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Diploma thesis

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Subjectivity, Transitivity and Agentivity in Japanese Written Discourse: a corpus analysis

Subjektivita, tranzitivita a agentivita v japonském psaném diskuzu: korpusová analýza

Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci napsala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literatury a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Ústí nad Orlicí dne 31. 7. 2023   Klára Chudá

Abstract

The present diploma thesis examines the manifestation of transitivity in Japanese and English as an expression of subjectivity across registers. The aim of the thesis is to determine whether there is a difference in subjectivity, specifically transitivity and voice and its potential register-conditioned manifestation, in Japanese and English. The focus is also on whether the characteristics of the texts influence the degree of subjectivity in the same way in both languages.

Subjectivity is viewed through the lens of cognitive linguistics, specifically Ikegami's DO-language and BECOME-language typology and objective and subjective construal in Langacker's Cognitive Grammar. Corpus analysis is employed to conduct a quantitative of corpus data and a qualitative analysis of selected texts from five different registers.

First, we outline the theoretical framework for the present research – the notion of subjectivity according to Ikegami and Langacker in and alternative cross-linguistic views in Chapter 1, the approach to discourse and its linguistic variation in Chapter 2 and the understanding of transitivity and its manifestation in Japanese and English in Chapter 3. Methodology and hypotheses are presented in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, we present the results of the analyses, and Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by assessing the results, addressing the study's limitations, and outlining potential future research.

Keywords: subjectivity, transitivity, voice, agentivity, discourse, cognitive grammar, corpus analysis

Abstrakt

Předkládaná diplomová práce zkoumá projevy transitivity jako faktoru subjektivity v japonštině a angličtině napříč registry. Cílem práce je zjistit, zda existuje rozdíl v míře subjektivity a konkrétně v distribuci tranzitivity a slovesného rodu mezi registry v japonštině a angličtině, a zda charakteristické rysy registrů mají vliv na míru subjektivity v obou jazycích stejným způsobem.

Subjektivita je nahlížena optikou kognitivní lingvistiky, konkrétně Ikegamiho typologie jazyků *dělání* a jazyků *stávání se*, a objektivního a subjektivního konstruálu v Langackerově kognitivní gramatice. Pomocí korpusové analýzy bude provedena kvalitativní analýza dat z korpusu a kvalitativní analýza vybraných textů pěti různých registrů.

Nejprve je nastíněn teoretický rámec práce – pojetí subjektivity podle Ikegamiho a Langackera a alternativní mezijazykové přístupy (Kapitola 1), pojetí diskurzu a jeho jazyková variabilita (Kapitola 2) a chápání tranzitivity (a slovesného rodu) její projevy v japonštině a angličtině (Kapitola 3). Metodologie a hypotéza jsou představeny v Kapitole 4. V Kapitole 5 je uveden samotný výsledek analýz, který je v závěrečné Kapitole 6 dále rozveden. Zároveň jsou nastíněny nedostatky práce a možné podněty pro budoucí výzkum.

Klíčová slova: subjektivita, tranzitivita, slovesný rod, agentivita, diskurz, kognitivní gramatika, korpusová analýza

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0 Introduction

The linguistic variation among speakers of different languages, specifically the notion of subjectivity, has been a popular topic in linguistics, especially as a theoretical concept. In western linguistics, Lyons (1985), who defined subjectivity as a way in which natural languages allow for the self-expression of the agent (in the most general way), became a basis for the research of subjectivity, particularly in cognitive linguistics.

Within cognitive linguistics, there are two distinct views on what subjectivity is. The first view is held by Traugott (2003, 2010), who focuses on the grammatical expressions of speaker's stance, especially in diachronic perspective. The other view is that based on Cognitive Grammar (cf. Section 1.2), represented chiefly by Langacker. Cognitive Grammar deals with language on the level of construal – on the stage that precedes a fully realized linguistic expression and that concerns the speaker's coding of themselves, rather than their opinions or stances.

Subjectivity has been long discussed in Japanese linguistics as well (cf. 金田一[1] 1953), however, the focus has been on the unique properties of Japanese as a supposedly subjective language, rather than on the phenomenon of subjectivity in general. Starting with Ikegami's DO-languages and BECOME-languages typology, the predominant definition of subjectivity is either similar to or built upon the concepts of Cognitive Grammar. (cf. Section 1.1, 1.3, 1.4)

This research is not only centered on Japanese but is also based on the contrast of Japanese and English, which are presented as examples of languages with a preference

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[1] 金田一春彦, Kindaichi Haruhiko

for subjective and objective expression, respectively. However, the explanation of the differences between the two languages remains largely limited to examples taken out of context or based on a specific type of text – a novel. Especially Ikegami has been using the opening sentence of the novel Shown Country and its translation into English as an example for decades. The subsequent research also strongly relies either on hand picked examples, or literary texts (cf. Section 3.1).

The goal of the present thesis is to explore subjectivity in Japanese and English and its manifestation across various types of texts. We will focus on the link between subjectivity and transitivity, voice and agentivity and analyse verbs in the two languages, as well as the nature of the subject.

The general hypothesis is that there will be significant difference in subjectivity depending on the type of register in both languages, and that the properties of those registers will influence the level of subjectivity in both languages equally.

In the theoretical section, we shall introduce the concept of subjectivity. We will focus on Ikegami's DO-languages and BECOME-languages typology, as well as Langacker's view of subjectivity through Cognitive Grammar framework. We will also introduce alternative views on subjectivity based on cross-linguistic research of Japanese and English.

To confirm our hypothesis, we will conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis. In the quantitative analysis, we will confirm the difference in transitivity in Japanese across registers. The goal of the qualitative analysis will be to contextualise the results of the quantitative analysis, as well as gain insight into the specific differences in transitivity, voice and agentivity in Japanese and English across registers.

The quantitative analysis will be performed using the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese. The qualitative analysis will consist of a group of

registers consisting of randomly selected texts. The texts will be analysed with the help of UDPipe.

Finally, all Japanese text is transliterated using the Revised Hepburn Transcription; all Japanese names are listed in order of last name, first name.

1 Subjectivity

In this Chapter, we shall present the various views on the subjectivity phenomena. First, we will present the DO-language and BECOME-language typology proposed by Ikegami, which will be the theoretical basis of the present thesis. We will also introduce Langacker's definition based in Cognitive Grammar and how it relates to Ikegami's typology. Finally, we shall offer alternative, cross-linguistic views on subjectivity represented by Uehara's subjectivity scale, Nakamura's Cognitive schema and Hirose's Three-tier model of language use.

1.1 DO-languages and BECOME-languages

In this section, we will introduce the linguistic typology proposed by the Japanese linguist Yoshihiko Ikegami. The proposed categorization of languages as either DO-languages (する型言語, *suru gata gengo*) or BECOME-languages (なる型言語, *naru gata gengo*) is determined by the extent to which they exhibit a preference for subjective versus objective expressions, which can be done in a variety of ways. This section will provide a summary of the main differences between the two types of languages, with an emphasis on those that are relevant to the current thesis - transitivity, agentivity, voice and related phenomena.

According to Ikegami, one of the major differences between DO and BECOME languages lies in the way they tend to view and subsequently express a scene linguistically. One way to express a scene is as 場所の変化 (*basho no henka*) - *change of place* or *change in locus*, where a movement of an object or entity is included. Alternatively, the same scene may be encoded as a 状態の変化 (*jōtai no henka*) -

change in state, in which the whole scene transforms, without a focus on one part of it. (池上 1981: 280, Ikegami 1991: 287-290)

Ikegami (1991: 287-290) further argues that there is a difference in the way speakers of different languages employ the change in state or the change in locus in their linguistic expression - in other words, some languages tend to prefer one to the other - DO-languages, such as English, tend to prefer the change of locus, while BECOME-languages, such as Japanese, tend to prefer the change in state.

Ikegami (1991: 321) provides an example to illustrate the distinction between a change of locus and a change of state, as follows: *Compare, for example, an instance of motion in which a person walks from one place to another, on the one hand, with an instance in which a person practices gymnastics, standing in one place, bending and stretching his arms and legs.*

In the first scenario, what we observe is a person walking - changing location. On the other hand, in the case of gymnastics, the person as a whole does not change their location, but their state. If we single out an individual limb, we notice that the limb itself changes its location. However, because we are focusing on the human as a complete unit that remains stationary, a change in state occurs.

To extend this example, even in the case of a person walking, there can be two potential perspectives depending on the focal point - the observer may place focus on the human element, as opposed to, for example, the park in which the human is walking in. Another possible perspective is to shift focus to the park, in which case the human element is submerged and what is observed is a change in the state of the overall scene.

It is apparent that the distinction between the two languages is observed in the way they employ the shift in focus, which has a great influence on the way a particular scene, such as a person running in a park, is interpreted. This shift in focus is achieved through

different methods, such as a change in the level of discreteness, which will be discussed in detail later. It is also important to note that the preference for one or the other mode of expression is, in fact, a scale.

We see that the distinction between 'change in locus' and 'change in state' can be blurred and what mediates the shift from one category to the other is the shift of focus from the individuum to the whole. The shift is facilitated when the individuum in motion is part of something else — in other words, in proportion to the degree to which the individuum loses its discreteness. ... We can thus set up a scale with 'change in locus' at one pole and with 'change in state' at the other. (Ikegami 1991: 321)

Ikegami (池上 1981: 280-281) not only contends that different languages display a tendency to prefer one perspective to the other, but he also argues that this tendency carries over to other modes of expression as well. Ikegami introduces the concept of the *centre of expansion* (拡大の中心, *kakudai no chūshin*) - a tendency to favour a specific type of expression typical for a particular situation and utilise it in other, different types of expressions.

To be more specific, English tends to prefer the change of place as a centre of expansion and extend this mode of expression onto scenes denoting a change in state, such as (1a). Conversely, Japanese expression tends to centre around the change of state and utilise it to describe possession, such as in (1b). (池上 1981: 281)

(1)   a.   The first prize went to John.

         b.   一等賞は太郎のものになった。   (池上 1981: 281)

In English, the verbs *come* and *go* are commonly used not only to describe a physical movement but also to describe a change in state, such as in (2a). In this case, the verb

naru, to become, would be chosen instead. Moreover, English is not limited to the verbs *come* and *go*, but other motion verbs can be employed in a similar manner, such as in (2b), in which the movement (falling) .

(2)   a.   John went crazy.

         b.   John fell ill.   (池上 1981: 50)

It has been shown that the tendency of BECOME languages to prefer a change in state and the tendency of DO languages to prefer a change in locus tend to project into the use of expressions denoting possession. Concerning possession, Ikegami observes a parallel with an earlier typological theory proposed by Issatchenko (1974), who focused on the differences between possession in English, a HAVE language, and Russian, a BE language. A BE language is a language that utilises the verb BE or its equivalent to represent possession. A HAVE language is a language that utilises the verb HAVE or its equivalent in the same way.[2]

Drawing on Issatchenko's theory, Ikegami contrasts English and Japanese to demonstrate that it is possible to categorise the former as a HAVE language, and the latter as a BE language[3]. We can observe this tendency in example (3). (池上 1981: 69-70, Ikegami 1991: 298-299)

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[2] Issatchenko (1974) illustrates this by contrasting "U Péti est' masina.", lit. at-Peter-be-car, with the English equivalent, "Peter has a car." - English is shown to clearly belong to the HAVE language category. It is worth noting that not all Slavic languages are similar to Russian - for instance, Czech is categorised as a HAVE language also, along with Slovak, Polish or Ukrainian. All belong to what Issatchenko refers to as a "Western syntactic type", where Czech and Slovak are clearly in the HAVE language group, while Polish or Ukrainian are undergoing changes and belong somewhere in between, but closer to HAVE languages.

[3] That is not to say that HAVE type possessive expression does not exist in Japanese. Kikuchi (菊地 2000) shows that in some instances, the verb *motsu* (have, hold) is preferred. For example, *motsu* can

(3)   a. 私(に)は子供が二人いる。

           b. I have two children.   (池上 1981: 70)

Until now, the tendency for subjective or objective expression has been demonstrated in specific constructions. Now, we shall look at what specifically makes those expressions subjective or objective. The first element playing a major role is the degree of agentivity.

Ikegami (Ikegami 1991: 303-304) describes the agent as an element performing an action, which may be transitive or intransitive, depending on whether or not the action goes over and (or) affects someone or something else. Furthermore, Ikegami proposes that the transitive agent is higher in the degree of agentivity than the intransitive agent - this is the degree of agentivity.

Ikegami proposes a four-stage scale with an increasing degree of agentivity:

1) Intransitive (not directed to and not affecting another), e.g., John breathes.

2) Intransitive with a prepositional phrase (weakly directed to and weakly affecting another), e.g., John danced with Mary.

3) Transitive with an object (directed to and affecting another), e.g., John struck Mary.

4) Causative-transitive with an object and an object complement (directed to and affecting another, causing it to undergo a change), e.g., John struck Mary dead.

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often be used in the same context as *aru* with nouns such as 仕事 (*shigoto,* work) or 授業 (*jugyo;* class). The difference is that while *aru* implies a circumstance (as in, "I have a class, so I do not have time to do anything else."), *motsu* carries a different meaning - either a property quality, or a responsibility.

Ikegami (1991: 305) states that English speakers consider a transitive action as typical, while Japanese speakers prefer an intransitive action. Moreover, in English, the transitive verb is primary; in Japanese, the primary verb is intransitive. As a result, the *notion of agentivity generally functions more conspicuously in English*.

The difference between DO languages and BECOME languages extends beyond the inclination towards transitive or intransitive constructions; it can be compared to the difference between accusative and ergative-type languages. Accusative-type languages tend to construct an action performed by the subject and affecting the object. On the other hand, ergative-type language speakers view the agent as an optional element and prefer to construe a spontaneously occurring event (or an event where the cause is implicit), as opposed to one caused by an action performed by the agent. (Ikegami 1991: 318-319)

According to Ikegami (1991: 320), the similarity between BECOME languages and ergative-type languages lies in their 'passive character'. As discussed above, when referring to the same event, there is a tendency for DO-language speakers to prefer a transitive construction, while BECOME-language speakers tend to favour an intransitive construction. When we consider a scale ranging from active-transitive and passive-transitive to intransitive (keeping in mind that active-transitive has been established to be higher in transitivity in this chapter), there seems to be a preference in DO languages to favour the passive-transitive construction to intransitive, such as in (4).

(4)   a. John was killed in an accident.

           b. ジョンは事故で死んだ。   (Ikegami 1991: 320)

Another concept relevant to the agent or subject is the degree of discreteness and identity. English speakers tend to focus on the individuum, as opposed to a scene as a whole. On a scale of discreteness, the individuum is the most discreet, followed by a collection of individua and a continuum. In English, the individuum, a collection of individua and a continuum are linguistically marked, usually by an article, plural marker or the zero form - such as in the case of the following: *a stone - stones - water*. (Ikegami 1991: 291)

On the other hand, Japanese *has neither the grammatical contrast between singular and plural for nouns nor, for that matter, the indefinite and, the definite article to accompany them. The Japanese nouns are thus always potentially ambiguous as to whether they refer to a individuum or to a collection of individua or to a continuum — which means that their reference is blurred extensionally in contour*. (Ikegami 1991: 291)

Furthermore, English speakers tend to focus not only on the individuum but also on the human element, which is illustrated in the following example:

(5)   a.   I have a temperature.

        b.   (私は)熱がある。   (Ikegami 1991: 300)

In the case of (5a), the speaker emphasises the "I", the human element; in the case of (5b), the human is backgrounded, and the speaker focuses on the event as a whole instead. This is similar to what was observed in the case of the possession construction described above. Just as Japanese speakers tend to background the human element, English speakers tend to highlight the human. According to Ikegami, what is being sold or closed is not, strictly speaking, 'we'. However, *English prefers highlighting the*

human element involved, so much so that the resulting expressions here are, strictly speaking, illogical, see (6). (Ikegami 1991: 300-301)

(6) a. We are closed today.

b. We are sold out.   (Ikegami 1991: 301)

So far, we have established that DO languages show a preference for an action performed by a human individuum with a high degree of discreteness and affecting the object. On the other hand, BECOME languages tend to background the agent and focus on the event as a whole. We have also established that in some cases, DO languages also prefer a passive transitive construction to an intransitive construction.

Based on the differences between Japanese and English, Ikegami (1991: 290) proposes the following hypothesis:

1) *There is a contrast between (1) a language which, singling out an individuum, places the focus on it and (2) a language which focuses on the event as a whole, the individua involved in it being submerged in the whole.*

2) *There is a contrast between (1) a language which focuses on 'the human being (especially, one acting as agent)' and tends to give linguistic prominence to the notion and (2) a language which tends to suppress the notion of 'the human being (especially, one acting as agent),' even if such a being is involved in the event.*

The reformulated hypothesis in 2) considers the preference described in this section for DO languages such as English to prefer constructions with the human element as

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an agent. It also introduces an important notion of linguistic prominence. Ikegami (ibid) notes that a linguistic element can be made prominent by thematization and/or subjectization (an element that is both a theme and a subject is common in English), and by being obligatory rather than optional.

Ikegami notes that *by 'thematization' is meant that the expression in question is placed at the beginning of the sentence, that is, as the 'theme,' about which something (that is, the 'rheme') is predicated. By 'subjectization' is meant that the expression in question grammatically governs the predicate verb (for example, by requiring a concord in number).* Furthermore, *an obligatory item is assumed to be higher in the scale of linguistic prominence than an optional item*. (Ikegami 1991: 290-291)

With the focus of the present thesis in mind, we may conclude the following: in more subjective BECOME languages, there is a preference for construing events as intransitive, with the agent placed in the background. On the other hand, in DO-languages, the preference is for transitive active or passive constructions, with an agent placed in the foreground - by being encoded as an obligatory subject and/or theme. We may also assume that there is a tendency for the agent to be human.

As for preference for *become*-type expressions and *do*-type expressions, a few issues have been raised. Particularly, Moriya (守屋 2016: 29), whose research is focused on the *become*-type expressions cross linguistically, pointed out that one of the issues with the *do* and *become* dichotomy is the definition of the verb *naru* in Japanese. Traditionally, the verb *naru* denotes an event or a change in circumstance; however, unlike other concepts such as existence or action, the definition of an event and a change remain unexplored in detail and therefore rather vague. The verb *naru* is more abstract than the verb *suru,* which makes it difficult for descriptive research of the comparison of the two.

More importantly, Moriya (守屋 2016: 29) also emphasised that the concept of *naru*-type expression originated from the comparison of Japanese and English; therefore, rather than a descriptive study of language, Moriya considers the *do* and *become* dichotomy a result of a contrastive study of English and Japanese. The question is whether it is possible to apply the findings to other languages other than Japanese or English.[4]

So far, we have drawn upon two major works by Ikegami. In his more recent papers (2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2011), he proposes a connection between his typology and the notion of subjectivity in cognitive grammar (CG). Prior to introducing this more recent work, we will provide an overview of the fundamental principles of CG and its definition of subjectivity in the following chapters.

1.2 Subjectivity in Cognitive Grammar

In the following Sections, we will explore the concept of subjectivity within Cognitive Grammar, how it relates to the DO/BECOME-language typology and other views on subjectivity in the Japanese cognitive linguistics discourse. The first Section will cover the fundamental principles within the Cognitive Grammar (CG) framework as introduced by Langacker (2008, 2013) and subsequently the concept of subjectivity in CG. The following Section shall provide an explanation of the relation between the CG framework and Ikegami's typology. The final Section will introduce three alternative views on subjectivity in CG, namely Uehara's subjectivity scale,

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[4] The contrastive study of subjectivity across different languages is briefly mentioned in Section 3.1.

