The role of discourse strategies in the grammaticalization of the Japanese discourse marker *dakara*

Koji Tanno
University of Kentucky

The present study examines the diachronic development of the Japanese discourse marker *dakara* 'so' from the perspective of grammaticalization with a special focus on the role of discursive strategy in its semantic-pragmatic meaning change. Stemming from the adverbial phrase *soredakara* 'because it is so', *dakara* originally emerged as a causal connective that introduces a consequence. Subsequently, it gained several non-causal uses, i.e. the point-making use that refers back to what has been said or inferable in the discourse to stress the point that the speaker has been trying to make, the point-clarification use that points out that the preceding interlocutor's statements need more elaboration, and the point-denying use that indicates the speaker's opposition to the interlocutor's claim. Among the new non-causal uses, it is found that the point-making use emerged from the retrospective use of causality as a result of employing the discourse strategy of justification in argumentative discourse, while the point-clarification and the point-denying uses arose due to its use as a device for delaying disagreement. It is argued that these new uses developed because the expression was repeatedly used for these two discourse strategies and over time the readings associated with these contexts became conventionalized and turned into the expression's encoded meaning. This low-level generalization seems to better explain the process of grammaticalization than the high-level generalization of (inter)subjectivity for the developments of *dakara*.

Keywords: grammaticalization, discourse marker, justification, disagreement, accessibility

1.   Introduction

In the grammaticalization literature, it has been noted that semantic-pragmatic change is unidirectional, and shifts in the direction of increased expressivity/(inter)subjectivity (Traugott & Dasher 2002; Traugott 2010b; López-Couso 2010). Subjectification, a semantic change whereby the item in question increasingly develops subjective meanings as lexical or semanticized meanings (Traugott 1995, 2010b), has been applied to account for semantic-pragmatic changes involved in grammaticalization, although subjectification itself can also occur with non-grammaticalizing items (Traugott & Dasher 2002). Subjectified polysemies that arise in this process index speaker attitude or viewpoints, including the speaker's evaluation of others or of the truth of a proposition (epistemicity), information structure such as topic-marking, relationship between clauses or chunks of speech, and the speech act that is being undertaken (Traugott 2010b). Intersubjectification is a similar process of semantic change whereby the item in question develops intersubjective meaning, which is the indexing of speaker's attention to the addressee's cognitive stances and social identities (Traugott 2003). According to Traugott's unidirectional hypothesis, grammaticalization predominantly leads to subjectification, which may or may not be followed by intersubjectification.

More recently, however, research effort in grammaticalization theory has begun focusing more on specific discourse strategies as a motivation for meaning change (e.g. Detges 2006; Waltereit 2006, 2012; Waltereit & Detges 2007; Traugott 2008, 2010a; Schwenter & Waltereit 2010; Kim 2011; Mauri & Sansò 2011; Rhee 2015). This type of approach to grammaticalization provides a more detailed account of how a new meaning arises than a simple application of the general notion of subjectification, which has been criticized as being too general to capture different kinds of processes subsumed under this term (e.g. Waltereit 2012; Narrog 2015). Waltereit (2012: 66), for instance, argues that subjectification is "a byproduct of metonymic meaning change motivated by argumentation" and that research on discursive strategies may shed light on the fundamental question of why subjectification arises.

The present study provides a case study of grammaticalization[1] that is motivated by the discourse strategies of justification and delaying disagreement, thus,

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1.   There are narrow and broad views toward grammar and grammaticalization. Following Traugott & Trousdale (2013) and Degand & Evers-Vermeul (2015), this study adopts the broad definition of grammar. The narrow notion of grammar considers grammar to be restricted to phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics and does not include discourse-pragmatic phenomena. The broad view of grammar, by contrast, is extended to include discourse-pragmatic functions or communicative aspects of language. For these reasons, the present study did not adopt the term pragmaticalization, which is often used by those who prefer the narrow definition of grammaticalization.

resonating with a recent scholarly interest in discursive strategies adopted in interactional contexts in grammaticalization. Justifying one's prior claim by adding elaboration is a common discourse strategy that speakers employ cross-linguistically. A number of studies within the framework of Conversational Analysis have identified that the speaker provides justification either preemptively or retroactively in order to avoid disagreement with the interlocutor (e.g. Heritage 1984, 1988; Pomerantz 1984a, 1984b; Ford 1993, 2000; Ford & Mori 1994; Mori 1999; Gohl 2000; Hoye 2008; Raevaara 2011). Observing how adverbial clauses are used in conversational interaction, Ford (1993) reports that because-clauses are exclusively inserted after their main clauses to offer accounts and give explanations when negotiating the meaning of the previous clause with the interlocutor. Subsequent studies have found that this pattern also holds for Japanese adverbial clauses that contain the causal connective particle-*kara* 'because' and the connective *datte* (Mori 1994; 1996; 1999). These clauses provide supporting materials for claims that the speaker has made previously in conversational interaction. More recently, to explore the question of how cross-linguistically common this discourse pattern is, Diessel & Hetterle (2011) have analyzed causal adverbial clauses in 60 languages. They conclude that causal clauses are cross-linguistically embedded in a discourse pattern that involves three conversational moves, as shown in (1).

(1)   Diessel & Hetterle's three-move discourse pattern of causal adverbial clauses
       Move 1: A statement or activity that the hearer may not accept or understand.
       Move 2: The hearer's reaction to this statement (optional).
       Move 3: The speaker's justification or explanation of the controversial statement [referring to Move 1].   (Diessel & Hetterle 2011: 46)

Move 1 is the speaker's statement that could potentially cause trouble in acceptance. Move 2, which is the hearer's actual or potential challenge, takes hold if the hearer verbally responds to Move 1. If the hearer directly disagrees with what has been said in Move 1, then it constitutes an actual challenge (Jackson & Jacobs 1980). In contrast, if the hearer shows some hesitation and provides a next turn repair initiator (NTRI) (Levinson 1983), it constitutes a potential challenge, which may or may not lead to an actual challenge in the subsequent interaction. Move 3 is the speaker's addition of justification or explanation for Move 1. This move is aimed at preventing the hearer from challenging Move 1. Thus, it is a "response to interactional trouble" and meta-textually indicates that "what I have just said may be clarified through what I am about to say" (Ford 1993: 135).

    The discourse strategy of delaying one's disagreement comes from the preference organization of conversation (Pomerantz 1984a; Schegloff 2007), which explains that when a speaker disagrees with an interlocutor, he/she typically shows

some hesitation or delay. The more hesitation or delaying devices the speaker uses, the weaker the tone of disagreement becomes. Pomerantz (1984a), for instance, explains that when the speaker disagrees with what the interlocutor has said, he/she may request clarification, such as "What?", to delay his/her expression of disagreement. Another delaying device is to respond first with a token of agreement or concession followed by his/her opposing statement.

Previous studies on *DAKARA*[2] (Kyōgoku & Matsui 1972; Matsumoto 1998; Konishi 2003; Baba 2005; Ōtsuka 2007; Yajima 2011; Higashiizumi 2015) have identified that it emerged in the left periphery as the anaphoric adverbial phrase *soredakara* 'because it is so' as early as in the late Edo period (early 19th C-1868). Yajima (2011), for instance, notes that *soredakara* and *dakara* coexisted in this time period. He proposes that the latter form was derived from the former, which was the dominant form, and this shortened form subsequently increased its frequency. The original form *sore-da-kara* consists of the anaphoric term *sore* 'that', the copula *da* 'be', and the connective particle *kara* 'because'. The contemporary form *dakara* emerged as a result of form reduction, in particular, the loss of the anaphoric term during the Meiji period (1868–1912). In contemporary Japanese, *DAKARA* connects the preceding and following utterances with causality with its meaning roughly corresponding to *so* in English, as shown in (2) below. More specifically, *DAKARA* prefaces a consequence.

(2)   Maynard's example of *DAKARA* in contemporary Japanese
    (2.1)   *Kodomo-ga ookega-o   shita.*
        child-NOM   serious.injury-ACC did
        'The child was seriously injured.'
    (2.2)   **_Dakara_** _hahaoya-wa_ *sugu*   *byooin-ni*   *tsureteitta.*
        so   mother-TOP immediately hospital-DAT took
        '**So** the mother took the child to the hospital immediately.'
                                      (Maynard 1993: 69–70)

Several non-causal uses of *DAKARA* have also been identified in previous studies. They commonly occur when there is a miscommunication in prior discourse or a disagreement between the speaker and the addressee (Hasunuma 1991; Katō 1995; Mori 1999). One type of non-causal use, as shown in (3), is an explanatory use. It defends or elaborates on one's prior utterance in arguing with the interlocutor with a repetition, reformulation, or elaboration (Maynard 1993; Karatsu 1995; Katō 1995; Mori 1999).

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2. For convenience, the upper-case term *DAKARA* collectively refers to all variant forms (see Table 2). A lower-case term refers to a specific variant form.

(3)   Hasunuma's example of *DAKARA* in contemporary Japanese
    (3.1)   Sachiko:
         "*Umu-mono*"
          give.birth-SFP
         'I'll give birth (to a child).'
    (3.2)   Kooichi:
         "*Iika.   Ore-wa, kodomo-ga hoshii kedo*"
          listen I-TOP   child-NOM want but
         'Listen, I want a child, but'
    (3.3)   Sachiko:
         "**Dakara,** *umu   kara*"
          but   give.birth because
         '**But**, cause I will give birth.'
    (3.4)   Kooichi:
         "*Omae-ga shinjimattara nannimo   naranai   daroo*"
          you-NOM die.if   anything.even become.not will
         'If you died, there would be no point.'   (Hasunuma 1991: 144)

There is no causal relation between what Kooichi says in (3.2) and what Sachiko says in (3.3). But, Sachiko uses *dakara* in (3.3) to defend her position by repeating what she has said in (3.1). In addition to such verbatim repetition of one's earlier utterance, this use includes other types of explanatory attempt, including reformulation and elaboration.

    Another type of non-causal use, as shown in (4) below, is an attempt to clarify the interlocutor's intention or point (Hasunuma 1991; Tanizaki 1994). When a conversant does not understand the meaning or intention of a prior utterance produced by an interlocutor, he or she may produce *DAKARA* and ask for point-clarification, most typically with such phrases as *dakara nani?* 'so what?' and *dakara?* 'so?' (Hasunuma 1991; Ren & Yi 2010).

