use of *da* and *dearu* in newspaper texts, since the journalist usually places himself/herself outside the event being described. It suggests that the functions of the copula types may be more or less specialized to serve the specific need of a given genre.

2.2 Stance marking in spoken discourse and written texts

As I mentioned in the introduction, stance taking is often associated with interactional spoken discourse. For example, through a detailed conversation analysis, Heritage and Raymond (2005) demonstrate how an evaluative stance is being negotiated and jointly constructed through ongoing interaction between participants. Englebretson (2007: 13–14, 19) stresses the interactional and collaborative nature of stance, and Du Bois (2007: 163) defines stance as "a public act [...] achieved dialogically through overt communicative means."

The interactional aspect of stance by no means precludes written texts as a relevant type of data for investigating stance. So long as the purpose of writing is communication, it entails an interpersonal relationship between the writer and the readers, and it therefore is dialogic. In addition, in both spoken and written discourse, the absence of stance marking must also be recognized as a kind of stance expression. Biber and Finegan (1988: 31) call this type of stance "faceless," which indicates the absence of personal judgments and expressions of subjective attitude and commitment. From this perspective, the most useful definition of stance is one that does not exclude objectivity as one type of stance.

In this study, stance is broadly defined as "the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message" (Biber and Finegan 1989: 92). In Japanese, adverbs, verbal suffixes, modal auxiliaries, and sentence-final particles are often associated with stance expressions. Most of these linguistic resources are located at the sentence-final position. In traditional Japanese linguistics, the sentence-final position has long been identified as the place for *chinjutsu* 'expression of subjectivity' or 'modality' which is syntactically preceded by *jojutsu* 'ideational

predication' or 'proposition' (Watanabe 1953). Haga (1954) further divides *chin-jutsu* into *juttei* 'expression of speaker's attitude toward the proposition' and *dentatsu* 'expression of illocutionary force directed toward the addressee'. Thus, in a sentence, a non-subjective proposition is followed by a subjective element, which is further followed by an intersubjective element, as represented in Figure 1. The copula types investigated in the present study appear in the subjective element position.
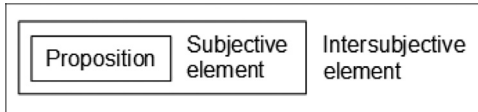

Figure 1: Location of stance.

3 The data

The dataset for this study comes from printed newspaper articles in the *Asahi Shimbun*, a major Japanese newspaper. Articles containing *da* and *dearu* were retrieved using Kikuzo II Visual, an online newspaper database and search engine, provided by the Asahi Shimbun Company.[8] I used the following search options:

Keywords:	だ。(*da.*) / である。(*dearu.*)
Date of issue:	1 January 2011 to 1 March 2011
Editions:	Morning edition
Pages:	Front page, General, Nation, World, Politics, Economics
Regions:	National edition
Offices:	Tokyo

From this search, 1,885 articles were retrieved for *da* and 153 articles were retrieved for *dearu*. I then extracted news reports, editorials, and columns titled *tensei jingo* 'heaven's voice, human words (lit.)' from the total number of articles. There were 1,195 news reports, 108 editorials, and 55 columns. Among these, I sampled 43 news reports, 41 editorials, and 43 column articles for further analysis. These sampled texts were manually checked for instances of sentence-final *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula. The results of the quantitative analyses are presented in the next section.

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8 Available at http://database.asahi.com/library2e/(accessed 20 April 2011).

4 Frequency and distribution of the copula types

First, *da* and *dearu* show a stark contrast in the types of articles in which they tend to appear. In particular, *dearu* appears with the highest frequency in the subgenre of Editorials (55.6%), followed by that of Columns (29.4%), and, rarely, in news reports (henceforth, News) (2.6%). In contrast, *da* is frequently observed in News (63.3%), but very infrequently in Editorials and Columns (5.6% and 2.8%, respectively). The types of articles containing *da* or *dearu* and their proportions are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Further examination of News, Editorials, and Columns retrieved from the initial searches revealed that some of the articles in Tables 1 and 2 actually contained both *da* and *dearu*. Table 3 represents the distribution of *da* and *dearu* in the three article subgenres.

