

V-na(sa)-soo da: A survey-based study of evidential 'variants' in Japanese

By

Tetsuya Miyaguchi

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Japanese Language and Linguistics

Department of East Asian Studies

University of Alberta

© Tetsuya Miyaguchi, 2016

Abstract

In the Japanese language, it is known that when the evidential *-soo da* ‘looks like’ connects to a negative predicate, an additional element *sa* occasionally appears between the negative marker and *-soo da*, giving rise to two different forms, *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. An example is shown below:

ame ga fura-**na(sa)-soo da**

rain NOM fall **NEG(sa) it-looks-like**

‘It looks like it is not going to rain.’

While previous studies consider that *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* do not differ in meaning or use, regarding them simply as ‘variants,’ these two forms actually seem to give somewhat different impressions; in the case of *-nasa-soo da*, it sounds as if the speaker is speaking with some form of certainty, while on the other hand *-na-soo da* sounds as if the speaker is speaking based on their intuition.

This study looks into the possibility that the so-called ‘variants’ *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* actually differ in meaning and use. With my hypothesis that ‘visual evidence’ and ‘length of time to process information’ play some roles in the speaker’s choice between the two forms, I will use a questionnaire survey to look at how speakers choose between the two forms. Based on the results, I will show how the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* may vary according to these factors.

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Tsuyoshi Ono for his tremendous support throughout my years of study and research at the University of Alberta as a graduate student. His continuous and considerate support always helped me get through the most difficult times in graduate school and guided me in the right direction, and without it, I would not be where I am today.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professor Anne Commons and Professor Xiaoting Li for their insightful comments. Not only did they help me notice the problems but they also helped me broaden my perspective on the present study, which I'm sure will be a great asset in continuing with my study in the future.

I am also grateful for the Department of East Asian Studies for giving me the opportunity to learn at the University of Alberta and providing assistance when I was in need. The warm and welcoming environment of the department always gave me relief in the midst of my stressful moments in graduate school.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family for all their support and continuous encouragement. I would like to give a special thanks to Kyle Gough and Khanh Tran, who kindly offered to proofread my work despite their busy schedules. Without their support, I would have never been able to achieve this goal. With all sincerity, thank you.

Tetsuya Miyaguchi

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
1.1 Definitions and use of <i>-soo da</i>	3
1.1.1 Teramura (1984).....	3
1.1.2 Toyoda (1987)	4
1.1.3 Oba (1999).....	4
1.1.4 Kikuchi (2000).....	6
1.2 Negative forms of <i>-soo da</i>	9
1.3 The two ‘variants’ <i>-na-soo da</i> and <i>-nasa-soo da</i>	10
1.3.1 Toyoda (1998)	12
1.4 The grammatical status of <i>sa</i>	14
1.4.1 Yoshida (1971)	15
1.4.2 Urushidani(2010) and Konoshima (1973).....	16
1.5 Choice between <i>-na-soo da</i> and <i>-nasa-soo da</i>	17
1.6 Present study	18
2 Difference between <i>-na-soo da</i> and <i>-nasa-soo da</i>	21
2.1 Initial ideas for the difference between <i>-na-soo da</i> and <i>-nasa-soo da</i>	21
2.2 Hypothesis for the use of <i>-na-soo da</i> and <i>-nasa-soo da</i>	22
2.3 Analysis of Toyoda (1998) and Noda (2003).....	26
2.3.1 Toyoda (1998)	26
2.3.2 Noda (2003).....	28
2.4 Summary	31
3 Research methods	32
3.1 Subjects	32
3.2 Questions.....	32
3.2.1 Question sentences	33
3.3 Verbs	35

3.4 The questionnaire format	36
3.5 Summary	38
4 Data analysis.....	39
4.1 Questionable cases	39
4.2 Analysis based on the contexts	40
4.2.1 [+V] and [-V].....	40
4.2.2 [+T] and [-T].....	42
4.2.3 Summary.....	43
4.3 Verb-based preferences	44
4.3.1 [+V] and [-V].....	44
4.3.2 [+T] and [-T].....	45
4.3.3 Comparison between [+V], [-V] and [+T], [-T]	46
4.3.4 Preferences and the number of moras.....	47
4.4 Summary	48
5 Conclusion	50
5.1 Future implications.....	52
5.2 Problems.....	54
References.....	59
Appendix 1.....	61
Appendix 2.....	62
Appendix 3.....	67

List of Tables

Table 1.....	29
Table 2.....	30
Table 3.....	30
Table 4.....	38
Table 5.....	38
Table 6.....	39
Table 7.....	41
Table 8.....	42
Table 9.....	44
Table 10.....	45
Table 11.....	46

1. Introduction

The term *evidential* refers to an expression by which the speaker marks how they obtained information, such as hearsay and inference. The Japanese language is known to have various evidential expressions in different forms. Aoki (1986) explains them as follows:

Japanese evidentials are not grammaticized and belong to various word or morphological classes. (Aoki 1986: 223)

*-Soo da*¹, which consists of a suffix *-soo* and a copula verb *da*², is known to be one such Japanese evidential. Connecting to a verb base form³ or adjective stem, *-soo da* expresses an inference based on direct observation. As such, it is often interpreted in English as ‘it looks like’ or ‘it seems.’ Examples are shown below:

(1) a. ame ga furi-**soo da**

rain NOM fall(BASE) **it-looks-like**

‘It looks like that it is going to rain.’

b. kono keeki wa oishi-**soo da**

this cake TOP delicious(STEM) **it-looks-like**

¹ In Japanese, there are two distinct types of *soo da*; *-soo da* of ‘appearance,’ which expresses an inference, and *soo da* of ‘hearsay,’ which expresses a hearsay. An example of the latter, *soo da* of ‘hearsay,’ is shown below.

Taro wa kekkon suru **soo da**

Taro TOP marriage do(BASE/conclusive form) **they-say**

‘They say Taro will get married.’

The present study focuses on the former type of *soo da*, *soo da* of ‘appearance.’ In this thesis, *-soo da* refers to *-soo da* of ‘appearance’ unless otherwise specified.

² Grammatical classification of *soo da* has been highly controversial in previous studies. While Yoshida (1971) and Kitahara (1981), for example, suggest that it should be considered as a compound of the suffix *-soo* and the copula verb *da*, Teramura (1984) and Oba (1999), on the other hand, simply treat it as an auxiliary verb as a whole. In this thesis, I will follow the former view.

³ Japanese verbs and adjectives involve various inflected forms, such as *mizenkei* ‘irrealis form,’ *renyookei* ‘continuative form,’ *shuushikei* ‘conclusive form,’ and so on. *-Soo da* of appearance connects to verbs in *renyookei* and adjective stems, while *soo da* of hearsay only connects to verbs in *shuushikei*. In this thesis, I will refer to all of the inflected forms as ‘base form’ for ease of understanding.

'This cake looks delicious.'

As shown above, *-soo da* in (1a) connects to *furi*, a base form of the verb *furu* 'fall,' and to *oishi* in (1b), the stem of the adjective *oishii* 'delicious.' These two examples each express an inference a) that it is going to rain, and b) that the cake is delicious, respectively. The use of *-soo da* in both cases indicates that the inferences have been made based on the speaker's direct observation. As such, inference (1a) can be asserted, for instance, when the speaker notices dark clouds covering the sky, while (1b) can be asserted, for instance, when the speaker sees a cake decorated with their favourite toppings.

Over the decades, *-soo da* has received a large amount of attention by researchers in Japan, and there have been a number of studies discussing its functions from various perspectives (Yoshida 1971, Konoshima 1973, Kitahara 1981, Teramura 1984, Toyoda 1987, Toyoda 1998, Oba 1999, Kekidze 2000, Kikuchi 2000, Noda 2003, Urushidani 2010, Oba 2015).

While most studies have focused on establishing semantic definitions of *-soo da*, it has often been pointed out and acknowledged that, when connecting to a predicate in negative form, *-soo da* occasionally gives rise to the insertion of an additional element 'sa' between the negative marker *-nai* and itself, causing two 'variants' *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. An example is shown below:

(2) ame wa fura-**na (sa) -soo da**

rain TOP fall (BASE) **NEG (STEM) (sa) it-looks-like**

'It looks like it is not going to rain.'

Although the grammatical status of the additional element *sa* and motivations for its occasional insertion have not yet been fully explained, linguists commonly understand that the insertion of *sa* does not change the meaning of the sentence, regarding *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* simply as 'variants.'

However, it should be pointed out that such an understanding is merely based on

their intuition, and whether or not it reflects reality has not yet been well-concerned. The present study looks into the possibility that the so-called ‘variants’ *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* actually do involve some difference in meaning, and therefore in use. This study aims to show such a possibility by looking at how speakers choose between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* through a questionnaire survey.

1.1 Definitions and use of *-soo da*

Firstly, it is essential to understand the meaning of *-soo da*. Definitions of *-soo da* have been widely discussed in previous studies. In this section, I will go over some of the major studies.

1.1.1 Teramura (1984)

Teramura (1984) separates the meaning of *-soo da* into two types as follows⁴:

(-*Soo da*) expresses that some object has an appearance that allows (the speaker) to predict some dynamic event happening in the near future, or that some nature or internal state of some object is seen on its surface. (Teramura 1984: 239)

As far as the examples in (1) are concerned, Teramura’s (1984) definitions above seem to well-describe the meaning of *-soo da*; (1a) can be understood such that the speaker has predicted the dynamic event of ‘raining’ happening in the near future based on their observation of some object, such as dark clouds covering the sky. Accordingly, (1b) can be understood such that the internal state of the cake ‘deliciousness’ can be seen on its surface.

Teramura further notes that whether *-soo da* expresses the former meaning or the latter basically depends on the type of predicate to which it connects; *-soo da* tends to express the former when it connects to active verbs such as *furu* ‘fall,’ and the latter when it connects to stative predicates such as adjectives and stative verbs like *aru* ‘be.’⁵

⁴ As the references for this thesis are mostly written in Japanese, I will provide the English translation to the references to be cited hereafter. All translations are by the author, unless otherwise specified.

⁵ Teramura also points out, however, that there are also some cases where *-soo da* connects to stative predicates but yet expresses the former meaning, as in the following example:

1.1.2 Toyoda (1987)

Toyoda (1987) refers to Teramura's (1984) two types of definitions above and labels the former as *yosoo* 'presupposition' and the latter as *yotai* 'appearance.' Toyoda also suggests that *-soo da* should involve another meaning *seppaku* 'imminence,' showing the following sentence, where *-soo da* connects to the verb *kireru* 'break':

- (3) *ito ga kire-soo da*
 thread NOM break(BASE) it-looks-like
 'The thread could break at any moment.'

(Toyoda 1987: 9)

Since *kireru* is an active verb, by Teramura's (1984) definition, *-soo da* in (3) would be understood as expressing the former meaning or what Toyoda calls *yosoo*. However, as indicated by the translation, (3) expresses an 'alert' for an on-going imminent situation rather than 'presupposes' a future event. Toyoda explains that *seppaku* tends to be expressed when *-soo da* connects to *shunkan dooshi* 'spontaneous verbs,' such as *kireru* in (3)⁶.

1.1.3 Oba (1999)

While Teramura (1984) and Toyoda (1987) attempted to categorize the meanings of *-soo da*, Oba (1999) attempts to give a basic definition of *-soo da* to cover all its use. Oba's basic

konya kara ame ga furi hajimeru tokoro mo ari-soo da
 tonight from rain NOM fall(BASE) start place also be(BASE) it-looks-like
 'It looks like it will start to rain in some places from tonight.'

(Teramura 1984:241)

⁶ Although Toyoda (1987) does not provide a definition of *shunkan dooshi* 'spontaneous verb,' it is speculated that it refers to the verbs that denote an action that is completed in a moment, such as *kireru* 'break,' *kieru* 'disappear' and *ochiru* 'drop'; in fact, *-soo da* seems to express *seppaku* when used with these verbs, as follows:

- E.g. a. *iwa ga ochi-soo da*
 rock NOM drop(BASE) it-looks-like
 'The rock is about to fall.'
 b. *hi ga kie-soo da*
 fire NOM disappear(BASE) it-looks-like
 'The fire is dying.'

definition of *-soo da* is as follows:

Connecting to a *higenjitsu* ‘non-reality,’ the speaker states that such a situation is approaching reality. (Oba 1999:89)

Oba also defines the term *higenjitsu* ‘non-reality’ as follows:

- A) A state that has not yet been confirmed in reality
- B) A state that has not yet happened in reality
- C) A state that the speaker imagines against reality (Oba 1999:89)

Oba categorizes the use of *-soo da* into five types: *suisoku* ‘speculation’ and *hijitsu* ‘imagination,’ in addition to *yootai*, *yosoku*, and *sunzen*, which correspond to Toyoda’s (1987) *yootai* ‘appearance,’ *yosoo* ‘presupposition’ and *seppaku* ‘imminence’ respectively.

Oba’s examples for *suisoku* ‘speculation’ and *hijitsu* ‘imagination’ are shown below:

(4) *Suisoku* ‘Speculation’

(The speaker has found someone speaking standard Japanese among others speaking the local dialect.)

ano hito wa jimoto no hito de wa nasa-**soo da**

‘That person does not seem to be from this area.’

(Oba 1999:78)

(5) *Hijitsu* ‘Imagination’

konnani kinchoo shita no wa hajimete dayo

‘I’ve never been this nervous.’

kuchi kara shinzoo ga tobidashi-**soo da**

‘It looks like that my heart would come out of my mouth.’

(Oba 1999:79)

With Oba’s definition above, the *higenjitsu* ‘non-reality’ involved in (4) and (5) can be understood as (A) and (C) above, respectively.

Intuitively, it seems reasonable to establish *hijitsu* as a category of the meaning of

-*soo da*. In fact, any of the three categories given by Toyoda (1987), *yosoo* ‘presupposition,’ *yootai* ‘appearance’ and *seppaku* ‘imminence,’ do not seem to well-describe a case like (5), in the sense that they all express what the speaker supposes actually exists or is going to happen in reality.

Suisoku ‘speculation,’ on the other hand, seems to leave room for a question as to its appropriateness as an independent category; it seems possible to interpret it under the category of *yootai* ‘appearance,’ in that a case like (4) can be understood such that the speaker has seen some nature of an outsider in the referent.

However, Oba argues for the necessity of the *suisoku* category, giving the following examples:

(6) a. *Suisoku* ‘Speculation’

ano hito ni wa kanari no nenshuu ga ari-**soo da**

‘It seems that that person (perhaps) earns a large annual income.’

b. *Yootai* ‘Appearance’

ano hito wa ijiwaru-**soo da**

‘That person looks mean.’

