A View on the Verb and the Adjective from the Serbian and Japanese Language Perspective:
A Contribution to a Contrastive Analysis of the Two Languages

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of a contrastive analysis of Serbian and Japanese with an emphasis on the insights that only this type of analysis can provide. Through comparing the two languages we have discerned an alternative viewpoint on the relationship between verbs and adjectives as well as the relationship between the grammatical categories of tense and person. We hope that in the future this may help provide answers to some of the important issues regarding Serbian syntax and verb forms.

Keywords: contrastive analysis, Serbian, Japanese, grammatical categories, parts of speech.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to offer a new perspective to researchers of the Serbian language, based on the contrastive analysis of Serbian and Japanese, starting from the grammatical category of tense in particular. The grammatical category of tense first directs us towards the comparison of timeline segmentation in the two languages. We then move on to those specificities of one language which can be significant for the other. In this process we have turned our attention to the problem of parts

of speech and their different syntactic function as well as to the issue of the syntactic meaning of tenses, especially regarding their qualificative usage, where we necessarily had to touch upon the issues of aspect and verb transitivity. Finally, we commented on the complex and seldom investigated relationship between the grammatical categories of tense and person. This was done in order to demonstrate that through familiarization with different linguistic systems one can, by altering one's own point of view, gain precious insight into one's own language, culture and world view.

The generally accepted view today, which bases itself on a body of evidence accrued from the end of the 18th century, is that language influences our world view. In relatively recent times this has been expanded on with the idea that our world view is moreover reflected in our complex and still insufficiently researched use of language (Popović 2008a: especially 23–24). This is probably far more noticeable when comparing Serbian and Japanese than when the same is performed with related or spatially contiguous languages. What is more, the differences between these two linguistic systems are so significant that similarities between them sometimes resemble rare gems. Therefore, in order to compare the two world views manifested in Serbian and Japanese, we had to use the technique of *painting in broad strokes* and only touch upon the current issues. Some of these questions were expounded in the author's doctoral dissertation, to be published shortly (Tričković 2009), while others have only recently been recognized as research topics, which we hope the contrastive analysis of Serbian and Japanese, now in its infancy, will provide answers to in the future.

2. Timeline Segmentation in Serbian and Japanese

The timeline in the Serbian language is divided into three segments, one for the past, another for the present and the third for the future. Each segment corresponds to a tense in absolute or relative syntactic use (relative use in Table 1 is marked with slanted brackets). In the Japanese language, however, the timeline is divided into two parts, the past and the non-past, the latter including both the present and the future. The non-past in Japanese is indicated with the temporal-aspectual RU and

TEIRU forms, while the past is expressed with the TA and TEITA forms. More precisely, the perception of the future as a separate time segment in Japanese is not clearly expressed through the category of tense and has a more distinctly modal character than in Serbian.

Table 1: Time and tenses in Japanese and Serbian

Japanese	Serbian
Non-past (RU form, TEIRU form) (resultative TA form)	future (future I) /present, perfect, aorist/
	present (present, resultative perfect)
past (TA form, TEITA form) (narrative RU form)	past (perfect, imperfect, aorist, pluperfect)
	/potential, present, future I/

3. Tenses of Japanese Adjectives and Their General Impact on Language

Another very important and immediately apparent difference is the existence of temporal forms of Japanese adjectives. Thus, in the case of Japanese, it is not only necessary to discuss verbal tenses but also predicative temporal forms.

The issue of Japanese adjectives of both types ("I" adjectives and "NA" adjectives) was already discussed in Serbian linguistics in the past (Ilinčić 2004; Tričković 2010). However, in relation to them, it is important to mention here one of the characteristics of Japanese syntax. Namely, through the process of adnominalization, both verbs and adjectives in Japanese can function almost identically as noun modifiers, which, in Serbian linguistics, would correspond to attributes in noun phrases.

The scope of possible applications of the adnominalization process is one of the key features of the Japanese language. Adnominalization is, simply stated, the placement of the whole sentence or its relevant content in front of the noun to which it relates, with some morphological adaptations if necessary. This allows for almost every sentence in Japanese to be transformed in such a way that its content becomes an attribute i.e. a

noun modifier of a particular noun (Martin 1988: 616). A noun modified in this manner has no specific syntactic constrictions compared to an unmodified noun (Alfonso 1980: 83). In fact, poetic expression in the Japanese language is heavily reliant on this feature.

Since Japanese adjectives are verbal words which can form a predicate independently and also have their own tenses, a problem arises when contrasting the languages due to the fact that Japanese verbs used in this manner can also be considered a type of adjectival words, i.e. they gain an attributive function, making the boundary between adjectives and verbs rather fuzzy.[1] This process of noun adnominalization is, at the same time, the only way to construct a relative clause and the majority of other clauses in Japanese. This puts into question the difference not only between verbs and adjectives in the two languages, but also between a phrase and a subordinate, and particularly, a relative clause as a sentence constituent.

Adjectives and verbs in Japanese, even though they can both have a predicative and attributive function, can also share other features: they have a similar morphological change, they cannot be subjected to adnominalization (i.e. they cannot be the head of a noun phrase or a modified word) if they are not nominalized, and finally, they cannot act as a subject or an object (i.e. normally they cannot be directly followed by the particles が /ga/, は /wa/ and を /wo/ used for denoting the subject and the object). In other words, both adjectives and verbs clearly differ from

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1 "There is basically no difference between a verb and an adjective in Japanese. A verb expresses the existence of an action or a state; an adjective expresses the existence of a mode of being. For this reason we translated the adjectives above as: 'is such and such'. Since the idea of being is included in the suffix /-i/ or its inflections, a sentence may end with an adjective; no other verb is needed" (Alfonso 1988: 88).

Or: "There are certain kinds of words which occur adnominalized in attributive position perhaps more typically than they are found in predicative position: adjectival nouns and precopular or quasi-adjectival nouns" (Martin 1988: 619). In other words, the difference between adjectives and verbs is primarily reflected in the degree to which certain properties are manifested. For further analysis see Ilinčić 2004 or Tričković 2010.

nouns in the Japanese language. Furthermore, Japanese adjectives do not agree with the noun they refer to in grammatical case, gender and number, since neither of these is grammaticalized in Japanese,[2] neither does the noun to which the adjective refers in any way affect its form. This is in stark contrast with Serbian where adjectives are dependent and belong to the nominal class of words. The differences and similarities between Serbian and Japanese adjectives are given in the following table for the sake of clarity (Table 2).

