

Syntax and Semantics of Noun Modification

Part 2

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Syntax and Semantics of Noun Modification Part 2

4. Inner relation

4.1 Introduction

In the previous section, it was argued that, among noun modification constructions, there are both those in which the predicate that forms the modifying portion (together with complement and adverbial phrases) and the modified noun (the “base noun”) form a relationship as though they are included as constituents of a single sentence and those for which this is not the case and that these differ in important ways both syntactically and semantically. It was proposed to call the former relation an “inner relation” and the latter an “outer relation”. In this chapter, we will examine the essence of the inner relation.

These days one often finds an analysis of English, and regarding Japanese also in imitation of English, that divides a construction consisting of something with the outward appearance of a sentence (a “clause”) specifying the content of a noun into a “relative clause (construction)” and an “appositive clause (construction)”. I have already stated that the categorization shown by such terminology is not appropriate for Japanese, but even if we admit it for the time being, I would like to caution that the “inner relation” treated in this chapter covers a much broader range than so-called “relative clause constructions”. This is true both of Japanese and of English. For example, in that a so-called relative clause like

the news that he brought

can be described as related to or derived from

he brought the news

it clearly falls within the category of what we are calling here the “inner relation”. A so-called appositive clause like the superficially similar

the news that he died

would of course be an outer relation. Looking only at these, there would seem no need to go out of one’s way to create new, novel terms as done in this section. However, the problem is not just one of terminology. One reason for proposing to divide constructions modifying nouns from the inner relation and outer relation point of view is that there are quite a number of constructions, like

the year before he died

the smell of something burning (the smell + something burns)

the result of his death¹ (the result + he died)

that are clearly not amenable to treatment as “appositive clauses” and I consider it absolutely necessary to characterize them grammatically. This is the basic reason, but, based on the reasoning of such classification, inner relation includes not only relative clause constructions like those above, but also all of noun modification constructions like the following.

the house standing on the hill
(↔ the house stands on the hill)

the thing for you to find out
(↔ you find out the thing)

the last man to come
(↔ the man came last)

the white house
(↔ the house is white)

Even considering only examples like those above, there are clear differences between English and Japanese at some level, but, upon deeper consideration, they also run into common problems. However, a comparative study is not the direct topic of this section. For now, we must consider in a general way what the problems are in consideration of constructions that can be characterized as inner relation.

In the Japanese language studies grammar tradition, one gets the impression that the “explanation” of what is called here the inner relation – which one gets the feeling is considered to be practically the whole of noun modification or at least the most representative type – generally always takes the form of explaining already existing (inner relation type) noun modification saying, “among modified nouns there are those that bear a nominative case relation vis-a-vis the modifying predicate, those that bear an accusative case relation, . . . , and so on”. These explanations themselves are certainly not wrong, but they do not address what allows the formation of such noun modification, that is, they lack the speaker’s viewpoint of creating a sentence in response to a thought. We should probably incorporate a view that looks beyond these already existing noun modifications and considers in what the cases it is impossible to form such a construction.

Thinking about the formation of an inner relation construction from such a point of view means, first of all, thinking about what kinds of conditions must be satisfied in order to extract a noun that is a constituent in some sentence and convert it to a base noun. There are probably various complex requirements interposed that make possible the operation of extracting a given noun from a given sentence, moving it to the base noun position, making the remaining portion come to restrict or modify the extracted noun and further use the whole as a noun phrase constituent in another, larger sentence. It is clear, however that at least two conditions are directly related. One is that the noun that is to be extracted as the base noun must stand in some case relation in the original sentence and the other is that the predicate and all its associated parts that are converted to the modifying word (the pivot of the modifying portion) must be in a particular form, a form showing mood or modality.

Regarding the first point, it is clear from the fact that either *otooto* ‘younger brother’ or *kissaten* ‘coffee shop’ can easily be extracted from example (1) and made into a base noun, as shown in (1a) and (1b), but *watasi no yuuzin* ‘my friend’ or *kyonen* cannot, as shown in (1c) and (1d).

(1) *Ootooto* *ga* *sono* *mati* *de* *watasi no* *yuuzin*
younger.brother NOM that town LOC I GEN friend

to kyonen kara kissaten o keiei
with last.year from coffee.shop ACC manage

site iru.
do.GER be.NONPST

‘My younger brother has been running a coffee shop in that town together with my friend since last year.’

(1) (a) *sono mati de watasi no yuuzin to kyonen*
that town LOC I GEN friend with last.year

kara kissaten o keiei site
since coffee.shop ACC manage do.GER

iru ootoo
be.NONPST younger.brother

‘my younger brother, who has been running a coffee shop in that town together with my friend since last year

(b) *otooto ga sono mati de watasi no yuuzin*
younger.brother that town LOC I GEN friend

to kyonen kara keiei site
with last.year since manage do.GER

iru kissaten
be.NONPST coffee.shop

‘the coffee shop that my younger brother has been running in that town together with my friend since last year

(c) *?otooto ga sono mati de kyonen*
younger.brother NOM that town LOC last.year

kara kissaten o keiei site
since coffee.shop ACC manage do.GER

iru watasi no yuuzin
be.NONPST I GEN friend

‘my friend, with whom my younger brother has been running a coffee shop in that town since last year.’

(d) **otooto ga sono mati de watasi no*
younger.brother NOM that town LOC I GEN

yuuzin to kissaten o keiei
friend with coffee.shop ACC manage

site iru kyonen
do.GER be.NONPST last.year

‘last year, since when my younger brother was running a coffee shop in that town with my friend.’

If (1c) is accepted as a natural sentence, probably the *otooto* ‘younger brother’ is interpreted as the younger brother of *watasi no yuuzin* ‘my friend’, which would not match the meaning that the speaker intended to convey. If, for instance, the tense in (1d) were changed from *keiei site iru* [manage do.GER be.NONPST] to *keiei site ita* [manage do.GER be.PST] to be consistent with the *kyonen* last year, it might yield a grammatical sentence, but a listener probably would interpret the connection between running the coffee shop and last year as “ran a coffee shop last year” and would probably not interpret it as “has been running a coffee shop **since** last year”. If we were to try to derive some general rule from the above examples, it would probably be that one can extract nouns that have cases shown by *ga* [NOM] or *o* [ACC] (have a set relation with the predicate) and make them base nouns but one cannot do so in case the nouns appear with *kara* ‘since, from’ or *to* ‘with, and’. Of course, in order to make this a completely general rule, we would have to actually observe many various (case) particles having various relations with a variety of predicates. In 4.2, below, we will narrow our focus down to this problem.

The other problem, the problem of restrictions on the modality of predicates is shown in the following. Let us say we have the following sentences.

(2) *Yuuzin ga kissaten o keiei site iru.*
 friend NOM coffee.shop ACC manage do.GER be.NONPST
 ‘My friend is running a coffee shop.’

(3) *Yuuzin ga kissaten o keiei site iru*
 friend NOM coffee.shop ACC manage do.GER be.NONPST

rasii.
 resemble.NONPST
 ‘My friend seems to be running a coffee shop.’

(4) *Kissaten o keiei siyoo.*
 coffee.shop ACC manage do.HORTATIVE¹
 ‘Let’s run a coffee shop.’

(5) *Kissaten o keiei sinasai.*
 coffee.shop ACC manage do.POL.IMP
 ‘Run a coffee shop.’

(6) *Kissaten o keiei simasu ka?*
 coffee.shop ACC manage do.POL.NONPST Q
 ‘Do/will you run a coffee shop?’

In all of these examples, the noun *kissaten* ‘coffee shop’ is followed by *o* [ACC]. Therefore, it satisfies the restriction above and we ought to be able to extract it and make it a base noun. However, of these, this is possible only in the case of examples (2) and (3); it is impossible with examples (4) through (6). That is, although one might say that a given noun can be extracted from a given sentence and made base noun, there are sentence final forms in the

¹ The form glossed here as HORTATIVE is also used, and glossed, as INTENTIONAL (INT).

original sentence that allow this and forms that do not. We could probably explain this by setting up all kinds of rules saying that this conversion is impossible if the sentence is an interrogative or an imperative sentence or if the sentence has a final particle or if the final predicate is of this form or that. None of these, however, could be said to be to yield a sufficiently general explanation. If we advance our consideration along these lines, the problem grows bigger, threatening to expand to become a problem concerning the whole of the structure of the original sentence. I do not think it is possible to deal with this problem completely, but in section 4.3 I would like to look at what kinds of such restrictions and conditions there may be.

This work will concentrate primarily on the two conditions outlined above regarding the essence of inner relation noun modification. There are certainly many other things that must be considered regarding this kind of noun modification. One of these is the problem that, given that there are cases where a modifier can appear in a *sōtei* ('adjunctive, adnominal') form but there is no corresponding *jutte* ('predicative, nexus') form (for example, *Tai.sita otoko da* [important man COP.NONPST] 'He's an important man.' ↔ **Otoko ga tai.sita* [man NOM important] 'The man is important.' **Otoko ga tai.site iru* [man NOM important.GER be.NONPST] 'The man is important') as well as the reverse case where a *jutte* modifier cannot be converted into a *sōtei* form (example, **Ooi hoteru ga aru* [many.NONPST hotels NOM exist] 'There are many hotels. (Lit. Many hotels exist)' ↔ *Hoteru ga ooi* [hotels NOM many.NONPST] 'There are many hotels. (Lit. Hotels are many.)'), what fundamental differences are there between *sōtei* and *jutte* modification. Within the Japanese language studies grammar tradition, cases like the former are treated as *rentaishi* 'adnominal modifying words', that is, it is usually dealt with as a parts-of-speech problem, but it probably needs to be attacked as a more general problem linking semantics and syntax, as done, for instance, in Dwight Bolinger's "English adjectives: attribution and predication".²

Another problem is that of semantically "restrictive" modification versus "nonrestrictive" or "explanatory" modification, something that has also been discussed in English grammar since long ago. The discussions on this problem occurring within English are not entirely without relevance to Japanese, especially at the discourse level.

One last problem is the linking of the modifier and the modified in what could be called *tanraku* 'short circuit, truncated' modification like the following.

(7) *atama no yoku naru hon*
 head GEN good.ADVL become.NONPST book
 'a book that will make you smarter if you read it. (Lit.) a book that one gets smarter'

(8) *kanozyo ga hara o itameta musume*
 she NOM stomach ACC hurt.PST daughter
 'the daughter that she gave birth to. (Lit.) the daughter that she (=mother) hurt her stomach.'

What relation does *hon* 'book' have to *atama no (=ga) yoku naru* [head GEN (=NOM) good.ADVL become.NONPST] 'head/mind gets better'? No matter what particle one may attach to *hon* or *musume*, they will not fit neatly into the modifying portion. Semantically (7) is understood to be related to something like (9) and (8) to something like (10).

(9) *Kono hon o yomeba atama ga yoku*

this book ACC read.PROV head NOM good.ADVL

naru.

become.NONPST

‘If you read this book, you’ll get smarter.’

(10) *Sono musume o umu tame.ni*
that daughter ACC bear.NONPST in.order.to

kanozyo ga hara o itameta.
she NOM stomach ACC hurt.PST

‘She suffered (labor) pains in order to give birth to that daughter.’

When a noun phrase in the sentence is extracted and made into the base noun, not only the particle attached to it but also other elements can be deleted. By terming this “short circuit or truncated”, it would appear initially at least that quite a number of things can be handled all at once. We will, however, end up putting such sentences in the category of outer relation modification, to be dealt with in the next chapter, but this solution is also not without its problems.

We will probably be unable to deal thoroughly in this work with the three problems raised above. After examining the two main topics from earlier, however, I will take a section to at least give these a brief look.

