

Syntax and Semantics of Noun Modification

Part 1

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Table of Contents

Part 1

1. Introduction – Objectives and scope
2. Perspectives of previous research
 - 2.1 Noun modification as “Adjunct-word” – Key elements and subordinate elements in a clause
 - 2.2 “Junction” versus “Nexus”
 - 2.3 Previous categorizations of noun modification
 - 2.4 Noun modification and predication theory – Concerning WATANABE Minoru’s *saitenjo* in particular
3. Types of noun modification relations – “inner relations” and “outer relations”

Part 2

4. Inner relations
 - 4.1 Introduction
 - 4.2 The grammatical case of the noun phrase made base noun
 - 4.3 The Mood of the Modifying Portion
 - 4.4 Concerning Differences between Adjunction (‘Junction’ *sotei*) and Predication (‘Nexus’ *jutte*), as well as between “Restrictive Modification” and “Descriptive Modification”
 - 4.5 Reduced Forms in Inner Relations

Part 3

5. Outer relations
 - 5.1 General problems
 - 5.2 Nouns of speaking and thinking and their content
 - 5.3 Nouns that express “Factives” and their content
 - 5.4 Nouns of sensation and the content of the sensations
 - 5.5 Relative nouns and augmentation of relative concepts (“Reverse relative augmentation”)
 - 5.6 Summary and development toward the next chapter

Part 4

6. Formalization of base nouns and specialization of constructional function
 - 6.1 Introduction
 - 6.2 Conversion of base nouns to conjunction particles
 - 6.3 Conversion of base nouns to auxiliary verbs
 - 6.4 Concerning multi-functional abstract nouns – *tokoro*, *koto*, *mono*

Part 1

1. Introduction – Objectives and scope

The objective of this work is to characterize and categorize Japanese noun modification structures in terms of both syntax and semantics. In traditional Japanese grammar, the term noun modification generally includes modification by adnominals (連体詞 *rentaishi*) or by a noun + the noun modification particle *no*, but what this manuscript directly targets is a structure in which a noun is modified by a word or string of words forming a predicate or having a predicate as its core that can make a predication, that is, can form a clause and, while also considering the characteristics of corresponding structures in English, this work will examine what it means in general to say that a verb or adjective modifies a noun.

Even when examining the same noun modification grammatical forms, it is natural that the aspects taken up and the approaches taken should vary depending on what one considers to be a problem and how one approaches grammar. In the next section, Section 2, we will briefly overview various approaches, but here we will first return to basics, so to speak, by taking up the question of why “modification” or “noun modification” needs to be considered as a part of grammatical theory.

When you say you “understand the meaning” of a given sentence, it goes without saying that you understand more than simply the meanings of the lexical items that make up the sentence and thus that, in addition to the so-called “lexical (dictionary) meaning” there is a “structural meaning” that is of a different sort. For example, upon hearing (1), what kinds of knowledge and abilities must the listener be furnished with in order to fully understand the meaning of the sentence?

(1)	<i>Kaidan</i> stairs	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>zyoohin-butta</i> sophisticated-act.PST	<i>asidori de</i> gait INS	<i>orite</i> descend.GER		
	<i>kuru</i> come	<i>kehai</i> presence	<i>ga</i> NOM	<i>site,</i> do.GER	<i>Zyunko</i> Junko	<i>ga</i> NOM	<i>watasitati</i> we
	<i>no</i> GEN	<i>iru</i> be	<i>heya</i> room	<i>ni</i> into	<i>haitte</i> enter.GER	<i>kita.</i> come.PST	

‘We sensed someone descending the stairway with a sophisticated gait and Junko entered the room where we were.’

Let us consider below, in an abbreviated fashion to be sure, the process by which the hearer comprehends this sentence.

First, it is necessary to know the meanings of the so-called substantive (content) words like *kaidan* ‘stairs’, *zyoohin-buru* ‘act sophisticated’, and *asidori* ‘gait’. If we do not know them, we need to consult a dictionary and find out what real-world objects or appearances they “refer” to. Next, it is probably necessary for it to be part of our general knowledge that the *o* ‘ACC’ that follows *kaidan* and the *de* ‘INS’ that follows *asidori* are words that show a relation between the words that they follow and words that (should) come later in the clause and that their meaning is determined by the types of the words that appear

before and after them. Furthermore, it is probably necessary that the meanings corresponding to a fixed set of forms that repeatedly appear, as in *zyoohinburu* [act.sophisticated.NONPST] ‘act sophisticated’, *zyoohinbutteiru* [act.sophisticated.GER.be,NONPST] ‘be acting sophisticated’, *zyoohinbutta* (*naninani*) [act.sophisticated.PST (something)] ‘something that looks/acts sophisticated’; *sugureru* [surpass.NONPST] ‘be/become superior’, *sugureteiru* [surpass.GER.be.NONPST] ‘be superior’, *sugureta* (*naninani*)[surpass.PST (something)] ‘something that is superior’ be generally comprehended. Up to this point, things we have brought up are so self-evident as not to need discussion: it can probably be said to be common sense that there ought to be a description of the meaning of first, content words in a dictionary and the idea regarding the next two, that the functions and meanings of the “relational words” or “function words” that accompany the content words and that a certain meaning always accompanies certain changing part of words that change in various ways are facts that should be handled by the grammar. Expressing this in the terms used earlier, the latter two points are subsumed in so-called “structural meaning”.

To say that one understands the whole of the meaning of a sentence like (1), however, seems to be somewhat more complicated. We will not go into distinguishing word boundaries or recognition of phrases here, but will examine a little more closely the process by which we link the words and phrases that enter our ears one after another and compose the meaning of this string. First, when we hear

- (2) *kaidan o*
 stairs ACC

if it is followed by *kowasu* ‘tear down’ or *torihazusu* ‘remove’ then we know that the stairs are the “object, target” of the action and if it is followed by *aruku* ‘walk’ or *orite kuru* ‘come down’, then we know that the stairs are a path or traversal object. In this way, given the grammatical knowledge described earlier, the hearer listens with an attitude of anticipation and waits for the word that will tell him what to do with ‘the stairs’, namely the verb. However, such a verb does not follow and the sentence continues as:

- (3) *kaidan o* *zyoohin-butta*
 stairs ACC sophisticated-act.PST

There is no way to connect *kaidan o* and *zyoohin-butta*. The only way to tell what to do with *kaidan o* is to listen for what comes after. It is clear from the accusative case *o* that *zyoohin-butta* (even without considering the morphological form of the verb) cannot describe the state of the stairs. The sentence continues with:

- (4) *kaidan o* *zyoohin-butta* *asidori de*
 stairs ACC sophisticated-act.PST gait INS

But here the preceding *zyoohin-butta* combines with *asidori* and one understands that it describes one aspect of the “gait” (that is, is an instance of the “modification” to be examined below). What the chunk *zyoohin-butta asidori de* refers to is still unclear. These two strings of words

kaidan o →
zyoohin-butta asidori de →

finally gain a “landing place”, so to speak, and settle down when the following verb *orite kuru* ‘come down’ appears. In general, a verb cannot be said to depict a concrete situation with the actor unknown, and in this case the actor is finally understood as the *Zyunko* that appears later, something that we will put aside for now. However, it must be recognized here that whether or not the actor for a given action appears in the utterance and whether or not that utterance forms a “sentence” are different matters. If, for example, the string of words up to this point

- (5) *kaidan o zyoochin-butta asidori de orite kuru*
stairs ACC sophisticated-act.PST gait INS descend.GER come

were uttered in a situation in which two people were watching a woman descending a stairway across the room, we could probably consider this to form a fine, complete “sentence”. In Japanese language studies, sentence formation has a long history of debate as “predication theory (*chinjutsuron*)^a”, and we will touch on this question to some extent in the next section, but, here, let us proceed by confirming our simple, direct grammatical sense regarding the following. Generally, when a string of words ends with

oriru [descend.NONPST] ‘descend’; *orita* [descend.PST] ‘descended’; *oriyoo* [descend.HORT] ‘let’s descend’ or ‘will probably descend’; *oriro* [descend.IMP] ‘descend!’; *orinai* [descend.NEG.NONPST] ‘won’t descend’

itai [painful.NONPST] ‘it hurts’; *itakatta* [painful.PST] ‘it hurt’; *itakaroo* [painful.PRES] ‘it probably hurts’; *itakunai* [painful.NEG.NONPST] ‘it doesn’t hurt’ or ‘it won’t hurt’

zyoochin.da [sophisticated.NONPST] ‘it is sophisticated’; *zyoochin.datta* [sophisticated.PST] ‘it was sophisticated’; *zyoochin.daroo* [sophisticated.PRES] ‘it’s probably sophisticated’; *zyoochin.denai* [sophisticated.NEG.NONPST] ‘it’s not sophisticated’

Zyunko.da [Junko.COP.NONPST] ‘it’s Junko’; *Zyunko.datta* [Junko.COP.PST] ‘it was Junko’; *Zyunko.daroo* [Junko.COP.PRES] ‘it’s probably Junko’

one can stop the utterance there and regard the string up to that point to be a single, coherent utterance, that is, simply put, to form a “sentence”. On the other hand, if the string ends with

ori [descend.ADVL] ‘descend (and)’; *orite* [descend.GER] (not as a contraction of *orite kudasai* [descend.GER please] ‘please descend’) ‘descend (and)’; *orireba* [descend.PROV] ‘if one descends’; *orizuni* [descend.NEG.ADVL] ‘without descending’

itaku [painful.ADVL] ‘painfully’; *itakute* [painful.GER] ‘be painful and’; *itakereba* [painful.PROV] ‘if it’s painful’

^a Translator’s Note: Although *chinjutsu* translates as “predicate”, in fact the *chinjutsu* debates referred to here are/were mostly about modality in its widest possible interpretation. For a detailed history, see Narrog, Heiko. 2009. Modality, *modariti* and predication - The story of modality in Japan. In: Pizziconi, Barbara & Mika Kizu (eds.) *Japanese Modality: Exploring its Scope and Interpretation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

zyoohin.na [sophisticated.ADN] ‘a sophisticated ...’; *zyoohin.de* [sophisticated.GER] ‘be sophisticated and’; *zyoohin.ni* [sophisticated.ADV] ‘sophisticatedly’; *zyoohin.nara* [sophisticated.PROV] ‘if it’s sophisticated’

Zyunko.no [Junko.COP.ADN] ‘...(that) is Junko’; *Zyunko.de* [Junko.COP.GER] ‘it being Junko and’; *Zyunko.nara* [Junko.COP.PROV] ‘if it is Junko’

or the like, it does not seem wrong to say that we feel the utterance to have been cut off in the middle, to be an incomplete sentence, or to be a sentence fragment. In other words, the fact that a verb, an adjective, or a noun or adjectival nominal followed by the copula *da* takes a certain form determines whether or not we feel that utterance is complete. This is very different from the situation in English or other European languages in which there is a “subject” and a “finite verb” with which the subject agrees in person, number, gender, and the like and which also bears “tense” and other markings easily recognized by external form and in which, based on the agreement between the “subject” and the “finite verb”, one can recognize a “sentence” and can discriminate between “simplex” and “complex” sentences. This fact must be held in mind through the process of considering the relation between a predicating form used as a modifier and the substantive it modifies.

In other words, put briefly, if we were to stop after uttering (5), we would probably accept it as a complete sentence. However, in this case, the utterance does not end there but is followed by the word (noun) *kehai* ‘presence’. How, then do we interpret the meaning of the whole string in (6)?

- (6) *kaidan o* *zyoohin-butta* *asidori de* *orite* *kuru*
 stairs ACC sophisticated-act.PST gait INS descend.GER come
- kehai*
 presence

Unlike the earlier case of *asidori*, which could be understood as being linked only to *zyoohin-butta*, we understand *kehai* to link not just to the immediately preceding *orite kuru* but to that portion together with the ...*o...de* string that precedes it, forming a complete predication, the whole content of which shows the semantic content of *kehai*.

If *ga* ‘NOM’ is attached to the whole of (6) and is in turn followed by *suru*, it would form a complete predication expressing the sense that the speaker felt the *kehai* so described. However, in this case *suru* is in the so-called continuative (gerundive) form *site*, becoming a supplementary element relating a situation concerning the predication that follows after. Repeating much the same process as we have followed so far applied to the latter part from *Zyunko ga* on, we come to the conclusive form “*haitte kita*” and the hearer takes this all as one complete predication and, putting together all the understandings to that point, we will have comprehended the whole sentence in (1).

We can say that, as observed above, interpreting a string of words uttered one after another involves two intellectual activities working in opposite directions, one the forward-looking anticipation or posture of grasping the breadth of meaning held by the content words while putting together the connections among them based on general knowledge of the

particles that link them and, at the same time, as each new word comes in, tying it in (retrospectively) with the memory of what has already been uttered and grasping the meaning of the whole (namely, using feedback). When the process is spelled out as above, it seems a long, drawn out process, but for one who has grown up with the language, it is no more than one facet of the language activities a speaker conducts completely unconsciously on a daily basis. To say one “understands” Japanese means that one can carry out the above described operations of analysis and synthesis upon hearing any sort of sentence, not just a sentence like (1), which just happens to be a sentence taken from *Shigoto-beya* by IBUSE Masuji. Knowledge concerning individual words is important, to be sure, but it is not essential. If a Japanese person who has no connection with the subject matter should read a newspaper article on golf or the stock market, he or she may find it incomprehensible, but we would not say that that Japanese person “does not understand the Japanese language.”

With what sort of rule system, that is, grammar, can we describe the various sorts of knowledge described, albeit roughly, above concerning how words are linked together? Actually, a grammar looking from the perspective used above, what might be called “a listener’s grammar”, could be considered separately, but for now let us consider the rules for constructing sentences in general – the linking of form and meaning – from the traditional viewpoint treating both perspectives together.

Next, as already noted earlier, words of the type “noun” are followed by function words like *o*, *ga*, or *ni*, so-called “particles”, as in

<i>kaidan</i> stairs	→	<i>o</i> ACC	→	<i>orite</i> descend.GER	<i>kuru</i> come.NONPST
<i>zyunko</i> Junko	→	<i>ga</i> NOM	↘ ↗	<i>haitte</i> enter.GER	<i>kuru</i> come.NONPST
<i>heya</i> room	→	<i>ni</i> into			

and when they are linked to words of the type “verb” or “adjective”, the relations between the verbs or adjectives and the preceding nouns become clear, and the action, or event, or characteristics expressed by the verb or adjective become an expression of a concrete matter or the expression becomes more “detailed” and it is normal nowadays to treat this in grammar as the function of these particles. (The “meanings” of particles are listed in dictionaries as well.) What meanings the particles express, however, are determined first of all by the characteristics of the verbs or adjectives that follow and secondly by the type and meaning of the nouns to which they are attached and the grammar must record this information.