Table 2: Similarities and differences between adjectives in Serbian and Japanese

Serbian adjectives	Japanese adjectives
Nominal words with relative grammatical meaning	Verbal words with derivative grammatical meaning
Agree with a noun in grammatical gender and number	Do not agree with a noun in grammatical case, gender and number
Do not have tenses	Have tenses
Have a specific regular morphological expression	Have a specific regular morphological expression
Basic meaning is attributive	Basic meaning is attributive
Syntactic use can be attributive and predicative	Syntactic use can be attributive and predicative

Among other things, due to the said differences, the Japanese linguistic tradition and the Western linguistic tradition relative to the Japanese language, both emphasize the function of noun modification in a sentence when determining parts of speech in Japanese, defining both

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2 More precisely, it is possible to say that particles play the role of case; natural gender can sometimes be deduced from the final particles since some are typical for men and others for women; number, as far as people are concerned, can be indicated by way of special suffixes, etc., but all this is substantially different and more limited in scope than in Serbian.

types of adjectives as *noun modifiers,* thus reducing a potential conflict in terminology (cf. Alfonso 1980).[3]

In addition to two types of adjectives and all types of verbs, noun modifiers in Japanese can also be demonstrative adjectival pronouns and other nouns followed by the particle *no.*[4] Regarding inflected word classes, which in the case of Japanese are adjectives and verbs, the selected morphological form which functions as a modifier always expresses temporality. Even in the case when a noun modifies another noun, the possibility of using a copula means that temporality is often manifested.[5] Accordingly, in Japanese, everything in front of the last modified noun in the following examples represents an independent modifier.

1) 緑色- [N]の-[PartNO attributive] コート-[N]
/midori'iro-[N] no-[PartNO-attributive] kōto-[N]
'a coat of green colour'

The modifier is the noun with the particle *no*.

2) 静かな-[AdjNA non-past attributive] 部屋-[N]
/shizukana-[AdjNA non-past attributive] heya-[N]
'a quiet room'

The modifier is the "NA" adjective.

3) 高い-[AdjI non-past attributive]シャツ-[N]
/takai-[AdjI non-past attributive] shatsu-[N]
'an expensive shirt'

The modifier is the "I" adjective.

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3 The same function is often called attributive. However, this term is somewhat more restrictive because it is related to verbs and adjectives used attributively.

4 Cf. the definition of a noun given by Alfonso: "the notion of a noun is not the same in the two [E. J.] languages. Regardless now of what constitutes a noun in English, in Japanese a noun is a word which, when it modifies (another noun) is or can be used with the particle *no* (Alfonso 1980: 74)."

5 More on this in Miyaji et al. 1991: 1−96, especially in the subsection entitled コピュラ節による修飾. ('Modification by Copula')

4) 買う-[V_{non-past attributive}]本-[N]
   /kau-[V_{non-past attributive}] hon-[N]
   'the book I will buy'

The modifier is the verb in the RU form.

In case of negation the principle remains the same:

5) 緑色-[N]ではない-[Copula_{non-past neg}] コート-[N]
   /midori'iro-[N]**dewa nai**-[Copula_{non-past neg}] kōto-[N]
   'a coat that is not green'

The modifier is the noun with a copula negating the present tense (negation of the RU form).

6) 静かではない-[AdjNA_{non-past neg}] 部屋-[N]
   /shizuka **dewa nai**-[AdjNA_{non-past neg}] heya-[N]
   'a room that is not quiet'

The modifier is the "NA" adjective negating the present tense (negation of the RU form).

7) 高くない-[AdjI_{non-past neg}] シャツ-[N]
   /takakunai-[AdjI_{non-past neg}] shatsu-[N]
   'a shirt which is not expensive'

The modifier is the "I" adjective negating the present tense (negation of the RU form).

8) 買わない-[V_{non-past neg}]本-[N]
   /kawanai-[V_{non-past neg}] hon-[N]
   'the book that I will not buy'

The modifier is the verb negating the present tense (negation of the RU form).

The same applies to the past tense:

9) 緑色-[N] だった-[Copula_{past}] コート-[N]
   /midori'iro-[N]datta-[Copula_{past}] kōto-[N]
   'a coat that was green'

The modifier is the noun with a copula in the past tense (the TA form).

10) 静かだった-[AdjNApast] 部屋-[N]
    /shizuka datta-[AdjNApast] heya-[N]/
    'a room that was quiet'

The modifier is the "NA" adjective in the past tense (the TA form).

11) 高かった-[AdjIpast]シャツ-[N]
    /takakatta-[AdjIpast] shatsu-[N]
    'a shirt that was expensive'

The modifier is the "I" adjective in the past tense (the TA form).

12) 買った-[Vpast]本-[N]
    /katta-[Vpast] hon-[N]
    'the book that I bought,' 'a purchased book'

The modifier is the verb in the past tense (the TA form).

This is just a short overview of possible word forms functioning as modifiers. What is important to draw attention to here are the following two facts: 1) the combination adjective + noun as in 「青い本」 /aoi hon/ can be regarded as both a noun phrase—'a blue book,' and a relative clause—'a book that is blue,' which corresponds to a combination of verb + noun as in 買う本 /kau hon/ 'book that I will buy'; 2) tense plays an important role in noun modification, while its syntactic function expressed in Serbian by grammatical case, gender and number does not affect the modifier form. Moreover, this point precisely is where Japanese linguists might wonder the most about the difference between the absolute and the relative use of predicative tenses (Noda 1991).[6] At

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6 As a reminder: Syntactic use of tenses in Serbian (Serbo-Croatian), initially intensively researched by Maretić, followed by Musić and Belić, who defines the indicative (later renamed *absolute*) and the relative use of tenses. Indicative or absolute is so-called real use where the time of action is measured in relation to the present, more precisely to the moment of speaking, while relative use is where the time of action is measured in relation to some other moment (Belić 1926−1927). Even though there was a clash of views among subsequent researchers regarding these specific examples, nobody has essentially given up on this basic classification. In addition to these, there are qualificative, gnomic and other types of classifications. In accordance with the requirements of this paper some of them will be mentioned further on.