(Oba 1999:80)

Although examples (6a and b) both express the speaker’s inference as to the referent *ano hito* ‘that person,’ Oba explains that *-soo da* expresses different meanings between the two cases, in that the former, which she categorizes as *suisoku*, implies that the speaker is not speaking with certainty, while the latter, which she regards as *yootai*, simply describes how the speaker sees the referent.

1.1.4 Kikuchi (2000)

As attempted by Oba (1999), Kikuchi (2000) also focuses on establishing a ‘basic’ definition of *-soo da*. For his definition, Kikuchi uses a term, *kanoo sekai* ‘possible world,’ which is

close in meaning to Oba's (1999) *higenjitsu* 'non-reality.' Kikuchi's definition of *-soo da* is as follows:

-Soo da is used when the following two conditions are both met.

1. The speaker pictures a possible world (a world that is understood separately from a confirmed reality).
2. (The speaker senses that) reality involves a property that allows the speaker to picture such a possible world.

(Kikuchi 2000: 16)

Like Oba (1999), Kikuchi separates *kanoo sekai* 'possible world' into the following five cases: Case 1) a next phase which has not yet become reality, Case 2) a situation which the speaker is not experiencing in person, Case 3) a sensation or emotion which the speaker is not experiencing themselves, Case 4) a phase after confirmation, Case 5) an imaginary world. The example sentences⁷ which Kikuchi uses to explain these five cases have been cited below:

(7) a. **Case 1 (A next phase that has not yet become reality)**

ame ga furi-**soo da**

'It looks like that it is going to rain.'

b. **Case 2 (A situation that the speaker is not experiencing in person)**

ano ko tachi doo shiteru kana

'I wonder how those kids are doing.'

nani o sasete mo tayorinai kara naa

'They are helpless whatever they do.'

karera no koto dakara keisatsu no osewa ni natte itari shi

-soo da na

'They may be being taken care of by the police.'

⁷ Kikuchi (2000) cited the sentence in (7d) from Oba (1999). Some parts of the sentences have been omitted for the purposes of discussion.

c. Case 3 (A sensation or emotion that the speaker is not experiencing themselves)

A-kun wa shuushoku ga kimatte ureshi-**soo da**

'Mr. A looks happy to have gotten a job offer.'

d. Case 4 (A phase after confirmation)

jimoto no hito de wa nasa-**soo da**

'(That person) does not seem to be from this area.'

e. Case 5 (An imaginary world)

(kono chi ni) nagaku iru to sabishiku nari-**soo de** aru

'It looks like that I would feel lonely if I were to stay
(here) for long.'

(Kikuchi 2000:17-20)

In Kikuchi's definition, those that would be understood as Toyoda's (1987) *yosoo*

'presupposition,' *yootai* 'appearance' and *seppaku* 'imminence' and Oba's (1999) *suisoku* 'speculation' and *hijitsu* 'imagination' seem to be treated somewhat differently.

According to Kikuchi's definition, it can be understood that *yosoo* and *seppaku* would both belong to Case 1. Although *yootai* seems to correspond to Case 3, they are slightly different in that Kikuchi restricts Case 3 to a 'sensation' or 'emotion.' *Suisoku* and *hijitsu*, on the other hand, seem to correspond to Case 4 and Case 5, respectively⁸. Case 2 this

⁸ However, Kikuchi's Case 4 (a phase after confirmation) is not exactly the same as Oba's (1999) *suisoku* 'speculation.' Kikuchi explains that Case 4 is a phase (a possible world) that will arise when confirmations have eventually been made. Thus, (7d) can be understood such that the speaker supposes that it will turn out that the referent is not from the local area when his or her hometown has eventually been figured out, and they are picturing such 'a phase after confirmation.' Kikuchi's Case 4 can well-describe a sentence like the following, where it is implied that the speaker has not yet tried the coat on but supposes it is too small for them:

kono koto wa boku ni wa doomo chiisa-soo da

'It looks like this coat is too small for me.'

(Kikuchi 2000:19)

It is also speculated based on Kikuchi's definitions that a sentence such as (6b), *ano hito wa ijiwaru-soo da* 'that person looks mean.', which is categorized as *yootai* 'appearance' by Oba (1999), also involves the possible world of Case 4, because 'meanness' is not a sensation or emotion and thus cannot be explained by Case 3. Thus,

seems to be the only case that does not correspond to any of the definitions given by Toyoda (1987) and Oba (1999).

As shown by the example for Case 2 in (7b), Kikuchi mentions that *-soo da* is also used when the referent is not present at the speaker's location; Kikuchi explains that as a *kanoo sekai* 'possible world,' the speaker may picture Case 2 (a situation that they are not experiencing themselves but suppose that the referent is). Such use of *-soo da* has also been mentioned by Teramura (1984) with the following example:

(8) *aitsu nara yari-soo na⁹ koto da*

'It is something that guy would do.'

(Teramura 1984:241)

Teramura explains that *-soo da* is not necessarily used to describe what the speaker sees in front of them; it can also be used when inference can be reasonably made based on the referent's personality or behavioral patterns. However, Teramura takes a different stance from Kikuchi, in that he considers that this use of *-soo da* can also be understood under his two types of definitions of *-soo da*, or what Toyoda (1998) calls *yosoo* 'presupposition' and *yootai* 'appearance.'

1.2 Negative forms of *-soo da*

While many studies have focused on establishing definitions of *-soo da*, its negative forms have also received a certain amount of attention and have been discussed in several studies. In this section, I will briefly introduce the negative forms of *-soo da*.

In general, negation in Japanese is expressed by adding the negative marker *nai*¹⁰ to a verb base form or an adjective stem. Examples are shown below¹¹:

(6b) would be understood such that, the speaker supposes that it will turn out that *ano hito* 'that person' is mean when they have got to know him or her more.

⁹ The copula verb *da* in *-soo da* also involves various inflected forms including *na* and *ni*.

¹⁰ The negative marker *-nai* inflects in the same manner as adjectives such as *oishii* 'delicious.'

¹¹ Unlike *-soo da*, which connects to adjective stems and verbs in *renyookei* 'continuative form,' the negative

- (9) a. ame ga fura-**nai**
rain NOM fall (BASE) **NEG**
‘It does/will not rain.’
- b. kono keeki wa oishiku-**nai**
this cake TOP delicious (BASE) **NEG**
‘This cake is not delicious.’

Negation of *-soo da* is expressed in the same manner. However, it is known to be expressed in several forms involving various types of particles, as shown below:

- (10) -soo ni (wa) **nai**
-*soo mo nai*
-*soo ni mo nai*
-*soo de (wa) nai* / -*soo ja nai*

Although the above forms can all be understood in English as ‘it does not look like,’ there are some differences as to how they are used. An explanation for such differences has been given by Kikuchi (2000). Kikuchi explains as follows, using the verb *furu* ‘fall’ as an example:

Furi-soo ni (wa) nai / *furi-soo mo nai* / *furi-soo ni mo nai* mean [that the speaker cannot picture ‘raining’ as a next phase], and are appropriate to use when, for example, it is fine weather with no piece of cloud seen in the sky. ... *Furi-soo de (wa) nai* means [that, as to whether it looks like it is going to rain or not, it is not the case], and is close in meaning to [‘it is not that it looks like it is going to rain.’] (Kikuchi 2000: 24-25)

1.3 The two ‘variants’ *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*

It is known that *-soo da* can also connect to a predicate in negative form, that is, a verb or adjective followed by the negative marker *-nai*. Although this is technically not a negative form of *-soo da*, it has often been considered in discussions of the actual negative forms of

-nai connects to adjectives in *renyookei* and verbs in *mizenkei* ‘irrealis form.’ Here, I simply call both of these forms ‘base form.’

-soo da. An example of *-soo da* connecting a negative predicate is shown below:

- (11) ame ga fura-**na-soo da**
 rain NOM fall (BASE) **NEG it-looks-like**
 'It looks like it is not going to rain.'

In (11), *-soo da* connects to *fura-nai* 'not fall,' the verb *furu* in negative form. As seen above, unlike the actual negative forms of *-soo da* in (10), which negate the entire inference, (11) instead expresses an inference about a negative situation¹².

Note how *-soo da* connects to a verb in negative form, as in (11), is similar to how it connects to an adjective. In both cases, the predicate drops 'i' at its end when followed by *-soo da*. For reference, (1b) has been cited below. Note that as *fura-nai* becomes *fura-na* in (11), *oishii* 'delicious' becomes *oishi* in (1b)¹³.

- (1b') kono keeki wa oishi-**soo da**
 this cake TOP delicious (STEM) **it-looks-like**
 'This cake looks delicious'

Although *-soo da* connects to a verb in negative form in a similar way to how it connects to an adjective, that is not usually the case when *-soo da* connects to adjectives in negative form; it is known that when *-soo da* connects to adjectives in negative form, an additional element 'sa' is normally inserted between the stem of *-nai* and *-soo da*. An example is shown below:

- (12) kono keeki wa **oishiku-nasa-soo da**
 this cake TOP **delicious (BASE) NEG sa it-looks-like**
 'This cake looks undelicious.'

In (12), *-soo da* connects to the adjective *oishii* in negative form, *oishiku-nai* 'undelicious.'

¹² In Kikuchi (2000), *fura-na-soo da* 'it looks like it is not going to rain' is described as expressing that the speaker pictures 'not raining' as a next phase (Case 1).

¹³ This is due to the fact that the negative *-nai* inflects the same manner as an adjective, as mentioned earlier.

Notice that in (12), there is an additional element *sa* between *-na*, the stem of *-nai*, and *-soo da*.

While this phenomenon is usually seen with adjectives in negative form, it is also known to periodically occur with verbs in negative form as well, which gives rise to two different forms: *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. An example is shown below:

- (13) ame ga fura-**na (sa) -soo da**
 rain NOM fall **(BASE) NEG (sa) it-looks-like**
 'It looks like it is not going to rain.'

Interestingly, while adjectives in negative form sound slightly odd without *sa*, verbs in negative form do not sound so with or without *sa*. This seems to indicate that the use of *-nasa-soo da* is the norm for adjectives.

The two forms *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* have often been mentioned in previous studies. In the section below, I will focus on the work of Toyoda (1998).

1.3.1 Toyoda (1998)

Toyoda (1998) examines the use of *-soo da* in written materials such as newspaper articles and novels, and reports that *sa* is 'usually' seen when *-soo da* connects to adjectives such as *oishii* 'delicious' in negative form.

Toyoda also points out that *sa* is occasionally seen with 'verbs in negative form,' showing the following sentences:

- (14) a. *fura-nai* 'not fall'
 kyoo amari kasa o motte i nai no de kiite mita tokoro "kyoo
 wa ame ga **fura-nasa-soo da** kara" da soo desu
 'Not many people had an umbrella with them today, so I asked
 (them why). (They) said "Because it looks like that it's not
 going to rain today.'"

b. *nomikome-nai* ‘be unable to swallow’

(kawaaisa wa) toki ni wa **nomikome-nasa-soo na** sakana made toru shokuyoku desu

‘(Goosanders) sometimes have such a big appetite as to catch those fish that seem impossible for them to swallow.’

c. *deki-nai* ‘be unable to do’

kare wa zutto oba no iru huukee o hukumu yume ni toraware moo modotte kuru koto ga **deki-na-soo ni** sae mieta

‘He looked like he would not be able to even come back, being caught in a dream showing a scene that his aunt will always be there with him.’

(Toyoda 1998:64–65)

As seen above, *-soo da* connects to *fura-nai* ‘not fall,’ or *furu* in negative form in (14a), to *nomikome-nai* ‘be unable to swallow,’ or *nomikomu* ‘swallow’ in negative potential form in (14b), and to *deki-nai* ‘be unable to do,’ or *dekiru* ‘be able to do’ in negative form in (14c). Notice that while (14a and b) both use *-nasa-soo da*, (14c) uses *-na-soo da*¹⁴.

Although Toyoda sees *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* simply as ‘variants,’ she makes an interesting remark on a difference in word recognition between the cases with *sa* and those without.

Toyoda notes that whether *sa* is used or not depends on how the speaker sees the verb in negative form, and explains that *sa* is ‘added’ when the speaker’s attention goes to the negative *-nai* of the verb, while in contrast it is ‘dropped’ when they see the whole verb in negative form as a single word, just as they see an ‘adjective.’

For ease of understanding, Toyoda’s view is summarized below:

¹⁴ *-Soo na* and *-soo ni* in (14bc) are other forms of *-soo da*.

(15) Verbs in negative form**furu 'fall' /fura-nai 'not fall'**

[fura] [-nai] + **soo da** → [fura] [-nasa] **soo da**
 (NEG) (NEG)

[furanai] + **soo da** → [furana] **soo da**
 (A single word / Adjective)

e.g.) oishii 'delicious'

[oishii] + **soo da** → [oishi] **soo da**

Based on her view in (15), Toyoda explains that, in (14c), the speaker sees *deki-nai* 'be unable to do' as a single word, just as one would see an adjective.

While Toyoda's explanation above seems convincing, it should be pointed out that Toyoda does not provide any evidence to support it. However, an interesting explanation regarding 'adjectivization' by the addition of *-nai* has been given by Yoshida (1986). Yoshida notes that *-nai* is a suffix capable of forming adjectives from verbs and explains as follows:

-nai, which connects to a verb in irrealis form¹⁵, serves to stativise the preceding verb in that it negates its meaning. It is possible to consider *-nai* as a suffix to semantically and functionally qualify the unit of a verb and itself as an adjective. (Yoshida 1986:63)

If Yoshida's explanation is in fact the case, it is possible to speculate that speakers may see verbs in negative form the same way as they see adjectives, as explained by Toyoda¹⁶.

1.4 The grammatical status of *sa*

There are some studies which discuss the grammatical status of *sa* and motivations for its

¹⁵ The irrealis form (*mizenkei* in Japanese) is a form of a verb that connects to the negative marker *nai*.

¹⁶ Toyoda (1998) also reports that the variants *-na-soo da* and *nasa-soo da* are also seen with *nai*-ending adjectives such as *nasakenai* 'pitiful' and *sumanai* 'sorry.' Toyoda applies her view in (15) to explain these cases, pointing out that *nai*-ending adjectives are derived from verbs, adjectives, or nouns followed by the negative (-)*nai*. If we consider this fact, it is possible to speculate that some verbs in negative form have also been grammaticized as adjectives.

appearance. In this section, I will briefly go over Yoshida (1971), Konoshima (1973) and Urushidani (2010).