4.2 The base case of the extruded noun phrase

4.2.1 A general problem

In section 4.2, with regard to converting from a sentence/predication (*jutte*) to a noun modification construction (*sōtei*), we observe what grammatical case a noun that is extracted to become the modified noun (base noun) bears in instances where it is possible and in instances in which it is impossible or very difficult to do so. A particle attached to a noun phrase to show its relation to the predicate (or to another noun) is lost in the process of making the noun the base in Japanese, which lacks relative pronouns – since forms like “from whom ...” or “out of which ...” that are found in English are impossible. Turning this fact around, however, we could also say the problem is: in what cases is can the listener understand the semantic relation between the noun and the predicate even in the absence of any formal marking? Behind this argument lies what could be called an implicit understanding that recognizes “case” as having the two aspects of being a semantic category and of being a formal, overt marking. For example, in example (1), the “semantic case relation” between the nouns of the sentence, *otooto* ‘younger brother’, *sono mati* ‘that town’, and so on, and the predicate verbs of the sentence, *keiei site iru* ‘is managing’ is shown formally by the case particles *ga* [NOM], *de* [LOC] and so on. Among nouns in Japanese there are some, especially some that express time, that do not require particles (for example, *Sono tosi () Kyooto e itta* [that year () Kyoto to go.PST] ‘That year, I went to Kyoto.’) but marking for case is normally done with case particles in Japanese. Even should the sentence be changed to *kissaten o keiei site iru otooto* [coffee.shop ACC manage do.GER be.NONPST younger brother] ‘my younger brother, who is managing a coffee shop’, the fact that it is understood that the relation of *otooto* to *keiei site iru* is that of doer of the action (subjective) is due precisely to the fact that, although the *otooto* that was *otooto ga* has been converted to the base noun and the *ga* lost in the process, the semantic case relation is generally understood by the listener in both cases.

Something to be noted here is that the phenomenon of the semantic case being understood by a listener even if the formal, overt case marking is lost is not limited to the case where a noun is converted to a base noun. One case that immediately comes to mind is that of so-called case particle elision. Since a verb generally imposes restrictions on the qualities of its subject and objects (such as animate or human or solid or liquid), elision of case particles in daily casual speech occurs unexpectedly commonly. For example, *kimi, nani, taberu?* [you what eat.NONPST] ‘What will you eat?’ or *sensei kita* [teacher come.PST] ‘The teacher has come.’ This is due to the extra-grammatical circumstance, so to speak, of ‘in casual, daily speech’, but there are also any number cases of the phenomenon of case marker elision arising as the result of more grammar-internal processes.

The first of these is the case when a given noun in the sentence is set up by the speaker as a topic. The topic may be shown by simply moving it to the beginning of the sentence without any marking at all, but normally it is marked by *wa* or *mo*, what are called “thesis particles (*teidai no joshi*)” in SAKUMA’s grammar. In addition, what SAKUMA called *kakari joshi* (*koso, sae, demo, datte, narito, sika, tte, tte, tteba*) should probably also be thought of as similar to thesis particles. It is a well-known fact that when some noun in a sentence is marked with *wa*, there are cases, as with *ga* [NOM] and *o* [ACC], in which the particle disappears and *wa* appears in its place and cases for which this is not true. In MIKAMI’s grammar, this is referred to as “substitution by *wa* for a case particle”. It goes without saying that marking a noun as topic (with *wa*) and extracting a noun and making it a base noun modified or restricted by the rest of the sentence are fundamentally two different grammatical operations with different meanings and different effects, but even so, parallels between these two operations in terms of certain potential restrictions are apparent. MIKAMI, in *Zō wa hana ga nagai*³, in particular, considers the various noun cases substituted for by *wa* in the order of *ga* [NOM], *o* [ACC], *ni* or *de* [DAT, LOC, INS], ..., and *no* [GEN], presenting a great number of actual examples, but that framework can also be borrowed as is to test whether or not a noun can be extracted and made base noun. However, since there are many cases for which, although it is not possible to substitute *wa*, conversion to a base noun is possible, while we will take the description given in *Zō wa hana ga nagai* into consideration, we must extend the scope of our consideration to other particles as well.

As another situation in which a noun retains its semantic case relation with its predicate even as it loses the case marking that links it with that predicate, although somewhat different from the cases above, is when its predicate is nominalized, where we find cases when the noun in question is linked to the nominalized predicate through the intervention of the adnominal particle *no*. Examples (11) and (12) show this construction.

(11) *kissaten no keiei*
 coffee.shop GEN management
 ‘management of the coffee shop’

(12) *otooto no keiei*
 younger.brother GEN management
 ‘my younger brother’s management’

In the above two cases, *kissaten no* and *otooto no* are both linked to the noun *keiei* as adnominal modifiers, but the fact that *kissaten* is in a patient relation and *otooto* is in an actor relation to the verbal noun *keiei*, which shows an action event is clear to anyone. Furthermore, in (13) it is

impossible to grasp the relation *watasi no yuuzin to keiei suru* ‘manage (a coffee shop) with my friend’ from (13).

- (13) *watasi no yuuzin no keiei*
I GEN friend GEN management

Nor is it possible to get the interpretation *kyonen kara keiei site iru* ‘managing (a coffee shop) since last year’ from (14).

- (14) *kyonen no keiei*
last.year GEN management

With regard to this point, we can probably say that there is some relation in nominalization that parallels the possibility or impossibility of extracting and forming a base noun.

Another construction that presents a parallel phenomenon is the so-called emphatic construction shown below in which a noun in the sentence is pulled out and made the predicate with the copula *da* and the remainder of the sentence as a whole is attached to the noun *no* ‘one, fact, act’ and made the topic with *wa* attached.

- (1) *otooto ga kyonen kara keiei site iru.*
‘My younger has been managing ... since last year’
- (i) *kyonen kara keiei site iru no wa ootoo da.*
‘It’s my younger brother that has been managing ... since last year.’
- (ii) *otooto ga keiei site iru no wa kissaten da.*
‘It’s a coffee shop that my younger brother has been managing’
- (iii) **otooto ga kissaten o keiei site iru no wa watasi no yuuzin da.*
‘It’s my friend that my younger brother has been managing a coffee shop.’
- (iv) *otooto ga keiei site iru no wa kyonen kara da.*
‘It’s since last year that my younger brother has been managing’

In this case, too, if the elision of a particle obscures the case relation of the noun, it has to be retained before the copula *da*, as in the case of (1iv).

From the above, we can see that if some noun in a sentence should lose its case marking for whatever reason, its semantic case relation is preserved, allowing some constructions to be formed and this phenomenon is not limited to the case of extracting a noun and making it a base noun. WATANABE Minoru explained this as, “the condition for adverbial particles, which are also individually carriers of meaning, to actually become phonologically null and eliminate themselves from the surface expression, is a consciousness of the logical connection that ought to be expressed through the overt presence of such adverbial particle as so self-evident as to not need overt expression,” and says that the particles *ga*, *o*, and *ni* expressing nominative, accusative, and dative case correspond to “adverbial relations that are recognized as self-evident from analysis and extraction from the *tōjo sozai* (the portion that carries the substantive meaning of a predicate)” and terms these “strong *tenjo* adverbial particles”, distinguishing them from

“weak *tenjo* particles” like *to*, *e*, *kara*, and *de*.⁴ This explanation ranks the operation of case particles in terms of the strength of their links to the predicate and is part of the overall consideration of “adverbial function”, but, no matter how one approaches the problem, the several parallel phenomena need to be described somewhere in Japanese grammar as a problem relating to the essence of how to construct a sentence. E. L. Keenan and B. Comrie’s “Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar”⁵ considered problems like those above from a universal point of view and pointed out that there is a case hierarchy in terms of grammatical relations and that this hierarchy shows up in the difficulty of relativizing nouns in a sentence. INOUE Kazuko presented an outline of this paper in *Kokogugaku* number 101,⁶ supplementing the Keenan-Comrie hierarchy and proposing the following hierarchy of accessibility to relativization for Japanese.

Subject > direct object > indirect object > locative *ni* > locative *o* > goal *e* > locative *de*
 instrumental *de* > units/standards *de* > ablative *kara* > genitive > source > comitative *to*

Keenan and Comrie and Inoue also mention that the accessibility of nouns is also affected by the presence or absence of other elements in the modifying portion that suggest the semantic role of the base noun, what might be called “signaling words”. We will mention these as appropriate in our discussions below.

This concludes our overview of the general problem; below we will take up each case in turn and look at the actual situation of extracting a noun and making it the base noun.

4.2.2 The case of *ga* [NOM]

The least problematic cases of extraction of a base noun are the cases of nouns that take the nominative (*ga*) or accusative (*o*) cases. This corresponds to the fact that the “replacement by *wa*” mentioned above occurs most often with *ga*-marked and second most often with *o*-marked nouns. The semantic content shown by *ga* varies depending on the characteristics of the predicate with which it is linked. The content can be semantically categorized into, for example, “doer of an action”, patient in a movement or change”, “person or thing that exists”, “something or someone that exhibits a state or quality”, or “experiencer of an emotion”, among others. But each of these assorted meanings are automatically determined by the predicate to which the noun marked with *ga* is linked. Borrowing WATANABE’s expression, their characteristics are “recognized as self-evident from analysis and extraction” from the predicate. Therefore, even without the presence of *ga*, the semantic relation between the noun and the predicate can usually be understood. The reason I say “can usually be understood” is that saying that one can always extract a *ga*-marked noun and whether or not a hearer can understand a string of an unmarked noun and a predicate are two different things and the speaker’s intended “noun (=doer) + action verb” meaning may not necessarily be taken as intended. For example, just as a hearer may not necessarily take the *ano otoko* in

ano otoko, korosita.
 that man kill.PST

as the doer of the action *korosita*, there is no guarantee whether or not under the same circumstances a hearer would interpret the *otoko* of *korosita otoko* [kill.PST man] as standing in a (semantically) *ga*-marked relation with *korosita*.

Be that as it may, there is no problem in saying that one can make a *ga*-marked noun the base noun. There is no need, in fact, to adduce example after example to show this. I would just like to make the following two points. The first is that, even with a noun phrase accompanied by *ga*, it is not the case that one can mechanically pull that noun phrase out and make it the base noun, an observation that includes some rather complex structures. Consider, for example a sentence like (15).

- (15) *Sono hooan ga tooru mikomi ga usuku natta.*
 that bill NOM pass prospects NOM thin.ADVL become.PST
 ‘The chances of that bill passing have gotten thinner.’

There is no problem with the first *ga*-marked noun phrase *sono hooan*. Making it the base noun yields a natural sentence such as one often encounters in newspapers.

- (15) a. *tooru mikomi ga usuku natta sono hooan*
 pass prospect NOM thin.ADVL become.PST that bill
 ‘that bill whose chances of passage have gotten thinner’

This parallels the fact that it is easy to make this noun phrase a topic.

- (15) b. *Sono hooan wa tooru mikomi ga usuku*
 that bill TOP pass prospect NOM thin.ADVL
natta.
 become.PST
 ‘That bill, it’s chance of passage has gotten thin.’

But, what about the second *ga*? What kind of noun phrase it is attached to becomes a problem. Let us try some generating some test cases mechanically. If we treat everything from the start of the sentence through *mikomi* as forming a unit, we can make (15c), which, though it feels a little unnatural, really cannot be said to be ungrammatical.

- (15) c. *usuku natta sono hooan ga tooru mikomi*
 ‘the chances for passage of that bill that have gotten thin’

What happens if we take only *tooru mikomi*?

- (15) d. *sono hooan ga usuku natta tooru mikomi*
 ‘the chances for passage that that bill have gotten thinner’

This is much, much worse than (15c) and could almost be judged to be completely ungrammatical. It is probably not necessary to actually illustrate how unacceptable extracting just *mikomi* would be. Why is it that (15b) is possible, (15c) sort of possible, and (15d) impossible? Let’s adduce some similar examples in order to consider this more closely.

- (16) *Kare ga sora tobu enban o mita koto*
 he NOM sky fly.NONPST disk ACC see.PST fact/matter
ga aru.
 NOM exist.NONPST

‘He has seen flying saucers.’

→ a. *sora tobu enban o mita koto*
sky fly.NONPST disk ACC see.PST fact/matter

ga aru kare
NOM exist.NONPST he
‘he, who has seen flying saucers’

→ b. **aru kare ga sora tobu enban*
exist.NONPST he NOM sky fly.NONPST disk

o mita koto
ACC see.PST fact/matter

→ c. **kare ga sora tobu enban o aru mita koto*

→ d. **kara ga aru sora tobu enban o mita koto*

(170) *Sonna koto ga aru hazu ga*
such fact/matter NOM exist.NONPST expectation NOM

nai.

not.exist.NONPST

‘(lit) there’s no expectation that such a thing exists. (Such a thing shouldn’t be)’

→ a. *aru hazu ga nai*
exist.NONPST expectation NOM non.exist.NONPST

sonna koto
such fact/matter
‘such a thing that ought not be

→ b. **nai sonna koto ga aru hazu*

→ c. **sonna koto ga nai aru koto*

MIKAMI Akira considered what the *titi wa* was tied to in (18) and analyzed the *koto* in this sentence as shown in (19).