(4)   Hasunuma's example of *DAKARA* in contemporary Japanese
    (4.1)   Yuriko:
         "*Watashi-ni-wa, yoku wakatta-no-yo,   Kiriko-ga*
          I-DAT-TOP   well understood-N-SFP Kiriko-NOM
          Akiyama-san-o   suki datte   kimochi-ga…"
          Akiyama-POL-ACC like COP.QTP feeling-NOM
         'I understood it very well Kiriko's feeling that she likes Akiyama.'
    (4.2)   Kiriko:
         "**Dakara,** *doo datte   iu-no?*"
          so   how COP.QTP say-SFP
         '**So**, what are you saying?'   (Hasunuma 1991: 143)

Regarding the shift to non-causal uses, a study by Konishi (2003) suggests that it may have started with a particular pattern of utterance, in which *DAKARA* prefaces a quotation of the speaker's prior utterance with the speech verb *iu* 'say', as shown in (5).

(5) Konishi's example of non-causal use from *Kaidan Botan Tooroo* (1861–1864)
    Ookina koe-o   suru-na, <u>soredakara</u> ore-wa moo   asuko-e
    large   voice-ACC do-not CN   I-TOP   already there-to
    ikanai <u>to</u>   <u>iu-ni</u>
    go.not QTP say-but
    'Don't raise your voice. So, I'm saying I will not go there anymore.'

                                                   (Konishi 2003: 64)

In this segment of the story, the speaker is arguing with his wife about his seeing another woman. Having been criticized by his wife, the man promises that he will not go to see the woman anymore. In the sentence that follows *DAKARA*, the speaker's own prior utterance is quoted with the speech verb *iu* 'say'. The speaker is reminding the addressee of his earlier remark.

These non-causal uses appear to involve discourse entities that have been mentioned earlier within the same discourse, and seem to relate to the speaker's manipulation of accessibility, a notion established by Ariel (1988; 1998; 2001). In discussing the linguistic means of reference to discourse entities, Ariel (2001) proposes accessibility theory, by which language users switch between different referential forms, such as pronouns and full noun phrases, based on the degree of accessibility to the referent. She argues that human memory consists of memory nodes, and at any given time some of them are highly activated and others are only mildly activated. The speaker signals how accessible the given referent is in the interlocutor's memory, and such an encoding of the degree of accessibility guides the interlocutor to retrieve the information from his/her memory. In general, the more salient the speaker assumes the referent to be in the interlocutor's mind, the higher the accessibility is deemed. Nevertheless, Ariel distinguishes at least three levels of accessibility, highest, high, and low, respectively corresponding to three types of discourse entities, global topics, local discourse topics, and non-topics. Moreover, markers of various degrees of accessibility are only employed for referents that are presumed to be in the interlocutor's memory. Thus, referents not presumed to be part of the interlocutor's knowledge will not receive any marking of accessibility. Ariel (1988; 1998) further explains that a subset of discourse markers prefaces a piece of information that is presumed to have registered little in the addressee's memory, thus serving to mark low accessibility, including such English expressions as *after all*, *of course*, *obviously*, and *since*. She notes that such

markers of low accessibility tend to be used to express justification and/or denial. A preliminary survey of the literature, indeed, concurs that markers of low accessibility are cross-linguistically often employed for justification and/or concessivity. Justification, for instance, is expressed with English *indeed* and *in fact* (Traugott & Dasher 2002), Swedish *ju* 'after all' (Altenberg 2002), Korean *kulenikka* 'so/that's why' (Im 2011), Japanese *noda* 'because' (Cook 1990) and Mandarin Chinese *suoyi* 'that's why' (Wang & Huang 2006) and concessivity with English *of course* (Lewis 2003), Spanish *si* 'if' (Schwenter 1998), and Korean *ketun* 'if/when' (Kim 2015).[3] As it will be shown later, *DAKARA* also falls in this category of markers.

The goal of the present study is three-fold. First, this study will provide a full account of the diachronic development of *DAKARA*. There has been no research showing how different uses of *DAKARA* arose diachronically. Konishi's (2003) study gives some clue, but is limited because her analysis focused only on non-causal uses. Second, by examining the development of *DAKARA*, the present study will reveal the role of the discourse context in grammaticalization, namely the involvement of the discourse strategies of justification and delaying disagreement. It is intended to explicate how meanings associated with situations external or internal to the speaker turning into textual or metalinguistic meanings and also to show how the different uses of *DAKARA* identified in contemporary Japanese derived from the original use. The third goal is to provide some empirical evidence for how the marking of low accessibility can be diachronically associated with the readings of justification and/or concessivity.

2.   Research data

The present study adopts the methodology of historical pragmatics, which makes use of speech-based written texts (Jacobs & Jucker 1995; Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice 2007). Speech-based historical texts, which exhibit many features of spoken language, such as turn-taking, ellipsis, form reduction, non-polite verb morphology, sentence-final and -medial particles, and fillers, are appropriate for analyzing the diachronic development of discourse markers, because these features help the analyst identify a particular discourse function or context in question. Scholars in this field commonly recognize that fiction and play dialogues are legitimate sources of speech-based texts (Jacobs & Jucker 1995; Taavitsainen & Fitzmaurice 2007; Taavitsainen & Jucker 2010; Takada, Shiina & Onodera 2011). In particular, *gesaku*

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3.   See Ariel (1988) for other markers of low accessibility in different languages.

'vulgar' literature is chosen because these texts contain many features of spoken language and have been a commonly-adopted data source for Japanese (e.g. Kyōgoku & Matsui 1972; Mori 1996; Yajima 2011).

Taking this textual condition into consideration, the present investigation selected a total of 150 literary works from the late Edo period until the 21st century, a time span that includes the full course of development of *DAKARA*. For the late Edo period (the 1740s to 1830s), the ten literary works from volume 80 of *Shinpen Nihon Koten bungaku zenshū* [New edition Classical Japanese literature series] (Nakano, Maeda & Jibō 2000) were selected (Appendix). These works include *sharebon* (pleasure-quarter stories), *kokkeibon* (humorous stories), and *ninjōbon* (sentimental stories), which are known to employ the colloquial language of the period in their dialogue segments (Habein 1984; Twine 1991). For materials that represent later periods (the 1880s–2000s), another 140 modern novels in digital format are selected from two online digital archives (Appendix): *Aozora bunko* [Blue sky library], a popular website that provides a vast number of literary works whose copyrights have expired, and *Denshi bungei-kan* [The Japan P.E.N. club digital library], which collected copyrighted literary works made available with permission of the copyright holders.

The diachronic analysis to be presented in the following sections will focus on portions of texts that reflect colloquial language, that is, quoted conversational segments. The late 19th and early 20th centuries in Japanese literature constitute a transitional period from a traditional literary language style to a modern colloquial style. The traditional style featured both everyday colloquial dialogues and elegant narrative passages (Habein 1984; Twine 1991), the latter consisting of a blend of *bungo* (Classical Japanese) and *kanbun* (Classical Chinese). To minimize the interference of non-representative data, the present study thus identifies the tokens that appeared only in direct quotations, which reflect the colloquial language of the time. In the Edo texts used for our study, direct quotations start with the name of a speaker and often carry linguistic features of colloquial language, such as non-standard pronunciations, sentence-final particles, vulgar expressions, as well as lexical and grammatical features of Early Modern Japanese. By contrast, non-quotation segments are mostly written in a more archaic style of Classical Japanese, and they were treated in our study as non-representative data. Because these two "roles" assigned to the two different styles of language and name labeling are consistent in all the works being used for this time period, these criteria were sufficient to distinguish direct quotations and non-direct quotations. This is illustrated in (6), in which (6.2) and (6.3) represent direct quotations and (6.1), (6.4), and (6.5) non-quotations.

(6) An example of quotational and non-quotational segments from *Ukiyodoko* (1813–1814)

(6.1) *Kuma-ha   wazato   miraretasa-ni   seuji-wo*
Kuma-TOP intentionally want.be.seen.degree-because door-ACC
aketetachiteiru.
open.stand.RST
'Kuma is standing with the door open because he wants to be spotted.'

(6.2) Den: "*Mottsuo seuji-wo   ake-ya-na*"
         more   door-ACC open.IMP-SFP-SFP
'"Open the door wider!"'

(6.3) Kuma: "*Woi gatsuten da.*"
         oh   okay   COP
'"Oh, okay."'

(6.4) *to   sukoshi akeru.*
QTP little   open
'he says and opens (the door) a little.'

(6.5) *Kono oto-nite   Adamoji kokorotsuki*
this   sound-with Adamoji notice
'With this sound, Adamoji notices him.'

The modern texts, by contrast, needed more strict criteria because modern novels occasionally contain either what is known as free indirect speech, in which an omnipresent narrator uses a style of language that carries some characteristics of direct speech, or mental representations of characters that adopt a style that resembles direct quotation. For these reasons, segments were analyzed as direct quotations only when they are marked with quotation marks, which are represented with either hook bracket, hyphen, or colon. If a segment contains features of direct speech but does not appear with quotation marks, it was not treated as a direct quotation.

    Table 1 shows the number of literary works used for analysis and the total number of characters occurring in direct quotation segments for each time period. These numbers indicate the textual lengths of the conversational segments analyzed. Because the texts from the first two periods are not digitized, the number of characters in the direct quotation segments of these texts was calculated with a random sampling method.[4]

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4. The number of characters was counted for every 10th page of the analyzed stories. The average number of characters per page was calculated by averaging these values. Then, the total number of characters was estimated by multiplying this average number by the number of pages that the stories contained. Only direct quote segments were used for these calculations.

Table 1. Total numbers of literary works and characters in direct speech segments

Time period	Literary works	Total number of characters
1740s–1800s	7 *sharebon* (pleasure-quarter) stories 1 *kokkeibon* (humorous) story	530,000
1810s–1850s	1 *kokkeibon* (humorous) story 1 *ninjōbon* (sentimental) story	610,000
1860s–1900s	25 modern novels	710,000
1910s–1950s	55 modern novels	610,000
1960s–2000s	60 modern novels	220,000

Table 2 lists the forms identified as variants of *DAKARA* in the present study. It total, 254 tokens were identified. Once all these tokens were identified, they were noted with their form, structural position, discourse context, and semantic and pragmatic meaning. In particular, close attention was paid to how each token related to speech act, subjectivity and intersubjectivity, sequential structure of conversation, as well as coherence relation, including causality and information status. Next, it was examined quantitatively if these features form any diachronic patterns across time periods. The entire time span covered in the present study, from the 1740s to the 2000s, was divided into five sub-periods of 1740s–1800s, 1810s–1850s, 1860s–1900s, 1910s–1950s, and 1960s–2000s. A usage-based approach, which emphasizes the importance of the frequency of occurrence (Barlow & Kemmer 2000; Bybee 2010; Blumenthal-Dramé 2012; Diessel 2014; Ono & Suzuki 2014; von Mengden & Coussé 2014), was adopted to show the gradualness and non-discreteness of the changes.