Furthermore, and this was also stated earlier, in such examples as,

<i>oriru</i>	‘descend’
<i>orita</i>	‘descended’
<i>oriyoo</i>	‘let’s descend’
<i>orite kuru</i>	[descend.GER come] ‘come down’
<i>orinai</i>	‘not descend’

it is normal in grammar to treat the underlined forms, which attach to the verb stem, the part that bears the so-called dictionary meaning, of any verb to express a certain meaning, as “inflection (a system of forms and a common meaning)” or as “auxiliary (supplementing) verbs”.

Well then, what sort of explanation is necessary to describe the linking seen in (4)

zyoohin-butta → *asidori*

and the linking observed in (6)?

<i>kaidan o</i>		<i>zyoohin-butta</i>		<i>asidori de</i>		<i>orite</i>		<i>kuru</i>
stairs	ACC	sophisticated-act.PST	gait	INS		decend.GER		come
→ <i>kehai</i>								
presence								

The meaning of the linking between the form to the left of the arrow and the *asidori* or *kehai* that follows is that of showing the latter’s “state” or “content”. Since the part following the arrow is, in terms of parts of speech, of the type termed “noun”, it looks as though one could say the link with the part to the left of the arrow is of the same quality as that seen in links of an “adjective” or “adjectival noun” and a following noun, as in:

<i>ookii</i>	→	<i>asioto</i>
big		sound.of footsteps
‘loud footsteps’		
 <i>sizuka.na</i>	→	 <i>asioto</i>
quiet		sound.of footsteps
‘quiet footsteps’		

Or, it looks like we might say it has commonalities with the case of a noun with the particle *no* attached linked to a following noun as in:

<i>kodomo</i>	→	<i>no</i>	→	<i>asioto</i>
child				sound.of footsteps
‘a child’s footsteps’				

However, it goes without saying that saying that two things “have the same qualities” or “have commonalities” is different from saying they “are the same”. The division into parts of speech like adjective or noun is done with consideration of both structural function and morphological characteristics and this is also tied to their being the smallest units of sentence structure. Therefore, it will not do to treat the purely structural relation that holds between the various forms on the left and *asioto* on the right as “corresponding to” an adjective or a noun plus *no*.

<i>ookii</i>	}	<i>asioto</i>
big		
<i>sizuka.na</i>		
quiet		

6

<i>kodomo.no</i>					sound.of footsteps
child's					
<i>dareka</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>rooka</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>aruite-iru</i>	
someone	NOM	hall	ACC	walk.GER-be	

'loud footsteps'
 'quiet footsteps'
 'a child's footsteps'
 'the sound of the footsteps of someone walking along a corridor'

The same sort of observation clearly overlaps to a great degree with the relation that obtains between a variety of forms and a verb.

<i>yukkuri</i>					} <i>hanasu</i> speak
slowly					
<i>sizuka.ni</i>					
quietly					
<i>watasi ga</i>					
I	NOM				
<i>kodomo</i>	<i>ni</i>				
child	DAT				
<i>aruki.nagara</i>					
while.walking					
<i>tekitoo.na</i>	<i>toki</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kureba</i>		
suitable	time	NOM	come.PROV		

'speak slowly'
 'speak quietly.
 'I speak'
 'speak to a child'
 'speak while walking'
 'speak should a suitable time come'

The overlapping part is what has been called “modification” and in both sets of examples, depending on the type of “affected” word on the right, has been further subcategorized as “adnominal” or “adverbial^b”. To what extent adnominal modification and adverbial modification have common characteristics and to what extent they differ is in itself an important, coherent topic, but here, having confirmed that “modification” is, as shown above, a necessary concept in grammatical description, we will narrow our focus to cases where the affected word is a noun, that is, to noun modification, and where the left-hand, modifying part is, as seen above, something that basically qualifies as a clause.

The main focus of this work will be on separating out into several types the structures that have been until now treated uniformly as noun modification constructions, looking both

^b Translator's Note:

“Adverbial” is used here as a translation for *ren'yō* and includes the relation of an argument to its predicate (*watasi ga*, *kodomo ni*) as well as adverbs (*yukkuri*, *sizuka.ni*) and adverbial phrases or clauses (*aruki.nagara*, *tekitoo.na toki ga kureba*).

at structure and meaning and at both the speaker and the hearer, but taking this point of view will also entail the necessity of consideration of the characteristics by which noun modification structures as a whole differ from other structures. It was for this reason that we earlier walked through in a simple way the process of listening to and comprehending a sentence. Many Japanese language studies in this country in the past have been biased toward how to establish semantic prescriptions, and descriptions of structural characteristics are few. For example, the entry for *shūshoku* ‘modification’ in *Kokugogaku Jiten* ‘National Language Studies Dictionary’ states: When, as in *ooki.na hukuro* ‘large bag’ or *kitto iku* ‘certainly go’, a restriction is put on the conceptual content of one phrase or the manner of a predication, it is called *shūshoku* ‘modification’ and the restricting portion (such as *ooki.na* and *kitto*) is called the *shūshokugo* ‘modifier’ and the restricted portion (such as *hukuro* or *iku*) is called the *hishūshokugo* ‘modified word’. Even though a Japanese person would basically get the idea, since examples are given, with the above definition there would be nothing to say that the underlined portions of, for example, such utterances as the following are also modifiers: *kono hukuro wa ookii* [this bag TOP large] ‘this bag is large’ or *kono hukuro wa kawa de dekite iru* [this bag TOP leather INS be.made.GER be.NONPST] ‘this bag is made of leather’ or *kare wa kitto iku daroo* [he TOP certainly go COP.CONJEC] ‘he will almost certainly go’. At the very least, the above definition probably needs to be buttressed by structural characteristics like those of Bloomfield, which we will examine later. For example, an explanation might be necessary that, when the entire construction including the modifier occupies the position of the modified word (e.g. *hukuro*) in a sentence and carries its role, the portion minus the modified word is called the modifying part. In fact, such an explanation is often found in grammar books. However, there is a problem with this explanation. The problem is that, when one says that “the modifier is attached to the modified word and is lexically subordinate to it”, it is possible that one might conclude that, in a sentence of which the modified word (e.g. *hukuro*) is a component, the modifier (e.g. *ooki.na*) is secondary and is extraneous to the formation of the sentence. To be sure, in the above example and in other examples commonly given in grammar books, there are many for which the above explanation is sufficient, but there are actually any number of examples for which such an explanation is a problem. The example we just considered, *kaidan o zyoohin-butta asidori de orite kuru* ‘come down the stairs with a sophisticated gait’ is one such example. If one removes the modifier *zyoohin-butta* [sophisticated-act.PST] that goes with *asidori* ‘gait’, we are left with the meaningless sentence *kaidan o asidori de orite kuru* ‘come down the stairs with a gait’. That is, it is certainly true that *zyoohin-butta* is “subordinate” to *asidori* and “restricts” its meaning and that the entire phrase *zyoohin-butta asidori* functions in the sentence as a noun phrase in the same way as the noun *asidori*; there is no doubt about this, but it must also be recognized that, conversely, the modified word *asidori* is also to some degree dependent on the modifying *zyoohin-butta*. In the past, it has been usual to explain “nouns that cannot be used alone but which must be accompanied by some sort of modifier (for example, *hazu* ‘expectation’ or *tumori* ‘intention’) as a special kind of noun called “formal nouns (*keishiki meishi*)”. However, probably no one would term *asidori* a “formal noun”. I have doubts about treating the structural characteristics of words like *koto* ‘fact/matter’, *toki* ‘time’, or *hazu* ‘expectation’ as a problem of a formal noun “lexical type”, a matter I would like to take up in section 6, but here I would just like to point out that in general considering a modifier to be “subordinate” to the modified word has unexpected problems.

Thus, although viewed from a structuralist point of view, there are still many problems concerning “modification” in general and, as a sub-type, noun modification in

general, here let us take a brief overview of types of structures that have been considered noun modification.

Sentences like (7) – (9) have all been considered uniformly as examples of noun modification.

- (7) (a) kimi ga sono toki kiita asioto
 you NOM that time hear.PST footsteps
 ‘the footsteps you heard then’
- (b) dareka ga kaidan o orite kuru asioto
 someone NOM stairs ACC descend.GER come footsteps
 ‘the (sound of the) footsteps of someone coming down the stairs’
- (8) (a) sanma o yaku otoko
 saury ACC grill man
 ‘a man grilling a saury’
- (b) sanma o yaku nioi
 saury ACC grill smell
 ‘the smell of (someone) grilling saury’
- (9) (a) kare ga uketa batu
 he NOM receive.PST punishment
 ‘the punishment he received’
- (b) muti de senaka o utu batu
 whip INS back ACC hit punishment
 ‘the punishment of being whipped on the back’
- (c) hito o damasita batu
 person ACC deceive.PST punishment
 ‘the punishment for having deceived someone’

Also, the semantic relation between the modifying part (single underline) and the modified word (double underline, termed the “base noun”¹ below) has been dealt with as the former “restricting” (or “defining” or “modifying”) the latter. However, as outlined earlier, if we look at the above examples from the direction of the listener’s process of comprehending, a doubt arises as to whether these can all be treated uniformly as “restricting”. Furthermore, if a hearer should be able to perceive clear differences in the link connecting the modifying part and the base noun semantically and recognize that the semantic connection and some structural characteristics (say, from the speaker’s side) form sets, objectively describing such sets categorically can be considered to be the role of the grammar.

So, when we hear a string of words like those above, how do we go about relating the single-underlined part as a unit with the double-underlined part and, at the same time, comprehend the semantic link between the two?

What we probably first notice is that there are both cases in which one can say that the modifying part truly “restricts (explains) the content” of the base noun and those that are

somewhat different from those. For example, the *asioto* ‘footsteps’ in (7b) are understood as the kind of footsteps that “someone coming down that stairs” might make. In (8b) as well, the kind of (content of) *nioi* ‘smell’ is explained by the modifying part as that of ‘(someone) grilling saury’. In a sense, the hearer or listener can hear or smell in the same way that the speaker can. The same can probably be said of (9b) as well. In contrast to this, although we may be able to say that the modifying part restricts the base noun in (7a), (8a), and (9a), the situation seems slightly different. The *asioto* in (7a) is lifted out of the category of general footsteps by the *kimi ga sono toki kiita* ‘that you heard then’ and have become some particular footsteps, but, while they are “restricted or defined” in that sense, there is no way to tell from ‘that you heard’ what kind of footsteps they may have been. The same can be said of the (a) sentences of (8) and (9). The function of the modifying part here is like that of the specifiers in *ano oto* ‘that sound’ or *kono nioi* ‘this smell’.

Does the difference between the (a) and (b) types of semantic linkages seen above between the modifying part and the base noun correspond to some kind of structural characteristic? When one hears an (a) type linkage, another something that one does understand comes to mind and with that the (a) linkage is understandable in itself. For example, when one has heard (7a), at the same time as *asioto* is determined by *kimi ga sono toki kiita*, a relationship that underlies the connection between them expressible as a sentence: *kimi ga sono toki asioto o kiita* ‘you heard footsteps at that time’ is understood. In the same way, (8a) is undoubtedly understood in relation to the sentence: *otoko ga sanma o yaku* ‘the man grills saury’.

Incidentally, in the past, when explaining noun modification grammatically, it was common to explain by saying the base noun could be “shifted” and placed inside the modifying part, such that the noun modification relation can be restated, as in:

<i>siroi</i>	<i>hana</i>	→	<i>hana</i>	<u><i>ga</i></u>	<i>siroi</i>
white	flower		flower	NOM	white
<i>yomu</i>	<i>hon</i>	→	<i>hon</i>	<u><i>o</i></u>	<i>yomu</i>
read	book		book	ACC	read

This was the so-called “adnominal” versus “predicational” opposition and the “conversion” between them. In conjunction with this approach, it was common to hold that the base noun potentially bore various “case roles” with respect to the preceding modifying part (or with respect to the predicate it contains). It seemed as though this explanation would fit all noun modification structures. However, it is clear if one looks at the (b) sentences of (7), (8), and (9) or at (9c), that this kind of noun modification is the pattern for only one part of noun modification as a whole. The following has also been said about noun modification: that the relation between the modified noun and the modifying part, whatever differences may exist, is one in which the former is the “topic” and the latter is the “comment/explanation”. This can also be explained as some kind of “conversion”. Namely, it attempts to explain noun modification by making it parallel to “topic-comment sentences”. No doubt both are in an important correspondence relation. However, if one establishes a topic as in *sono oto wa* [that sound TOP, *sono nioi wa* [that smell TOP], or *sono batu wa* [that punishment TOP], the modifying part cannot stand alone as a predicate as is. Furthermore, to say with regard to (9c) that it is also just the same reversal of a topic-comment structure is probably too sloppy. Additionally, as will be shown with real-life examples later on, this sort of example is certainly not “special” in any way and we can create any number of examples just like it.

- (10) *Kare ga ansatu-sareta kekka kokunai no*
 he NOM assassinate-do.PASS.PST result domestic GEN
atikoti ni huon.na zyoosei ga umarete
 here.and.there LOC unsettled situation NOM be.born.GER
iru.
 be.NONPST

‘As a result of his assassination, unsettled situations have arisen here and there domestically.’

- (cf. ... *de, minna ni uragirareru kekka*
 INS everyone DAT betray.PASS.NONPST result
ni natta.)
 DAT become.PST

‘because of ..., (he) ended up being betrayed by everyone’

In neither (9c) nor (10) can the modifying part be said to represent the “content” of the base noun (what sort of thing it refers to). The content is probably rather something to be found outside the modification structure (following *kokunai no* in (10)).

Earlier we distinguished between those noun modification structures in which the base noun can be converted (with an appropriate particle added) and placed into the modifying part, rewriting the whole into a “predication” and those for which this is not possible. Is it sufficient, then, just to say that there are these two types of noun modification? We just observed that within the latter type there are those in which the modifying part expresses the “content” of the base noun and those in which it does not; it is probably necessary to look more deeply at just what expressing the “content” means. Up to this point we have taken the hearer’s point of view, so to speak, in observing two different types of noun modification structures, but let us take a look now from the speaker’s point of view.