(18) *Titi wa tokidoki yotte kaeru*
father TOP sometimes drink.GER return.home.NONPST

koto ga arimasu
fact/matter NOM exist.POL.NONPST
‘My father occasionally comes home drunk.’

(19) (*titi ga yotte kaeru koto*)
father NOM drink.GER return.home.NONPST fact/matter

*soo iu koto ga tokidoki aru koto*⁷
 thus speak fact/matter NOM sometimes exist.NONPST
 ‘My father’s coming home drunk, that kind of thing sometimes happens.’

The kind of “reduplication” of sentence constituents seen here appears to be related to the peculiar difficulty of making the *ga*-marked noun phrase in the examples above the base noun. Things that must be considered here are, on the one hand, what kind of constituent *ga* is attached to and, on the other hand, the fact that the predicate that comes after *ga* is one of a limited set of forms including *aru* ‘exist’, *nai* ‘not.exist’, *usui* ‘thin’, and *ooi* ‘be many’ that join together with the noun immediately preceding *ga* (*mikomi* ‘chance’, *koto* ‘fact/matter’, or *hazu* ‘expectation’, for example) forming, according to some points of view, a single predicate phrase. This is probably connected to the fact that the noun to which *ga* is attached has become to some extent formalized (made abstract, grammaticalized). In other words, this goes beyond the scope of the question of the possibility of the extraction of a *ga*-marked noun and involves the question of the characteristics of the predicate that follows. Since this is perhaps more related to the problem of the characteristics to be considered in section 4.3, we will set aside for now further discussion of this problem.

Next I would like to say a word about the possibility of the “signaling words” mentioned above appearing. Nouns in the nominative case can generally be extracted and put in a position to be modified and, as a reflection of this, signaling words generally do not appear, as predicted by both Keenen-Comrie’s and Inoue’s theories. For example, while

sora kara otite kita hyookai (← hyookai ga)
 sky from fall.GER come.PST ice.chunk NOM
 ‘the chunk of ice that fell from the sky’

is fine, we would not say

sore ga sora kara otite kita hyookai
 that NOM sky from fall.GER come.PST ice.chunk
 ‘the chunk of ice that it fell from the sky’

However, even in cases for which we would consider a noun phrase accompanied by *ga* to have been made into the base noun, there are cases for which signaling words like *sore ga* [that NOM], *soko ga* [there NOM], or *sono ten ga* [that point NOM] do appear. For example, even though one can extract *posuto no haibun* [post GEN allocation] ‘the distribution of positions’ from (20) making (20a), it is also possible to leave the signaling word *sore ga*, as in (20b).

(20) *Kaisya no gappei de.wa posuto no haibun ga*
 company GEN merger in.TOP post GEN allocation NOM

syain nitotte.wa itiban sinkoku.na mondai
 employees to.TOP most serious.ADN problem

dearu.
 COP.NONPST
 ‘The allocation of positions in the merger of the companies is the most pressing problem to the employees.’

(20) a. *kaisya* *no* *gappei de* *syain* *nitotte itiban*
 company GEN merger in employees to most

sinkoku.na *mondai* *dearu* *posuto no*
 serious.ADN problem COP.NONPST post GEN

haibun
 allocation
 ‘the allocation of positions, which is the most pressing problem to the employees in the merger of the companies’

(20) b. *kaisya* *no* *gappei de* *sore ga* *syain*
 company GEN merger in that NOM employees

nitotte itiban *sinkoku.na* *mondai* *dearu*
 to most serious.ADN problem COP.NONPST

posuto no *haibun*
 post GEN allocation
 ‘the allocation of positions, which it is the most pressing problem to the employees in the merger of the companies’

(21) *Maebasi-si* *ga* *kuusyuu-sareta* *yoru*,
 Maebashi-city NOM air.raid-do.PASS.PST night

watasi wa *sore ga* *enboo* *dekiru* *Haruna.san*
 I TOP that NOM distant.view can.NONPST Mt. Haruna

yoru *no* *kooti no* *nooka* *ni* *tomatte*
 close.to GEN heightsGEN farm.house in stay.GER

ita.
 be.PST
 ‘The night Maebashi was bombed, I was staying in a farm house in the highlands near Mt Haruna, from which one could see it off in the distance.’

(TOIDA Michizō, *Hi* ‘Fire’)

Considering things in this way, it would appear that Inoue’s rule discussed above also needs some sort of retention condition. Looking at actual examples, in many cases there are delimiters (*fukujoshi*, adverbial particles) intervening between the *ga* and the noun that is attached to it. Consider the example below.

(22) *Busahoo* *de* *binansi* *de.mo.nai*
 rude COP.GER handsome.man also.not.COP.NONPST

ga, *hidoku kirei.na* *te* *to*, *soko dake ga*
 but terriblyclean.ADN hands and there only NOM

surudo *tisei* *ni* *kagayaku* *me* *to*
sharp.NONPST intelligence DAT sparkle.NONPST eyes and

o *motta* *sono* *otoko* *wa,* *hanasu* *koto*
ACC have.PST that man TOP speak.NONPST fact/matter

mo *itiiti* *huugawari* *de* *bungaku.teki* *da*
also each eccentric COP.GER literary COP.NONPST
'That man who was rude and not handsome but had terribly clean hands
and eyes that only there sparkled with intelligence, the things he spoke of were
also strange and literary.'

(MIYAGATANI, Tokuzō: A Summary of Rochefort's *Senshi no Kyūsoku* 'A Warrior's Rest' – Asahi Newspaper)

Above we have touched upon two cases of *ga* that could be called somewhat unusual. In general, corresponding with the fact that they are the most often replaced by topic *wa*, we can probably say that there is little trouble in extracting *ga*-marked nouns and making them base nouns.

4.2.3 The case of *o* [ACC]

The particle *o* [ACC] also takes on a number of meanings, depending on the predicate with which it occurs, but, like the case of *ga*, movement to become base noun is generally possible. In terms of becoming the topic marked by *wa*, the case of *o* does not go quite as smoothly as the case of *ga*, but there is no particular problem with conversion to a base noun. Let us consider a few examples below. (Examples in "Times New Roman" font are collected actual examples; examples in "Calibri" font are made-up examples; the modifying part has a single underline; and the modified part has a double underline.)

(23) *kaze* *ga* *hukitobasita* *kanban*
wind NOM blow.flying.PST sign
'a sign the wind sent flying'

← *Kaze* *ga* *kanban* *o* *hukitobasita*. (target of action)
wind NOM sign ACC blow.flying.PST
'The wind sent the sign flying.'

(24) *kore* *made* *watakusi* *no* *site* *maitta* *yoo.na*
this until I GEN do.GER come.PST appear.ADN

kurusimi *wa*
suffering TOP
'the suffering I have endured until now'
(MORI Ōgai, *Takasebune*)

(25) (*kanozyo* *ga*) ... *yonen.mae* *no* *aki* *no*
she NOM four.years.ago GEN fall GEN

aru *hareta* *hi* *kara* *mi* *ni* *tukete* *simatta*
certain clear.PST day from body LOC attach.GER end.up.PST

syuukan

habit/custom

‘a habit she has had since a certain clear autumn day four years ago’

(TACHIHARA Masaaki, *Takiginō*)

- (26) yakunin no yume nimo ukagau koto
official GEN dream LOC.even surmise.NONPST fact/matter

no dekinu kyooguu
GEN can.NEG.NONPST circumstances

‘an environment that the official could not imagine even in his dreams’

(MORI Ōgai, *Takasebune*)

- (27) Sore wa ... kono yo ni.wa go.teihoo
that TOP this world LOC.TOP HON.established.rule

de.wa bassuru koto no dekinai
INS.TOP punish.NONPST fact/matter GEN can.NEG.NONPST

tumi ga aru toiu koto de.gozaimasu
crimes NOM exist.NONPST fact/matter COP.NONPST

‘As for that, the fact is that there are crimes in this world that cannot be punished under the normal rules.’

(YAMAMOTO, Shūgorō, *Goben no Tsubaki ‘The Five-petal Camelia’*)

- (28) watasi ga deta daigaku (source)
I NOM graduate.PST college
‘the college from which I graduated’

- (29) watasi ga mainiti tooru miti (path)
I NOM every.day pass.along.NONPST road
‘the road along which I pass every day’

- (30) yokaze ga huki.wataru oorai wa
night.wind NOM blow.cross.NONPST road TOP
‘the road along which the night wind blew’
(AKUTAGAWA, Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*)

- (31) aru seisin.byooin e magaru yokotyoo
certain mental.hospital to turn back.street
‘the side street where one turns to (go to) a certain mental hospital’
(AKUTAGAWA, Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*)

The base nouns in (24), (25), (26), and (27) are of a type that can also appear as the base noun in the outer relation we will examine later, but these examples here all stand in an inner relation to the modifying part.

Let us look briefly at signaling words. Generally, in the case of *o*, signaling words do not appear (we do not say, for example, *watasi ga soko o deta daigaku* [I NOM there ACC graduate.PST college] ‘the college where I graduated from there’) but when the modifying part

becomes long or delimiters intervene, there are times when signaling words do appear. For example, the following are possible.

- (32) *soko o tootte butai no suso ni*
 there ACC pass.allong.GER stage GEN foot LOC
deru kaidan
 emerge.NONPST stairs
 ‘the stairs that you pass along them and emerge at the foot of the stage’
- (33) *Titi wa sore dake o yuiitu no tanosimi*
 father TOP that only ACC unique GEN pleasure
ni site ita bansyaku o kinzirarete
 DAT do.GER be.PST evening.drink ACC prohibit.PASS.GER
syonbori site iru.
 downhearted do.GER be.NONPST
 ‘Father is disheartened at having his nightly tipple, which he had looked forward it alone as his only pleasure.’

4.2.4 The case of *ni* [DAT, LOC]

Semantically speaking, *ni* takes on a variety of meanings, even more so than did *ga* or *o*, depending on the type of predicate it is linked to and these can be sorted out in a variety of ways, as shown below.

- A. (with a predicate expressing a judgment)
 the standard for a relative judgment
 Example: *kare ni muzukasii / ookii, /*
 him difficult.NONPST big.NONPST
hituyoo-da
 necessary-COP.NONPST
 ‘It’s hard/big/necessary for him.’
- B. (With a predicate showing existence or quantity)
 location of existence (including possessor)
 Example: *soko ni aru / ooi*
 there exist.NONPST many.NONPST
 ‘It’s there. / There are a lot (of them) there.’
- C. (with a predicate showing movement or change)
 1. (meeting, goal verbs)
 other party
 a. → other party
 Examples: *kare ni au / umi ni*
 he meet.NONPST ocean

men.suru / *titi ni niru*
 face.do.NONPST father resemble.NONPST
 ‘meet him / face the ocean / resemble one’s father’

b. ← other party

Examples: *kare ni hon o morau* /
 he book ACC receive.NONPST

kariru / *azukaru*
 borrow.NONPST take.in.trust.NONPST
 ‘receive / borrow / take in trust a book from him’

2. (movement verbs)

end point, insertion point

Examples: *huro ni hairu* / *ireru*
 bath enter.NONPST put.in.NONPST
 ‘take a bath / give (someone) a bath’

kuruma ni noru / *noseru*
 vehicle board.NONPST ride.NONPST
 ‘board a vehicle / give (someone) a ride in a vehicle’

3. (verbs of change)

result(-ing state)

Examples: *isya ni naru* / *aka ni*
 doctor become.NONPST red

naru / *2-bai ni hueru*
 become 2-times increase.NONPST
 ‘become a doctor / turn red / double in size’

D. (verbs showing changes in emotions/feelings)

incitement/cause

Examples: *monoto ni odoroku*
 sound be.surprised.NONPST
 ‘be startled at a sound’

kare ni situboo suru
 he disappointed do.NONPST
 ‘be disappointed in him’

E. Other, identification of circumstances and situations

Examples: *ame ni nureru*
 rain get.wet.NONPST
 ‘get wet in the rain’

hi ni yakeru
 sun get.burned.NONPST
 ‘get sunburned’

sigoto ni hagemu
 work strive.NONPST
 ‘be zealous at work’

rettookan ni kurusimu
 inferiority.complex suffer.NONPST
 ‘suffer from an inferiority complex’

F. With verbs in general
 time

Example: *sanji ni iku*
 three.o'clock go.NONPST
 ‘will go at three o'clock’

There are probably other, additional categories we could set up if we wanted to be more detailed. However, whatever category it may be, nouns in a case relation marked with *ni* appear to nearly all be able to convert to base nouns. As for replacement by *wa*, MIKAMI points out that “*ni*’s that can be replaced by *wa* are mostly limited to *ni* that shows location.”⁸ He warns that “it is better not to replace *ni* that shows dynamic motion ... in the *e* ‘to’ direction ... or in the *kara* ‘from’ direction by *wa*.”⁹ There appears to be no problem, however, in converting to a base noun in any case. For example:

kare ga atta hito (← *hito ni atta*)
 he NOM meet.PST person
 ‘the person he met’

watasi ga hon o kasita hito (← *hito ni kasita*)
 I NOM book ACC loan.PST person
 ‘the person I lent a book to’

watasi ga hon o karita hito (← *hito ni karita*)
 I NOM book ACC borrow.PST person
 ‘the person I borrowed a book from’

watasi ga notta kuruma (← *kuruma ni notta*)
 I NOM board.PST vehicle
 ‘the car I rode in’

However, categories C3, D, and E appear to be more difficult and I have not found any real examples.

