The bulk of adverbials is collected through in- and cross-language dictionaries [6]; [9]). Instances of use are all taken from an open corpus, translated by me [7].
Results and Discussion

1. The canonical prototype of agentivity is a free human (or alike, say, group of people, company or government), acting independently according to her own will or desire. An adverbial highlighting this type of agentivity is *susunde* – a converb of *sussumu* = to move forward, reinterpreted (as adverb) as out of one’s own initiative:  

美股自発性を引き出せば、子どもたちは進んでボランティア活動などに参加し、地域や社会に役立つ自分と いった存在に付けよう // If their initiative is rightly stimulated, children will of their own accord join into volunteering, and they will learn how useful to the region and society they may be (The Nishi Nihon Shimbun 31.07.2002)

That *susunde* describes, before anything else (and indeed before the action itself takes place), an act of a completely free will, becomes apparent in collocation with reflexive expressions of such as *jibun-no te-de = with one’s own hands, mizukara = on one’s own, watashiki-kara = me myself.*

**好き探人のメールアドレスを知りました。そこで、好きな人にメールを毎日自分から進んで送りますか？それ とも、返信が遅い場合多数の人とメールしていると考え少ししか送りませんか？ // Now you’ve learned an e-mail of somebody you like. Would you write yourself, out of your own accord, everyday? Or, if that person is late answering, will you realize that you’re only one of many correspondents there – and decide to write less, them?** (forum)

This is hardly an example of semantic redundancy, since an actor can well act in all physical independence, but complying to a foreign will. To the contrary, a physical action carried out by a foreign body can be accepted of one’s free accord – as in this collocation with a lexical passive below:

子供のために、自分の隣人のために進んで検診を受けよう、そう思う人もおるはずだと思うのでありま // Many would, I think, chose to get diagnosed for the sake of their child, or neighbours (parliament speech 1988)

In this respect the focus is placed unlike the reflexives, not on the identity of the physical body carrying out an action. If a modifier is construed as filtering out an alternative proposition (P0), we could say that the P0 in this case would be an action carried out by the same actor physically, but otherwise than through her own free decision.

Another transposed converb in this sub-group is *yorokonde* = with pleasure, gladly, a typologically common turn of speech, used for accepting an offer. Its pragmatization involves semantic bleaching of [glad], which becomes a social fiction, a tribute to the Harmonize Communication maxim, cf. *gern, avec joie, gladly.* Free will here, unlike the case of *susunde*, is brought forward in order to show its identity to someone else’s (earlier mentioned or otherwise activated in discourse). Certainly, a psychological predicate that this makes (mental state of the subject of will) is only accessible to the Speaker herself being the actor or directly controlling him (typically, superior or parent). Domicinating speech acts would be commissives, to the exemption of descriptions empathic with the actor:

子供はカレー好きだから喜んで食べると思います // Our children love curry, so they’ll gladly have it (forum), cf. 自分の愛する男性に喜んで貰いたい // From a beloved one – should it be accepted with joy? (blog)

2. Another large group of adverbials emphasize a move to a more passive role of the agent, weakening the semantic component [out of own free will]. In Japanese we see several typical models for these expressions. Firstly, these are adverbial versions (transforms) of grammatical final predicates (as a left-branching language Japanese accumulates grammatical morphemes on the rightmost edge of the phrase). This constructive option, if not entirely ruled out for Russian (and structurally close languages), is perceived as heavy and less felicitous, rather peripheral among other expressive means, cf. *vynuzden* ≈ *vynuzhdenny obrazom*, same in English, too (in a forced way (with an utterly grammatical was forced to...). Think of the semantic deviation in the French adverbial derivative *forcément* from the predicate *forcé* *(de faire qch)*, drifting into mode-of-action and eventually into probability.