Table 1: Newspaper subgenres containing *da*.

Subgenre	No. of articles	%
News	1,194	63.3
Editorials	105	5.6
Columns	53	2.8
Others	533	28.3
Total	1,885	100.0

Table 2: Newspaper subgenres containing *dearu*.

Subgenre	No. of articles	%
News	4	2.6
Editorials	85	55.6
Columns	45	29.4
Others	19	12.4
Total	153	100.0

Table 3: Distribution of *da* and *dearu* in three subgenres.

Subgenre	*da* & *dearu*		*da* only		*dearu* only		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
News	3	0.2	1191	99.7	1	0.1	1,195	100.0
Editorials	82	75.9	23	21.3	3	2.8	108	100.0
Columns	43	80.0	10	18.2	2	1.8	55	100.0

No. = number of articles

There are a couple of notable points. First, across all three subgenres, articles that only contain *dearu* are scarce. Second, an overwhelming majority of News (99.7%) only contains *da*, while a majority of Editorials and Columns contains both *da* and *dearu* (75.9% and 80%, respectively).

Since the major objective of this study is to examine the uses and functions of *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula, I chose to look at articles that contained both *da* and *dearu* for further analysis whenever possible.[9] I used all 43 articles in Columns, and sampled 41 articles (every other article) in Editorials. For News, which only had three articles that contained both *da* and *dearu*, I used those three, another article containing only *dearu*, and sampled 39 articles from 1,191 (every 30th article) that only contained *da*. In total, 43 articles were obtained for News, 41 articles for Editorials, and 43 articles for Columns.

Examination of nominal sentences in the sampled Editorial, Column, and News articles reveals that Columns contain all three types of copula, namely, *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula, while Editorials and News show skewed distribution patterns. Observe Tables 4, 5, and 6.

Table 4: Distribution of copulas in Columns (43 texts).

Copula	No. of tokens	%
Da	89	48.6
dearu	66	36.1
Ø	28	15.3
Total	183	100.0

Table 5: Distribution of copulas in Editorials (41 texts).

Copula	No. of tokens	%
da	162	62.1
dearu	89	34.1
Ø	10	3.8
Total	261	100.0

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9 As shown in Table 3, there were 3 News, 82 Editorials, and 43 Columns that fit this description.

Table 6: Distribution of copulas in News (43 texts).

Copula	No. of tokens	%
da	62	53.4
dearu	4	3.4
Ø	50	43.1
Total	116	100.0

Table 5 shows that nominal sentences in Editorials tend to end with *da* or *dearu* and rarely in bare nominals. On the other hand, as shown in Table 6, sentences in News tend to end in *da* or bare nominals and seldom with *dearu*. To the extent that all three copula types appear more or less frequently in Columns (Table 4), and at least two copula types appear in Editorials and News, the three copula types are neither genre-specific nor simple stylistic variants that are used only in certain types of texts. At the same time, the observed divergence in the distribution of the copula types among the three subgenres suggests that there may be an interrelationship between the function of each copula and the major objective of the specific text type.

In order to further explore the idea that the three copula types are not simple stylistic variants as well as to shed light on the possible interrelationship between text types and functions of the copulas, we must look closer at the actual environments where these copulas are at work.

5 Functions of three copula types

In this section, I will analyze the semantic and pragmatic properties of sentences ending with *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula in three subgenres with the intention of illuminating the functions of the three copula types in newspaper discourse.

5.1 *Da*

The copula *da* appears more or less frequently across the three subgenres. Table 7 shows information types co-occurring with *da*.

Opinion is the most common information type in all three subgenres, but it is particularly common in Editorials. The frequency of hearsay is much higher in Columns than in the other two subgenres. This is related to the frequent use of the evidential modal *soo* in Columns. The frequency of inference is much higher

Table 7: Information types co-occurring with *da*.

Information	Columns		Editorials		News	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Opinion	36	40.4	113	69.8	19	30.6
Hearsay	22	24.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Identification	12	13.5	7	4.3	3	4.8
Explanation	8	9.0	20	12.3	12	19.4
Inference	3	3.4	12	7.4	17	27.4
Third party perspective	0	0.0	2	1.2	8	12.9
Other	8	9.0	8	4.9	3	4.8
Total	89	100	162	100	62	100

in News. This is reflected in part by the use of formal nouns such as *moyoo* 'pattern', *katachi* 'shape', and *kakkoo* 'appearance'.