The structures in the (a) sentences of (7) – (9) are normally easily constructed structures in which we think of some sentence, extract one of the nouns in the sentence, and use that as an element in some other, larger sentence.

- (11) (a) *Kimi wa sono toki (aru) oto o kiita.*
 you TOP that time some sound ACC heard
 ‘You heard a sound then’
 (b) *Sono oto wa donna oto datta ka*
 that sound TOP what.kind.of sound be.PSTQ
 ‘What kind of sound was that sound?’
 → (c) *Kimi ga sono toki kiita oto wa*
 you NOM that time heard sound TOP

donna oto datta ka.
 what.kind.of sound be.PSTQ
 ‘What kind of sound was it that you heard then?’

However, the (b) sentences of (7) – (9) and (10) cannot be considered to have been constructed through this kind of process.

- (12) (a) *Dareka ga kaidan o orite kuru.*
 someone NOM stairs ACC descend.GER come.NONPST
 ‘Someone comes down the stairs.’
- (b) *(Sono) oto ga kikoeta.*
 that sound NOM hear.PST
- (c) *Dareka ga kaidan o orite*
 someone NOM stairs ACC descend.GER
- kuru oto ga kikoeta.*
 come sound NOM hear.PST
 ‘I heard the sound of someone coming down the stairs.’

Considering this, it is necessary to consider the word that forms the base noun (*oto* ‘sound’) in a collocation like (12) that allows it to take a sentence like (12a) and be modified by it to have some kind of special quality. In contrast to (11), in which both the (a) and (b) sentences contain the noun *oto* ‘sound’, which can be thought of as being a link, so to speak, allowing the formation of (11c), there is no common noun in the case of (12). If you actually try putting together a noun modification structure of the form in (12), you will probably realize that, unlike the case of (11), not just any noun can function as the base noun. That is, in order to explain the formation of this sort of structure, one must consider the semantic characteristics of the base noun (which are reflected in the structure). And, of course, when considering subcategories within them, these characteristics also come into play.

What we will look at in this work is more-or-less as described above, but I would like to add a word concerning the boundaries of our inquiry.

As stated above, since the main target of this work is the case in which “something that could stand as a sentence/clause” precedes a noun and modifies it, we will set aside for now so-called adnominals^c and forms with the particle *no* attached to nouns. However, since the *no* appearing in *byooki no hito* [illness *no* person] ‘a person who is ill’ or *syatyoo no Yamada-san* [company.president *no* Yamada-Mx] ‘Mx Yamada, who is the company president’ can be related to *sono hito ga byooki da* [that person NOM illness COP.NONPST] ‘That person is ill.’ and *Yamada-san ga syatyoo da* [Yamada-Mx NOM company.president COP.NONPST] ‘Mx Yamada is the company president’, it does, in fact, fall within the boundaries of this manuscript. Also, regarding *zyoohin-butta (asidori)* [sophisticated-

^c Translator’s Note:

“Adnominal” is a translation of *rentaishi*, recognized as a part of speech in traditional Japanese grammar and referring widely varying set of forms that only appear prenominal. Examples include *taisita* ‘important’, *akuru* ‘coming’, *kono* ‘this’, and *ooki.na* ‘big’.

act.PST (gait)] ‘a sophisticated gait’ or *manzyuu ga kirai na (hito)* [meat.pastry NOM dislike *na* (person)] ‘a person who dislikes meat pastries’ as forms that *zyoohin-butte iru* [sophisticated-act.GER COP.NONPST] and ...*kirai da* [dislike COP.NONPST], respectively, take in a noun modification structure, they, too, are targets for consideration.

Another matter that arises in connection with examination of the characteristics of sentences like the (b) sentences of (7) – (9) and of (9c) and (10) is the *toiu* (or *tono* or the like) that intervenes between the single underlined portion and the double underlined portion of (13) and (14), which pattern we also would like to include in noun modification.

- (13) *Watasi wa, sikei wa haisi subeki da*
 I TOP death.penalty TOP abolish do.should be.NONPST
toiu iken desu.
 opinion COP.NONPST.POL
 ‘I’m of the opinion that the death penalty should be abolished.’

- (14) *Ano sawagi wa seihu ga sikunda*
 that disturbance TOP government NOM plot.PST
toiu uwasa da.
 rumor COP.NONPST
 ‘The rumor is that the government plotted that disturbance.’

(For ease of description, the part through ...*toiu* will be called the modifying part here.) If we were to treat this sort of construction as “junction with a clause derived with the quotative *to*” and completely different from noun modification, we would overlook a major aspect of noun modification that we want to emphasize through the viewpoint adopted in this manuscript. There are cases in which a linking word like *toiu* is necessary when we wish to use something that is expressed in the form of a clause to precede and modify a noun. Among these are cases for which the structure of the clause itself calls for such use (e.g. the clause includes the topic marker *wa*, ends in the sentence-final form *da*, or has a sentence-final particle), but what can be considered a more essential factor is what kind of noun can be a base noun that can be modified in this way (that has a content that can be expressed in detail) is. For example, a noun like *iken* ‘opinion’ could have many different sorts of content, that can probably be expressed in a variety of forms (of sentences), such as:

Sikei wa haisi subeki da.
 death.penalty TOP abolish do.should COP.NONPST
 ‘The death penalty should be abolished.’

Sikei wa hituyoo da.
 death.penalty TOP necessary COP.NONPST
 ‘The death penalty is needed.’

Sikei wa hurui.
 death.penalty TOP old.NONPST
 ‘The death penalty is old (out of date).’

Sore ni wa mondai ga aru.
 that LOC TOP problem NOM exist.NONPST

‘There are problems with that. / There’s a problem with that.’

But none of these in their current form, or even changed to an “adnominal” form can directly precede and modify *iken* ‘opinion’. However, adding an ad hoc constraint (in the lexicon? in the grammar? where in the grammar?) to *iken* to the effect that it is always to be preceded by some linking word like *toiu* will not take care of the situation either. Doing so would mean rejecting perfectly ordinary sentences like the following as not being grammatical.

<i>Sore</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>keityoo</i>	<i>subeki</i>	<i>iken</i>	<i>da.</i>
that	TOP	listen.closely	do.should	opinion	COP.NONPST

‘That’s an opinion that deserves a careful hearing.’

<i>Sore</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>yoku</i>	<i>aru</i>	<i>iken</i>	<i>da.</i>
that	TOP	commonly	exist.NONPST	opinion	COP.NONPST

‘That’s a commonly held opinion.’

Moreover, it is not just *iken* ‘opinion’ that has such characteristics; quite a few other nouns can be found that behave the same way. At the same time, there are those with which *toiu* can be inserted optionally and those for which *toiu* can never be inserted and that, being tied up with the characteristics of the base noun, makes a useful tool when considering the formation of noun modification constructions. Of course, this use must be distinguished from cases in which *toiu* is used in the meaning of ... *to yobareru* [QUOT call.PASS.NONPST] ‘be called ...’ or ... *to seken.ippan ni iwarete iru (omowarete iru)* [QUOT general.public DAT say.PASS.GER be.NONPST (think.PASS.GER be.NONPST)] ‘be generally said (thought) to be ...’. Also, although the function of the linking word ...*yoona* [appearance.ADN] ‘that’ would be interesting to consider, we will (unavoidably) eliminate it from consideration here.

Finally, I’d like to say a word about comparison with English and other languages. Expressions corresponding to those examined above are also treated as grammatical categories in English. In actuality, from the synthesis of sentences in (11) people probably think immediately of English “relative constructions”. Also, no doubt people recall the so-called “appositive clause construction” looking at (13) and (14). In fact, in attempts at contrasting Japanese noun modification constructions with English, even in attempts to describe the Japanese constructions themselves – particularly in recent attempts at description within the frameworks of transformational or generative grammar – the terms “relative clause construction” and “appositive clause construction” are sometimes used. However, in the first place, Japanese does not have anything like a “relative word” and, furthermore, the evidence for using the word “appositive” found in English grammar doesn’t appear in Japanese. More important still is probably the fact that, by forcing such a contrastive framework on Japanese, there is a danger of overlooking other types of constructions that certainly should fall into the category of “noun modification” in Japanese. It hardly needs saying that we must first clarify from a variety of points of view the essential nature of Japanese itself. As a result of doing so, overlooked, interesting facts about English may come to light.

Although this introduction has run somewhat long, we have outlined above the viewpoints and scope of consideration adopted in this manuscript. Before entering into the main part of this manuscript (section 3, below), I would like to briefly review in the next section, section 2, previous explanations of “modification” and “noun modification” categorized by their approaches.

2. Perspectives of previous research

As seen above, the concept of “modification” is absolutely necessary for the description of sentence formation, but within the tradition of Japanese grammar, it appears to be after the introduction of Western grammar that “modification” came to occupy a place in structural grammar. SAKUMA Kanae (1888 – 1970) writes:

Since the term *shūshoku* has become customary we will use it here but originally it seems to have been adopted as a translation of “modification” from Sweet’s English grammar. Both the original and its translation are of a sort that could be faulted if one so wished.²

However, if one asks whether “modification” and “modifier” are well-defined terms used from early on in English grammar, the answer appears to be that they are not. Sweet, Onions, Zandvoort, Jespersen, and other representative early English grammarians used the term “Adjunct (-word)” (though not necessarily in the same meaning), but it appears they did not use the word “modifier” as a fixed grammatical term. It may be due to the author’s lack of knowledge, but it is really unclear from when the word “modifier” began to be used as a grammatical term. Even Sweet (described below) merely said that an Adjunct-word could be described as a “modifier”. Ian Michael’s *English Grammatical Categories*³ is a prodigious work running to 600-pages, but even it has no entry for “modifier”. Apparently, the variety of senses in which the word was used by Sweet, Curme, and others blended together and came to have the meaning in which it is now used in school grammars. The term “Adjunct-word”, however, seems to have been used in nearly every grammar book. This fact itself suggests how English grammar viewed our so-called noun modification structure. The various differences of opinion regarding this term show that, in spite of the fact that we feel we somehow understand the characteristics discussed in the previous section, it is actually quite difficult to make objective generalizations.

Below, we will begin with the opinions of English grammarians concerning “Adjunct-words (=modifiers)”, then we will consider the special characteristics of structures of noun modification viewed from the opposing concepts of “Junction” and Nexus”, which formed the basis for explanations in Japanese as *sōtei* versus *jutte*. Following this, we will examine categorizations of noun modification structures by the (surface) morphological and syntactic patterns of the modifier part (most detailed descriptions of noun modification until now have been of this type). Finally, we will examine how a sentence and a modifying part that has the form of a sentence (a modifying clause) differ. Unavoidably, these will be somewhat abridged, but let us take a survey.

2.1 Noun modification as “Adjunct-word” – Key elements and subordinate elements in a clause

When describing the makeup of a sentence, on a different dimension from categorization by the characteristics of the words themselves that make up the sentence, so-called parts of speech, it is necessary to explain their functions in joining together/combining to form a sentence and, together with that, what elements are essential to make it a sentence and what are secondary, optional elements.

Because the idea that “something with a subject and a predicate is a sentence” in European languages, especially English, has spread widely, other elements end up being termed *fukago* ‘adjunct words’ and those *fukago* are then categorized depending on their part of speech or on whether or not they have a relation with the subject or predicate. However, things are not as simple as that. This is because what constitutes a predicate, let alone a subject, differs from writer to writer. The lack of agreement among English grammarians on the characteristics of an adjunct-word seems to stem in part from this fact. Another problem is that calling something an adjunct word does not necessarily mean that it is a secondary element with respect to some primary element of the sentence.

For example, for Sweet⁴, mentioned earlier, the term “Adjunct-word” is a concept contrasting with “Head-word” and, rather than an element relating to sentence formation, it seems to have emerged concerning a dependence relation between two words within a sentence. According to him, when various words within a sentence have a relation, the most general, most “logical” relation is that of “Head-word” and “Adjunct-word”. The latter can be called “modifier” and the former “modified”. For example, in the following, the relation between “tall” and “men” and between “strong” and “men” are each the Adjunct and Head relation.

Tall men are not always strong.

The first matches the common understanding within today’s school grammar, but the latter is what we would generally call a *hogo* ‘complement’ today. Kruisunga⁵ and Zandvoort⁶, on the other hand, came to call an element secondary with respect to sentence formation an Adjunct. Let’s take a look at the latter. Zandvoort holds that an ordinary (that is, not an imperative, interjection, or vocative) sentence is composed of a subject and a predicate and states that predicates may be of the following types.

- (1) Verb + Predicative adjective
e.g. *The situation seemed hopeless.*
- (2) Verb + Predicative noun
e.g. *Morris turned socialist.*
His brother was a saint.
- (3) Verb alone (the case of a so-called complete intransitive)
examples omitted
- (4) Verb + Direct Object (a transitive verb taking a direct object)
examples omitted
- (5) Verb + Direct Object + Indirect Object (a transitive verb taking both a direct and an indirect object)
examples omitted

Any other elements were all termed Adjunct. There are three types among the Adjuncts.

- (a) Attributive adjunct (restrictive adjunct)
e.g. *twenty people, my sister, an honest man, a brick wall, the house in the forest...*

- (b) Predicative adjunct (predicative adjunct)
 e.g. *Have I made this clear?*
I like my coffee strong.
I found the room in an awful mess.
- (c) Adverbial adjunct (adverbial adjunct)
 e.g. *This dog barks furiously.*
She kept very quiet.