As a transform, *ymu-o esu* may be seen as final grammatical construction *ymu-o enai = forced to*, moved leftward in a sentence (to the left boundary of the verb phrase, as is characteristic of a verb-oriented adverb). The effect of this is to defocalize the expression (as compared to its semantic role as a predicate head):

「負担が増加することはやむを得ない」とした人は 46% // 46% of the respondents claimed the payload rise were inevitable (White Book on transport and infrastructure 2005) (the rise itself here is the topic)

In comparison, a non-foal use paves the way to focalize different new content. If the event (P) is asserted, then the semantic nuance – that the action was undertaken under the pressure of the circumstances – is moved from the assertion to the presupposition. And that is the classical instrument to press an unverified knowledge unto the Hearer. As if to compensate for this, in numerous cases (much more commonly, than before a final *ymu-o enai*) it is preceded by a subordinate reason clause. Thus, given a broader context, the Hearer is all the less likely to focus on the truth conditions of the “forced” part:

通勤が困難なためやむを得ず退職 // Due to the difficulty in commuting I was forced to quit (forcedly=though I didn’t want to) (forum)

Adding up to this, the grammar in the final part of the sentence presents an array of various “no-options”, from the de-agentive construction *koto-ni nuru* up to ontological necessity. To these, the adverbial gives a finer semantic nuance:

地震により著しく損傷し、今後の安全性を確保することが困難となったことから。やむを得ず解体することとなりました // The building suffered heavy damages in the earthquake and due to difficulty in assuring safety it was decided, for want of better choice, to demolish it (regional report, Wajima, October 2003)

中断したのは安保理から与えられた任務をやむを得ずして中断しなければならなかったというその結果なんて す よ // The disruption was caused by us having to break off, through no choice of ours, fulfilling the mission entrusted with us by the Security Council (speech in parliament, 1991)

The perlocutive aim of such usage – exclude responsibility of the Speaker – goes well in speech acts such as Warning:

受講申込数が少ない等的理由でやむを得ず講座を中止する場合があります // If case of few applications we may be forced to cancel lectures (regional report, Wakayama, October 2008)
This logic is drawn out ad absurdum, when a combination of multiple de-agentivating morphemes works as a case of hypercorrection — looking as the Speaker striving to waive responsibility at all costs:

違い認められた日本がやむを得ず真珠港攻撃に踏み切らざるを得ない状況を作ったのです // This brought about a situation when Japan, cornered, was forced, contrary to its aspirations, to attack Pearl Harbour (forum)

My choice of examples shows already that yamuyo ezu belongs rather to the official style. This may be due to the slightly 'stiff' effect of {−a}ezu, the obsolete negative. In comparison, a 'younger', and more colloquial version, yamunaku, yields a slightly different semantic picture. More used in forums and blogs, it collocates with a more agentic construction koto-ni suru = prefer / decide (to do), rather than the koto-ni naru = it was so decided (3:1, with 1:8 for yamuyo ezu). We even find verbs like kimuru = decide (0 hits for yamuyo ezu). Even the reason clauses are put more pro-actively — instead of "objective" causes in {name} = due to here we find N-o uke = considering, N-ni yori = through influence of:

近年の地価高騰の影響や事業意欲の減退により、やむなく廃業することにした // With land prices growing and less interest in keeping the business they decided, for no better choice, to sell out (White book on economy 1988)

Here external causation is rather used as a means to rationalize one's actions rather than avoid responsibility. This involves clearer thinking, more alternatives:

正社員を希望しながらやむなく短時間就労している者 // Those working part time persevere, though desiring full time employment (White book on welfare 2004)

長袖だということが判明し、やむなくキャンセルしてたんです。本当は半袖が欲しかったけど、既に完売 // I cancelled for no better choice, as I realized it's long-sleeves. I'd wanted short sleeves but it was all sold (blog)

Speaker may be less serious about a no-choice situation, critical or derisive:

役者って、一般的に「お金に困ったから仕方なくやる」というタイプの仕事ではないように思います // An actor is not really a profession that one takes up just for the sake of some income, for no better choice (forum)

As in the examples here, the situations of choice themselves are less strained, and the actors are more after their benefit than led by a hard force. It seems a luring question, though unsolvable here, whether this change in attitude is somewhat linked with a generation, and not just morphemic change.