1.4.1 Yoshida (1971)

Yoshida (1971) mentions that the insertion of *sa* is also seen when *-soo da* connects to the adjectives *yoi*¹⁷ ‘good’ and *nai* ‘little’¹⁸ as well as the negative *-nai*, as in *yosa-soo da* and *nasa-soo da*, and gives the following explanation as to a possible motivation for such a phenomenon:

It is considered that *sa* as in *(-nasa-soo da)*¹⁹ and *yosa-soo da* is used as a stabilizer because single-syllable stems such as *(-na)* and *yo* are unstable by themselves. I speculate that *sa* was chosen because it was assimilated to the ‘s’-sound of *-soo da*.

(Yoshida 1971:407)

Yoshida also points out the possibility that this *sa* may be related to the ‘nominalizing suffix’ that is realized in the same phonological form, *-sa*²⁰. Examples of the nominalizing suffix *-sa* are shown below:

(16) Adjectives

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>oishii</i> | ‘delicious’ |
| | <i>oishi-sa</i> | ‘deliciousness’ |
| b. | <i>oishiku-nai</i> | ‘not delicious’ |

¹⁷ Yoshida (1971) explains that *sa* is most likely to appear in the case of the adjective *yoi*, pointing out that the use of *yo-soo da* cannot be found at all.

¹⁸ Beside the negative *-nai*, there is the adjective *nai* ‘little.’ Unlike the negative *-nai*, which suffixes a verb or adjective, the adjective *nai* is used independently. Although not specifically mentioned by Yoshida, Toyoda (1998) explains that *sa* is most likely to appear in the case of the adjective *nai*.

¹⁹ Yoshida (1971) does not make a distinction between the adjective *nai* and the negative *-nai*, implying that he sees the insertion of *sa* to the former and that to the latter as the same phenomenon. For this reason, here I represent his “*nasa soo da*” as *(-nasa-soo da)*.

²⁰ The nominalizing suffix *-sa* connects to adjective stems to form nouns. It also connects to verbs and adjectives in negative form.

oishiku-na-**sa** 'undeliciousness'

Verbs in negative form

c. ame ga fura-nai 'it does not rain'

ame no fura-na-**sa** 'lack of rain'

d. benkyoo o shi-nai 'do(es) not study'

benkyoo no shi-na-**sa** 'lack of study'

1.4.2 Urushidani(2010) and Konoshima (1973)

Urushidani (2010), who discusses use of *-soo da* from a diachronic perspective, agrees with Yoshida (1971) in that *sa* is inserted to phonologically stabilize single-syllable stems.

Furthermore, Urushidani considers that the additional element *sa* in *-nasa-soo da* and the nominalizing suffix *-sa* are essentially the same, pointing out the fact that *-soo da* used to connect to nouns in the first half of the *Edo* Period²¹. Such use of *-soo da* in the *Edo* Period is also reported by Konoshima (1973). Examples from Urushidani (2010) and Konoshima (1973) are shown below²²:

(17) ii sake-**soo na** to iu

good sake **it-looks-like** COMP say

'(Someone) says it looks like good sake.'

(Urushidani 2010:134)

(18) kono ko wa kitsunego-**soo na** ga

this child TOP child-of-a-fox **it-looks-like** but

'It seems that this child is a child of a fox, but'

(Konoshima 1973:417)

Urushidani notes that the above use of *-soo da* had weakened by the late *Edo* Period and has

²¹ The *Edo* period began in 1603 and ended in 1868. Neither Urushidani nor Konoshima gives the exact years for their examples.

²² Some parts of the sentences have been omitted for the purposes of discussion.

disappeared today, except in the cases of *yosa-soo da* and *nasa-soo da*, which implies that he sees *yosa* and *nasa* as nominals²³.

1.5 Choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*

While the two forms *na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* have been acknowledged and discussed in previous studies, how speakers actually choose between them has not yet been well-discussed. Toyoda (1998), for example, only mentions that it depends on each speaker, verb or adjective.

However, a possibility of regional differences involved in the choice between *na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* has been pointed out by Noda (2003). Noda conducted a questionnaire survey targeting college students in four different regions of Japan: Tohoku, Kanto, Kinki, and Kyuushuu²⁴. The survey investigated how speakers in each area choose among various negative expressions of *-soo da*, including *na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*²⁵. Based on the results,

²³ I also consider that *sa* in *-nasa-soo da* is the nominalizing suffix. It should be pointed out that *-soo da* can still be used with a ‘limited’ type of nouns, as shown below:

- a. *kanojo wa ii okaasan-soo da*
 she TOP good mother **it-looks-like**
 ‘She looks like a good mother.’
- b. **kanojo wa okaasan-soo da*
 she TOP mother **it-looks-like**
- c. *kare wa ii hito-soo da*
 he TOP good person **it-looks-like**
 ‘He looks like a good person.’
- d. **kare wa hito-soo da*
 he TOP person **it-looks-like**

As shown above, *-soo da* can be used with a noun when it is modified by the adjective *ii* ‘good.’ Although I do not have an explanation for this phenomenon, it clearly shows that *-soo da* can potentially be used with nouns, which supports Urushidani’s (2010) view. In this thesis, however, I represent the additional mora *sa* as *sa* instead of *-sa* for the purpose of consistency. It will also be shown combined with the stem of *-nai* as in *-nasa*.

²⁴ Tohoku is the north eastern part of Honshuu, or the main island. Kanto is the region of Tokyo and its surrounding prefectures. Kinki is the region of Osaka and its surrounding prefectures. Kyuushuu is an island located to the west of Honshuu.

²⁵ Although Noda (2003) also sees *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* as variants, in her questionnaire, she put them in separate choices instead of putting them together in one, as in *-na(sa)-soo da*.

Noda concludes that “in the Kinki area, the young[er] generation prefers *-nasa-soo da* to *-na-soo da*²⁶.” (Noda 2003:132)

Interestingly, Noda also points out that *-nasa-soo da* tends to be preferred when *-soo da* connects to the verbs consisting of a small number of moras (i.e., syllables in Japanese); Noda reports that the percentage of selection for *-nasa-soo da* was relatively high for the verbs which involve a single mora in their base when followed by *-nai*, such as *iru* ‘be’ (cf. *i-nai* ‘not be’), *suru* ‘do’ (cf. *shi-nai* ‘not do’) and *taikutsu suru* ‘get bored’²⁷. Although not mentioned by Noda, these results may be related to the stabilizing function of *sa*, as is explained by Yoshida (1971) and Urushidani (2010).

1.6 Present study

As we have seen above, there have been a number of studies discussing the meanings of *-soo da*. Researchers have also paid a certain amount of attention to the various negative expressions of *-soo da*, including the so-called ‘variants’ *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*.

However, it should be pointed out that many researchers consider *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* simply as variants despite the fact that proof of the validity of this assumption has not been established in previous studies. As a result, it has been taken for granted that *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* do not differ in meaning.

Nishio (1983), who discusses variants in Japanese, makes a noteworthy remark to the contrary as follows:

Due to the fact that variants slightly differ in form, speakers subconsciously assume that they should also differ in meaning. If such an assumption for some variants settles in a certain direction and becomes common, it may yield some difference in

²⁶ The citation comes from the English abstract in Noda (2003). The [er] in “young[er]” has been added by the author.

²⁷ The verb *taikutsu suru* ‘get bored’ is a compound verb that consists of a noun, *taikutsu* ‘boredom’ and a verb, *suru* ‘do.’ Although it is also possible to consider this verb as involving several moras, Noda focuses on the verbal element *suru* in her analysis.

meaning between them.

(Nishio 1983: 56)

I mentioned earlier that adjectives sound slightly odd when they are used with *-na-soo da*, while verbs do not sound so whether they are used with *-na-soo da* or *-nasa-soo da*. If both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* have been widely used with verbs, it seems possible to speculate that they have perhaps developed different meanings.

Interestingly, the following examples of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* from Toyoda (1998), which are considered as expressing the same meaning, seem to give somewhat different impressions, as far as my intuition is concerned:

(19) a. kare wa kekkon shi-**na-soo da**

b. kare wa kekkon shi-**nasa-soo da**

he TOP marriage do(BASE) **NEG it-looks-like**

'It seems that he is not going to get married.'

(Toyoda 1998:67)

Examples (19a and b) both express that the speaker speculates that the referent is not going to get married. However, when in comparison with (19a), (19b), which uses *-nasa-soo da*, seems to give the impression that the speaker is speaking with more certainty. Particularly, it tends to sound as though the speaker is speaking based on what they are observing²⁸. On the other hand, (19a), with *-na-soo da*, does not sound as concrete, but instead gives the impression that the speaker is speaking simply based on their intuition.

As pointed out above, there is a possibility that the so-called 'variants' *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, which have been considered to express exactly the same meaning, actually involve some difference in meaning when they are used with verbs.

²⁸ Although *-soo da* itself expresses an inference based on observation, as in the example of Case 2 by Kikuchi (2000), the use of *-soo da* does not necessarily indicate that the speaker is actually observing something at the time of making an inference. The form *-nasa-soo da*, however, seems to give such a specific impression, as far as my intuition is concerned.

If *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, when used with verbs, possibly differ in meaning in some way, then it is speculated that such a difference should be seen in how speakers use the two forms. In the present study, I look into the possibility that *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* are actually used differently. For that purpose, I will conduct a questionnaire survey to see how speakers choose between the two forms.

The structure of this thesis is as follows. In Chapter 2, I will first propose a hypothesis as to how *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* differ in meaning and use. I will then examine the data from Toyoda (1998) and Noda (2003) to see whether it supports my hypothesis. In Chapter 3, I will provide the details of the questionnaire survey which I conducted for this study. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the survey results based on my hypothesis. Lastly, Chapter 5 will provide a summary and a conclusion for this study.

2 Difference between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*

In proceeding with this study, it is necessary to have a clear hypothesis as to the differences between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. In this chapter, I will hypothesize how they differ in meaning and use.

2.1 Initial ideas for the difference between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*

In the previous chapter, I pointed out that the following sentences seem to give different impressions:

(19') a. kare wa kekkon shi-**na-soo da**

b. kare wa kekkon shi-**nasa-soo da**

he TOP marriage do(BASE) **NEG it-looks-like**

'It seems that he is not going to get married.'

(Toyoda 1998:67)

I explained that, when in comparison, (19b'), with *-nasa-soo da*, seems to give the impression that the speaker is speaking with more certainty, while, with *-na-soo da*, (19a') instead gives the impression that the speaker is speaking based on their intuition. I also explained that (19b'), with *-nasa-soo da*, tends to sound as if the speaker is speaking based on what they are observing at the time of speaking.

The difference in impression given by *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* is not limited to example (19'). The use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* can be seen to give similar differences in impression over a range of scenarios as well. Consider the following example, where *-soo da* connects to *deki-nai* 'be unable to do,' the verb *dekiru* 'be able to do' in negative form:

(20) a. ano hito wa shigoto ga deki-**na-soo da**

b. ano hito wa shigoto ga deki-**nasa-soo da**

that person TOP job ACC be-able-to-do (BASE) **NEG it-looks like**

'It looks like that person is not able to handle his job.'

Compared to (20a), which uses *-na-soo da*, (20b), with *-nasa-soo da*, sounds as though the

speaker is more certain that *ano hito* ‘that person’ is not able to handle his job. Specifically, it tends to sound as though the speaker has drawn such an inference along with their observation of the referent *ano hito*. On the other hand, (20a), compared to (20b), sounds as though the speaker is just telling their intuitive feeling²⁹.

Based on these general impressions of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, let us assume that they basically differ in meaning as follows:

(21)

The form *-na-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking based on intuition.

The form *-nasa-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking with more certainty.

2.2 Hypothesis for the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*

If *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* involve a difference in meaning as in (21), it is important to consider how such a difference can be seen in the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. Based on the assumption in (21) and my own intuition, I came up with the following two factors that may contribute to the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*; visual evidence and length of time to process information.

‘Visual evidence’³⁰ indicates the visual information available to help the speaker to draw an inference. The idea of ‘visual evidence’ comes from the visual aspect accompanying

²⁹ It is also possible to understand this impression of *-nasa-soo da* based on Toyoda’s (1998) view as in (15). In her view, it is explained that in the case of *-nasa-soo da*, the speaker’s attention goes to the negative *-nai*, which suggests that the speaker is more conscious of the negation when they use *-nasa-soo da*. It is thus speculated that the use of *-nasa-soo da* would give some emphasis on the negative meaning involved in the inference; it can be understood that the higher degree of certainty seemingly involved in the impression of *-nasa-soo da* is attributed to such possible emphasis on the negation caused by the speaker’s attention on the negative *-nai*.

³⁰ Professor Xiaotin Li pointed out that ‘epistemic access to the referent’ would better describe this concept of visual evidence. With these terms, it can be explained that the higher degree of the speaker’s epistemic access to the referent, the more certainty the speaker has, and thus the more likely *-nasa-soo da* is to be used. Although I agree that this well-describes my concept of visual evidence, I will use the term ‘visual evidence’ in my thesis, for the purpose of making a contrast with the time factor (visual evidence vs. length of time to process information).

my impression of *-nasa-soo da*; the use of *-nasa-soo da* appears as implying that the speaker is speaking based on what they are observing. If the use of *-nasa-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking with more certainty as in (21), it is speculated that whether the speaker has visual evidence or not can be a factor for the degree of their certainty. I thus suspect that the more visual evidence the speaker has, the more certain they become of their inference and thus the more likely they use *-nasa-soo da*.

A possibility that the use of *sa* indicates some involvement of visual evidence is actually seen in Terasaki's (2012) report. Terasaki reports that the use of *sa* is also occasionally observed when *-soo da* connects to a verb followed by the suffix *-tai* 'want to,' as in the following examples³¹:

(22) a. hayaku owarasete **kaeri-tasa-soo**

soon finish **go-home (BASE) -tai (STEM) sa it-looks-like**

'It looks like (s/he) wants to finish soon and go home.'

b. choko o **tabe-tasa-soo ni** shiteta

chocolate ACC **eat (BASE) -tai (STEM) sa it-looks-like** do (PAST
PROG)

'It looked like (they) wanted to eat the chocolate.'

(Terasaki 2012:43)

In the basic pattern, *-tai* 'want to' drops 'i' at its end when followed by *-soo da* and becomes *-ta-soo da*, just as the negative *-nai* does so and becomes *-na-soo da*. However, note that in (22), the additional mora *sa* appears between *-ta*, the stem of *-tai*, and *-soo da* in both cases; as a result, we see *kaeri-tasa-soo* in (22a) and *tabe-tasa-soo ni* in (22b). Although this phenomenon is not as commonly seen as the use of *sa* in *-nasa-soo da*, it is important to note that it occurs with the suffix *-tai* 'want to,' which expresses one's internal state. It is

³¹ Some parts of the sentences have been omitted for the purposes of discussion.

speculated that such inferences as in (22) are not possible without the speaker's close observation of the referent, because an internal state such as 'wanting to go home' or 'wanting to eat' cannot be easily guessed by intuition. In fact, the sentences in (22a and b) would be used in a situation where the speaker notices the referent constantly paying attention to their wristwatch, and where they see them looking at the chocolate, respectively. The fact that the additional element *sa* is also seen in the cases which heavily require the speaker's observation suggests a possibility that the use of *sa* is related to visual information, which supports my idea of visual evidence.