Nakamura's I-mode and D-mode cognitive schema and Hirose's three tier model of language use.

1.2.1 Basic Principles of Cognitive Grammar

Cognitive grammar (CG) is based on a presumption that the production of language is facilitated by a set of basic cognitive abilities innate to all human beings. Langacker builds his description of language with a constant view to those cognitive abilities and focuses on the act of the production of meaningful language strings, rather than on traditional linguistic categories. In other words, his interest lies in the stage that precedes a fully realised linguistic expression, or its processing. Moreover, Langacker views grammar as symbolic and as being on the same gradient as lexicon: in Cognitive Grammar, grammar is also meaningful, because meaning is defined as a conceptualization associated with linguistic expression. Therefore, lexicon and grammar lie on the same scale of symbolic structures. (Langacker 2013: 3-9)

Linguistic meaning consists of conceptual content and the way this particular content is construed; humans are able to construe the conceptual content in a variety of ways; a way of construing a scene in a particular way is referred to as **construal**. As an example, one might describe the same object, such as a glass containing water, in a variety of ways, such as "a glass with water in it" or "water in a glass", depending on what is the centre of attention of the speaker. At the conceptual level, we are presumably able to evoke this content in a fairly neutral manner. But as soon as we encode it linguistically, we necessarily impose a certain construal. (Langacker 2013: 43)

In CG, a linguistic expression invokes a particular **domain**, or a set of domains - a **matrix**. A domain may indicate any kind of concept or realm of experience (such as space, time, taste, smell) or more specific concepts (such as a container or a liquid). However, basic domains are not perceived as concepts or conceptualizations, but rather as *realms of experiential potential, within which conceptualization can occur and specific concepts can emerge*. (Langacker 2013: 44/45) In other words, a domain or a matrix is the broadest basis for all meanings involved in a linguistic expression.

A **scope** represents the amount of content covered within a domain. In CG, a scope is compared to our visual field, because both are limited. For example, the word *cousin* may invoke domains such as kinship relations, but to conceptualise the *cousin* relationship, the whole domain of relations is not necessary. (Langacker 2008: 62-63) Furthermore, for each expression, there is a **conceptual base**, which is selected as a basis for its meaning. Depending on how broadly the expression is construed (or how much of the conceptual content is selected), a conceptual base may encompass an expression's maximal scope in all domains accessed, or it may include only the immediate scope in all active domains (or, in other words, the content that is foregrounded as a specific focus of attention.) A substructure of a conceptual base, which is what the focus is on within the conceptual base, is referred to as a **profile**[5]. (Langacker 2008: 66-68)

As stated above, linguistic meaning consists of a conceptual content and a particular construal. A construal refers to the possibility to construe a particular scene in different

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[5] To clearly illustrate the difference between a conceptual base and its profile, consider the following: *They came all the way from Los Angeles.* and *He came at precisely 7:45 pm.* In the first sentence, *come* profiles an event of moving along a spatial path. On the other hand, in the second sentence, *come* refers to the event of arrival to a location or to a goal. The two examples share a common conceptual base, but different substructures are profiled, therefore the change in meaning of *come*. (Langacker 2013: 70)

ways: *In viewing a scene, what we actually see depends on how closely we examine it, what we choose to look at, which elements we pay most attention to, and where we view it from*. The important tools for portraying a particular scene in different ways are **specificity** (also granularity or resolution), **focusing**, **prominence** and **perspective**. (Langacker 2008: 55)

In terms of perspective, the **viewing arrangement** plays a major role. It is defined as the relationship between the **conceptualizer** (the speaker and the hearer) and the **object of conceptualization** (or what is said). The actual or fictive location of the speaker and hearer is referred to as the **vantage point**. The same scene can be described from a number of vantage points, which allows for a variety of different construals. Many expressions, such as *in front of* or *behind*, invoke a specific vantage point as a part of their meaning. It is also possible to adopt a fictive vantage point, which allows for a description of a fictional situation or a situation from the perspective of the hearer or another individual. (Langacker 2013: 73-76)

There is a default viewing arrangement in which the interlocutors observe a particular scene from a fixed location and describe it - such a viewing arrangement appears in sentences such as *The lamp is above the table*. In a different type of viewing arrangement, the viewer may be in motion, rather than staying in a fixed location, such as in (7). A viewing arrangement may also depend on the distance between the speaker and the hearer, be it in terms of time or space. (2013: 73-75)

(7)   The forest is getting thicker.   (Langacker 2013: 75)

According to Langacker (2013: 75), in (7), the more likely interpretation (…) *does not involve any actual change in the forest. Rather, movement through the forest brings*

the viewer into contact with different portions of it, which—when fictively construed as the same entity—are seen as increasing in density. Although these expressions make no explicit reference to the viewer's motion, it is nonetheless part of their conceptual substrate, in no small measure being responsible for their conceptual coherence as well as their form.

1.2.2 Subjectivity in Cognitive Grammar

The concept of **subjectivity** (in opposition to **objectivity**) is closely related to perspective and the vantage point. Langacker (2013: 77) describes subjectivity as follows: *Though quite general in application, it is best introduced with reference to visual perception. Imagine yourself in the audience of a theater, watching a gripping play. All your attention is directed at the stage, and is focused more specifically on the actor presently speaking. Being totally absorbed in the play, you have hardly any awareness of yourself or your own immediate circumstances.*

For Langacker (2006: 18), subjectivity is a matter of a degree of asymmetry between the viewer (the **subject of conception**) and what is being viewed (the **object of conception**). *The asymmetry is maximal when the subject of conception lacks all self-awareness, being totally absorbed in apprehending the onstage situation, and the object of conception is salient, well-delimited, and apprehended with great acuity.*

In other words, the subjects of conception, the speaker and the hearer, function as an implicit conceptualising element at minimum. If that is their only function, they are not a part of the conceptual content, then they are construed with maximal subjectivity. However, it is possible for the subject of conception to construe itself more objectively by explicitly referencing itself on the same level as the object of conception. In that

case, the asymmetry between the subject and the object of conception is minimal and therefore the expression is considered objective. (Langacker 2013: 77-78)

As previously stated, the same content may be construed in various ways; in terms of subjectivity, that can be achieved, for example, by using personal pronouns, where the subjects of conception are explicitly mentioned and therefore objectively construed. In some cases, the level of subjectivity can be influenced by use of deictic expressions, such as in (8):

(8) The rock is in front of the tree.   (Langacker 2013: 76)

In (8), according to Langacker (2013: 78), the speaker and hearer are the subjects of conception and the viewers at the same time, and their vantage point is invoked by the expression in front. Since they are not explicitly mentioned, their role is not wholly objective, but even though they are offstage, it is not wholly subjective, either. Another element that influences the level of subjectivity is, in the case of (8), the definitive particle.

Because the category of definiteness relates to the subjects of conception (depending on whether the particular element, in this case, the rock, is present in the discourse context), it is also subjective. However, Langacker does not place such importance on these elements as on the explicit mentioning of the subject of conception, particularly in the case of first and second person pronouns. (Langacker 2013: 78)
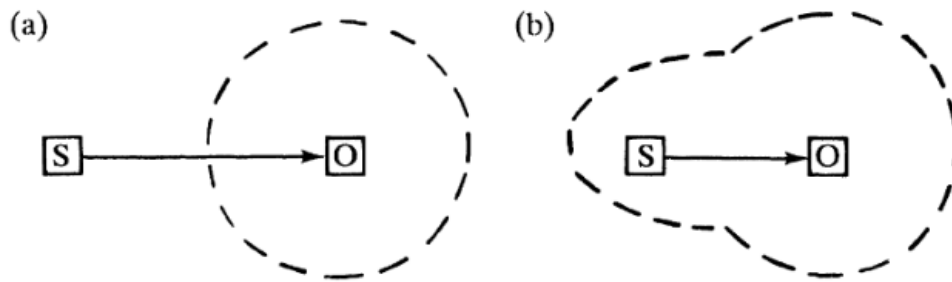
Figure 1*: Subjective and objective construals (Langacker 1985: 121)*

In Figure 1, we can observe two distinct viewing arrangements. The S signifies the conceptualizer (subject of conception) and the O signifies the conceptual content, specifically the object of conception. The dotted line represents the objective scene, which is the primary locus of attention in a viewing situation. As discussed earlier, subjectivity is defined as the level of asymmetry between the subject of conception (S) and the conceptual content (O). The relationship between the subject (S) and the object of conception (O) is defined as non-symmetrical - it is possible for S to observe an O that does not observe S. It is also non-reflective - it is not possible for S to observe itself to the same degree as O, or another individual. (Langacker 2013: 120-122)

Moreover, *terms like observer, acuity, objective scene, and so on are most obviously appropriate and most easily understood in relation to the perceptual domain, but we must interpret them abstractly enough to be applicable to any type of conception, to whatever extent this proves useful. The diagrams in Figure 3 may therefore be applied (at least in exploratory fashion) to the construal relation holding between a conceptualizer and a conceptualization, with the observer S identified as the conceptualizer.* (Langacker 2013: 123)

In Figure 1(a), we can see what Langacker described as an **optimal viewing arrangement**. An optimal viewing arrangement maximises the asymmetry between

subject and object - the subject of conception is focusing on the object of conception, which is distinct from the subject; the objective scene does not involve the subject observing or otherwise interacting with the object but is left implicit. In an optimal viewing arrangement, the object of conception is clearly discernible from its background and perceived in maximal detail. (Langacker 2013: 121)

According to Langacker (1985: 122), *an entity is said to be objective to the extent that it achieves prominence as a well-articulated object of observation, distinguished clearly from both its background and the observer. To be fully objective, then, an entity must occupy a region of high acuity or perceptual optimality, which generally places it close to the observer (but not immediately adjacent)*.

As we can see, the optimal viewing arrangement can therefore be considered subjective: *The objective scene is therefore the primary locus of attention in a viewing situation. In terms of the obvious theater metaphor, the objective scene is the **on-stage** region. The actors on stage are viewed in fully objective terms by the observers seated in the audience. To the extent that these observers are completely engrossed in the performance, thereby losing all awareness of SELF, their own participation in the viewing process is maximally subjective.* (Langacker 1985: 123)

On the other hand, Figure 1(b) represents what is defined as the **egocentric viewing arrangement** - the conceptual content is expanded from the object of conception to the subject of conception as well; the subject of conception becomes a part of the objective scene, together with the object. The result is that the asymmetry between the S and the O is lower than in the optimal viewing arrangement; egocentric viewing arrangement can therefore be considered objective. (Langacker 1985: 123)

Let us imagine a scene where a person, the subject of conception in this case, knocks a vase off of a table, the vase falls on the floor and breaks. The example (9) below

illustrates two possible ways to construe such a scene. First, we must highlight that according to Langacker (2013: 78), *in their tacit role as subjects of conception, the speaker and hearer are always part of the conceptual substrate supporting an expression's meaning*. With that in mind, let us examine the two construals in (9).

(9)   a. I knocked the vase off the table and broke it.

               b. The vase fell off the table and broke.

In (9a), the subject of conception, "I", occupies a space within the objective scene, along with the object of conception, "the vase". The scene is therefore construed objectively. On the other hand, because (9b) is another way of construing the same scene as in (9a), the subject of conception is in the background, outside of the objective scene, while the object of conception is moved from the position of the grammatical object to the grammatical subject, remaining within the objective scene. As a result, the subject of conception is implicit, and the scene as a whole is construed more subjectively than (9a). In this case, (9a) can be represented by Figure 1(a), while (9b) can be represented by Figure 1(b), optimal viewing arrangement and egocentric viewing arrangement respectively.

Langacker (2006: 16) suggests that there are *… many kinds of departure from this idealized viewing arrangement, each having some effect on the degree of subjectivity/objectivity with which the participating entities are construed. For example, if I glance down and look at myself (as best I can), the object of perception receives a less objective construal than when I attend to an external object. Or suppose that I am watching a television monitor, and being televised doing so, with the picture being fed to that same monitor. The effect of this special viewing arrangement is to objectify both*

the perceptual relationship and my own (normally subjective) role within it, with the consequence that both are objectively construed.

Langacker (1985: 124) also suggests that there is a link between the use of deictic expressions and subjectivity, *...with respect to what role (if any) the conceptualizer himself plays within the conceptualization that constitutes an expression's semantic value.* Before delving into the different types of construals on the subjectivity scale, let us look at how deictic expression is defined in Cognitive Grammar.

According to Langacker (2002: 8), *a deictic expression can be characterized as one that includes the ground within its scope. Grounding elements are therefore deictic in nature, since they specify a relationship between some facet of the ground[6] and the nominal or processual profile.* A deictic element can profile a relationship or a thing, often both. For example, the word *yesterday* may be used as a nominal and relational element. When used as a noun, it evokes the conception of a sequence of days; when used as an adverb, it profiles, in addition to the sequence of days, a relationship between an event and the particular day. In such a profile, *yesterday* serves as a landmark.

A ground can be invoked but remain implicit and non-salient at the same time, serving as an off-stage reference point. Alternatively, it is also possible for the ground to be explicit and on-stage. This can be achieved, for example, by the use of personal pronouns such as *I* or *you*. In the case of the second person pronoun *you*, the hearer is equivalent to the object of conception, positioned within the objective scene. On the other hand, the conceptualizer, equal to the subject of conception, is outside the

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[6] In CG, the ground refers to *the speaker and hearer, the speech event in which they participate, and their immediate circumstances (e.g. the time and place of speaking* and functions as *the "platform" for apprehending the content evoked*. Specifically, it is possible to profile the facets of the ground through the use of words such as *I, here* or *now*. (Langacker 2013: 78)

objective scene and remains implicit, but serves as a reference to the object of conception. (Langacker 2002: 9-10)

Although any expression containing a nominal or a finite clause necessarily becomes less subjective, grounding elements construe the ground with the highest degree of subjectivity, because the grounding element profiles the grounded entity rather than a relationship (between a trajector and a landmark), therefore the ground itself is construed with maximal subjectivity. (Langacker 2002: 17-18)

Now, turning back to the subjectivity scale, the conceptual content may include no reference whatsoever to the conceptualizer. In that case, the expression is non-deictic, and the conceptualizer is maximally subjective, as seen in Figure 2(a). This would correspond to the optimal viewing arrangement shown in Figure 1(a). Second, the conceptualizer may be included as a reference to the ground element, thus remaining off-stage (cf. Figure 2(b)). Third, the conceptualizer may be directly included as a part of conceptual content (cf. Figure 2(c)), corresponding to the egocentric viewing arrangement in Figure 1(b). (Langacker 1985: 124-125)

The distinction here is not only whether the subject of conception is a part of the objective scene, but also whether the subject is also a part of the whole scope, of which the objective scene is the part that is being conceptualised. Figure 2(b) represents a deictic expression, where the grounding element serves as a point of reference but remains implicit. (Langacker 1985: 124-125)
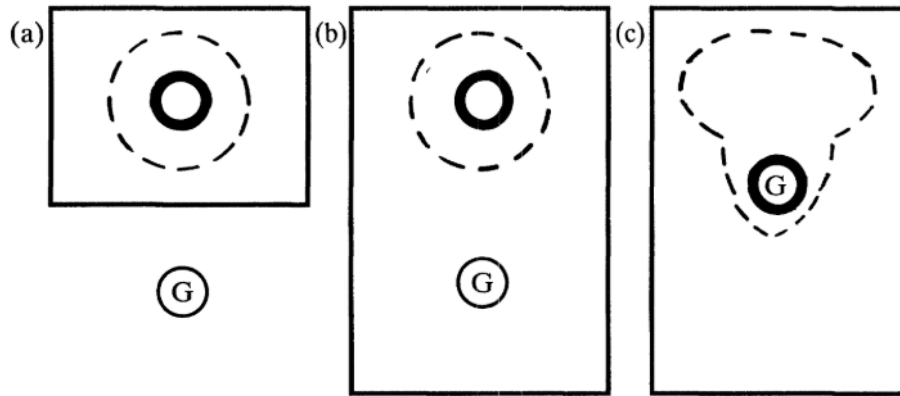
Figure 2*: Subjectivity and deixis (Langacker 1985: 125)*

There are some cases in which the position of the subject of conception in relation to the conceptual profile is more difficult to determine. Langacker suggests that in some cases, the speaker tends to utilise either **conceptual displacement** or **cross-world identification** to construe a split between the viewpoint of the conceptualizer and a different position assumed to construe a particular scene. (Langacker 1985: 125-129)
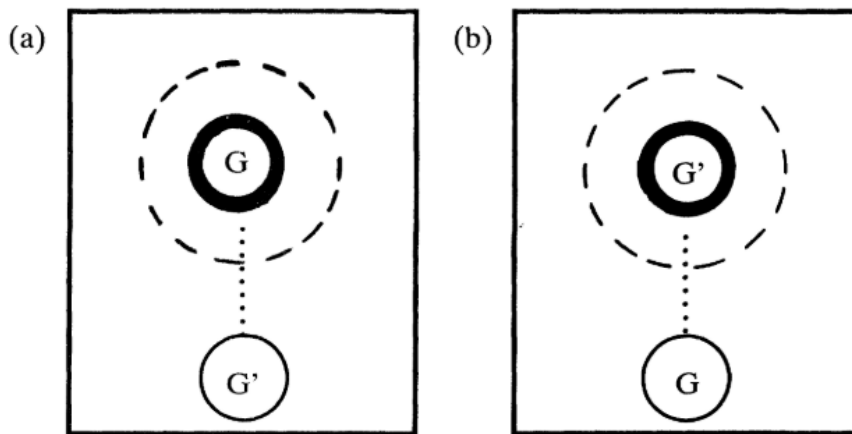
Figure 3: *Displacement and cross-world identification (Langacker 1985: 127)*

When conceptual displacement is employed, the actual conceptualizer occupies the position of the object of conception, but the viewpoint is shifted outside of the objective scene, which results in the conceptualizer construing itself, but from an outside point of view (cf. Figure 3(a)).

In short, it enables the speaker to describe a situation from a different point of view, distinct from the speaker's. It permits the entity to remain off stage, even though it is a profiled ground element. Therefore, the subject of conception itself is construed objectively, while the displaced entity is construed subjectively. (Langacker 1985: 127-128)

The conceptual displacement is illustrated by the examples below. In (10a), the speaker is directly referenced using *me*, thus becoming a part of the objective scene. In (10b), the speaker, in this case the *mother*, displaces themselves by describing herself objectively, but from a third person point of view. According to Langacker, …*this assumed vantage point is that of the child (in which case it is still internal to the ground, but external to the relevant facet of the ground, i.e. the speaker) - the mother describes herself from the child's perspective in order to minimize any chance of misunderstanding.* (Langacker 1985: 127-128)

(10)   a. Don't lie to me!

    b. Don't lie to your mother!   (Langacker 1985: 127)

In the case of cross-world identification, the split between the conceptualizer and its assumed viewpoint is the opposite of that of conceptual displacement. Grammatically it is quite similar but differs conceptually; the conceptualizer retains its actual vantage point, and no displacement occurs. However, there is a link between the conceptualizer

situated in the actual world and the same entity, corresponding to the conceptualizer, placed within another world, as demonstrated in (11). The corresponding element is objectively construed and is described the same way the conceptualizer would be. (Langacker 1985: 129)

(11)   a. That's me in the middle of the top row.

         b. In my next movie I play a double agent. Both the CIA and the KGB are trying to kill me.   (Langacker 1985: 129)

To summarise, conceptual displacement leads to the objectification of the ground element by imposing an external perspective on an entity that would otherwise be equal to the viewer. On the other hand, cross-world identification results in subjectification by creating a relationship between a viewer and another entity in a different conceived world, which would otherwise be distinct.