Continuing along the same line to still less 'heavy' situation and freer choice for the actor (still more benefit-driven) is shikata-naku. This, again, is a transform different from its predicate source in a tighter linkage to the 'history' of an action — while inaction, rather than anything else, is mostly the point of the speaker's meaning in phrases ending on shikata-(ga) nai (koto da) = nothing (one) can do. It may be worthwhile therefore comparing shikata-naku not to its source of derivation but to a reason clause shikata nai kara = as there was nothing else (one) could do:

あまりにもしつこいから仕方なくドライブに連れて行った // he just keeps begging — well, there being little else I could do — I took him for a drive (blog)

Now, in its pragmatic profile shikata-naku is fairly reminiscent of Russian infinite question clauses like kak zhe mne ne delat' = how would I not to do this? Its perlocutive status is closest to complaining of an unsatisfactory choice. This function, clearly expressive, contrasts sharply, with the manipulative one we saw before:

自民党以外に入れるとしたら民主党しかないから // Liberal democrats aside, there's no one to vote for except the democrats, so my vote goes to them — not my best choice indeed (blog)

Unlike yamuyo ezu and more like yamunaku, there is nothing remotely similar to the 'original' shikata(ga) nai in the final grammar of the sentence, always headed by a volitive verb. The choice is all actor's, little as (s)he may find it satisfactory:

買い置きの食材が全く無かったので仕方なく出かける // there was no stock of food, so I went out, little though I meant to, cf. 相手がいないので仕方なく一人でやってます // no one to play with — no choice but to stick it out alone (blog)

A number of cases imply some previous attempts to hold back from an undesired action, all failing in the end, the actor 'giving up' in frustration:

何日も会社を休んだけど結局治せず、最後には仕方なく病院に行きました // I lay at home for days and days but as I wasn't getting any better in the end I went to the hospital willy-nilly (forum)

In this, shikata-naku gets close to other Japanese expressions referring to a history of a decision (choosing from a set of alternatives or arriving at a conclusion). Indeed one may find instances of interchangeability with kokkyoku = by the end of the day, semete = at least, doose = whatever, yaahari = after all and some others:

どんなに頑張っても眠れないので仕方なく/結局 5時くらいには起きだしてお弁当作ったり洗濯したり // I was trying to fall asleep but all was no good, so [for want of better choice / in the end] I got up at five and set to cooking and washing, cf. 頭が痛いので仕方なく/せめて体を動かすのも /* even if they don't like my face — let them (for one at least) notice my body (blog)

Another two expressions marking a shift from the agentive prototype to a more passive type of agentivity are derived from negative interjection iya = (oh) no, which in turn is a pragmatized adjectival meaning unwanted, nasty. This semantic imprint refocuses not the event of external causation of the action, but rather the actor's inner resistance, issuing from a clash between her (freely) chosen act and her best liking. This type of behaviour in itself is frowned upon in the case of iyairu, used in speech acts loosely centered on Prohibiting (deontic contexts including):

いかなくてもいいと思いますよ。いやいや参加することないし。だんなさん一人にいてももらえば // You don't have to come. There's no point in participating against your better liking. You can get your husband to go alone (forum), cf.

さもなくと、寄付する側もネタティヴ・マイインドでいやいや寄付するので、この世に途轍もない悪い波動が生じてしまいます // It'll give the donator a negative attitude, and with a donation in a contrary mood will rise a negative wave (blog)
This use of *iya* serves like a barrier guarding the ideal agentivity against erosion by current reasoning for external causation. A full opposite of it is *iyademo*, when the action is appreciated or neutral, and directives are positive: "まだ一度もディズニーランドに行ったことがありません。今度、子供が生まれるといやでも一度はいかないといけないと思いますが // Never been to Disneyland before. But with the baby born I just have to go once — not a matter or wanting, really" (forum), cf. "麻生さんとして生まれたかったのですか？いやでも麻生さんは生まれなければならないのでした // Aso-san, did you want to be born as you? Of course not, you had to be born like you and no one else, want it or not (blog)