'Length of time to process information,' on the other hand, indicates the length of time to be used by the speaker to reach a conclusion. The idea of 'length of time' comes from the following two assumptions of mine; 1) that the speaker would instantly reach their conclusion if they were to make 'intuition-based inferences,' and 2) that the speaker would have more certainty about their inference if they had more time to think. I thus speculate that *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when the speaker is given more time to process information, and *-na-soo da*, when the speaker instantly draws their conclusion.

An interesting remark that may support the idea of 'length of time' as a possible factor behind the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* has been given by Iwasaki (2014), who examines 'internal expressive expressions' such as *a! itai!* 'Ouch!' and *waa ureshii!* 'Oh, I'm so happy!' from a neurological perspective. Referring to Haiman (1985), Iwasaki explains that 'there are direct correspondences between details of forms and the complexity of neurological process that they refer to; the simpler the form, the simpler the neurological process.' (Iwasaki 2014: 63)

Iwasaki also points out that 'perception expressions,' which can be seen in the speaker's 'immediate response' to their perceptive experience, such as *a! itai!* 'Ouch!', *a! mazui* 'Oh, it tastes bad!' and *a! kurai!* 'Oh, it's dark!', often appear in reduced form, as in *a! ita!*, *a! mazu!* and *a! kura!*. Iwasaki also notes that emotion and feeling expressions, such as

a! kuyashii! ‘Oh, it’s regrettable!’ and *a! tanoshii!* ‘Oh, it’s fun!’, which, according to Iwasaki, are more complex in neurological process, do not allow such reduced forms.

Although Iwasaki’s explanation above is mostly based on adjectives, if, as he explains, a simpler form requires a simpler neurological process and if a reduced form is only used for perception expressions, which he explains are neurologically less costly, it seems possible to relate this view to the use of *-na-soo da*, in that it is the shorter (or the less complex form) and *-soo da* itself is an expression related to the speaker’s perceptive experience such as visual observation. If we assume the degree of ‘form simplicity’ can be scaled in terms of mora length, it is speculated that *-na-soo da*, with the fewer moras, is used as a result of less neurological process. If this is actually the case, then it is also possible to speculate that, being neurologically less costly, the use of *-na-soo da* requires shorter time, which supports my idea of length of time to process information³².

Based on the discussion above, I now hypothesize the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* as follows:

(23)

The form *-na-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker instantly draws a conclusion³³

³² It is also possible to understand Iwasaki’s view based on Toyoda’s (1998) explanation on word recognition as in (15). In Toyoda’s view, it is explained that *-na-soo da* is used when the speaker sees the verb in negative form as a single word or the same way as they see an adjective, and that *-nasa-soo da* is used when their attention goes to the negative *-nai*, seeing it separately from the verb base (cf. 15). If we consider the neurological process in each case, the former is less costly, in the sense that it involves a single step in the derivational process while the latter involves two (*furanaï* [a single word] → *furana-soo da* vs. *furu* → *fura-nai* → *fura-nasa-soo da*). Thus, it is possible to consider that Toyota’s view also supports Iwasaki’s explanation; “the simpler the form, the simpler the neurological process.”

³³ I did not include visual evidence in my hypothesis for *-na-soo da*, since the use of *-na-soo da* does not particularly give the impression that the speaker is observing or not observing something at the time of speaking. However, it can be speculated based on my hypothesis for *-nasa-soo da* that *-na-soo da* is ‘less likely’ to be used when the speaker has more visual evidence.

The form *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker has more visual evidence
- The speaker has more time to reach a conclusion

2.3 Analysis of Toyoda (1998) and Noda (2003)

If *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* actually differ in use as I hypothesized in (23), it is expected that such a difference may also be seen in the results of the surveys from previous studies examining the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. In this section, I will analyze the survey results from Toyoda (1998) and Noda (2003)³⁴.

2.3.1 Toyoda (1998)

Toyoda's survey³⁵ looked at how speakers choose among *-na-soo da*, *-nasa-soo da* and *-soo ni nai* 'it does not look like' when asked to fill in a blank in certain sentences. The participants were allowed to choose more than one answer. A portion of the results is cited below. For the purposes of discussion, I have omitted the results for *-soo ni nai*³⁶.

(24) kono yoosu da to ano kuruma wa toobun koko o [ugoka-**nasa-soo da** (52%) /ugoka-**na-soo da** (8%)]

'Judging from how it's looking, it looks like that car will not leave here for a while.'

³⁴ Toyoda (1998) and Noda (2003) both see *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* simply as variants. This means that their surveys did not pay particular attention to the difference between the two forms. However, it is still worth looking at their data with my hypothesis in mind since they presented *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* in separate choices instead of putting them together in one.

³⁵ According to Toyoda, the subjects of her survey included 78 students of Meikai University in Chiba (a neighbouring prefecture of Tokyo) from the year 1993, and students (15 people on average) of the Japanese language teacher training course held by Nihongo Kyooiku Gakkai (Society of Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language) in the year of 1988 and 1989. Toyoda does not provide other details of the subjects or explain why she conducted the survey to different groups of people at different times but yet analyzed the results altogether.

³⁶ Refer to 1.2 for the explanation for *-soo ni nai*.

(25) Yamada-san konna furui jitensha [nora-**nasa-soo**³⁷ (56%) /
nora-**na-soo** (4%)]

'Mr. Yamada wouldn't ride such an old bike like this'

(Toyoda 1998:66)

As seen above, (24) and (25) both involve a context where the speaker draws an inference based on what they see. In (24), the speaker is judging from the situation that they are observing, while in (25) the speaker is judging from the appearance of the bike.

Notice that there is a considerable difference between the percentage of selection for *-na-soo da* and that for *-nasa-soo da* both in (24) and (25); *-nasa-soo da* exceeds *-na-soo da* by 52 percent to 8 in (24), and 56 percent to 4 in (25).

While *-nasa-soo da* overwhelms *-na-soo da* in (24-25), such a difference is not necessarily seen in all of the results from Toyoda (1998). Consider the following cases, which do not seem to involve a visual context as in (24-25):

(26) henna shitsumon bakari de sugu ni wa [kotaerare-**nasa-soo**
na (27%) / kotaerare-**na-soo na** (20%)] mondai bakari da

'There are so many weird questions that it looks like I
won't be able to answer them soon'

(27) konshuuchuu ni genkoo kaite itadake masu ka

'Could you finish writing your article within this week?'

konshuu mo [kake-**nasa-soo da** (27%) / kake-**na-soo da** (27%)]

'It looks like I won't be able to write this week as well.'

(Toyoda 1998:66)

As seen above, the percentages of selection for *-na-soo da* and that for *-nasa-soo da* are quite similar in (26), and exactly the same in (27). Notice that, unlike (24-25), neither (26) nor (27)

³⁷ The copula verb *da* in *-soo da* is often omitted in colloquial speech.

seem to involve any particular context that the speaker is drawing an inference by observing something.

Although (24-27) all use different verbs and sentences, it is notable that there is a significant difference between the cases involving a visual context and those that do not; *-nasa-soo da* is far more preferred to *-na-soo da* in a visual context. This seems to support my hypothesis that *-nasa-soo da* is likely to be used when the speaker has more visual evidence.

2.3.2 Noda (2003)

Noda's survey³⁸ also looked at how speakers choose among *-na-soo da*, *-nasa-soo da* and *-soo ja nai*, *-soo ni nai* 'it does not look like'³⁹ when asked to fill in a blank in certain sentences. Unlike Toyoda (1998), Noda did not allow multiple answers.

In Noda's survey, the verb *furu* 'fall' was examined in three different questions. Let us consider their results. The sentences used in the questions are shown below. For the purposes of discussion, I have omitted *-soo ja nai* and *-soo ni nai* from these sentences.

(28) *furu* 'fall' (*-soo ni nai* context)

(Looking at the clear sky)

kyoo wa koosuikakuritsu 80% datta n dakedo kono bun ja

[fura-**nasa-soo da** / fura-**na-soo da**] naa

'The rainfall probability for today was 80%, but considering how the weather is looking now, it looks like it's not going to rain.'

(29) *furu* 'fall' (*-na(sa)-soo da* context)

(Looking at a weather chart)

ashita wa [fura-**nasa-soo da** / fura-**na-soo da**] na

'It looks like it's not going to rain tomorrow.'

³⁸ The subjects of Noda's (2003) survey are as follows; 100 students from the Tohoku region, 59 students from the Kanto region, 224 students from the Kinki region, and 143 students from the Kyushuu region.

³⁹ Refer back to 1.2 for the difference between *-soo ja nai* and *-soo ni nai*.

(30) *furu* 'fall' (-*soo ja nai* context)

(B is about to go out with an umbrella because it is cloudy)

A: ame ga furi -soo na no?

'A: Does it look like it's going to rain?'

B: iya [fura-**nasa-soo da** / fura-**na-soo da**] kedo chotto
kumotte irun da

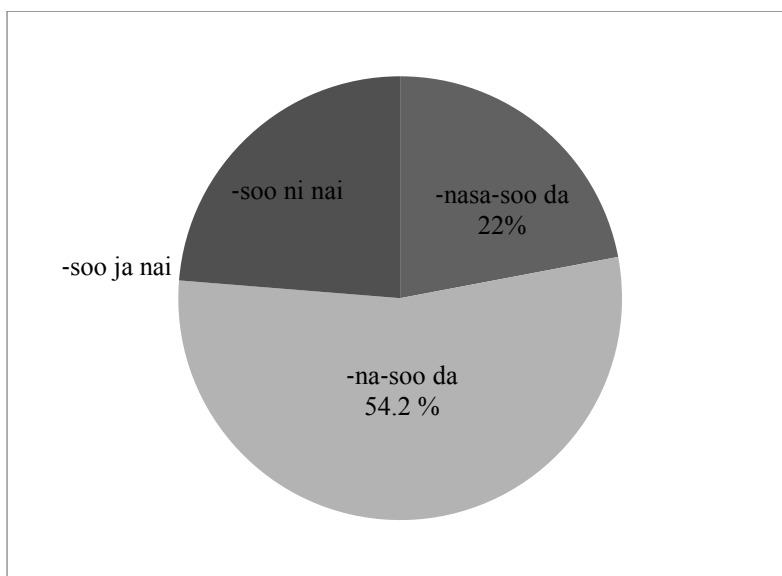
'B: Well, it looks like it's not going to rain, but it's a little
cloudy.'

(Noda 2003:139)

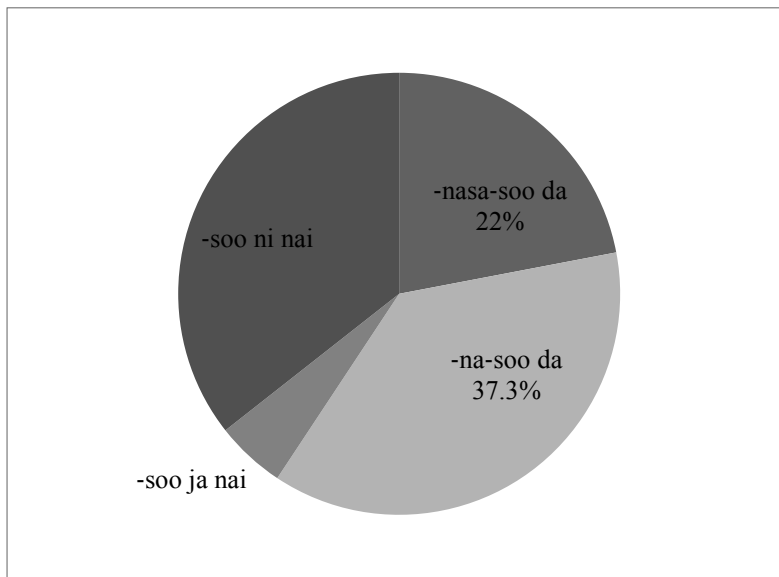
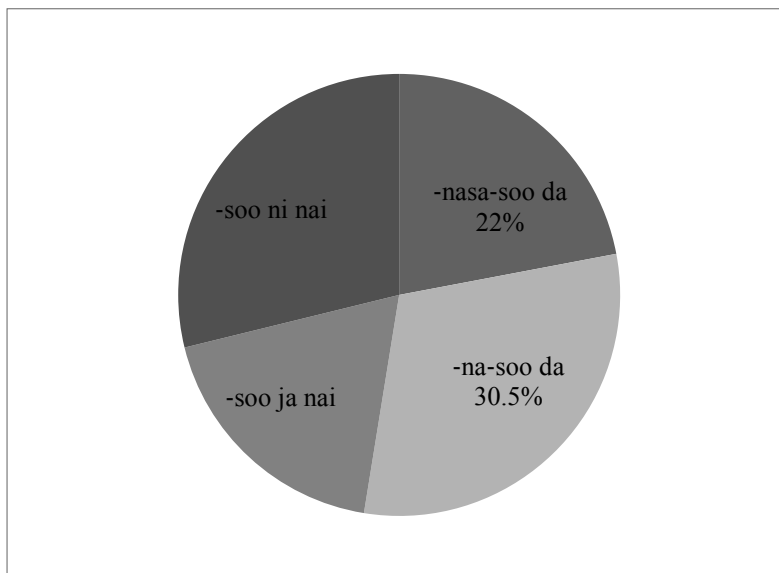
As indicated above, examples (28-30) are intended to involve a context where each of *-soo ni nai*, *-na(sa)-soo da*, and *-soo ja nai* is supposed to be more preferable. Notice, however, that the contexts in (28-30) all involve a situation where the speaker draws an inference based on what they see; they look at the 'sky' in (28) and (30), and the 'weather chart' in (29).

Let us now consider the results for (28-30). Table 1-3 below show the results for (28-30) respectively⁴⁰:

Table 1 (28)



⁴⁰ Although Noda (2003) examined speakers from four different areas of Japan, here I focus on the results for the Kanto region, where standard Japanese is mainly spoken.

Table 2 (29)**Table 3 (30)**

Whereas (28-30) all involve a ‘visual context,’ the results show that *-nasa-soo da* is not preferred in any of the three cases; although to varying degrees, *-na-soo da* is seen to exceed *-nasa-soo da* in all the tables above.