Table 2. Distributions of tokens of various forms

Connective	Form	Morphological formation			Number of tokens
		Anaphora	Copula	Causal particle	
DAKARA (254 tokens)	*sore-da-kara*	*sore*	*da* (plain)	*kara*	54
	sore-desu-kara	*sore*	*desu* (polite)	*kara*	2
	sore-zamasu-kara	*sore*	*zamasu* (sociolectic)	*kara*	1
	sore-degozaimasu-kara	–	*degozaimasu* (humble)	*kara*	1
	da-kara[5]	–	*da* (plain)	*kara*	172
	desu-kara	–	*desu* (polite)	*kara*	24

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5. This includes *dakara to itte* 'even so' and *dakara koso* 'that's why'.

The analysis to be presented in the following sections observes how the form and meaning of *DAKARA* have changed over time in speech-representing written texts and attempts to explain its mechanism from the perspective of grammaticalization theory. Because the study focuses on the idealized language use exhibited in the current Tokyo area from the late Edo period to the early 21st century with little attention to sociolinguistic aspects of communication, all tokens available in our data are treated as representing language use in a homogeneous community without teasing out variation due to social factors, such as age, gender, and socioeconomic status, and sociopragmatic factors, such as power, imposition, and social distance. The study is limited largely by the nature of the written texts used as its data sources. It should be kept in mind that speech representations in written texts are authors' creations, and as a result they resemble but are not identical to utterances in authentic verbal interaction. Because these quotations are essential part of the storyline, they are designed to serve a specific goal, namely advancing the storyline, which contrasts with how conversationalists often engage in conversation without any specific goal in mind other than enjoying one another's company. In addition, constructed utterances in fiction are an idealized version of spoken language, but they are not as authentic as transcriptions used for Conversation Analysis. Although they "reasonably" imitate how people would talk and how conversation progresses with turn-taking, certain features of conversation present in authentic interaction are completely or significantly absent. For the same reason, phonological representations are much simpler than real pronunciations. Thus, one should keep in mind that the utterances analyzed in the present study are much simpler in structure and function than utterances in naturally occurring verbal interaction. Another limitation of the present study is the uncertainty of the potential impact of similar expressions available in the language system. Because the study only focuses on *DAKARA*, it is unknown how much the observed process of change was affected by the presence of similar expressions such as *sore-ni-yotte* 'because of that', *sore-yue* 'thus', and *sore-de* 'so/and then', which contain the anaphoric term *sore* 'that' and a morpheme that expresses causality (e.g. *yotte*, *yue*, and *de*). Future studies should address these issues beyond the scope of the present study.

3. The diachronic distribution of the four categories of use

This section will examine how different uses of *DAKARA* are distributed across time periods. Our analysis will be mostly based on the three well-known uses of *DAKARA* noted in previous studies, as shown earlier in (2), (3), and (4) but make further modifications to them. In our study, these uses will be analyzed as Causal, Point-making, and Intersubjective uses, respectively.

Adopting an observation made by a number of scholars (Hasunuma 1991; Maynard 1993; Okamoto & Tamon 1998), our analysis divides the Causal use further into the Prospective Causal (PC) use and the Retrospective Causal (RC) use. The PC use, which introduces a consequence as new information, as shown in (2), has been well noted in the literature. There is a causal relation between the utterances immediate before and after *DAKARA*. More precisely, in the construction "[X] *DAKARA* [Y]", [Y] is presented as a consequence of [X]. The present analysis adopts the definition of causality developed by van Dijk (1977: 69): "A is a cause of B, if A is a SUFFICIENT CONDITION of B. […] Similarly, B is said to be a POSSIBLE (or probable) CONSEQUENCE of A." Thus, in (2), the child's injury is a sufficient condition for someone's taking him/her to the hospital, and the mother's action is a possible consequence of the child's injury. It is the consequential reading of the causal relation that the speaker wants to convey with the PC use of *DAKARA*.

The Retrospective Causal use, first noted by Hasunuma (1991), is a type of causality in which the cause is more foregrounded than the consequence. As illustrated below in (7), the preceding sentence in (7.1) and the following sentence in (7.2) hold a causal relation. However, unlike the PC use shown in (2), the contribution of the utterance "[X] *DAKARA* [Y]" focuses on [X] as a sufficient cause of [Y]. The information expressed as [Y], in this case, these people's being deeply tanned, is given information and does not contribute to expanding the interlocutor's knowledge. Moreover, because the information is not a topic, this use marks low accessibility. With this information in hand, Speaker A produced a comment in (7.1):

(7) Hasunuma's example of the Retrospective Causal use of *DAKARA*
    (7.1) A: *Ano hito-tachi, natsu-yasumi-ni san   shuukan-mo*
             that   person-PL summer-break-at three week-even
             Okinawa-ni   itteita-n-datte
             Okinawa-DAT go.RST.PST-N-COP.QTP
             'I heard they went to Okinawa for even three weeks.'
    (7.2) B: ***Dakara,** makkuro-ni   hiyake shiteiru-n-da-ne.*
             so   very.dark-DAT tan do.RST-N-COP-SFP
             '**That's why** they are deeply tanned, right?' (Hasunuma 1991: 141)

As shown here, the RC use is often translated as "That's why", which indicates that the relevant information has been accessible knowledge to the interlocutor and expresses support for the prior claim by pointing out a causal link. Altenberg (1984: 34) also notes that such English phrases as "that was the reason for…" and "so that's why…" are employed for the purpose of re-enforcing causality retrospectively. These phrases re-emphasize the causal link between the two propositions which have already been presented. The only new information is the causal link

itself. This contrasts with the PC use, in which the second utterance contributes to expanding knowledge.

In our data, a token is marked as the RC use only when the context makes it clear that [Y] is given information. When the context is not clear, as shown in (8), it is categorized as the PC use. In this segment of the story, two women are complaining that a prostitute that they both know does not pay back when she borrows money from others.

(8)   *Dakara* from *Imado shinjū* (1896)
    (8.1) Speaker A: *Anna kodomo-no yoona mono-made damasu-to-wa,*
                    that child-GEN like person-even deceive-QTP-TOP
                    anmari-jaa-nai-ka
                    much-COP-not-SFP
                    'It's too much to deceive even someone like that kid, right?'
    (8.2) Speaker B: *Dakara, dandan koosaijin-ga nakunarun-sa.*
                    so gradually associate-NOM lose.N-SFP
                    'That's why she gradually loses her friends.'

There is a causal relation between (8.1) and (8.2), that is, the prostitute's wrongdoing made her lose her friends. However, it is not clear if the situation referred to by the statement *dandan koosaijin-ga nakuranun-sa* 'she gradually loses her friends' has been known to the interlocutor. Because the reader will not know for sure how much Speaker A knew about the relationships that the prostitute had with her friends, the information status of Speaker B's statement in (8.2) is unclear: it could be new or given information. Thus, in our data, if a token's discourse context does not allow one to infer the givenness of the information, it is categorized as the PC use.

Adopting the term from Schiffrin (1987), our third category will be referred to as the Point-making use, which corresponds to the explanatory use as shown in (3). Because comments made in this use are not limited to explanations or elaborations but include repetitions and reformulations, the essence of this use appears to revert to a point that has been made earlier rather than the act of explanation *per se*. This use, unlike the PC and RC uses, does not hold a causal relation between the preceding and following utterances. Instead, the following utterance serves as an elaboration, including repletion and reformulation, on the point that the speaker is making. Maynard (1993: 97) explains that in the sequence of [X] *DAKARA* [Y], "[X] is already mentioned and [Y] follows as an additional explanation of [X]." Similarly, Mori (1999) claims that this use introduces various kinds of supportive materials. She describes, "*dakara* often prefaces the speaker's rephrasing of the prior utterance or replacing of a portion of the prior utterance" (160). Thus, this remedial work, she argues, should be taken as the speaker's attempt to clarify what has been said earlier to seek affirmative responses from the interlocutor.

The last category, the Intersubjective use, refers to the Point-clarification use as shown in (4) because *DAKARA* relates to the interlocutor's stance or intention, rather than the speaker's own. It occurs when the speaker takes his/her turn to make a clarification request on the interlocutor's preceding utterance. Unlike the PC, RC, and the Point-making use, *DAKARA* does not express causal relation nor introduce additional or supportive materials. Particularly pertinent here is that this use expresses the speaker's negative attitude toward the point that the interlocutor makes. On the surface, it serves as a next-turn repair initiator, as it contributes to resolving a problem of understanding or acceptability by initiating a repair that clarifies the intended meaning of the interlocutor's prior utterance (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977), but functionally it signals the speaker's disapproving attitude toward the point that the interlocutor is making. Tanizaki (1994) notes that this type of *DAKARA* is used when the speaker already infers the interlocutor's intention but wants to express his or her antagonistic or challenging attitude. Similarly, Wang (2007) explains that clarification requests constitute "potential challenge[s]," foretelling an incipient disagreement.

The Intersubjective use has another subcategory, the Point-denying use, as shown in (9). This use involves *DAKARA* in combination with a speech verb phrase, *to itte* 'even if one says'. The compound phrase *dakara(toi)tte* 'even if you say so' serves to counter-argue the interlocutor's point either provided by the preceding utterance or anticipated from the context.

(9) *Dakaratoitte* taken from *Satsui no hea* (1972)
    (9.1) Miyashita: "*Juu   nen-kan   tsume-ni hi-o   tomosu yooni*
                  ten   year-duration nail-DAT fire-ACC torch   like
                  shite   tameta toranoko-o   torarechatta-n-da-ze"
                  do.and   saved   savings-ACC take.RST.PST-N-COP-SFP
                  ' "The savings he made over ten years patiently, as if setting fire on his own nails, were taken away, you know?" '
    (9.2) Inuzuka: "**<u>*Dakara-to*   *itte*</u>**,   *sore-ga   suguni satsujin-ni*
                  even.so-QTP say.and that-NOM soon   murder-DAT
                  musubitsuku   to-wa   kagiranai   daroo."
                  get.connected QTP-TOP not.necessarily probably
                  ' "**<u>Even if you say so</u>**, that does not necessarily lead to murder, right?" '

The construction first acknowledges the point that the interlocutor has or will put forward, in this case what Miyashita said in (9.1), and then weakens it by pointing out that it does not solve or have any direct relevance to the issue at hand.

In short, what distinguishes the Intersubjective uses from the Causal and Point-making uses is that the Intersubjective use anaphorically refers to the

addressee's prior claim, which does not agree with the speaker's own viewpoint, and contributes to negotiating the addressee's reasoning. By contrast, the Causal and the Point-making uses refer to a claim that coincides or, at least, agrees with the speaker's view.