the same time, this is also the point where the question about temporal and aspectual meaning of the same predicative form is most often raised (Teramura 1984; Kinsui et al. 2000).[7]

4. Comparison of Present Tense Forms – Overview

Although this time we will not go into detail when comparing specific temporal forms of the two languages,[8] for the sake of further elaboration we will take an example of the present tense from both languages

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7 There were similar concerns about the Serbian language in the past. Compare e.g.: "when used in the *syntactic relative,* the present tense [of imperfective verbs, D.T.] has the meaning of its aspect in general (permanent or iterative) (In the original: "kada se upotrebljava u *sintaksičkom relativu* prezent [nesvršenih glagola, D.T.] ima uopšte značenje svoga vida (trajno ili iterativno)")" and "the present of perfective verbs is used in the same way as the present of imperfective verbs, in the syntactic relative, each of them having only the meaning of its aspect; they get their temporal meaning from the tense of the verb with which they are used (In the original: "prezent perf. glagola upotrebljava se, isto onako kao i prezent imperf. glagola, u sintaksičkom relativu, i svaki od njih ima samo značenje svoga vida; vremensko značenje dobijaju od vremena glagola uz koje se upotrebljavaju")" (Belić 1926−1927: 113), or [relative use of tenses, D.T.] "their meaning is reduced to either the meaning of their aspect or to the meaning close to verbal aspect to which their temporal meaning in the indicative can be reduced (in the original: "njihovo se značenje svodi ili na značenje njihova vida ili na značenje blisko glagolskom vidu na koje se može svesti njihovo vremensko značenje koje imaju u indikativu")" (ibid.: 127). Similar in Stevanović 1938−1939. Belić later clearly distinguishes between verbal aspect and tense. However, in subsequent research, although in the same fashion, Serbian studies also recognized aspectual meaning of temporal forms, such as, for example, resultativity or iterativity, see Milošević 1982: 133; Čumak 1985. In modern science the research of the semantic category of actionality (Aktionsart) has been the focus of much attention, which has somewhat changed the approach to this issue (for Serbian see Ivanović 2013). About this issue in Japanese more in Tričković 2009: 234–256.

8 We will not discuss all the possible meanings of given temporal forms in the Japanese language here. For details see Tričković 2009.

on which we will base our further analysis. Thus, the Serbian verb form *pišem* 'I write/I am writing' for expressing the present tense corresponds to two verb forms in Japanese: 書く /kaku/ in the RU form, and 書いている /kaiteiru/ in the TEIRU form, with a difference that these two verb forms in Japanese, along with *pišem*, i.e. the first person singular of the present tense of *pisati* 'to write', cover all the other persons of the tense as well as the dictionary form. The form 書く /kaku/ also expresses the future apart from the present. The necessity for two verb forms in Japanese and one in Serbian arises from the range of different meanings which can be expressed by them. The form 書く /kaku/ expresses what in Serbian syntax corresponds to qualificative usage of the present tense, while the indicative use of the present tense in Serbian would correspond to the form 書いている /kaiteiru/ in Japanese. Both Japanese forms can denote a repeated action as someone's trait or habit (habitual meaning). It could be said that the first form indicates qualitative habituality, whereas the second usual habituality. However, this issue would need to be researched independently. Both Japanese verb forms can also be used with an iterative meaning.

Table 3: Comparison of Serbian *pišem* with Japanese 書く /kaku/ i 書いている /kaiteiru/

	pišem	書く /kaku/	書いている / kaiteiru/
Dictionary form	*pisati*	書く /kaku/	書く /kaku/
Tense typically expressed by the verb form	The present (Absolute, qualificative and meaning of future action, as well as numerous other meanings)	The present (but not regarding present action) The future	The present (regarding present actual action)
Person congruent with the form	First person singular	All persons	All persons
Habitual meaning	Yes	Yes	Yes

5. More on Serbian Present Tense with the Emphasis on Its Non-Actual Meaning—Attributive or Close to Adjectival

The verb form of *pišem* 'I write' is, therefore, the first person singular of the present tense of the verb *pisati* 'to write'. "In its most common function the present tense indicates an action that takes place at the moment of speaking" (Stevanović 1974: 581).[9] However, the notion of the present in a language can be quite loose. For instance, in the examples, *Danima čekamo da nas pozovu na posao* 'We have been waiting for days for them to call us to work' (e.g. from Tanasić 2005a: 354; in Piper and Klajn 2013: 390, it is defined as the *extended present*),[10] or *Dunav se uliva u Crno more* 'The Danube flows into the Black Sea' (in Piper and Klajn 2013: 390, it is defined as *timeless* or *omnitemporal present*), it is clear that the temporal scope of the action of the verbs *čekati* 'to wait' or *ulivati se* 'to flow into' stretches beyond the moment of speaking. When the present is used in a situation which can be concurrent with the time of speaking, but not necessarily, it is considered to be the non-actual present, as opposed to the actual present which is more closely connected to the moment of speaking (Piper and Klajn 2013: 388–389). In addition, the descriptive or qualificative present is also important (e.g. *Obično malo jede* 'She usually eats little', Piper and Klajn 2013: 390; Piper 2005: 750), which is related to the present of ability (e.g. *Ona odlično kuva* 'She cooks wonderfully.' Piper and Klajn 2013: 390) and the present of a generic characteristic (e.g. *Ribe dišu na škrge* 'Fish breathe through gills', ibid.). However, these examples still do not exhaust all the other possible meanings and uses of the present tense in Serbian.[11]

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9 In the original: „U najobičnijoj funkciji svojoj prezent označava radnju koja se vrši u vreme kada se o njoj govori“.

10 Tanasić uses the example above (2005: 354) with the intention of giving an example of temporal determination of present referential actions and their temporal quantification. All the given examples are used to illustrate the wide range of meanings awarded to 'the present.'

11 Tanasić (Tanasić 2005a) gives a slightly different classification of the syntactic use of tenses. However, as our intention is to indicate the results obtained only by comparing Serbian and Japanese, we will not go into detail regarding the differences in authors' opinions, neither in this nor in other sections of this paper. Cf. also Piper and Klajn 2013: 290.

