A Study of Japanese Verb Constructions in the Language of a Thirty-Month-Old Child

Karen Smith Takizawa

Introduction

The subject of this report is my own son, Kiyoshi Takizawa, age two years and six months at this writing. Kiyoshi was born in Matsumoto, Nagano Prefecture of a Japanese father and an English-speaking mother. Because his parents speak English to each other in the home and he is often read to in English, it was hoped that he would be bilingual in Japanese and English from the time he started to speak. This, however, has not been the case. Living in Matsumoto for his first nine months, then in Nagano City, has meant that most of his language input has been Japanese. His Japanese relatives, the neighbors, other children, and the television all speak Japanese. Kiyoshi very early on differentiated between the two languages in his environment and decided to concentrate on the one that was obviously the more useful. At this point, his ability in Japanese far exceeds his ability in English to the extent that he could almost be considered monolingual. Therefore, this report will focus on his language development in Japanese at thirty months. His potential development as a bilingual will be discussed in a later report.

Method

The method of gathering data was as follows: using a battery operated tape recorder, Kiyoshi's father recorded all of Kiyoshi's speech during a typical one hour period on January 5, 1983. The entire transcript is too long to include here, so the order of events on the tape is given:

Kiyoshi plays with water and dishes in the kitchen sink, then moves to the dining room and plays with his father. Kiyoshi starts to move the dining room chairs around and climbs on the table. He notices the tape recorder, then pulls the cloth off the table. Kiyoshi and his father see a cat outside the window. They talk about going to fly a kite after drinking tea. They find the kite and put it together. They drink tea, then preparations are made in the entrance hall for going out to fly the kite. They try to fly the kite in the street, but fail. They walk to a little neighborhood park, then decide to continue walking in the woods on the hill behind the park. They talk
about animals in the woods. They see a lady walking three dogs. They
climb to the top of the hill and talk to some other little boys with kites.
It starts to rain. They walk down the hill to the park again and come home.
They take off their wet clothes in the entrance hall, then move to the living
room, where they play together with the kite and other things.
Although this tape covers a variety of situations, it cannot be said to include
everything Kiyoshi knows about Japanese, all of the words he knows, or all of
the sentence patterns he recognizes. It is hoped, however, that an analysis of Kiyoshi’s
utterances and the way they fit into the flow of conversation will allow some
conclusions to be made on the areas in which his language is and is not developed.

Some Notes on Kiyoshi’s Grammar

According to the reports of researchers working with children in a number of
languages one of the universal operating principles for children learning their first
language is to pay attention to the ends of words. By extending this principle to
include groups of words, a corollary could be made about paying special attention
to the ends of sentences. English is an SVO language, while Japanese is called an
SOV language. That is to say that the verb in a Japanese sentence comes last.
One particularly interesting aspect of Kiyoshi’s speech at thirty months is the com­
plexity of his use of verbs and the post-positional particles that can follow them,
showing that he has, indeed, been paying attention to the ends of sentences. (Table
1 contains a list of all the verbs that appeared in the transcript and the ways in
which they were used.)

It is usual for speakers of Japanese to omit words that can be understood from
the context. This is particularly true of pronouns and happens to a greater degree
than in English. In Japanese, a perfectly grammatical sentence can consist of only
one word if all the other necessary information is available to the listener from the
context. Most of Kiyoshi’s multiple-word sentences consist of subject + verb or subject +
adjective, locative, or other modifier. The data also contained a rare example
of a sentence containing both subject and object. While his mother was struggling
to dress him to go out, Kiyoshi cried:

Papa ga jamba. Papa ga jamba.
Probable meaning, “It’s Papa who should put my coat on me, not Mama!”
Grammatical relationships in a sentence are shown by adding post-positional
particles to the main words, for example, “wa” or “ga” for the subject and “wo”
for the object. Kiyoshi is not yet consistent in his usage of post-positional particles.
He omits them much of the time. For example, in the woods he said:

Konna tokoro (ni) hebi (ga) nenne shiteru.
(Snakes are sleeping in this kind of place.)

Happa (no) tokoro.
(In the leaves.)

Sometimes he uses the wrong particle, as when he was talking about the kite:

Kono ito de (tsu)kau no.

\[
\text{(We'll use this string.)}
\]

Sometimes he appears to violate both particle and word order rules by putting the subject last, as he did when he was wondering where the cat had gone:

Sora ni itchatta no neko?
(Did the cat go up to the sky?)

(Table 2 contains a list of all the post-positional particles that follow the verb and the ways in which they were used.)

Some Notes on Kiyoshi’s Pronunciation

One of the most obvious differences between the speech of adults and children is the way it is pronounced. The speech of young children is often less clearly articulated than adult speech as the child is endeavoring to learn how to control his lips and tongue to produce the sounds he hears. Any given word may be pronounced in a variety of ways, especially if the word contains sounds that are particularly difficult for the child. Japanese adults sometimes imitate childish pronunciation by substituting /ch/ for /s/, and as can be seen in Table 3, /ch/ is indeed substituted for other sounds in three categories, /chai/ for /sai/, /ichi/ for /itte/, and /chu/ for /atsu/. Kiyoshi's common substitutions also include /shu/ for /su/ or /tsu/. Another technique is to drop the sound altogether, as he does with /tsu/ or initial /o/, sometimes doubling the following consonant to fill the space in the word.

It must be noted that all of the consonant sounds Kiyoshi finds difficult are fricatives or affricates. This is not to say that he cannot produce these sounds correctly at all, but that he cannot consistently produce them correctly. This can be seen in the following passage when Kiyoshi was trying to move the chairs around:

(In the dialogs in this report, “K”=Kiyoshi and “F”=his father.)

F: Doo suru no sono isu?
Kiyoshi introduced the word “atsumeru” (to gather) into the conversation and used it three times in one passage with three different pronunciations, one of which was correct. His father then gave him a correct model of the verb by asking a related question, which Kiyoshi picked up and used. The reply did not follow his father’s question logically in the adult sense and was not perfectly formed grammatically, but the verb was pronounced correctly. A variation in the pronunciation of “isu” (chair) also appeared, with Kiyoshi alternating between /isu/ and /ishu/.