Table 3 and Figure 1 provide token frequencies and proportions of the four categories of use of *DAKARA*. To offer a more detailed look into the Causal use, which has a large number of tokens, the two subcategories, the PC and RC uses, were listed separately. The two subcategories of the Intersubjective use, however, were not separately listed due to their low token numbers. The majority of the tokens, 135 tokens (53%), fall into the PC use (Use 1). The second most frequent category is the RC use (Use 2) with 85 tokens (33%). Across the time periods, two trends are observable. First, the Point-making use is on the rise. It is 0% in the 1740s–1800s, but gradually increases with time and accounts for 14% in the 1960s–2000s. Second, the Intersubjective use also increases with time. It is absent in the early periods and appears only in the 1910s–1950s and the 1960s–2000s. It is noteworthy that the Intersubjective use appears later than the Point-making use.

Table 3. Distribution of the four categories of use

	1740s–1800s	1810s–1850s	1860s–1900s	1910s–1950s	1960s–2000s	Total
Total token number	12	38	27	72	105	254
normalized token frequency[6]	230	310	160	200	470	280
Use 1	9	19	16	45	46	135
(Prospective Causal)	75%	50%	59%	63%	44%	53%
Use 2	3	17	9	16	40	85
(Retrospective Causal)	25%	45%	33%	22%	38%	33%
Use 3	0	1	2	8	15	26
(Point-making)	0%	3%	7%	11%	14%	10%
Use 4	0	0	0	3	4	7
(Intersubjective)	0%	0%	0%	4%	4%	3%
Unknown	0	1[7]	0	0	0	1
	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%

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6. The unit is per one million characters.

7. One token shows ambiguous use, because the speaker stops his utterance in mid-sentence after *DAKARA*.
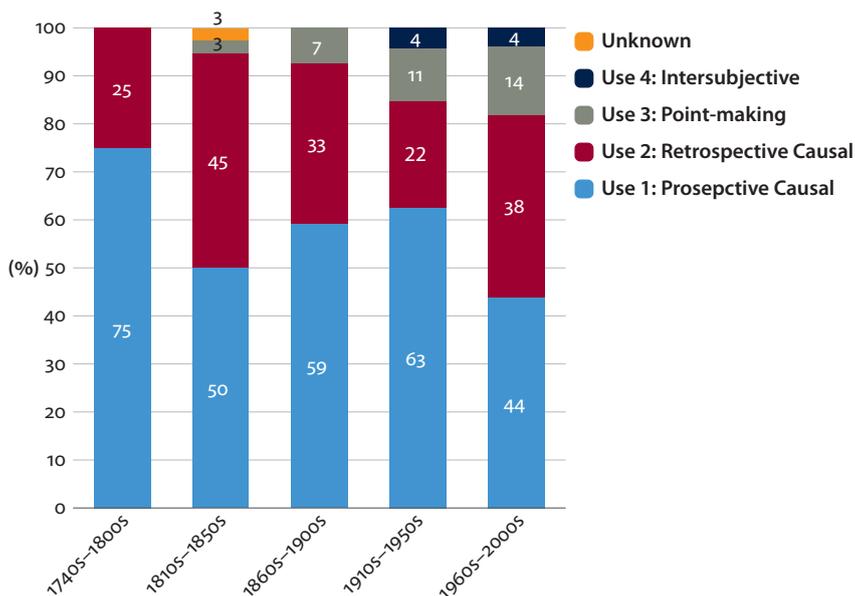
Figure 1. Proportions of the four categories of use across time periods

The results above indicate that the Point-making and Intersubjective uses are recent developments, while the two causal uses, PC and RC uses, were present from the beginning. Being in line with the morphological structure of the original form *sore-da-kara*, the most dominant use in the 1740s–1800s was the PC use, but some instances of the RC use were also present in our corpus. Thus, the cline as shown in (10) can be proposed for the shift in pragmatic-semantic meaning in *DAKARA*.

(10)   Proposed sequence of development for *DAKARA*
        Prospective Causal (PC) > Retrospective Causal (RC) > Point-making >
        Intersubjective

4.   Diachronic analysis: Explaining the change from the grammaticalization perspective

This section attempts to explain in detail why *DAKARA* diachronically developed in the sequence shown in (10) adopting the notion of grammaticalization. As will be shown below, the developments of *DAKARA* exhibit well-known features of grammaticalization.

4.1   Form change

4.1.1   *Morphophonological erosion*

The notion of morphophonological erosion (Heine & Reh 1984; Lehmann 1985; Heine & Narrog 2010), an important feature of grammaticalization, can be applied to account for form change. Figure 2 illustrates how erosion occurred over time. The distribution of variant forms significantly changed between the 1810s–1850s and 1860s–1900s. In the first two periods (the 1740s–1800s and the 1810s–1850s), all tokens found in our data are anaphoric variants, that is, variants that contain the anaphoric term *sore* 'that'. In the last three time periods, the proportions of the anaphorless variants, *dakara* and *desukara*, became more dominant. The erosion of the anaphora term reached completion by the 1960s–2000s period, in which all tokens became anaphorless.


	1740s–1800s	1810s–1850s	1860s–1900s	1910s–1950s	1960s–2000s
sorezamasukara	0	1	0	0	0
soredesukara	0	0	1	1	0
soredegozaimasukara	0	1	0	0	0
soredakara	12	36	4	2	0
desukara	0	0	3	11	10
dakara	0	0	19	58	95
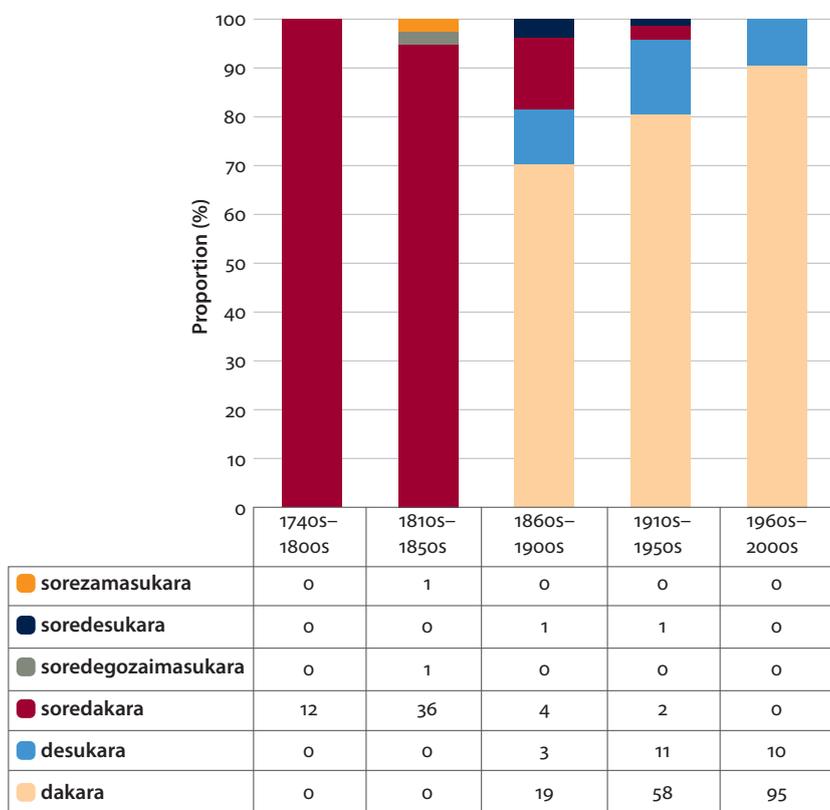
Figure 2. Distribution of variant forms across time periods

4.1.2 *Decategorialization and paradigmaticization*

Accompanying the erosion process is the process of decategorialization (Hopper 1991). The expression shifted its grammatical category from an adverbial phrase, which is morphologically compositional, to a connective with low compositionality, which makes it difficult to predict the meaning of the expression from the meaning of the component parts (Bybee 2010). Originally, predicting the meaning of the whole by its components was transparent with the adverbial phrase *soredakara*. *Sore* 'that' referred to the preceding discourse segment or a referent identifiable in the speech context; *da* and *kara* served as a copula and a causal particle, respectively. Thus, the entire phrase was analyzable as "because it is so". Moreover, it was possible to contain a different anaphoric term, such as *kore* 'this' and *are* 'that'[8], as shown in (11) and (12).

(11) *Aredakara* from *Aru onna* (1911)
      Are-da-kara   iyani   nacchimau
      that-COP-because dislike become
      'That's why, I come to hate it.'

(12) *Koredakara* from *Ishikarigawa* (1939)
      Kore-da-kara   komarimasu-yo
      this-COP-because get.in.trouble.POL-SFP
      'This is why I'm in trouble.'

Morphological composition was also observable with different types of copula. The copulaic term could take the plain form *da*, the polite form *desu*, the humble form *degozarimasu*, or the sociolectic form *zamasu*, the last of which was used first by women in pleasure-quarter stories in the Edo period and subsequently by upper-class women in the Yamanote area (Kitahara 2000). This compositional freedom was lost over time, and in the most recent time period, only two forms *dakara* and *desukara* are used. In addition, the expression became part of a group of functional words called "anaphorless connectives" (Matsumoto 1988: 343), which include such connectives as *dewa* 'then/now', *demo* 'but', *de* 'then/so', and *datte* 'but/because'. All connectives in this group derived by the erosion of the anaphoric term *sore* and consist of the copula and a connective particle or the copula alone. Thus, the formation of *dakara* should also be seen as part of paradigmaticization (Lehmann 1985; Krug 2001; Shinzato 2014), another well-known phenomenon for grammaticalization.

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8.   Modern Japanese has three series of deictic expressions that can be used as anaphora: *kore* 'this', *sore* 'that', and *are* 'that' correspond to the proximal, medial, and distal pronouns, respectively.

4.2   Meaning change

What Heine & Narrog (2010: 405) call "extension," another important parame-
ter of grammaticalization, also occurred at various stages of change. Extension is
"the rise of new grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended
to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation)" (405). Himmelmann (2004)
similarly explains that grammaticalization typically involves three levels of context
expansion. Host-class expansion concerns an expansion of the elements that ap-
pear within the construction. Syntactic context expansion involves an increase in
the syntactic environments in which the construction is used. Semantic-pragmatic
context expansion involves an increase in the set of semantic and pragmatic con-
texts in which the construction is used. It is the last type of context expansion with
which the grammaticalization of *DAKARA* is mainly involved. The expansion of
semantic-pragmatic context includes the rise of the Retrospective Causal, Point-
making, and Intersubjective uses. The new uses go beyond the original semantic-
pragmatic context of the Prospective Causal use, and their presence, as shown in
Figure 1, gradually expanded over time.