Look at this ‘moral’ deontic *naranai to *ikenai! The speaker here (as the carrier of modality in the sentence) is imposing his super-ego which overrides resistance of private will of a lower order, benefit-driven. Another supra-human entity is the notion of ‘objective reality’ in contexts with experiencer subject (predicates here, instead of volitive verbs, include *kizuku = notice, mimi-ni hairu = hear):

放蕩をしたしたりするさしせいやでも気づく人生の意味 // It is though all rogueness that you will — want or no want find it, the meaning of live (blog)

Now, resistance of the actor is seen from outside in *shibushibu* – reduplicate with the stem meaning unwilling – which blocks contexts other than observed fact:

食い逃げし、茶店の女将に追いかけられなぞ々代金を払ったそうです // I heard he left without paying so that the barwoman had to run after him and then he paid in the end with great reluctance (forum)

Judging from the contexts, this inner resistance concerns mostly trivial matters, rather than high moral stance. It is not only observed, it is made expressly manifest. In combination with grammatical passive and-causative (so-called forced-action) this disambiguates the morphs to show that the actor didn’t leave the event without some protest, a show of autonomy – a right wanting, really.

never been to Disneyland before. But with the baby born I just have to go once — not a matter or wanting, really (forum) 2008

Behavioral frames [put up with the unprofitable] and [show resistance] are conjoined in a collocation of *shibushibu* and *shikinaka-naku*:

彼の口から終始『ありがとう』の言葉はありませんでした。気に入らないけれど仕方なく

We foisted books upon us. At first my inexperienced boss made to buy some, to no little grudge on his part, but later when we threatened to all the police the guys just disappeared (forum 2008)

Similar pattern of violating facts as such, and not just logic of events, is seen in collocations with *detchiageru*, *kojitsukeru* = to force, *yuudoo-suru = to lead:

Now, with a husband like this, if you inadvertently (= against his wishes) bring about the topic of divorcing, he’ll be the one chasing you, like a real maniac (The Nishi Nihon Shinbun 29.03.2001)

Similarly to de-agentive modifiers seen above, the causator and the caused may be one and same person. In this case the same inward drama as if from a different angle, through the eyes of the forcing, and not the resisting side:

If I don’t want to go – I no longer go in spite of myself (forum)

Resistance doesn’t have to be rooted in axiology of the forced subject. Non-volitive verbs appear as well, representing more basic physiological reactions:

In the morning I got up with some difficulty, had breakfast – and still feel sleepy (blog)

A still less proactive type of resistance comes from a logical order of things, or an obvious rationale, which the actor attempts to flout:

Eventually we are forced to stubbornly (=against their wishes) bind an unwanting couple back together again, even though this isn’t logical, nor feasible (speech in parliament 1981)

Similar pattern of violating facts as such, and not just logic of events, is seen in collocations with *detchiageru*, *kojitsukeru* = to fabricate.

Strongly borrowing on the background knowledge and beliefs of the speaker, this expression is heavy with evaluative meaning. This is a far cry from the purely disambiguating meta-linguistic meaning (‘forced’ causation, involving resistance).

Surprisingly, a far more (pragmatically) ‘modest’ disambiguator for the ‘forced’ type of causation is *chikarazuku* (de). It doesn’t show in meta-descriptions, but in the corpus is rarely seen without morphological causative – or strong causative verbs, involving resistance, such as *osu = to push, ubau = to take away:

口吻の先に味覚の受容器があり甘みを感じると蜜を飲もうとして伸ばすのです。態度で飲ませようとするときは、バタバタと暴れたりしてなかなかうまくいきません。慣れが必要です // Taste receptors are near the edge of the trunk,
which it pulls out when it feels something sweet. If made to drink the nectar perforce – it will flutter, and all will fail. You have to give it time (K.Honda ‘Wonderful butterflies’ 2005).