5.1.1 *da* in columns

Out of 89 *da*-marked sentences in Columns, 40% express the writer's opinions (36/89; 40.4%). About a quarter express hearsay (22/89; 24.7%), and 13% are identificational (12/89; 13.5%). (15), (16), and (17) are examples of opinion, hearsay, and identificational sentences.

(15) Opinion + *da* (Column)
    kanmon   *wa,*   *kokunaishijyoo*   *no*   *kasen*   *ni*
    obstacle   TOP   domestic.market   GEN   oligopoly   DAT
    me-o-hikaraseru   *kooseetorihikiiinkai*   **da**.
    keep.a.close.eye   fair.trade.commission   *DA*
    'The obstacle is the Fair Trade Commission, which keeps a close eye on the domestic oligopoly.'

(16) Hearsay + *da* (Column)
    minshutoo   *daigishikai*   *ga*   *mata*   *ooare*
    democratic.party   meeting   NOM   again   great.confusion
    shita   *soo*
    did   EVD
    da.
    DA
    '(I) heard that the Democratic Party meeting fell into great confusion again.'

(17) Identification + *da* (Column)

iyahon	*no*	*otomore*	***da***.
earphone	GEN	sound.leak	*DA*

'(It = annoying noise in trains) is a sound leak from earphones.'

The frequent co-occurrence of *da* with the evidential modal *soo*, which is a marker of secondhand information (Iwasaki 2002: 281),[10] is a unique feature of Columns. Unlike other evidentials, *yoo*, *mitaii*, and *rashii*, which can also mark inference based on some evidence, *soo* simply indicates that the information presented is obtained secondhand (Aoki 1986; Ishida 2006). The explicit marking of secondhand information in itself conveys a certain stance of the writer. Since most information presented in newspaper discourse is secondhand and the readers are generally aware of this fact, there is no need to overtly indicate the secondhand status of the information. In fact, in the present data, I did not find even a single instance of the hearsay evidential *soo* in News or Editorials. The use of *soo* is one way through which the Column writers communicate their individual identity separate from the newspaper's institutional identity. That is, while the writers of News and Editorials assume authority in reporting events as firsthand information (due to convenience and the assumed social role of the newspapers to report news), columnists disjoin themselves from the general authoritative stance of the newspaper media discourse. Here we see a clear divergence in the viewpoints of Column and Editorial discourse (more on this below).

5.1.2 *da* in editorials

Among 162 *da*-marked sentences in Editorials, close to 70% express the writer's opinions (113/162; 69.8%), and 12% give explanations for some other reported events (20/162; 12.3%). (18) and (19) are instances of opinion and explanation.

(18) Opinion + *da* (Editorial)

kaku-tero	*yokushi*	*to*	*tomo*	*ni,*	*kaku*
nuclear.terrorism	deterrence	COM	together	DAT	nuclear

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10 The hearsay evidential *soo* is to be distinguished from visual evidential *soo*. "When it follows the plain form of a verb or adjective, or the copula, it marks hearsay; but when it follows the infinitive form of verbs, the vowel ending root of an adjective, or a noun and nominal adjective without a copula, it marks visual evidence" (Iwasaki 2002: 281).

kakusan	*o*	*ikani*	*fusegu*	*ka*	*ga*
proliferation	ACC	how	prevent	Q	NOM

juuyoona	*kadai*	***da****.*
important	issue	*DA*

'Together with deterrence against nuclear terrorism, how to prevent nuclear proliferation is an important issue.'