Piper (2005) defines the qualificative present as always non-actual and meaning "a process or a state typical for someone or something, although it does not have to be a process or a state of a permanent nature (e.g. *Obično malo jede* 'She usually eats little', Piper 2005: 750).[12] He defines the timeless (omnitemporal) present as one in which "the temporal object of localization is understood as something that has virtually no boundaries, i.e. lasts forever"[13] (e.g. *Duša je besmrtna* 'The soul is immortal', ibid.). The potential present refers to the ability to achieve something, but not necessarily achieving said action (e.g. *Govori tri strana jezika* 'She speaks three foreign languages', ibid.).[14]

All three meanings (qualificative, omnitemporal and potential) share a common trait that, regardless of the fact that a verb itself can denote an action, i.e. a process, when the verb is used in this manner, the verbal action it relates to becomes a feature of someone or something. In other words, it represents its attribute rather than the action itself.[15] This fact is crucial in the Japanese language.

5-1. *Qualificative Use*

In Serbian studies the qualificative usage of tenses was detected early on, however, there was never a unanimous opinion on this nor were

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12 In the original: „proces ili stanje koji su za nekog ili nešto karakteristični, iako to ne mora biti proces ili stanje stalne prirode".

13 In the original: "vremenski objekat lokalizacije shvata kao nešto što praktično nema granice, tj. traje stalno".

14 In Japanese, such ability or the possibility of performing an action is expressed through forms of possibilitive as separate and morphologically distinctive voice with its own temporal forms, which still corresponds to the elementary division on the RU, TA, TEIRU and TEITA forms. All determined temporal forms of a verb in the possibilitive can be used both attributively and predicatively. Generally, all forms of the possibilitive are considered *statives* regardless of the root verb. However, all verbs cannot have possibilitive forms.

15 Cf. "Qualificative use of present is quite broad; every present which attributes a certain property to something or someone is, in fact, considered qualificative (In original: "Kvalifikativna upotreba prezenta je vrlo široka; kvalifikativan je, u stvari, svaki prezent kojim se bilo kome ili bilo čemu pripisuje kakva osobina")" (Stevanović 1967: 32).

the same examples treated the same way in different papers (which, after all, applies to almost all questions regarding the syntax of verb forms in Serbian). In an attempt to determine qualificative use through the indicative-relative theory, scientific results have differed considerably. In this regard, Sladojević (1966: 44) notes that "the qualificative use of verb forms does not represent a single category and cannot be classified into one of the main categories of verb form usage."[16] It is precisely this feature that points to the uniqueness of the qualificative usage, albeit shyly.[17] Sladojević (ibid.) also notes that qualificative meaning can be found in the verb root, while the time frame depends on the situation being discussed. As stated in the same place, Belić noticed the similar thing—the qualificative meaning is actually a semantic and not a temporal feature and it represents "only a particular meaning of a verbal action,"[18] while a verb used in this way can refer both to the present as well as to another moment of speaking. More precisely, it can be used both absolutively and relatively. In other words, a qualificatively used verb gives a sentence a

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16 In the original: "kvalifikativna upotreba glagolskih oblika ne predstavlja jedinstvenu kategoriju i ne može se svrstati u jednu od osnovnih kategorija upotrebe glagolskih vremena".

17 So-called gnomic use is treated in similar manner. It implies use of tenses in proverbs. In addition to the present tense, gnomic use can encompass the perfect, aorist, imperfect, and future I. Furthermore, the non-temporal form of the imperative can also be used in this manner (cf. Piper 2005: 757).

18 In the original: "samo naročito značenje glagolske radnje" (Sladojević 1966: 44). About the same example see also: "This is a common case of the use of unfulfilled verbal action in the present tense, but with a full temporal meaning of the verb form. The temporal function in this case is reduced to a time element which manifests as an abstraction of the indicative form. However, these forms do not possess real indicativity since they do not signify verb realization for a particular tense. They are reduced to functioning as a verbal link. The verb here has only the qualificative meaning (In the original: "Ovo je običan slučaj upotrebe u prezentu neostvarene glagolske radnje, ali sa punim vremenskim značenjem glagolskog oblika. Ovde se funkcija vremena svodi na vremenski element koji se javlja kao apstrakcija indikativnog oblika, ali prave indikativnosti ti oblici nemaju jer ne znače glagolsko ostvarivanje za dano vreme. Oni se svode na službu glagolske spone. Glagol je ovde samo kvalifikativnog značenja")" (Belić 1998: 239).

special meaning: it relativizes the meaning of the action in the verb itself. Furthermore, its temporal form provides information on the state valid for the duration of the period for which the given qualification/state is true. That is, a verb is used in a manner similar to that of an adjective.

5-2. The Meaning of Repeated Action: The Question of Non-Referentiality

Both in the case of qualificative and repeated actions, verbs denote a non-referential action, which makes these two meanings similar.[19] A repeated action implies an action which can happen at the moment of speaking, but not necessarily, but which, as a FEATURE (i.e., a certain quality), extends throughout the entirety of a certain period. The period in which the repetition is performed can be in the present, but also in the past and the future. In Serbian, repeated actions are expressed in the present by the present tense of perfective and imperfective verbs, with certain different shades in meaning depending on the type of verbal aspect used; in the past—by the perfect of imperfective verbs, or with the potential of perfective and imperfective verbs (the potential in this case denotes deactualization, i.e. what was said is no longer valid); and in the future—by the future first of imperfective verbs only (see more about it at e.g. Ivić 1995). The repeated action can be more or less regular. In the case when an action which is repeated regularly relates to a living creature, it has a habitual meaning, which represents the action as someone's characteristic or habit related to a specific time period. In Japanese the habitual meaning can be expressed with both RU and TEIRU forms: a wider time range is attributed to the RU form, while the TEIRU form is closely related to the moment of speaking.[20]

Ivić (1995) considers the repetition of actions within the frame of non-referentiality of verbal action (see also Tanasić 2005a, 2005b). Apart from iterativeness, gnomicity and genericity are also seen as the basic types of non-referential actions (Tanasić 2005b: 20). Referentiality refers

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19 Regarding the relationship between iterativity and qualificative see Belić 1998: 240. Regarding iterative and qualificative non-referentiality see Ivić 1995. See also Tanasić 2005a, 2005b.