An Analysis of Kiyoshi’s Verb Constructions

1) The Dictionary Form

The dictionary form of a Japanese verb most commonly ends in -ru and sometimes ends in -bu, -ku, -mu, -su, -tsu, or -u. In speech, this form is used among adult equals in casual conversation and when speaking to children. Without the polite -masu ending, it is relatively short and easy to learn. This is the form generally used when speaking to Kiyoshi, and it is the one that appears in his own speech. The -masu ending does not appear at all in the transcript, though Kiyoshi has produced it recently when echoing an adult’s sentence. It has not appeared spontaneously yet, so Kiyoshi may not recognize it as a suffix. Of the forty-nine verbs that appeared in the data, twenty-four of them were used in their dictionary form at least once. (* = an anomalous utterance)

1) (tako) ageru to fly a kite
2) aru to be (inanimate)
3) atsumeru to gather together
4) hairu to enter
5) iku to go
6) iru to be (animate)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>karamaru</td>
<td>to twine round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>*kashiru (kasu)</td>
<td>to lend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>kiru</td>
<td>to cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>kuru</td>
<td>to come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>miru</td>
<td>to see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>motsu</td>
<td>to have, hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>naru</td>
<td>to become</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>noboru</td>
<td>to climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>nomu</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>nosu</td>
<td>to place, put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>suru</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>suteru</td>
<td>to throw away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>tobu</td>
<td>to fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>tomaru</td>
<td>to stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tsukau</td>
<td>to use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>tsukuru</td>
<td>to make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>yameru</td>
<td>to cease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>yaru</td>
<td>to do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Japanese verbs can be divided into three categories. First, there are the so-called “vowel verbs” that end in -ru. The verb stem can be made by simply dropping the -ru ending. Second, there are the “consonant verbs” that have various endings, -bu, -ku, -nu, -ru, etc. The formation of stems for these verbs requires a sound change. Third, there are the two irregular verbs, “kuru” and “suru”. Of the verbs that appeared in the dictionary form in the data, only one was formed incorrectly, in the following example:

F: Chotto kashi teo  
(Let me borrow it.)

K: *Kashiru.  
(I will lend it.)

Children are essentially pattern learners. Kiyoshi had noticed that many verbs can be inflected by merely changing the ending. His usage of “kuru” and “iku” indicates that he also recognizes that not all verbs can be treated in the same way. In this case, it seems that he was simply applying the rule that works for him most of the time. He had no way of knowing from his father’s question that the dictionary form of “kashite” was “kasu”, not “kashiru”, and that it was a “consonant verb.”

2) The Plain Past Tense

The past tense is marked by the -ta ending. Like the dictionary form, the plain past tense is used in casual conversation by adults within their “in-group”
or when speaking "down", for example, to children. The politer -mashita ending did not appear at all. Ten of the verbs in the data appeared in the past tense at least once:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past tense dictionary form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) atta aru was (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) atsumeta atsumeru gathered together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) chigatta chigau differed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) dekita dekiru was able to, finished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) itta iku went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) kita kuru came</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) komatta komaru was troubled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) shita suru did</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) tonda tobu flew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) yatta yaru did</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of Kiyoshi's verbs in the simple past tense were used without subject or object as declarations of having accomplished something.

K: Dekita.
   (It's finished.)

K: Tonda yo.
   (It flew.)

3) Verb Stem + -te+iru

One of the meanings of this form is similar to the English present progressive tense. In the spoken language, the "i" in "iru" is commonly dropped. Kiyoshi picked this form up and always treats the present progressive as a single unit.

| verb stem ru is doing | 1) atsumete(i)ru is gathering |
|-----------------------|
| 2) itte(i)ru is saying |
| 3) kite(i)ru is wearing |
| 4) mite(i)ru is looking |
| 5) motte(i)ru is holding |
| 6) nenne shite(i)ru is sleeping |
| 7) tabete(i)ru is eating |
| 8) yatte(i)ru is doing |

An example of Kiyoshi's use of this tense appeared when he was watching the lady with the three dogs:

K: Nanika kusa tabete(i)ru mitai ne.
   (It looks like the dogs are eating grass or something.)

Three of the verbs in the "-te iru" form did not indicate the present progressive tense.
Every once in a while Kiyoshi says something that seems particularly sophisticated. Two times during the taping session he brought up the name of Momotaro, a well-known figure from Japanese folklore he has often been read to about. The following exchange took place when Kiyoshi and his father were entering the house after their walk:

   (You have to wash your hands.)
K: Kore ja nai yo.
   (Don't say "kore." I don't want to wash my hands.)
F: Te-te arawanai to...
   (If you don't wash your hands...)
K: Momotaro mo te aratte(i)ru?
   (Is Momotaro in the habit of washing his hands when he comes home, too?)
F: Minna te aratte(i)ru yo.
   (Everyone washes their hands.)
   (Momotaro does. Kintaro does. Urashima Taro does.)
   (Everyone washes their hands when they come home. Come on.)

Momotaro “exists” in Kiyoshi’s world. Since Momotaro was obviously not there washing his hands, this sentence has the meaning of “being in the habit of...” It cannot be known at this point whether or not Kiyoshi understands the difference in nuance between the dictionary form “arau” (Does he wash?) and “aratte(i)ru”, but he chose the one that was most fitting.

The second example, with “natte(i)ru”, appeared when Kiyoshi and his father were putting the kite together.

   (Oh, look. This is how it goes. I see.)
K: Koo natte(i)ru.
   (This is how it goes.)

In this case, Kiyoshi was not producing a spontaneous utterance, but echoing his father’s words as if he wanted to practice the sentence in the proper circumstances.

In the last example, Kiyoshi was able to form the verb correctly, but his
sentence was semantically anomalous.

K: Oni wa kowai. *Kore ue ni nobotte(i)ru.
(The demon is scary. It climbed up to there.)