In today's school grammar, (1) and (2) are combined as the "Verb + Complement" (SVC) pattern and (b) is considered to be the "Verb + Object + Complement (SVOC) pattern. In short, the view of "basic sentence patterns" is different. It is also usual to call both (a) and (c) "(attributive) modifiers", with (a) being an "Adjectival modifier" and (c) an "Adverbial modifier". Here (a) and (b) are both treated as "Adjunct-words" and are held to be of the same type, but Zandvoort's explanation for this is rather strained. According to him, (a) and (b) are the same in that they both "qualify" a noun, but the difference is that, whereas in (a) it is "subordinate" to the noun, in (b) that is not the case. In (b) the relation between the modifier and the noun it qualifies (the *my coffee* in the case of the example *I like my coffee strong*) is exactly the same relation as that a predicate has with its subject (the relation in *My coffee is strong*) and cannot be said to have a subordinate relation like that of *strong* in *strong coffee*. But if this is the case, then the difference between this "predicative adjunct" and (1) and (2) becomes tricky. In fact, Zandvoort does say that if we broaden this kind of Predicative adjunct, the Predicative adjective and Predicative noun can also be called Predicative adjuncts⁷. This can only be said to be in conflict with setting the primary elements of a sentence to be as in (1) through (5) and calling everything else an Adjunct. However, putting aside this problem, this section of Zandvoort's work contains many suggestive observations and indications. In particular, the section in which he points out, with many examples, that there are Attributive adjunct plus Head word patterns that cannot be converted to a subject-predicate sentence, together with a similar indication by Jespersen, raised well in advance one of the problems with today's transformational grammar approach.

Although we cannot discuss all of them here in detail, other grammarians include Curme⁸, for whom the term "modifier" includes the direct object ("Objective modifier"), Onions⁹, for whom "Adjunct" was restricted to so-called adverbial modifiers with adjectival modification of a noun distinguished as an "Attribute", and so many others that we would almost have to make a chart of each example and each time we speak have to specify that in this case we are referring to so-and-so's such-and-such or else confusion would undoubtedly run rampant. And this confusion all (or, if that is an overstatement, most of it) arises from the vagueness of the terms "modify", "qualify", and "subordinate" as well as to differences in conceptions of a "Predicate". This confusion has much in common with the confusion arising from simply using such a semantic definition and lacking an objective, in this case structural, determination.

The situation described above is not unrelated to the situation of those of us concerned with Japanese. Even among grammarians of the Japanese language studies school (*kokugogaku-sha*) it is well known that the various positions do not come together. What one calls a "subject" or an "object", another calls an "adverbial modification word (*ren'yō shūshokugo*)" or another says that the "subject" alone is different. These differences are not unrelated to the struggles of the English grammarians described earlier. And, as we will see

later, we can also see a link in setting up the modified word (base noun) as a “topic/theme” and treating the modifying part as its “predicate (comment)”.

2.2 “Junction” (*sōtei*) versus “Nexus” (*juttei*)

These days, distinguishing, for example, the link between *siroi* ‘white’ and *hana* ‘flower’ in *siroi hana* ‘white flower’ and that in *ano hana wa siroi* [that flower TOP white.NONPST] ‘that flower is white’, and calling the former *sōtei* ‘junction’ and the latter *juttei* ‘nexus’ has spread quite widely within Japanese grammar (*kokubunpō*). As is well known, these terms are Sakuma’s translations¹⁰ for Jespersen’s¹¹ “Junction” and “Nexus”, respectively. Jespersen’s terms “Primary (-word)”, “Secondary (-word)”, and Tertiary (-word): are also well known, but these are defined in terms of what word in a sentence “defines”, “modifies”, or “qualifies” what other word and, on this point are of the same sort as the division into “head (-word)” and “Adjunct (-word)” by Sweet described earlier and, since in the linking between “bark” and “dog” in “a barking dog” and “The dog barks” in both “barking” is “Secondary” to “dog”, there is no way to describe the difference between these two constructions. The terms “Junction” and “Nexus” are introduced to make this distinction.

Nexus “archetypically” refers to the case in which a Primary word and a Secondary word form a complete sentence with a relation like subject-predicate; Junction refers to the case in which a Secondary word is linked to a Primary word forming a single “denomination (*meimoku*)” and the former is merely a label, like a signpost. However, the subject-predicate relation forming a Nexus is a semantic, internal one and may not necessarily require a finite verb like a normal sentence. For example, in the following, since a (semantic) subject-predicate relation obtains between “the door” and “red” and between “the Doctor” and “arrive”, this is held to be a kind of Nexus. The difficulty of this kind of semantic

He painted the door red.

I saw the Doctor arrive.

prescription is apparent here as well and, while recognizing himself the difficulty of prescribing the dividing line between these two constructions¹², he attempts to characterize the difference with a variety of expressions and metaphors. What Junction expresses is a single unit or concept that just happens to be expressed in two words. In fact, it often happens that in many cases the same content can be expressed in one word (e.g. “silly person” = “fool”). In contrast, Nexus contains two clearly separate concepts. The Secondary word in the construction merely adds new information concerning something already named. If Junction is a static image or picture, Nexus is a dynamic process, like a drama. For example, if you compare (a) and (b), below, the new information concerning the “dress” is that it is “the oldest” in (a) but that it is “blue” in (b). However, the fact that it is “blue” in (a) and the fact that it is “the oldest” in (b) is not new information but are concepts that are from the beginning joined with “the dress”.

(a) The blue dress is the oldest.

(b) The oldest dress is blue.

Broadly speaking, with this sort of explanation it is apparent how difficult it is to make a clear differentiation abstractly, but since he presents many real examples and shows various types with regard to English, in fact there are few person-to-person discrepancies and thus this approach has become widely used in Japan as well a useful grammatical concept.

As described earlier, in Japanese Junction was translated by Sakuma as *sōtei* and Nexus as *juttei* and the terms are often used in Japanese grammar. Within Japanese grammar, the terms “Junction (*jankushon*)” and “Nexus (*nekusasu*)” are also by some, such as HAGA Yasushi¹³. Haga explains the opposition between the two terms in an easy to understand way using the following expressions:

Junction – substantive/noun – “condensing (*gyōshuku*)” ... sense of ending with a
<word>

Nexus – verb/predicate – “expanding (*tenkai*)” ... sense of trying to expand to a
<sentence>

Although his point of view is somewhat different from Jespersen’s division, it was Bloomfield¹⁴ that showed the difference from a so-called structuralist stance taking form first. Bloomfield looked at when several words come together to form a construction (a syntactic structure that repeatedly occurs and can be taken as a single pattern) and called one in which the entire construction has the same function as one of its direct constituents an “Endocentric construction (*naishin kōzō*)” and one for which this does not hold, an “Exocentric construction (*gaishin kōzō*)”. For example, since “some fresh milk” has the same function as “milk”, it belongs to the former and since “John ran” does as a whole does not have the function of either “John” or “ran”, it belongs to the latter.

In addition to a detailed introduction to this point, Sakuma¹⁵ introduced some discussion of patterns of noun modification that Henri Frei adduced as criticism and furthermore tried his own application to Japanese.

There is no argument that characterization of noun modification structures by the bipartite division above is both necessary and important, but, here I would like to put in a word about a danger accompanying the establishment of such an opposition. When *sōtei* is set up in opposition with *juttei* in this way, there is the fear that one may come to think that the possibility of mutually transforming one to the other (*sōgo henkan* ‘interconversion’) is something self-evident. In fact, both Sakuma and Haga used the term *sōgo henkan*. Haga said, “Incidentally, junction and nexus can mutually transform,” and showed this with the following and other examples.

<i>aoi</i>	<i>sora</i>	→	<i>sora</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>aoi</i>
blue	sky		sky	NOM	blue, NONPST
‘blue sky’			‘The sky is blue.’		

<i>nagareru</i>	<i>kumo</i>	→	<i>kumo</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>nagareru</i>
drift. NONPST	cloud		cloud	NOM	drift. NONPST
‘drifting clouds’			‘The clouds are drifting.’		

But there are any number of examples judged to be junction that cannot “expand” to nexus this way. There are even many examples other than those of the so-called adnominals

(*rentaishi*). For example, of the examples (8), (9), and (10) from the previous section, in the (a) examples, such an “expansion” is indeed possible, as in the following.

sanma o yaku otoko
saury ACC grill.NONPST man
‘a man who is grilling saury’

expands to

otoko ga sanma o yaku
man NOM saury ACC grill.NONPST
‘A man is grilling saury’

However, how can we say that the (b) examples, (11), and such examples as the following “expand”?

sanma o yaku nioi
saury ACC grill.NONPST odor
‘the smell of (someone) grilling saury’

kitune ga tanuki o bakasita hanasi
fox NOM raccoon.dog ACC bewitch.PST story
‘the story of the fox bewitching the raccoon dog’

kare ga ansatu.sareta kekka
he NOM assassinate.PASS.PST result
‘the results of his having been assassinated.’

kazi ga okotta gen'in
fire NOM break.out.PST cause
‘the cause of the fire breaking out’

tukareta kao
tire.PST face
‘tired face’

keibetu.sita kutyoo
derogatory.PST tone.of.voice
‘a derogatory tone of voice’

kiken.na ki
dangerous.NONPST feeling
‘a sense of danger’

taberu tanosimi
eat.NONPST pleasure
‘the pleasure of eating’

Granted, this sort of restriction on the inter-convertibility of *sōtei* and *juttei* has been pointed out for English by Jespersen and the other English grammarians mentioned in section 2.1 as a

problem of correspondence or non-correspondence between the “attributive (*genteiteki* ‘restrictive’)” use and the “predicative (*jutsugoteki*) use of adjectives. Zandvoort, for example, says that such conversion is possible for examples like

blue eyes ↔ *His eyes are blue*

an old man ↔ *The man is old*

but as examples of attributive adjectives for which this explanation does not fit, he gives examples like “an *early* riser”, “a *heavy* smoker”, and “a *perfect* stranger” and says that these should rather be related to a “verb + adverb” structure like “(I) always rise early”, “(He) was perfectly strange (to me)”¹⁶.

The tendency to tie noun modification structures to predicative expressions was, naturally enough, also observable from early on in transformational generative grammar. For example, a noun phrase like “the old man” was explained as being derived as below.

the man + [the man is old]
 → the man who is old
 → the man old
 → the old man

However, this kind of naïve analysis soon drew criticism. Among the critics, it was Dwight Bolinger¹⁷ who presented the most interesting observations, supported by a plentitude of actual examples (of the two uses of English adjectives). Summing up his detailed observations of adjectives that can be used attributively but not predicatively and vice versa, as well as adjectives that have one meaning used attributively and another used predicatively (such as “the criminal lawyer” versus “the lawyer is criminal” or “the short book” versus the book is short”), he argued that, when an adjective modifies a noun, it is necessary to distinguish the two fundamentally different types of “reference modification” (which might be translated as *shu no gentei* ‘type restriction’) and “referent modification” (*ko no gentei* ‘individual restriction’). “Reference modification” refers to the case where, as in “he is a *criminal* lawyer”, the adjective designates a category/type (lawyer specializing in criminal law) within the category “lawyer” while “referent modification” refers to the case where, as in “the man is criminal” the adjective refers to a (normally temporary) state of a particular individual. Among English adjectives, there are those that semantically can only be used adnominally and cannot be used predicatively (or, if used, take a different interpretation/meaning). Explaining these with the conversion/transformation discussed above is completely mistaken and, rather than that, he proposed for the case of the lawyer, for example, to establish a base structure “He is a (*some kind of*) lawyer” and, along with it, list the adjectives that fill the parenthesized gap.

Bolinger’s argument is extremely interesting and his theory dividing modification into two types has aspects that are related to this work, albeit not directly, but the point that adjectives have two functions (adnominal and predication) will not necessarily have a heavy weight in the matters to be taken up in this manuscript. The problem discussed above does have rather many aspects in common with Japanese, for example one can say *kyoo wa kyaku ga ooi* [today TOP customers NOM many.NONPST] ‘There are a lot of customers today’ but one cannot say *kyoo, ooi kyaku ga kuru* [today many customers NOM come.NONPST] ‘Many customers (will) come today’. In addition, there is no end to the

approaches to noun modification structures in transformational grammar, but we will stop here and touch on points that are especially closely related to our main topic as we go along.

2.3 Previous categorizations of noun modification

We touched on Sakuma's categorization above, but previous definitions of noun modification in Japanese language grammar studies (*kokubunpō*) appear to have introduced the notions from English grammar described above and their categorizations have mostly been either morphological or based on their correspondence with *jutte* (predicative use). Since it would be impossible to introduce and consider them all one by one, here we will pick up just the high points of YAMADA Yoshio's¹⁸ explanation.

In chapter four, "Uses of words", of the *goron* 'word theory' section of his *Nihon Bunpōron* 'Theory of Japanese Grammar', Yamada established an "adnominal case *rentai-kaku*" and a "modifying case *shūshoku-kaku*", along with "vocative case *ko-kaku*", "subjective (nominative) case *shu-kaku*", "objective case *hin-kaku*", "complement case *ho-kaku*", "predicative case *jutsu-kaku*", and "conjunctive case *setsuzoku-kaku*". The "modifying case" corresponds to what is usually treated as adverbial modification (*ren'yō shūshoku*) and what corresponds to what is usually treated as adnominal modification today was explained as the "adnominal case". Yamada explains the "adnominal case" as below:

These (e.g. *tuki no hikari* [moon GEN light] 'the light of the moon', *kasikoki hito* [smart.ADN person] 'a smart person', and *nagaruru mizu* [flow.ADN water] 'running water') are words showing restrictive concepts that are attached in order to make the concepts of the nouns more exact and through their attachment form an even larger concept-group¹⁹.

The modifying word then "internally restricts and externally adjoins to" the noun, he states. Both statements are reminiscent of the English grammar analyses discussed earlier. However, in this description of "modification by a predicate", it was pointed out early on that the modified word stands in a relation with respect to the modifying word that can be expressed by a variety of case particles. For example, relations such as those between *ware ga sumu sato* [I NOM live.NONPST village] 'the village where I live' and *sono sato ni sumu* [that village LOC live.NONPST] '(I) live in that village.' or between *kimi ga koreru miti* [you NOM come.HON.NONPST road] 'the road along which you come' and *sono miti yori koreru* [that road INS come.HON, NONPST] 'you come by that road.'. Especially noteworthy is his observation, "there are also times when it is not a modifier of a subject or complement but is a modifier of something else (emphasis added)", which he illustrated with the following examples.

<i>kawaziri</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>itareru hodo</i>	<i>izayoi</i>	<i>no</i>
lower.river	LOC	reach time	sixteen.day.old.moon	GEN

tuki sasi.idetari
moon project
'When (I) reached the lower part of the river, the sixteen-day-old moon shown down.'

<i>mimakarikeru ato</i>	<i>sakura</i>	<i>tatimati.ni</i>	<i>karenikeri</i>
die.PST.ADN after	cherry.blossom	in.no.time	wither.PERF.PST

'Following (someone's) death, the cherry blossoms soon withered.'