Below, we will look at some actual examples and compare them with the possibility of making them topics with *wa*.

(34) *boti ga aru Murahazure*
 cemetery NOM be.NONPST village.outskirts
 ‘the edge of town, where the cemetery is’

← *Murahazure ni boti ga aru*

‘There’s a cemetery at the edge of town.’

cf. *Sono murahazure* {?wa / *niwa*} *boti ga aru.*
 that TOP
 ‘At the edge of the town, there’s a cemetery.’

(35) *zibun demo ki.ga.tukanai isiki*
 self even notice.NEG.NONPST consciousness
 ‘a consciousness that even I myself don’t notice’

cf. *Sono isiki* {?wa / *niwa*} *zibun demo ki.ga.tukanai.*
 that consciousness TOP
 That consciousness, even I am not aware of.’

(36) *yatyoo no koe o ireta 6-gatu 19-niti no*
 wild.birds GEN voice ACC put.in.PST June 19th GEN

rokuon
 recording
 ‘the recording of 19 June in which I captured the songs of wild birds’

cf. *Sono rokuon* {?wa / *niwa*} *yatyoo no*
 that recording TOP wild.birds GEN

*koe o irete iru (*ireta)*
 voice ACC put.in.GER be.NONPST put.in.PST
 ‘That recording, I have captured (*captured) the songs of wild birds.’

(37) *Sonna namae ga tuite iru ooki-na*
 that.kind name NOM attach.GER be.NONPST big-ADN

ki ga arimasita.
 tree NOM exist.POL.PST
 ‘There was a big tree that had a name like that.’

cf. *sono ooki-na ki* {?wa / *niwa*} *sonna*
 that big-ADN tree TOP that.kind

namae ga tuite iru.
 name NOM attach.GER be.NONPST
 ‘That big tree had a name like that.’

(38) *zyoo no orite iru honbako*
 lock GEN descend.GER be.NONPST bookcase
 ‘a locked bookcase/a bookcase that is locked’

cf. *sono honbako* {wa / *niwa*} *zyoo ga*
 that bookcase TOP lock NOM

orite iru.
 descend.GER be.NONPST

‘That bookcase, the lock is set.’

- (39) *ansin to hokori no hono mieru taido*
 relief and pride GEN faintly be.visible.NONPST attitude
 ‘an attitude in which both relief and pride are faintly visible’
- ← *Sono taido ni ansin to hokori ga hono mieru*
 that attitude relief and pride NOM faintly be.visible
 ‘Both relief and pride can be faintly discerned in his attitude.’
- cf. *sono taido {?wa / niwa} ansin to hokori*
 that attitude TOP relief and pride
ga hono mieru
 GEN faint be.visible.NONPST
 ‘In his attitude, both relief and pride are faintly visible.’
- (40) *keibetu no komotta me de*
 distain GEN be.filled.with.PST eye INS
 ‘with eyes filled with distain’
- ← *Sono me ni keibetuga komotte iru*
 that eye distain NOM be.filled.with.GER be.NONPST
 ‘Distain fills (lit. has filled) (in) those eyes.’
- (**komotta*)
 be.filled.with.PST
- cf. *Sono me {?wa / niwa} keibetuga komotte iru. (*komotta)*
 TOP
 ‘Those eyes, distain filled them.’
- (41) *Kazi ga awatete nigete itta hookoo ga*
 Kaji NOM hurriedly flee.GER go.PSTdirection NOM
ikiiki.to kanozyo no kokoro no naka de
 vividly she GEN heart GEN inside LOC
nami.uti.dasite kuru no datta.
 start.beating.fast.GER come NMLZ COP.PST
 ‘The direction in which Kaji had hurriedly fled would pulse vividly in her heart.’
 (YOKOMITSU Riichi, *Haru wa Basha ni Notte* [Spring Riding in
 a Carriage])
- (42) *kono ziken no kyoomi aru ten wa*
 this case GEN interest exist.NONPST point TOP
 ‘the interesting point in this case’
- ← *kono ziken no sono ten ni kyoomiga aru*
 this case GEN that point interestNOM exist
 ‘There is interest in that point of this case.’

cf. **Sono ten* {*wa* / *niwa*} *kono ziken* {*no* / *ga*}
 that point TOP this case GEN NOM

kyoomi ga aru.

interestNOM exist.NONPST

‘(lit) As for (in) that point, it is this case that there is interest.’

Kono ziken no sono ten {*wa* / *niwa*}
 this case GEN that point TOP

kyoomi ga aru.

interestGEN exist.NONPST

‘As for (in) that point of this case, there is interest.’

(43) *kyozin ga makeru no ga tanosimi*
 Giants NOM lose.NONPST NMLZ NOM pleasure

datta ziki
 COP.PST time

‘the time in my life when the Giants’ losing was my pleasure
 (when I looked forward to the Giants losing)’

cf. *Sono ziki wa kyojin ga makeru no ga*
 that time TOP Giants NOM lose.NONPST NMLZ NOM

tanosimi datta.
 pleasure COP.NONPST

‘Those days, I looked forward to the Giants losing.’

(44) *tyoonin.tati ga kakutaru syakai-henkaku no mokuhyoo*
 merchants NOM definite society-reform GEN goal

o motu koto ga dekinakatta bunka-bunsei.zidai
 ACC hold.NONPSTNMLZ NOM can.NEG.PST Bunka-Bunsei Period

ni wa
 in TOP

‘in the Bunka-Bunsei Period (1804-1830), when the merchants/townspople were
 unable to hold the goal of definite social reform’

cf. *Bunka-Bunsei.zidai* {*wa* / *niwa*} *tyoonin.tati ga ...*
 Bunka-Bunsei Period TOP merchants NOM

‘in the Bunka-Bunsei Period, the merchants ...’

(45) *Riyon tokuyuu no koodaku.sita kiri ga sorosoro*
 Lyon peculiar.to GEN yellow.stained fog NOM soon

Soonu, Roonu no ryogawa kara haiagaru kisetu
 Saône Rhône GEN two.rivers from creep.up.NONPST season

ga yatte.kita.

NOM come.along.PST

‘The season has come when the yellow-tinged fog peculiar to Lyon will soon rise from both the Saône and Rhône rivers.’

(ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Shiroi Hito* [White Men])

4.2.5 The case of *de*

Like *ni*, *de* is a case particle with a wide range of uses that are difficult to characterize when finely divided, but the following are probably its primary uses.

A. location of action or event

Examples: *Soko de ziko ga atta.*
there accident NOM be (happen).PST
‘There was an accident there.’

Okuzyoo de biiru o nomu.
roof.top beer ACC drink.NONPST
‘Drink beer on the roof (in the rooftop beer garden).’

B. tool, method

Examples: *naihu de ki o kiru*
knife wood ACC cut.NONPST
‘cut wood with a knife.’

basu de iku
bus go.NONPST
‘go by bus’

C. cause

Examples: *kekaku de sinu*
tuberculosis die.NONPST
‘die from tuberculosis’

hukyoo de situgyoo suru
recession lose.job do.NONPST
‘lose one’s job due to a recession’

D. scope/range

Example: *Kare ga kurasu de itiban ookii.*
he NOM class most big.NONPST
‘He is the biggest in his class.’

E. reference/norm

Example: *3-mai de 100-en da.*
3-sheets 100-yen COP.NONPST
‘It’s 100 yen per three sheets. / It’s three sheets for 100 yen.’

Concerning replacement by *wa*, Mikami notes, “there are *de*’s that show means, cause, and instrument and one that shows location, but only the location *de*, like *ni*, can be replaced by *wa*,” and he gives the following examples.

Kaizyoo wa, yokyoo ga hazimatte iru.
 assembly.hall TOP entertainment NOM begin.GER be.NONPST
 ‘The entertainment has begun in the meeting hall.’

Kono onsen wa, sekken ga tukaenai.
 this hot.springs TOP soap NOM use.POT.NEG.NONPST
 ‘You can’t use soap at this hot spring.’

Ano hen wa, gogatuni sakura ga sakimasu.
 that area TOP May in cherry NOM bloom.POL.NONPST
 ‘Around there, the cherry blossoms bloom in May.’

However, as we will see in the examples below as well, topicalizing even the location *de* with *wa*, or even with *dewa*, yields an unexpectedly large number of unnatural sentences. Also, even when not actually unnatural, cases in which the contrast interpretation is strong are much more numerous than with *ga*, *o*, or *ni*. In general, borrowing WATANABE’s terminology, we can probably say that as one moves from strong *tenjo* to weak *tenjo*, the interpretation of *wa* (or particle plus *wa*) becomes more contrastive. Be that as it may, here too, as with *ni*, there is practically no restriction on conversion of a *de*-marked noun to become a base noun. However, in the case of E. in the above categorization (reference/norm), perhaps also due to the fact that the noun it attaches to is normally a numerical expression, such a noun probably doesn’t appear as a base noun. In the case of category D. as well, as shown by the examples below, conversion into a base noun usually requires something of a stretch. There are problems with the *de* for reason, but we will discuss those later.

In the case of categories A and B, examples are so common as to make it almost unnecessary to search for actual examples, but let us take up some examples below, comparing conversion to a base noun with replacement by *wa*.

(46) *Hanayama ga zisatu.sita monoooki.goya* (place)
 Hanayama NOM commit.suicide.PST equipment.shed
 ‘the equipment shed in which Hanayama committed suicide’

cf. *kono monoooki.goya* {*?wa* / *dewa*} *Hanayama ga*
 this equipment.shed TOP he NOM

zisatu.sita.
 commit.suicide.PST
 ‘In this shed, Hanayama committed suicide.’

(47) *kare ga kaisya e iku kuruma* (means)
 he NOM company to go.NONPST car
 ‘the car in/by which he goes to work’

cf. *sono kuruma* {**wa* / *?dewa*} *kare ga*
 that car TOP he NOM

kaisya e iku
 company to go.NONPST
 ‘That car, he goes to work in’

(48) *kare ga hahaoya to hanasi o suru*
 he NOM mother with speech ACC DO.NONPST

kotoba wa Taiwango da. (means)
 language TOP Taiwanese COP.NONPST
 ‘The language he speaks with his mother in is Taiwanese.’

cf. *Sono gengo {*wa / ?dewa}kare ga*
 that language TOP he NOM

hahaoya to hanasi o suru.
 mother with speech ACC do.NONPST
 ‘In that language, he speaks with his mother.’