Prior to continuing to the next chapter, we will make a brief mention of the topic of narrative, since we will utilise literary texts in our analysis. Langacker (1985: 140) proposes that *as a literary device, the subjectifying impact of implicit reference can be exploited even for third-person expressions*. It is possible for the author to employ the viewpoint of a character of the novel, while construing the event subjectively, such as in (12b). On the other hand, (12a) is construed more objectively by referencing the character.[7]

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[7] Nomura (野村 2011) examines the concept of third-person narrative in Cognitive Grammar and contrasts the example shown below with a case of third person narrative in Japanese. He introduces two examples from the book of short stories written by Miyazawa Kenji. In both of those examples, the reference to the third person in English is done either by the use of the name of the character, or a

(12)   a. There was clearing ahead of him

b. There was clearing ahead.   (Langacker 1985: 140)

Langacker (1985: 140) also notes that in choosing (12a) rather than (12b), the main character is not aware of the clearing ahead, which shifts the vantage point from the main character to an external, author's (or narrator's) vantage point. On the other hand, in (12b), the main character is well aware of the clearing. In these cases, the conceptualizer changes its viewpoint to that of the character (12b) or the narrator (12a).

There is also a similarity to the cross-world identification in that the viewpoint lies in a different space to that occupied by the conceptualizer. The topic of narration and mainly discourse in cognitive linguistics will be further discussed in a subsequent chapter, where we will also further delve into the third-person point of view.

To summarise, it is clear that to Langacker, the difference between objective and subjective lies in the degree to which the subject of conception is made explicit, or implicit, in opposition to the object of conception.

It is also apparent that there are certain tools, namely deictic expressions, which lie somewhere in between the optimal and the egocentric viewing arrangement. There are also some strategies which may alter the viewpoint of the conceptualizer, either to observe itself from the outside from a different perspective or to identify itself within a different context to the actual one.

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personal pronoun. On the other hand, in the original text, the word *kocchi* (lit. "here") is used, referencing the viewpoint of the character subjectively.

1.3 DO/BECOME Languages and Subjective/Objective Construal

If we look back at the hypotheses in Section 1.1 and Langacker's definition of subjectivity, it is apparent that there are a few common points. Most notably, we have established that in cognitive grammar, the objective construal involves the subject of conception positioned inside the objective scene, which results in it being overtly expressed. In comparison, in DO languages, a similar tendency is observed. On the other hand, in the subjective construal, the subject of conception is fully implicit; in BECOME languages, the subject (typically a human individuum) also tends to be backgrounded.

It becomes evident that both Langacker and Ikegami's understanding of subjectivity is rooted in common principles of the relation between language and cognition. The similarity between the two approaches is pointed out by Ikegami himself, who proposes that while it is generally possible to construe a scene in different ways, there is also a tendency for speakers of one language to lean towards either subjective or objective construal. English and Western languages in general tend to lean towards the objective construal, while Japanese shows a preference for the subjective construal, which is something that Langacker does not discuss in his works. (Ikegami 2008: 228, 池上 2011: 317)

It is important to mention that there is a slight difference in scope between the definition of subjectivity in CG and Ikegami's view. Langacker considers the subject to be always a part of the conceptual substrate. Therefore, expressions such as '*John*

was killed in the war.' and *'John died in the war.'* are considered equally subjective in CG, supposing that the speaker is also an observer of these events.[8]

On the other hand, Ikegami takes cases where the speaker is not a direct observer and refers to events outside of their direct view into consideration as well and considers intransitive constructions more subjective than transitive or passive constructions (cf. Section 1.1). Therefore, *'John died in the war.'* would be considered more subjective than *'John was killed in the war.'*

According to Ikegami (池上 2011: 318), the tendency for speakers of one language to prefer subjective or objective construal can be observed in the examples below.[9]

(13)   a. 彼は戦争で死にました。

           b. He was killed in the war.

           c. (私は)知らせを聞いて驚きました。

           d. When I heard the news, I was surprised.

           e. (私は)財布を盗まれました。

           f. Someone stole my wallet.

           g. ここはどこですか。

           h. Where am I?   (池上 2011: 318)

In (13a) to (13d), Japanese shows a preference for the use of intransitive verbs in active, as opposed to the transitive verb in passive in English. As shown in Section 1.1,

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[8] The exception would be the case of third-person narrative, where Langacker points out the possibility for the author (subject of conception) to assume an external viewpoint of the character of the literary work (cf. Section 1.2.2), otherwise, Langacker does not discuss cases where the speaker is not a direct participant or observer of an event.

[9] English translations are based on Ikegami's literal translations from English to Japanese.

an intransitive construction is higher in subjectivity than the transitive or passive construction. Therefore, (13a) is higher in subjectivity than (13b).

A tendency for Japanese to be lower in agentivity can also be observed in (13e) and (13f). In this case, English speakers prefer a transitive construction, while Japanese speakers tend to express the same situation more subjectively, using an intransitive verb or a transitive verb in passive. Similarly, in (13g) and (13f), the speaker of Japanese is backgrounding the subject, while the English speaker tends to place themselves in the foreground, again showing a preference for a more objective expression.

There are certain areas where Ikegami does not consider Langacker's explanation sufficient and proposes three points in total for revision - the primal construal, the notion of 'ecological self' and two modes of expression - 'self-split' and 'self-projection'.

The first point pertains to which of the two construals is primary. Ikegami (2008: 230) argues that the primary construal is the subjective one, however, this point is somewhat unnecessary since Ikegami himself acknowledges that Langacker has also grown to consider the subjective construal (or optimal viewing arrangement) as primary, as we have shown in the previous section.

Ikegami (2008: 230) also proposes to employ the term 'ecological self'. This term was first coined in psychology by Ulric Neisser. Ecological self is one of five forms of self-knowledge (ecological, interpersonal, conceptual, remembered, and private selves) - humans have access to five different kinds of self, which provide different information about themselves - a self is considered a particular point of view from which one may consider a whole person. (Neisser 1993: 3-4)

The ecological self represents a person within their environment: *As you walk across a room, many kinds of information enable you to perceive your own movement and its*

trajectory. There is kinesthetic feedback from joints and muscles, as well as detection of acceleration in the vestibular organs; there are the echoing sounds of your footsteps, and especially the systematic changes of optical structure available to your eyes. (Neisser 1993: 6)

Ikegami (2008: 230) employs this term to deal with zero encoding of the conceptualizer, and proposes that *if the speaker poses as the environmental self, s/he encodes what s/he perceives, but not her-/himself, because being located at the vantage point for observation, s/he her-/himself lies outside the scope of her/his own perception and hence is encoded as zero (cf. sentences like "The wall approaches", "There is a house every now and then through the valley")*. To illustrate how the 'ecological self' manifests, Ikegami gives the following example:

(14) a. When I came out of the house, I saw the moon shining brightly.

b. When I came out of the house, the moon was shining brightly.

(Ikegami 2008: 236)

In (14a), the conceptualizer is a part of the objective scene in both parts of the sentence. On the other hand, in (14b), the first part still includes a subject of conception that is foregrounded, however, in the second part of the sentence, the subject of conception is moved to the background, outside of the objective scene.

The final proposed revision consists of two mental operations, 'self-split' and 'self-projection', both of which have to do with the projection of the conceptualizer. In self-split, the conceptualizer portrays themselves objectively as the other; in other words, the viewpoint of the conceptualizer is moved outside of the objective scene, while the conceptualizer remains within it, and is able to observe itself as another entity. On the

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other hand, in self-projection, the conceptualizer merges its viewpoint with an entity existing within the scene, while subjectifying that entity. (2008: 230)

A case of self-split can be observed in the example below, which has been frequently used by Ikegami in many of his works throughout the years to illustrate the difference in subjectivity in Japanese and English. The main difference that has been often pointed out is that in (15b), the train is the subject, while in (15a), there is no mention of a train.

(15)   a. 国境の長いトンネルを抜けると、雪国であった。

              b. The train came out of the long tunnel into the snow country.

(Ikegami 2008: 321/2)

Ikegami argues that in (15b), the translator chose to employ a self-split: They let the hero of the novel in the train undergo a self-split, one part of him stepping out of the train and perceiving from the outside the train carrying his counterpart. This is an objective construal. That is because the train was within the scope of the narrator, who was placed outside of the train, therefore the main character undergoes a self-split - a part of him is outside of the train, observing himself inside of it. On the other hand, in the Japanese original, the reader merges themselves with the character, resulting in self-projection. (Ikegami 2008: 232/3)

However, it is important to note that Ikegami's view of (15b) as a self-split has evolved. In his later work, Ikegami (池上 2020: 18) offers two interpretations. In addition to the self-split interpretation above, Ikegami also acquiesces that it is possible for the observer in the scene to be a narrator, separate from the main character, in which case, the narrator would then merge with the character. In both cases, (15b) would be considered more subjective than (15a).

Ikegami (2008, 池上 1981 etc.) references other philosophical and psychological theories to highlight various phenomena related to the topic of subjectivity, such as speaker-writer/listener-reader responsibility as proposed by Hinds or Japanese as a 'naturally evolved' language, as opposed to 'logically formed' Indo-European languages. However, as these phenomena are not directly relevant to the present thesis, they will not be discussed further.

It should be noted that while Ikegami does not reference Langacker's (1985) conceptual displacement and cross-world identification (with which he was perhaps unfamiliar), it is clear that, as mentioned above, both Ikegami and Langacker shift their focus outside of the relation of the speaker/conceptualizer and a prototypical speaker-related context [10]. We may argue that there are parallels between self-split and conceptual displacement, where the conceptualizer also observes itself from the outside and often describes themselves in the third person.

On the other hand, cross-world identification and self-projection are clearly separate phenomena - in cross-world identification, the conceptualizer identifies themselves in a different context, while in self-projection, the conceptualizer changes its viewpoint to that of another entity. Therefore, self-projection is closer to the subjectification of the third person in narrative, a phenomenon which Langacker pointed out (see Section 1.2.1). However, neither Ikegami nor Langacker examine this phenomenon in finer detail.

Finally, Ikegami proposes a new definition of the two construals based on his earlier revision:

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[10] Here understood as a speaker directly present to observe the scene they are construing.

1) *Subjective construal: the conceptualizer is on the very scene s/he is to construe and construes the scene as it is perceivable to her/him. Even if the conceptualizer is not on the scene s/he is to construe, s/he may mentally project her-/himself onto the scene s/he is to construe and construes it as it would be perceived by her/him.*

2) *Objective construal: the conceptualizer is outside the scene s/he is to construe and construes it as it is perceivable to her/him. Even if the conceptualizer is on the scene s/he is to construe, s/he may mentally displace her-/himself outside the scene s/he is to construe and construe it as it would be perceived by her/him.*

(Ikegami 2008: 231)

Contrasting Langacker's original description of subjectivity with Ikegami's new, revised definitions, we may notice that Ikegami closely follows his original definition of subjectivity in DO/BECOME language typology, which is why we may observe a significant point of divergence from Langacker's definition. As mentioned above, Ikegami takes into consideration cases where not only the speaker is not physically present. While Ikegami's definition permits for examples such as 'John was killed in the war.' and 'ジョンは戦争で死んだ.' ("John died in the war.") to be considered different as a result of a preference for objective or subjective construal respectively, in CG, both of those examples would be considered subjective, if supposed that the conceptualizer was physically present and witnessing John's death.

Alternatively, in CG, such a case would be covered by cross-world identification; however, cross-world identification is, by definition, limited to an alternative fictional viewpoint of another persona of the conceptualizer (such as their photograph). Alternatively, the closest explanation for such phenomena may be found in his

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observation of narrative and a tendency for a shift in the narrator's viewpoint to that of the character. In Ikegami's definition, there is no character or entity to which the speaker's view would shift - the speaker is not present; they are, nevertheless, influenced by their tendency for subjective or objective expression, which results in a preference for more objective/subjective.

Another interesting point, which Ikegami (2008: 231) himself acknowledges, is that, in some cases, the difference between maximally subjective and maximally objective construal can be somewhat blurred. Consider the sentence 'It's raining.', which, according to the definitions above, permits either subjective or objective reading.

According to Ikegami (2008: 231), … which of the two readings is to be preferred depends not only on the extent to which the encoded message is marked with linguistic indices of subjective construal (e.g., the word order and the tense as in "Here comes the bus") but also on how empathetically the reader/hearer is ready to behave, i.e., how ready the reader/hearer is to displace her-/himself onto the scene to be construed and construe the scene as it would be perceivable to her/him.

Why does Ikegami consider such expressions to be ambivalent? As mentioned above, Ikegami's definition permits for expressions such as 'John was killed in the war.' or 'John died in the war.' to be either objectively or subjectively construed even though the conceptualizer is not, strictly speaking, physically present on the scene which they construe.

In the case of 'It's raining.', the conceptualizer may either be directly on the scene (subjective construal), or outside of the scene (objective construal). The conceptualizer is encoded as zero in both cases - either because the conceptualizer may not be perceivable to themselves when construed subjectively, but also when the conceptualizer is located outside of the scene they construe.

This is a significant point of divergence between Ikegami's and Langacker's definitions. As explained in Section 1.2.2, Langacker understands objectivity as a case of minimal asymmetry between the subject and the object of conception, which means that both the subject and the object are a part of an objective scene and overtly expressed.

In Langacker's view, a sentence such as 'It's raining.' would, strictly speaking, be considered subjective (as opposed to an expression such as 'I saw it was raining.'), because his definition does not permit an objective construal, since the speaker is always a part of the conceptual substrate; alternatively, this type of expression would not be considered at all.

In short, it is apparent that both Langacker and Ikegami share a common ground. However, there is a divergence in how each of them views what constitutes objectivity. That is mainly because Langacker focuses on a conceptualizer that is actually present on the scene they construe, while Ikegami considers any scene, real or fictitious, that is construed by the speaker.

1.4 Alternative Cross-Linguistic Views on Subjectivity

In the previous section, we have examined the notion of subjectivity through the English language. In this section, we shall briefly touch upon how subjectivity is treated in cross-linguistic research in Japan conducted by linguists other than Ikegami. Below, we shall focus on three different views, specifically on Uehara's scale of subjectivity, Nakamura's modes of cognition and Hirose's three tier model of language use.

1.4.1 Uehara's Subjectivity Scale and Deixis

Uehara (2006, 上原 2016) primarily focuses on the link between subjectivity and deictic expressions, and how deixis manifests in English and Japanese. According to Uehara (上原 2016: 80-81), deictic expressions can be divided into three categories: 構文的直示 (*kōbunteki shokuji*; structural deixis), 直示述語 (*chokuji jutsugo*; deictic predicate) and 認知表現 (*ninchi hyōgen*; cognitive expression). Structural deixis is defined as an expression where the implicit conceptualiser is retrieved and made explicit by the speaker and where the use of third person is possible. An example of such an expression would be *across*.

Deictic predicate is an expression where the implicit conceptualiser is retrieved and made explicit by the speaker, but third person use is not possible. An example of a deictic predicate would be adjectives denoting internal state, such as *happy*, in Japanese, such as in (16). (Uehara 2006: 98)

(16)   a. 私は嬉しい。
           b. *田中さんは嬉しい。   (Uehara 2006: 98)

Uehara (2006: 76-78) states that subjectivity, as defined by Langacker, is suitable for a cross-linguistically viable definition of subjectivity and proposes his own criteria for cross-linguistic comparison. He proposes to take semantically/functionally same/similar expressions from different languages for comparison and presents two criteria for cross-linguistic comparison of subjectivity - the level of subjectivity at which events/entities are construed and the obligatory/preferential/typically subjective nature of expressions used. These two criteria are then assessed on a three-level scale.

The first criterion, based on the subjectivity of the construal, is differentiated into implicit reference to the ground (on the more subjective end of the scale), explicit reference to the ground or non-reference to the ground (on the more objective end of the scale). Comparing the three levels of subjectivity proposed by Langacker, as mentioned above, to in which there are also two different elements of comparison - the use of deictic expressions and implicit or explicit reference. (Uehara 2006: 78/79)

It is apparent that there is a point of departure in understanding of the scope of subjectivity and also what is subjective and what is objective between Uehara and Langacker. First, let us examine the examples proposed by Uehara, where (17a) is considered maximally subjective and (17c) is considered maximally objective:

(17)   a. He came.

           b. He came to me.

           c. He went to Bill.   (Uehara 2006: 78)

In (17a), there is an implicit reference to the conceptualizer achieved through the use of deictic expression. As Uehara himself points out, a tendency for subjective expression can be observed in the motion verbs of the majority of languages. The most obvious example is the motion verb *come*, which is considered a typical example of a subjective expression in English. The verb *come* is deictic and includes a reference to the ground element, similarly to the Japanese verb *kuru* (come). Therefore, both of those expressions are subjective in both languages. (Uehara 2006: 83, 84)

In (17b), which lies somewhere between subjective and objective, we can observe an explicit reference through the word *me*, which places the conceptualizer within the objective scene, on top of the implicit reference included in (17a). On the other hand,

(17c), which is considered maximally objective, there is no reference to the subject of conception at all.

As previously mentioned, (cf. Section 1.2.2), Langacker's optimal viewing arrangement involves a subject of conception that is completely outside of the objective scene and there is no reference to it, explicit or implicit. This differs from Uehara's definition of subjectivity; the most subjective expression involves a deictic element implicitly referencing the conceptualizer, such as the verb *come*.

This difference becomes clear when we examine the example (17c). Uehara considered this sentence to be the most objective one. On the other hand, Langacker considers the speaker to always be a part of an expression's conceptual substrate. If we consider (17b) and (17c), the verbs *came* and went *both* implicitly referenced the speaker.

In Langacker's view, the subject of conception in the egocentric viewing arrangement is located within the objective scene, explicitly referenced. This would be the case of (17b), where the subject of conception is explicitly referenced by the use of a deictic element, in this case me; (17b) would then be considered more objective than (17c).

Instead of an explicit reference, Uehara's most objective end of the scale illustrated in (17c) involves no reference to the subject of conception whatsoever. If we were to adjust Uehara's example to fit Langacker's definition, it would be either an expression like (17b) or "*I went to Bill.*", where both the subject and the object of conception are within the objective scene.

Uehara (2006: 83-88, 111) closely examines, among other types of expression, motion verbs. For example, he states that *the ground, or the speaker's position, is more typically invoked as a reference point in expressions of basic motion events in Japanese*

than it is in English. (p. 88) He also notes a possibility of a new typology of languages, such as "subjective frame" and "objective frame" language types, similar to Talmy's (cf. Talmy 1985) verb-framed and satellite-framed language typology.

It is interesting that Uehara proposes to revise the idea of canonical event structure. As mentioned in the previous Sections, both Langacker (cf. 2013: 121) and Ikegami (2008: 230) consider the optimal viewing arrangement as primary.

Uehara (2006: 111) argues that, because, apparently, some languages tend to lean towards one viewing arrangement rather than the other, the canonical event structure (the optimal viewing arrangement) may not be, in fact, so canonical, at least for such languages.