(19) Explanation + *da* (Editorial)

mazu	*shimin*	*no*	*daihyoo*	*de*	*kooseesuru*
first	citizen	GEN	representative	INS	consist

kensatsushinsakai	*ni-yoru*	*kyooseikiso*	*wa*
inquest.of.prosecution.committee	by	forced.prosecution	TOP

yuuzairitsu	*no*	*kiwamete*	*takai*	*kensa*	*ni-yoru*
conviction.rate	GEN	extremely	high	public.prosecutor	by

kiso	*to*	*wa*	*"honshitsutekini*	*chigau"*	*to*	*iu*
prosecution	and	TOP	essentially	different	QT	say

rikutsu	***da****.*
reason	*DA*

'The first reason is that the forced prosecution, by the Committee for the Inquest of Prosecution, which consists of civil representatives, is "essentially different" from the prosecution by public prosecutors, in which conviction rates are extremely high.'

Da-marked opinions in Editorials often contain words such as *hitsuyoo* 'necessary', *juuyoo* 'important', and auxiliary *beki* 'must'. Combination of these evaluative expressions and the copula *da* creates the distinctly argumentative tone of Editorial texts, which contrasts curiously with the witty tone of Columns, despite the fact that both are opinion-bearing texts.

5.1.3 *da* in News

In News, 30% of *da*-marked sentences express opinions (19/62; 30.6%) and 20% give explanations (12/62; 19.4%) as represented in (20) and (21) below.

(20) Opinion + *da* (News)

shikashi,	*yaochoo*	*wa*	*supootsu*	*no*	*konkan*	*ni*	*kakawaru*
however	fixed.game	TOP	sports	GEN	basis	DAT	concern

daimondai		***da***.
great.problem		DA

'However, the fixed game is a great problem which concerns the basis of sports.'

(21) Explanation + *da* (News)

... *takyuudan*	*no*	*gasshuku*	*chuushi*	*ga*
other.team	GEN	training.camp	cancellation	NOM

aitsugi,
one.after.another

renshuujiai	*ga*	*kuminikui*	*koto*	*ga*
practice.game	NOM	difficult.to.schedule	NML	NOM

ookina	*riyuu*	***da***.
big	reason	DA

'... the big reason is that other (baseball) teams canceled training camps one after another, and it is difficult to schedule a practice game.'

What is distinct to News is that close to 30% of *da*-marked sentences present inference (17/62; 27.4%) and 13% present third-party perspective (8/62; 12.9%). (22) and (23) are instances of inference and third-party perspective.

(22) Inference + *da* (News)

oosaka-ken,	*nagoya-ken*	*demo*	*ninki*
Osaka.area	nagoya.area	also	popular

no	*juutakuchi*	*de*
GEN	residential.area	LOC

jooshoo	*ga*	*mirareru*	*moyoo*
increase	NOM	seen	seem

da.
DA

'(It) seems that in popular residential districts in Osaka and Nagoya, (the price) increase will also be seen.'

(23) Third party perspective + *da* (News)

shushoo	*wa*	*yoyatoo*	*no*	*kyoogi*
prime.minister	TOP	ruling.and.opposition.parties	GEN	talk

o	*susumeta*
ACC	proceeded

ue-de,	*kotoshi*	*6-gatsu*	*o*	*medo*	*ni*
after	this.year	June	ACC	aim	DAT

gutaian   *o*
concrete.plan   ACC

torimatometai   *kangae*   **da**.
put.together   thinking   DA

'The prime minister's thinking is to proceed with the talks between the ruling and opposition parties, and hopefully put together a concrete plan by June this year.'

5.1.4 Function of *da*

Information types co-occurring with the copula *da* lack factivity, as in cases of opinions, hearsay, inference, and third-party perspective, or when the relevance of information marked by *da* is dependent on the preceding discourse, as in cases of identification and explanation. Co-occurring with these types of information, *da* indexes the writer's strong commitment to the information expressed in the preceding sentence. In order to explicate the function of *da*, it is useful to distinguish the notion of evidentiality from that of epistemicity.[11] Evidentiality is concerned with source of information (Bybee 1985: 184) while epistemicity refers to degree of speaker or writer commitment (Thompson and Mulac 1991: 313). I propose that *da* is a discourse-oriented epistemic stance marker indicating the writer's strong commitment to the validity and relevance of the proposition in the current discourse context without making any reference to the source of information. It is important to stress here that what *da* indexes is the writer's commitment, not to the truth of the proposition as proposed in the previous literature, but to the relevance of the information for the current discourse context. The frequent use of *da* with hearsay, inference, and third-party perspective is a case in point.