(49) *otoko ga huuhu o sasita tantoo* (instrument)
 man NOM married.couple ACC stab.PST short.sword
 ‘the short sword with which the man stabbed the married couple’

cf. *kono tantoo {*wa / ?dewa}otoko ga*
 this short.sword TOP man NOM

huuhu o sasita.
 married.couple ACC stab.PST
 ‘With this short sword, the man stabbed the married couple.’

(50) *kare ga sono kurasu de itiban se ga takai* (range/scope)
 he NOM that class in most height NOM high.NONPST
 ‘He is the tallest in that class.’

→ *sono kurasu de itiban se ga takai hito*
 that class in most height NOM high,NONPST person
 ‘the tallest person in the class’

→ *?kare ga itiban se ga takai kurasu*
 ‘the class in which he is the tallest’

→ *Sono kurasu {?wa / dewa} kare ga itiban se ga takai.*
 ‘In that class, he is the tallest.’

As one can probably surmise from example (50), we can probably say that nouns accompanied by *de* to indicate scope do not convert to base nouns much.

A problem is, as mention earlier, the case when *de* shows cause. If this use of *de* is taken to be another case particle, then a noun modification structure as in (51) can be seen as being

related to sentence (52), in which case it would be regarded as being in what we have been calling an inner relation.

- (51) *kare ga syukke o sita dooki wa ...*
 he NOM enter.the.priesthood ACC do.PST motive TOP
 ‘his motivation for entering the priesthood ...’
- (52) *Kare ga sono dooki de syukke sita.*
 he NOM that motive enter.the.priesthood do.PST
 ‘He entered the priesthood because of that motivation.’

On the other hand, if we think about the relation between this modifying part and the base noun semantically, it very closely resembles the outer relation (of “relative augmentation”) to be discussed in more detail in section 5 and seen in (53) and (54).

- (53) *kazi ga kyuusoku.ni hirogatta gen'in wa ...*
 fire NOM rapidly spread,PST cause TOP
 ‘the cause of the fire’s rapid spread ...’
- (54) *kimi ga syukke suru riyuu ga*
 you NOM enter.the.priesthood do.NONPST reason TOP
 ‘the reason you enter the priesthood...’

Saying that someone took some action and his motivation for doing it was such and such is exactly the same in character as relative content augmentation.

As we also touched on earlier in section 3, while claiming a distinction between inner relations and outer relations in this manuscript, I do not mean that one can always say that the two are always totally different in nature and I recognize that, in reality, it may be difficult to determine whether a given case is one or the other, but the cases that it is impossible to determine which they are appear to all be cases in which the base noun stands in a *de* case relation with respect to the predicate of the modifying part. As to why this should be the case with *de* and to which pattern we should assign this kind of noun modification relation, I will leave these open for now. However, we will return to these questions in the next section when we take a close look at various points concerning outer relation constructions.

In the following sentences as well, the base noun stands in a *de* case relation, but these should be considered to be outer relations. We will take up such examples in more detail in section 5.

- (55) *Sisetu o tobidasita asi de tenroku e*
 institution ACC flee.PST foot INS Tenroku to

maimodotta tokoro o yakuza ni
 swing.back.PST situation ACC gangster DAT

hikkakari, ...
 get.caught.up with.ADVL
 ‘Having fled the institution, he found his way back to Tenroku, where he got involved with gangsters and ...’

(newspaper article)

- (56) *Kikoo ga Miyako no korosareta tikaku no*
 you NOM Miyako GEN kill.PASS.PST nearby GEN
- San'in-sen no ressyu no naka de Miyako to*
 San'in-line GEN train GEN inside LOC Miyako with
- issyoni ita hannin no otoko o*
 together be.PST criminal GEN man ACC
- guuzen mirareta soo desu kara ...*
 accidentally see.HON.PST EVID COP.POL.NONPST since
 'Since I hear that you accidentally saw the criminal together with Miyako on the
 train on the San'in-Line near where Miyako was killed, ...'
 (MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Kao* 'The Face')

4.2.6 The case of *e* 'to'

Compared to *ni* and *de*, the use of *e* is much simpler. To begin with, it always means 'to' or 'toward'. Also, nouns standing in an *e* case relationship can easily be converted to base nouns.

- (57) *otoko ga yatte.kita mati*
 man NOM come.along.PST town
 'the town the man came to'
- (58) *Kazi ga awatete nigeta hookoo*
 Kaji NOM hurriedly flee.PST direction
 'the direction in which Kaji fled'

4.2.7 The case of *kara* 'from'

Unlike the particles examined up to now, a noun with the relation signified by *kara* with the predicate generally can almost never be modified by that predicate. Topicalization by replacement by *wa* is also impossible, becoming *kara wa* instead, and neither direct modification of another noun with *no* or use in the focus position of a (pseudo-)cleft sentence are possible without retention of the *kara*.

- (58) *Kare ga sono mati kara hikkosite kita.*
 He NOM that town from move.GER come.PST
 'He moved (here) from that town.'
- *→ *kare ga hikkosite kita mati*
 he NOM move.GER come.PST town
- **Sono mati wa kare ga hikkosite kita.*
 (*Sono mati kara wa kare ga hikkosite kita.*)
 'From that town, he moved (here).'

→ **kare no sono mati no hikkosi*
 he GEN that town GEN moving

(*kare no sono mati kara no hikkosi*)
 ‘his moving from that town’

*→ *Kare ga hikkosite kita no wa*
 he NOM move.GER come.PST one TOP
sono mati da.
 That town COP.NONPST

(*kare ga hikkosite kita no wa sono mati kara da.*)
 ‘It is from that town that he moved (here).’

However, it cannot be said that the noun before *kara* can never be converted to a base noun. It is clear from the following examples that, although replacement by *wa* may be impossible, conversion to a base noun is not completely impossible.

(59) *ti ga sitataru debabootyoo*
 blood NOM drip.NONPST kitchen.knife
 ‘the kitchen knife from which blood dripped’

← *debabootyoo kara*
 kitchen.knife from

cf. ?(*sono*) *debabootyoo wa ti ga sitataru*
 that kitchen.knife TOP blood NOM drip.NONPST

(60) *oba no ie no dentoo ga mieru*
 aunt GEN house GEN light NOM be.visible.NONPST

Daimati no toori
Daimachi GEN road

‘The road in Daimachi from which the lights of my aunt’s house can be seen’
 (AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke)

← *Daimati no toori kara oba no ie no dentoo ga mieru.*
 ‘From the road in Daimachi, the lights of my aunt’s house are visible.’

Cf. **Daimati no toori wa oba no ie no dentoo ga mieru.*

Daimati no toori kara wa ...

(61) *Nani itte yagan da yo, to*
 what say.GER deprecatory.ending COP.NONPST SFP QUOT
tiisa.na sitauti o sinagara otoko wa sore demo

small.ADN tongue.cluck ACC do.while man TOP that even

hukigen.na kao o site gake o
ill-temper.ADN face ACC do.GER cliff ACC

noboru hosō.miti ni asi o kaketa.
climb.NONPST narrow.road on foot ACC set.atop.PST

‘‘What are you on about,’’ the man clucked quietly as he stepped into the narrow road from which one climbed the cliff.’

(ENDŌ Shūsaku *Fuda no Tsuji*)

- (62) *Hooru no hidarisumi wa teien ni deru*
hall GEN left.corner TOP garden to leave.NONPST

iriguti to natte iru.
entrance become.GER be.NONPST

‘The left corner of the hall had become an entrance (from which) one went out to a garden.’

(ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Shiroi Hito* ‘White Men’)

- (63) *Minna ga hikiageta gakuya ni,*
everyone NOM leave.PST dressing.room LOC

Huzioka Keita wa hitori.de nokotte ita.
Fujioka Keita TOP alone remain.GER be.PST

‘Keita Fujioka remained alone in the dressing room (after) everyone had left.’

(ITSUKI Hiroyuki, *Rōheitachi no Gasshō* ‘Old Soldiers’ Chorus’)

- (64) *Osyoku ga okotta seidozyoo no kekkan o*
corruption NOM arise.PST systematic GEN faults ACC

ninsiki sinakereba, hutatabi husyoo.ziken
recognize do.NEG.COND again scandal.incident

no okoru sinpai ga aru.
GEN arise.NONPST worry NOM be.NONPST

‘If we do not recognize the faults in the system from which the corruption sprung, there is the worry that scandals will arise again.’

(newspaper)

- (65) *Arimanomiko ga, taburekokoro o yosootte-mo nao*
Arimanomiko NOM madness ACC feign.GER-even still

ikinagaraeru koto no dekinakatta
live.long.life.NONPST NMLZ GEN be.able.NEG.PST

Nakanooenomiko toiu kenryoku ni.taisite, zibun o
Nakanoōenomiko toiu power towards self ACC

mamoru sube wa hitotu sika nakatta.

protect way TOP one only be.NEG.PST

Kokoro o ataenai toiu koto dearu.
 heart ACC give.NEG.NONPST toiu NMLZ COP.NONPST
 ‘In the face of the power that is Nakanoōenomiko, from whom Arimanomiko was unable to live a long life (=save himself) even though he had feigned madness, there is but one way (for me) to save myself. That is not to give my heart (to him).’

(INOUE Yasushi, *Nukatanoōkimi* ‘Princess Nukata’)

The last example (65) makes one think of the English verb “survive”, which has no equivalent in Japanese, and the sentence itself has a strong “translationese” flavor to it, but since any Japanese can read and understand it, it probably cannot be said to be an especially unusual example. The other examples seem to me to be completely normal. Why is it that anyone can see that the relation held by the base noun (shown with a double underline) to the verb at the end of the modifying part is the relation shown by *kara*, which was not apparent in the case of (58)?

Simply put, when certain nouns and certain verbs are lined up (without anything to indicate their relation), there are cases in which the most natural interpretation in Japanese is that of “do/happen ... from ...” and all one can say is that the examples above fit this description. Adding a little more regularity to the above, it appears that cases when the *kara* can be replaced by *o* or by *ni* have such a semantic relation.

Cases in which *kara* and *o* can be substituted for each other are, as noted in section 4.2.3 above, verbs that have the general characteristic of denoting “leaving” or “separation” (e.g. *deru* ‘leave, go out of’, *oriru* ‘descend (from), step down (from)’, *tobidasu* ‘jump out (from)’, or *hanareru* ‘separate (from)’).

(66) *Kare ga sono heya {o / kara} deta.*
 he NOM that room ACC from emerge.PST
 ‘He went/came out of that room.’

→ *kare ga deta heya*
 ‘the room he came out of’

→ **Sono heya wa, kare ga deta.*
 that room TOP he NOM emerge.PST
 ‘As for that room, he left.’

(67) *Kare ga sono kuruma {o / kara} orita.*
 he NOM that car ACC from descend.PST
 ‘He got out of that car.’

→ *kare ga orita kuruma*
 ‘the car he got out of’

→ ?*Sono kuruma wa kare ga orita.*
 that car TOP he NOM descend.PST
 ‘As for that car, he got out.’

The above is probably the reason that sentences (62) with *deru* ‘go/come out’ and (63) with *hikiageru* ‘leave, evacuate’ are well-formed.

The cases that allow the interchange of *ni* and *kara* are those in which there is a “giver/receiver” that can be marked with either *ni* or *kara*.

(68) *Kare ga kanozyo {ni / kara} Tyuugokogo o*
 he NOM she Chineselanguage ACC

osowatta.

learn/be.taught.PST

‘He learned Chinese from her/was taught Chinese by her.’

→ *kare ga Tyuugokugo o osowatta kanozyo*
 ‘she, from whom he learned Chinese’

(69) *Kare ga kanozyo { ni hon } o moratta.*
karita.
 he NOM she kara book ACC azukatta.

{ receive.PST
 borrow.PST
 take.charge.of.PST

‘He received/borrowed/took in trust a book from her.’

→ *kare ga hon o { } moratta*
karita kanozyo
azukatta

‘she, from he received/borrowed/took in trust a book’

cf. **Sono zyosei wa kare ga hon o { } moratta.*
 that womanTOP he NOM book ACC *karita.*
azukatta.
 ‘That woman, he received/borrowed/took in trust a book.’

cf. *Sono zyosei kara wa ...*
 that womanfrom TOP
 ‘From that woman, ...’