Lastly, Uehara also touches upon subjectivity and transitivity. According to Uehara (ibid., 112), *a Japanese expression of implicit reference to the ground (an intransitive verb expression) is frequently translated into an English expression of explicit reference to it (a transitive verb expression). This contrast in the typical valency structure is a well-known contrast between the two language types, with Japanese in one type and English in the other… The current study thus suggests that a language's membership into such language types can be, at least partially, ascribed to its default degree of subjectivity.*

1.4.2 Nakamura's Cognitive Schema

Next, we shall discuss Nakamura's I-mode and D-mode cognitive schemas. Nakamura (中村 2016: 30) also focuses on the difference between Japanese and English. The major difference between Langacker, Ikegami and Nakamura is that, according to Nakamura, in Japanese, there are cases where the viewing relationship

between the viewer (conceptualiser) and what is viewed (conceptual content) is not established. An example of this would be, for example, an exclamation '寒い!' (Cold!). Not only the viewing relationship is not established, the distance between the two is zero, therefore the conceptualiser and the conceptual content are apparently not differentiated.

Let us imagine a rising sun. This hypothetical sun does not actually exist, but how is it that we can imagine and express this scene as if it did? Nakamura (ibid., 30-32) introduces the idea of cognitive schema emergence (認知構図創作, *ninchi kōzu sōsaku*). In the case of the scene of a rising sun, the cognitive process involves two mechanisms: first, the speaker summons a mental image of a sun that is rising and second, the speaker construes the scene as if they were objectively observing it.

This whole process is referred to as an Interactional mode of cognition (I-mode). In the I-mode, the subject of conception is interacting with the object by what is referred to as a reciprocal inclusive interaction[11] - the speaker is directly interacting with the sun (the object of conception) by placing themselves on Earth, observing the movement of the Sun - both the speaker and the sun are situated within a field of cognition. (中村 2016: 30-32)

An alternative to the I-mode is the Displaced mode of cognition (D-mode). In D-mode, the speaker construes the mental image of the sun rising as if it was an objective situation - simply put, the speaker displaces themselves from their position within the field of cognition to the outside of it, in opposition to the sun, and interact with it from this new, displaced position. (中村 2016: 33-34)

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[11] 相互内包型のインタラクション, *sōgo naibō gata no intarakushon*

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It should be pointed out that D-mode could be explained as an extension of the I-mode; however, these are two separate modes of cognition and should be treated as such. That is because in the D-mode, the subject and the object of conception are clearly defined and distinct at the level of conceptual content and construal, unlike in the I-mode. The D-mode is also noted to be equivalent to Langacker's objective construal[12]. (中村 2016: 34-40)

Coming back to the initial '寒い!' issue, Nakamura (ibid., 39-40) assumes that in the case of Japanese, the core of the semantic representation is undoubtedly the I-mode; however, that is because in the original conceptual content and its construal, the subject and the object of conception are undivided, as mentioned above. As a result, the viewer is undefined, as well as, reportedly, dimensions such as time[13] or place.[14]

The example below is presented to further point out the difference between Japanese and English (and which was also examined by Ikegami, cf. Section 1.3). In (18a), the viewer is present at the scene; the viewer and the entity that turns back but is not explicitly expressed are one and the same; John is another entity that is being observed.

As we can see, a similar expression in English would be ungrammatical. In the case of (18b), the reason is that the viewer of both "looking back" and "John was sitting"

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[12] Nakamura (中村 2016: 41-42) also references Kuroda's (1973) reportive and non-reportive style as a direct result of a preference for I-mode or D-mode.

[13] Although Japanese adjectives do have the category of past and non-past tense, there is still no distinction between the present and the future tense, which is possibly why the temporal dimension is not precisely defined here according to Nakamura. (cf. 現代日本語文法 3: 121)

[14] Moreover, because the viewer (as well as the ground) is not defined, grounding is not possible. Nakamura argues that even though it is often argued that the 'イマ, ココ, わたし' (now, here, me) phenomena in Japanese results in exclamations such as '寒い!' to be, in fact, presupposed from context, it should be reexamined whether it is necessarily always "I" who is cold. (中村 2016: 40)

cannot be the same entity, even though the viewer of the two scenes is decidedly one and the same.

(18)   a. 後ろを振り返ると、ジョンが座っていた。

b. *Looking back, John was sitting.   (中村 2016: 40)

To summarise, Nakamura's view differs from that of Langacker's - while Nakamura draws a direct comparison between D-mode and objective construal, no such analogy is made between the I-mode and the subjective construal.

That is because in Langacker's subjective construal, there is still a distinction between the subject and the object of conception, even if the distinction is blurred on the construal level.

In Langacker's view, 寒い would probably be interpreted as a case of subjective construal, where the conceptualizer is made implicit. However, Nakamura argues that in I-mode, the distinction between the object and the subject does not exist by default.

1.4.3 Hirose's Three-Tier Model of Language Use

A slightly different approach, based on cognitive linguistic principles as well as pragmatics, is put forth by Hirose (2015; 廣瀬 2017; 廣瀬 2022). Hirose (2015: 121) maintains that *there are three useful perspectives from which to compare grammatico-pragmatic phenomena in the two languages: they are the perspectives of "cognitive linguistics," "sociolinguistics," and "public and private self"*. The cognitive linguistics perspective alludes to Langacker's subjective and objective construal, with reference to Ikegami or Uehara, whose perspectives we have already covered.

Hirose (2015: 121-122) also emphasises the necessity of the Japanese speaker to consider and subsequently encode their relationship with the listener, which manifests using polite or super-polite forms of the copula, which is a phenomenon that does not exist in the English language. It is emphasised that these differences are commonly examined from the sociolinguistic perspective. It is deemed essential to consider both the cognitive and the sociolinguistic perspective to fully understand the link between grammar and pragmatics.

To account for both grammatical and pragmatic differences, Hirose (廣瀬 2017: 2-3) proposes a three-tier model of language use (言語使用の三層モデル; *gengo shiyō no sansō moderu*). The three tiers are as follows: the *situation construal* tier (状況把握; *jōkyō haaku*), the *situation report* tier (状況報告; *jōkyō hōkoku*) and the *interpersonal relationship* tier (対人関係; *taijin kankei*). In parallel to the three tiers, Hirose also introduces the concept of *private self* (私的自己; *shiteki jiko*) and *public self* (公的自己; *kōteki jiko*).

First, let us examine the private and the public self. According to Hirose (廣瀬 2022: 9), the public self is a speaker who faces the listener and communicates/reports to them, with them in mind. On the other hand, the private self signifies a speaker who figures as a thinking subject of consciousness, without considering any listener.

The private self and the public self are then characterized using private and public expression respectively[15]. Private expression is a mode which is not centered around communication with a listener and equals to the function of expressing thoughts

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[15] 私的表現; *shiteki hyōgen* and 公的表現; *kōteki hyōgen*

verbalised by the speaker instead. On the other hand, public expression is a mode in which the speaker's goal is to communicate with the hearer. (廣瀬 2022: 9)

Hirose (廣瀬 2022: 9-10) argues that English speakers employ the public self, while Japanese speakers prefer the private self. This claim is based on the use of pronouns in Japanese and English. It is proposed that in Japanese, there is the word 自分 (*jibun*; self) which is utilised to describe a *self*.

Furthermore, there are several first person (singular) pronouns such as 私 (*watashi*) or 僕 (*boku*), where the speaker chooses one based on the relationship with the speaker. On the other hand, English does not employ a singular word for *self* that would correspond to the one in Japanese, and there is also only one first person singular pronoun, I. (廣瀬 2022: 9-10)

This difference is illustrated in the following example:

(19)　　　　a. 自分は絶対に正しいと(ぼく/きみ/彼)は思った。

　　　　　　b. *Self be absolutely right, (I/you/he) thought.

　　　　　　c. (I/You/He) thought that (I was/you were/he was) absolutely right.

(廣瀬 2022: 10)

As we can see in (19a), the Japanese *self* can be used to describe the speaker or other entity. On the other hand, in English, the word *self* cannot be used that way in this context, even with the first person singular, as seen in (19b). In (19c), it is clearly illustrated that in order to express something similar to (19a), it is necessary to use adequate pronouns, and there is no word corresponding to the Japanese *jibun*.

Now that we have explained the concept of public and private self, let us move onto the three tiers model. In the situation construal tier, the speaker employs a private self

(the thinking subject) construes a situation and forms a fixed thought. In the situation report tier, the speaker as a public self-reports the private self's situation construal to the hearer. Finally, in the interpersonal relationship tier, the speaker, through the public self, considers the relationship with the hearer and performs a "interpersonal adjustment"[16]. (廣瀬 2017: 3)

Hirose (廣瀬 2017: 3) also notices a difference between languages in two ways: how the three tiers are combined and how, and how different processes occur within the three tiers. First, it is argued that in English, the construal tier and the report tier are combined, while the interpersonal tier is separate. In contrast, Japanese speakers tend to keep the construal tier separate, while the report tier and the interpersonal tier are combined.

In English, the private self that construes a scene is based on the viewpoint of the public self on the report tier. In other words, English speakers tend to build their basic situation construal based on the report tier, taking the reader into account - the construal tier and the reporter tier are combined. On the other hand, in Japanese, there is a tendency to keep the construal tier separate as explained above; however, the public self of the report tier is based on the view of the interpersonal tier. This results in the speaker's self being stipulated by its relationship with the hearer. (廣瀬 2017: 3)

According to Hirose (2000: 1625-1626), to distinguish between the private and the public levels of linguistic expression, Japanese speaker can utilise a variety of addressee-oriented expressions (expressions which semantically presuppose the existence of an addressee) - certain sentence-final particles, imperatives, vocative

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[16] 対人調節; *taijin chōsetsu*

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expressions, response expressions, various pragmatic adverbials, polite verbs, hearsay expressions and so on.

Let us take a closer look at specific cases:

(20)   a. 雨だ。

           b. 雨に違いない。

           c. 雨だろうか。

           d. 雨だよ。

           e. 雨です。

           f. 雨にちがいないね。

           g. 雨でしょうか。   (廣瀬 2017: 12)

(20a) is an example of a direct perception, while (20b) and (20c) express conviction and doubt, respectively. All those expressions are private expressions, within the construal tier. On the other hand, (20d) to (20g) are all public expressions on the report tier. (20a), (20d) and (20e) are all what Hirose (廣瀬 2017: 12) refers to as direct construals.

However, while (20a) is a direct observation, (20d) and (20e) are reports. (20b), (20c), (20f) and (20g) are all examples of indirect construals, but again, (20f) and (20g) differ in that those expressions are within the public tier.

Specifically, (20d) and (20f) differ in the use of the final particle, and (20e) and (20g) differ in the use of the polite form of the copula.

If we consider what the English equivalent would be, we may arrive at the following conclusion. (20a), (20d) and (20e) may all be translated as 'It is raining.', (20b) and (20f) as 'It must be raining.', and (20c) and (20g) as 'Is it raining?'.

In conclusion, in English, the expressions on the construal tier and the expressions on the report tier are the same, because, as mentioned above, in English, those two tiers are merged. On the other hand, if we examine the Japanese examples, all expressions in the report tier also include either polite or honorific language[17].

Similarly to Nakamura (cf. previous Section), Hirose also interprets the difference between Japanese and English as a result of tendencies occurring on a different level. Unlike Ikegami or Langacker, Nakamura and Hirose understand a linguistic expression as a two-step cognitive process, where the initial step may produce a more subjective expression than the second one (the case of Nakamura's I-mode to D-mode) or where one step either exist on its own, or as a basis (as is the case in Hirose's private and report tier in the case of English). The result of those processes is then a tendency for more objective or more subjective expression.

Furthermore, it is crucial to note that Hirose views subjectivity as a complex phenomenon and considers not only the construal itself, but also the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The construal tier, equal to Langacker's subjective/objective construal, is one level and exists together with speaker-oriented expressions such as politeness, final particles and so on.

To conclude, in Section 1.4, we have demonstrated that it is not only Ikegami who takes note of the differences between languages and examines them from a cognitive perspective, and what all three approaches described above have in common is the conclusion that Japanese is in some way more subjective than English, even if the methodology and the understanding of what is more or less subjective may differ.

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[17] (cf. 日本語記述文法研究会 2009: 237-258)

There are several points worth emphasizing. First, there is the issue regarding the canonical arrangement and its applicability on a universal scale. As Uehara has pointed out, the optimal viewing arrangement may be canonical in the case of Japanese, but not in the case of English.

For example, Hirose's public and private self may be considered as an argument for considering a separate canonical viewing arrangement based on each language. Another idea worth highlighting is Hirose's argument that subjectivity does not exist in isolation, but rather it is subject to external influences such as the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

2 Discourse and register

In this Chapter, we will explore the notion of discourse and discourse analysis, with a focus on register, specifically register variety and corpus studies. First, we will introduce the terminology and different approaches to discourse. Next, we shall discuss the approach to register variation in the context of both Japanese and English, as well as introduce a basic framework, which will be adopted and expanded upon in the methodology section.

The term "discourse" is not unique to linguistics; it is also used in anthropology, psychology, philosophy, literary criticisms, and other disciplines. Because of this disciplinary diversity, "discourse", as well as "discourse analysis", can have various definitions, even within a single field. In general, the study of discourse is understood as examining language beyond the level of a sentence, or more broadly, as a study of language use. "Discourse" may also often refer to both linguistic and non-linguistic social practices or ideology. (Schriffrin Tannen & Hamilton, 2005: 8)

In Japanese linguistics, the terms commonly used when talking about discourse are 文章 (*bunshō*; generally translated as writing style) and 文体 (*buntai*; generally translated as literary style) and 談話 (*danwa*; generally translated as discourse).

Okimori (沖森 2015: 1-2) defines *bunshō* as a one or more sentences connected through context. Separate sentences cannot become *bunshō*, they must be linked in such a way as to form a (generally) singular context. That can be achieved in a novel, but also in shorter forms such as a poem or a proverb. *Bunshō* is dependent on a variety of factors, such as the speaker's age, sex or cultural/regional background. In Okimori's view, *bunshō* is equivalent to the term style.

Conversely, Takasaki (高崎 2008: 2-3) employs the term *bunshō* in opposition to 談話, *danwa*, to describe written and spoken discourse respectively. Furthermore,

Tachikawa (立川 2010: 171-173) points outs that the term *danwa* is often translated as "discourse", as in general discourse, but there is often a distinction being made between "text" as the written language and "discourse" as the spoken language.

The term *buntai* is generally divided into 個人的な文体 (*kojintekina buntai*), individual writing style, and 類型的な文体 (*ruikeitekina buntai*), lit. typological writing style. The former is used when analysing one specific author or one specific work. The latter refers to the analysis of a general frequency of grammatical or lexical patterns. (沖森 2015: 3)

There are multiple different approaches to discourse analysis. One of the most prominent viewpoints is the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), recently also referred to as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). Rather than a singular approach or a method, CDA is viewed as a critical perspective that can be related to various areas of discourse studies, such as discourse grammar, narrative analysis, psychology of discourse-processing and so on. It focuses primarily on social problems or political issues, with the presupposition that social inequalities are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by discourse in social and political context. (Van Dijk 2015: 497-498)

CDA approach is frequently complemented by Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) framework. Halliday (1978: 2) proposes there are two components to language, ideational (language as a means of reflecting on things) and interpersonal (language as a means of acting on things).

In SFL, language is interpreted within a sociocultural context, in which the culture is interpreted as an information system. Language consists of discourse, defined as an exchange of meanings in interpersonal contexts. These contexts are considered to be semiotic constructs, having a form (deriving from the culture) that enables the

participants to predict features of the prevailing register - and hence to understand one another as they go along. (Halliday 1978: 2)

In discourse analysis, Halliday's SFL is commonly used to examine transitivity. It is utilised to understand the social context of analysed texts. For example, Machin & Mayr (2013) analyse linguistic and visual representation in the portrayal of crime in the television show Crimewatch. It is presupposed that a choice of one particular process over another serves a goal. In this case, the goal is a specific portrayal of crime and criminals in a specific register - crime television show. The choice of transitive over intransitive verb itself is not as important as its meaning, or rather the process classification.

This approach is also frequently employed to analyse newspaper articles (cf. Richardson 2007). For instance, Stamou (2001) focused on the representation of non-protesters in a student and teacher protest in Greek newspapers. The results indicated that the non-protesters intercepting the protests often appeared as the agent of a transitive construction, with a verb denoting a material process (doing something), as opposed to drivers, pedestrians, or journalists, who more often appeared in a passive role in such processes.

Although CDA and SFL are commonly employed to analyse texts and SFL specifically deals with transitivity in discourse, due to the CDA perspective, it is not a suitable framework for the present thesis. Instead, we shall turn to the corpus-based methodology, specifically corpus-based textual approach. Corpus based approach in general views corpus linguistics as a methodology and is used as an umbrella term for a range of corpus enquiries. Textual approach focuses on linguistic choices, meanings, and patterns in texts. (Flowerdew 2023: 126-127)

It is important to note that both CDA and corpus analysis have been subjected to criticism. While CDA is thought to rely on occasion on a small set of texts which lack representativeness and be influenced by the analyst's subjective standpoint, corpus-based analysis presents a large set of decontextualised examples of language use, which does not allow for an in-depth description of the socio-cultural context. (Flowerdew 2023: 126-127)

This also presents a potential issue for the present thesis; we shall address the limitation of our methodology and a potential solution in the methodology section.

2.1 Register and Corpus Analysis

Generally, discourse can be analysed from the perspective of genre, register and style. The subject of the genre perspective are the conventional structures of a given type of text (for example, texts such as letters conventional begin and end in a certain way). (Biber and Conrad 2019: 2)

On the other hand, the register perspective focuses on an analysis of linguistic features that are common in a text variety, as well as an analysis of the situation of use of the text. Based on the level of specificity, it is possible to identify a variety of registers. For example, consider the level of specificity between research articles and methods sections of experimental medical research articles. Both can be identified as a register. (Biber and Conrad 2019: 2-10)

The underlying assumption is that linguistic features serve a communicative purpose; thus, some linguistic features are common in a register because they are adapted to the communicative purposes and situational contexts from that register. The style perspective is similar to the register perspective, but the focus is not a text variety

in general; rather, style features reflect aesthetic preferences of a particular author or a historical period. (Biber and Conrad 2019: 2-10)

There are two issues to be considered when dealing with registers. First, because it is possible to explore registers on different levels of specificity. In a more general register, such as the register of conversation, one of the most general spoken registers, has relatively few specifying characteristics. On the other hand, a telephone conversation or a workplace conversation can be analysed more specifically. (Biber and Conrad: 32)

Another potential issue is the influence of culture on register/genre variation. According to Biber and Conrad (2019: 23-36), register (and genre) variation is universal, since all cultures use language in different situations for different communicative purposes, but registers may also be culture specific. For example, some cultures may only have spoken registers/genres[18]. Furthermore, some cultures may recognise a register that is not distinct in other cultures.