At this time he was looking at a Nepalese mask that is hanging on an outside wall of the house. "Climb" in English and "noboru" in Japanese are both reserved for things that can move under their own power. Because the mask had a face, perhaps Kiyoshi assumed it was animate and able to move by itself, or perhaps he associates high places, such as walls, table tops, and mountains, with climbing. In this case, an adult might have said:

Takai tokoro ni kakete aru.
(It's hung in a high place.)

"Kakeru" does not appear in the data, and Kiyoshi may or may not know it. He may have overextended the meaning of "climb" to include "hang" because he thought it most closely approximated his meaning of the verbs in his vocabulary.

4) The -te Form Used Without a Marker

Another usage of the -te form in addition to the present progressive tense is in the formation of requests, verb stem +-te+kudasai. In conversational Japanese, the marker for a polite request (kudasai) is often dropped. Of the verbs in the data, seven were used in the -te form as requests without markers.

1) irete  Put it in, please.
2) kite     Come, please.
3) kiite    Ask, please.
4) mite     Please look at this.
5) motte    Please hold it. / Please bring it.
6) tasukete Help, please!
7) yatte    Do it, please.

The following example appeared when Kiyoshi noticed the picture of a flying dinosaur on the kite:

Kaibutsu.
(It’s a monster. Monster. Monster. Look at this. Monster.)

It is certain that Kiyoshi knows the full form (verb stem+-te+kudasai) because a point has been made recently of teaching him that he will be more likely to get what he wants if he asks in a calm, polite manner than if he screams, pounds on the table, or jumps up and down. However, in emotionally neutral conversation when his requests are not prompted by an urgent desire for something he tends to drop the marker.
In the formation of the present progressive tense (verb stem+-te+iru) it is permissible to contract the marker "iru" to "ru", but it is not permissible to drop it altogether as it is with a polite request marker (kudasai). One example appeared in the data that indicated Kiyoshi does not yet understand this:

1) nenne shite (iru) to be sleeping (child’s word)

When Kiyoshi and his father were walking in the woods behind the park the following exchange took place:

K: Hebi inai ne?
(There aren’t any snakes here, are there?)
F: Hebi inai ne.
(There certainly aren’t any snakes.)
(There aren’t any. The snakes are sleeping.)
F: Kitto hebi nenne shite iru ne. Fuyu dakara.
(The snakes are surely sleeping because it’s winter.)

From the context, Kiyoshi’s remark was obviously intended to mean “are sleeping”. Kiyoshi’s father expanded the sentence to give him the correct model, but Kiyoshi did not repeat it.

5) verb stem+-te+shimau

The addition of “shimau” to the -te form adds the idea of “completion”. When used in the present tense, the implication is that is that if things go on as they are the action or event being referred to will become a certainty. In casual conversation among peers, and again, to children, the catenative form, “verb stem+chau” is used rather than the full form, “verb stem+-te+shimau”. It is not likely that Kiyoshi understands the full underlying form at this time. There were five examples of this pattern in the data, all used semantically correctly.

1) ittchau =itte+shimau will surely go
2) kowarechau=kowarete+shimau will surely break
3) natchau =natte+shimau will surely become
4) otchau =ochite+shimau will surely fall
5) suwatchau =suwate+shimau will surely sit

Kiyoshi used this pattern when he decided to run into the woods:

K: Kiyoshi mori no naka ichau n da.
(I’m going to run into the woods.)
F: Hashitchau no?
(Are you going to run?)
K: Zoo-zoo to mori no naka ittchau n da yo.
(I'm going to run into the woods quickly.)

6) Verb Stem + -te + shimau + past tense

When the past tense of the "-te + shimau" pattern is used, it indicates that the action is irrevocably finished and can have the nuance that the speaker feels somehow regretful. In casual conversation the full form (verb stem + -te + shimatta) is contracted to "verb stem + chatta." Eight examples appeared in the data.

1) detekichatta = detekite + shimatta came out completely
2) fuchatta = futte + shimatta (snow) fell, and it's on the ground now
3) ittchatta = itte + shimatta went
4) kichata = kite + shimatta came, and is here now
5) kowarechatta = kowarete + shimatta broke
6) natchatta = natte + shimatta became
7) otchatta = ochite + shimatta fell down
8) yatchatta = yatte + shimatta did something, finished

An interesting example of this pattern appeared after Kiyoshi and his father had returned from their walk and Kiyoshi was playing with the roll of kite string.

K: Kiyoshi nagaku natchatta.

Literally, this sentence would mean "Kiyoshi became longer", but it was clear from the context, since he was running around the room with the kite and suddenly noticed that the string had become unwound, that he meant "Kiyoshi's string became longer" or "Kiyoshi did something that made the string longer".

Kiyoshi had two pronunciations for "itte shimatta". The first, "ittchatta", is similar to the pronunciation used by adults in casual conversation. The second, "ichimatta", approximates the full form, "itte shimatta".

7) Verb Stem + -te + wa + dame

The word "dame" (equivalent to English "No!") is certainly a familiar one for Japanese children from the time they start to move about and explore their world. "Dame" is often used alone when the meaning is clearly understood, or slightly expanded to include the relevant verb phrase. It is most likely that children respond as much to the tone of voice and threatening gestures accompanying this phrase as they do to the words themselves. Four verbs were used in this pattern in the data:

1) decha dame = dete wa dame Don't go out
2) haitcha dame = haite wa dame Don't come in
3) naoshicha dame = naoshite wa dame Don't fix it
4) noshicha dame = nosete wa dame Don't put it there

Kiyoshi does not restrict the usage of this pattern to forbidding someone to do
something, but also uses it sometimes when he wants to negate a sentence. When he and his father were coming down the hill to the park again, his father wanted to help him down a steep place by holding his hand:

F: Hai. Te-te.
   (Give me your hand.)
   (Papa, don't come in. Papa.)