To understand the meaning change process, Sweetser's framework for coherence
relation is helpful. Sweetser (1990) proposes the existence of coherence relations in
three domains of language. According to her analysis, the utterances in (13a), (13b),
and (13c) convey causal relations in the content, epistemic, and speech-act domains,
respectively.[9]

(13)   Sweetser's examples
    a.   He heard me calling, *so* he came.
       (The hearing caused the coming, in the real world.)
    b.   (You say he's deaf, but) he came, *so* he heard me calling.
       (The knowledge of his arrival causes the *conclusion* that he heard me calling.)
    c.   Here we are in Paris, *so* what would you like to do on our first evening here?
       (Our presence in Paris enables my *act of asking* what you would like to do.)
                                  (Sweetser 1990: 79)

The utterance in (13a) expresses its content as based on fact. That is, a causal rela-
tion is expressed in the content domain. The speaker delivers this utterance with
the intention of making the interlocutor believe that his having heard my calling
is sufficient to ensure the fulfillment of the consequence that he came. In contrast,
the utterance in (13b) expresses that what is expressed after *so* is a conclusion that
is pragmatically drawn from the preceding premise that he came. The speaker here
delivers the utterance with the intention of making the interlocutor believe that the

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9.   Schiffrin (1987: 202) uses the terms fact-based, knowledge-based, and action-based, respec-
tively, for these causal relations.

knowledge of his arrival is sufficient to assume that he heard me calling. Finally, the utterance in (13c) expresses a causal relationship at the level of speech acts. The speaker and the interlocutor's presence in Paris enables the speaker to perform the speech act of asking. The present analysis adopts the commonly held view that semantic use corresponds to coherence relations between the propositional content of two utterances, while pragmatic use corresponds to coherence relations between two speech acts (van Dijk 1979; Knott 2001). Thus, the expression of causal relation in the content domain of (13a) is viewed as semantic use, while the expression of causal relation in the epistemic and speech-act domains in (13b) and (13c) are considered to be pragmatic use.

4.2.1   *Extension to the Retrospective Causal use*

It is argued that the extension to the Retrospective Causal (RC) use occurred when *DAKARA* began prefacing information accessible to the addressee in order to strongly project an image of well-informed speaker. In Sweetser's framework, the Retrospective Causal use corresponds to the causal relation in the epistemic domain, thus, a pragmatic use of causality, because the speaker is expressing a conclusion. The RC use inherited two important aspects from the Prospective Causal (PC) use. First, both uses involve the meaning of causality. Second, both uses contribute to establishing the speaker's epistemic authority (Heritage & Raymond 2005). In this case, *DAKARA* indicates that the speaker has been well aware of the matter and is capable of reminding the addressee of a causal link. The second aspect of the PC use is illustrated in (14).

(14)   *Soredakara* taken from *Kokei no sanshō* (1787)

   (14.1)   *Otoko geisha-wa   akuruasa   za-riyau-wo   tori-ni*
      man   entertainer-TOP next.morning seat-fee-ACC get-DAT
      mawariyasu.
      circulate.POL
      'Male entertainers go around to collect fees next morning.'

   (14.2)   *Hike-wo   torareru monda kara,   zeni-de*
      transaction.fee-ACC get.PSS N.COP   because cash-with
      uketoru-no-sa.
      receive-N-SFP
      'They receive (money) in cash, because commission fees will be, otherwise, charged.'

   (14.3)   ***Soredakara**, donsu-ya biraudo-de ikina saihu-wo*
      so   satin-GEP velvet-with fancy wallet-ACC
      koshirahete, jishin-ni   tori-ni   mawariyasu.
      make.and   oneself-DAT get-DAT circulate.POL
      '**So**, they make fancy wallets with a cloth like satin and velvet, and go around by themselves to collect money.'

In this segment of the story, the speaker shows off his familiarity with the red-light district by introducing a story. *Soredakara* in (14.3) introduces a detail about how money is collected. The presentation of such detail contributes to projecting an image that the speaker is a person who knows well about the matter, which is termed epistemic authority by Heritage & Raymond (2005) or the speaker's territory of information by Kamio (1994). Commonly, participants in conversation are aware of who can or cannot accountably know a particular matter, how it is known, and who are entitled to describe it. For example, a person is normally considered to have rights and responsibilities regarding knowing and describing his/her own feelings and thoughts (Kamio 1994). Negotiation occurs, however, when a certain experience is shared by an interlocutor in conversation or if the speaker is not considered to have such authority, or in Kamio's sense, the information falls into both speaker's and hearer's territories of information. The Prospective Causal use of *DAKARA* contributes to this negotiation of epistemic authority by claiming the speaker's authority.

As shown in (15) and (16), the RC use of *DAKARA* also contributes to such negotiation by signaling the speaker's epistemic primacy (Heritage & Raymond 2005), an epistemic status of knowledge which indicates that the speaker has not only his or her epistemic authority but also more direct knowledge about the matter in question than other interlocutors. The elaboration that follows *DAKARA* refers to information accessible to the addressee, which is often a prior utterance as shown in (15.2) or an action or a state of affairs obvious in the speech context as shown in (16.2).

(15) *Soredakara* from *Harutsugedori* (1836–1837)

    (15.1) Dorohachi:

        Ore yori unu-koso doroboo daa.

        I   than you-FOC thief   COP

        'It's not me, but YOU are the thief.'

    (15.2) <u>*Soredakara*</u> *Kamakura-he deru to,   kubi-ga   tobu-to*

        so   Kamakura-to exit when neck-NOM fly-QTP

        iyaagatsuta diyaanehe-ka

        said   COP.not-SFP

        '<u>That's why</u> you told me that if you went to Kamakura, you would be prosecuted and put to death, didn't you?'

(16) *Soredakara* from *Ukiyodoko* (1813–1814)

    (16.1) Takosuke:

        Ichigetsu-no   agesen-ga tsumotsutara   ookina

        one.month-GEN fee-NOM accumulate.when large

        koto darau

        thing COP.probably

        'If you calculate the monthly fee, the sum must be huge.'

(16.2) Matsu:
        Soredakara *toko-no*   *ritsupana koto-wo minehe.*
        so   barber-GEN splendid N-ACC   look.IMP.not
        '(You know) That's why this place looks so splendid!'

In both examples, the utterance that contains *DAKARA* justifies the correctness of the speaker's judgment with a connotation that the speaker identified a causal link before the interlocutor's mention of the matter.

Therefore, both the PC and RC uses contribute to enhancing the speaker's epistemic status. What distinguishes these two uses is the accessibility of the information provided as [Y] in the sequence of "[X]. *DAKARA,* [Y]." That is, the information structure of the Prospective Causal use, as shown in (17b), contrasts with that of the Retrospective Causal use, as shown in (17a).

(17) Information structure of the PC and RC uses
    a.   Prospective Causal use
        [X]. *DAKARA,* [Y]. ([X] & [Y] = new information)
    b.   Retrospective Causal use
        [X]. *DAKARA,* [Y]. ([X] = new information,
                          [Y]=given information but low accessibility)

In (17a), the speaker first utters proposition [X], and then provides proposition [Y] as its consequence. Both [X] and [Y] are new, inaccessible information to the interlocutor. The flow of information is prospective or forward-oriented. For instance, *dakara* in (14.3) links to the following new piece of information, thereby contributes to advancing the talk. Moreover, the role of enhancing epistemic authority is secondary, because the primary role is to expand the interlocutor's knowledge by providing Proposition [Y], new information. By contrast, in (17b), the speaker provides [X] as the reason for [Y]. Proposition [X] is provided as new, inaccessible information, while [Y] as given, accessible information. The flow of information is retrospective or backward-oriented. The speaker refers back to a prior discourse segment or draws the interlocutor's attention to a particular aspect of the current physical condition or particular knowledge that the interlocutor is presumed to possess in order to substantiate the claim made in [X]. Because Proposition [Y], given information, does not contribute to expanding the interlocutor's knowledge, the role of enhancing epistemic authority becomes foregrounded in the RC use. However, because [Y] serves as a reminder, accessibility is regarded as low (a non-topic) in Ariel's accessibility theory.

In sum, the PC use and the RC use often have similar surface forms, but they are distinguishable by discourse context: the former introduces inaccessible information, the latter information of low accessibility. It is argued that the latter is a

result of context expansion from the former because the latter is a pragmatic use of causal relation, namely a causal relation in the epistemic domain.[10]

4.2.2 *Extension to the Point-making use*

The Point-making use serves to react to the interactional trouble posed by a prior utterance, in particular, by prefacing an elaboration and marking the point of the speaker's prior utterance with such a connotation as "What I meant is…" It is claimed here that this use emerged when the speaker began employing the RC use of *DAKARA* to justify his or her prior problematic claim. More precisely, it started when *DAKARA* was used to present self-evident material in contexts when the speaker anticipated or became aware of a possible challenge from the interlocutor or reacts to the interlocutor's potential challenge.

The present analysis identifies two discourse patterns for the Point-making use of *DAKARA* that are explainable in terms of Diessel & Hetterle's (2011) sequential organization. Excerpt (18) illustrates the first pattern, whereby the speaker within a single turn returns to a prior concern by providing an explanation, elaboration, or reformulation. This "monologic" use corresponds to Move 3 without Move 2 in Diessel & Hetterle's terms shown in (1).

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10. The rise of the RC use during the late Edo period has, possibly, been accompanied by pro-sodic shift. Ariel (1988) notes the existence of accessibility intonation in many languages. For instance, the English low accessibility marker *of course*, which is non-tonic, is distinguished from its tonic "emphatic affirmative replay" (585). In contemporary Tokyo Japanese, as shown in (i), when the introduced information is given and accessible to the addressee, novelty focus is placed on *DAKARA*, because the causality it expresses is what the speaker wants to emphasize (Hasunuma 1991: 140). As a result, *DAKARA* attracts high pitch, as novelty focus is indicated in Japanese by F0 peak value (Maekawa 1997; Ito 2002). This contrasts with *DAKARA* that in-troduces new and inaccessible information, which shifts novelty focus to what comes after, as shown in (ii). This claim, however, needs to be substantiated with a phonological study.

Invented examples of two intonation patterns of *DAKARA* in contemporary Japanese.

(i) Given, accessible information following *DAKARA*

                                           H

    Shiken-benkyoo-ga taihen datta.   *Dakara, miithing-ni ikanakatta.*
    exam-study-NOM hard COP.PST so meeting-DAT go.not.PST
    'I was too busy studying for the exam. That's why I did not go to the meeting.'

(ii) New, inaccessible information following *DAKARA*

    Shiken-benkyoo-ga taihen datta.   *Dakara, miithingu-ni ikanakatta.*
    exam-study-NOM hard COP.PST so meeting-DAT go.not.PST
    'I was too busy studying for the exam. So, I did not go to the meeting.'