In register analysis, there are three main points to consider - the situational context, the linguistic features, and the functional relationship between the two. Linguistic features in a register are always considered functional; they tend to occur frequently in a register because they are particularly suited to the purpose and situational context of the register. For example, while first person pronouns or questions are frequent in

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[18] For example, Ainu, the language of indigenous people of Japan, was a spoken language without a writing system (although currently, both latin alphabet and katakana are used). The Ainu had a rich oral tradition with various genres such as *yukar*, *irupaye*, *kamuy yukar* or *uwepeker*, which differ in length, melody or chorus, but also in the use of personal pronouns. In the Ainu language, there are generally two types of personal pronouns used in oral literature based on the style of the text - formal (雅語) or informal (口語). In *kamuy yukar* and *uweperker*, informal first person pronouns are more common, mostly. There are also other differences which relate to style rather than linguistic properties, such as periphrasis, antithesis and so on. (佐藤 2008: 259-264)

conversations, in news reports, those features will be relatively rare. (Biber and Conrad 2019: 6-8)

The corpus-based approach is frequently utilised in examining register use. A comparative register perspective is significant to the study of linguistic variation, as it facilitates the analysis of a large amount of linguistic data, enabling the observation of central tendencies and the degree of variability within individual registers, as well as their statistical comparison. However, it is also necessary to supplement the statistical findings with a qualitative analysis, in order to interpret the connection between the use of linguistic features and their function in a specific context. (Staples et al. 2015: 506)

Staples et al. (2015: 507) emphasise that any functional description of a linguistic feature will not be valid for the language as a whole and that any linguistic characteristics interact with register differences. To illustrate, in academic writing, around 20% of all verb phrases are passive. On the other hand, in conversation, passive verb phrases amount to only around 2%. More specifically, the verb find is frequent in both conversation and academic writing, but almost half of its occurrences in academic writing are passive, as opposed to less than 1% in conversation.

2.2 Register Variety in English and Japanese

Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (1999: 15-17) defines registers in strictly non-linguistic terms, with respect to situational characteristics such as mode, communicative purpose, topic, etc. There are four major registers identified, which are highly productive varieties of English and different enough to represent a wide range of variation, especially in their target audiences and communicative purposes. On the

other hand, Biber and Conrad (2019: 111) identify three commonly encountered general written registers - fiction, academic prose, and news report.

However, as mentioned above, registers can be analysed on many levels of specificity and many sub-varieties of a general register can be identified, depending on linguistic features and situational characteristics. Therefore, for the purpose of the present thesis, we shall focus on identifying the register presented in the analysis part.

In this chapter, we shall focus on identifying the situational characteristics. Situational characteristics may vary greatly between registers. For example, news reports are very different from face-to-face conversation. While in conversation, two or more participants produce language in the spoken mode and interact directly, in news reports, there is a single author producing language in written mode, for a large number of audiences unlimited in place or time. (Biber & Conrad 2019: 31)

In Japanese linguistics, a similar approach, evaluating genre/register differences through situational characteristics, is also common. It is generally assumed that written discourse is focused on information or knowledge as its central content. Preparation in advance, as well as impersonal and neutral stating is very common. Moreover, it is free of honorifics pertaining to a specific occasion. (高崎 2008: 9)

Another characteristic is the possibility to clearly determine a theme, a beginning and an end, cohesive content or compressed, concise statements. It is generally aimed to be consumed by an unspecified number of large audiences and its public profile is high. It is considered a high efficiency one way transmission of information. The most important point is the use of characters. (高崎 2008: 9)

The differences between spoken and written discourse presented above do not necessarily apply to every type of text; there are instances in which the lines between written and spoken language are blurred. For example, when reading aloud, while

spoken, the text itself will manifest the characteristics of written language. Similarly, interview articles or transcribed spoken language may show some characteristics of spoken language. Moreover, communication through email or text messages is considered to lay somewhere in between written and spoken language and has its own specifics. (高崎 2008: 11)

Biber (2023: 312-313) reaches a similar conclusion about the nature of e-mail communication. E-mail communication shares some situational characteristics with both conversational registers and with written informational register - similar to conversation, e-mails are interactive, and the addressors convey personal feelings and attitudes.

Meanwhile, e-mails are not a spontaneous language production - they can be planned and edited, similar to a written text. Also, the writer and the reader usually do not share a common place or time frame. More specifically, e-mails statistically include a higher number of verbs and pronouns, like conversation; on the other hand, there is also a high number of nouns, like academic prose. (Biber 2023: 312-313)

In Japanese, text can be generally divided (mostly from genre perspective) into 3 types, depending on the target audience, and 18 subtypes. A text can be addressed to a specific reader (for example: contracts, reports, invoices and so on), a nonspecific reader (newspaper articles, historical texts, declarations, advertisements, scriptures and so on) or for a specific or nonspecific reader to access a at a later day (such as diaries). (立川 2010: 177, 陳 2012: 23-24)

Okimori (沖森 2015: 4) proposes, in addition to the division based on target audience, another 6 categories of texts depending on their purpose, built on Jacobson's 6 functions of language: 1) descriptive texts (e.g. diary, critique, thoughts and impressions etc.); 2) texts that convey information (e.g. announcement, explanation,

gratitude etc.); 3) texts that prompt the reader to take action (e.g. request, order, prohibition, etc.); 4) texts conveying a contact with the reader (e.g. greetings); 5) texts making sense of language and linguistic expression (e.g. dictionary, annotations etc.); 6) texts for the purpose of linguistic expression (e.g. novels or poetry).

Each of those types of texts have a different purpose and audience. Type 1 texts are further divided into two groups based on the target audience. First, in the case of diaries and such, the primary audience is the writer themselves (in some cases, others may be a secondary audience as well), and the purpose of these texts is to record occurrences or writer's thoughts. Second, in the case of critiques and so on, the target audience may be both specific and nonspecific. The aim of the text is then to record information, or to describe the writer's thoughts. (沖森 2015: 4-5)

Type 2 texts are targeted at both specific and nonspecific audiences and their aim is to communicate either objective truths and occurrences or subjective feelings of the writer. Type 3 texts may also be aimed at both types of audience, are generally used to influence others' behaviour and in the context of lawsuits. (沖森 2015: 4-5)

Type 4 texts are, again, targeted at both specific and nonspecific audiences, and their purpose is, in short, forming a psychological connection between the writer and the reader. Type 5 texts are not aimed at any audience in particular, and they are utilised to explain or define units of language such as words or phrases. Finally, type 6 texts are targeted to non-specific audiences only. Their purpose is to invoke emotions or to amuse the reader. (沖森 2015: 4-5)

Biber and Conrad (2019: 40) propose a general, but more detailed framework for register perspective analysis, to identify a variety of situational characteristics. Those include seven general properties: participants (addressor(s), addressee(s), possible onlookers), relations among participants (social roles, personal relationship etc.),

channel (mode, medium), processing circumstances (production and comprehension), setting (time, space), communicative purposes (general, specific, etc.) and topic (general or specific domain, etc.).

In this Section, we have shown the approach to registers (or genres) in both Japanese and English is similar in that the basic criteria for distinguishing one type of text from another are situational characteristics of the register.

As Biber and Conrad (2019: 39) point out, there is no single framework utilised for differentiating one register from another. That, with the differences in the level of detail among different studies, results in a somewhat loose set of criteria.

However, considering the focus of this thesis, we shall utilise the framework based on that proposed by Biber and Conrad to look at the different registers. Specific registers and their characteristics will be introduced in the analysis sections in more detail.

3 Transitivity and Agentivity and Passive Voice

Transitivity has been traditionally defined as a property of a clause, based on morphosyntactic and/or semantic features. For example, Jacobsen (1985: 89) bases his definition solely on predicate logic and defines transitivity *in terms of the number of noun arguments necessary to make a predicate coherent. A predicate requiring only one such noun argument is termed intransitive and a predicate requiring two or more transitive.* [19]

On the other hand, Givón (1995: 76) considers three semantic dimensions of a semantically-transitive prototype: the agent, the patient and verbal modality; a prototypical transitive event then consists of a volitional, controlling, actively-initiating agent responsible for the event (the salient cause), a non-volitional, inactive, non-controlling patient who registers the event's changes of state (its salient effect), and a verb that codes an event that is perfective, completed, real and perceptually-cognitively salient.

In Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2002: 209-216), transitivity, specifically a prototypical transitive clause, is based on the canonical event model. The prototypical agent is a human who volitionally carries out an action, which results in contact with an external object and a transmission of energy from the agent to that object. On the other hand, the prototypical patient absorbs the energy and undergoes some sort of change.[20]

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[19] As a result, verbs such as differ and hit are equally transitive; in a language marking case, as long as the number of obligatory nouns is the same, there is no difference in transitivity status. (Jacobsen 1985: 89)

[20] Other prototypical roles include an experiencer - a person engaged in mental activity, or an instrument - an inanimate object through which the agent affects the patient. (Langacker 2002: 210-211)

Furthermore, in a prototypical transitive clause, the process constitutes an action that originates with a volitional energy source (the agent) and terminates with an energy sink (the patient), while the subject and direct object code the agent and the patient respectively. It is also important to mention that the canonical event model represents an observation of a prototypical action (that, as we have established, is transitive). In other words, it is an optimal viewing arrangement - the transitive action is observed from an external point of view. (Langacker 2002: 210-216)

According to Hopper and Thompson (1980: 251-253), on top of morphosyntactic and semantic properties, transitivity is also determined by discourse. They have determined ten parameters which form a transitivity scale, and which involve different facets of effectiveness with which the action is transferred between participants: 1) participants, 2) kinesis, 3) aspect, 4) punctuality, 5) volitionality, 6) affirmation, 7) mode, 8) agency, 9) affectedness of the object, 10) individuation of the object. Considering transitivity as several criteria allows for viewing clauses as more or less transitive.

The transitivity scale criteria are thought to systematically co-vary across different languages. This is the basis for the transitivity hypothesis: *If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity according to any of the features 1A-J, then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.* (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 255)

Since its publication, Hopper and Thompson's transitivity hypothesis (TH) has been subject to criticism. For instance, Tsunoda (1985: 386-392) proposes a few points of possible refinement. First, the parameters can be categorised into groups; volitionality

and agency regarding the patient, affectedness and individuation regarding the patient, affirmation, and mode regarding modality and so on.

The parameters of a single group have a close correlation with each other, and the correlation across groups is weaker than within it. For example, there is a strong correlation between volitionality and agency. On the other hand, the link between volitionality/agency and affectedness is the weakest. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that different parameters are reflected in different areas of grammar, and not all parameters are equally relevant to a certain morphosyntactic phenomenon. (Tsunoda 1985: 386-392)

While Hopper and Thompson seem to consider the parameters equally important, it is possible to rank them based on their relevance. For example, volitionality, agency and affectedness are often considered when talking about transitivity (cf. Givón 1995), they are irrelevant in terms of the manifestation of a transitive case frame.[21] (Tsunoda 1985: 392)

A major point of criticism relates to Hopper and Thompson's (2001: 52-53) analysis of transitivity in conversation and the frequency-based approach to the TH. The results of the analysis of individual parameters suggest that clauses in English conversation are low in transitivity and that clauses that are high in transitivity are relatively rare. This tendency manifests not only in conversations, but also in written language.

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[21] Consider, for example, the phrase 'I hit him.' and 'I hit at him.'. In the former, the patient is affected; in the latter, the patient is not affected. Therefore, affectedness may influence the transitive case frame. However, while 'I hit him.' may be considered non-volitional and non-agentive, 'I hit at him.' is volitional and agentive; neither volitionality nor agentivity influences the transitive case frame. That is not only the case for English, but also for other languages, such as Chepang (a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal). (Tsunoda 1985: 393)

Čech (2014: 5) points out that there are several issues with this conclusion. First, because there is no explicit scale factor, it is difficult to determine what exactly constitutes a low or high level of transitivity. Second, while Hopper and Thompson mention written language, there is no explicit comparison between the two. Čech argues that as a result, it is difficult to draw any definitive, valid conclusion; that is also because the results are interpreted without any statistical test.[22]

As shown above, apart from Jacobsen's (1985) definition, transitivity is understood as a clause property manifesting through various morphosyntactic and semantic features. A transitivity prototype (a clause high in transitivity) is identified, and its features constitute of an energy transfer between an agent with certain properties such as volitionality or individuation (cf. Givón 1995, Langacker 2002).

It is important to mention here the difference between Langacker's and Ikegami's view of the correlation between transitivity and subjectivity. While Ikegami considers transitivity to contribute to the overall level of subjectivity of a clause, Langacker draws no such parallel. Moreover, looking at Langacker's prototypical transitive clause, it is clear that it is, in fact, subjective, which is contradictory to what Ikegami considers subjective (cf. Section 1.3).

Although the present thesis deals with analysing language in context, for which the transitivity hypothesis parameters would seem most suitable. However, based on the various views presented in this Chapter, we consider transitivity to be governed by morphosyntactic as well as semantic properties.

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[22] Another interesting point is that Hopper and Thopson (2001: 37) found that there is a high ratio of low transitivity features in two-participant (agent-patient) clauses in conversation. That is, according to Čech (2014: 6-7), in direct contradiction to the prediction of the transitivity hypothesis.

For the purpose of the present thesis, we will instead narrow our focus to the properties Ikegami (cf. Section 1.1) deems to affect the subjectivity of a clause, while keeping in mind the subjective and objective construal as well.

Specifically, we shall examine the link between transitive/intransitive verbs and the agent. Furthermore, we will take passive voice into consideration as well. We shall ignore this time other properties such as aspect, mood, or the properties of the subject.

3.1 Transitivity and voice in English and Japanese

Before moving on to the next Chapter, we will briefly examine the differences in transitivity and passive voice in English and Japanese. First, it has been established that there are indeed differences between languages in transitivity.

This is best illustrated by Haspelmath (2015: 131- 132) who focuses on the transitivity prominence (the degree to which a language prefers transitive encoding over intransitive one) in the world's languages. Transitivity has been an important topic amongst linguists. It has been established that some verbs, such as verbs of emotion, cognition or pursuit are less likely to be encoded transitively than other verbs and so on, however, Haspelmath focuses on ranking languages in terms of their transitivity prominence.

A potential issue is defining transitivity cross-linguistically. Haspelmath (2015: 136) highlights the necessity for transitivity to be defined so that it is possible to unambiguously decide whether a coding frame is transitive or not. (Here, it is noted that Hopper and Thompson's approach is not suitable for such purposes.) Instead, Haspelmath defines transitivity as follows: *A verb is considered transitive if it contains an A and a P argument. A and P are defined as the arguments of a verb with at least*

two arguments that are coded like the 'breaker' and the 'broken thing' micro-roles of the 'break' verb.

Haspelmath (2015: 139) presents the data of the Valency Patterns Leipzig (ValPaL) database[23], which contains 80 sample verbs in 36 languages, including English and Japanese (also, for example, Icelandic, Yaqui, Ojibwe, Bora or Ainu). While the percentage of transitively encoded verbs in English reached .58, standard Japanese surpassed that number by .02, at .61. Results also indicated that some verbs (such as *break*) tend to be often transitive in multiple languages, as opposed to verbs such as *rain* or *be dry*.

Another valuable data may be found in The World Atlas of Transitivity Pairs or WATP (2014). The data presented above indicate that, across the 80 sample verbs, Japanese tends to prefer transitive constructions more often than English, and that the difference between the two languages is not very large at only .02 percentile. WATP contains data on 31 transitivity verb pairs in 50 languages. The verb pairs are categorised into directed (anticausative and causative) and non-directed (equipollent, labile and suppletive). [24]

The results indicate that there is a major difference between Japanese and English in terms of verb pairs. In Japanese, 37.1% of verb pairs are anticausative and 40.3% are causative; 12.9% are equipollent, 3.2% are labile and 6.5% are suppletive. In total,

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[23] Available online at https://valpal.info

[24] Causative pairs are those in which the intransitive verb is basic and transitive verb is derived. On the other hand, anticausative verb pairs are those in which the transitive verb is basic. In equipollent, suppletive, and labile verb pairs, neither the transitive nor the intransitive verb is derived from the other. The verbs in the equipollent pair are derived from the same stem but are both marked differently. A labile verb is a verb which may be used both as a transitive and an intransitive verb (such as *open*). Finally, Suppletive pairs consist of two verbs which have a different root (such as *die* and *kill*). (Haspelmath 1993: 91-92)

22.6% of verb pairs are non-directed. On the other hand, out of the 31 verb pairs, none are causative in English, and only 6.5% are anticausative. 3.2% are equipollent and 9.7% are suppletive. Majority of the verb pairs, however, are labile, at 80.6%. In total, 93.5% of all verb pairs are non-directed. (WATP 2014)

However, these data indicate very little about actual preference for transitive/intransitive verbs (especially because the majority of the verb pairs out of the 31 total in English are non-directed). Here, we shall focus on a selection of previous studies focusing on transitivity in discourse.

Ueno and Polinsky (2009) focused on the relationship between headedness and language processing. They considered two major strategies used to improve language comprehension and production: pro-drop bias (minimising the number of overtly expressed arguments) and intransitive bias (giving preference to one-place predicates over two-place predicates and minimising the number of structural arguments).

The study was conducted in two parts. First, various written texts and children's utterances were examined in Japanese and English. Second, narrative stories in English, Spanish, Japanese and Turkish were examined. According to the results, Japanese showed a preference for one-place predicate (64%) over two-place predicate (the Intransitive bias), unlike English (50%). (Ueno and Polinsky 2009) This shows that there is a preference in Japanese for intransitive over transitive verbs, different to English language.[25]

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[25] It should be pointed out that although the first part of the analysis consisted of various written texts, there is no data showing a preference for intransitive/transitive verbs across different texts, as it is not the focus of the study.

Luk (2014) bases her study on Ikegami's typology and examines the preference for intransitive/transitive constructions in a parallel corpus of a Japanese novel Kitchen by Yoshimoto Banana and its English translation. Luk chose to measure semantic transitivity (with focus on intransitive, transitive and passive constructions) by using Hopper and Thompson's transitivity hypothesis parameters (cf. previous Section). In total, Luk found that, while the frequency of transitive construction was very similar in both languages, there were significantly more intransitive constructions in Japanese and passive constructions in English.

The most interesting result pertains to constructions low in transitivity - there seems to be a tendency for encoding a second participant in highly transitive constructions in both languages, but low transitivity constructions are coded differently. Another interesting point is that, considering a semantic map for English and Japanese transitive, intransitive and adjectival constructions, transitive constructions do not differ (for example, kill/*korosu* or break/*kowasu* are located within the same semantic space as a high agentivity qualitative change). (Luk 2014)

However, Japanese intransitive constructions occupy a much larger area than English ones (especially in the case of *mitsukaru* (to be found) etc.). Japanese intransitive constructions also cover the same semantic space as English adjectival constructions (such as *surprised* (adjective) and *odoroku* (verb; be surprised)). (Luk 2014)

Luk's research represents the most comprehensive study of the manifestation of subjectivity through transitivity, drawing upon Ikegami's typology. Other studies related to transitivity and Ikegami's typology specifically, both comparisons of English and Japanese and crosslinguistic studies, have been conducted, however, none of them have examined transitivity in such detail.

For example, Moriya (守屋 2018) has conducted a contrastive study of subjectivity in five languages: Korean, Mongolian, Yakut, Turkish and Sinhala. Her analysis is based on *become*-type expressions in Japanese - she obtained translations of nine different expressions into the languages above. As a result, it appears that Korean would be most similar to Japanese in the use of subjective expressions, unlike, for example, Turkish.

However, the study can hardly be described as comprehensive; the nine types of expressions are based on the contrast between Japanese and English. As pointed out by Moriya in her previous paper (守屋 2016), the contrast between *suru* and *naru* type expressions may be limited by the fact that its basis is the contrast between Japanese and English. The research of a different language based on those expressions that are the result of a contrastive study may also be limited and the difference between other expressions between the five languages may not be accounted for.