This is close to what we will later in this work call the “outer relation (*soto no kankei*)” (one that cannot be converted into a predication) and also fits with the idea to be presented in section 6 that takes so-called formal nouns (*keishiki meishi*) to be an extension of the outer relation noun modification structure.

It would be safe to say that categorization of noun modification in Japanese grammatical studies after Yamada mostly followed Yamada’s view in focusing on the case relationship between the base noun and a noun and the predicate in the modifying part. Sakuma, in the work cited earlier, divided verbs into “one hand (*hitotsu-te*)”, “two hand (*futatsu-te*)”, and “three hand (*mittsu-te*)”, depending on the case particles each called for and showed that clauses using each type in predication could be converted into one (*hito-tōri*), two (*futa-tōri*), or three (*mi-tōri*) patterns of prenominal modification, but this is basically the same view as that of Yamada given above. Sakuma also considered the three patterns of word groupings in the “determination” (that is characteristics – substance composition) theory of Henri Frei mentioned earlier: *caractérisation* (*teisei*), *indication* (*shitei*), and *spécification* (*tokutei*) and introduced L. Tèsnierre’s *la translation* “conversion” theory, suggesting new ways to view modification in Japanese.

In newer works, SHIMADA Isao’s²⁰ analysis is detailed and his explanations are thorough. From the point of view of structural linguistics, E. Kleinjans’ 1958 dissertation²¹ is quite comprehensive. We cannot take up each of these one by one and compare them here, but, taking a summary view of past work on categorization of noun modification, we can say that, in general, they first make a categorization based on formal characteristics (what parts of speech are involved, how are they connected) and then, as we have seen above, there is some explanation concerning the particles the head noun would appear with when converted into a predication with the occasional mention of “formal nouns (*keishiki meishi*)” becoming the modified word as a “special case”. The first point is not a goal of this manuscript; the second point will mainly be taken up in section 4 when we consider the question of “inner relations (*uchi no kankei*)”.

2.4 Noun modification and predication theory – Concerning WATANABE Minoru’s *saitenjo* ‘re-opening of a proposition’^d in particular

^d Translator’s note:

Watanabe views a sentence as composed of two parts:

<a predication/proposition *jojutsu* > + <*chinjutsu*>,

where *chinjutsu* includes everything other than the propositional content of the sentence, including mood, sentence type (declarative, interrogative, imperative), tense, aspect, and negation, among other things.

Jojutsu is composed of two parts, which are functions rather than parts of speech, the first of which may be repeated. That is, < predication/proposition *jojutsu* > consists of:

<*tenjo* ‘opening/beginning of proposition’> and <*tōjo* ‘closing/ending of proposition’>
Each phrase tied to the predicate, including the subject, locative phrases, or the object, can have the *tenjo* function. The *tenjo* function can also be divided into *rentai tenjo* ‘adnominal *tenjo*’ and *ren’yō tenjo* ‘adverbial *tenjo*’. In the sentence *Sakura no hana ga utokusiku saku* [cherry GEN blossom NOM beautiful.ADV.L bloom.NONPST] ‘The cherry blossoms bloom beautifully’, *sakura no* has the function of adnominal *tenjo* and *hana ga* and *utokusiku* have

One problem concerning noun modification in Japanese language studies has been where the difference lies between the “clausehood/clausiness” of the modifying part and a “complete” sentence. No such problem arises when one says *kono hana* [this flower] ‘this flower’ or *sakura no hana* [cherry.blossom GEN flower] ‘a cherry blossom’, but in the modifying portion of

<i>Sakura</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>hana</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>kisetu</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>hutatatabi</i>
cherry.blossom	GEN	flower	NOM	bloom	season	NOM	again

yatte.kita.

some.around.PST

‘The season when the cherry blossoms bloom had come again.’

the modifying portion, *sakura no hana ga saku* is, on the one hand, a complete, independent clause, but in this case it is “subordinate”, modifying the noun *kisetu*, which is a major constituent of the sentence that follows; in other words, it is not a complete sentence, which raises the question of just what a “sentence” is. Since the modification we consider in this work is of precisely this form, this is obviously not an irrelevant question for us.

This was touched upon in the preliminary considerations in section 1, but it goes without saying that we should not accept uncritically the traditional prescriptions of English grammar when considering what constitutes a sentence (actually, the same caution extends to all areas). In Western grammar, as in Japanese grammar, a sentence has been given conceptual definitions like, “something that a person relates about something” or “something that expresses a complete thought”, but these have always been backed up by objectively observable external characteristics, namely, the existence of a “subject” and a finite verb that agrees with it morphologically. However, that will not work for Japanese. What in Japanese corresponds to the “subject (the unit translated as *shugo*) differs both in its semantics and in its form among the various scholars. More striking than that, there is even the view that recognizing such a concept for Japanese is useless and even harmful for Japanese grammar, as strongly and repeatedly argued by MIKAMI Akira. Although they may not be as forceful and direct as Mikami, there are many today who basically agree with the idea. Even without taking this position, the idea that the nominative (*shukaku*) *~ga* should be seen as not standing in opposition with a predicate as in Western languages, but rather standing as a part of the predicate along with other case-marked NPs, as an adverbial modifier, can probably be considered the majority view ever since TOKIEDA Motoki and, when it comes to the topic-marker *~wa*, even without bringing up the classification of MATSUSHITA Daisaburō into “topic sentences” and “no-topic sentences”, there are probably very few who would say that something is not a complete sentence without it.

the function of adverbial *tenjo*. Note that arguments to the verb are treated as adverbial modifiers along with locatives, instrumentals, and other elements commonly considered adverbial. The verb *saku*, in addition to having the meaning ‘bloom’, is in a sentence-final form and thereby ends/closes the proposition, the *tōjo* function. As it ends a proposition, it also serves to make the proposition a single unit (the *jojutsu* in the schema above). The term *saitenjo* refers to ‘re-starting/re-opening a proposition’. The rest of the relevant parts of Watanabe’s analysis should be clear from the main text.

YAMADA Yoshio, who turned away from the facile application of Western grammar and consistently and actively pursued the true nature of Japanese, is said to be representative of grammarians placing an emphasis on meaning, but he said the following about the meaning aspect and its form (realization): a sentence is the representation in language of the human conceptual act (apperception) of linking at some point a variety of ideas and trying to connect them together. This action of apperception is embedded into the predicate word (*yōgen*). The predicate also has the function of expressing a variety of dependencies, but its inherent characteristic is “the action of apperception, that is, in other words, it is embodied with the power of *chinjutsu*”²². When a predicate is used to express this *chinjutsu*, its “locative case” is a “predicative case”. The term “predicate (*jutsugo*)” refers to a word that stands in this “predicative case (*jutsukaku*)”.

This is a rough summary of Yamada’s definition of a “sentence” and, as is well known, the so-called “*chinjutsu* debates” that have long continued as a core topic in Japanese language studies (*kokugogaku*) began from this opinion²³.

Then, what does he think about the case when this predicate modifies a noun, as in the earlier examples. First, he makes the following statement in *Nihon Bunpōron*:

Although the essence of this *chinjutsu* word, the predicate, is to express/carry the *chinjutsu* of a sentence, it also has as a separate development, a use to (prenominally) modify (*sōtei*) a concept word, a noun. Here the *chinjutsu* word, while expressing the force of *chinjutsu*, also expresses an attribute concept. However, that attribute concept is used to make a predication (*chinjutsu-suru*) regarding some concept. In these cases, these words have two uses and in many cases a change in the form of the word occurs.²⁴

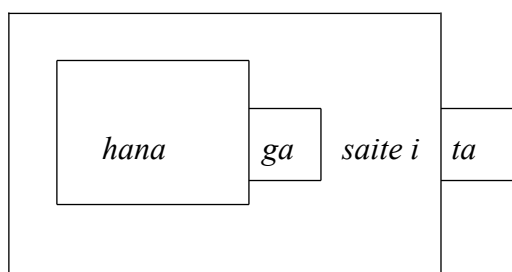
His characterization in his later *Nihon Bunpōgaku Gairon* changes slightly. Concerning the underlined (modifying) parts of the examples *hana no saku ki* [flower GEN bloom tree] ‘a tree in bloom’ and *hito no sumanu ie* [people GEN live.NEG house] ‘a house in which no people are living’, he says the following:

While it can be said to be something composed of a subject (*shukaku*) and a predicate (*jutsukaku*), at the same time, it stands in a position as a restrictive word (phrase) to *ki* ‘tree’ and *ie* ‘house’. Thus, the *hana no saku* and *hito no sumanu* in this case, strictly speaking, do not carry *chinjutsu* and something formed of the subject (*shukaku*) *hana* and the logical predicate concept (*hin’i gainen*) stops with (simply) being a restrictive word (phrase) to the noun and we cannot say it fully bears *chinjutsu*²⁵.

In short, the *chinjutsu* force that a predicate inherently bears is not fully realized in these cases and the predicates in question are limited to functioning as restrictive words or phrases. This can only be said to be an “unclear (incoherent) explanation” as WATANABE Minoru criticized (more below).

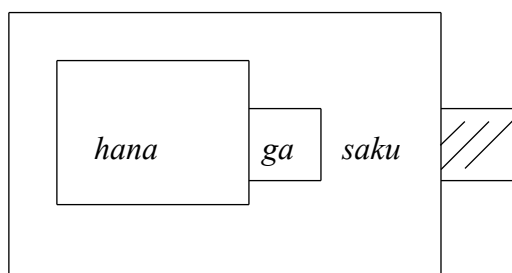
TOKIEDA Motoki, famous for his “language processing theory”, “nested box” structural analysis, and the theory of *shi* and *ji*, is widely known both domestically and abroad for his insightful observations on the special characteristics of Japanese, looking at both internal aspects and exterior form, but how did he handle the problem discussed above?

As is well known, Tokieda stands on his so-called “language processing theory”, which holds that the essence of language is not concepts but “subjective conceptual operations” and that what prescribes words is not their ideational content or their phonological form but the ‘linguistic processing of what is experienced’²⁶ and which makes a rigorous distinction between two types of words: (1) those that temporarily objectify the materials of expression, conceptualizing them, and expressing them phonetically, that is, “forms that include conceptual processing”, and (2) those that make a direct expression without conceptualizing and objectifying ideational content, that is, “forms that do not include conceptual processing”. Words of the first type are *shi* and those of the latter type are *ji*.^e A sentence is interpreted as displaying an organic, multi-layered linking, likened to “nesting boxes”, in which, as in the diagram below, a *shi* is enclosed within a *ji* and this is, in turn, enclosed within a *shi* and, finally, the whole thing is enclosed within a *ji*.



[[[[flower] NOM] bloom.GER be] PST]

If one wonders how a sentence ending in a *shi* like *saku* ‘bloom’ is to be represented, it is wrapped inside a “zero marker *ji*”, forming a complete, integrated sentence.



Furthermore, each of these forms with the predicate word at the end of the sentence can express its respective special judgement, that is *chinjutsu*, of which there are various sorts like “judgement *chinjutsu*”, “speculative or negative *chinjutsu*” (expressed by *-u*, *-yoo*, and *-nai*, respectively), as well as “adverbial modification *chinjutsu*” and “adnominal modification *chinjutsu*”. Of relevance to us is this last, “adnominal *chinjutsu*”. Specifically, with regard to our earlier example

Sakura no hana ga saku kisetu ga hutatabi

^e Translator’s note: In some ways, the *shi* versus *ji* distinction is similar to that of “content word” versus “function word”.

cherry.blossom GEN flower NOM bloom season NOM again

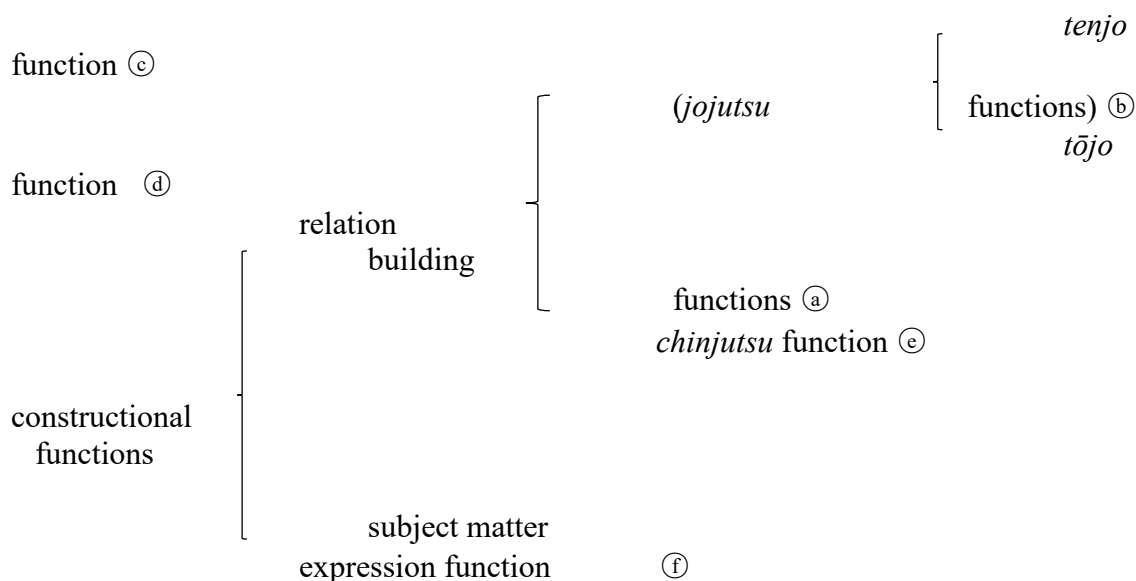
yatte.kita.

some.around.PST

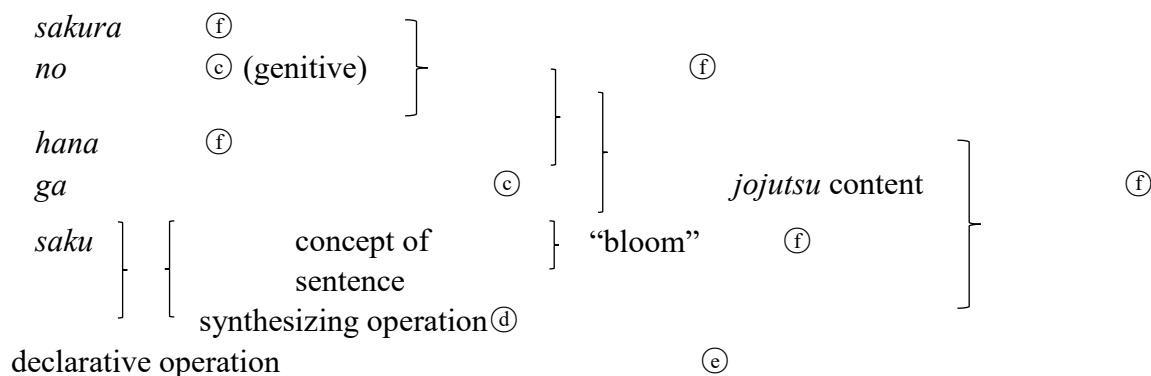
‘The season when the cherry blossoms bloom had come again.’

with regard to the underlined portion, it can be understood to have two aspects: on the one hand there is a zero marker *ji* that integrates the whole (namely predication *chinjutsu*) and on the other it has an adnominal modification *chinjutsu* with regard to what follows.