The explanation above, however will not cover the *sitataru* ‘drip’ of (59), the *mieru* ‘be visible’ of (60), or the *okoru* ‘arise’ of (64). The “extremely general” explanation given earlier will have to suffice for these (at least for now).

Let us now consider the signaling words touched on earlier. Generalizing from what we have observed, nouns accompanied by particles that have a basically strong link with the

predicate like *ga*, *o*, and *ni*, generally do not appear with signaling words and the weaker the link, the more easily signaling words can appear. This is clearly seen in the case of *kara*. That is, when the base noun is in a *kara* relation with the predicate, which is the core of the modifying part, it is easy for a signaling word to appear with *kara* in the modifying part. See the examples below.

- (70) Riiti zisin ga soko kara nogare.tagatte ita Hokkaido
 Riichi self NOM **there from** want.to.escape.GER be.PST Hokkaidō

no tuti-kusasa no subete o, Ayuko wa Riiti no
 GEN earth-stink GEN all ACC Ayuko TOP Riichi GEN

situ de enryo.naku sarakedasita.
 room LOC without.restraint expose.PST

‘In Riichi’s room, Ayuko laid bare all the raw earthiness of Hokkaidō that Riichi himself had wanted to escape.’

(ITŌ Sei, *Hakkutsu* ‘Excavation’)

- (71) Arimanomiko ga doositemo soko kara nogareru koto
 Arimanomiko NOM by.all.means **there from** escape.NONPST NMLZ

ga dekinakatta miko o mimatta hiun no
 NOM be.able.NEG.PST prince ACC visit.PST tragic.fate GEN

naka ni, Nukata no kokoro o kimyoo.ni
 inside LOC Nukata GEN heart ACC strangely

otitukaseru mono ga atta no dearu.
 calm.CAUS.NONPST thing NOM be.PSTGEN COP.NONPST

‘In the tragic fate visited on Arimanomiko, from which he had been completely unable to escape, Nukata found something that strangely calmed her.’

(INOUE Yasushi *Nukatanoōkimi*)

4.2.8 The case of *to* ‘with’

As one investigates the cases in which a noun in a relation shown by *to* can be converted to a base noun or whether the *to* can be replaced by *wa*, it becomes clear that there at least two types of *to* with different characteristics. One appears with a predicate like those in (72) that, because of their semantic qualities, require a complement marked by *to*.

- (72) *miai.suru* ‘have a formal engagement meeting’, *kon’yaku.suru* ‘get engaged’, *kekkon.suru* ‘get married’, *rikon.suru* ‘get divorced’, *kenka.suru* ‘have a quarrel’, *syoototu.suru* ‘collide’, *nakanaori.suru* ‘reconcile’, *kakeoti.suru* ‘elope’, *~si.au* ‘do ~ mutually’

The other is the *to* that can appear with any verb to show accompaniment or temporarily acting in concert, as in (73).

- (73) *daresore to syokuzi.suru/ iku/ miru*
 somebody with eat.NONPST go.NONPST watch.NONPST

‘have dinner/go/watch (something) with somebody’

For now, we will refer to the former as the “partner *to*” and the latter as the “companion *to*”. The two can be distinguished, simply speaking, by whether or not one can restate the *to* with *to issyo ni* ‘together with’; if it possible, the *to* is the latter and if it is not then it is the former.

Generally speaking, we can say that there is not much problem in converting nouns shown by the “partner *to* into base nouns but conversion is impossible in the case of “companion *to*”. It is clear now that the reason we could not convert *watasi no yuuzin* ‘my friend’ in example (1) of section 4.1, repeated below, into a base noun is that the *to* that is attached to it is the “companion *to*”.

- (1) *Otooto* *ga* ... *watasi no* *yuuzin to* ...
 younger.brother NOM I GEN friend with
- keiei.site* *iru*
 manage.do.GER be.NONPST
 ‘My younger is managing ... with my friend.’

As has gradually become clear, the conditions for replacement by *wa* are stricter than the conditions for becoming a base noun with replacement by *wa* almost impossible in the case of the “companion *to*”. (Although perhaps not absolutely impossible.) Modification by a *no* phrase is even more impossible.

Taking the verbs in (72) as an example, let us consider examples of extraction to become base noun and examples of replacement by *wa*.

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|---|--|---|-------|
| (74) | <i>Kare</i> | <i>ga</i> | { | <i>miai-sita</i>
have.arranged.meeting- | } | doPST |
| | <i>zyosei</i> | | | <i>kon'yaku-sita</i>
get.engaged-do.PST | | |
| | he | NOM | | <i>kekkon-suru</i> | | |
| | woman | | | get.married-do.NONPST | | |
| | | | | <i>kenka-siteiru</i>
quarrel-do.GER.be.NONPST | | |
- ‘the woman he {had an arranged meeting with (as potential marriage partner)/ got engaged to/ will get married to/ is quarreling with}’

- cf. (a) ?*Sono zyosei wa kare ga miai-sita*
 ?*Sono zyosei wa kare ga kon'yaku-sita*
 ?*Sono zyosei wa kare ga kekkon-suru*
 ?*Sono zyosei wa kare ga kekkon-siteiru*

that womanTOP he NOM
 ‘That woman, he {had an arranged meeting with/ got engaged to/ will get married to/ is quarreling with}’

cf. (b) *Sono zyosei to wa kare ga miai ... sita*
 that womanwith TOP he NOM
 ‘With/to that woman, he {had an arranged meeting, ... }’

cf. (c) **kare no sono zyosei no miai*
 he GEN that woman GEN *kon’yaku*
kekkon
 ‘his {arranged meeting/ engagement/ marriage} of that woman’

cf. (d) *kare no sono zyosei to no miai*
 he GEN that woman with/to GEN *kon’yaku*
kekkon
 ‘his {arranged meeting/ engagement/ marriage} with/to that woman’

In the following example, the base noun has a relation both with *kekkon* ‘marriage’ as in *sono onna to no kekkon o hantai-sarete* [that woman to GEN marriage ACC oppose-do.PASS.GER] ‘have opposition to his marriage to that woman’ and with *akeoti-suru* ‘elope’ in *sono onna to kakeoti-siyoo to.sita* [that woman with elope-do.INT try.PST] ‘tried to elope with that woman’ (the first is a verb in a nominalized form and the other a verb).

(75) *Musuko-san ga, anata ni kekkon o*
 (your).son NOM you DAT marriage ACC oppose-
hantai-sarete kakeoti-siyoo to.sita onna wa, ima zya
 do.PASS.GER elope-do.INT try.PST woman TOP now being
zyoryuugaka to.site itiryuu desu ne.
 woman.artist as first.class COP.POL SFP
 ‘The woman who your son, opposed by you in his marriage to, tried to elope with is now a first-class woman artist, isn’t she?’

4.2.9 The case of *made* and *made ni*

Much the same can be said for *kara* and *to*, but from *made* and *made ni* and including *yoru*, below, the relation between the noun the particle attaches to and the predicate with which that noun is linked is less determined by the predicate than by the semantic relation that is carried by the particle itself. That is, in the case of *ga* or *o*, it is difficult to say that the particles themselves mean such and such, but with *kara*, *made*, *made ni*, and *yoru*, the meaning of the particle itself is much clearer. The fact that, as we have already seen with *kara* and *to* and will see with *made*, *made ni*, and *yoru*, it is difficult or impossible to extract the noun these particles attach to and make it the base noun, together with the fact that it is impossible to elide these particles or replaced them by *wa*, can essentially be explained by the generally known facts just described.

It is generally said that *made* shows that an action or state continues through the time or space whose end is demarcated by *made* and that *made ni* shows that some event arises (begins

or ends) within the span whose end is demarcated by *made ni*, and in either case, the noun phrase the particle is attached to cannot be extracted and made a base noun.

- (76) *Sono toki made matu.*
 that time until wait.NONPST
 ‘Wait until that time.’
- *→ (a) *(darega ga) matu (matta) toki*
 someone NOM wait.NONPST wait.PST time
 ‘the time someone waits/waited (meaning “until which”)’
- *→ (b) *sono toki wa (dareka ga) matu*
 that time TOP someone NOM wait.NONPST
 ‘As for that time, someone waits (meaning “until that time”)’

- (77) *Kaigi ga sono toki made.ni owaru.*
 meeting NOM that time by end
 ‘The meeting will end by that time.’
- *→ (a) *kaigi ga owaru toki*
 meeting NOM end.NONPST time
 ‘(okay as ‘the time at which the meeting will end’ but not as ‘the time by which the meeting will end’)
- *→ (b) *Sono toki wa, kaigi ga owaru.*
 that time TOP meeting NOM end.NONPST
 ‘(okay as ‘As for that time, the meeting will end then’ but not as ‘As for that time, the meeting will end by then’)

Made is also often used in a meaning close to *sae* ‘even, to the extent of’ showing a limit beyond expectation, but this use is the same in terms of extraction or replacement by *wa*.

- (78) *San'yaku dake denaku, yokozuna made hiramaku*
 three-ranks only COP.NEG.ADVL yokozuna even rank.and.file
- ni makeru toiu haran no syoniti datta.*
 DAT lose.NONPST uproarious GEN opening.day COP.PST
 ‘It was an uproarious opening day on which not just the three ranks (ōzeki, sekiwake, komusubi) but even a yokozuna lost to a rank-and-file wrestler.’

4.2.10 The case of *yor*

The particle *yor* ‘than’ showing the object of a comparison is the same as the previous particles.

- (79) *Taroo ga sono hito yori tuyoi.*
 Taro NOM that person strong.NONPST
 ‘Taro is stronger than that person.’

*→ (80) *Taroo ga tuyoi hito*
 ‘a person Taro is strong(er)’

If (80) is acceptable at all, it would have the meaning shown in (81).

(81) *Taroo ga sono hito ni tuyoi.*
 ‘Taro is strong (does well with, comes on strong to) that person.’

Replacement by *wa*, elision, modification with *no*, the so-called “emphatic” construction *X no wa Y da* ‘it is Y that X’ are all so impossible that there is no need to give examples.

4.2.11 The case of *no*

Finally, let us consider the case of *no*. The reason for leaving *no* to the end is that it is very different in character from the other particles we have looked at. It has become the usual practice to include *no* as a case particle in Japanese language studies and along with *shukaku* ‘nominative’ *ga*, *taikaku* ‘accusative’ *o*, and *yokaku* ‘dative’ *ni*, it is listed as *zokkaku* ‘genitive’ (or, *shoyūkaku* ‘possessive’) case. The influence of European grammar in which “genitive” or “possessive” are established as cases is unmistakably clear. Granted, it’s not the case that the fact that *no* is different in nature from the other cases hasn’t been recognized, but, if *no* is to be included in the category of “case particle”, then we need a more rigorous definition of what “case” means. Calling *no* a “noun-modifying case” and *ga* and *o* “predicate modifying cases”, as did WATANABE Minoru, is clearer and is less of a misunderstanding, but even that cannot be said to have clarified all the complex functions of the particle *no*.

If one defines “case” as forms that clearly show the relation (or role) of nouns having a connection with the predicate (that is, have some sort of role) to that predicate, taking the predicate as the nucleus around which the events/things are expressed, as is done in this work, then there is a problem with treating what *no* expresses as “case” on a par with what is expressed by *ga*, *o*, *ni*, *kara*, and the like. Of course, the “X” referred to in “X *no*” undeniably does have some relation to some kind of role in the event that the predicate as core expresses, but it is clearly different from other particles in general that are directly involved with the predicate and serve to limit its content.

The special character of *no* is not limited to its simply being a noun modifier, that is, to restricting the following noun rather than restricting or characterizing the content of the predicate. As we have seen earlier, the following noun may be a predicate semantically; when the following noun is a nominalized predicate, the *no*-marked noun stands relative to the nominalized predicate in the role of a *ga*-marked or of a *o*-marked noun. For example,

(82) *Akutagawa no zisatu*
 Akutagawa suicide
 ‘Akutagawa’s suicide’

↔ *Akutagawa ga zisatu-suru*
 NOM suicide.do.NONPST
 ‘Akutagawa commmits suicide’

(83) *Minami Betonamu no kaihoo*
 south Vietnam liberation

‘the liberation of South Vietnam’

↔ *Minami Betonamu* o *kaihoo-suru*
ACC liberation.do.NONPST
‘(X) liberates South Vietnam’

Even if the following noun is not a nominalized predicate, a string like

(84) *Hokkaidoo no ani*
Hokkaido older.brother
‘my older brother in Hokkaido’

is probably understood with *Hokkaidoo* having the relation shown in (85),

(85) *Hokkaidoo ni ani ga iru.*
Hokkaido LOC older.brother NOM be.NONPST
‘My older brother is in Hokkaido.’

and a case like

(86) *isya no ani (X no Y)*
doctor older.brother
‘my older brother, the doctor’

can be related (as a pattern) to

(87) *Ani ga isya da. (X ga Y da)*
older.brother NOM doctor COP.NONPST
‘My older brother is a doctor.’