To conclude, it has been established that there is indeed a difference in transitivity specifically in Japanese and English - not only in terms of transitivity pairs, but also overall in a particular text, especially when it comes to transitivity, and that the use of passive voice also seems to be more frequent in English than in Japanese. This would support Ikegami's findings.

However, as mentioned in the Introduction, this theory has been mainly tested based on either artificially created examples out of context, or on the narrow area of literary texts. It has been shown in the previous Chapter that there are differences between different types of texts. Therefore, the question of whether the difference observed by Luk (and others, cf. Tsunoda 1985) applies to a wider variety of texts.

4 Methodology and Hypothesis

In the previous Chapter, we have shown that, in previous research, it has been established that Japanese does indeed tend to prefer intransitive verbs over transitive more frequently than English, especially in low-transitivity clauses. However, none of the studies listed focus on the difference between registers. In Chapter 2, we have shown that texts which serve different communicative purposes also vary in the linguistic features that are common in a particular text. However, it is apparent that past research has not dealt with different types of texts, or the distinction between them, as a primary focus.

The aim of the present thesis is, therefore, to examine different types of registers. We shall focus on answering the following questions:

1) Is there a significant difference in transitivity between registers?

2) Is there a significant difference in the use of passive versus active voice between registers?

3) If so, which register may be considered most and least subjective, based on the degree of transitivity and the use of active/passive voice in each text?

4) Compared to English, is Japanese universally more subjective, or are there differences in the gap between Japanese and English depending on the register?

5) In comparison to English, are register parameters universal and affect English and Japanese in a similar way? If so, how?

Based on the previous research, we hypothesise the following:

1) There is a statistically significant difference in transitivity in different types of texts.

2) There is a statistically significant difference in the use of passive/active voice in different types of texts.

3) Based on the parameters set for distinguishing register types, we expect the register with a single addressor (the writer) and a single addressee to be the most subjective, and the register with an unidentified or institutional addressor and unenumerated addressee to be the most objective. We also expect the most objective register to contain the largest percentage of active clauses.

4) In comparison to English, Japanese is universally more subjective across all of the registers; however, we expect a difference in the number of passive clauses in favour of intransitive clauses across all registers.

5) Register parameters in the chosen register may be considered universal, at least in the context of Japanese and English registers. We presume that these parameters will affect English and Japanese equally, resulting in a varying degree of transitivity across the registers.

To answer the research questions above, we will utilise a quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis. In Chapter 2, we have explored various approaches to analysing discourse and found that in discourse analysis, both quantitative and qualitative research is common, and each presents a unique set of problems and limitations.

In the present thesis, we shall employ a corpus-based methodology. It has been argued that a corpus-based approach is limited, because it presents a large set of data, which are taken and analysed out of context. To combat this potential issue, we will supply the quantitative analysis with a qualitative one.

Before explaining each analysis method in detail, we shall introduce the theoretical basis we will build our analysis criteria upon. First, we consider subjectivity to also pertain to situations in which the conceptualiser is not physically present to conceptualise the objective content, in accordance with Ikegami's view. That allows for the analysis of written text such as fiction literature.

We assume that transitivity, as well as the preference for active or passive voice, reflects the speaker's tendency for objective and subjective expression. We further assume that the preference for a less or more agentive subject correlates with transitivity, which is also highlighted by Ikegami, Hopper & Thompson and others. We shall be focusing mainly on the subject to assess the degree of agentivity and discard other criteria, such as aspect or volitionality[26].

The quantitative analysis will be utilised to gain a basic understanding of the differences in transitivity in Japanese in various types of texts. The reason for focusing on Japanese and not English is that gathering quantitative data on transitivity in English proved very complicated. While Japanese verbs are mostly either anticausative or causative, many English verbs may be used both with and without an object, such as *break* or *open* (cf. the study of transitivity pairs presented in Section 3.1).

The quantitative analysis will focus on transitivity and active/passive voice in verbs. We will use The Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese or BCCWJ (NINJAL 2009) to collect and analyse the data. The data will be categorised based on

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[26] The reasons for this are twofold. First, as Tsunoda (1985) pointed out, not all of the criteria postulated by Hopper and Thompson (1980) are equally relevant. Second, as shown in Section 1.1, Ikegami considers the degree of agentivity to correlate with the degree of subjectivity.

the type of registers; the register category is available as a part of the data collected in BCCWJ.

The qualitative analysis will focus on transitivity and active and passive voice, as well as on the subject. The subjects will be categories based on several criteria (whether it is overtly expressed; whether it is the agent, whether it is animate, individuated and a human) and contextualized to see the link between the nature of the subject and the type of verb.

The texts chosen for the qualitative analysis will, for the most part, overlap with the registers included in the BCCWJ, however, some of them will differ to offer a larger variability of registers. This data will then be compared to an English translation or a similar type of text in English.

To help with a preliminary data collection, we will use UDPipe[27] (Straka 2018). UDPipe is capable of tagging and dependency parsing text both in English and Japanese; it allows to collect information on semantic roles and parts of speech within a sentence. A certain level of manual control is still necessary.

In order to examine the link between subjectivity and the register type, we shall utilise the framework proposed by Biber and Conrad (cf. Section 2.1) to categorise registers based on variables such as the addressor, the addressee and so on. We will introduce each register and its parameters in the corresponding section of the results.

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[27] Available online at http://lindat.mff.cuni.cz/services/udpipe/

5 Results

5.1 Quantitative analysis

The data used for the quantitative analysis was collected using BCCWJ. We selected the core data dating from 2000 to 2008, limited to five types of registers: books, newspaper articles, magazine articles, blog posts and internet discussion posts. The lemmas analysed were all verbs, including compound verbs, verbal nouns, and copula. The verbs were examined in terms of the ratio of transitive and intransitive verbs and active and passive voice.

The overall amount of data collected is represented in Table 1:

Table 1: *Number and percentage of token across registers*

register	tokens	percentage
books	31501	28%
newspaper articles	25074	22%
magazine articles	27152	24%
blog posts	12820	11%
interned discussion posts	15723	14%
total:	112270	100%

In Table 1, we can see that the amount of data is not distributed evenly across registers. The primary reason is that there is almost double the amount of data collected from books, magazine articles and newspaper articles (around 65 million words) than blog posts and internet discussion posts (together with other registers such as textbooks or law documents, it is around 35 million words in total). That corresponds to the

number of tokens collected for the analysis. Moreover, the number of tokens collected for books, newspaper articles and magazine articles are also proportionate to the amount of data included in the corpus. (丸山・秋元 2007)

5.1.1 Properties of the Registers

Before looking at more data to investigate transitivity and voice, let us look at the different registers included in BCCWJ. As previously stated, registers can be analysed on different levels of specificity. The five registers in BCCWJ are quite general. For example, the category of books includes not only works of fiction, but also non-fiction books pertaining to history, sociology, technology and so on. Newspapers include both national and regional papers. Magazines, blogs, and discussion also represent a wide variety of topics.

We shall discuss the potential differences between more specific registers pertaining different topics or genres such as fiction and non-fiction literature later in the qualitative analysis section; however, by performing a Chi Square Test of Independence on the distribution of transitivity and passive voice on two regional (*Chunichi shinbun*, *Hokkaidō shinbun*) and three national (*Mainichi shinbun*, *Yomiuri shinbun*, *Sankei shinbun*) showed that the platform and the type of newspaper does not play a significant role in the degree of transitivity (although the newspapers do differ slightly).

To consider potential differences among registers, we will utilise a framework based on that of Biber and Conrad (cf. Section 2.2) to evaluate each register. We will consider: 1) the nature of the participants (addressor, addressee, onlookers), 2) relationship between the participants, 3) channel of communication, 4) processing circumstances, 5) setting and factuality. Biber and Conrad's proposed situational characteristics

include more criteria than this. However, since the registers used here are quite general, not all of the characteristics are possible to define clearly.

BCCJW contains data from both fiction and non-fiction books. In fact, counting the number of characters, fiction makes up only 19% of all the literature. Fiction and non-fiction literature can be said to be aimed at different audience with different purposes, but there are some common characteristics.

Books are a written, printed media, and are not interactive. They are usually written by one or more specific (non-anonymous) writers, targeted to a general reader. There is generally a process of revision and edition, often by a third party, other than the writer(s). The writer and the reader do not share either time or space (the writer composes the book which the reader may access anytime, anywhere). It may also be considered private in a sense that there are no onlookers, and no interactions is happening.

As for factuality, this is where fiction and non-fiction books will differ. In non-fiction books, we may primarily encounter factual information or possibly a personal opinion. On the other hand, in fiction literature, imaginative fiction is probably more prevalent; also, it is possible to narrate a story from a third-person perspective or third-person perspective.

Newspaper articles are similar in that it is a written, printed medium (there are also online newspapers, but the data included in BCCWJ are collected from paper newspapers). There is a specific writer, and the text is directed to a general audience; there are also no onlookers. Like books, newspaper articles are not interactive; also, they can be revised by the author and edited.

The writer and the reader do not directly share a common time or space, however, due to the nature of the news report, there is a certain time frame of relevance of the

text (the reader is more likely to read the news when it is still relevant) and spatial relevance (in the case of regional news).[28] Lastly, news reports are not set in a public space and they commonly contain factual information.

Magazine articles share common characteristics with books and newspaper articles. Magazine articles included in BCCWJ are printed. They are generally written by a specific, non-anonymous writer; there are also no onlookers. They are also possible to revise and edit before publication.

Magazine articles can be considered non-interactive and set in non-public space. There is also no personal relationship between the writer and the reader. BCCWJ includes a variety of magazines ranging from specialized (for example, on economy, science and so on) and more general (focused on daily life topics and so on).

Depending on the magazine's scope, it may include factual information, writer's opinion, speculation or even fiction (in the case of literature magazines). Also, the author and the reader may or may not share a common space, if, similar to newspaper articles, there is a temporal relevance or a reference to a specific time.

Blog posts are a written, online medium. The writer is generally specific, an individual, possibly anonymous. The text is directed either to a general reader, or on occasion directly to a specific audience of a particular blog; because blogs enable the audience to interact with the author through comments, it may be considered interactive and set in a public space – there may be interaction between the readers of the article and the writer. Regarding the blog posts themselves, there are also no onlookers.

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[28] As Biber and Conrad (2019: 44) also propose that newspapers are a special case among written texts. For example, it is not uncommon for news reports to mention the day of the week or otherwise directly refer to a specific time, with the assumption that the reader will have the knowledge of that specific time.

Like books and articles, blog posts may be revised and edited. An interesting feature of an online blog post is that it may be edited retroactively; therefore, it is much more fluid than traditional printed media. Based on the topic of the blog, the communicative purposes may differ – factual information, personal opinions, speculations and imaginative fiction are all possible topics.

Among the five registers included here, **discussion posts** are possibly the most specific. There is also generally a specific writer, however, there is a common tendency for a participant in an online forum to remain anonymous, using some username rather than their actual name. In a discussion forum, the audience may be either the audience of a specific forum, or, in the case of a reply section, it may be targeted to another user as a reply or a reaction. In the case of a discussion with another user, there may be onlookers (other users). Online discussions are therefore interactive.

Production may be either done in real time, without editing, or the post may be revised by the writer. However, because the discussion usually happens in real time, the time scope for a revision is somewhat limited. The setting can be considered public (as an interaction of multiple participants which are simultaneously writers and readers[29]). The topics may vary, but we may consider discussions to mainly consist of opinions or factual information.

Based on the criteria listed below, there are major differences primarily between printed and online media. Apart from the topic of the texts, there are also other possibly important factors such as the degree of interaction between the writer and the reader.

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[29] There may also be participants whose only role is that of a reader, without contributing to the discussion – those would probably be considered onlookers.

Another criteria that may possibly prove influential are the public versus private setting, as well as the shared time and place.

5.1.2 Transitivity and Voice Across Registers

Next, we shall look at the distribution of intransitive and transitive verbs across all registers to see whether there is a significant difference as displayed in Table 2. Information on verb transitivity is not a feature of the corpus, so it was necessary to sort the data by hand. Simple verbs, compound verbs and phrasal verbs (verbal nouns + the verb *suru*, do). Transitive verbs include verbs in both active and passive voice.

Table 2: *Distribution of transitivity across registers*

register	intransitive	transitive	total
books	21468 (68%)	10033 (32%)	31501
newspaper articles	16118 (64%)	8956 (36%)	25074
magazine articles	17716 (65%)	9436 (35%)	27152
blog posts	9080 (71%)	3740 (29%)	12820
internet discussion posts	11414 (73%)	4309 (27%)	15723
total:	75796	36474	112270

To confirm the validity of the data, a Chi Square Test of Independence was performed to evaluate the significance of the relationship between transitivity and register type. The relationship between the variables was significant, $X^2 (4, N = 112270) = 438.01, p < .001$. (We use an alpha level of .05 for all tests.)

We may conclude that there is indeed a significant difference between registers in terms of distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs.

Looking at the data displayed above, there is a divide in the distribution between paper-based media (books, newspapers, and magazines) and web-based media (blog posts, internet discussion posts). There is a noticeably higher level of intransitive verbs present in both blog posts and internet articles. The distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs is also higher in books - significantly higher than in newspaper and magazine articles.

Next, we shall look at the distribution of active and passive voice across registers. In Table 3, we may see the number of tokens and percentage of active versus passive voice clauses in different registers:

Table 3: *Distribution of voice across registers*

register	active	passive	total
books	29623 (94%)	1878 (6%)	31501
newspaper articles	22196 (89%)	2878 (11%)	25074
magazine articles	25373 (93%)	1779 (7%)	27152
blog posts	12263 (96%)	557 (4%)	12820
internet discussion posts	15017 (96%)	706 (4%)	15723
total:	104472 (93%)	7798 (7%)	112270

To evaluate whether the variation is significant, we conducted the Chi Square Test of Independence again. The relationship between active/passive voice and the register type proved significant, $X^2 = (8, N = 111770) = 1872.84$, $p < .001$. The data suggests

that the usage of passive voice as opposed to active voice is relatively low, the percentage of passive voice clauses mostly does not rise above the 10% mark.

Among the five registers, newspaper articles include a noticeably higher number of passive clauses compared to other registers, particularly web-based media. Books and magazine articles contain a similar percentage of passive clauses.

Finally, we shall look at the overall ratio of intransitive – transitive/passive – transitive/active scale, as proposed by Ikegami. The ratio is displayed in Table 4 below.

Table 4: *Registers on the Ikegami's transitivity scale*

register	I	T-P	T-A
books	21468 (68%)	1878 (6%)	8155 (26%)
newspaper articles	16118 (64%)	2878 (11%)	6078 (24%)
magazine articles	17716 (65%)	1779 (7%)	7657 (28%)
blog posts	9080 (71%)	557 (4%)	3183 (25%)
internet discussion posts	11414 (73%)	706 (4%)	3603 (23%)
total:	75796 (68%)	7798 (7%)	28676 (26%)

Evaluating the above data from the subjectivity perspective, the register with the highest number of intransitive clauses (and taking into consideration the percentage of transitive passive clauses, we propose that interned discussion posts may be the most subjective of all the registers, with the highest number of intransitive clauses and also the lowest amount of transitive/active and transitive/passive clauses. On the other hand, we may consider magazine articles as the most transitive.

Looking at the nature of the corpora, we may propose a few possible links between their communicative characteristics and the degree of subjectivity. First, we have

stipulated that web-based media are different from print-based media. One of the possible factors might be the level of interactiveness, the nature of the addressee and communicative purposes.

First, we have argued that unlike print-based media, blogs and discussion allow for a certain level of interaction between the writer and the reader, which is also connected to the setting – specifically the shared time. In discussion posts, it is often possible to observe and react to other participants in real time, and delaying the answer may make the discussion not relevant anymore. Furthermore, the nature of blog posts allows for the writer to interact with readers both in comments and through the blog posts themselves.

Another possible factor to influence the level of subjectivity in blog posts and discussion posts is the topic. We propose that in blog posts and discussion posts, it is common for the writer to express their own opinion and/or experience; therefore, it is quite writer centric, in contrast to other type of media – for example, in a news report, it is not very common for the author to express their opinion.

On the other hand, the register with the lowest level of transitivity appears to be magazine articles. Considering the situational characteristics, we have set for the registers, magazine articles are not particularly different from newspapers or books. Because the data included a variety of articles from many different magazines, it is not very clear why are magazine articles more objective than books or newspapers.

One variable that may influence the subjectivity of books, magazines and newspapers may be the communicative purpose. Although literature makes up only 19% of the data included in books, it is possible for the author to assume a third person perspective (cf. Section 1.2.2, 1.3), which allows for third-person narrative to be subjective, even though the conceptualizer is not directly present at the scene.

Similarly, non-fiction books may involve explanations of external phenomena, not including the author in the conceptual substrate. If these phenomena are inanimate and *happening* rather than *doing* (imagine an explanation of a scientific phenomenon), that may account for the difference in subjectivity.

The conclusions drawn above are very broad, and, as mentioned before, the registers compared in this portion of the analysis are very broad and include a variety of sub-registers, which may possibly influence the results to some extent.

However, generally, we were able to confirm the first two research questions we have posed; there is a significant difference in transitivity and voice between registers. We have preliminary suggested the relationship between the writer and the reader, as well as the topic and the nature of the writer (how prominent are they portraying themselves in their texts) as possible factors.

In the next Section, we will examine different types of texts in more detail. The results of the quantitative analysis raised several questions – for example, is the difference between online-based registers and print-based registers influenced by the type of media, or other factors?

We shall attempt to answer these questions in the next section of the analysis.

5.2 Qualitative Analysis

For the quantitative analysis, we have selected a variety of texts to answer some questions that were raised during the quantitative analysis stage. Some of the texts can be categorized into a sub-category of the registers of BCCWJ, however, some registers were chosen to fit slightly different parameters.

The base amount of data for each category was at least 100 intransitive and 100 transitive verbs; although statistical data is not the core of this analyses, we decided to set the baseline so that a statistical confirmation of validity of the data is still possible.

We further chose the length of the texts depending on the variability of the content – especially in newspaper articles, where we wanted to observe the differences in types of articles, and in online review posts, since the topic was quite specific.

As the goal of the quantitative analysis, we want to answer some of the research questions posed in the methodology/hypothesis section: which register is most subjective and least subjective in both languages; if Japanese is universally more subjective than English; if the parameters of the registers affect both languages in the same way (increase or decrease in subjectivity).

Furthermore, we will focus in specific ways the characteristics of each register influences both languages, and how specifically it manifests.

5.2.1 Printed Fiction Literature

For the first register, we have chosen printed fiction literature – a contemporary literary fiction written in Japanese and its English translation, and a short story from a science fiction short story collection written in English and its Japanese translation. We have decided to expand the selection of fictional works analysed for transitivity and specifically chose one work that is not within the literary fiction genre.

The first text (**Text A**) is Convenience Store Woman (コンビニ人間, *Konbini ningen*, in original Japanese), written by Murata Sayaka (村田沙耶香) and translated to English by Ginny Tapley Takemori. The original was published in 2018, as well as the translation.

The second text (**Text B**) is Story of Your Life (あなたの人生の物語, *Anata no jinsei no monogatari* in translation) from the short story collection Stories of Your Life and Others (Japanese title is the same as the story title), translated into Japanese by Asakura Hisashi (浅倉久志) et al. Both the original and the translation were published in 2014.