It sounded as though Kiyoshi used the contracted form of "haite wa dame" (don't come in), but from the context he may have been trying to negate his father's sentence because he wanted to go down the hill by himself. He may have meant to say, "Hai to itte wa dame" (Don't say "hai"), but contracted it too much:

Hai to itte wa dame. full underlying form
Hai to itcha dame. contracted spoken form
Haitcha dame. dropping "to" changes the meaning entirely

8) Verb Stem+-te+Verb

Two verbs can be joined in a sentence with the post-positional particle "-te" functioning as a conjunction. Kiyoshi used this pattern in the data mainly with three common extenders, "-te+kuru", "-te+iku", and "-te+miru". With transitive verbs, "kuru" and "iku" refer to coming or going with respect to the speaker's present location. The addition of "miru" adds the meaning of doing something to see what will happen.

1) akete miru open (it) and see
2) haite (i)koo Let's go in.
3) hashite kita came running
4) hashite ikoo Let's run.
5) katte kita bought something and came back
6) motte iku take something somewhere

When Kiyoshi saw the woman with the three dogs, the following exchange took place:

K: Ah! Wan-wa tokoro. Ippai iru yo.
   (There are dogs. Lots of dogs.)
F: Wan-wa ita ne. Wan-wa kita ne. Mi ni ikoo ka?
   (There are dogs, aren't there. The dogs came. Shall we go to see them?)
K: Mi ni ikoo. Hashite ikoo ka?
   (Let's go see them. Let's run and see them.)
Kiyoshi used this pattern in one other instance. When he saw the boys try to hang their kites on a tree while they rested he said:

K: Asoko oitoku no kana?

(I wonder if they will put the kites there?)

He has heard “oitoku”, the contracted form of “oite oku” (to put something down), many times since it is often used in connection with things he is not supposed to touch. At this point he may consider “oitoku” to be a single unit, rather than a two-verb construction like “-te+miru”.

9) Verb Stem + -oo or -yoo

This ending adds the meaning of “Let’s…” to the verb. It is, of course, most often used when speaking to others and suggesting ideas or activities, but can also be used when speaking aloud to oneself. There were six verbs used in the data with this ending:

1) akeyoo Let’s open it.
2) ikoo Let’s go.
3) miyoo Let’s look.
4) noboroo Let’s climb.
5) shiyoo Let’s do it.
6) yaroo Let’s do it.

Kiyoshi used this, for example, when he lost interest in flying the kite and wanted to watch the dogs:

F: Doko de takoage suru no?

(Where shall we fly the kite?)

K: Hitoyasumi shiyoo.

(Let’s rest a bit.)

10) Negatives

To form negatives in the present tense, the suffix “nai” is added to the verb stem.

de+ru --> de+nai
(go out) (don’t go out)

In the case of the present progressive tense, “inai” is substituted for “iru”.

yonde iru --> yonde inai
(is reading) (is not reading)

In the data there were numerous instances in which Kiyoshi wanted to express a negative opinion, but he was only able to produce grammatically negative constructions with seven verbs.
At this stage, Kiyoshi seems to have mastered a very small number of verbs in the negative form that he can produce spontaneously, "denai", "dekinai", "inai", and "konai". In other cases he adds "nai" to the verb in the sentence he wants to negate. This does not always produce a grammatical utterance, as his negative constructions with "shiru" will show.

When Kiyoshi noticed the tape recorder on the table, the following exchange took place:

K: Kore wa nan da?
   (What's this?)

F: Kore? Kore shitteru deshoo? Nani kore?
   (This? You know, don't you? What's this?)

   (I don't know.)

Then, a few pages later in the transcript, when Kiyoshi's father was talking about going to fly the kite, another exchange using "I don't know" took place:

F: Demo, Kiyoshi, Papa tako doko ni aru ka shiranai na.
   (But, Kiyoshi, I don't know where the kite is.)

Tako doko ni aru no, Kiyoshi? Ne.
   (Kiyoshi, where's the kite?)

Kiyoshi, tako doko ni aru n da yo.
   (Kiyoshi, where's the kite.)

K: uh?
   (What?)

F: Tako.
   (The kite.)

K: Shiranai.
   (I don't know.)

His response in both exchanges should have been "Shiranai". "Shitte inai" is not conventionally used in Japanese. In the first exchange he also erred by not dropping "iru" before adding "inai". In the second exchange his father modelled the correct
form, which he copied several sentences later.

The next example shows that Kiyoshi knows that not all verbs can be inflected regularly. When his father wanted Kiyoshi to give him the kite string so he could wind it up, he said:

F: Papa mijikaku maite yaroo ka?  
   (Shall I wind it up for you?)

K: *Makanai.  
   (It doesn't wind.)

This verb is inflected correctly, though it is not the reply that would logically follow in the adult sense. This example shows that Kiyoshi recognizes an underlying relationship between "maite" and "makanai". Since the verb "maku" (to wind up) does not come up very often in conversation with Kiyoshi, this seems to be a case in which he was trying out his rules for formation of verb stems and negatives.

The fact that Kiyoshi produced few grammatically negative sentences does not mean that he is an extremely obedient child. He used non-linguistic ways such as screaming or crying and forms of reasoning, as when his father wanted to put up his hood when it began to rain.

F: Hora! Ame futte kita kara kaeroo.  
   (Look! It began to rain. Let's go home.)

K: Ii no! Heiki yo! Heiki!  
   (No! I don't care! I don't care!)

F: ... Papa mitai ni kore yatte. Amma nurechau kara ne.  
   (Do like me (and put up your hood). Your head will get wet.)

K: Iya da! Iya da!  
   (I don't like it! I don't like it.)

F: Papa umaku yatteru yo.  
   (I will put your hood up skillfully.)

K: Boshi daikirai!  
   (I dislike hats intensely!)

F: ... Dooshite? Datte, nurechau yo, boshi yaranakattara. Nurechatte ii no?  
   (Why? If you don't wear a hat your head will get wet. Is it okay to get wet?)

K: Itai kara yameru no dakara. Omi-mi itai kara yameru n deshoo.  
   (Stop it because it hurts. My ears hurt, so stop it.)