20 We placed an emphasis on the habitual meaning because of its more prominent meaning of 'quality,' i.e. its more obvious attributive character.

to "a property of a language sign to single out a real object (concrete or abstract, elementary or complex) from the class to which this object belongs, and also from the rest of reality" (Piper 2005: 915).[21] The existence of such a property determines a statement as being referential, while its absence makes it non-referential.[22] According to Tanasić, the action linked to a specific moment or a time segment is referential (e.g. *Laste će se vratiti na proleće* 'Swallows will return in the spring'), while, on the other hand, an action taking place in a series of intervals is non-referential, as some kind of plurality of actions (e.g. *U proleće se laste vraćaju* 'In the spring swallows return', examples from Tanasić 2005a: 347–348; Tanasić 2005b: 12).

We can see that, both in the case of repeated action and in the case of qualificative usage, the person who perceives and conveys such a *state* of affairs is not on the real chronological axis (referential use), but rather somehow above it, on a line parallel with the real chronological axis, which enables him to see a wider perspective of the passage of time and experience the action as something typical of a situation. Therefore, both uses resemble an attribute rather than a predicate.

5-3. The Future Present

Regarding the Serbian present used for future actions, there is also not a widely accepted opinion. Today, however, the prevailing view is that such use should be seen not as relative but rather as a time transposition into the future, whereas the narrative present represents a time transposition into the past (Tanasić 2005a: 376–385; 2005b; Piper and Klajn

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21 In the original: "svojstvo jezičkog znaka da može izdvojiti neki realan predmet (konkretan ili apstraktan, elementaran ili složen) iz klase kojoj taj predmet pripada i od ostalog dela stvarnosti".

22 "As a rule, in Serbian, and similarly, in other Slavic languages, the same verb form, depending on the communicative context, receives a referential or non-referential interpretation. Much less common cases are those where a verb form expresses only one type of action [...] (In the original: "Po pravilu, u srpskom jeziku, a slično je i u drugim slovenskim jezicima, isti glagolski oblik, zavisno od komunikativnog konteksta, dobija referencijalnu ili nereferencijalnu interpretaciju. Mnogo su rjeđi slučajevi da jedan glagolski oblik iskazuje samo jedan tip radnje [...]")" (Tanasić 2005b: 20–21).

2013: 388). In the past it was believed that the present for future actions was used relatively (Stanojčić in Stanojčić and Popović 1992), while others thought it was used modally (Sladojević 1966, in some cases also Stevanović 1974). Klikovac (2009) believes that the future present has relative temporal use but with a stronger or weaker modal component. Examples with the future present are divided into: (1) those expressing the speaker's firm belief or intention, where the modal meaning is stronger (e.g. *A ja vam kažem mi pristupamo poslu makar drugi niko i ne došao* 'But I assure you we will start working even if no one else comes', e.g. Sladojević 1966: 66), and (2) those in which the modal meaning is weaker (e.g. *Vraća se za dan, dva* 'He's coming back in a day or two', e.g. Tanasić 2005a: 382).[23]

Klikovac (2009) says about this: "psychologically speaking, the speaker does not 'move' from the MS [the moment of speaking, D.T.] into the future: there is no force which could transfer him there. One would rather say that the domain of the present expands so that it encompasses a part of the future. This would imply that the future is not far away—'it can be reached from the MS.' It is practically already in the possession of the speaker."[24] On the other hand, regarding the same examples listed under (2), Tanasić points out that such future present can only be used for activities that can be planned, calling it the present for the planned future, distinguishing such use from the cases where the present is used for the imagined future, which is, in fact, a counterpart to the narrative present for the past (Tanasić 2005a: 382–385). Unlike Tanasić, Klikovac (2009), however, believes that the metaphoric space of the future and the past is different in general, since the former is un-

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23 Ivić (1981: 18) points out that the element of determination is mandatory here. Also different from the cases stated above are those cases based on some convention, such as e.g. *Sutra je ponedeljak* 'Tomorrow is Monday', where it is not possible to replace the present tense with the future first (Klikovac 2009).

24 In the original: "psihološki gledano, nema „selidbe" govornika iz TG [trenutak govorenja, D.T.] u budućnost: nedostaje sila koja bi ga tamo prenela. Pre bi se moglo reći da se domen sadašnjosti širi tako da obuhvata i deo budućnosti. Time bi se impliciralo da budućnost nije daleko – „može se dosegnuti iz TG", praktično je već u posedu govornika".

known, while the latter already exists in memory, as evidenced by the different possibilities regarding the choice of verb aspect. Accordingly, they cannot be discussed in the same way.

6. More on Japanese Present Tense from the Point of View of Contrastive Analysis

It was already mentioned that in Japanese, the so-called RU form which corresponds to 書く /kaku/ from the example mentioned above, covers what in Serbian syntax corresponds to the qualificative use of the present tense and the future present, while the form 書いている /kaiteiru/ corresponds to the absolute use of the present tense in Serbian. In Japanese linguistics the difference between these two forms and the meanings ascribed to them is interpreted as a difference in aspect. Namely, it is considered that in Japanese aspect is expressed through the temporal predicative form, which depends, however, on the type of verb used. In other words, not all verbs are able to realize all aspectual meanings in the four existing tense forms (RU, TA, TEIRU and TEITA).

6-1. Aspect in Japanese
Kindaichi (金田一) was among the first scientists in the second half of the twentieth century to classify Japanese verbs according to their morphosyntactic and semantic properties in relation to aspectual meaning expressed through various types of tenses, particularly in relation to the TEIRU form. He classified Japanese verbs into the following four types, which have not experienced significant variations among Japanese linguists in subsequent research (cf. Kinsui et al. 2000).[25] According to Kidnaichi (1976):

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25 The Japanese literature usually discusses aspect in the following four categories: achievement, accomplishment, activity, state (cf. Shirai and Kurono 1998: 250–254). Vendler also gives this type of classification (Vendler 1957: 143–160).

1) Verbs of the first type are *verbs of state*.[26] Such verbs are e.g. ある /aru/ 'to be, to exist'[27] or できる /dekiru/ 'to be possible, can,' as seen in the sentences (部屋に椅子が) ある /(Heyani isuga) aru/ 'There is a chair (in the room),' or (運転が) できる /(untenga) dekiru/ 'I am able to/ can (drive).' It is a feature of these verbs that they cannot build either the TEIRU or the TEITA form.