(18)   *Dakara* taken from *Arakure* (1915)

    (18.1)   Aoyanagi:

        Genni   sono okaasan-ga   doo da-to   omou.

        indeed   that   mother-NOM   how COP-QTP think

        'Actually, I wonder about your mother.'

    (18.2)   <u>*Dakara*</u>, *ano   uchi-no   koto-wa,   issai   ore-no   te-no*

        so   that   family-GEN   N-TOP   all   I-GEN   hand-GEN

        uchi-ni   aru-n-da.

        inside-at   exist-N-COP

        '<u>I mean</u>, everything about that [=your] family is in my hands.'

    (18.3)   *Koko-de Shima-chan-no   seki-o   nuite*

        here-at   Shima-DIM-GEN   family.register-ACC   remove

        shimaoo-to,   buji'ni osameyoo-to   subete   ore-no

        intend.whether   safely   control.intend.whether all   I-GEN

        jiyuu-ni   naru-n-da-yo.

        decision-DAT   become-N-COP-SFP

        'Whether I take you out of your family register or make everything go smoothly is all up to me, you know.'

In this story, Aoyanagi has been having an affair with Shima's foster-mother. They together deceptively forced Shima to marry a man against her will. Immediately before this segment of the story, Aoyanagi made a sexual advance on Shima, and she warned him that she would tell this to her foster-mother. In (18.1), the man reacts to her warning by providing an unclear comment, possibly a threat. In (18.2), starting with *dakara*, he elaborates on his preceding comment and disputes her warning more clearly. He explicates in (18.3) what he is capable of doing to her. Because she wants to inherit the foster-family's fortune, his statement in (18.2) is a powerful reminder that Shima is not in a position to complain about his behavior to her foster-mother. Thus, no causal relation is found between the two utterances before and after *DAKARA*, but the second utterance serves as an elaboration on the intention of the first utterance. Moreover, the second utterance serves as a reminder (marking of low accessibility) to a piece of information that is accessible or presumed to be accessible to the addressee. Hasunuma (1991: 140) similarly argues that this type of *DAKARA* justifies the production of the speaker's preceding utterance by reminding known information, often appears in the sequence of *dakara…nanda*. This pattern indeed holds for this example. The evidential marker *no-da* that appears as *n-da* at the end of (18.3) marks the proposition as accessible information (Cook 1990), or one may say that it factualizes or presupposes the proposition (Maynard 1992; 1996). Thus, the feature of providing self-evident or presupposed information is shared with the RC use.

Excerpt (19) illustrates the other pattern of Point-making, whereby the speaker explains his/her point in response to the interlocutor's potential challenge. This "dialogic" use corresponds to Move 3 in response to Move 2 in Diessel & Hetterle's terms in (1). Wang (2007: 172), in his study on the Japanese discourse marker *mono* 'because', explains that clarification requests and repetitive questions constitute "potential challenge[s]," foretelling an incipient disagreement. This is because a lack of acknowledgement or agreement normally indicates an upcoming disagreement (Mori 1996; 1999). In response to such a potential challenge, *dakara* serves to add explanation or elaboration by reminding the addressee that relevant information has been accessible or should have been recognizable to him/her.

(19) *Dakara* taken from *Makki no hana* (2008)

    (19.1) "*Maniatteru ja   nee-ka-tte   iu uwasa desu*"   *to   itta.*
                enough   COP not-SFP-QTP say rumor COP.POL QTP said
                "It is rumored that they have enough," he said.

    (19.2) "*Doo iu koto*"
                what say N
                "What do you mean?"

    (19.3) "***Dakara*** *maniatteiru jaa   nee-ka-tte   koto*"
                so   enough.PRG COP not-SFP-QTP N
                "**So**, that means they must have enough."

In (19.2), the interlocutor expresses an inquiry about the intention of (19.1). In (19.3), the speaker explains his intention by rephrasing his earlier remark. The marker prefaces the point of the message expressed earlier, emphasizing its obviousness. Nihongo Kijutsu-bunpoo Kenkyuukai (2003) explains that this type of use of *dakara* appears when the speaker judges that the addressee does not have an adequate knowledge of the information that should have been shared with the addressee. Similarly, Maynard (1993: 92) explains that this type of "*dakara* presuppos[es] an earlier conversational move or that the information is self-evident." For this reason, a weak antagonistic or defensive connotation is often accompanied by this use. Such subjective meaning has been described by other scholars as irritation (Hasunuma 1991; Maynard 1993; Tanizaki 1994). For instance, Hasunuma explains that because *DAKARA* often points out self-evident material in response to the interlocutor's criticism, accusation, attack, or negative evaluation, it often signals the speaker's strong irritation or frustration.

What is common between these two types of Point-making use is that the speaker uses *DAKARA* to justify his or her prior potentially problematic remark by referring to information that is accessible to the interlocutor. Moreover, because they mark information as self-evident or presupposed, they signal low accessibility. Similar conclusions have been reached by other scholars. Hasunuma (1991), for instance, notes that *DAKARA* in dialogue indexes that the basis of the speaker's

prior utterance has been accessible to the interlocutor, and thus its intention or content should be understood accordingly. Maynard (1993) also explains that as a discourse marker, *DAKARA* reactivates relevant information that the speaker assumes to have been established fairly clearly in the consciousness of the addressee. She further argues that its subjective meaning, that is, speaker's reluctance or irritation, comes from the speaker's view that the answer has already been given in an earlier conversational move. Thus, it is maintained here that the Point-making use is an extension of the RC use.

It should be stressed that although these patterns of the Point-making use generally return to an utterance that has been expressed earlier in the discourse, a claim referred to by *dakara* does not always need to have actually been expressed. As a rhetorical strategy, *dakara* can project the speaker's claim as given information that the addressee should have known. Ariel (1988) notes a rhetorical use of low-information accessibility markers. She explains that in order to persuade the addressee, the information referred to by this type of marker does not necessarily need to be information that has been actually accessible. The speaker might rhetorically use this marker to project inaccessible information as accessible in order "to manipulate the addressee to accepting something he may be unwilling to accept" (1988: 593).

It should also be noted that the Point-making use expresses the speaker's weak oppositional stance to the interlocutor. In (3), (18), and (19), *DAKARA* is used to make a point against the interlocutor's actual or potential opposition. The association between markers of low accessibility and concessivity pointed out by Ariel (1998), thus, may have stemmed from the fact that justification is used to defend one's position. In other words, the speaker has no reason to employ justification unless he/she sees some opposition from the interlocutor. Accordingly, employment of justification will always involve some weak connotation of opposition, which may subsequently lead to the developments of such semantic meanings of concessivity, adversity, and contrast. A similar observation has also been made by Traugott & Dasher (2002). They report that the epistemic meanings in English *indeed* and *in fact* arose in contexts where the speaker expresses his/her view that contrasts with other views.

In sum, the Point-making use of *DAKARA* refers back to a verbal action that has occurred or inferable in the ongoing conversation and marks its status of information accessibility as low. The speaker employs it when he/she notices that the hearer may not accept, understand, or deviate from the point of a prior discourse segment and attempts to defend his/her position. This use, thus, is a metonymical extension of the RC use, which introduces accessible information to claim the speaker's epistemic primacy. While the RC use can refer to non-verbal actions or events that have already occurred, the Point-making use can refer only to verbal actions that have occurred or inferable in the ongoing conversation, that is, discourse segments. Thus, the Point-making use is more meta-discursive than the RC use.

4.2.3 *Extension to the Intersubjective use*

The Intersubjective use should be interpreted as a pragmatic use of the causal relation that further emerged in argumentative discourse. As shown in § 3, the two patterns of the Intersubjective use serve to express intersubjectivity, namely, the speaker's disapproving attitude for the interlocutor's reasoning. Rather than accepting the interlocutor's claim as agreeable reason, this use acknowledges or concedes the addressee's point or perspective but indirectly opposes it by either signaling that the speaker has difficulty in identifying causality in the interlocutor's explanation (Point-clarification) or claiming that the causality that the interlocutor has claimed is irrelevant (Point-denying). Both uses of *DAKARA* serve as delaying devices in the preference organization of conversation (Pomerantz 1984a; Schegloff 2007). As shown in (20) below, when *DAKARA* serves as a repair-initiating marker, or rather a delaying device, it connects a premise provided by the interlocutor to the speaker's difficulty in identifying the interlocutor's intention.

(20)   *Dakara* taken from *Karasugumi* (1989)
    (20.1)   Zenbei:
        Koko-kara   kirikomu-ka
        here-from   assault-SFP
        'Are we rushing on from here?'
    (20.2)   Wasaburō:
        Awatecha   ikenee.   Kotchi-ni-wa
        become.panic not.good   this.side-DAT-TOP
        tobidoogu-wa nee-n-da
        gun-TOP   not-N-COP
        'Don't rush. We don't have guns.'
    (20.3)   Zenbei:
        <u>***Dakara-sa***</u> *doo   suru-n-da-e*
        SO-SFP   how   do-N-COP-SFP
        '<u>**So**</u>, what are we gonna do?'

Here, Zenbei asks a question in (20.1) and Wasaburō provides his response in (20.2). *DAKARA* in (20.3) indicates that Wasaburō's utterance leads to incomprehension of his intention and that prompts Zenbei to raise a question. This meaning stems from the Prospective Causal use, which treats the preceding and following utterances as respectively expressing cause and effect. In this usage, however, *DAKARA* connects to a speech act, rather than a statement. This relation, thus, corresponds to the causal relation in the speech-act domain in Sweetser's (1990) terms.

    The Point-denying use holds a concessive relation between the preceding interlocutor view and following speaker view as shown in (9) and (21) below. According to the definitions of the concessive relation by König & Siemund (2000) and Hilpert (2013), a concessive statement does not cancel the content of the asserted statement,

but does cancel the default inference of the asserted statement. This indicates that a concessive statement expresses that the result that is normally expected to occur as a consequence of the asserted statement does not occur. A similar use has been noted in adversative connectives in other languages. Lang (2000), for example, suggests that the English *but* and the German *aber* ('but') serving to indicate that the assertion rendered by the second clause is in contrast with an inferred assumption. Sweetser (1990) similarly notes that the English *but* in the epistemic domain introduces a conclusion that contrasts with another conclusion inferable from the preceding statement.