However, notice that the percentage of *-na-soo da* is considerably higher in (28) than in (29) and (30) (54.2% vs. 37.3% and 30.5%). I speculate that this difference is attributed to the difference in the length of time to process information, as I hypothesized in (23).

Notice that the visual evidence the speaker has in (28), ‘the clear sky,’ is somewhat different in nature from those in (29) and (30), ‘a weather chart’ and ‘the cloudy sky,’ in that

the observation of ‘the clear sky’ leaves the speaker less space for concerning the possibility of rainfall. If one is to infer that it is ‘not’ going to rain, it is speculated that such an inference can be more easily made when they see a clear sky than a weather chart or cloudy sky, which requires more of their guessing before they can conclude whether or not it is going to rain. It is thus possible to interpret (28) such that it involves a context that allows the speaker to instantly drawn an inference. If (28) involves such a context, then it is also possible to explain the high percentage of selection for *-na-soo da* in (28) based on my hypothesis.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I hypothesized how *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* differ in meaning and use.

Based on their impressions, I firstly assumed that they differ in meaning as follows:

(21’)

The form *-na-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking based on their intuition.

The form *-nasa-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking with more certainty.

Based on this assumption, I further hypothesized that they differ in use as follows:

(23’)

The form *-na-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker instantly draws a conclusion

The form *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker has more visual evidence
- The speaker has more time to reach a conclusion

The examination of the survey results from Toyoda (1998) and Noda (2003) made it clear that they support the above hypothesis to some extent. The next chapter will discuss the questionnaire survey which I conducted based on this hypothesis.

3 Research methods

I carried out a questionnaire survey in order to see whether the difference in use between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* can be seen when speakers are asked to choose between the two forms in the contexts pertaining to my hypothesis. The survey was conducted during the period of August to December, 2014, using an online survey tool, Google Forms. This chapter will look at the details of the questionnaire survey.

3.1 Subjects

The subjects of my survey consisted of 53 college students, 14 males and 39 females, aged between 18 and 23, who were recruited through my friends and acquaintances. Since there was a possibility of regional differences involved in the choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* as mentioned by Noda (2003), the subjects were limited to those who were born and raised in Tokyo or its surrounding prefectures, Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa, where standard Japanese is mainly spoken.

3.2 Questions

The questionnaire was presented entirely in Japanese and it consisted of 20 ‘either/or’ type questions in total; in each question, the subjects were asked to choose either *-na-soo da* or *-nasa-soo da* to complete a certain sentence. For some questions, I also used *-soo*, the colloquial form of *-soo da*, in order to make the sentences sound natural. As an example, one of the questions used in the questionnaire is shown below in the same format, with the gloss and translation⁴¹:

- (31) この本は、見た目からして自分には[]。
 kono hon wa mitame kara shite jibun ni wa []
 ‘Judging from how it looks, it looks like I will not understand
 this book’
 ○ 分からなさそう
 wakara-nasa-soo
 understand NEG it-looks-like

⁴¹ Only the Japanese part was actually shown to the subjects. See Appendix 2 for all the questions.

- 分からなそう
wakara-na-soo
understand NEG it-looks-like

Considering the possibility that one answer may influence another, I also placed dummy questions between the actual questions. For reference, one of the dummy questions⁴² is shown below with the gloss and translation:

- (32) 昨日たっぷり寝たし、さすがに今日は授業中に寝ちゃう[]だろうよ。
kinoo tappuri netashi sasuga ni kyoo wa jugyoo chuu ni nechau
[] daroo yo

'I had plenty of sleep last night, I bet [there is no way that/it cannot be that/it is unlikely that] I will fall asleep in class today.'

- 訳がない
wake ga nai
there-is-no-way-that
- はずがない
hazu ga nai
it-cannot-be-that
- ことはない
koto wa nai
it-is-unlikely-that

3.2.1 Question sentences

The question sentences were created in a way that they would involve one of the following four contexts based on my hypothesis:

- (33) 1. Visual evidence

[+V]: A context where the speaker has a certain amount of visual information.

[-V]: A context where visual information is significantly limited.

2. Length of time to process information

[+T]: A context where the speaker has a certain amount of time to reach their conclusion.

[-T]: A context where the speaker instantaneously reaches their conclusion.

⁴² Only the Japanese part was actually shown to the subjects. See Appendix 3 for all the dummy questions.

[+V] and [-V] indicate a context with visual evidence and without visual evidence, respectively. Accordingly, [+T] and [-T] indicate a context with time to process information and without any significant amount of time, respectively. Some of the sentences which I used to represent these contexts are shown below with the gloss and translation:

(34) Visual evidence

a. [+V] (*dekiru* 'be able to do')

見た印象からすると、あの人、仕事[出来なそう/出来なさそう]。

mita inshoo kara suru to ano hito shigoto

[*deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo*]

'Judging from how s/he looks, it looks like that person is not able to handle the job.'

b. [-V] (*dekiru* 'be able to do')

聞いた話からすると、あの人、仕事[出来なそう/出来なさそう]。

kiita hanashi kara suru to ano hito shigoto

[*deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo*]

'Judging from what I've heard, it looks like that person is not able to handle the job.'

(35) Length of time to process information

a. [+T] (*iru* 'be')

うーん、電話しても出なかった。今、誰も[いなそう/いなさそう]。

uun denwa shite mo denakatta. ima dare mo

[*i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo*]

'Umm, no one picked up the call. No one seems to be (there) now.'

b. [-T] (*iru* 'be')

あ、今日祝日だった！今、誰も[いなそう/いなさそう]。

a kyoo shukujitsu datta ima dare mo [*i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo*]

'Oh, it's a holiday today! No one seems to be (there) now.'

(34a) represents the [+V] context, and (34b), the [-V] context. (35a) represents the [+T] context, and (35b), the [-T] context.

In (34a), the [+V] context is expressed by using the phrase *mita inshoo kara suru to* 'judging from how s/he looks,' which implies that the speaker is observing the referent as they speak. On the contrary, in (34b), the [-V] context is expressed by instead using the

phrase *kiita hanashi kara suru to* ‘judging from what I’ve heard,’ which implies that the speaker is drawing the inference based on non-visual information.

In (35a), the [+T] context is expressed by using the sentence *uun denwa shite mo denakatta* ‘umm, no one picked up the call.’, which, with the expression of a hesitation in speech, *uun* ‘umm,’ implies that the speaker is spending a certain amount of time reaching their conclusion. In (35b), the [-T] context is expressed by instead using the sentence *a kyoo shukujitsu datta!* ‘Oh, it’s a holiday today!’, which implies that the inference has been suddenly triggered by what came up to the speaker’s mind⁴³.

As shown above, the sentences in my questionnaire were created by using a certain phase or sentence that represents each context.

3.3 Verbs

The questionnaire examined the following five verbs, which all have a high frequency of use:

(36) *wakaru* ‘understand’

kuru ‘come’

iru ‘be’

iu ‘say’

dekiru ‘be able to do’

These verbs were chosen based on the frequency ranking in *Vocabulary Database for Reading Japanese (VDRJ) Ver.1.1* by Matsushita (2011).

In Noda (2003), it is reported that *-nasa-soo da* tends to be used when *-soo da* connects to the verbs that involve a single mora in their base when followed by *-nai*. In order to see if such a tendency is actually the case, I purposely chose verbs with a range of different numbers of moras. The length of the verbs in terms of moras in their negative forms can be

⁴³ Some of the phrases that I used to express the [-T] context contain a reflex expression, *a* ‘oh,’ which expresses one’s immediate response. The idea comes from Iwasaki (2014), who explains that reduced forms such as *ita!* ‘ouch!’ (cf. *itai* ‘painful’) are often used with *a*, as in *a! ita!*.

seen in the following. Note that, as seen below, when in negative form, *kuru* ‘come’ and *iru* ‘be’ each involves three moras, and *iu* ‘say’ and *dekiru* ‘be able to do’ each involves four moras, while *wakaru* ‘understand’ involves five moras. For ease of understanding, the base of each verb in negative form has been marked in bold.

(37)

2 moras

ku/ru ‘come’

i/ru ‘be’

3 moras (1 mora in the base)

- ***ko/na/i*** ‘not come’

- ***i/na/i*** ‘not be’

2 moras

i/u ‘say’

4 moras (2 moras in the base)

- ***i/wa/na/i*** ‘not say’

3 moras

de/ki/ru ‘be able to do’ - ***de/ki/na/i*** ‘not be able to do’

wa/ka/ru ‘understand’

5 moras (3 moras in the base)

- ***wa/ka/ra/na/i*** ‘not understand’

3.4 The questionnaire format

As I created the questionnaire, I paid particular attention to the following three aspects.

Firstly, much attention was given to words and structures to use in the question sentences. As this survey aimed to see how contexts would influence the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, it was important to exclude any other factors that may also influence their use. For that purpose, I created the question sentences in a way that those that contrast in context ([+V] vs. [-V] / [+T] vs. [-T]) would involve as little difference as possible beside the contexts themselves. As an example, (34a and b) and (35a and b), each two of which contrast in context, have been cited below. Note that they are similar in words and structure.

(34’) Visual evidence

a. [+V] (***dekiru*** ‘be able to do’)

見た印象からすると、あの人、仕事[出来なそう/出来なさそう]。

mita inshoo kara suru to ano hito shigoto

[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

‘Judging from how s/he looks, it looks like that person is not able to handle the job.’

b. [-V] (*dekiru* 'be able to do')

聞いた話からすると、あの人、仕事[出来なそう/出来なさそう]。

kiita hanashi kara suru to ano hito shigoto

[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

'Judging from what I've heard, it looks like that person is not able to handle the job.'

(35') Length of time to process information

a. [+T] (*iru* 'be')

うーん、電話しても出なかった。今、誰も[いなそう/いなさそう]。

uun denwa shite mo denakatta. ima dare mo [i-na-soo/

i-nasa-soo]

'Umm, no one picked up the call. No one seems to be (there) now.'

b. [-T] (*iru* 'be')

あ、今日祝日だった！今、誰も[いなそう/いなさそう]。

a kyoo shukujitsu datta ima dare mo [i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo]

'Oh, it's a holiday today! No one seems to be (there) now.'

A second aspect, which was of particular concern, is 'interference' among the questions. As previously mentioned, the questionnaire used five verbs. It also used four different contexts. This means that, among the 20 questions in total, each four sentences used the same verb. In addition, each two of those sentences that contrast in context ([+V] vs. [-V] / [+T] vs. [-T]) used quite similar words and structure as shown in (34-35) above. This being the case, it was speculated that if all of these questions were presented to the same speaker, their answer for one of the questions would easily influence another. In order to minimize such an interference effect among the questions as much as possible, I carried out my questionnaire in two different versions: Version A, which used the [+V] and [-T] questions (five each), and Version B, which used the [-V] and [+T] questions (five each)⁴⁴. Out of the 53 participants, 27 were examined with Version A, and 26 with Version B.

A third aspect is the order of questions. As there was a possibility that the order of

⁴⁴ Although [+V], [+T], and [-V], [-T] was another possible combination, I chose the above combination so that I could see if speakers actually use both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* and use them differently in different contexts.

questions may influence the speaker's answers, the questions were presented in a random order each time. The order of the choices, *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, were also randomized in each question for the same reason.

3.5 Summary

This chapter provided the details of the questionnaire survey which I conducted in this study.

The following tables give a brief summary.

Table 4

Verbs			Number of moras in negative form
<i>kuru</i> 'come'			3
<i>iru</i> 'be'			3
<i>iu</i> 'say'			4
<i>dekiru</i> 'be able to do'			4
<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'			5

Table 5

		Version A	Version B	Total
Contexts used		[+V]/[-T]	[-V]/[+T]	
Number of subjects		27	26	53
Number of questions		10	10	20
		([+V] × 5, [-T] × 5)	([-V] × 5, [+T] × 5)	

In the next chapter I will discuss the results of the survey.

4 Data analysis

As a result of the survey, I obtained 53 answers. In this chapter, I will analyze the results based on my hypothesis by comparing the results of Version A with those of Version B.

4.1 Questionable cases

Before we move on to discussing the results, it is important to note that there were some answers showing questionable patterns; two speakers of Version A and three of Version B chose *-na-soo da* for all the questions while five speakers of Version A and two of Version B also chose *-nasa-soo da* for all the questions. The distribution of these speakers is shown in the table below:

Table 6

	Version A	Version B
<i>-na-soo da</i>	2	3
<i>-nasa-soo da</i>	5	2

Remember that the two choices *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* were shown in random order in each question. It is thus speculated that the results in Table 6 are not because the speakers simply chose what was shown first in the choices for all the questions. The following are two of the possible scenarios which may account for these results.

A first possibility is that these speakers answered the questions from a prescriptive point of view. While *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* can both be used with verbs, I asked speakers to choose either one of them in my questionnaire. It is speculated that such an experimental condition led some speakers to assume that either *-na-soo da* or *-nasa-soo da* should be grammatically correct in all instances, thus making them select the same choice for all the questions based on this personal judgement⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ I was not able to confirm which of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* was firstly presented in the first question to these speakers because of the system of Google Forms, which randomly generates the order of the choices each time the questionnaire is opened. There is also a possibility that they simply decided to use the form presented in the first choice of the first question for all the questions.

Another possibility is that there are actually some speakers who only use one of either *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* and not the other. Although this scenario seems less likely, it is notable that 12 of 53 speakers showed the results as in Table 6. This may suggest the possibility that some speakers actually do not use both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*⁴⁶.

While the above results leave room for further investigation, it should be noted that I created my hypothesis under the assumption that speakers use both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. This being the case, it is not appropriate to discuss these results based on the current hypothesis. For this reason, I will leave them out of my hypothesis-based analysis below. Hereafter, I will focus on the remaining 20 speakers of Version A and 21 speakers of Version B.

4.2 Analysis based on the contexts

As explained in the previous chapter, the sentences used in the questionnaire were created in a way that they would involve one of the following contexts:

(33') 1. Visual evidence

[+V]: A context where the speaker has a certain amount of visual information.

[-V] : A context where visual information is significantly limited.

2. Length of time to process information

[+T]: A context where the speaker has a certain amount of time to reach their conclusion.

[-T] : A context where the speaker instantaneously reaches their conclusion.

In this section, I will discuss the results in terms of each type of contexts, [+V], [-V] and [+T], [-T].

4.2.1 [+V] and [-V]

Let us first consider the results for the [+V] and [-V] questions. The [+V] and [-V] contexts used in the sentences of these questions are based on the following part of my hypothesis:

⁴⁶ There is also a possibility that the results in Table 6 involve both the first and the second types of answers.

(23')

The form *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker has more visual evidence

If this hypothesis is correct, then it is expected that *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be chosen in the [+V] contexts than in the [-V] contexts.