We have no space here for a careful scrutiny of the theories of Yamada and Tokieda described above, nor can we take up one by one the criticisms that have been made of them. Instead, let us leap right into the structural theories of WATANABE Minoru. Watanabe set out with a reflection on the vagueness of the concept of *chinjutsu* seen above and tried to clarify what makes a sentence a sentence through the lens of “constructional function (‘a cover term for the various kinds of roles entrusted to the internal meaning of language in order to create an organic integration of linguistic expression’)”²⁷. As a result of this approach, he divides *chinjutsu* hitherto used in a vague sense into *chinjutsu* and *jojutsu* ‘proposition/predication’ and further shows clearly that there are two types of *jojutsu*: *tenjo* ‘starting/opening of a proposition’ and *tōjo* ‘ending or closing of a proposition’. He then positions them within “constructional functions” as shown below.



A sentence like *sakura no hana ga saku* [cherry GEN flower NOM bloom.NONPST] ‘The cherry blossoms bloom’ would be analyzed as follows²⁸. (The ①, ②, etc. are added for expository purposes. Also, definitions are provided on page 67 of Watanabe’s work but are omitted here.)



With this, let us return to our original example.

How would the string *sakura no hana ga saku kisetu* [cherry GEN flower NOM bloom season] ‘the season when cherry blossoms bloom’ be analyzed? The *saku* ‘bloom’ in this example is the same as the *saku* in the above example in terms of the three components of material concepts, *tōjo*, and *jojutsu* content, but instead of bearing the “declarative” *chinjutsu* as above, by taking the adnominal form, “it bears the relational concept between the *jojutsu* content and the *kisetu* ‘season’ that follows, and accordingly, instead of the *chinjutsu* born by the conclusive form, it bears a function of *tenjo* over again towards the concept *kisetu*.” In other words, it is a “re-*tenjo* (*saitenjo*)” and “it has the function of, in spite of the fact that one predication has been concluded by a *tōjo* and one *jojutsu* content is completed, starting from there and doing *tenjo* again aiming for a larger scale predication.”

Through the above analysis, Watanabe obtained a clear answer to where the commonalities and differences lay between *sakura no* [cherry GEN] modifying *hana* ‘blossom’ and *sakura no hana ga saku* [cherry GEN blossom NOM bloom] modifying *kisetu* ‘season’ and also further captured the similarities and differences between the string *sakura no hana ga saku* as a sentence and the same string as a modifier of *kisetu*, the topic of this section of this manuscript.

In addition, Watanabe compared “adverbial (*ren'yō*) *tenjo*”, which attaches adverbial particles like *ga* ‘NOM’, *o* ‘ACC’, *ni* ‘DAT’, or *kara* ‘ABL’ and links nouns to predicates, and “adnominal (*rentai*) *tenjo*”, which attaches the adnominal particle *no* ‘GEN’ and links to a noun, adding extremely interesting observations, but, since none of them are, directly at least, related to our topic, we will have to leave consideration of their problems for another occasion. However, concerning adnominal *tenjo* by a predicate, which is the main concern of this work, about which he made relatively little comment compared to his observations on *no*, I would like just to mention the following two points. The first concerns what he said about the difference between the functions that establish the *tenjo* of each. According to Watanabe, the adverbial relation found, for example, in the underlined portions of *hana ga saku* [blossom NOM bloom.NONPST] ‘a flower blooms’ and *huransugo no hon o yomi* ... [French GEN

book ACC read.ADV] ‘read a French language book and ...’ “the adverbial elements *hana ga* and *huransugo no hon* analytically selected by the *tōjo* elements are again in nothing other than a relationship affiliated with a *tōjo* element.” That is, “concerning the adverbial relation, it can be understood as something which carries simultaneously two relations, receiving sentence composition roles from both the adverbial component and from the *tōjo* component.” In contrast to this, in for example, *sakura no hana* [cherry GEN blossom] ‘cherry blossom’, *utukusii hana* [beautiful.NONPST blossom] ‘beautiful blossom’, or *saku hana* [bloom.NONPST blossom], ‘blooming blossom’, the modified *hana*, being in an adnominal relation, is nothing more than a material concept in some constituent. That is, “there is no other relation needed to form an adnominal modification relation than adnominal *tenjo*.”²⁹ Watanabe explains that, whereas there is a phenomenon of “*mukeika* (ellipsis, deletion)” or non-realization of tangible form” in the case of adverbial *tenjo*, there is no such phenomenon in the case of adnominal *tenjo*, but, leaving that point aside, there is a problem concerning the point holding that, when there is adnominal *tenjo*, there is no role for the modified part in establishing the adnominal modification relation. At the very least, it appears that, in a certain type of noun modification (to be discussed more fully in section 5), like those below, it seems natural to consider the semantic characteristics of the modified nominals to be realized as structural characteristics strongly demanding the establishment of a noun modification relation.

<u>kodomo.tati</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>hatoba</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>te</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>hutte.ita</u>	<u>sugata</u>
children	NOM	wharf	LOC	hand	ACC	wave.GER.be.PST	figure

(<u>ga</u>	<u>imamo</u>	<u>me</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>ukabu</u>).
NOM	even.now	eye	LOC	float.NONPST

‘(I can see even now) the image of the children standing on the wharf waving their hands.’

<u>kodomo.tati</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>sugata</u>
children	GEN	figure

‘the figure of the children’

<u>kimi</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>kite.kureta</u>	<u>okage</u>	(<u>de...</u>)
you	NOM	come.did.favor.PST	assistance	due.to

‘(thanks to) your having come [as a favor to me]’

<u>kimi</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>okage</u>
you	GEN	assistance

‘thanks to you’

<u>kudara</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>hohutta</u>	<u>ikioi</u>	(<u>de...</u>)
paekche	ACC	butcher.PST	impetus	due.to

‘with the impetus from having slaughtered [the armies of] Paekche’

Furthermore, the “formal nouns (*keishiki meishi*)” or, in Sakuma’s terms “attaching words (*kyūchakugo*)”, can probably be thought of as the ultimate extension of this tendency. I would like to examine the so-called “formal nouns” from this point of view in section 6.

We have seen the importance of recognizing the different dimensions of *chinjutsu* and *jojutsu*, but there are cases for which we must recognize *chinjutsu* in the modifying portion in adnominal modification by a predicate/conjugating form. In section 1 earlier, taking nouns

like *iken* ‘opinion’ as examples, we touched on cases in which a linking word like *toiu* is required between the modifying portion and the base noun; the degree to which such a linking word is required can be thought to naturally be proportional to the degree of independence as a sentence retained by the modifying portion, that is, to strength of its degree of *chinjutsu*. Recognizing the existence of *chin-jo* (both *chinjutsu* and *jojutsu*) in adnominal *tenjo* clearly creates a dilemma, but I have a sense that the problem is similar to Watanabe’s having been able to conceive of a continuum between *shi* and *ji*. We will return to consideration of this problem in 5.1.

We will conclude here our introduction to the problems concerning the relationship between adnominal modification and the theory of *chinjutsu*, a core topic in Japanese language studies. These issues are not by any means limited to Japanese. In English as well, the question of the relative strength of characteristics of a so-called dependent clause (here, focusing on relative clauses) as a sentence, or in other words the problem of the existence of or degree of modality is one matter that can still be seen as a problem. Explaining the generation of dependent clauses, infinitive clauses, or participial clauses in terms of an “embedding transformation” is rather simple, but whether some elements (such as a kind of modality) are lost and, if so, what sort of things are lost is precisely the question.

Above we have briefly examined the main approaches taken in the past to adnominal modification constructions. I’ve tried to be succinct but complete and have ended up using more space than anticipated. Moreover, there are too many points of view that I was unable to take up. Nevertheless, we need to move on to the main topic. In the process of examining concretely various types of adnominal modification relations, we will have the opportunity re-examine the several points raised in the preceding.

3. Various type of adnominal modification relations – “inner relation (*uchi ni kankei*)” and “outer relation (*soto no kankei*)”

Earlier in section 1, we noted that even with noun modification constructions that appear the same on the surface, there are a number of different types in terms of how they “restrict or modify”. And, starting with an awareness of these problems, in section 2 we found that, notwithstanding the fruits of previous research, there are still a great number of grammatical problems yet to be solved. Here I want to take up several more examples and consider how the modifying portion and the base noun are tied together from both a structural and a semantic point of view and, together with those, consider them from both the viewpoint of the hearer’s interpretation and the speaker’s construction of the sentence and, further, consider whether or not they can be captured as some number of types or categories. Then, from section 4 on, I would like to take up each category so arrived at and, adding more real examples, group them together by their special characteristics.

So, let us return to examples (8), (9), and (10) from section 1 and, supplementing then with other examples, make a first, broad categorization.

- (8) (a) sanma o yaku otoko
saury ACC grill man
‘a man grilling saury’
- (b) sanma o yaku nioi
saury ACC grill smell

‘the smell of (someone) grilling saury’

- (15) (a) bannen no Kengyoo ga kioku
 one’s.last.years GEN Kengyō NOM memory
no naka ni son.site ita kanozyo no
 GEN inside LOC exist.do.GER be.PST she GEN
sugata
 figure
 ‘the image of her that existed in the memories of Kengyō in
 his twilight years.’
 (TANIZAKI Jun’ichirō, *Shunkinshō*)

- (b) Kyuuzyo.tati ga muragatte mizu o kumi,
 court ladies NOM gather.GER water ACC scoop up
nunu o aratte ita sugata mo e no
 cloth ACC wash.GER be.PST figure also picture GEN
yoo ni soozoo.dekiru
 appearance ADV imagine.can.NONPST
 ‘One can imagine as if in a picture the image of court ladies gathering,
 drawing water, and washing clothes.’
 (OSARAGI Jirō, *Asuka no Haru*)

- (16) (a) Kore wa nyooboo ga kinzyo no mono
 this TOP wife NOM neighborhood GEN person
kara kiita hanasi desu.
 from hear.PST story COP.NONPST
 ‘This is a story my wife heard from a neighbor.’

- (b) Kore wa, nyooboo no yuurei ga, sannenme
 this TOP wife GEN ghost NOM third.year
ni natte yooyaku arawareru hanasi
 DAT become finally appear.NONPST story
dearu.
 COP.NONPST
 ‘This is a story in which the wife’s ghost finally appears three years
 later.’
 (KATA Kōji, *Rakugo*)

- (17) (a) Kyooto wa kekko.na toti degozaimasu ga,
 Kyoto TOP splendid.ADN place COP.NONPST but
sono kekko na toti de, kore made
 that splendid.ADN place LOC this until

<u>watakusi</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>itasite</u>	<u>maitta</u>
I	GEN	do.GER	come.PST

<u>yoo.na</u>	<u>kurusimi</u>	<u>wa,</u>	<u>doko</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>maitte</u>
appear.ADN	suffering	TOP	where	to	go.GER

<u>mo</u>	<u>nakaroo</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>zonzimasu.</u>
even	not.exist.PRES	QUOT	think.NONPST

‘Kyoto is a splendid place but I don’t think the kind of suffering I’ve endured until now in this splendid place is to be found anywhere else.’
(MORI Ōgai *Takasebune*)

(b)

<u>Sikasi</u>	<u>kekkyoku,</u>	<u>eien</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>zyosei</u>	<u>tosite</u>
however	in.the.end	permanent	GEN	womanas	

<u>ookimi o</u>	<u>miokurazaru.o.enai</u>	<u>kanasimi</u>	<u>o</u>
lord ACC	have.to.see.off	sadness	ACC

<u>egakidasita</u>	<u>ten</u>	<u>dewa,</u>	<u>yuutoo.daraku</u>	<u>no</u>
portrayed	point	on.TOP	decadence.decadence	GEN

<u>heian</u>	<u>zidai</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>ippuku</u>	<u>no</u>
Heian	period	DAT	one.dose	GEN

<u>seiryoozai</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>toozuru</u>
breath.of.fresh.air	ACC	cast

<u>ga.gotoki</u>	<u>kan</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>tei.suru</u>
resembling.ADN	feeling	ACC	offer.NONPST

‘However, in portraying the sadness of the eternal woman having to bid farewell to her love, it brings a feeling like a breath of fresh air to the Heian Period, sunk in decadence.’
(SHIODA Ryōhei *Nihon Koten Bungakushi*)

At risk of repeating some of the observations in section 1, we recognize that in the connections between the modifying part (single underline) and the modified noun or noun phrase (double underline) in the above examples, there are at least two types with different qualities. This is self-evident if we consider how the hearer links the two parts together. The process the hearer goes through in interpreting sentences like the (a) examples includes at least the following processes.

(15) (a)

<u>bannen</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>Kengyoo</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>kioku</u>
one’s.last.years	GEN	Kengyō	NOM	memory

<u>no</u>	<u>naka</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>son.site</u>	<u>ita</u>	<u>kanozyo</u>	<u>no</u>
GEN	inside	LOC	exist.do.GER	be.PST	she	GEN

sugata
figure

‘the image of her that existed in the memories of Kengyō, who was in the twilight of her life.’