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11 I recognize that these two concepts do not always constitute discrete categories (Lyons 1977; Palmer 1986; Traugott 1989). For instance, as I mentioned earlier in this paper, auxiliaries *rashii*, *yoo*, and *mitai* are concerned with both a speaker's/writer's source of information and his/her commitment to the status of information.

5.2 *Dearu*

The copula *dearu* appears fairly frequently in Columns and Editorials but rarely appears in News.[12] In Columns in particular, information marked by *dearu* tends to be affectively salient. Affective stance refers to "a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern" (Ochs 1996: 410). One instantiation of the affective stance is metaphor (Kullavanijaya 1997; Dorfmuller-Karpusa 1990: 477), as in (24) to (26).

(24) Metaphor + *dearu* (Column)
*ira-nu   okimiyage   **dearu**.*
need-NEG   parting.gift   *DEARU*
'(It = pollen) is an unwanted parting gift.'

(25) Metaphor + *dearu* (Column)
oboroyo   to   yobu   ni   wa   hayai ga,   meguru
night.with.a.hazy.moon QT   call   DAT   TOP   early but   go.around
*kisetsu   o   omow-aseru   e   **dearu**.*
season   ACC   think:CAUS   picture   *DEARU*
'(It = view of the moon between skyscrapers in Tokyo) is a picture that makes us think of the change of season, although it is too early to call it a night with a hazy moon.'

(26) Metaphor + *dearu* (Column)
tsugitsugito   furikakaru   nandai   o   mae   ni
one.after.another   happen   difficult.problem ACC   front DAT
kessoku
unite
subeki   toki   ni,   aa   inu   mo   kuwa-nai kenryokugeki
do:should time   DAT   INJ   dog   even eat-NEG   power.farce
***dearu**.*
DEARU
'When they should be uniting as they face many difficult problems, ah, (it) is a farce of power grabbing that no one in his right mind wants anything to do with (lit. even a dog would not eat).'

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12 The most common information types co-occurring with *dearu* are characterization (51.5%), description (15.1%), and opinion (12.1%) in Columns, and opinion (43.8%), characterization (19.1%), and evaluation (12.4%) in Editorials. These general information types alone do not shed light on the function of *dearu*; a closer look is necessary.

Prior to the sentence in (24), the writer mentioned how the amount of pollen in the air is unusually high this year and that it is due to male flowers growing well because of good weather and the high temperatures of the previous summer. Then, in (24), the writer characterizes the pollen as an unwanted parting gift of the male flowers. In (25), the writer characterizes the moon he saw between skyscrapers in Tokyo by using a metaphor of a picture. In the preceding text of (26), the writer discussed struggles between two political leaders. In (26), the struggle is characterized through a metaphor of a farce. In all cases, we can sense the writers' emotional involvement, whether positive or negative, in describing or evaluating the topic under discussion. The fact that the whole sentence is devoted to the metaphorical characterization (i.e., the topic is unexpressed) underscores the expression of the writer's affective stance.

Dearu also co-appears with opinions involving affect-laden words or expressions as shown in the following examples.

(27) Affect-laden opinion + *dearu* (Column)
toohyoo de   kokusei   o   ninau   senryoo   ga,
voting   INS national.government ACC shoulder representative NOM
dearu*.*
DEARU
'(It) is the representatives of the people who shoulder the affairs of the country.'

(28) Affect-laden opinion + *dearu* (Column)
subete   no   seien ya   kaisetsu o   azawarau   gu
all   GEN   cheer and comment   ACC make.a.mockery stupidity
dearu*.*
DEARU
'(This) is stupidity that makes a mockery of every cheer and comment.'

In (27), *dearu* directly follows the nominative phrase with the subject marker *ga* without a predicate. Prior to this sentence, the writer quoted some exchanges between Diet members, which, according to the writer, resembled a quarrel between elementary school students. By using the elliptical clause and labeling the subjects as "the representatives of the people", the writer highlights his negative evaluation toward what they have done. In (28), the writer's affective stance is indicated through the use of evaluative terms *azawarau* 'make a mockery' and *gu* 'stupidity', as well as the use of the universal quantifier *subete* 'every', which extends the assertion to the extreme.