Let us now compare the results of the [+V] questions from Version A with those of the [-V] questions from Version B. The following table shows both results in comparison⁴⁷.

Those that support my hypothesis are highlighted in grey.

Table 7

Verb	[+V] (Version A)			[-V] (Version B)		
	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total
<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'	60%(12)	40%(8)	100%(20)	33.3%(7)	66.7%(14)	100%(21)
<i>kuru</i> 'come'	30%(6)	70%(14)	100%(20)	38.1%(8)	61.9%(13)	100%(21)
<i>iru</i> 'be'	45%(9)	55%(11)	100%(20)	42.9%(9)	57.1%(12)	100%(21)
<i>iu</i> 'say'	90%(18)	10%(2)	100%(20)	66.7%(14)	33.3%(7)	100%(21)
<i>dekiru</i> 'be able to do'	35%(7)	65%(13)	100%(20)	28.6(6)	71.4(15)	100%(21)

Let us first focus on the cases that resulted as expected. As seen in Table 7, out of the five verbs examined in the questionnaire (*wakaru* 'understand,' *kuru* 'come,' *iru* 'be,' *iu* 'say,' and *dekiru* 'be able to do'), *kuru* is the only case that turned out the way I had anticipated. The results show that while 61.9 percent of the speakers of Version B chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [-V] context, 70 percent of the speakers of Version A chose it in the [+V] context, which indicates that *-nasa-soo da* is slightly more preferred in the [+V] context than in the [-V] context.

However, the rest of the four cases did not turn out as I had expected. As opposed to the results for *kuru*, those for *wakaru*, *iru*, *iu*, and *dekiru* all show that more speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [-V] contexts than in the [+V] contexts; the percentage of *-nasa-soo da* in the [-V] context exceeds that in the [+V] context, by 66.7 percent to 40 for *wakaru*, 57.1

⁴⁷ The numbers in brackets are the actual numbers of the speakers.

percent to 55 for *iru*, 33.3 percent to 10 for *iu*, and 71.4 percent to 65 for *dekiru*.

As discussed above, most of the results for the [+V] and [-V] questions did not support my hypothesis. Among all, only the results for *kuru* ‘come’ supported my hypothesis, showing a higher percentage for *-nasa-soo da* in the [+V] context than the [-V] context.

4.2.2 [+T] and [-T]

In this section, I will discuss the results for the [+T] and [-T] questions. The [+T] and [-T] contexts used in the sentences of these questions are based on the following part of my hypothesis:

(23’)

The form *-na-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker instantly draws a conclusion

The form *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker has more time to reach a conclusion

If this hypothesis is correct, then it is expected that *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be chosen in the [+T] contexts than in the [-T] contexts and that *-na-soo da* is more likely to be chosen in the [-T] contexts than in the [+T] contexts.

Let us now compare the results of the [+T] questions from Version B with those of the [-T] questions from Version A. The following table shows both results in comparison.

Those that support my hypothesis are highlighted in grey.

Table 8

Verb	[+T] (Version B)			[-T] (Version A)		
	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total
<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'	52.4%(11)	47.6%(10)	100%(21)	70%(14)	30%(6)	100%(20)
<i>kuru</i> 'come'	28.6%(6)	71.4%(15)	100%(21)	30%(6)	70%(14)	100%(20)
<i>iru</i> 'be'	19%(4)	81%(17)	100%(21)	50%(10)	50%(10)	100%(20)
<i>iu</i> 'say'	66.7%(14)	33.3%(7)	100%(21)	90%(18)	10%(2)	100%(20)
<i>dekiru</i> 'be able to do'	42.9%(9)	57.1%(12)	100%(21)	20%(4)	80%(16)	100%(20)

As seen in Table 8, out of the five verbs, four resulted as I had expected. For *wakaru*, it is seen that while 30 percent of the speakers of Version A chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [-T]

context, 47.6 percent of the speakers of Version B chose it in the [+T] context, which indicates that *-nasa-soo da* is slightly more preferred in the [+T] context. Similarly, for *iru* and *iu*, it is also seen that the percentage of *-nasa-soo da* in the [+T] context exceeds that in the [-T] context by 81 percent to 50, and 33.3 percent to 10, respectively. Although the difference being quite small, the results for *kuru* also show that the percentage of *-nasa-soo da* in the [+T] context exceeds that in the [-T] context by 71.4 percent to 70.

On the same basis, it is also understood that the above results show higher percentages for *-na-soo da* in the [-T] contexts than in the [+T] context; 70 to 52.4 for *wakaru*, 30 to 28.6 for *kuru*, 50 to 19 for *iru* 90 to 66.7 for *iu*.

On the other hand, however, *dekiru* did not turn out as I had anticipated. As in Table 8, the results for *dekiru* indicate that while 80 percent of the speakers of Version A chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [-T] context, 57.1 percent of the speakers of Version B chose it in the [+T] context, which indicates that *-nasa-soo da* is more preferred in the [-T] context than in the [+T] context, as opposed to my hypothesis.

As shown above, unlike the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions, most of the results of the [+T] and [-T] questions supported my hypothesis; the results for *wakaru*, *kuru*, *iru* and *iu* all show that *-nasa-soo da* is more preferred in the [+T] contexts than in the [-T] contexts, and accordingly, *-na-soo da*, in the [-T] contexts than in the [+T] contexts. However, as in the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions, the results for *dekiru* did not support my hypothesis, showing that more speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [-T] contexts than in the [+T] contexts.

4.2.3 Summary

In this section, we have seen that some of the results supported my hypothesis and some did not. We have also seen that there is a considerable difference between the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions and those of the [+T] and [-T] questions, the latter mostly turning out as I had expected while the former did not. This difference suggests the possibility that the choice

between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* may be subject to the length of time for the speaker to process information but not to the visual evidence.

4.3 Verb-based preferences

Although the survey did not result exactly as I had expected, once I examined the data carefully it became clear that another factor may also play a role in the choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*; I found that individual verbs generally show the same preference between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* regardless of the experimental conditions. In this section, I will discuss such a pattern of preference seen in the results for each verb.

4.3.1 [+V] and [-V]

Let us return to the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions. The table below shows the results with the two contexts in comparison:

Table 9

Verb	Context	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total
<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'	[+V]	60%(12)	40%(8)	100%(20)
	[-V]	33.3%(7)	66.7%(14)	100%(21)
<i>kuru</i> 'come'	[+V]	30%(6)	70%(14)	100%(20)
	[-V]	38.1%(8)	61.9%(13)	100%(21)
<i>iru</i> 'be'	[+V]	45%(9)	55%(11)	100%(20)
	[-V]	42.9%(9)	57.1%(12)	100%(21)
<i>iu</i> 'say'	[+V]	90%(18)	10%(2)	100%(20)
	[-V]	66.7%(14)	33.3%(7)	100%(21)
<i>dekiru</i> 'be able to do'	[+V]	35%(7)	65%(13)	100%(20)
	[-V]	28.6(6)	71.4(15)	100%(21)

Consider the results highlighted in grey. They show that the verbs *kuru*, *iru*, *iu* and *dekiru* each has a preferred choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, regardless of the contexts [+V] and [-V].

The results for *kuru*, *iru*, and *dekiru* show that they all prefer *-nasa-soo da* to *-na-soo da*. For *kuru*, it is seen that 70 percent of the speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [+V] context with 61.9 percent also having chosen it in the [-V] context. Similarly, for *iru*, it is seen that 55 percent of the speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [+V] context, and 57.1 percent, in the [-V]

context. For *dekiru*, it is also seen that 65 percent of the speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [+V] context with 71.4 percent also having chosen it in the [-V] context.

On the contrary, the results for *iu* show a preference for *-na-soo da* to *-nasa-soo da*, with 90 percent and 66.7 percent of the speakers having chosen *-na-soo da* in the [+V] and in the [-V] context, respectively.

4.3.2 [+T] and [-T]

Let us now return to the results of the [+T] and [-T] questions. The following table shows the results with the two contexts in comparison:

Table 10

Verb	Context	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total
<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'	[+T]	52.4%(11)	47.6%(10)	100%(21)
	[-T]	70%(14)	30%(6)	100%(20)
<i>kuru</i> 'come'	[+T]	28.6%(6)	71.4%(15)	100%(21)
	[-T]	30%(6)	70%(14)	100%(20)
<i>iru</i> 'be'	[+T]	19%(4)	81%(17)	100%(21)
	[-T]	50%(10)	50%(10)	100%(20)
<i>iu</i> 'say'	[+T]	66.7%(14)	33.3%(7)	100%(21)
	[-T]	90%(18)	10%(2)	100%(20)
<i>dekiru</i> 'be able to do'	[+T]	42.9%(9)	57.1%(12)	100%(21)
	[-T]	20%(4)	80%(16)	100%(20)

Consider the results highlighted in grey. They show that the verbs *wakaru*, *kuru*, *iu* and *dekiru* each has a preferred choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, regardless of the contexts [+T] and [-T].

The results for *wakaru* and *iu* show that they both prefer *-na-soo da* to *-nasa-soo da*. For *wakaru*, it is seen that 52.4 percent of the speakers chose *-na-soo da* in the [+T] context with 70 percent also having chosen it in the [-T] context. Similarly, for *iu*, it is also seen that 66.7 percent of the speakers chose *-na-soo da* in the [+T] context, and 90 percent, in the [-T] context.

On the contrary, the results for *kuru* and *dekiru* show that they both prefer *-nasa-soo da* to *-na-soo da*. For *kuru*, it is seen that 71.4 percent of the speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in

the [+T] context with 70 percent also having chosen it in the [-T] context. Similarly, for *dekiru*, it is also seen that 57.1 percent and 80 percent of the speakers chose *-nasa-soo da* in the [+T] context and in the [-T] context, respectively.

4.3.3 Comparison between [+V], [-V] and [+T], [-T]

So far, we have seen that some of the verbs show a preference between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* in each type of contexts; Some pattern of preference was seen with each of *kuru*, *iru*, *iu* and *dekiru* in the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions, and *wakaru*, *kuru*, *iu* and *dekiru* in those of the [+T] and [-T] questions. Let us now compare all the results at once. The following table shows all 20 results with the four contexts in comparison:

Table 11

Verb	Context	-na-soo da	-nasa-soo da	Total
<i>wakaru</i> 'understand'	[+V]	60%(12)	40%(8)	100%(20)
	[-V]	33.3%(7)	66.7%(14)	100%(21)
	[+T]	52.4%(11)	47.6%(10)	100%(21)
	[-T]	70%(14)	30%(6)	100%(20)
<i>kuru</i> 'come'	[+V]	30%(6)	70%(14)	100%(20)
	[-V]	38.1%(8)	61.9%(13)	100%(21)
	[+T]	28.6%(6)	71.4%(15)	100%(21)
	[-T]	30%(6)	70%(14)	100%(20)
<i>iru</i> 'be'	[+V]	45%(9)	55%(11)	100%(20)
	[-V]	42.9%(9)	57.1%(12)	100%(21)
	[+T]	19%(4)	81%(17)	100%(21)
	[-T]	50%(10)	50%(10)	100%(20)
<i>iu</i> 'say'	[+V]	90%(18)	10%(2)	100%(20)
	[-V]	66.7%(14)	33.3%(7)	100%(21)
	[+T]	66.7%(14)	33.3%(7)	100%(21)
	[-T]	90%(18)	10%(2)	100%(20)
<i>dekiru</i> 'be able to do'	[+V]	35%(7)	65%(13)	100%(20)
	[-V]	28.6(6)	71.4(15)	100%(21)
	[+T]	42.9%(9)	57.1%(12)	100%(21)
	[-T]	20%(4)	80%(16)	100%(20)

Consider the results highlighted in grey. Notice that the verb-based preferences which were seen in the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions are also the case in those of the [+T] and [-T] questions.

The results for *iu*, for example, show a preference for *-na-soo da* in all the contexts.

Similarly, those for *kuru* and *dekiru* show that they prefer *-nasa-soo da* in all the contexts.

Although the results for *wakaru* of the [+V] and [-V] questions and those for *iru* of the [+T] and [-T] questions did not seem to involve a preference, with all the results in comparison, it is clear that these verbs also show some pattern of preference. The results for *wakaru* show that the percentage of *-na-soo da* exceeds that of *-nasa-soo da* in three out of the four contexts. Similarly, those for *iru* show that the percentage of *-nasa-soo da* exceeds that of *-na-soo da* in three out of the four contexts.

It is also important to note that the result for *iru* of the [-T] question does not go against the general pattern of preference, with the percentage evenly distributed between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. This means that, among all of 20 results, the result for *wakaru* of the [-V] question is the only case that does not follow the general preference pattern of the verb. Although I do not have an explanation for this result, given that the rest of the results are all showing verb-based patterns of preference, it seems possible to speculate that verbs themselves generally involve a certain preference.

Based on the above results, it is concluded that *wakaru* and *iu* tend to prefer *-na-soo da* to *-nasa-soo da* and that *kuru*, *iru* and *dekiru* tend to prefer *-nasa-soo da* to *-na-soo da*.

4.3.4 Preferences and the number of moras

In Noda (2003), it is reported that *-nasa-soo da* tends to be used when *-soo da* connects to the verbs that involve a single mora in their base when followed by the negative *-nai*, such as *suru* ‘do’ and *iru* ‘be’. Therefore, the verbs for this survey were also chosen in regard to the number of moras in their negative forms, as shown below:

(37’)

<u>2 moras</u>	<u>3 moras</u> (1 mora in the base)
<i>ku/ru</i> ‘come’	– <i>ko/na/i</i> ‘not come’
<i>i/ru</i> ‘be’	– <i>i/na/i</i> ‘not be’

2 moras*i/u* 'say'**4 moras (2 moras in the base)**- *i/wa/na/i* 'not say'**3 moras***de/ki/ru* 'be able to do' - ***de/ki/na/i*** 'not be able to do'**5 moras (3 moras in the base)***wa/ka/ru* 'understand' - ***wa/ka/ra/na/i*** 'not understand'

Note that the results for *kuru* and *iru*, which involve three moras in negative form (a single mora in their base), both showed a preference for *-nasa-soo da*. This supports Noda's finding.

Note also that two of the other three verbs, *iu* and *wakaru*, which involve more than three moras in negative form (more than one mora in their base), both showed that they prefer *-na-soo da* to *-nasa-soo da* on the contrary, which further supports Noda's finding.