Phrases such as "ii no", "heiki", "iya da", and "daikirai" are obviously useful for Kiyoshi because of their wide application. They are also conversationally more
interesting because they are not merely echoes of previous sentences.

As is not unusual with children of this age, there are times when Kiyoshi makes grammatical utterances that do not logically follow the train of the conversation, or that do not mean what he seems to be trying to express. An example of this occurred when they saw the cat outside the window and called to it.

F: Neko-san, oide yo!
   (Mr. Cat, come here!)
K: Neko-san, oide yo! *Yonde nai. Doko e ichimatta no?
   (Mr. Cat, come here! *I haven't called yet. Where did he go?)

In adult conversation, “yonde (i) nai” might mean something like, “I haven't called him yet.” In Kiyoshi's sentence, however, he seems to be trying to say, “Even though I call the cat, he doesn't come.” (Yonde mo konai.)

Kiyoshi has also learned some set phrases that he used to express negative opinions.

1) ... ja nai yo.  It's not ...
2) Nani mo nai yo.  It's nothing.
3) So demo nai yo.  That's not so.
4) Sonna koto nai yo.  It's not like that.

He does not yet seem to understand the semantically correct usage of these patterns, only that they contradict the previous statement. He used “... ja nai yo” with words other than verbs, for example, when his father wanted to wash his hands.

F: Te-te arau yo. Kore...
   (Let's wash your hands. Here... (look at this dirty hand.)
K: *Kore ja nai yo.
   (Literally, "Don't say 'Kore'." Meaning, "I won't wash my hands.")

Another example appeared when they were discussing which way to walk.

F: Kiyoshi, doko ikitai no?
   (Kiyoshi, where do you want to go?)
K: *Nani mo nai yo.
   (Literally, "It's nothing. "Meaning, "I have no opinion about the matter.")

11) Da, Desu, and Deshoo

The plain form “da” and the politer form “desu” are usually translated with the verb “to be” in English. Kiyoshi heavily favored the plain form in the data. In casual conversation, it is often dropped altogether, since it is assumed to be understood by the listener. The form “deshoo” indicates a lesser degree of certainty on the part of the speaker than “da”, sometimes because the speaker wants some kind of confirmation of facts or is hesitant about declaring himself too forcefully.
In this passage, in which Kiyoshi is excitedly talking about the kites he sees, all of the forms appear.

Kore kuro desu. Kore kuro desu.
(What's that? It's black. This is scary, isn't it? This is a kite. This is black, isn't it? This is a bird, isn't it? This is red. This is black. This is black.)

(Note: Kiyoshi uses “kore” (this) to refer to objects near and far. He has not yet learned “sore” (that) and “are” (that over there).)

12) Complex Sentences

One passage in the data indicated that Kiyoshi is not yet able to respond properly to requests with embedded clauses when the main verb, “ask” in this case, comes at the end of the sentence. When Kiyoshi and his father were leaving to go to the park, Kiyoshi suddenly decided that he wanted his mother to go, too. The following exchange illustrates Kiyoshi’s difficulty in picking out the embedded verb for his response.

K: *Mama issho ni irete ne.
   (Literally, “Put Mama in, too.” Meaning, “Mama should go, too.”)

F: Mama issho ni iku te kiite ne.
   (Ask Mama to go, too.)

K: *Mama mo issho ni kiite.
   (Literally, “Let’s ask together, Mama.” Meaning, “Mama come, too.”)

It seems that he is overextending his rule that the last verb in the sentence is the one he should use in his response. In another part of the tape, when Kiyoshi and his father were looking for the kite in the house, he was asked a similar question with the instruction “Ask Mama” at the beginning of the sentence.

F: Kiyoshi, ja, Mama ni kiite doko ni aru ka.
   (Well, Kiyoshi, ask Mama where it is.)

K: Doko ni aru?
   (Where is it?)

In this case Kiyoshi could use the final verb in his father’s sentence according to his rule and produce a grammatical response.
13) Verb + Particles

There is a class of words called “shujoshi” (post-positional words that function as an auxiliary to a main word) that can follow the verb. Some of these particles change a statement into a question, others can be used to indicate the degree of certainty the speaker has about what he is saying, give a masculine or feminine tone to the sentence, or indicate a regional dialect. It is rather difficult to write concrete rules for some of these particles because they fall into the delicate realm of mood or feeling that cannot be translated easily. As a foreigner learning Japanese as a second language, I have noticed that I tend to avoid using many particles because I feel it is safer for me to speak rather colorlessly than to unwittingly give a sentence a meaning I did not intend. Kiyoshi, on the other hand, learning Japanese as a first language has none of my inhibitions. As can be seen in Table 2, he has certainly been paying attention to the ends of sentences he hears because he uses many particles after the verb alone and in combination. He does make mistakes, but it can be assumed that he will eventually learn the correct usage through experience.

Some Notes on the way Kiyoshi’s Father Speaks to Him

Unlike most “usual” children, whose primary source of language is generally considered to be their mother, Kiyoshi’s primary source of Japanese in the home is his father. The next in importance would be television and books, his babysitter, his grandparents, neighbors, and other children. Next spring when he enters a nursery school, his teachers and fellow pupils will undoubtedly become important sources, too, but at this time, in his socially limited world, his father could be considered number one. In this section, some of the differences between Kiyoshi’s father’s speech to Kiyoshi and to other adults will be discussed.