2) Verbs of the second type are *durative verbs* (Jap. 継続動詞), indicating the action that takes place over a certain period of time,[28] and they are also called action verbs (activities) (Jap. 動作動詞).[29] Only the TEIRU form of the verb expresses the process of action, while other tense forms exclude the seme of progressivity. Such are, for example, the verbs 読む /yomu/ 'read,' 書く /kaku/ 'write' and the like.[30]

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26 "One type of verbs expresses a concept that usually transcends time, and for this type it should be better said that they 'express a state' rather than expressing 'an activity or an accomplishment'" (In the original:「第一種の動詞は、「動作・作用を表す」と言うよりも寧ろ「状態を表す」と言うべき動詞で、通常、時間を超越した概念を表す動詞である。」(Kindaichi 1976: 7).

27 Despite this basic meaning, the verb ある /aru/ can mean "to have, to hold," and can also denote action as in パーティーがある, 講義がある /pātīga aru, kōgiga aru/, "to have (hold) a party, lecture." Hence it is not static but dynamic in these examples. Cf. also Sunakawa 1986: 7.

28 Here we use the term 'durative' only to emphasize the possibility of duration of a situation described by the verb. Cf. "[...] Durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (or at least, is conceived of as lasting for a certain period of time)" (Comrie 1976: 41). Further detailed classification of both these and the verbs of the following group (the third Kindaichi group) would have to be carried out with more concrete examples which would include many more parameters. We are not in possibility to do so at the moment.

29 "The second group of verbs are those verbs that clearly express an activity or an accomplishment - but more precisely such activities or accomplishments that necessarily take some time to complete out" (In the original:「第二種の動詞は、明瞭に動作・作用を表す動詞であるが、但しその動作・作用は、ある時間内続いて行われる種類のものであるような動詞である。」)(Kindaichi 1976: 8).

30 These verbs include both Vendler's (1957) accomplishment terms and activities.

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3) Verbs of the third type are *momentary verbs (punctual)* (Jap. 瞬間動詞) or *verbs of change* (Jap. 変化動詞), which indicate an action which, at a certain point, unfolds in its entirety, leading to a change in situation or condition.[31] Such verbs are, for example, 死ぬ /shinu/ 'to die' (電灯が) 点く /(dentouga) tsuku/ 'turn on (the light)' etc. When they are in the TEIRU form, these verbs, under normal circumstances, cannot express a process or duration of action, but rather its consequence, a condition which remains after the action is completed. In other words, they have a resultative meaning, making them substantially different from the verbs of the second type. Verbs of this group are also known as resultative.[32]

4) Verbs of the fourth type are those verbs which denote a condition or a feature, which makes them similar to the verbs of the first type. However, they differ in the fact that they do not represent what exists in a particular situation (verbs of the first type), but rather that which qualitatively adds flavour or belongs to that situation.[33] Such verbs are e.g. 似る /niru/ 'to look like,' (高い鼻を) している /(takai hanawo) shiteiru/ 'be (conceited).' These verbs, according to Kindaichi, are always used in the TEIRU form. It seems that exactly this verb group has caused the biggest controversy among Japanese linguistic authorities, because it represents verbs used as adjectives, but still close to verbs of the first or, perhaps even more, to verbs of the third type (when verbs of the third type are used in the TEIRU form with a resultative or qualificative meaning).

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31 Cf. "The third group of verbs, similarly to the second one, also describes an activity or an accomplishment, but rather such that is completed in a moment" (In the original: 第三種の動詞は第二種の動詞と同じく動作・作用を表す動詞であるが、その動作・作用は瞬間に終ってしまう動作・作用である動詞である。」) (Kindaichi 1976: 8).

32 In many ways they correspond to Vendler's (1957) achievements.

33 Cf. "Finally, in the fourth verb group I would like to put those verbs that are similar to the ones from the first group in sense that they do not involve the concept of time. However, they differ in the fact that the group one verbs express that something exists in a certain state, whereas these verbs expess what kind of state that is" (In the original: 「最後に最四種の動詞として挙げたいものは、時間の概念を含まない点で第一種の動詞と似ているが、第一種の動詞が、ある状態にあることを表すに対して、ある状態を帯びることを表す動詞と言いたいものである。」)(Kindaichi 1976: 8).

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The aforementioned difference between Japanese verbs is most obvious in the TEIRU form. In the RU form, dynamic verbs, i.e. verbs belonging to the second or third Kindaichi type, indicate the qualificative present or the future present, i.e. the expected and/or intended action or change in the future.[34] Furthermore, the semantic content of all types of verbs in their dictionary i.e. RU form, is typically observed as if from a distance. The action or change contained in the verb meaning is understood more as a quality or a condition of the existing situation, than as a dynamic component of the event.

Therefore, as dictionaries do not recognize the categories of Japanese aspect, speakers of the Serbian language for example, cannot easily see whether a Japanese verb is momentary or not. For example the verb 死ぬ /shinu/ 'to die' in Japanese belongs to the third group of Kindaichi verbs, i.e. it is a momentary or resultative verb (It could be also referred to as a semelfactive verb), which express a change and in their elementary dictionary form, i.e. the RU form, denote either certain future or have the meaning of the qualificative present. The problem is its TEIRU form. Students of Japanese in Serbia, including the author, have mostly been taught that the TEIRU form denotes 'continuous time,' which is automatically connected to the imperfective aspect in Serbian, regardless of the type to which the verb belongs.[35] However, if we know that the verb 死ぬ /shinu/ 'to die' is momentary, then we know that this verb in its TEIRU form cannot be understood as a process (as would be the case if the given verb belonged to the second Kindaichi group). In other words, students have tended to translate the TEIRU form of the verb 死んでい

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34 More on aspectual meanings of the RU form in Tričković 2009: 156–171. In this paper we find it essential that in the case where the verb expresses an action, this typical and representative form of the verb is perceived as a completed action.