Given the above results, it is possible to conclude that there is a relation between verbs' preferences between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* and the number of moras that they involve; it is speculated that the verbs that involve three moras in negative form (or a single mora in their base when followed by *-nai*) tend to prefer *-nasa-soo da*⁴⁸.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, I analyzed the results of my survey against the following hypothesis:

(23')

The form *-na-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker instantly draws a conclusion

The form *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker has more visual evidence
- The speaker has more time to reach a conclusion

⁴⁸ It should also be pointed out that, as mentioned previously (cf. 1.4.1), *sa* is usually seen when *-soo da* connects to the adjectives *yoi* 'good' and *nai* 'little', as in *yosa-soo da* and *nasa-soo da*. Note that *yoi* and *nai* both involve two moras (*yo/i*, *na/i*) or a single mora in their stem (*yo*, *na*). Although they are adjectives and not verbs in negative form, it seems possible to conclude with regard to my survey results that *sa* is more likely to appear when *-soo da* connects to the predicates that involve 'three moras or less.'

It was seen that there was a considerable difference between the results of the [+V] and [-V] questions and those of the [+T] and [-T] questions. While only *kuru* ‘come’ supported my hypothesis in the former results, *wakaru* ‘understand,’ *kuru* ‘come,’ *iru* ‘be’ and *iu* ‘say’ supported it in the latter. Given these results, I concluded that the choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* may be subject to ‘the length of time to process information’ but not to ‘the visual evidence.’

While the results of the survey turned out quite different from what I had expected, they also showed that each verb involved some pattern of preference between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* regardless of the experimental conditions; it was seen that *wakaru* ‘understand’ and *iu* ‘say’ had a preference for *-na-soo da*, and *kuru* ‘come,’ *iru* ‘be’ and *dekiru* ‘be able to do’ had a preference for *-nasa-soo da*.

As mentioned by Noda (2003), the results also showed the possibility that the number of moras that the verb involves is relevant to the choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*; it was seen that the verbs that involve three moras in negative form (a single mora in their base), *kuru* ‘come’ and *iru* ‘be,’ both preferred *-nasa-soo da*, while those with more than three moras tended to prefer *-na-soo da*.

5 Conclusion

In this thesis, I looked at the two different forms *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, which are seen when the evidential *-soo da* ‘it looks like’ connects to verbs in negative form, as in the following example:

- (38) ame ga fura-na(sa)-soo da
 rain NOM fall NEG it-looks-like
 ‘It looks like it is not going to rain.’

Although previous studies regard *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* simply as variants, considering that they do not differ in meaning or use, I pointed out based on my intuition that they seem to give somewhat different impressions; *-nasa-soo da* sounds as though the speaker is speaking with more certainty, while *-na-soo da* sounds as though the speaker is speaking based on their intuition.

Based on such a difference in impression, I initially assumed that *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* should differ in meaning as follows:

(21’)

The form *-na-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking based on their intuition.

The form *-nasa-soo da* implies that the speaker is speaking with more certainty.

Based on the assumption above, I proposed the following hypothesis as to the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*:

(23’)

The form *-na-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker instantly draws a conclusion

The form *-nasa-soo da* is more likely to be used when:

- The speaker has more visual evidence
- The speaker has more time to reach a conclusion

In order to test the above hypothesis, I conducted a questionnaire survey where I asked

speakers to choose either *-na-soo da* or *-nasa-soo da* to complete certain sentences. The survey used five verbs, *wakaru* ‘understand,’ *kuru* ‘come,’ *iru* ‘be,’ *iu* ‘say,’ and *dekiru* ‘be able to do.’ They were examined with the sentences involving the following four contexts created based on the above hypothesis:

(33’) 1. Visual evidence

[+V]: A context where the speaker has a certain amount of visual information.

[-V]: A context where visual information is significantly limited.

2. Length of time to process information

[+T]: A context where the speaker has a certain amount of time to reach their conclusion.

[-T]: A context where the speaker instantaneously reaches their conclusion.

The results showed that there were some cases that supported my hypothesis and others that did not. The results of the [+T] and [-T] questions mostly supported my hypothesis while those of the [+V] and [-V] questions did not. Based on these results, I concluded that ‘the length of time to process information’ may be influential to the choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* but ‘the visual evidence’ may not.

While my survey showed some possibility that *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* may actually differ in meaning and use, it also showed that verbs themselves involved a preference between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. It was seen that *wakaru* ‘understand’ and *iu* ‘say’ preferred *-na-soo da*, while *kuru* ‘come,’ *iru* ‘be’ and *dekiru* ‘be able to do’ preferred *-nasa-soo da*.

The results also supported Noda’s (2003) report that the verbs that involve a single mora in their base in negative form tend to be used with *-nasa-soo da*; it was seen that *kuru* ‘come’ and *iru* ‘be’, which involve three moras in negative form (a single mora in their base), both showed a preference for *-nasa-soo da* while those with more than three moras tended to prefer *-na-soo da*.

5.1 Future implications

Now, I would like to discuss the contributions which this study can potentially make to the field of Japanese pedagogy.

In this thesis we have seen that verbs can be used with both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*. However, I would like to point out that current Japanese textbooks do not necessarily mention this fact.

The Japanese Stage-Step Course: Grammar Textbook (2009), for instance, does not introduce *-na-soo da* but instead explains that *sa* ‘must’ be inserted between the stem of *-nai* and *-soo da* when *-soo da* connects to adjectives or verbs in negative form, which indicates that this textbook treats *-nasa-soo da* as the standard form.

Nakama (2000), *Yookoso!* (2006) and *Genki* (2011), three of the major textbooks used at North American universities, take different approaches. Although these textbooks all introduce *-nasa-soo da* for adjectives (cf. *oishiku-nasa-soo da* ‘look undelicious’), they do not mention either *-na-soo da* or *-nasa-soo da* for verbs. Instead, the first two textbooks, *Nakama* and *Yookoso!*, just introduce another form *-soo ni (mo) nai* ‘it does not look like,’ which is one of the actual negative forms of *-soo da*⁴⁹. *Genki*, on the other hand, does not even introduce any negative expression for verbs⁵⁰.

What is commonly seen among these textbooks is that none of them introduce both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* for verbs. Given the fact that *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* are commonly understood as ‘variants,’ which may easily cause confusion among learners, it is speculated that these textbooks ‘purposely’ avoid introducing both of them.

While such an approach (if that is in fact the case) is understandable considering the difficulty in teaching variants, it must be questioned whether that actually provides learners

⁴⁹ Refer back to 1.2 for the explanation of *-soo ni (mo) nai*.

⁵⁰ *Genki* (2011) introduces *-soo da* mainly for adjectives. The use of *-soo da* with verbs in affirmative form is lightly mentioned in the footnote of the page where they introduce *-soo da*.

with access to the ‘authentic’ language. I would like to point out that, as far as my intuition is concerned, *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* seem to be used with verbs as often as or even more than the actual negative forms of *-soo da*, such as *-soo ni (mo) nai* ‘it does not look like.’ In fact, Sugimura (2005) points out that Google returns a decent number of hits for *fura-nasa-soo da*⁵¹. Interestingly, he also reports that when he asked some native speakers⁵² to give a negative equivalent of the sentences *ame ga furi-soo da* ‘It looks like it is going to rain.’ and *kare wa keeki o tabe-soo da* ‘It looks like he will eat the cake.’, they all gave *ame ga fura-nasa-soo da* and *kare wa keeki o tabe-nasa-soo da* before they gave the sentences with the actual negative form of *-soo da*; *ame ga furi-soo ni nai* and *kare wa keeki o tabe-soo ni nai*. This clearly indicates that there is a contradiction between the description in the Japanese textbooks and the actual use of the language in real life; the form *V-na(sa)-soo da* is not introduced despite that it is commonly used among native speakers.

The Japanese Stage-Step Course: Grammar Textbook goes a step further in the sense that it introduces *-nasa-soo da* for verbs as well as adjectives. However, such an approach still must be questioned, because it again leaves out ‘authenticity,’ in that there are some verbs that are more likely to be used with *-na-soo da* than *-nasa-soo da*, as shown in this study.

As far as the textbooks above are concerned, it seems possible to say that they all lack ‘authenticity’ in some way; they all fail to provide appropriate information as to the form *V-na(sa)-soo da* despite that it is a common expression. As I mentioned earlier, it is speculated that this problem comes from the difficulty in teaching variants. However, I suspect that it is also because teachers and authors of textbooks themselves simply know that both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* can be used with verbs, but do not know the deciding

⁵¹ Sugimura (2005) only discusses the form *-nasa-soo da*. He reports that Google returned 843 hits for *fura-nasa-soo da* while it returned 1,327 hits for *furi-soo ni nai* / *furi-soo mo nai*.

⁵² Sugimura (2005) does not give the exact number of the speakers.

factors behind how they are used by speakers.

My research ultimately aims to help these teachers and textbook writers by making it clear whether or not *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* involve differences in meaning, and if that is the case, how they are used differently by speakers. This study showed that there is much possibility in this topic. I hope that my future studies lead to more findings that help us further understand the use of *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*.

5.2 Problems

While this study led to new findings, as I examined in the results, I came to notice that it still left much room for improvement. In this last section, I will discuss the possible problems that my study may have experienced.

The first potential problem is that there remains a question as to whether or not each sentence used in the questionnaire actually involved the type of context I had intended. I must admit that some contexts were not easily expressed in constructed discourse. For example, consider the following sentences (39-40), which I used for the [-T] context and the [-V] context, respectively:

(39) [-T] (iu 'say')

shotaimen no inshoo kara suru to ano hito wa waruguchi
[iwana-soo/iwa-nasa-soo]

'Judging from his/her first impression, it looks like that person will not speak ill of others.'

(40) [-V] (dekiru 'be able to do')

kiita hanashi kara suru to ano hito shigoto
[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

'Judging from what I've heard, it looks like that person is not able to handle the job.'

In (39), the [-T] context was attempted to be expressed with the phrase *shotaimen no inshoo*

kara suru to ‘judging from his/her first impression.’ With that expression, (39) sounds as if, having little knowledge of *ano hito* ‘that person,’ the speaker has instantly drawn the conclusion based on their own intuition. In (40), the [-V] context was attempted to be expressed with the phrase *kiita hanashi kara suruto* ‘judging from what I’ve heard,’ which implies that the speaker has drawn the inference based on non-visual information.

However, it should be noted that the above sentences may allow other interpretations. For example, it seems possible to read (39) such that the speaker still had spent a long time considering the impression of *ano hito* ‘that person’ before they reached their conclusion. Likewise, it also seems possible to read (40) such that the speaker is actually looking at *ano hito* ‘that person’ who happens to be in the speaker’s range of view.

As shown by the above examples, there is a possibility that the sentences used in my survey allowed other interpretations. Accordingly, it is also speculated that the participants of my survey may not have understood the contexts exactly as I had expected.

A second problem is that there was the possibility of involving both visual and temporal contexts in the interpretation of the sentence. As I used the four different contexts, [+V], [-V], [+T] and [-T], it was necessary to make sure that these contexts did not overlap in any way. However, I must admit that, because of their natures, it was not always possible to include one context in a sentence and exclude all the others. For instance, consider the following sentence, which was used for the [-T] context:

(41) [-T] (**wakaru** ‘understand’)

isshun patto kanjita kagiri ja ano hito ni wa kono eiga no
yosa ga [wakara-na-soo/wakara-nasa-soo]

‘As far as I felt instantaneously, it looks like that person
will not understand the value of this movie.’

In (41), the [-T] context was attempted to be expressed by using the phrase *isshun patto kanjita kagiri ja* ‘as far as I felt instantaneously,’ which implies that the speaker had spent

little time reaching the conclusion.

However, it is also not impossible to read (41) in such a way that it involves the [+V] context. For instance, it may allow the interpretation that the speaker is ‘looking’ at the referent *ano hito* ‘that person’ as they speak. It is also possible to speculate that the speaker is perhaps speaking based on what they are seeing in the movie.

As shown by the example of (41), there is the possibility that the sentences used in the questionnaire may have overlapped in context at some points. This again suggests that the speakers may not have understood the contexts in the way that I had expected them to.

Although the results of my survey did not support the hypothesis as to ‘visual evidence,’ that may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the [+V] and [-V] contexts were not well-expressed in the sentences due to the problems listed above⁵³. If *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* are to be used differently depending on the context as I hypothesize, it is crucial to make sure that the sentences to be used in my survey provide the exact contexts that I intend and that the speakers to be examined also understand them in the exact same way I do. In future studies, I expect to achieve that by also using other methods such as audio and visual materials as well as written sentences.

A third problem is that little attention was given to the content of the verbs I chose for the survey. Although I paid attention to their frequency in use and their number of moras in negative form, I did not look at the possibility that the content of the verbs may affect the choice between *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*.

If we consider the fact that *-soo da* is used to express one’s judgement based on observation, it is speculated that whether the action that the verb denotes is externally observable or not should play some role in the length of time that the speaker spends as they draw a conclusion. For example, if one is to draw an inference based on observation, it seems

⁵³ It is important to remember that, as discussed in 2.2, a possibility of visual evidence being a factor in the use of *sa* has been suggested by other use of *sa* such as *tabetasa-soo da* ‘it looks like (s/he) wants to eat.’

easier for them to conclude whether or not someone is at a certain location (cf. *iru* ‘be’) than to conclude whether or not someone understands something (cf. *wakaru* ‘understand’), because the former allows an ‘external description’ based on obvious evidence (existence or non-existence of the referent), while the latter allows nothing more than ‘guessing,’ with the content of the action (‘understand’) being internal to the referent⁵⁴. Thus, it is speculated that the time that the speaker spends as they draw an inference may change depending on to what degrees external descriptions are possible as to the action that is in the focus of the inference. This suggests that preferences that each verb involves may actually be attributed to the content of the verb as well as its mora length. It is thus possible that some verbs have more potential for preferring either *-na-soo da* or *-nasa-soo da* in terms of the time factor. Although this may not have directly affected the results of my survey as I analyzed each verb independently, it is certainly worth keeping in mind for future studies⁵⁵.

Lastly, I would like to return to the questionable cases which I chose not to include in the main analysis. As previously mentioned, two speakers of Version A and three of Version B chose *-na-soo da* for all the questions and five speakers of Version A and two of Version B also chose *-nasa-soo da* for all the questions. As two of the possible scenarios to account for these cases, I pointed out that these speakers may have answered the questionnaire from a prescriptive point of view or may habitually use only one of either *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da* and never use the other. There is also a possibility that the results above involve both types of answers.

⁵⁴ It is also possible that the difficulty in making an inference may change depending on to whom the speaker refers as they make an inference. For instance, it is speculated that it would be easier for them to report on themselves than to report on someone else, because the latter requires more of their guessing. (cf. *watashi wa wakara-na(sa)-soo da* ‘It looks like I won’t understand.’

vs. *kare wa wakara-na(sa)-soo da* ‘It looks like he won’t understand.’)