Unlike Columns, we do not find many expressions of affective stance in Editorials. Nevertheless, *dearu*-marked sentences in Editorials tend to contain emphatic subjective expressions, as we can see in the next set of examples.

(29) Emphasis + *dearu* (Editorial)

izuremo	*kotoshi*	<u>*koso*</u>	*ga*	*shoonenbana*	*no*	***dearu.***
either	this.year	HP	NOM	crucial.point	NML	*DEARU*

'In any case, (it) is really this year that is the crucial point.'

(30) Emphasis + *dearu* (Editorial)

kondo	<u>*koso*</u>	*honki*	*de*	*okinawa*	*no*	*futan*	*keegen*	*ni*
this.time	HP	seriousness	COP	Okinawa	GEN	burden	ease	DAT

mukiau	*beki*	***dearu.***
face	should	*DEARU*

'This time, (they) really should face the issue of easing Okinawa's burden.'

(31) Emphasis + *dearu* (Editorial)

jitsugen	*e*	*no*	<u>*saidai*</u>	*no*	*haadoru*	*to*	*naru*	*no*
realization	to	GEN	biggest	GEN	hurdle	COM	become	NML

ga	*dokusenkinshihoo*	***dearu.***
NOM	antimonopoly.law	*DEARU*

'The biggest hurdle to realization is the Antimonopoly Law.'

In (29) and (30), the writers use the highlighting particle *koso* to emphasize the urgent nature of the event or action under discussion. The superlative *saidai* 'the biggest' in (31) also expresses the emphatic stance of the writer.

As we have seen in this section, *dearu* follows expressions of affective stance (in the case of Columns) and of emphasis (in the case of Editorials). Appearing at the sentence-final position, *dearu* functions to intensify the affective and emphatic stance expressed in the preceding propositions. "Intensity" is defined as "the linguistic means, used in a discourse/text, which allow the receiver to comprehend the degree of personal involvement of the producer towards the described states of affairs" (Dorfmuller-Karpusa 1990: 477). Contrary to what has been suggested in the previous literature, that *dearu* marks objectivity, the analysis of actual examples in newspaper discourse suggests that *dearu* denotes subjectivity expressing the writer's emphatic stance. It was noted earlier that *dearu*-attached sentences rarely appear in News (4/116 or 3.4%). Based on the present analysis, the absence of *dearu* in News is explained by the characteristics of News texts of reporting facts and maintaining objectivity.

5.3 The zero copula

The zero copula appears most frequently in News (50/116; 43.1%), less fre-
quently in Columns (28/183; 15.3%), and very infrequently in Editorials (10/
261; 3.8%). The use of the bare nominal can be categorized into two types. The
first type is the presentation of fact, a majority of which is numerical or
temporal, as shown in the examples below.[13]

(32) Numerical information + zero copula (Column)
  suitee   juuryoo   wa   jitsuni   1358-ton   Ø.
  estimate   weight   TOP   indeed   1358-ton   [zero copula]
  'The estimated weight is indeed 1358 tons.'

(33) Numerical information + zero copula (News)
  kiso   nenkin   wa   40-nenkan   hokenryoo   o   haraitsuzuketa
  basic   pension   TOP   40-years   premium   ACC   continue.paying
  mangaku   no   hito   de   6-man   6-sen
  full.amount   GEN   person   COP   60-thousand   6-thousand
  en   Ø.
  yen   [zero copula]
  'The basic pension is 66,000 yen per month for those who paid the full
  premium for forty years.'

The second type can be labeled non-predicate NP. Let us look at some
examples.

(34) Non-predicate NP + zero copula (News)
  10-ka   asa   no   shamintoo   joonin-kanjikai
  tenth   morning   GEN   social.democratic.party   board.meeting
  Ø.
  [zero copula]
  'The Social Democratic Party board meeting on the morning of the 10th.'

---

13 The percentages of numerical/temporal information are as follows: Editorials (100%), News
(60%), and Columns (43%).

(35) Non-predicate NP + zero copula (News)

kyooseikisosareta	*ozawa ichiro*	*minshutoo*	*moto*	*daihyoo*
was.indicted	(name)	democratic.party	former	president

Ø.
[zero copula]
'The former president of the Democratic Party, Ozawa Ichiro, who was indicted.'