Although the conditions for its formation are more restricted than the pattern above, the reverse of the pattern in (86) is also possible.

(88) *Niityan no baka!*
older.brother stupid
‘You stupid! (said to older brother)’

That is, although the conspicuous function of *no* is to link two nouns, generally so the first noun restricts the second noun, related to this, the semantic relation of the two nouns can also include X being the “subject” of Y or being the “object” of Y. Of course, *no* cannot always be replaced by *ga* or *o*. Covering the many uses of *no* would take us too far afield of our main topic, but, considering the following, it is clear that it would be too much of a leap to consider all the uses of *no* to be derived from some kind of sentence (with normal case-predicate ties).

(89) *sakura no hana*
cherry(.tree) flower
‘the flower of the cherry tree’

(90) *tukue no ue*
desk top/up/above

‘the top of/ above the desk’

- (91) *honba* *no* *koohii*
place,of.origin coffee
‘coffee-growers’ coffee’

cf. *koohii* *no* *honba*
 coffee place.of.origin
 ‘the place whence coffee originated’

- (92) *kodomo* *no* *goro*
child time
‘when (I) was a child’

However, it is a fact that among the varieties of *no*, there are ones that semantically include the meanings of subject or object. On this point, we can say that, just as *wa* replaces *ga* and *o* when marking a topic, *no* can also replace those particles.

Thus, there is an aspect in which, in spite of its disparities with the case particles, it is worth examining *no* in the same way as particles in general with respect to whether or not it can be replaced by *wa* and whether or not it can be extracted to become a base noun. In his explication on the formation of sentences that include *wa*, MIKAMI Akira’s consideration of whether or not *wa* replaced *no* was an important consideration and an especially original part and we should turn the same eye to the goal of this section, the extraction of a noun from within the sentence to the base noun position. Pointing out in his book *Zō wa hana ga nagai* that it has seldom been noticed that *wa* sometimes replaces *no*, Mokami writes as follows.

When something of the pattern “X *no* x”, as in *zoo no hana* ‘the elephant’s nose’, *Kyoto no aki* ‘autumn in Kyoto’, or *A-kun no kinzyo* ‘Mr A’s neighborhood’, expresses a characteristic or the whereabouts of X, that is, the characteristics or whereabouts of *zoo*, *Kyoto*, or *A-kun*, that X can be foregrounded and made topic. It is not the case that from X *no* x one can create X *wa* unconditionally, but even so, there are quite a few X *wa* that are replacements for X *no*.

He then follows this with quite a number of examples like the following.

- (93) *Zoo* *no* *hana* *ga* *nagaku* *aru* *koto*
elephant GEN nose NOM long.ADVL be.NONPST NMLZ
‘the fact that the elephant’s nose is long.’

→ *Zoo* *wa* *hana* *ga* *nagai* *naa!*
elephant TOP nose NOM long.NONPST SFP
‘(lit) As for the elephant, the nose is long! / Wow, the elephant has a long nose!’

- (94) *B-si* *no* *okusan* *ga* *nyuuintyuu* *dearu* *koto*
B-Mr GEN wife NOM in.hospital COP.NONPST NMLZ
‘the fact that Mr. B’s wife is in the hospital.’

→ *B-si wa okusan ga nyuuintyuu desu.*
 B-Mr TOP wife NOM in.hospital COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘(lit) As for Mr. B, his wife is in the hospital.’

But what are especially interesting are cases like (95) and (96) in which from sentences of the pattern “A *ga* X *no* x *dearu*” [A NOM X GEN x COP] ‘A is X’s x’ the X has been topicalized.

(95) *Watasi wa yaya kohuu.na mono ga*
 I TOP somewhat old.fashioned.ADN things NOM

konomi ni au
 tastes DAT match.NONPST

‘As for me, somewhat old fashioned things match (my) taste.’

← *yaya kohuu.na mono ga watasi no*
 somewhat old.fashioned.ADN things NOM I GEN

konomi ni au koto
 tastes DAT match.NONPST

‘the fact that somewhat old-fashioned things match my tastes.’

(96) *Kaki-ryoori wa, Hirosima ga honba desu.*
 oyster-dishes TOP Hiroshima NOM place.of.origin COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘As for oyster cuisine, Hiroshima is (its) place of origin.’

← *Hirosima ga kaki-ryoori no honba*
 Hiroshima NOM oyster-dishes GEN place.of.origin

desu.

COP.POL.NONPST

‘Hiroshima is place of origin of oyster cuisine.’

Returning to our main topic, keeping in mind the complex character of *no* demonstrated above, let us consider the conditions on the extraction of the X from X *no* to become a base noun.

As also stated above, there are a great number of possible relations between the X and x in the X *no* x pattern among them are those that could be generated “transformationally” from a basic sentence and those that cannot be simply handled that way, but, concerning describing the possibility or impossibility of replacement by *wa*, it should be noted that it is impossible to completely explain that in such and such X *no* x pattern it is possible but in a different such and such, it is impossible.

For example, even in the case where the relation between the X and x is that of possession, as in *watasi no hon* ‘my book’, *zoo no hana* ‘the elephant’s trunk’, or *Tanaka-san no ootoo* ‘Mr. Tanaka’s younger prother’, (this could perhaps be “generated” from a pattern X *ni* x *ga aru* ‘X has an x / there is an x on X’), replacement by *wa* is sometimes possible and sometimes not. For example, in (97), *Tanaka-san* can be topicalized giving (98), doing the same with (99) yields the odd sentence (100).

- (97) *Tanaka-san no ootoo ga byooki desu.*
 Mr. Tanaka GEN younger.brother NOM sick COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka’s younger brother is sick.’
- (98) *Tanaka-san wa ootoo ga byooki desu.*
 Mr. Tanaka TOP younger.brother NOM sick COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘As for Mr. Tanaka, his younger brother is sick.’
- (99) *Tanaka-san no ootoo ga yonde iru.*
 Mr. Tanaka GEN younger.brother NOM call.GER be.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka’s younger brother is calling.’
- (100) **Tanaka-san wa ootoo ga yonde iru.*
 Mr. Tanaka TOP younger.brother NOM call.GER be.NONPST
 ‘As for Mr. Tanaka, his younger brother is calling.’

It is clear from the explanation above that Mikami’s generalization that the content expressed by the X *no* x pattern is the expression of the characteristics or whereabouts of X was clearly based on very careful observation.

However this point is handled, it appears that one can say that, in general, in an X *no* x construction in which it is possible to replace X *no* by X *wa*, it is also possible to extract the X and make it the base noun. There is not space to show every type, so let us make due with some examples like those below.

- (101) *Zoo no hana ga nagai (koto)*
 elephant GEN nose NOM long.NONPST NMLZ
 ‘The elephant’s trunk is long.’
- a. *Zoo wa hana ga nagai.*
 elephant GEN nose NOM long.NONPST
 ‘The elephant has a long trunk.’
- b. *hana ga nagai zoo*
 ‘the elephant, which has a long trunk’
 (or, ‘the elephant that has a long trunk’)
- (102) *Tanaka-kun no ootoo ga byooki desu.*
 Mr. Tanaka GEN younger brother NOM ill COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka’s younger brother is sick.’
- a. *Tanaka-kun wa ootoo ga*
 Mr. Tanaka TOP younger brother NOM ill
byooki desu.
 COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka, his younger brother is sick.’

→ b. *otooto ga byooki {no/dearu }*
 younger.brother NOM sick GEN/COP.NONPST

Tanaka-kun
 Mr. Tanaka
 ‘Mr. Tanaka, whose brother is sick’

(103) *Tanaka-kun no otooto ga yonde iru.*
 Mr. Tanaka GEN younger.brother NOM call.GER be.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka’s younger brother is calling’

→ a. **Tanaka-kun wa otooto ga*
 Mr. Tanaka TOP younger brother NOM

yonde iru
 call.GER be.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka, younger brother is calling.’

→ b. **otooto ga yonde iru*
 younger.brother NOM call.GER be.NONPST

Tanaka-kun
 Mr. Tanaka
 ‘Mr. Tanaka, whose younger brother is calling’

(104) *Hirosima ga kaki no honba da.*
 Hiroshima NOM oyster GEN place.of.origin COP.NONPST
 ‘Hiroshima is the place for oysters.’

→ a. *Kaki wa Hirosima ga honba*
 oyster TOP Hiroshima NOM place.of.origin

da.
 COP.NONPST
 ‘As for oysters, Hiroshima is the place.’

→ b. *Hirosima ga honba dearu*
 Hiroshima NOM place.of.origin COP.NONPST

kaki
 oysters
 ‘oysters, for which Hiroshima is the place’

(105) *Syatyoo no Tanaka-san ga byooki desu.*
 company-president Mr. Tanaka NOM sick COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘Mr. Tanaka, (who is) the company president, is sick.’

(Cf. *Tanaka-san ga syatyoo da.*)
 Mr. Tanaka NOM company.president COP.NONPST

‘Mr. Tanaka is the company president.’

→ **Syatyoo wa Tanaka-san ga*
company-president TOP Mr. Tanaka NOM

byooki desu.

sick COP.POL.NONPST

‘As for the company president, Mr. Tanaka is sick.’

→ **Tanaka-san ga byooki {no/dearu }*
Mr. Tanaka NOM sick GEN/COP.NONPST

syatyoo

company.president

‘the company president that Mr. Tanaka is sick’

(106) *Tukue no ue ni hon ga aru.*
desk GEN top LOC book NOM exist.NONPST
‘There’s a book on (top of) the desk.’

→ **Tukue wa ue ni hon ga aru.*
desk TOP top LOC book NOM exist.NONPST
‘As for the desk, there’s a book on the top.’

→ ?*ue ni hon ga aru* *tukue*
top LOC book NOM exist.NONPST desk
‘the desk there’s a book on top (of)’

(107) *Tukue no ue ga kitanai.*
desk GEN top NOM dirty.NONPST
‘The top of the desk is dirty.’

→ ?(*Sono*) *tukue wa ue ga kitanai.*
that desk TOP top NOM dirty.NONPST
‘As for that desk, the top is dirty.’

→ ?*ue ga kitanai* *tukue*
top NOM dirty.NONPST desk
‘the desk that the top (of) is dirty’

There are cases in which it is really difficult to tell whether or not what is being expressed is a “characteristic” or “whereabouts” or not. For example, topicalizing the *omizutori* in (108) yields a strange sentence, as shown in (108a).

(108) *Omizutori no yokuzitu yuki ga hutta.*
water.drawing.rite GEN next.day snow NOM fall.PST
‘It snowed the day after the water drawing ceremony.’

- (108) a. **Omizutori wa yokuzitu yuki ga hutta.*
 water.drawing.rite TOP next.day snow NOM fall.PST
 ‘As for the water drawing ceremony, it snowed the next day.’

This could perhaps be explained by saying that “it snowed the next day” is simply an event (not a characteristic or whereabouts). However, in (108b), it is possible to take “it snowed the next day” as a predicate that distinguishes this year’s water drawing ceremony from that of other years.

- (108) b. *Kotosi no Omizutori wa*
 this.year GEN water.drawing.rite TOP

yokuzitu yuki ga hutta.
 next.day snow NOM fall.PST
 As for this year’s water drawing ceremony, it snowed the next day.’

And, probably for the same reason, (108c) is also acceptable.

- (108) c. *yokuzitu yuki ga hutta Omizutori*
 next.day snow NOM fall.PST water.drawing.rite
 ‘the water drawing ceremony when it snowed the next day’

The following are a few real examples.