35 Students of Japanese from other countries have also shown a similar tendency and we believe that the reason for this is a lack of proper explanation regarding this issue in textbooks of Japanese as foreign language. For this reason we introduced the classification of Japanese verbs according to Kindaichi (and other semantic classifications of Japanese verbs as well) into the Japanese language curriculum at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade.

る /shindeiru/ with the absolute present instead of the perfect (compare *umire* 'He is dying', meaning: 'He has not died yet': *umro je* 'He died', meaning: 'He is dead'). There are many similar examples and consequently many mistakes occur when translating from Japanese to Serbian.

6-2. Question of Transitivity and Its Influence on World View

Unlike Serbian which has verb pairs denoting perfective and imperfective aspect, in Japanese there are verb pairs for transitive and intransitive verbs. These verb pairs are traditionally observed within the frame of verb transitivity (Jap. 自動詞 /jidoushi/ 'intransitive' and 他動詞 /tadoushi/ 'transitive'), though it would probably be more accurate to say that these verbs are opposite in terms of expressing agentivity, since *transitive* verbs usually encompass a seme of conscious activity of a speaker or a marked person (agent) upon an object, while numerous Japanese *intransitive* verbs are translated into Serbian with the passive or reflexive verb forms (pronominal passive).

For example, the intransitive (自動詞 /jidoushi/) verb 落ちる /ochiru/ is used when something 'falls' by itself (without an agent), while the transitive verb (他動詞 /tadoushi/) 落とす /otosu/ is used when an agent does something which then causes something to fall (for example, he 'makes something fall', he 'drops' something). Transitive verbs usually belong to the second type (durative, activities), and intransitive verbs to the third type (momentary), but, in this example both pairs of verbs are momentary verbs.

We are, however, in this case more concerned with the question of what motivates the existence of transitive and intransitive pairs in Japanese and whether it has something to do with the adjectival nature of Japanese verbs. In other words, we are interested in what the existence of verb pairs expressing transitivity/agentivity tells us about the difference in the linguistic picture of our and the Japanese world.

Let us consider the following situation. A man stands in front of the door pressing the doorknob, but to no avail. In Serbian, the typical statement would be *Ne mogu da otvorim vrata* 'I cannot open the door'. The Japanese would rather use the following here: ドアが開かない /doaga akanai/ 'the door will not open,' 'the door does not open' (with an intransitive verb), while 開けられない /akerarenai/ (with a transitive verb),

which is a more accurate translation from Serbian, would in Japanese put much more emphasis on the fruitless efforts of the person performing the action. It would be equally unusual to use 開けられない /akerarenai/ for the first unsuccessful attempt to open the door as it would sound strange in Serbian for a man in the same situation to say: *vrata se ne otvaraju* 'the door does not open', although this phrase could naturally be used in front of an automatic door. Therefore, we have equal linguistic possibilities, but we also have a difference in the preferred choice between them, which, especially in the classroom, must not be neglected.

The proper use of intransitive verbs in the Japanese language is the biggest problem when it comes to acquisition of Japanese as a foreign language, because, as seen from the example above, this is not just about knowing the meaning of words, but also about the way the situation is perceived. From this example it is clear that Serbian has a tendency to verbalize an event with the help of an agent, to see it from a personal perspective and to use transitive verbs, while a Japanese speaker would rather use an intransitive verb, reporting about an event as the state of things or the quality of the situation before him.

While Serbian puts an emphasis on the action itself, subtly shading its internal time in every situation through the expression of verb aspect, Japanese, on the other hand, sees the action as a fairly completed whole, attributed to someone or something in a wider context, hence having an attributive *feature*. Only when there is a specific communicative need is the action clarified from the inside and defined as an ongoing action or as a past action which has left a mark in the present. This is expressed through the already mentioned TEIRU form. Because of the fact that in Japanese one typically observes an action in this slightly removed and completed manner, interpreting it as a feature of the observed situation/event, it logically follows that it is more important to define the action according to whether it involves an agent and an object or not, than to define it according to its internal time, i.e. aspect.

Table 4: Different view on the same situation, the same expression for a different situation

Situation	Serbian language		Japanese language	
	Typical statement	Reception type	Typical statement	Reception type
A man does not succeed in opening the door in the first attempt	*Ne mogu da otvorim vrata*, 'I cannot open the door' (with a transitive verb)	In the speaker's visual field there is an agent that cannot perform the action.	ドアが開かない /doaga akanai/ 'the door cannot be opened' (with an intransitive verb)	In the speaker's visual field there is an object (the door) and an expected situation/action. An agent does not enter the speaker's visual field.
A man does not succeed in opening the door after numerous attempts	*Ne mogu da otvorim vrata*, 'I cannot open the door' (with a transitive verb)		ドアが開けられない / akerarenai/ 'I cannot open the door' (neg. of possibilitive of transitive verb)	An agent who cannot perform the action enters the speaker's visual field, since it is required by its repetition.
A man stands in front of an automatic door, which remains closed	*Vrata se ne otvaraju*, 'The door does not open' (pronominal passive)	In the speaker's visual field there is only the object (the door) which does not perform the expected action	ドアが開かない /doaga akanai/ 'the door will not open' (with an intransitive verb)	In the speaker's visual field there is an object (the door) and the expected situation/action.

7. Results of Contrasting Two Different Perspectives: Where is 'Person' in 'Time'?

We have already mentioned that the verb forms 書く /kaku/ and 書いている /kaiteiru/ include all persons of the verb 'to write' in the present tense. It is hence easy to conclude that the Japanese language does not recognize the grammatical category of person, except for specific cases (Tričković 2006).

On the other hand, from all the grammatical categories brought together in the form *pišem* 'I write', the category of tense, along with aspect, is most directly associated with the category of person. Ivić (1958) associates the *personal* in verb forms with the concept of dynamics, a real manifestation of action, but generally speaking, the question about the relationship of the categories of person and time is rarely raised, as opposed to the well-researched relationship between the categories of time and aspect (see Grubor 1953; Tanasić 2005a, 2005b; Piper and Klajn 2013; Popović 2008b, 2012; Klikovac 2009 etc.). However, it is clear that the conceptualization of tense puts a person/speaker in a time-space situation, either as a participant or as an observer.[36]

7-1. Discovery of the Category of Speaker's Perspective in Serbian due to Comparison with Japanese

The category of verb forms in Serbian grammar (Popović in Popović and Stanojčić 1992) is defined on two levels, the first of which is based on the division of verb forms into personal and impersonal. In Japanese, this kind of division is impossible, because, as we have already noted, the category of person is not grammaticalised. Instead of that, the Japanese verb forms can be divided into finite and non-finite, of which finite must be either defined in time or clearly deictically defined, as is the case of the imperative.