⁵⁵ Note that, showing a preference for *-nasa-soo da*, *dekiru* ‘be able to do’ was the only verb that did not follow the general pattern of verbs’ preferences based on their number of moras. It is speculated that that is perhaps related to the content of the verb (‘be able to do’) being quite internal to the referent.

It should be noted that the results above were returned by as many as 12 out of all 53 subjects I had, which occupies more than 20% in percentage. Although I left them out of the main analysis due to the nature of this study, it cannot be denied that this led to a sizable loss of potential data. In future studies, it is expected to collect a larger amount of data with the above possibilities in mind. It would also help to conduct a preliminary study to the subjects in order to see whether or not they are the type of speakers who use both *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*.

Although there were shortcomings, my study showed that there is a very real possibility that the so-called ‘variants,’ *-na-soo da* and *-nasa-soo da*, actually differ in meaning and use. I hope that I can pave the way for more research into this topic by looking further into such a possibility in my future studies.

References

- Aoki, H. (1986). Evidentials in Japanese. In W. L. Chafe, J. Nichols (Eds.), *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology* (pp. 223-238). Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Banno et al. (2011). *Genki: An integrated course in elementary Japanese II* (2nd ed.). Tokyo: The Japan times, Ltd.
- Hatasa et al. (2000). *Nakama 2: Japanese communication, culture, context*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Haiman, J. (1985). *Iconicity in Syntax*. Typological Studies in Language, 6. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Iwasaki, S. Grammar of the internal expressive sentences in Japanese: Observations and explorations. In K. Kabata, T. Ono (Eds.), *Usage-based Approaches to Japanese Grammar* (pp. 55-84). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kekidze, T. (2000). ‘(-Shi) sooda’ no imi bunseki. *Nihongo Kyooiku*, 107, 7-15.
- Kikuchi, Y. (2000). Iwayuru yotai no ‘sooda’ no kihonteki imi –awasete, sono hitei kakukei no imi no sa ni tsuite-. *Nihongo Kyooiku*, 107, 16-25.
- Kitahara, Y. (1981). *Nihongo jodooshi no kenkyuu*. Tokyo: Taishuukan shoten.
- Konoshima, M. (1973). *Kokugo jodooshi no kenkyuu - taikei to rekishi*. Tokyo: Oufuu sha.
- Matsushita, T. (2011). *Vocabulary Database for Reading Japanese (VDRJ) Ver.1.1*. Retrieved from <http://www17408ui.sakura.ne.jp/tatsum/LTVJ/index.html>
- Morita, Y. (2002). *Nihongo bunpoo no hassoo*. Tokyo: Hitsuji shoboo.
- National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. (1951). *Gendaigo no joshi jodooshi -yoofoo to jitsurei-*. Tokyo: Shuuei Shuppan.
- Nishio, T. (1983). Gokei no ‘yure’. *Nihongogaku*, 2(8), 50-60.
- Noda, H. (2003). Yotai no ‘sooda’ no hiteikei no sentaku keikoo. *Nihongo bunpoo*, 3(2), 131-145.

- Oba, M. (1999). Iwayuru yotai no jodooshi 'sooda' no imi to yohoo. Tokyo daigaku ryuugakusei centre kiyoo, 9, 75-99.
- Oba, M. (2015). Iwayuru yotai no jodooshi 'sooda' saikoo -'yooda' to no hikaku-. Nihongo to nihongo kyooiku, 43, 1-18.
- Sugimura, Y. (2005). Corpus o tsukatta nihongo kyoojuhoo no kaihatsu ni mukete - gaikokujin nigongo kyooshi no bunpoosei handan no tame ni-. Kotoba to bunka, 6. 1-12.
- Tawa, W. (2009). *The Japanese Stage-Step Course: Grammar Textbook*. New York: Routledge.
- Teramura, H. (1984). *Nihongo no syntax to imi* (vol.2). Tokyo: Kuroshio shuppan.
- Terasaki, T. (2012). Shinki sa ire sa nuki hyoogen kara miru goyoo to seiyou no bunseki. Paper presented at Gengo shori gakkai dai 18 kai nenji taikai.
- Tosaku, Y. (2006). *Yookoso!: Continuing with contemporary Japanese* (3rd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Toyoda, T. (1987). Sooda (yotai) no imi yohoo to hiteikei (1). Nihongo gakkoo ronshuu, 14, 1-13.
- Toyoda, T. (1998). 'Sooda' no hitei no katachi. Nihongo Kyouiku, 97, 60-71.
- Urushidani, H. (2010). *Setsubigo 'ge' to jodooshi 'sooda' no tsuujiteki kenkyuu*. Tokyo: Hitsuji shobou.
- Yoshida, K. (1971). *Gendaigo jodooshi no shiteki kenkyuu*. Tokyo: Meiji shoin.
- Yoshida, M. (1986). -nai. Nihongogaku, 5(3), 62-66.

Appendix 1

The abbreviations used in the Japanese gloss are as follows:

TOP	Topic marker
NOM	Nominative case marker
ACC	Accusative case marker
NEG	Negative marker
BASE	Base form
STEM	Stem
PAST PROG	Past progressive

Appendix 2

For ease of understanding, each sentence below has been numbered and marked with the verb and the appropriate corresponding and context marker ([+V], [-V], [+T] and [-T]). Between Version A and Version B, the sentences which use the same verb and contrast in context ([+V] vs. [-V] / [+T] vs. [-T]) have been given the same numbers. Note that only the Japanese part was actually presented to the subjects. For the exact format in which the questions were presented, refer to Section 3.2.

Version A ([+V] / [-T])

以下の文中の空欄に入るものとして、あなたが最も自然と感じるものを1つ選んでください。

'Please choose the one that you feel most naturally fills in the blank in each of the following sentences.'

(1) [+V] (*wakaru* 'understand')

この本は、見た目からして自分には[分かなそう/分かなさそう]。

kono hon wa mitame kara shite jibun ni wa

[wakara-na-soo/wakara-nasa-soo]

'Judging from how it looks, it looks like I will not understand this book.'

(2) [-T] (*wakaru* 'understand')

一瞬ぱつと感じた限りじゃ、あの人には、この映画の良さが[分かなそう/分かなさそう]。

isshun patto kanjita kagiri ja ano hito ni wa kono eiga no yosa ga [wakara-na-soo/wakara-nasa-soo]

'As far as I felt instantaneously, it looks like that person will not understand the value of this movie.'

(3) [+V] (*kuru* 'come')

あの様子を見る限り、たぶん佐藤さん今日の飲み会に[来なそう/来なさそう]。

ano yoosu o miru kagiri tabun Satoo-san kyoo no nomikai ni

[ko-na-soo/ko-nasa-soo]

'As far as how I see that situation, it looks like Mr/Ms.Satoo will not come to today's drinking party.'

(4) [-T] (kuru 'come')

あ、今日予定があるって言ってたから、今井さんは、[来なそう/来なさそう]。

a kyoo yotei aru tte itteta kara Imai-san wa

[ko-na-soo/ko-nasa-soo]

'Oh, Mr/Ms.Imai told me s/he had something to do today. It looks like s/he will not come.'

(5) [+V] (iru 'be')

今、外から様子を見てるんだけど、今、健太[いなそう/いなさそう]だよ。

ima soto kara yoosu o miteru n da kedo ima Kenta

[i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo]da yo

'I'm looking in from the outside now, but it looks like Kenta is not (there) now.'

(6) [-T] (iru 'be')

あ、今日祝日だった！今、誰も[いなそう/いなさそう]。

a kyoo shukujitsu datta ima dare mo [i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo]

'Oh, it's a holiday today! No one seems to be (there) now.'

(7) [+V] (iu 'say')

加藤さんって、見た感じだと、そんなこと[言わなそう/言わなさそう]だけど。

Katoo-san tte mita kanji da to sonna koto

[iwa-na-soo/iwa-nasa-soo] dakedo

'Judging from how s/he looks, Mr/Ms.Katoo looks like s/he will not say things like that.'

(8) [-T] (iu 'say')

初対面の印象からすると、あの人は、悪口[言わなそう/言わなさそう]だけど。

shotaimen no inshoo kara suru to ano hito wa waruguchi

[iwa-na-soo/iwa-nasa-soo]dakedo

'As far as his/her first impression is concerned, it looks like that person will not speak ill of others.'

(9) [+V] (dekiru 'be able to do')

見た印象からすると、あの人、仕事[出来なそう/出来なさそう]。

mita inshoo kara suru to ano hito shigoto

[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

'Judging from how s/he looks, it looks like that person

is not able to handle the job.'

(10) [-T] (*dekiru* 'be able to do')

初め一瞬の印象から言うと、あの人営業はあまり [出来なそう/出来なさそう] だね。

hajime isshun no inshoo kara iu to ano hito eigyoo wa amari
[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

'Judging from his/her impression that I got at the very first moment,
that person looks like s/he is not able to do the sales job well.'

Version B ([-V]/[+T])

以下の文中の空欄に入るものとして、あなたが最も自然と感じるものを1つ選んでください。

'Please choose the one that you feel most naturally fills in the blank in each of the following sentences.'

(1) [-V] (*wakaru* 'understand')

あの本は、噂からして自分には [分からなそう/分からなさそう]。

ano hon wa uwasa kara shite jibun ni wa
[wakara-na-soo/wakara-nasa-soo]

'Judging from the rumor, it looks like I will not understand this book.'

(2) [+T] (*wakaru* 'understand')

今までの好みを考える限りじゃ、あの人には、この映画の良さが [分からなそう/分からなさそう]。

ima made no konomi o kangaeru kagiri ja ano hito ni wa kono eiga no yosa ga [wakara-na-soo/wakara-nasa-soo]

'Considering his/her taste so far, it looks like that person will not understand the value of this movie.'

(3) [-V] (*kuru* 'come')

あの性格を考える限り、たぶん佐藤さん今日の飲み会に [来なそう/来なさそう]。

ano seikaku o kangaeru kagiri tabun Satoo-san kyoo no nomikai ni
[ko-na-soo/ko-nasa-soo]

'As far as his/her personality is concerned, it looks like Mr/Ms. Satoo will not come to today's party.'

(4) [+T] (kuru 'come')

うーん、これだけ連絡がないことから考えると、今井さんは、[来なそう/来なさそう]。

uun koredake renraku ga nai koto kara kangaeru to Imai-san wa
[ko-na-soo/ko-nasa-soo]

'Hm, considering that Mr/Ms.Imai hasn't contacted me yet for such a long time, it looks like s/he will not come.'

(5) [-V] (iru 'be')

今、外から聞き耳を立ててるんだけど、今、健太[いなそう/いなさそう]だよ。

ima soto kara kikimimi o tateteru n da kedo ima Kenta
[i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo]

'I'm pricking up my ears from the outside now, but it looks like Kenta is not (there).'

(6) [+T] (iru 'be')

うーん、電話しても出なかった。今、誰も[いなそう/いなさそう]。

uun denwa shite mo denakatta. ima dare mo [i-na-soo/i-nasa-soo]

'Umm, no one picked up the call. No one seems to be (there) now.'

(7) [-V] (iu 'say')

加藤さんって、聞いた話だと、そんなこと[言わなそう/言わなさそう]だけど。

Katoo-san tte kiita hanashi da to sonnna koto
[iwa-na-soo/iwa-nasa-soo]dakedo

'Judging from what I've heard, Mr/Ms.Katoo looks like s/he will not say things like that.'

(8) [+T] (iu 'say')

ここ数年の印象からすると、あの人は、悪口[言わなそう/言わなさそう]だけど。

koko suunen no inshoo kara suruto ano hito wa waruguchi
[iwa-na-soo/iwa-nasa-soo]dakedo

'As far as his/her impression from these years is concerned, it looks like that person will not speak ill of others.'

(9) [-V] (dekiru 'be able to do')

聞いた話からすると、あの人が、仕事[出来なそう/出来なさそう]。

kiita hanashi kara suru to ano hito shigoto
[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

'Judging from what I've heard, it looks like that person is not able to handle the job.'

(10) [+T] (*dekiru* 'be able to do')

今までの仕事ぶりから言うと、あの人営業はあまり [出来なそう/出来なさそう] だね。

ima made no shigoto buri kara iu to ano hito eigyoo amari
[deki-na-soo/deki-nasa-soo]

'Judging from his/her job performance so far, it looks like that person is not able to do the sales job well.'

Appendix 3

Dummy questions

根拠はないけど、伊藤さんが陰口を言う[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]と信じた
い。

'I don't have evidence, but I want to believe that [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] Mr. Ito speaks ill of others.'

あの人は気が強いから、そんな弱々しいことを言う[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]
よ。

'That person is plucky, [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] s/he whines like that.'

あの小池さんに限ってそんな失敗をする[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]と思うけ
どな。

'It's Mr. Koike, [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] he makes such a mistake.'

人間なら誰でもミスはするんだし、東大出身だからって言って全くミスしない[訳が
ない/はずがない/ことはない]よ。

'Every human makes a mistake. [There is no way that/ It cannot be that/ It is unlikely that] just because someone graduated from the University of Tokyo means he will not make any mistakes at all.'

うちの上司は、彼に限って横領するなんてする[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]！
って言ってたんだけど、実際は怪しいよね。

'My boss was saying "[There is no way that/ It cannot be that/ It is unlikely that] he embezzles!", but he is actually suspicious, isn't he?'

昨日たっぷり寝たし、さすがに今日は授業中に寝ちゃう[訳がない/はずがない/こと
はない]だろうよ。

'I had plenty of sleep last night, [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] I will fall asleep in class today.'

あれだけ言っても聞かないんだから、これ以上話しても彼が考えを変える[訳がない/

はずがない/ことはない]でしょ。

'He didn't listen to us after all our efforts, [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] he will change his mind.'

コンピュータ制御だから誤差が出る[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]とは一概には言えないよ。

'[There is no way that/ It cannot be that/ It is unlikely that] just because it is computer-operated means in general that there will be no errors.'

田中君はアニメに興味ないから、こんなの勧めても気に入る[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]と思うな。

'Mr. Tanaka isn't interested in Anime, I guess [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] he will like a thing like this even if I recommend it.'

斉藤さんは確か彼氏いるから、今度の合コンに誘っても来る[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]んじゃない？

'Ms. Saito has a boyfriend, [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] she will come to the next matchmaking party even if we invite her, don't you think?'

あの人とはかなり長い付き合いだけど、さすがに一生独身のつもりでいる[訳がない/はずがない/ことはない]と思う。

'I've known him for quite a long time, but in my opinion, [there is no way that/ it cannot be that/ it is unlikely that] he is going to stay single all his life.'