(21)　*Dakaratte* from *Fuki no koyomi* (1990)
　　(21.1)　New recruit:　"…*jootoohei-dono-wa,*　　　*ashita*　　*shinu*
　　　　　　　　　　　private.first.class-POL-TOP　tomorrow　die
　　　　　　　　　　　koto-ga osoroshiku-wa arimasen-ka"
　　　　　　　　　　　N-NOM　scaring-TOP　　COP.not.POL-SFP
　　　　　　　　　　　"Sir, aren't you scared of dying tomorrow?"
　　(21.2)　Squad leader: "*Ore-datte　osoroshii-yo.　**Dakaratte**,*
　　　　　　　　　　　I-even　　　scared-SFP　**but**
　　　　　　　　　　　osorete,　　　doo　naru."
　　　　　　　　　　　become.scared　how　become
　　　　　　　　　　　"I AM scared, too, you know. **But**, would becoming
　　　　　　　　　　　　scared help?"

In (21.1), a new recruit asks a question to the veteran squad leader, anticipating an imminent battle that is most likely to wipe out their squad. In (21.2), the squad leader, who is in the position to make calm the new recruit, first concedes the recruit's point, but after the insertion of *dakaratte*, he provides an opposite conclusion with a rhetorical question. Thus, this is an extension of the causal relation in the epistemic domain.

In terms of interactional function, the expression *dakaratte* serves as a maker of opposition. In particular, the speaker relies on reasonable logic for his opposition without flatly denying the interlocutor's argument. This pattern of an affiliative statement followed by a disaffiliative statement fits well with what Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2000) call the *cardinal concessive* sequence, as well as a weak form of disagreement that Pomerantz (1984a) lists as one of the delaying strategies in expressing disagreement. Thus, it is argued here that the Point-denying use of *DAKARA* makes use of the concessive relation to delay disagreement and opposes the interlocutor's view in delicate manner, as illustrated in (9) and (21). This use serves a similar function to Hilpert's (2013: 170–171) notion of discourse concessivity, which is derived from Günthner's (2000) characterization of the German discourse marker *obwohl* 'although' as a discourse corrective. According to Hilpert, discourse concessivity connects two independent matrix structures syntactically and indicates disagreement with another speaker pragmatically. In other words, the item in question has only the concessive meaning as its lexicalized meaning, but the

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sense of disagreement is added as an implicature derived from the fact that the second speaker presents an utterance that contrasts with the first speaker's utterance.

Because of the low token number for the Point-denying use, further verification with a separate study is in need, but the present study makes a tentative claim that the Point-denying use may have begun branching off as a secondary grammaticalization process (Smirnova 2015) and turned into the concessive marker *dakaratte*. The proposed change for the Point-denying use is illustrated in Table 4. It is claimed that the meaning of concessivity must have derived from the contribution of the additional morphological segment *to itte-mo* 'even if you say that'.

Table 4. Diachronic development of the concessive marker *dakaratte*

Phase	Form	Meaning
1	*sore-da-kara-to-itte-mo* that-COP-because-QTP-say-even	'even if you say that because it is so'
2	*sore-da-kara-to-itte* that-COP-because-QTP-say	'even though you say because it is so'
3	*da-kara-to-itte* COP-because-QTP-say	'even though you say so'
4	*dakara-tte* COP-because-QTP	'even so/but'

In the earliest form (Phase 1), the phrase is morphologically analyzable and consists of the anaphora *sore* 'that', the copula *da*, the causal connective particle *kara* 'because', the quotative particle *to*, the speech verb *itte* 'say', and the focus particle *mo* 'even'. Over time, erosion and decategorialization set in. In particular, the focus particle *mo*, the speech verb *itte*, and the anaphora *sore* were eroded. Thus, the most reduced form (Phrase 4), as show in (21.2), consists of the copula *da*, the causal connective particle *kara*, and the quotative particle *tte*. Kitahara (2000) notes that the erosion of *mo* in the phrase *to-itte-mo* was already observable during the late Edo period. It is also known that the two discourse markers of opposition *dakedo* 'but' and *datte* 'but/because' emerged as a result of the erosion of the focus particle *mo* from *dakeredo-mo* 'even though it is so' and *da-to-itte-mo* 'even though you say so' (Doi 1984; Mori 1996; Onodera 2004). The erosion of the quotative sequence *to itte* 'say that' is also known to have turned into *tte* over time due to erosion (Suzuki 2011).

To sum up, the Intersubjective use should be taken as an extension of the PC in the speech act and epistemic domains in Sweetser's term. Similarly to the extension to the Point-making use, it carries a connotation of opposition because it occurs in the interactional context of argument, namely serving as delaying devices for expressing disagreement. In addition, the Point-denying use appears to have turned into a discourse marker of its own, showing some evidence for erosion and decategorialization.

4.2.4 *Summary of the semantic-pragmatic context expansions of* DAKARA

To summarize, the semantic-pragmatic extensions discussed above is shown in Figure 3. The emergence of Retrospective Causal should be understood as an extension of the causal relation to the epistemic domain, which subsequently resulted in the Point-making use. In the sequence of extensions, the discourse strategy of justification and marking of low accessibility of information were involved. By contrast, the emergence of the Intersubjective use should be taken as an extension of the causal use in both the speech act and epistemic domains. In addition, its subcategory, the Point-denying use, appears to have branched off as a separate secondary grammaticalization process, resulting in the concessive/oppositional marker *dakaratte* 'but' through additional erosion and decategorialization. In this sequence of extensions, it appears to be the preference organization of conversation that has played an essential role and *DAKARA* seems to be employed as a delaying device.
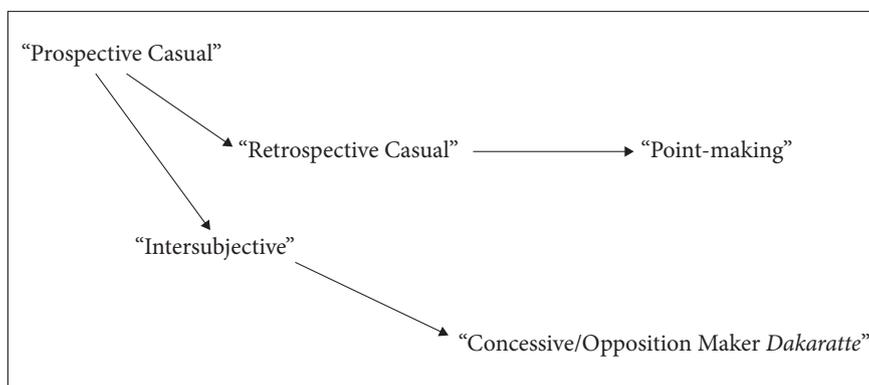
Figure 3. The representation of the grammaticalization chain for *DAKARA*

5. Discussion and conclusion

The analysis provided above has shown that *DAKARA* underwent grammaticalization, and exhibit common features of grammaticalization. Through the processes of erosion, decategorialization, and paradigmaticization, the adverbial phrase that was morphologically analyzable turned into compositionally more opaque forms, *dakara* and *desukara*. This change in form was accompanied by extension of meaning. The Prospective Causal use was extended to the Retrospective Causal (RC) use, whose main function is to signal the speaker's epistemic primacy by presenting information of low accessibility. This extension was a pragmatic use of the causal relation in the epistemic domain. Further extension occurred when the speaker employed the RC use in implementing the discourse strategy of justification. By contrast, the extension to the Intersubjective use occurred when the speaker employed the marker in

delaying disagreement. The Point-clarification and Point-denying uses were results of pragmatic use of the causal relation in the speech act and epistemic domains, respectively. If the general notion of (inter)subjectification is adopted to explain these extensions, one may say the semantic-pragmatic meaning of *DAKARA* resulted in increases in subjectivity and intersubjectivity. The present study, adopting an approach that analyzes meaning change in relation with discourse strategy, further discovered that extension in meaning is closely related to how the expression was used to achieve a particular interactional goal. The speaker uses justification to pursue the claim that he/she has made earlier in conversation. The speaker also delays his/her disagreement in the hope that such delay will give a chance to the interlocutor to accommodate his/her problematic claim so that potential disagreement can be deterred. In other words, both strategies are based on the preference organization of conversation, in which participants strive to maximize agreements and minimize disagreements. Argumentative discourse is the type of discourse in which the risk of disagreement is highest. For this reason, it is quite understandable that the new developments of *DAKARA* observed in our study all occurred in argumentative discourse.

The association between justification and marking of low accessibility observed by the present study is most likely to be related to how justifications are used in persuasion. While the speaker can freely choose the type of justification for the claim that has already made, as pointed out by Ariel (1988; 2001), the explanation is more likely to be accepted if it agrees with the addressee's perspective. From a Relevance Theoretic viewpoint, the more accessible the information is, the less costly it becomes for the addressee to interpret the provided information as a justification. Ariel also explains that the linguistic marking of information as accessible, even if the information itself has not indeed been accessible, contributes to suppressing the addressee's critical reaction. Furthermore, uncomfortable information, argues Ariel, is easy to impart if it is marked as accessible information.

Accessible information also contributes to persuasion in that it draws attention to the common ground that the speaker shares with the addressee. While inaccessible information casts its provider as a specialist who holds epistemic primacy and puts some psychological distance with its recipient, accessible information makes its provider a relatable person who shares similar knowledge and enables its provider and recipient to be on an equal footing. Thus, providing a justification that is marked as accessible information is a powerful device to avoid dispute and build rapport in argumentative discourse. This might be a partial reason why many markers of low accessibility are commonly available in languages. For instance, the Korean connective *kulenikka* 'so/that's why' (Im 2011) and the English stance-marking expressions *you know*, *you see*, and *you say* (Fitzmaurice 2004) similarly contribute to building rapport with the interlocutor. More research needs to be carried out to examine if the discourse strategy of justification is similarly applied in the developments of other markers of low accessibility.

The analysis provided in the present study suggests that the diachronic development of *DAKARA* was more complicated than a simple linear change. The series of context expansions observed in *DAKARA* can be better accounted using Smirnova's (2015) recent model of grammaticalization chain. In an attempt to distinguish primary and secondary grammaticalization processes, she proposes a chain of grammaticalization processes which branch and parallel each other, not necessarily following each other neatly. She describes this type of sequence as "a tree with multiple branches stemming from different points of earlier branches" in comparison with the traditional linear model of "a single line extending from left to right" (2015: 218). As shown in Figure 3, *DAKARA*'s context first expanded from the Prospective Causal use to the Point-making use. Another line of expansion was from the Prospective Causal use to the Intersubjective use and possibly to the concessive marker *dakaratte*. These two lines of developments were motivated by different discourse strategies: one is justification and the other delaying disagreement.