(36) Non-predicate NP + zero copula (News)

toshi-no-se	*no*	*kinyoobi*	*no*	*yoru*	Ø.
year.end	GEN	Friday	GEN	night	[zero copula]

'Friday night at year end.'

These NPs present various types of information, (34), indicating location, (35), topic, and (36), time, but none of them serve as a predicate or comment. For this reason, the second bare nominal type will be excluded from the cases of the zero copula looked at below. Tables 4′, 5′, and 6′ show the distribution of the zero copula in three subgenres after excluding all the cases of non-predicate NP.

The zero copula still appears frequently in News, but the number of tokens decreased by half for both Columns and Editorials.

The majority of the few instances of the zero copula found in Editorials turn out to have numerical predicates, as in (37).

(37) Numerical information + zero copula (Editorial)

1971-nen	*ni*		*hajimatta*	*rekishi*	*no*
1971-year	DAT		began	history	GEN
aru	*kokusaikaigi*		*da*	*ga*,	
exist	international.meeting		COP	but	
nihon	*no*		*shushoo*	*no*	*sanka*
Japan	GEN		prime.minister	GEN	participation
wa	*mori yoshiroo*,	*fukuda yasuo*,			
TOP	(name)	(name)			
asoo taroo	*ni*	*tsuzuku*	*4-kaime*	Ø.	
(name)	DAT	follow	4-time	[zero copula]	

'Although it is a long-established international meeting begun in 1971, this is the 4th time a Japanese prime minister has participated, following Mori Yoshiroo, Fukuda Yasuo, and Aso Taro.'

Table 4': Distribution of copulas in Columns (43 texts).

Copula	No. of tokens	%
da	89	52.7
dearu	66	39.1
Ø	14	8.3
Total	169	100.0

Table 5': Distribution of copulas in Editorials (41 texts).

Copula	No. of tokens	%
da	162	63.3
dearu	89	34.8
Ø	5	2.0
Total	256	100.0

Table 6': Distribution of copulas in News (43 texts).

Copula	No. of tokens	%
da	62	56.9
dearu	4	3.7
Ø	43	39.4
Total	109	100.0

In summary, the zero copula covertly indicates the writer's stance that the information is to be taken as objective fact. The zero copula can be labeled a "faceless" stance marker (Biber and Finegan 1988, Biber and Finegan 1989), as it does not explicitly indicate the existence of a subject who is taking a particular stance.

6 Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed the uses of the three copula types *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula in three subgenres. Table 8 summarizes the major findings regarding the uses and functions of the three copula types in three subgenres of newspaper discourse.

Table 8: Summary of three copula types in newspaper discourse.

Copula	Function	Genre	Type of information
da	Indexes the writer's strong commitment to the validity and relevance of the information in the current discourse context	Editorial, News, Column	opinion, hearsay (Column), identification, explanation, inference, third-party perspective (News)
dearu	Indexes the emphatic stance of the writer	Column, Editorial	metaphor, affect-laden opinion, emphatic evaluation
zero	Indicates that the information is factual	News, Column	numerical information

The *da* marking is concerned with indexing the epistemic stance of the writer while the *dearu* marking has more to do with communicating the writer's subjective and emphatic stance.

The zero copula represents what has been termed a "faceless stance" (Biber and Finegan 1988, Biber and Finegan 1989; Kim and Biber 1994), reporting information as factual events or entities. The zero copula is observed most frequently in News, the main objective of which is the reportage of hard facts. This is also reflected in the limited usage of *dearu*-marking in News; expressing one's subjective attitudes or emotions does not serve the primary purpose of news reportage. At the same time, the substantial use of *da*-marking in News indicates that they are not entirely "faceless," though the kind of stance expressed is restricted to the writer's discourse-oriented epistemic stance.