One of the most obvious differences is in vocabulary. Japanese has a set of words that are used to and by children up until about the time they enter kindergarten, after which time they are gradually discarded as “babyish”. There are only five vowels in Japanese: /a/ as in “ah”, /i/ as in “bee”, /u/ as in “tooth”, /e/ as in “rate”, and /o/ as in “go”, all of which appear in the infantile vocabulary. Reduplication of a syllable is quite common. The list of “baby” words used in the data does not include all such words in Kiyoshi’s vocabulary, only the ones he used during the recording period. (See Table 4)

Another obvious area of difference between Kiyoshi’s father’s speech to Kiyoshi and to other adults is in grammar. In Dale (pp. 142-45) several studies on the
speech of English-speaking mothers to their children are described. The following characteristics were generally noted: shorter utterances, less complexity, more repetition, fewer pronouns, slower rate of speech, and fewer tenses. All of these characteristics can also be applied to Kiyoshi's father's speech plus the use of the special infantile vocabulary, variable word order, and the tendency to drop post-positional particles after the subject and object. Japanese also has some exceptions to the rules for the usage of polite prefixes when speaking to small children that appear in the data.

The first examples involve the repetition of a word or sentence for emphasis, or until Kiyoshi responded.

F: Ame de nurechau yo. ... Amma nurechau yo. ... Amma nurechau.
   (You'll get wet in the rain. Your head will get wet. Your head will get wet.)

   (I don't like it. I don't like it.)

In situations of more immediate urgency the key word was repeated within the sentence, as when Kiyoshi was trying to pull the cloth off the table.

F: Mama ga komatta komatta te!
   (Mama will say "Oh, no! Oh, no!")

Kiyoshi's father generally avoids pronouns. He refers to himself as "Papa", which is commonly used by Japanese children rather than using a pronoun or omitting the reference altogether, as he would tend to do in speaking to other adults.

F: Papa no ashi yo.
   (That's my foot.)

The tendency to use titles or pet names when speaking to children in place of pronouns was also noted in Dale (p. 147). Kiyoshi is never called "you", always "Kiyoshi".

As mentioned previously, Japanese uses post-positional particles to indicate grammatical relationships within a sentence, so it is possible to vary the standard SOV word order. One way adults tend to simplify their speech to children is to drop these particles and keep the standard word order.

F: Papa (wa) te-te (wo) hanasu kara.
   (Because I'm going to let go (of the kite).)

Subject-noun phrases that would normally be placed at the beginning of the sentence are sometimes moved to the end, perhaps for emphasis.

F: Mori no naka sampo suru n ja nai no?
(Aren't you going to talk a walk in the woods?)

K: e?
(huh?)

F: Sampo shiteru to nani ka de te kuru kamoshirenai omoshiroi mono ga.
(If we take a walk, maybe we'll see some interesting things.)

Following the principle that children pay special attention to the ends of words and sentences, Kiyoshi's father might have moved what he hoped would be the main "interest catcher" in the sentence to the end, figuring that Kiyoshi might continue in the direction his father wanted to go if he thought he might see something interesting.

There were times when Kiyoshi's father imitated some phonological features of "baby talk", as adults are also inclined to do in other languages on occasion. The following example appeared when Kiyoshi had broken one of the sticks for the kite.

F: Datte koko Kiyoshi oppochochatta ja nai.
(But, Kiyoshi, you bent it here.)

First of all, "datte" is generally used to begin a complaint by a weaker or younger person to an older or stronger one. By using it to Kiyoshi, his father was putting himself on Kiyoshi's level. The derivation of the verb "oppochochatta", a dialect form pronounced in a childish way, is as follows:

oru (bend) → oshoru → opposhoru → oppochoro
(standard) (dialect) (dialect) (/sho/ replaced by /cho/)

Substituting /ch/ for /sh/ is generally a marker for childish pronunciation. As can be seen in Table 3, Kiyoshi does make this substitution in his spontaneous speech.

F: Koronjau mon Kiyoshi ga.
(You'll fall, Kiyoshi.)

The use of "mon" is also considered childish. In adult speech, "kara" would be used. This sentence is another instance in which the subject is put at the end of the sentence, probably to emphasize to Kiyoshi that he will be hurt if he isn't careful.

F: Kore teburukurosu yo.
(This is a tablecloth.)

As an adult male, if speaking to another adult, Kiyoshi's father would use "da yo" or the politer "desu yo". The use of "yo" alone is a characteristic of female speech or of adults speaking to children.

F: Neko-san o-uchi e kaetta no yo.
(Mr. Cat went home.)
This sentence illustrates the special uses of two honorific particles, "-san" and "o". "-San" is the most commonly used suffix added to names and occupations. Among adults it is used only for humans, never for animals or objects. Children, however, commonly overextend the usage to include animals they are fond of, such as pandas, bears, rabbits, or monkeys. The prefix "o" on nouns is a characteristic of polite female speech and is very rarely used by men, except sometimes when speaking to children with words such as: "o-te-te" (hand), "o-me-me" (eye), "o-jozu" (skillful), "o-rikoo" (smart), and so on.

Conclusion

Adults help to "teach" young children their first language by simplifying the sentences addressed directly to them grammatically, phonetically, and stylistically, by modelling and expanding their utterances and by asking related questions to encourage them to speak. Children listen to the language they hear and gradually formulate rules about the grammar and the meaning of the words. Seven universal principles of first language learning have been observed (Cairns pp. 218-20):

A: Pay attention to the ends of words.
B: The phonological forms of words can be systematically modified.
C: Pay attention to the order of words and morphemes.
D: Avoid interruption or rearrangement of linguistic units.
E: Underlying grammatical relations should be marked overtly and clearly.
F: Avoid exceptions.
G: The use of grammatical markers should make semantic sense.

The particular focus of this report was the development of Kiyoshi's verb constructions in Japanese and his adherence to the first two universal principles. In the data, Kiyoshi displayed a knowledge of forty-nine verbs, which he was able to manipulate in five different ways: the dictionary form, the plain past tense, the -te form alone and in various combinations, the -oo/ -yoo form, and the negative. His knowledge of these constructions is still incomplete, however, since he does not seem to be able to produce all forms of all the verbs he knows. His most productive verbs, "kuru" (to come), "iku" (to go), "suru" (to do), and "yaru" (to do), appeared in four categories each. All of these verbs refer to actions that directly involve or interest Kiyoshi, so it is not surprising that he should be adept at using them. He has recognized that Japanese verbs have a "stem form" to which he can add the various endings for the past tense, present participle, negative, and so on, and that these "stem forms" are not always regular. He still needs to
learn which ones are irregularly formed. He has also begun using a number of the particles that can follow the verb. Many of these are strictly conversational and are used to add a particular mood or nuance to the sentence. His weakest area was in the formation of grammatical negatives, but the use of non-linguistic signals or alternative sentences enabled him to express contrary opinions.