To conclude, the present study has demonstrated that the diachronic development of the Japanese connective *DAKARA* involves increased (inter)subjectivity associated with the discourse strategies of justification and delaying disagreement, cross-linguistically common strategies. As noted by Waltereit (2012), this low-level generalization seems to better explain the process of grammaticalization than the high-level generalization of (inter)subjectivity in a case like *DAKARA*.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	PC	Prospective Causal
CN	connective	PL	plural
COP	copula	POL	polite
DAT	dative	PRG	progressive
DIM	diminutive	PSS	passive
FOC	focus particle	PST	past tense
GEN	genitive	QTP	quotative particle
GEP	general extender particle	RC	Retrospective Causal
IMP	imperative	RST	resultant
N	nominalizer	SFP	sentence-final particle
NOM	nominative	TOP	topic marker

Appendix. Chronological order of works used

Sharebon [Pleasure-quarter stories]

1.   *Seki hujin-den* (1749) A[11]
2.   *Yūshi hōgen* (1770) A
3.   *Kōeki shinwa* (1775) A
4.   *Kokei no sanshō* (1787) A
5.   *Keiseikai shijūhatte* (1790) A
6.   *Shigeshigechiwa* (1790) A
7.   *Keiseikai futasujimichi* (1798) A

Kokkeibon [Humorous stories] A

8.   *Meitei kishitsu* (1806) A
9.   *Ukiyodoko* (1813–1814) A

Ninjōbon [Sentimental stories]

10.   *Harutsugedori* (1836–1837) A

Modern novels published in the 1880–1890s

11.   *Musashino* by Bimyō Yamada (1887) B
12.   *Ukigumo* by Shimei Hutabatei (1887–1889) B
13.   *Akiya* by Koshoshi Miyazaki (1889) B
14.   *Hatsukoi* by Saganoya Yazaki (1889) B
15.   *Ryōya* by Kōson Aeba (1889) B
16.   *Inakku, āden monogatari* by Shizuko Wakamatsu (1890) C
17.   *Utakata no ki* by Ōgai Mori (1890) B
18.   *Kakurenbo* by Ryokuu Saitō (1891) B
19.   *Gojūnotō* by Rohan Kōda (1891–1892) B
20.   *Ake-zukiyo* by Ichiyō Higuchi (1893) B
21.   *Iki-ningyō* by Kyōka Izumi (1893) B
22.   *Shokikan* by Bizan Kawakami (1895) B
23.   *Imado shinjū* by Ryūrō Hirotsu (1896) B
24.   *Nyōbo-goroshi* by Suiin Emi (1896) C
25.   *Roji no kiku* by Shikin Shimizu (1896) B
26.   *Uba* by Usurai Kitada (1896) C
27.   *Kiso no tabibito* by Kidō Okamoto (1897) B
28.   *Konjiki yasha* by Kōyō Ozaki (1897) B
29.   *Musashino* by Doppo Kunikida (1898) B
30.   *Shōsetsu hototogisu* by Roka Tokutomi (1898–1899) B

Modern novels published in the 1900–1910s

31.   *Abe ichizoku* by Ōgai Mori (1913) B
32.   *Karisaka-goe* by Rohan Kōda (1903) B
33.   *Shokudō raku: Aki no maki* by Gensai Murai (1903) B
34.   *Kairokō* by Sōseki Natsume (1905) B
35.   *Kaibōshitsu* by Sōsen Mishima (1907) B

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11. This indicates the data source provided in the Data source list.

36. *Gessekai basshō-ki* by Suiin Emi (1907) B
37. *Kitsune* by Kahū Nagai (1909) B
38. *Kawara no taimen* by Kikuko Onodera (1910) B
39. *Kyōzō no chichi* by Sakujirō Kanō (1910) B
40. *Amenchia* by Rintarō Tominosawa (1911) B
41. *Umeryō no hanashi* by Kaoru Osanai (1911) B
42. *Aru onna* (first half) by Takeo Arishima (1911–1913) B
43. *Indo sarasa* by Izumi Kyōka (1912) B
44. *Gyakuto* by Shū Hiraide (1913) B
45. *Isho* by Akiko Yosano (1914) B
46. *Arakure* by Shūsei Tokuda (1915) B
47. *Kamen* by Hakuchō Masamune (1916) B
48. *Kyōsō* by Masao Kume (1916) B
49. *Aru shokkō no shuki* by Karoku Miyachi (1919) B
50. *Ippeisotsu to jū* by Shūtarō Nanbu (1919) B

Modern novels published in the 1920–1930s

51. *Aojiroki sōkutsu* by Saisei Murō (1920) B
52. *Asa-batake no ichi-ya* by Kidō Okamoto (1920) B
53. *Aru onna no shōgai* by Tōson Shimazaki (1921) B
54. *Aru otoko no daraku* by Noe Itō (1923) B
55. *Aokusa* by Gisaburō Jūichiya (1924) B
56. *Ajiuri batake* by Hideo Oguma (1925) B
57. *Arashi no yoru* by Huboku Kosakai (1926) B
58. *Akuma no seidan* by Hatsunosuke Hirabayashi (1927) B
59. *Akai kasha* by Yuriko Miyamoto (1928) B
60. *Akai te* by Shirō Kunieda (1931) B
61. *Akino yo-gatari* by Kanoko Okamoto (1933) B
62. *Adautare gesaku* by Hubō Hayashi (1934) B
63. *Asa-yū* by Humiko Hayashi (1935) B
64. *Ichi-katei* by Kensaku Shimaki (1935) B
65. *Akuma kitōsho* by Kyūsaku Yumeno (1936) B
66. *Amemiya kōan* by Ango Sakaguchi (1936) B
67. *Ayatsuri saiban* by Keikichi Ōsaka (1936) B
68. *Inochi no shoya* by Tamio Hōjō (1936) B
69. *Isshū ichi-ya monogatari* by Mushitarō Oguri (1938) B
70. *Ishikarigawa* by Mutsuo Honjō (1939) B

Modern novels published in the 1940–1950s

71. *Asano kaze* by Yuriko Miyamoto (1940) B
72. *Entarō basha* by Iruru Masaoka (1941) B
73. *Ishi takama husaichi-shi* by Shūichirō Tabata (1941) B
74. *Aki hukaki* by Sakunosuke Oda (1942) B
75. *Uesugi Kenshin* by Eiji Yoshikawa (1942) B
76. *Ushi otoko* by Atsushi Nakajima (1942) B
77. *Kōno* by Tatsuo Hori (1944) B
78. *Ao-oni no hakama o arau onna* by Ango Sakaguchi (1947) B
79. *Asa-yake* by Yoshio Toyoshima (1947) B

80. *Kawahaze* by Humiko Hayashi (1947) B
81. *Obāsan* by Husa Sasaki (1947) B
82. *Ano kao* by Hanako Ōkura(1948) B
83. *Angō no yakuwari* by Jūzō Unno (1948) B
84. *Ōmu* by Kiyoshi Jinzai (1948) B
85. *Ochiteiku sekai* by Yōko Kusaka (1950) B
86. *Aki no kumo* by Kishida Kokushi (1951) B
87. *Aru kanzen hanzai-nin no shuki* by Kashichi Sakai (1952) B
88. *Anata mo watashi mo* by Jūran Hisao (1954) B
89. *Otoko-gokoro* by Kahu Nagai (1956) B
90. *Ibo* by Nankichi Nīmi (1943) B

Modern novels published in the 1960–1970s

91. *Zero-byō-mae* by Keiichi Itō (1962) C
92. *Kata-ude* by Yasunari Kawabata (1963) C
93. *Kyōha-butae* by Junichirō Tanizaki (1963) C
94. *Tatakai* by Makoto Mihara (1963) C
95. *Furandoru no huyu* by Otohiko Kaga (1966) C
96. *Huro-ba no hanashi* by Teruo Kadowaki (1966) C
97. *Jikan* by Senji Kuroi (1969) C
98. *Nene ga kuru* by Senji Kuroi (1969) C
99. *Waga Moraesu-den* by Jitsuo Tsukuda (1969) C
100. *Hina-ningyō* by Kazuo Oikawa (1971) C
101. *Satsui no hea* by Seiichi Morimura (1972) C
102. *Akuru asa no semi* by Hisashi Inoue (1973) C
103. *Ike no hotori* by Akeo Murayama (1973) C
104. *Huyu no katami ni* by Masaaki Tachihara (1974) C
105. *Iwana* by Jun Oda (1975) C
106. *Gogatsu no asa* by Tatsuo Matsushiro (1977) C
107. *Ko-goroshi* by Tatsuo Matsushiro (1977) C
108. *Natsu no moshō* by Takashi Tsuda (1978) C
109. *O-tome-bashi* by Yayoko Usui (1978) C
110. *Toraichi* by Taku Mayumura (1979) C

Modern novels published in the 1980–1990s

111. *Ubuge no kotori* by Toshio Sugimoto (1983) C
112. *Bōsai no hirumae* by Takashi Tsujii (1984) C
113. *Fensu no naka* by Kyōko Kubota (1984) C
114. *Shiroi aki no niwa no* by Motohiko Huma (1984) C
115. *Shinya no birudhingu* by Shūji Ueda (1985) C
116. *Nebukuro no komori-uta* by Masaaki Nishiki (1986) C
117. *Yama e kaeru* by Wahei Tatematsu (1986) C
118. *Kagami* by Jirō Mukawa (1987) C
119. *Boku no dōbutsu-ki* by Tamichika Kawashima (1988) C
120. *Karasugumi* by Mitsugu Saotome (1989) C
121. *Fuki no koyomi* by Junpei Gomikawa (1990) C
122. *Hikari no obi no naka ni* by Aki Maisaka (1992) C
123. *N-shi taku nite … Ruisu Kyaroru to shikō kikai* by Tōru Nishigaki (1992) C

124. *Tō no aru machi de* by Masao Kuramochi (1992) C
125. *Tsukudajima hutari shobō shō* by Tatsurō Dekune (1992) C
126. *Tsuyukusa gensō* by Husako Morimoto (1993) C
127. *Kokui no hito* by Jirō Mukawa (1994) C
128. *Tachi-aoi saku* by Akiyo Ozu (1994) C
129. *Hana no nedoko* by Yūko Matsumoto (1995) C
130. *Ajisan* by Michie Ozawa (1995) C

Modern novels published in the 2000s

131. *Fuyo zanshō* by Nobuo Uda (2003) C
132. *Komadori no chi* by Naoko Masunaga (2003) C
133. *Okimichaya* by Akiyo Ozu (2003) C
134. *Yume fuyū* by Setsuko Inagami (2003) C
135. *Akane-iro no yama* by Yutaka Sakimura (2004) C
136. *Chōryū* by Ken'ichi Hodaka (2004) C
137. *Dakuryū* by Humiko Saitō (2004) C
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Author's address

Koji Tanno
University of Kentucky
1055 Patterson Office Tower
Lexington, KY 40506-0027
USA
Koji.Tanno@uky.edu