The discourse-oriented stance marker *da* is located between subjective and intersubjective elements as seen in Figure 2.
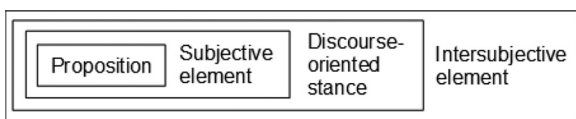
**Figure 2:** Location of discourse-oriented stance.

The use of *da* as a discourse-oriented stance marker seems to be a genre-specific feature of newspaper discourse. In spontaneous conversation, the copula *da* is often followed by conjunctive particles such as *kedo* and *shi*, which are further followed by interactional particles such as *ne* and *sa* (Figure 3).

John wa ika-nai mitai da { { kedo / but } { shi / so } } { { ne. / IP } { sa. / IP } }
(name) TOP go-NEG seem COP

Discourse-oriented stance   Addressee-oriented stance
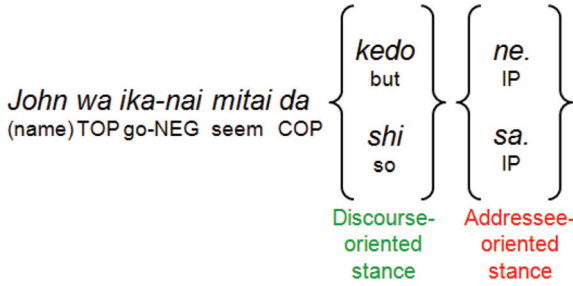
'It seems that John is not going.'

Figure 3: Stance in conversation.

In formal written language, at least in newspaper discourse, addressee-oriented stance is not expressed, and conjunctives do not appear sentence-finally (Figure 4). This may be why the sentence final *da* has taken over the function of discourse-stance expression.

John wa ika-nai yoo { da / COP } { }
(name) TOP go-NEG seem

Discourse-oriented stance   Addressee-oriented stance
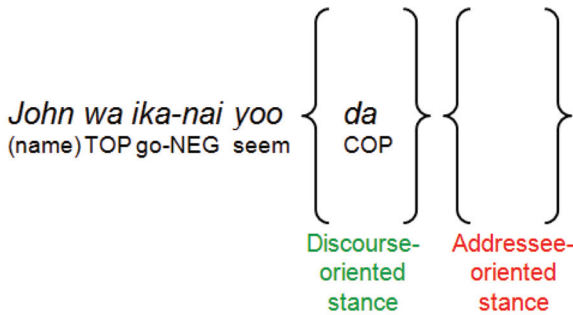
'It seems that John is not going.'

Figure 4: Stance in newspaper texts.

Even within written language, the particular needs of specific genres are distinct from one another and they are closely interrelated to the functional properties of certain grammatical elements. For instance, the internal versus external distinction Maynard (1985) found in the uses of *da* and *dearu* in novels contrasts with the epistemic versus emphatic stance-marking functions of *da* and *dearu* in newspaper texts found in the present study. In the case of *dearu*, we have also seen that the general emphatic stance-marking function is

exploited for different purposes by different subgenres. In Columns, it was used as an affect intensifier, while in Editorials, it was employed with other emphatic particles and adverbs to stress the point being made in the proposition.

In conclusion, the three copulas *da*, *dearu*, and the zero copula are found to have genre-specific functions in newspaper discourse. *Da* is a discourse-oriented epistemic stance marker. *Dearu* is an emphatic stance marker. The zero copula is a faceless stance marker that indicates the writer's stance that the information is factual. I hope to have shown that the copulas *da* and *dearu*, and non-use of copula are not simple stylistic variants, but they are important resources at the journalists' disposal for expressing their epistemic, affective, and objective stance. As much as the specific kind of stance expressed through the use of the three copula types is being shaped by functional objectives and concerns of the particular genre, it, in turn, shapes the unique quality and nature of the genre itself.

Appendix: list of abbreviations

ACC	accusative	HP	highlighting particle	NOM	nominative
ASP	aspect	INJ	interjection	PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	INS	instrumental	Q	question
COM	comitative	IP	interactional particle	QT	quotation
COP	copula verb	LOC	locative	TE	*te* (conjunctive) form
DAT	dative	NEG	negative	TOP	topic marker
EVD	evidential	NML	nominalizer	VOL	volitional
GEN	genitive				

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