It is very exciting to watch a young child learn his first language and to listen to the interesting "mistakes" he makes while refining his rules about the grammar and phonology. Children learn so quickly and seemingly so easily. What an enviable thing this natural ability is!
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dictionary Form</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>~-te Form</th>
<th>~-oo/-yoo Form</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) to fly (a kite)</td>
<td>(tako) ageru</td>
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<td>2) to open</td>
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<td>3) to wash</td>
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<tr>
<td>4) to be (inanimate)</td>
<td>aru</td>
<td>atta na</td>
<td></td>
<td>akeyo(o) yo</td>
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<td>5) to play</td>
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<td>*ashinda yo</td>
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<td>6) to gather</td>
<td>*atsumeru da</td>
<td>atsumeta n da</td>
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<tr>
<td>7) to differ</td>
<td></td>
<td>chigatta no kana</td>
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<tr>
<td>8) to be able, to finish</td>
<td>da da yo</td>
<td>dekita kai</td>
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<td>*dekinai ja</td>
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<tr>
<td>9) to come out</td>
<td></td>
<td>dete kichatta decha dame</td>
<td></td>
<td>denai denai yo denai yo ne</td>
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<tr>
<td>10) to be (copula, auxiliary)</td>
<td>da da yo</td>
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<tr>
<td>11) to fall</td>
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<td>*fuchatta n desu</td>
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<tr>
<td>12) to enter</td>
<td>hairu mon</td>
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<td>haite (i)ko(o) haicha dame</td>
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<td>13) to run</td>
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<td>hashitte ikoo hashitte ikoo ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>14) to go</td>
<td>iku</td>
<td>itta no</td>
<td></td>
<td>itte (i)ru no kana</td>
<td>ikoo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Dictionary Form</td>
<td>Past Tense</td>
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<td>-oo/-yoo Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>14) to go (cont.)</td>
<td>iku no</td>
<td>itta n desu</td>
<td>*ichau n da ittchau n da yo</td>
<td>hashite ikoo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>iku no kana</td>
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<td>ittchatta n da *ichimatta no</td>
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<td>*ichimatta no ka</td>
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<td>*ichimatta no kana</td>
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<td>15) to put in</td>
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<td>irete ne</td>
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<tr>
<td>16) to be (animate)</td>
<td>iku no</td>
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<td>iku yo</td>
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<td>iku no yo</td>
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<td>17) to think</td>
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<td>kangaeta</td>
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<td>18) to twine round</td>
<td>karamaru no</td>
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<td>19) to lend</td>
<td>*kashiru</td>
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<td>20) to buy</td>
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<td>katte kita</td>
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<td>21) to ask</td>
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<td>kiite</td>
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<td>22) to cut</td>
<td>kiru yo</td>
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<td>23) to be troubled</td>
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<td>komatta na</td>
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<td>24) to be broken</td>
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<td>kowarechau n dakara kowarechatta no ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>25) to come</td>
<td>kuru kara yo</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>kite (i)ru kiteru no kita yo</td>
<td>konai to</td>
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<td>kita ne</td>
<td>kiite</td>
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<td>kita yo</td>
<td>kichata</td>
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<td>26) to wind</td>
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<td>makanai</td>
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Table 1 (cont.)