First, let us look at the distribution of intransitive, transitive/passive and transitive/active clauses to see whether the distribution in those texts is similar to the result we obtained from the corpus data. The overall distribution in both texts is shown in the Table 5 below:

Table 5: *Distribution of transitivity/voice in literary texts*

text	language	intransitive	transitive	passive	total
Text A	**Japanese**	280 (56%)	193 (39%)	28 (6%)	501
	English	207 (44%)	245 (52%)	15 (3%)	467
Text B	**Japanese**	291 (51%)	246 (43%)	32 (6%)	596
	English	221 (44%)	255 (51%)	22 (4%)	498

While the percentage of transitive/passive clauses is the same, the proportion of transitive and intransitive verbs in Japanese is, compared to the data collected from the "books" register in BCCWJ, significantly smaller. The amount of data and specifically the number of lemmas collected is obviously limited in comparison to BCCWJ data, and the nature of the texts may also play a role.

Another potential issue may be the difference between Japanese data from Text A and Text B. We attempted to test the independence of the data using the Chi Square

Test. The results indicate that the difference between the Japanese versions of Text A and Text B do not differ significantly, X^2 (1, N=1071) = 2.3015, p = .13.

Again, there may be various factors contributing to this disparity. One such factor may be that one of the data comes from a translated text. However, we would like to propose another potential explanation; as Luk (2014) pointed out, low transitivity clauses tend to include an intransitive verb in Japanese and a transitive verb in English, and there is much less variation in high transitivity clauses.

If the text B includes more high transitivity clauses than text A, it may account for the difference in Japanese. Meanwhile, the fact that English prefers transitive verbs in low transitivity clauses may explain why there is a smaller difference between the English texts.

To test this hypothesis, we will analyse each text and compare the Japanese and the English version. First, we will attempt to categorise each text based on the register situational characteristics and consider other factors that are specific for fiction literature. The characteristics of both texts may be seen in Table 6:

Table 6: *Situational characteristics of the two literary texts*

	Convenience Store Woman	**Story of Your Life**
addressor	writer (specific); female	writer (specific); male
narrator	1st person; female	1st person; female
addressee	reader; general audience	reader; general audience
interactiveness	non-interactive	non-interactive
mode	writing	writing
medium	print	print
production	revised & edited	revised & edited

time and space	not shared	not shared
place	private	private
purpose	narration	narration
factuality	fiction	fiction
topic	*workplace*	*science/academic*

Most of the characteristics are shared, apart from two details: the sex of the author and the topic. Both books are written from a first-person perspective and follow a female main character; however, while the protagonist of Convenience Store Woman narrates her daily life and work in the convenience store, the heroine of the Story of Your Life narrates the process of the decoding of an alien language, which also includes some linguistic concepts.

Moreover, in the Convenience Store Woman, the main character describes mostly her life and her experiences, as well as description of her environment. On the other hand, the protagonist of the Story of Your Life is more focused on external factors, specifically on her daughter, whom she refers to in second person singular, and the actions of the aliens, as well as her own actions.

Now, let us look at how does transitivity, agentivity and voice manifest in both texts. There are a few general tendencies we were able to observe pertaining to transitivity, use of personal pronouns, the link between transitivity and the agent, and the difference in passive/active clause ratio between English and Japanese.

We shall start with the disparity in the distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs. It has been established that Japanese tends to prefer intransitive verbs over transitive. Surveying the two texts, it is indeed the case – considering the disparity in transitivity

between English and Japanese versions, it was often the case that Japanese would show preference for intransitive verb over transitive, in contrast to English.

Some of those examples are shown in Table 7 below:

Table 7: *Subjectivity/objectivity in Japanese and English texts*

Text A:	
Japanese:	**English**:
案の定、缶コーヒーを片手に持ち、もう片方の手をポケットに突っ込んだままレジに**近付いている**男性が<u>いた</u>。	And yes: as I'd thought, a man with a can of coffee in one hand, the other hand in his pocket, is **approaching** the till.
小学校のころのようなトラブルは**起きなかった**が、そのままでは社会に出られないと、母も父も心配した。	I never **repeated** the kind of trouble I'd caused in primary school, but still my parents worried that I wouldn't survive in the real world.
自分はまた何か悪いことをしてしまったらしいが、どうしてなのかは、**わからなかった**。	It seemed I'd done something wrong again, but I couldn't for the life of me **understand** what was the problem.
Text B:	
Japanese:	English:
そこの廊下で彼らが待ち受けているのが目に**とまった**。	I **spotted** them waiting in the hallway, outside my office.
あなたが十二歳のとき、自分の出自に関してあるシナリオを口にするのが心に**浮かぶ**。	I **remember** the scenario of your origin you'll suggest when you're twelve.
奇妙な二人組**だった**。	They **made** an odd couple…

The examples above show some of the many instances in which Japanese prefers intransitive verb over transitive, in contrast to English. These examples would confirm that Japanese tends to choose a more subjective construal than English.

If we consider the examples above and focus on other factors contributing to the degree of transitivity (and therefore the degree of subjectivity), we may notice that most of the examples above (which are representative of most of similar examples in both texts) are somewhat influenced by the nature of the subject, or specifically the tendency for English to choose human subject that are agents over non-human or inanimate subject. Let's see additional examples:

(21)   a. … 職員会議に**なって**母が呼ばれた。

              b. They **held** a teacher's meeting, and my mother was called to the school.

              c. …どちらの家も知らないひとたち<u>のもの</u>に**なって**しまう。

              d. I'll live to **see** strangers **occupy** both houses…

In English, the subject is in both cases human and animate and a transitive construction is preferred to foreground it. In both cases, the subject is first person singular. On the other hand, because it is common in Japanese to drop previously established topic (such as a first-person pronoun marked by the topic particle *wa*), it allows for the narrator to be backgrounded and foreground new information instead.

Note that in (21a), the subject is an inanimate continuum (meeting), while in in (21c), the whole structure of the sentence changes – in the English sentence, there is a main clause with the subject *I* and a subordinate clause with the subject *strangers*. In the

Japanese translation, the main clause, *I'll live*, is left out, as well as the verb *see*, whose subject is also the *I*.

Instead, the subject is the two houses, and the predicate is an intransitive verb *naru*; instead of **strangers** *occupying* the houses, the houses **become** a thing of unknown people, literally translated. The Japanese sentence is stripped of any agency and all the human, animate individuum, *I*, and instead, the inanimate *houses* are in the subject position.

It appears that in fiction, there is a strong tendency for Japanese to background the subject of cognition (here the author manifesting as the narrator), while English readily foregrounds the narrator and often prefers the subject to be first person pronoun.

The question is the link between the tendency to foreground or background the subject of conception (or any animate agent) and transitivity. It appears that there are very few, very rare but interesting instances in which Japanese shows preference for transitive construction over intransitive construction. Two examples may be observed below in (22):

(22)   a. 素早く店内を移動してレジカウンターの中に**身体をすべりこませ**、客を待たせないように中に立って待機する。

b. I quickly move through the store, **slide** behind the counter, and stand at the ready so as not to keep him waiting.

c. 引っ越しをするとき…

d. When we **move out**…

We have also noticed an interesting trend that would confirm the results of Luk's (2014) analysis (cf. Section 3.1). In case the construction is close to the transitivity

prototype (the subject is the agent of the clause and carries a one-time action to the object, which is affected by it), both Japanese and English prefer a transitive construction.

However, it is important to mention that the preferred mode of expression does not always come into play. There are also plenty of instances where the degree of transitivity is the same in both instances (even though the meaning of the verb may differ).

Examples may be observed below in (23):

(23)   a. コンビニエンスストアは、音で満ちている。

               b. A convenience store is a world of sound.

               c. …"それら"の一体が**出現**すると、わたしは**ぎょっとしてしま**った。

               d. Even so I **jumped** when one of them **entered**.

Both books are written from the first-person perspective and the use of personal pronouns, especially first-person pronouns in the subject position, is very frequent. However, going back to the examples of disparity in transitivity and taking the Japanese showing preference for inanimate subject as opposed to English into account, there is a noticeable gap between Japanese and English in the use of personal pronouns as well.

In both texts, there is around five times more personal pronouns in English than there is in Japanese. This particularly concerns the first-person pronouns (in both Text A and Text B) and second person pronouns (particularly Text B).

Lastly, we shall briefly comment on the distribution of the passive voice in both texts. Passive voice is clearly used more often in Japanese than it is in English. There

are several cases such as this: either the English prefers to express the same meaning through a noun or an adjective, see (24a) to (24d), or there is a preference for an active transitive (24c), (24d) or intransitive verb (24e), (24f).

(24)　　　a. 記録されたその音声は、なにやら、ずぶぬれになった犬が身をぶるっとやって体から水をふりはらおうとしているところを思わせた。

　　　b. The **recording** sounded vaguely like that of a wet dog shaking the water out of its fur.

　　　c. 店の中には、私と同じように採用されたアルバイトたちが集まっていた。

　　　d. There were some other **new** employees gathered inside…

　　　e. 小鳥は、「立ち入り禁止」と書かれたさく柵の中に穴を掘って埋められ、誰かがゴミ箱から拾ってきたアイスの棒が土の上に刺されて、花の死体が大量に供えられた。

　　　f. We buried the bird in a hole dug on the other side of a fence with a sign that **said** KEEP OUT and placed the flower corpses on top of it.

In other cases, both Japanese and English utilize the passive voice, such as in the two examples below:

(25)　　　a. 「これが録音された際の状況はどういうもの？」

　　　b. "What was the context in which this recording was **made**?"

　　　c. 事前にヴィデオテープで見せられていたというのに、わたしは呆然と見とれていた。

　　　d. I'd been shown videotapes, but I still gawked.

To conclude, we have identified a couple of factors that may contribute to the difference between literary texts and other registers. We have specifically examined texts written in first-person perspective, which was the reason for a relatively large number of personal pronouns, particularly first-person pronouns.

However, because it is possible in Japanese to leave the theme unexpressed and appears to background the human element in favor of an inanimate object and so on, the number of personal pronouns is much smaller in Japanese texts than in English texts.

5.2.2 Online Newspaper Articles

The second register we will focus on are online newspaper articles. In the quantitative analysis section, data indicated that newspaper articles were least subjective out of the five registers and that there was the highest percentage of passive voice. Like books, newspaper articles are a very broad category. There may be different rubrics in a newspaper. Therefore, we selected five texts of various topics to examine the difference between rubrics.

To further narrow down the selection, we narrowed our focus down to articles in *Mainichi shinbun* and its English variant, The Mainichi. *Mainichi shinbun* is also included in the BCCWJ and since there were no significant differences between the newspapers, we may consider the data as a benchmark to test the differences.

One of the questions that was raised in the quantitative analysis section was whether the medium influences the level of subjectivity among different texts. We propose that

in the case of newspaper articles, particularly in the case of online articles in *Mainichi shinbun*, there will be no influence.

The reason is that considering the online newspaper register characteristics and compare them with the other web-based media in BCCWJ, the possible factor that may play a role, the level of interactiveness, is similar to that of the print-based newspaper register. The reason is that in *Mainichi shinbun*, there is not an option to comment or otherwise react to individual articles (unlike in the case of blog posts or internet discussion forums).

The distribution of intransitive, transitive/passive and transitive/active constructions is shown in Table 8 below:

Table 8: *Distribution of transitivity/voice in newspaper articles*

	intransitive	transitive/passive	transitive/active	total:
Japanese	137 (48%)	24 (8%)	122 (43%)	283
English	102 (34%)	52 (17%)	150 (49%)	304

There is a noticeable difference between Japanese and English newspaper articles. The most glaring difference is the number of verbs. Previously, we have shown that there are instances in which English prefers to use a noun or an adjective where there would be a verb in Japanese.

However, in the analysed newspaper articles, there are two major factors contributing to the relative increase in the number of verbs in English. The first factor is the translation itself. There are instances in which the English translation is simply longer than the Japanese original, such as in (26). Apart from such instances (which are very few), the more common reason for the disparity is that in Japanese, sentences in

many cases end with a noun rather than a (verbal or adjectival) predicate, which may also be observed in (26b).

(26)　　　a. 「黒い服を着ると暑さが増す」というのは定説になっているが、近年、暑さを増すのは黒だけではないことが分かってきた。

　　　　b. It's a common bit of summer wisdom that you'll get even hotter in the sun if you dress in black. But as temperatures have continued their upwards march in recent years, it's been noticed that it's not just black that can get you feeling hot under the collar.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Text 5

　　　　c. 滝口さんは… 自然と共生するアイヌ民族の暮らしを英語で解説。

　　　　d. Continuing the test tour through the woods, Takiguchi <u>explained</u> in English about the Ainu's lifestyle in coexistence with nature...

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Text 1

Now, we shall briefly touch upon the differences between each text, to see which ones are closer to the BCCWJ data and which ones are less typical. In the Table 9 below, we divide the five texts into three groups based on their situational characteristics:

Table 9: *Situational characterstics of selected newspaper articles*

	Text 1, 3	**Text 2, 4**	**Text 5**
addressor	specific author	specific author	specific author
addressee	general reader	general reader	general reader
interactiveness	non-interactive	non-interactive	non-interactive
mode	written	written	written

medium	online	online	online
production	revised and edited	revised and edited	revised and edited
time and space	shared	shared	shared
place	private	private	private
purpose	report news	report news	inform
factuality	factual	factual	factual
topic	general news	national news	inform

We may see that while most of the characteristics are the same, there are a few differences between each group (and also between each article). Texts 1 and 3 deal with a report about a relatively general topic (a test run of a tour and a boom of board games among high schoolers, respectively). There is a minor difference between the two texts – one of them is less time sensitive (Text 3) than the other (Text 1), since one reports an event and the other a developing trend.

On the other hand, Texts 2 and 4 cover national news (a suspension of flyer distribution and paper plagiarism by a Japanese scientist). The difference between these two texts is that Text 2 includes a quotation of a town mayor, while Text 4 only includes a report without a third party's statement.

Finally, Text 5 is different from all the other texts in that it does not cover a recent event or a trend, but rather is a reaction to the period in which it was published (the article deals with the color of clothing and its effect on absorbing the heat from the sun). Based on the groups above, we expected that Text 2 and Text 4 would be the closest to a typical news report, while Text 1 and Text 5 would be closer to the magazine articles register.

Looking closely at each text and its English translation showed that Text 2 and Text 4 were the most objective ones (with the highest rate of transitive constructions), which would support the initial assumption that this group would be the closest to the newspaper register.

However, in Japanese, there is a major difference between Text 2 and Text 4. It is interesting that in Text 4, there is a similar phenomenon that was also found in the Terms of Service register (cf. Section 5.1.5). In both languages, there is a higher volume of transitive (active) constructions than intransitive constructions.

To further examine the differences between Japanese and English and between the different text, we will present concrete examples. Let us start with Text 2. While we have discussed the tendency for Japanese to prefer intransitive to transitive passive constructions, in Text 2, in most cases, transitive/passive constructions in English correspond to transitive/active constructions in Japanese:

(27)　　　　a. 妊娠7カ月の妊婦を対象に2018年4月から年間約600枚を郵送している。

　　　　　　b. About 600 of the flyers per year had been mailed out to expectant mothers in their seventh month of pregnancy starting from April 2018.　　Text 2

　　　　c. 物体に**反射されなかった**エネルギーは**吸収されて**熱に変わる。

　　　　　　d. The radiant energy that **isn't reflected** is **absorbed** and becomes heat…　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Text 5

In (27a), there is an agent (not a human individuum, but an institution, specifically the city of Onomichi in this case) in the position of subject that carries a volitional action over to the object (flyers). In English, see (27b), the agent is backgrounded instead.

This is quite different from all the other texts, where in majority of cases, such as in (27c), (27d), there is either a corresponding transitive/passive construction, or a sentence ending with a noun in Japanese, as previously discussed.

Next, we will focus on Text 4, which is the only text in which the rate of transitive/active construction surpasses that of intransitive constructions in Japanese. The text itself reports about the doctoring in paper by a university professor; most of the text describes the actions of the professor with a high degree of transitivity.

However, while the text deals with a similar topic, the structure of the English translation differs from the Japanese original. To compare, consider the opening sentences of the article in (28):

(28)   a. 山口大大学院医学系研究科の<u>男性教授が</u> 2001〜22 年に共同研究者と連名で**執筆した**論文 6 本に、実験結果の画像データを**加工した**ような痕跡が**見つかり**、捏造や改ざんなどの研究不正の疑いが**ある**ことが大学関係者への取材で**判明した**。

        b. Suspicions of misconduct that could **include** fabrication and falsification of research data **have emerged** in connection with six papers jointly **authored** by a professor in the Graduate School of Medicine at Yamaguchi University, a university source **has disclosed**.

We may notice that in (28a) and (28b), there are differences in transitivity and voice. The Japanese original consists of 3 intransitive and 2 transitive verbs. The main clause in English involves a transitive verb, while the predicate of the main clause in the original is intransitive (with the subject being *koto*, thing).

However, in the sections with high transitivity clauses, there seem to be a preference in Japanese for an animate subject, as opposed to foregrounding the object by passivization.

The overall results indicate that, first, the texts selected for this chapter are different from the data included in BCCWJ, although the newspaper articles in BCCWJ also proved to be comparatively the most objective. Based on the examples presented above, we conclude that the reason may be that the texts are related to more general topics and/or include actions performed by human agents (that are distinct from the writer) compared to, for example, the books we analysed in the previous Section.

We have also suggested that there may be differences among the articles we selected for this analysis. Although the amount of data is limited and further research is warranted, we propose that since the newspaper article register is quite general, there might be various sub-registers that might show a significant difference in the level of subjectivity.

5.2.3 Online Magazine Articles

Next, we will examine magazine articles, specifically magazine pop-science articles from National Geographic in English and Japanese versions. We chose three articles at random that were available in both languages (English was the original language). In BCCWJ, the magazine articles register is very broad, similar to books; there are multiple types of magazines available, and the topics range from science or economy to lifestyle. Therefore, this time, we chose a more specific register.

The situational characteristics of the register are shown in Table 10 below:

Table 10: *Situational characteristics of pop science magazine articles*

	National Geographic pop science articles register
addressor	author (specific)
addressee	general reader
interactiveness	non-interactive
mode	written
medium	online
production	revised and edited
time and space	shared
place	private
purpose	inform, explain
factuality	factual
topic	specific: pop science

We may consider the shared temporal domain as a specific feature of this sub-register. Because the topic is related to science, new articles often pertain to recent discoveries. This is a characteristic that may also be present in other types of magazines, and that is shared with newspaper articles as well. (For example, *Mainichi shinbun* also has a science rubric.)

After examining the chosen articles for intransitive, transitive/active and transitive/passive constructions, we have noticed some interesting tendencies for this register. The data are presented below in Table 29:

Table 11: *Distribution of transitivity and voice in magazine articles*

	intransitive	**transitive/passive**	**transitive/active**	**total**
Japanese	334 (57%)	63 (11%)	192 (33%)	589
English	211 (39%)	65 (12%)	263 (49%)	539

We may notice that, in comparison to the BCCWJ magazine articles data, the analysed articles are considerably more objective than the articles included in the corpora. There may be several reasons for this, one of which could possibly be the nature of the articles; if BCCWJ contains magazines on various topics, perhaps other types of magazines than scientific are more subjective and therefore influence the average of the data.