A good way of judging semantics is collocating with negation and synonyms. In this we find that ‘force’ in causation is understood rather broadly, not necessarily involving direct physical violence:

痛んだ革を折ることなく、力づくでなく、大声をあげず、静かに愛をもって、ただ人を生かす正義をもって // Without breaking a roving vine, not by force, without raising your voice, but with quite love and justice that compel most strongly (T.Kato ‘Gospel of Matthew’ 2004), cf:

高校を卒業するまでは、力づくで親のやり方に従わせて来たが // Until she finished school we made her follow the ways of her parents, even though she could be against it (R.Mori ‘My family’ 1996)

Resistance from an animate object can be re-interpreted as a resistance from a factor unaccounted for. Here causator and cause are once again, fighting opposite impulses inside. See an optative (operator of will) instead of causative in this respect:

遊び方なんて知らないくせに、それが金持っちゃったんでこれは遊ばなきゃいけないって、力づくで遊ぼとするとんだね // Not a remotest idea of how to play, but money he does have. So he must play! And play he will at all costs (Takeshi Beat ‘That’s why the do not love me’ 1991)

Yet another angle in the causator-causee power relations is highlighted in iyamo oo mo naku, grammaticalizing two interjections – acceptance and refusal (verbally without [any] no or yes). The causation drama is played out through the eyes of the cause (6 hits out of 7 use passive voice of the verb), but modified is the action of the causator (quite unlike the case of shibushibu):

「明日後といえば、二十四日であるな」「はっ」「しかばば、二十四日、早々に打立て」「はっ。…かしこまりました」いやも応もなく、おしつけられてしまった // Was it the 24th the day after tomorrow? ‘Why, yes’ ‘Then we depart on the 24th, start earlyish’ ‘Oh... Alright' In this manner, no one asking my opinion, the thing was forced upon me (T.Kainju ‘Seigo Takamori’ 2001)

Tentative conclusions

The three areas we have so far investigated give us a glimpse of how adverbial modification works. It is all the more in demand in the Voice relations in Japanese – paradoxically – the more compact and clear-cut the verb morphology is. Basically, it is there to fill in the lacunae that the ‘official’ grammar inevitably leaves in all the diversity of actual situations. But in a living language, things are very rarely limited to sheer disambiguation. It is only natural from the point of view of the language user, who is not formally set to task of making her utterances absolutely streamlined for logical interpretation. Being human, the speaker is guided by subjective attitudes. Also, acting on analogy, the speaker is free to widen the single unit of lexicon to comprise as many and as concrete attitudinal nuances as necessary. This results in a remarkable pragmatic differences between even semantically close lexemes: yamunaku – for a constructive rationalization, ‘trace’ of pragmatic situation management, and shikata naku – for an emotional outbreak of frustration of unattainable optimum.

This state of affairs reminds one of paremiology, where one is often forced to admit that the system itself may not be objectively tilted to any single attitude, serving the whole polyphony of views that arises in social interaction. This is the exact case with polyphonic intentions within a single consciousness. As we could see, some modifiers sound supportive of the subject’s autonomy before a super-ego (socially) forced upon him in iyaiya (or any intervention at all, indeed, in iyamo oo mo naku, or chikarazuku). But some, then, become central to a description apologetic of such intervention. See yamunaku and iyademo. Further diversity is called for by the choice of the Japanese to vary description of similar situations from different points of view, as with shibushibu and iyamo oo mo naku. Marking empathy in this way is essential in a language with hardly any grammar for the category of person.

Research on Japanese adverbial modifiers has been quite vital in the question of limited selection (or agreement, to use another set of notions) of final grammatical heads [3]. The fragment of linguistic reality in this paper proves this phenomenon as a trend, but disprove it as a strict rule. Besides pragmaticalization, which works differently from grammar to achieve felicity, an important factor is the online actions of the speaker. Corpus data, largely from non-edited and spontaneous utterances, attest that tautology and mutual anticipatory techniques are too important for spoken speech to be ruled out. Obviously, the speaker, eager to ensure his point, would often choose to over-modify a little, rather than leave ambiguity weakening his point.

Конфликт интересов

None declared.

Conflict of Interest

None declared.

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