Therefore, when the knowledge of Japanese grammar is applied to Serbian grammar it becomes clear that personal and non-personal verb forms in Serbian, as their name suggests, represent a specific materialization of a category more general than the category of person, which is in this case a reflection of the opposition the present—the absent. It is this superior and more general deictic category of person, the category we named the category of the speaker's perspective, what is at the same time present in Japanese and replaces the category of person.

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36 We take only the observer into consideration here, but it is clear that a listener, for example, can be put in the same situation.

7-2. Person in Japanese – Implications of the Mobility of the Speaker's Perspective to Serbian Grammar

In Japanese, the fact that the action is seen as a separate whole which characterizes a situation, implies a mandatory observer positioned in relation to that situation. That immanent observer indirectly gives us information on the person, because based solely on the fact that he necessarily exists, we know that the sentence content in Japanese is attributed either to the object of observation or to the observer, unless stated otherwise. On the basis of this perspective of the speaker, we generally know which person is concerned, although the category of person is not grammaticalised in the Japanese language. In other words, in Japanese, an action or a state is something which belongs to the speaker's perspective, which is in the (mental or physical) visual field of the speaker and concerns him in some way, unless grammatically marked as not being the case.

Namely, when it comes to both state and action they are typically attributed to the object of observation as its quality, which includes both intransitive verb forms (the aforementioned example with the door) and transitive when they relate to general statements (the RU form of a predicate). In the case of dynamic verbs the action expressed by the RU form can be understood as a potentiality for the particular subject, something likely to be realized in the future but which has not yet realized. In this case the action is also perceived as a trait of the subject/observer of this whole situation.
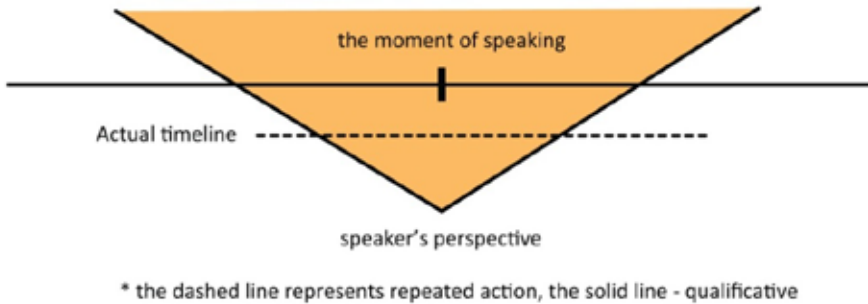
The speaker's perspective understood in this way is mobile in relation to a particular situation. The approach and retreat of the speaker's perspective is reflected through aspectual forms which are, consequently, also intertwined with temporal forms in Japanese, but in a different manner than in Serbian. When the perspective is closer (compared to the usual perspective expressed with the unmarked RU form), then the situation/event is put under a magnifying glass, which emphasizes the present moment and requires defining the action as ongoing (imperfective) or as an action already completed in some way (whether it is about finiteness or resultativeness).

As mentioned, we believe that *the personal* in Serbian personal verb forms corresponds first to the perspective of the speaker, and then to the category of person. In other words, this segment of the meaning of temporal verb forms, *the personal* contained in them, which is in Serbian

immediately differentiated in relation to smaller elements of the category of person,[37] allows, in our opinion, distancing (non-referentiality) from a specific timeline. It also allows the movement and positioning of a reader/listener as an observer of the situation which he has not actually experienced, i.e. the shifting of his point of view. In other words, this *personal* allows the transposition of the speaker's perspective through time.

The speaker's perspective which becomes visible when contrasting Serbian and Japanese, can be applied in the analysis of the syntactic use of Serbian tenses, because it allows the movement towards and away from the imaginary timeline, which can be used to explain qualificative temporal use.[38] Graphically, this could be represented in the following way.

Chart: Speaker's perspective towards repeated action and qualificative

the moment of speaking

Actual timeline

speaker's perspective

* the dashed line represents repeated action, the solid line - qualificative

37 The category of person determines whether the observer in a given situation is directly involved, with further division into first and second person, or indirectly, third person. The *personal* in this context refers to the fact that *someone* observes the given situation (in relation to which, according to the category of person, that observer is determined as first, second or third person). Thus, the category of person with its three constituents represents the finer concretization of the category of *personal* in this system.

38 It is necessary to mention that we are talking about the *transposition of the speaker's perspective* in relation to time, and not about the transposition of time itself because of our personal conviction that time, like space, is impossible to transpose; i.e. that it is possible to transpose only our point of view on time and space (cf. Popović 2008a, 2008b, 2012; Klikovac 2009; Piper and Klajn 2013; etc.)

8. Conclusion

For these reasons, we believe it would be useful in Serbian linguistics to examine the relationship between verbs and adjectives, i.e. the verbal and adjectival meaning of predicative forms,[39] and to try solving some other issues of syntactic use of tenses in Serbian with the help of the transposition of the speaker's perspective, which is more clearly seen in the dichotomy attributive: predicative use.

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39 Similar reviews have been conducted in English and Russian and appear mostly within the frame of transformational grammar. See e.g. Babby 1973 for Russian and Lakoff 1966 for English.

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Дивна Тричкович

Взгляд на глагол и имя прилагательное в сербской и японской языковых картинах мира: приложение к сопоставительному анализу двух языков

Резюме

В данной работе представлены результаты сопоставительного анализа сербского и японского языков, с упором в когнитивно-лингвистическом подходе. Исходя из сравнения сербского языкового материала с японским, в работе предлагается новый взгляд на связь между глаголом и прилагательным в данных языках, а также на связь между грамматическими категориями времени и лица. Такой подход может способствовать решению некоторых важных вопросов синтаксиса сербского глагола.

Ключевые слова: сопоставительный анализ, японский язык, сербский язык, грамматическая категория времени, глагол, имя прилагательное, перспектива говорящего.