- (15) (a) → *kanozyo* *no* *sugata* **ga** *bannen*
 she GEN figure NOM one’s.last.years
- no* *Kengyoo* *ga* (=no) *kioku* *no* *naka*
 GEN Kengyō NOM GEN memory GEN inside
- ni* *son.site* *ita.*
 LOC exist.do.GER be.PST
 ‘Her image existed in the memories of Kengyō in his twilight years.’
- (or: *bannen* *no* *Kengyoo* *ga* *kanozyo*
 one’s.last.years GEN Kengyō NOM she
- no* *sugata* **o** *kioku* *no* *naka* *ni*
 GEN figure ACC memory GEN inside LOC
 ‘Kengyō, who was in his twilight years, (held) the image of her in his memories.’

- (16) (a) *nyooboo* *ga* *kinzyo* *no* *mono* *kara* *kiita*
 wife NOM neighborhood GEN person from hear.PST
- hanasi*
 story
 ‘a story that my wife heard from someone in the neighborhood’

- (16) (a) → *nyooboo* *ga* (=sono) *hanasi* **o** *kinzyo*
 wife NOM that story ACC neighborhood
- no* *mono* *kara* *kiita.*
 GEN person from hear.PST
 ‘My wife heard that story from someone in the neighborhood.’

Generally speaking, in the adnominal modification constructions in the (a) sentences above, the base noun has a relation to the predicate of the modifying portion such that it could have a particle like *ga* [NOM], *o* [ACC], or *ni* [DAT] attached and be linked to that predicate and that is just how a person hearing this linking actually interprets the semantic connection between the base noun and the modifying portion.

As we saw in 2.3 of the preceding section, it was common in the past to say, with some variations in the wording, regarding adnominal modification constructions that “the modifying portion can be converted into a predication”, and the examples of “modification” or “junction” provided were almost all of the pattern of the (a) examples above. Looking at their consideration of the substance of the conversion, it is fair to say that, from the analysis of YAMADA Yoshio we looked at earlier, they have in common that they said that there were cases when the modified noun was marked with *ga* [NOM] when the modification structure was converted to a predication and other cases when the noun was marked with *o* [ACC].

predicate, but, since this is not pertinent to our main topic, I will not pursue this discussion here. Also, archetypically, a complement is composed of a noun phrase with a case particle attached, but, among nouns showing time, there are those like *kinoo* ‘yesterday’ or *asa* ‘morning’, that link to a verb without attaching the particle *ni* (that is, are strong in “adverbialness”). We will consider these, too, to be complements.

Back to our original topic. The relationship that can be seen between the modifying portion and the base noun in the (a) examples can be characterized as follows. The base noun that appears in each of them has an inherent relationship such that it is considered a complement to the predicate of the modifying portion. Let us call this kind of relation/ between the modifying part and the base noun an “**inner relation** (*uchi no kankei*)”.

The right-arrows in the earlier examples show (a part of) the process a hearer goes through when interpreting a noun modification construction that has an inner relation, but if the arrow is reversed, we can probably say that it shows (a part of) the process a speaker uses when making such a noun modification structure. That is, when, for example, a speaker composes a sentence like (18), the process the speaker goes through can probably be described as in (18’).

- (18) *Sanma o yaku otoko no si o*
 saury ACC grill.NONPST man GEN poem ACC
oboete iru kai.
 remember.GER be.NONPST Q
 ‘Do you remember the poem by the guy who was grilling saury?’

In the speaker’s mind, there are two predicate contents that can be expressed in two sentences like

- (18’) (a) *(aru) otoko no si o oboete*
 some man GEN poem ACC remember.GER
iru kai
 be.NONPST Q
 ‘Do you remember (some) man’s poem?’
 (b) *(aru) otoko ga sanma o yaku*
 some man NOM saury ACC grill.NONPST
 ‘(some) man grills a saury.’

and, when (a) is “subordinately” embedded into (b), the noun in common, *otoko*, forms the link between them and (a) “converts” as shown below.

Otoko ga sanma o yaku
 → *sanma o yaku otoko*

Through this process, the *otoko ga* [man NOM] that was originally a complement (a “nominative complement” in this case) loses the particle *ga*, which showed the complement-predicate relation (that is, as a formal matter, ceased being a complement) and stands in the position of a modified noun. The inner relation can probably be described as one in which

elements that originally formed a single sentence have converted to a modifier-modified relation.

In contrast to this, there are cases like the (b) examples in which the base noun cannot be fit into the modifying part, no matter what case particles one may attach to it. This means that, although they form a noun modification construction, it cannot be said that a single sentential element has converted into a modifier-modified relation. Put another way, the base noun cannot be described as having been taken out of the modifying part and placed in the position of a modified noun. That is, it can only be described as something that has come from somewhere else, somewhere outside the modifying portion. Let us, therefore, term the noun modification relation found in the (b) examples an “**outside relation** (*soto no kankei*)” in contrast to the inner relation. For example, a sentence like (19) contains the two predicate contents shown in (19’), just as in the case of (18) and (18’).

- (19) *sanma o yaku nioi ga suru.*
 Saury ACC grill.NONPST smell NOM do.NONPST
 ‘There’s an odor of (someone) grilling saury.’
- (19’) { (a) *(aru) nioi ga suru*
 some smell NOM do.NONPST
 ‘There’s (some) smell.’
- (b) *sanma o yaku*
 saury ACC grill.NONPST
 ‘(Someone) grills saury.’

However, in this case, unlike the case of an inner relation, there is no noun in common between (19’a) and (19’b) linking them. In that case, then, what is the basis for linking (19’a) to (19’b)? If there is no formal item linking them, we can only conclude that it is some semantic characteristic of *nioi* ‘odor, smell’ that does so. Not any kind of noun can form such an “outer relation” kind of noun modification. The fact that nouns like *otoko* ‘man’, *sakana* ‘fish’, or *tukue* ‘desk’ can only form inner relation modification constructions appears to support the above supposition.

Before considering what the impetus for forming an outer relation is, let us examine a little more closely the differences between inner and outer relations from a semantic perspective.

As observed above, there is no difference between them regarding the fact that in both the modifying portion in some way semantically specifies or restricts the base noun. However, looking at the (a) and (b) examples above in a little more detail, we notice the following. Whereas the manner in which the modifying parts in the (b) sentences all restrict their base nouns is with regard to the content of the nouns, this cannot be said of the (a) examples. In the case of (15), for example, we can tell what kind of *sugata* ‘figure, image’ the speaker has in mind from the modifying part *kyuuzyo.tati ga muragatte mizu o kumi, nuno o aratte ita* [court ladies NOM gather.GER water ACC scoop.up cloth ACC wash.GER be.PST] ‘court ladies gathering, drawing water, and washing clothes’. In (15a), however, what kind of figure Kengyō may have had as his memory of Shunkin cannot be determined from this noun modification construction. The same can be said of (17). When the speaker (Kisuke) says, “*kore made watakusi no site maitta yoo na kurusimi wa* [this until I GEN do.GER come.PST

appear.ADN suffering TOP] ‘the kind of suffering I’ve endured until now’’, we can tell that it refers to some specified suffering, but we cannot tell from this modifying part what the content of that suffering may have been. This is clearly different from the case of (17b) in which the modifying part *eien no zyosei tosite oogimi o miokurazaru.o.enai* [permanent GEN woman as lord ACC have.to.see.off] ‘the eternal woman having to permanently bid farewell to her love’ expresses the content of the *kanasimi* ‘sadness’.

This can probably be generalized as follows. Whereas in the “outer relation”, the modifying part shows the content of the base noun or at least something related to its content, in the “inner connection” the modifying portion certainly “identifies” the base noun, but is unrelated to its content. That is, in an adnominal modification construction linked together by an “inner relation”, the modifying portion merely modifies the base noun “**adjunctively**”, in one linked by an “outer relation”, it modifies the base noun “**content supplementarily**”.

From the above observations, tentatively we can grossly divide noun modification constructions into two types:

	Structurally	Semantically
{	“inner relation”	“adjunctive modification”
	“outer relation”	“content supplemental
	modification”	

While, on the one hand, adnominal modification and adverbial modification have many essential differences, as pointed out in detail by Watanabe, on the point that they are both “modification”, they have aspects in common and the “content-supplemental modification” found above in adnominal modification has characteristics in common with “complements” in adverbial modification and the “adjunctive modification” shares common characteristics with “adverbial adverbial modification”. Consideration of this point, however, would take us too far from our main point so we will not pursue it deeply here.

It would appear as though nearly all adnominal modification constructions belong to one of the above two types, but, actually it is true that there are some that cannot be clearly assigned to one or the other. That is, it should be noted here that the bifurcation above is not always clear cut. Such examples are primarily ones for which attaching the particle *de* to the base noun allows it to be linked to the modifying part. We will examine such cases in detail in section 4.

Next is the question of the direction in which we should move our consideration forward. With regard to the inner relation, as with the previous studies examined in section 2, the focus of analysis will probably be on which complements can be extracted from a sentence and placed in the modified position. How about the outer relation? As touched upon earlier, we need to pursue the semantic characteristics of the base noun. This is because, in order for a base noun that has no tie overtly linking it with the modifying part to occupy the position of an adnominally modified word, it must be possessed of certain qualities and these can only be considered to be the semantic characteristics that allow categorization of such nouns. In addition, it is only when those semantic characteristics do not merely indicate some meanings but, looking at a number of structural characteristics, designate a fixed set of structural characteristics corresponding to a fixed set of semantic characteristics that we can take them as a “pattern”.

We will examine this with more actual examples in section 4, but, in order to outline the path ahead, let us add a few very simple examples to those presented earlier for consideration. First, let us line up some outer relation examples.

- (20) nyooboo no yuurei ga sannen.me ni arawareru
 wife GEN ghost NOM third.year in appear.NONPST

hanasi

story

‘the story of the wife’s ghost appearing in the third year’

- (21) Sei.Syoonagonto Murasaki.Sikibu ga atta zizitu
 Sei Shonagon and Murasaki Shikibu NOM meet.PST fact
 ‘the fact that Sei Shonagon and Murasaki Shikibu met’

- (22) sore ga tadasii toiu iken
 that NOM correct.NONPST opinion
 ‘the opinion that that is correct’

- (23) sanma o yaku nioi
 saury ACC grill.NONPST smell
 ‘the smell of (someone) grilling saury’

- (24) kyuuzyo.tati ga nuno o aratte ita sugata
 court.ladies NOM cloth ACC wash.GER be.PST figure
 ‘the image of court ladies washing clothes’

- (25) dareka ga kaidan o orite kuru
 someone NOM stairs ACC descend.GER come.NONPST

oto

sound

‘the sound of someone coming down the stairs’

- (26) Kazi ga hirogatta gen'in wa kuuki ga
 fire NOM spread.PST cause TOP air NOM

kansoo site

dry do.GER

ita koto da.

be.PST fact COP.NONPST

‘The reason the fire spread was the fact that the air was dry.’

- (27) Kingu.bokusi ga ansatu sareta kekka
 King.Rev NOM assassinate do.PASS.PST result

kokuzin-kaihoo-undoo

black,people-liberation-movement

wa

TOP

kageki.ka

radicalized

no

GEN

miti

path

o tadotta.

ACC pursue.PST

‘As a result of the assassination of Reverend King, the black liberation

movement took a radical turn.

- (28) *Sentoo syuudan* *ga* *hasitte* *iru* *mae* *o*
 leader group NOM run.GER be.NONPST front ACC

patokaa *ga* *hasitte* *ita.*
 patrol.car NOM run.GER be.PST
 ‘A police patrol car ran ahead of the lead group.’

- (29) *Kore mo* *Minako* *o* *korosita* *batu* *to*
 this also Minako ACC kill.PST punishment QUOT

ieba *iesoo* *da* *ga,* *Soozoo*
 say.PROV say.POTEN.EVID COP.NONPST but Sozo

wa *soo* *kangaetaku* *nakatta.*
 TOP that.way think.DESID.ADV not.PST

‘If one were to say that this, too, was a punishment for having killed Minako, it certainly would be possible to say so, but Sozo didn’t want to think so.’

(MATSUMOTO Seicho, *Muteki no Machi* ‘(lit) Steam Whistle Town’,
 Made into movie “Shadow of Deception”)

All of the examples above have in common the fact that the modifying part fills in the content of the base noun. However, what “filling in the content” means is not necessarily the same in all cases. In which case, can we find this reflected in some objective, structural difference?

A number of possible structural tests can be thought of, but here we will look at the insertion of the linking element *toiu*, touched on earlier, and, as another test, whether one can set the base noun up as a “topic” and pair it with the modifying part as a predication.

In order to determine whether or not we can say that the modifying part “shows the content” of the base noun, we will begin by using the latter test, namely, attaching *wa* to the base noun setting it up as the topic and see how the modifying part is linked as a “predicate”. It goes without saying that this is very different from the operation described earlier with regard to the inner relation of attaching a case particle like *ga* [NOM] or *o* [ACC] to the base noun and incorporating it into the modifying part.

Trying this with (20) through (25) gives sentences like

Sono hanasi wa *mono* *da.*
 that story TOP thing/one COP.NONPST

or

Sono oto wa *mono* *da.*
 that sound topic thing/one COP.NONPST

in which supplementing the original modifying part with words like *mono da* [thing/one COP.NONPST] ‘(It’s a) ... one.’, *tokoro da* [place/circumstance COP.NONPST] ‘(It’s a) ... place/situation.’, or *(toiu) koto da* [toiu fact/matter COP.NONPST] ‘(It’s a) matter of .../ (It’s a) fact that ...’ creates a “Topic – Comment” sentence whose meaning corresponds with the meaning of the original noun modification construction, but this clearly will not work with examples (26) and following. For example, in

- (26) *kazi ga hiromatta gen'in*
 fire NOM spread.PST cause
 ‘the cause of the fire’s spreading’

*→ *Gen'in wa, kazi ga hiromatta koto da* (26')
 cause TOP fire NOM spread,PST fact COP.NONPST
 ‘The cause is that the fire spread.’