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<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Dictionary Form</th>
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<th>-oo/-yoo Form</th>
<th>Negative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27) to see</td>
<td>*miru desu akete miru</td>
<td>mite</td>
<td>mite (i)ru n da</td>
<td>miyoo ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>28) to have, to hold</td>
<td>motsu</td>
<td>motte iku motte (i)ru n da</td>
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<tr>
<td>29) to fix</td>
<td></td>
<td>naoshicha dame yo</td>
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<tr>
<td>30) to become</td>
<td>naru ne naru kara ne</td>
<td>natte (i)ru natchau no natchatta yo</td>
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<tr>
<td>31) to climb</td>
<td>noboru no</td>
<td>nobotte (i)ru noboro(o) yo</td>
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<tr>
<td>32) to drink</td>
<td>nomu n deshoo</td>
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<td>33) to place, to put</td>
<td>nosu no noshi no</td>
<td>noshicha dame yo</td>
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<td>34) to fall</td>
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<td>otchau yo natchatta</td>
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<tr>
<td>35) to place, to put</td>
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<td>oitoku no kana</td>
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<tr>
<td>36) to come</td>
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<td>oide oide yo</td>
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<tr>
<td>37) to know</td>
<td></td>
<td>*shitte (i)ru nai yo shiranai</td>
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<tr>
<td>38) to do</td>
<td>suru no shikko suru *toire suru suru n desu</td>
<td>shita na shita no kana nen shite nen shite (i)ru yo shiyou</td>
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<td>39) to throw away</td>
<td>suteru suteru no</td>
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<td>40) to sit</td>
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<td>suwatchau ka</td>
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<td>41) to eat</td>
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<td>tabete (i)ru mitai</td>
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<td>Verb</td>
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<td>42) to help</td>
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<td>tasukete</td>
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<td>*takkete</td>
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<tr>
<td>43) to fly</td>
<td>toberu yo</td>
<td>toberu n dakara yo</td>
<td>tonda</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(potential form)</td>
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<tr>
<td>44) to stop</td>
<td>tomeru n desu</td>
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<tr>
<td>45) to use</td>
<td>tsukau no</td>
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<td></td>
<td>*(tsu)kau no</td>
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<tr>
<td>46) to make</td>
<td>*(tsu)kuru no</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>47) to stop</td>
<td>yameru no</td>
<td>yameru n dakara yameru n deshoo</td>
<td>yatte deshoo</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>48) to do</td>
<td>yaru ka</td>
<td>yatu n dakara yaru n desu</td>
<td>yatte deshoo</td>
<td>yarou ka</td>
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<tr>
<td>49) to call</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*yonde nai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: A List of Particles that Follow the Verb in the Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Meaning, Mood</th>
<th>Examples from the data</th>
<th>Speaker, Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1) na    | Interjection or exclamation used to express a strong feeling. "What a ... !" "How ... !" | Komatta na!  
(I'm troubled!)  
Bikkuri shita na!  
(I was surprised!) | Often used by men. Standard form in casual speech. |
| 2) ne    | Intensifier, exclamation, tag question | Hen da ne.  
(That's strange, isn't it?)  
Urusaku naru kara ne.  
(Because it'll be noisy, right?) | Used by men or women. Standard. |
| 3) yo    | Intensifier | Akeyoo yo.  
(Come on. Let's open it.)  
Gohan da yo!  
(Dinner time!) | Often used by women. Standard. |
| 4) no    | Question, with rising intonation | Doo yatte (tsu)kurü no?  
(How do you make it?) | Often used by women. Standard. |
| 5) no    | Intensifier, with falling intonation | Iku no.  
(I'm going.)  
Suteru no.  
(I'm throwing it away.) | Often used by women. Standard. |
| 6) ka    | Question, intensifier | Miyoo ka.  
(Shall we look?) | Often used by men. Standard. |
| 7) kai   | Question | Dekita kai?  
(Did you finish?) | Used by men. Standard colloquial. |
| 8) no+da, desu, or deshoo | Between an adjective or verb and da, desu, or deshoo, "no" (or "n") is very often used when an explanation or reason is being given. Presupposes a certain situation. | Atsumeru n da.  
(I'm gathering them together.)  
Fuchatta n desu.  
(The snow fell.)  
Nomu n deshoo.  
(You'll drink, won't) | Standard. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Meaning, Mood</th>
<th>Examples from the data</th>
<th>Speaker, Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used at the end of the dependent clause.</td>
<td>(because she'll come.)</td>
<td>Used by men and women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The independent clause is often dropped if it will be understood from the context.</td>
<td>Yaru n dakara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“no da” can be inserted between the verb and “kara”.</td>
<td>(because I'm going to do it.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) no ka</td>
<td>The insertion of “no” before the question particle adds emphasis.</td>
<td>Kowarechatta no ka?</td>
<td>Standard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Was it broken?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11) kana</td>
<td>The addition of “na” changes the sentence from a question whose answer the speaker presumably does not know to a statement about which he is expressing some doubt or about which he is making a guess.</td>
<td>Chigatta no kana?</td>
<td>Often used by men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(I wonder if it's a mistake?)</td>
<td>Doo yatte ette yaru no kana?</td>
<td>Women tend to use “kashira”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(How do you do it?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) no yo</td>
<td>Used for emphasis.</td>
<td>Iru no yo.</td>
<td>Often used by women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(He's there.)</td>
<td>Standard.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) yo no</td>
<td>The use of an intensifier + exclamation indicates that the speaker feels strongly about what he is saying.</td>
<td>Denai yo ne.</td>
<td>Mostly used by women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(It doesn't come out.)</td>
<td>Standard.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) no ja</td>
<td>“da”, the copula.</td>
<td>Dekinai (no) ja.</td>
<td>Used by men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This pronunciation was used in the Edo Era: “da” is used in the modern era.</td>
<td>(I can't do it.)</td>
<td>Archaic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particle</td>
<td>Meaning, Mood</td>
<td>Examples from the data</td>
<td>Speaker, Usage</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>14) no ja (cont.)</td>
<td>Kiyoshi may have picked this up from samurai programs on television.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) mon</td>
<td>Similar to “dakara”. Used for emphasis when stating a reason. The complete phrase would be “no da mono”, but it is often contracted to “mon”.</td>
<td>Ii koto kangaeta suru mon. (I thought of something good to do.)</td>
<td>Often used by women or children. Colloquial.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Variations in Kiyoshi's Pronunciation

Kiyoshi's Variations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/ch/</th>
<th>/sh/</th>
<th>/ʃ/</th>
<th>drop sound</th>
<th>drop sound, and double consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) /o/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>omoshiroi ↓ moshiroi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) /ra/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tsumaranai ↓ shumannai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) /sa/</td>
<td>chisai ↓ chichai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) /su/</td>
<td>suru ↓ shuru</td>
<td>nosu ↓ noshi</td>
<td>desu ↓ deshu</td>
<td>isu ↓ ishu</td>
<td>tasukete ↓ takkete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) /te/</td>
<td>itteshimatta ↓ ichimatta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) /tsu/</td>
<td>atumeta ↓ achumeta</td>
<td>tsumaranai ↓ shumannai</td>
<td>tsukuru ↓ kuru</td>
<td>tsukau ↓ kau</td>
<td>kutsushita ↓ kushita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) /zu/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>zutto ↓ jutto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Examples of Infantile Vocabulary in the Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Used by Preschool Children</th>
<th>Word Used by Adults</th>
<th>Meaning or Derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) amma</td>
<td>atama</td>
<td>Head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) anyo</td>
<td>ashi</td>
<td>Leg, foot, to walk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Ashi” is a noun meaning “leg” or “foot” in the adult vocabulary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) babai</td>
<td>kitanai</td>
<td>Dirty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Babai” is the noun form, meaning “feces”. The adjective “babai” refers to all dirty things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) kukku</td>
<td>kutsu</td>
<td>Shoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) oide</td>
<td>kite</td>
<td>Come here.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Oide-oide” is the motion of beckoning a person to come by waving the hand palm down from the wrist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) ommo</td>
<td>omote, soto</td>
<td>Outside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) te-te</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>Hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) toko-toko</td>
<td>toire</td>
<td>Onomatopoeic. Sound of pouring a little water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>To urinate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) wan-wa</td>
<td>inu</td>
<td>Onomatopoeic. Sound of a dog barking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bow-wow, dog.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