Another explanation may be the topic itself – the articles proved to be very similar to those we collected for our newspaper analysis in that, along with an explanation of a phenomenon, there are also informants referenced who provide their own statements, which are directly quoted in both texts.

In (29), we may observe a common phenomenon we also noticed in other texts: in English, there is a tendency to prefer an animate, human subject; in contrast, Japanese tends to background the same subject.

(29)   a. 世界で最も多くの海洋ごみが漂う太平洋ゴミベルトが、多くの海洋生物のすみかになっている**ことが明らかになった**。

     b. By analyzing samples taken during a record-setting swim from Hawaii to California, scientists **have discovered** the Great Pacific Garbage Patch—the biggest cluster of floating marine debris in the world—is teeming with life.

c. 内分泌疾患が**見逃される**ようなことは当然あっては**なりません**が、…

d. Of course, I wouldn't **want** anyone to **miss** an endocrine disease…

The preference for a human subject is not only due to the preference of Japanese speakers for subjective expressions but is also influenced by the content of the articles. A major portion of each text is dedicated to not only describing an action of a human agent, but there are also many quotes from informants, in which case, both Japanese and English seem to prefer to place the informant as the subject.

However, there still are a few cases which diverge from the expected model of Japanese version being more subjective, as seen in (30):

(30)　　　a. 2019 年、ルコント氏は 80 日かけて 626 キロを**泳ぎ切り**、ゴミベルト横断遠泳の世界最長記録としてギネスブックに**登録された**が、このときに調査も行われていた。

b. Ben Lecomte, who **swam** from Japan to Hawaii in 2018 during an attempt to **become** the first person to swim across the Pacific Ocean—a goal that was thwarted when a typhoon damaged his support vessel.

c. それでも、噂や目撃事例は後を**絶たなかった**。

d. Still, rumors and sightings **persisted**…

Although the percentage of transitive/active constructions in English again surpasses the percentage of those constructions in Japanese, the analysed register diverges from the BCCWJ data, but also that there are many common points with newspaper articles – at least the ones we have chosen for our analysis.

There may be a sort of scale of more subjective to less subjective texts that are temporally limited and aim to inform the reader. A factor we have not considered so far that may play a role is the level of formality of the two registers; in pop science articles, it is more common for the author to directly engage with the reader.

Although the sample size is relatively small, we conclude that, since out of the three texts, Text 1 is referencing the reader in second person in English and is either left implicit or referenced by *jibun,* self, in Japanese. The writer may therefore be considered to directly engage with the reader.

Text 1 did, in fact, prove the most objective in Japanese, but not in English. There may be interesting implications, however, this analysis provides a rather basic overview and further research would be necessary.

5.2.4 Online Review Posts

In the quantitative analysis sections, we have covered two web-based media – internet blog posts and internet discussion posts on Yahoo!知恵袋. We categorized these two registers as interactional with a shared time and space between the writer and the reader.

Both were significantly more subjective than all the other registers. For our qualitative analysis, we have decided to choose a similar medium with slightly different properties than blog posts and discussion posts – internet review posts.

Specifically, we will be examining user reviews of books on GoodReads for English and ブクログ (*bukurogu*, Booklog) for Japanese. Both of those websites allow the user to access a specific book and to post a review. The reviews may be of various length and there is also an option to post a comment to another user's review.

First, we will examine the characteristics of internet user book review posts:

Table 12: *Situational characterstics of user books review posts:*

	internet user's book review posts
addressor	a specific writer (mostly anonymous)
addressee	other readers
interactiveness	somewhat interactive
mode	writing
medium	online
production	revised and edited
time and space	may be shared
place	public
purpose	express opinion
factuality	opinion
topic	specific – opinions and impressions of the reader

On top of the features shown above, review posts share some other characteristics with both blog posts and discussion posts, depending on the reviewer. Some book reviews were structured like a blog post and had similar length (above 1000 characters); some posts were short and only contained one sentence.

We assume that the level of subjectivity will be similar to that of blog posts or discussion posts, since the topic of reviews is the author's opinions, impressions, or feelings rather than factual information like in books or magazine articles.

The overall distribution of intransitive, transitive/passive and transitive/active clauses is shown in Table 13:

Table 13: *Distribution of transitivity/voice in book reviews*

	intransitive	**transitive/passive**	**transitive/active**	**total**
Japanese	525 (72%)	60 (8%)	138 (19%)	732
English	222 (33%)	137 (20%)	321 (47%)	680

Contrasting Japanese data with those we obtained through BCCWJ, it seems that the overall distribution of transitivity and voice across registers is similar to that of blog posts and discussion articles.

The percentage of intransitive constructions falls in the middle of the two registers. To present specific examples, the most common predicates are the verbs of existence and copula, such as in (31a) and (31b), or verbs denoting feelings or thoughts, such as in (31c) or (31d).

(31) a. 色々な気づきが**ある**から、また読みたいなと思う本**だった**。

b. … 初読みの作家さんであり今後も上梓が楽しみ**である**。

c. 僕はこの作品を読んで、上記に上げた全てがバランスよく詰まった作品だと**感じた**。

d. 犯人の人物でさえ個人的には、動機の部分で共鳴できる気持ちが**あった**。

That is quite similar to English, however, the most common verb in English is *have* (32a), followed by *read* (32b). *Read* also appears frequently in Japanese, but is far less common than *be*, (32c) or *feel* (32d), which, in turn, is less common in English. (All of those are lemmas that appear most frequently.)

(32)   a. I think as a species, we **have** a desire to believe that we're living at the climax of the story.

b. I **read** this because everyone was comparing it to Sally Rooney, which I guess is appealing to me.

c. so i **am** absolutely baffled by the hype the book is receiving and the continuous comprison of the authors.[30]

d. Some people have commented on it being a long book, but 400 pages isn't all that long. It **feels** much longer.

Observing these examples, we may notice another phenomenon that was commented on before – the tendency in English to foreground the human agent especially in low transitivity constructions. On the other hand, in Japanese, there is a tendency for backgrounding the human subject, such as in (31a) and (31b).

As a side note, there are also some cases which were already observed by Ikegami – there are many constructions with the verb *have* in English and *aru* in Japanese:

(33)   a. 良いところが**ある**のは分かっているのにね。

b. Rooney **has** this way of bothering me.

c. … どんなに感じの良い人でも、愛せる部分もあればそうじゃない部分も必ず**ある**。

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d. Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow **has** a well-earned place on my all-time favorites shelf.

The difference also lies in the distribution of active and passive voice – in Japanese reviews, passive voice seems to be twice as frequent. Similarly, in English reviews, there also seems to be a high number of passive constructions. Some of the most representative examples are in (34) below:

(34)　　　　a. 安易に**使われる**"伏線"という言葉があまり好きではないのだが、緻密に**練られた**二部構成のプロットはよくできている。
　　　　　　b. 小学校時代のエピソードも挟みながら、中 2 から高 3 までの成瀬の様々な挑戦、周囲との関わりが温かな眼差しで**描かれています**。
　　　　　　c. 確実に 2 度読み返したくなる、読み返さずにはいられない、そのくらい何度も**裏切られる**ミステリー作品！
　　　　　　d. … I could **be glued** to the pages of a story about a topic that typically bores me to tears!
　　　　　　e. … I **was lured** in by some of the early starred reviews that promised I would be enchanted by this book.

Although the amount of passive voice is very high in both English and Japanese, there seems to be a different reason for the preference for the passive voice over the active voice. In Japanese, there is either the result of the structure of the language or the tendency for an inanimate, non-agent subject as opposed to a human agent.

On the other hand, in the English examples, there is a clear preference for the human individuum to be foregrounded, even though it is the patient. This is also a tendency we have observed before, and it is not limited only to the writer of the review:

(35)　　　a. エピソードごとに学年が進み、進路を異にしても 2 人は緩やかに繋がっていたり、第三者の目線から 2 人のことが描かれたりします。

　　　　　b. As the author **described** the heat, the hostility, and the beauty - I could feel and imagine it all.

To conclude, we have discovered that in comparison to blog posts and internet discussion posts, user book reviews might be considered a specific register; its important feature may be the high percentage of passive voice both in English and in Japanese. Other than that, user reviews proved to be the most subjective out of all the registers analysed in the qualitative section.

This may be due to the scope of the register – author's feelings or opinions (including what was *done* to the author by the story) in English, and the tendency to background human subject (most often the author) in Japanese. This is similar to books, however, not all fiction novels are written in the first-person perspective, which may account for the lower subjectivity in books we observed.

5.2.5 Online Terms of Service

The final register we chose for the qualitative analysis is Terms of Service (also Terms of Use; 利用規約, *riyō kiyaku* in Japanese). The reason for choosing this type

of text is that there are major differences from all the other registers we have presented thus far. First, let us examine the characteristics of Terms of Service:

Table 14: *Situation characteristics of Terms of Service*

	Terms of Service
addressor	institutional
addressee	specific: customer
interactiveness	non-interactive
mode	writing
medium	website
production	revised and edited (*retroactively)
time and space	shared
place	private
purpose	inform customer and set legal bases for use of a product
factuality	factual
topic	specific: law, technology

Terms of Service are very specific for various reasons, the main ones being the addressor and the addressee, production, time and space, purpose and topic factors. Terms of Use are generally addressed to a specified reader (a customer using a product such as social media website) by an institution type of entity (the social media company). They may be revised and edited; however, they are often regularly updated; that also contributes to the fact that there may be a shared time and space between the author(s) and the reader.

Furthermore, the purpose and the topic of the Terms of service (TOS) registers are very specific. In this case, we will be analyzing the TOS of social media websites. Because of the specificity of the register, we chose two TOS texts for the analysis: Japanese Terms of Use of Yahoo website and English Terms of Service of Twitter. Furthermore, to compare the two, we also considered the translation of the Japanese TOS, however, since the translation was incomplete (only half of the text was translated), we will be comparing the TOS of two different websites.

In Table 15 below, we show the ratio of intransitive, transitive/passive and transitive/active clauses in Yahoo and Twitter TOS:

Table 15: *Distribution of transitivity and voice in TOS*

	intransitive	transitive/passive	transitive/active	total:
Yahoo (JP)	136 (24%)	46 (8%)	378 (68%)	560
Twitter (AJ)	37 (8%)	90 (19%)	353 (74%)	480

We may notice that, in contrast to all the other registers, there is a preference, in both languages, for transitive/active constructions. Japanese then seems to favor intransitive construction to transitive/passive constructions, while in English, there is almost double the number of transitive/passive constructions than intransitive constructions.

To confirm that there is a significant difference between English and Japanese, we conducted Fisher Exact Test; the results indicate that the registers differ significantly ($p < .001$).

We may deduce that overall, this register's degree of transitivity is high, and the degree of subjectivity is low. This becomes apparent as we survey the type of subject

common in the two texts. First, both in Yahoo TOS and Twitter TOS, the subject is in more than half of the cases either the addressor (*we* or 当社, *tōsha*, this company).

If the subject is the addressor or the addressee, the predicate is often a transitive verb in active denoting an (often volitional) action taken by either the company or the customer; in some cases, it is also actions that must or cannot be taken by the customer as well.

Some of the examples may be seen below:

(36)   a. 当社は、提供するサービスを適正に運営するために、以下の場合にはあらかじめ通知することなく、データやコンテンツを削除したり、サービスの全部または一部の利用をお断りしたり、お客様のIDを削除したりするといった措置を講じることができるものとします。

    b. お客様が当社が提供する API を使用してソフトウエアを開発する場合には、「クレジット表示ガイドライン」と「クレジット配置ルール」を順守しなければなりません。

    c. You **understand** that we may **modify** or **adapt** your Content as it is distributed, syndicated, published, or broadcast by us and our partners and/or **make changes** to your Content in order to **adapt** the Content to different media.

    d. By **continuing** to **access** or **use** the Services after those revisions become effective, you **agree** to be bound by the revised Terms.

The majority of animate subjects are bound to clauses in active voice, rather than passive voice. In passive voice clauses, majority of the subjects are generally inanimate in both languages:

(37)　　　　a. 本利用規約の規定がお客様との本利用規約に基づく契約に**適用される**関連法令に反すると**される**場合、当該規定は、その限りにおいて、当該お客様との契約には**適用されない**ものとします。

　　　　　　b. ソフトウエアのご利用にあたっては、以下の<u>行為</u>が**禁止され**ます。

　　　　　　c. If you believe that your <u>Content</u> **has been copied** in a way that constitutes copyright infringement, please report this by visiting our Copyright reporting form…

　　　　　　d. Certain <u>services or features</u> **may be offered** on Twitter for which additional terms and conditions may apply in connection with your use of those services.

In terms of the disparity between the percentage of passive clauses in Japanese and English, one of the reasons is that there is a tendency in English to use a verb in past participle to modify a noun, such as in (38).

(37)　　　　Who May Use the Services You may use the Services only if you agree to form a binding contract with us and are not a <u>person</u> **barred** from receiving services under the laws of the applicable jurisdiction.

To get a better idea of in which exact contexts Japanese prefers intransitive construction over transitive/passive construction, we focused on the context in which intransitive verbs appear in Japanese. To be able to see the difference in the specified context, we referenced the Yahoo TOS English translation.

Let us examine the following examples:

(38)   a. お客様を特定する所定の認証方法…によりログインされた場合には、当社は、当該**お客様ご自身によるご利用である**とみなします。

b. We deem that a login using a prescribed authentication method that identifies a customer … is **used by the said customer** him/herself.

c. 当社のサービスのご利用に際しては以下に定める<u>行為</u>（それらを誘発する行為や準備行為も含みます）を**禁止いたします**。

d. When using our services, the following <u>acts</u> (including actions that cause such an act, and actions taken in preparation to commit such an act) **are prohibited**.

In both (38a) and (38b) is the subject of the main clause the company, however, it is overtly expressed only in (38b). Meanwhile, the highlighted part is that of a subordinate clause in both clauses. However, while English shows preference for a transitive voice is passive (*used*), in (38a), the verb is intransitive and existential. There is a clear difference in volitionality – the English translation denotes that the agent volitionally uses the service, even though it is not a subject.

It is also interesting to see that in (38c), there is a clear difference between Japanese showing preference for an animate agent (the company) as a subject, even though it is not overtly expressed, while English places an inanimate continuum as a subject.

Although this contradicts to the reported overall tendency for Japanese to prefer intransitive constructions over transitive constructions, the specific context of the register may play a role, as well as the tendency of Japanese to utilize passive constructions less than active constructions compared to English. That tendency has manifested across all registers in some capacity.

For example, in the Yahoo TOS, 禁止する (*kinshi suru*; to prohibit) appeared three times, two of which were in active voice; in Twitter TOS, the verb *prohibit* appeared twice and in both cases was in the past participle form. [31]

To conclude, we have shown that the TOS register differs in that the majority of construction are transitive in both languages; however, there is still a tendency for Japanese to prefer more subjective mode of expression in comparison to English – there is fewer uses of transitive/active constructions and transitive/passive constructions overall.

At the same time, due to the nature and the narrow focus of the register, there is a preference for an animate agent - the addressor or the addressee. The disparity in voice in both languages also shows that there is a tendency for Japanese to prefer active voice over passive voice even in cases which result in lower degree of subjectivity.

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[31] Moreover, a brief search through BCCWJ shows that in the case of 禁止する (*kinshi suru*, to prohibit), there is a tendency to use passive voice in very few cases (87 out of 1835 or around 4%).

6. Conclusion

In the present thesis, we attempted a survey of transitivity and voice as a manifestation of subjectivity in Japanese and English, utilizing Ikegami's transitivity scale a drawing upon other views of subjectivity based in cognitive linguistics. We focused on the manifestation of subjectivity across registers.

We have shown that there is indeed a difference in subjectivity between registers. The BCCWJ corpus analysis showed that there are significant differences between registers. Moreover, we have confirmed that web-based registers (blog posts and internet discussion posts) were the most subjective, followed by books, magazine articles and newspaper articles. The quantitative analysis showed the registers in a similar order, which TOS as an extra register we chose that ended up most objective, significantly more than newspaper articles. In English, the registers followed a different order: while TOS were also the most objective register, books appeared to be most subjective. However, the amount of data might not be sufficient for a quantitative analysis, so a more detailed examination may be necessary.

Second, we were also able to test the use of active versus passive voice between registers. There also proved to be significant differences in Japanese, based on the corpus data. The quantitative analysis showed a smaller variability, however, since it is only by 2%, the validity of the data is questionable. In English however, the variability of passive voice between register was noticeable, from 4% in literary texts to 20% in reviews.

Based on the results of quantitative analysis, we were also able to see that the preference for intransitive and transitive construction seems to be universal across registers in Japanese and English respectively. However, since the most subjective and

most objective registers differed in the two languages, we may assume that the register parameters do not affect both languages in the same way.

In Japanese, there seemed to be a universal preference for the backgrounding of an animate subject in case of low transitivity constructions and a tendency to keep a transitive construction in the case of high transitivity clause. The backgrounding of an animate subject seemed to be most prevalent in cases where the subject was either the conceptualiser (the writer), or where the writer assumed another viewing point, such as that of a character in a first-person novel.

There seemed to be no such tendency in English; if we consider the results of the quantitative analysis, then the most subjective register in English would be literature. Moreover, there seemed to be a number of passive sentences which had the writer as a subject, which would suggest that the conceptualizer was fully foregrounded and therefore, those passive sentences would be considered more objective.

Finally, we are left with the question of the register characteristics and their influence on subjectivity in the two languages. It seems they do not impact Japanese and English in quite the same way. One possible explanation that comes to mind would be Hirose's (cf. 1.4.3) three-tier model of language use. As previously mentioned, Hirose distinguishes the private and the public mode of expression.

In Japanese, the construal tier (in which the speaker employs the private self as a thinking subject, resulting in a subjective expression) is distinct, while the situation report tier (where the speaker reports the private self's thoughts as a public self, aimed at a speaker) and interpersonal relationship tier (where the speaker considers the relationship with the viewer) are combined. On the other hand, in English, the construal tier and the report tier are combined, and the interpersonal relationship tier is distinct.

A possible reason for the differences between the effect the register type has on each language may be tied to each language's preferred mode of expression and which tiers are merged. Because the construal tier in Japanese is distinct, it may be employed in cases when the author is writing from their own or their character subjective perspective. On the other hand, when reporting facts (such as in newspapers or magazines), the report tier would be preferred. This would then explain the higher level of subjectivity we observed in literature, blog posts, discussion posts or reviews, as opposed to other genres, where reporting facts or explaining concepts to the reader is involved.

On the other hand, because English has the objective mode of expression as basic and the report tier and the construal tier are combined, there may be tendencies to employ more objective expressions, even in situations where the author writes from their perspective, or another person's perspective.

There are some limitations to this study. The first one is the lack of quantitative data in English; as explained before, it is quite complicated to gather such a data, however, it would certainly allow for a better understanding of some tendencies in English.

Furthermore, the present thesis may be considered as preliminary due to the large number of genres and registers, which may be observed on any level of detail. We only examined written language, but spoken languages remain largely unexplored in terms of subjectivity, and still only covered a small sample of texts, some of which were more general than others and could be analysed in more detail in future research.

There is also the potential issue of the age of the data collected. For the quantitative analysis, we gathered data spanning from 2000 to 2008. Newer data is not available in BCCWJ. On the other hand, the texts in quantitative analysis are published after 2010 at least, and some were collected in 2022 and 2023.

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