- (27) *Kingu.bokusi ga ansatu sareta kekka*
 King.Rev NOM assassinate do.PASS.PST result
 ‘as a result of Rev. King’s assassination, ‘

*→ *(Sono) kekka wa, Kingu.bokusi ga ansatu*
 that result TOP King.Rev NOM assassinate

sareta koto da (27')
 do.PASS.PST fact COP.NONPST
 ‘The result was (the fact that) Rev. King was assassinated.’

while the resulting sentences (26') and (27') are not in themselves ungrammatical, their meanings do not correspond to (26) and (27). In other words, in (26), the modifying part *kazi ga hiromatta* [fire NOM spread.PST] **does not show the content** of *gen'in* [cause]. What should probably be said to express the content of this *gen'in* ‘cause’ is what follows: *kuuki ga kansoo site ita koto* [air NOM dry do.GER be.PST fact] ‘the fact that the air was dry’. The situation is the same for the *kekka* ‘result’ of (27), the *mae* ‘(area) ahead’ of (28), and the *batu* ‘punishment’ of (29). As retribution for *(Soozoo ga) Minako o korosita* [(Sozo NOM) Minako ACC kill.PST] ‘(Sozo) killed Minako’, he receives some punishment, but from this sentence we do not know **the content of the punishment**. We must conclude that this has very different requirements for its establishment than, for example, a construction like the following.

- senaka o muti de 100.kai utu batu*
 back ACC whip INS 100.times strike.NONPST punishment
 ‘the punishment of being whipped on the back 100 times’

Let us call these sorts of sentences in which the modifying part cannot be said to show the content of the base noun “content-augmenting”. What kind of augmentation is found? This gradually becomes clear as we look at what types of nouns form this kind of adnominal modification structure. Such nouns may express relative spatial concepts like *mae* ‘ahead’ and *ato* ‘behind’ or *migi* ‘right’ and *hidari* ‘left’, as in (28), (30), and (31).

- (28) *sentoo syuudan ga hasitte iru mae (o)*
 leading group NOM run.GER be.NONPST ahead (ACC)

‘(the area) ahead of the leading running group’

- (30) Humiko ga suwatta usiro no mado ni
 Fumiko NOM sit.PST behind GEN window LOC
wa, momizi ga aokatta.
 TOP Japanese.maple NOM blue.PST
 ‘The leaves of the Japanese maple were green in the window behind where Fumiko sat.’
 (KAWABATA Yasunari, *Senbazuru* “A Thousand Cranes”)

- (31) *Yookan no kaika no benzyo wa,*
 Western.building GEN under.the.stairs GEN toilet TOP
Utumi ga zansatu sareta tonari da
 UtsumiNOM slaughter do.PASS.PST next.door COP.NONPST
kara, gohuzinren ga soko o sakeru no
 since ladies NOM there ACC avoid.NONPST that
wa toozen datta.
 TOP naturally.expected COP.PST
 ‘As the toilet under the stairs in the Western-style building was next to the place where Utsumi had been brutally murdered, it was only natural for the ladies to avoid it.’
 (SAKAGUCHI Ango, *Furenzoku Satsujin Jiken* “Non-serial Murders”)

Or, they may express relative time relations like *mae* ‘before’ and *ato* ‘after’ as in (32) through (34).

- (32) Oota.huzin ga motinusi deatta mae ni
 Ota.Madam NOM owner COP.PST before OBL
kono mizusasi ga dekite kara san.yon.hyaku.nen
 this water.jug NOM be.made since 3.or.4.hundred.years
no aida ni donna unmei no hito no
 GEN span OBL what.kind.of fate GEN person GEN
te kara te e watatte kita no
 hand from hand to be.passed come.PST that
daroo ka
 COP.CONJEC Q
 ‘During the three or four hundred years since it was made and before Madam Ota was the owner, what were the fates of those through whose hands this water jug passed.’
 (KAWABATA Yasunari, *Senbazuru*)

- (33) *Kono.goro zibun wa, hukazake o sita yokuzitu*
 these.days self TOP drink.heavily ACC do.PSTnext.day
ni wa, izen ni mo masite nasakenai
 OBL TOP before OBL even more pathetic
kimoti ni osowareru.
 feeling OBL attack.PASS.NONPST
 ‘These days, the day after a night of heavy drinking, I am overcome by even more of a pathetic feeling than before.’
 (IBUSE Masuji, *Hakucho no Uta* “Swan Song”)
- (34) *uwayaku to kenka sita kaeri*
 superior with argue do.PSTreturn
 ‘on the way home after an argument with one’s boss’
 (poster in train)

Additionally, nouns expressing cause and effect can also appear, as in the following examples.

- (26) *kazi ga hiromatta gen'in*
 fire NOM spread.PST cause
 ‘the reason the fire spread’
- (27) *Kingu.bokusi ga ansatu sareta kekka*
 King.Rev. NOM assassinate do.PASS.PST result
 ‘the result of the assassination of Reverend King’
- (29) *Minako o korosita batu*
 Minako ACC kill.PST punishment
 ‘the punishment for having killed Minako’
- (35) *Anna mise de hataraitte iru okage de,*
 such store LOC work.GER be.NONPST grace by
otoko no ura o zenbu sitte ru wa.
 man GEN reverseACC all find.out.GER be.NONPST SFP
 ‘Thanks to working in that sort of place, I know all there is to know about the dark side of men.’
 (MATSUMOTO Seicho, *Dansen* “Disconnection”)
- (36) *tabako o katta otsuri*
 cigarettes ACC buy.PST change
 ‘the change from buying cigarettes’
- (37) *Anahori o akirameta sono hito wa ma.mo.naku*
 hole.digging ACC give.up that person TOP in.no.time
sinda. “Tuka o hotta tatari
 die.PST burial.moundACC dig.up.PST divine.punishment

then category A further divided into subcategories 1, 2, 3, etc., subdividing and classifying in a hierarchical fashion. In order to form an inner relation, the base noun need only be a substantive noun. (Most nouns like *hazu* ‘expectation’ that are usually treated as “formal nouns” cannot form inner relations, but I will express my doubts concerning the concept of “formal noun” at a later point below.) Of outer relations, in order to form a “normal content augmentation” modification construction, the base noun must have the quality of “factiveness”. There are both substantive nouns that have this quality of factiveness and those that do not. In order to form a “relative augmentation” modification construction, the base noun must have the quality of “relativeness”, but there are nouns that mix “substantiveness”, “factiveness”, and “relativeness”. The noun *kekka* ‘result’, for example, is one that is provided with all three characteristics. The reason an example like (38) is possible is simply because the noun satisfies the requirement that the base noun be substantive in order to form an inner relation.

- (38) *watasitati ga yosoo site ita kekka*
 we NOM expect do.GER be,PST result
 ‘the result(s) that we had expected’

The reason that there are examples like (39) with normal content augmentation (outer relation) is that it also has a quality of factiveness.

- (39) *Seihuku-gumi ni musu sareta, toiu seihu-syunoo*
 uniform-faction DAT ignore do.PASS.PST toiu government-head
no insyoo wa, kutiguti ni sono “seizisei
 GEN impression TOP every.mouth LOC that political.sense
no nasa” o togameru kotoba to nari
 GEN lack ACC blame.NONPST words OBL become.ADV
“genzyuu.na zizyoo tyoosa” o meirei
 rigorous.ADN situation survey ACC order
suru kekka ni natta.
 do.NONPST result DAT become.PST
 ‘The impression of the government leaders that they had been ignored by the
 uniformed forces turned into a general rumor attacking their “lack of political
 sense” and ended up resulting in orders for a “rigorous investigation of
 the situation”’
 (Newspaper)

An example like the earlier (27) is possible because of the fact that the noun *kekka* ‘result’ also has the feature “relativeness”. The listener, upon hearing the above three examples, must distinguish with which meaning of *kekka* ‘result’ the listener should interpret the “modification” or “restriction” the modifying part applies to the base noun, and, in fact, someone who knows the language makes such a distinction, either consciously or unconsciously. The structural differences we have observed above can be thought to correspond to this. One simple way to show the difference between a case like that of (39) and one like that of (27) is to try inserting *toiu*. It is only in the case of normal content augmentation that *toiu* can be inserted.

The above facts show that, rather than a vertical, hierarchical approach, it is more appropriate to treat these semantic characteristics of nouns as “distinctive features” like those found in R. Jakobson’s theory of phonology. The characteristics of the nouns *otoko* ‘man’, *mae* ‘before, ahead’, *kekka* ‘result’, and *hazu* ‘expectation’ could be represented as below.

	substantive	factive	relative
<i>otoko</i>	+	-	-
<i>mae</i>	+	-	+
<i>kekka</i>	+	+	+
<i>hazu</i>	-	+	-

Might not one way of dealing with problem concerning *mae* ‘before’ that has been indicated before regarding the two ways of saying the same thing shown in (40) and (41) (normally (41) is considered to be an incorrect form) be to explain by pointing out the fact that the noun *mae* has plus signs in both the substantive and the relative columns? (Of course, this is not to deny an explanation of (41) from the point of view of the speaker’s psychological consciousness.)

(40) *kazi de yakeru mae*
 fire by burn.NONPSTbefore
 ‘before being burned in a fire’

(41) *kazi de yakenai mae*
 fire by burn.NEG.NONPST before
 ‘while not being burned in a fire (=before being burned in a fire)’

Let us set aside “relative content augmentation” here and look at “normal content augmentation” in more detail. Here whether or not the words *toiu* or *tono* can be inserted becomes a useful tool. When the presence of an element is tied to the grammaticality of a sentence, there are three possibilities that can generally be considered: 1) presence of the element is necessary for the sentence to be grammatical, 2) the element may or not be present without affecting grammaticality, or 3) the presence of the element renders the sentence ungrammatical. If we try inserting *toiu* into examples (20) – (25), we find all three possibilities realized. Parentheses indicate that the presence or absence of *toiu* does not affect grammaticality.

nyooboo no yuurei ga ... arawareru (toiu) hanasi
 wife GEN ghost NOM appear.NONPST story

Sei Syoonagon to Murasaki Sikibu ga atta (toiu) zizitu
 Sei Shonagon and Murasaki Shikibu NOM met fact

sore ga tadasii toiu iken
 that NOM correct.NONPST opinion

(**sore ga tadasii iken*)

	that	NOM	correct		opinion			
* <i>sanma</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>yaku</i>	<i>toiu</i>	<i>nioi</i>			
saury	ACC		grill.NONPST		smell			
* <i>kyuuzyo.tati</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>nuno</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>aratte</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>toiu</i>	<i>sugata</i>	
court.ladies	NOM	cloth	ACC	wash.GER	be.PST		figure	
(If <i>toiu</i> is interpreted as <i>to tutaerarete iru</i> [QUOT convey.PASS.GER be.NONPST] ‘it is said that...’, giving the interpretation ‘the image that is said to be that of court ladies washing cloths’, then this would be acceptable.)								
* <i>dareka</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>kaidan</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>orite</i>	<i>kuru</i>	<i>toiu</i>	<i>oto</i>	
someone	NOM	stairs	ACC	descend.GER	come.NONPST		sound	

From these observations, it looks like normal content augmentation noun modification constructions can initially be divided into two types.

- A. Cases in which *toiu* can be inserted
- B. Cases in which *toiu* cannot be inserted

And, as we will observe in detail later, if we look at examples of nouns comprising type A, we find those like the following.

zizitu ‘fact’, *koto* ‘fact’, *ziken* ‘incident’, *simatu* ‘outcome’, *rei* ‘example’,
keireki ‘personal history’, *rekisi* ‘history’, *hanasi* ‘story’, *unmei* ‘fate’,
kangae ‘thought’, *keikaku* ‘plan’, ...

iken ‘opinion’, *syutyoo* ‘assertion’, *tegami* ‘letter’, *henzi* ‘reply’, *kotoba* ‘words’, ...

If we look at examples of type B, we find nouns of the following kind.

sugata ‘figure’, *nioi* ‘smell’, *oto* ‘sound’, *asioto* ‘footsteps’, *kanzi* ‘feeling’,
kakkoo ‘form’, *hyoozyoo* ‘expression’, *kehai* ‘indications’, *zyookei* ‘spectacle’,
siin ‘scene’, ...

It would appear that we can characterize the first group as nouns that show “concepts” and those of the latter group as nouns that show “sensations”.

In the type A group, what might be the factors contributing to the fact that there are examples that are not grammatical without linking the modifying portion and the base noun with *toiu*? First of all, we note that there are cases in which the modifying portion ends with a strong conclusive form like “...*da* [COP.NONPST]” and, similarly there are cases in which the modifying portion begins with a topic phrase “...*wa*”, showing a typical categorical judgement. Examples with a question form (...*ka* [Q]) in the modifying portion or an imperative, an invitation, or a prohibition, in short, modifying portions that include forms that are high in terms of “modality”, clearly cannot modify the base noun as they are. However, it appears that the question cannot be resolved merely with such a morphological view. In section 5 we will pursue this problem more thoroughly.

With the considerations presented above as a foundation, let us examine each of the types of adnominal modification together with additional examples of each.

(Addendum)

This work is an expanded and revised version of a presentation at the Japanese language section meeting of the Modern Language Association's Annual Meeting in New York in December, 1968 titled "The Syntax of Noun Modification in Japanese". The meeting was also the annual meeting of the Association of Teachers of Japanese and the version presented at the meeting appeared in the Association's bulletin, *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1970). I would like to express my gratitude to the late MIKAMI Akira, WATANABE Minoru, and R. Spear who listened to a presentation of the main points and gave me comments before the presentation and to G. Wenck and G. B. Mathias, among others, who gave me their comments after the presentation.

Notes:

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- 1 Term "base noun" due to Mikami. See Mikami (1960:9).
 - 2 Sakuma (1958).
 - 3 Michael (1970).
 - 4 Sweet (1891 ~ 1898, Section 40).
 - 5 Kruisinga (1931).
 - 6 Zandervoort (1962, Part V. Chapter 1).
 - 7 Zandervoort (1962: 198).
 - 8 Curme (1931).
 - 9 Onions (1904).
 - 10 Sakuma (1941, 1958)
 - 11 Jespersen (1924, 1949)
 - 12 Jespersen (1924)
 - 13 Haga (1962:234-247)
 - 14 Bloomfield (Language, 12)
 - 15 Sakuma (1958)
 - 16 Zandervoort (1962:202-203)
 - 17 Bolinger (1967)
 - 18 Yamada (1898:868-883; 1046-1055)
 - 19 Yamada (1898:868)
 - 20 Shimada (1963)
 - 21 Kleinjans (1958)
 - 22 Yamada (1936:95)
 - 23 See, for example, Ōkubo (1968)
 - 24 Yamada (1898:158)
 - 25 Yamada (1936:691)
 - 26 Tokieda (1941:229)
 - 27 Watanabe (1971:16)
 - 28 Watanabe (1971:66)
 - 29 Watanabe (1971:165)

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