- (109) *sanbanme ni huu o kitta tegami*
 third LOC seal ACC cut.PST letter
 ‘the letter that was the third I cut the seal on/of’

(cf. *Sono tegami wa sanbanme ni huu o kitta.*)
 that letter TOP third LOC seal ACC cut.PST
 ‘That letter, I cut the seal of it the third in sequence.’

- (110) *Katagawa ga sawa ni natta miti no*
 one.side NOM marsh DAT become.PST road GEN

katawara o tiisa.na mizo ga kitte ari...
 along.side ACC small.ADN ditch NOM cut.GER be.ADV
 ‘Running alongside the road, which was bounded on one side by a marsh, a ditch had been dug, and...’

(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, *Kaishi*)

- (111) *Kumo no nootan ni sitagatte, hikari no*
 clouds GEN thick.and.thin DAT follow.GER light GEN

masitari genzitari suru tuki o
 increase.REP(resentative) decrease.REP do.NONPST moon ACC

aoide, damatte iru.
 look.up.at.GER be.silent.GER be.NONPST

‘(I) sat quietly, looking up at the moon whose light waxed and waned with the

thickness of the passing clouds.’
(MORI Ōgai, *Takasebune*)

- (112) Ryoohoo ni kaede o uetuketa hiroi miti
both.sides LOC maple ACC plant.put.PST broad.NONPST road

o oku no hoo e susunde itta.
ACC depths GEN direction LATIVE proceed.GER go.PST
‘Went toward the back along a broad road with maples planted on both sides.’
(NATSUME Sōseki, *Kokoro*)
(cf. ...proceeded along a broad avenue bordered on each side by maple trees.
Translation by Edwin McClellan)

As was the case with *kara*, *no* often appears with signaling words. I’ll just give two examples here.

- (113) Zibun no kyoodai dake ga sono naka de
self GEN siblings only NOM that inside LOC

kurusinde iru hori no naka e, syuryuudan
suffer.GER be.NONPST dugout GEN inside to hand.grenade

ga nagekomareru no o, miru koto
NOM throw.in.PASS.NONPST NMLZ ACC watch.NONPST NMLZ

ga dekiru to, Shinzaki-san, omoimasu ka
NOM be.able.NONPST QUOT Mr. Shinzaki think.POL.NONPST SFP
‘Do you think, Mr. Shinzaki, that you could watch a hand grenade being thrown
into the dugout inside of which your own siblings are suffering?’
(ŌSHIRO Tatsuhiro, *Nisei*)

- (114) Nukata o sono ude kara toriageta otooto
ACC that arm from take.PST younger.brother

no oozi ga, Nakanoooe niwa yahari
GEN prince NOM to.TOP after.all

nanimono nimo kaegatai kyooryokusya ni
anything to.even change.hard.NONPST collaborator DAT

omoeta.
think.POT.PST
‘Nakanoōe could after all consider his younger brother, from whose arms he had
stolen Nukata, to be an almost irreplaceable collaborator.’
(INOUE Yasushi, *Nukatanoōkimi* ‘Princess Nukata’)

It should be stated here that, when a noun is extracted from its place in a sentence to become a base noun and loses any marking of its original function in the sentence, or when it loses such marking by being topicalized, often something is inserted to show the original function. In the case of *no*, this is why a word or phrase like *sono* ‘that’ appears in the gap from

which the noun was extracted. The following is an example of such a usage in the case of topicalization.

- (115) *Suisu no kokka eederuwaisu wa, sono nakama*
 Swiss GEN national.flower edelweiss TOP that same.category
- ga sekai ni sanzussyu hodo ari,*
 NOM world LOC 30.kinds as.many.as exist.ADVL
- Nihon nimo gosyu aru.*
 Japan LOC.also 5.kinds exist.NONPST
- ‘As for the Swiss national flower, the edelweiss, there are as many as 30 kinds in the world of the same category (as it) and in Japan as well, there are 5 kinds.’

Above we have looked at what nouns standing in what case relations can be extracted and made base nouns and have frequently compared the processes with replacement of the case particle by *wa*. Let us summarize this with a simple table. ○ shows the process is possible; ◎ shows that there are many real examples and the result is seldom unnatural; × shows that it is impossible or possible only in extremely limited contexts; and △ shows that cases in which it is possible and cases in which it is not are about equal in number.

As can be seen in the table, the conditions for extraction to become base noun are looser than the conditions for replacement by *wa*. This is probably due to the difference in making a noun that is a constituent of an event or state into the topic of the sentence versus extracting it to be modified or restricted by the remainder.

		Extraction to be base noun	Replacement by <i>wa</i>
~ <i>ga</i>		◎	◎
~ <i>o</i>		◎	○
~ <i>ni</i>	Static	○	○
	Dynamic	○	×
~ <i>de</i>	Location	○	○
	Means, Instrument, Cause	○	×
	Scope, Standard	×	×
~ <i>e</i>		○	×
~ <i>kara</i>		△	×
~ <i>made, made ni</i>		×	×
~ <i>to</i>	Partner	○	×
	Companion	×	×
~ <i>yori</i>		×	×
~ <i>no</i>	Characteristic, Whereabouts	○	○
	Other	×	×

4.3 Modality/mood of modifying part

When considering the formation of a noun modification structure with the relation between the modifying portion and the base noun an inner relation as being one in which some noun that is a constituent is extracted from its place in the sentence and moved to the place it should be in in order to receive the modification (the base noun position), clearly one of the conditions on the extraction of the noun phrase is the case relation, as was considered in section 4.2. However, as seen in 4.1, although that is a necessary condition, it is not sufficient. For example, at first glance it looks as though the reason you can make (117) from (116) is because the “letter” stands in an accusative case relation with “wrote”.

(116) *Kare ga tegamio kaita.*
 he NOM letter ACC write.PST
 ‘He wrote a letter.’

(117) *kare ga kaita tegami*
 ‘the letter he wrote’

However, when you consider the fact that, even should you extract “letter” from any of (118) through (120) and put it in the right place, you will not have an acceptable noun phrase, it is immediately clear that it is not just the fact that the (original) case of “letter” was accusative that allowed the formation of (117), but also the fact that the *kaita* at the end of (116) fulfilled a requirement that the predicate be in a form that can bear the role of modifying a noun.

(118) *Kimi ga tegamio kake.*
 you NOM letter ACC write.IMP
 ‘You, write a letter!’

(119) *Tegami o kakoo.*
 letter ACC write.INT
 ‘Let’s write a letter.’

(120) *Kono ko ga tegamio kaita no yo.*
 this child NOM letter ACC write.PST NMLZ SFP
 ‘The fact is, this kid wrote a letter, you know.’

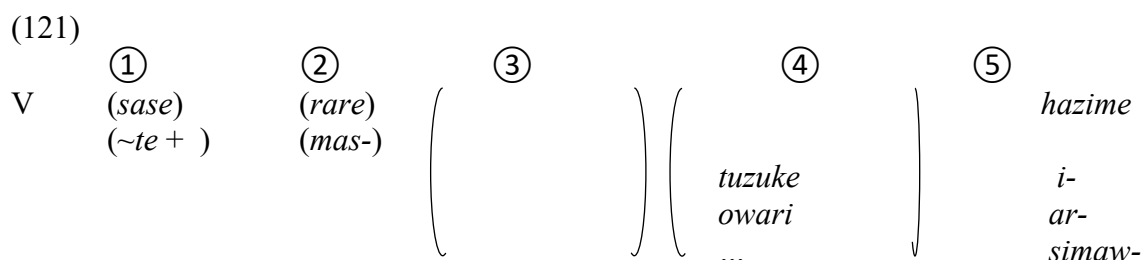
The question that arises here is what forms (conjugational forms) of a predicate and what accompanying forms (auxiliary verbs, case particles) can be contained in the modifying part of a noun modification construction and why those? This is a problem that needs to be considered whether or not one tries to describe formation of noun modifying constructions from a transformational grammar perspective.

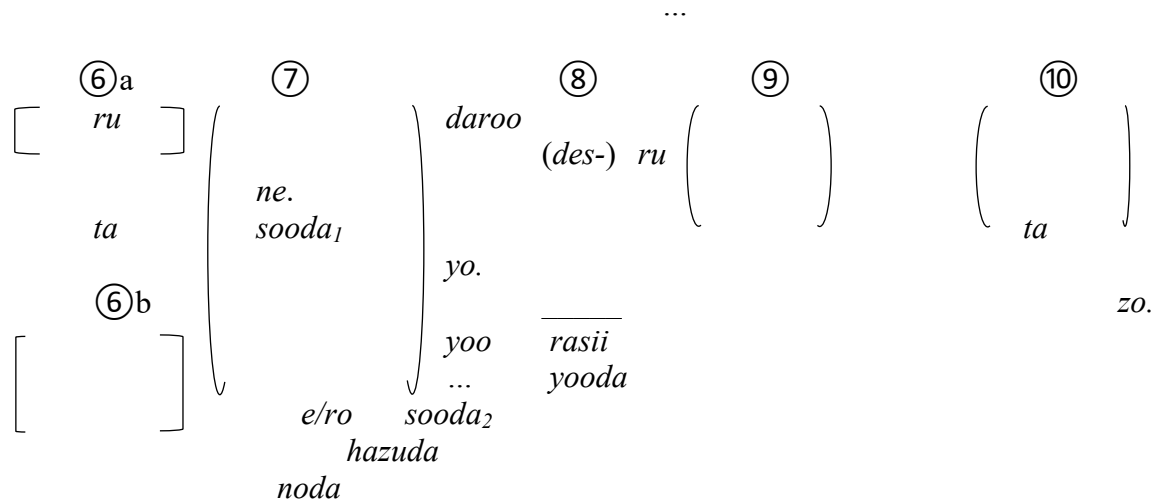
The above are observations from looking at the external form of a sentence, but if we were to express it from the point of view of what internal forces make a sentence a sentence, the question becomes, among the emotional stance and/or intentions a speaker normally incorporates into the end of a sentence, how far does the range of such things that can generally be incorporated into a subordinate sentence (clause) extend and, in particular, how far does it extend in the case of the modifying portion of a noun modifying construction? Just as we considered both the semantic content of “case” and its formal expression in the previous section, in this section we must consider this problem giving consideration to both aspects of “modality (the speaker’s attitude)”.

As we saw in the previous section, a concrete event is expressed by the linking of a verbal element as predicate with a group of nouns that perform a variety of roles in the event, but that verbal element that links with nouns bearing various cases is, to borrow a term from Watanabe, a verbal element that expresses a “material concept”. Speaking formally, it is the stem/root portion. In the case of the verb *kaku* ‘write’ what links with a subject noun *dare* (*ga*) [who (NOM)] and an object noun phrase *nani* (*o*) [what (ACC)] is the material concept that the verb *kaku* has, formally *kak* ‘stem-form of *kaku*’¹⁰ and that part is unrelated to changes in form like *kake* [write.IMP] ‘Write!’, *kakanai* [write.NEG] ‘not write’, or *kakaneba naranai ne* [write.NEG.PROV become.NEG SFP] ‘have to write, right?’. Let us call this combination of a set of nouns and a verbal element an “event” (again, borrowing Watanabe’s term this would be “propositional content”). A sentence, then, consists of this “event” and a portion expressing the speaker’s conviction that the propositional content is true, his supposition that it may be true, his intention to realize the event/content, or his appeal to others. Although there may be some differences in the particular analyses, this fact has already been expressed by numerous grammarians both domestic and foreign.

The verbal element forming the predicate may simply end the sentence with one of its conjugational forms (such as *kak-u* ‘write-NONPST’, *kak-ō* ‘write-INT’, or *kak-e* ‘write-IMP’), in which case the conjugational form of the verbal element carries the modality, or, as seen in (120) above, it may be followed by a variety of supplementary elements. Among those supplementary elements there are probably some that pertain to the event/content and some that pertain to the modality. Therefore, before considering what elements can be included in the modifying portion of a noun modification construction, it is necessary to first look at all the elements that can follow the predicate verbal element and consider the content carried by each of such elements.

Japanese predicates can be broadly divided into verbs, adjectives, and adjectival and ordinary nouns (elements accompanied by the copula). What they all have in common is that they are conjugating forms. How to arrange the conjugational forms unfortunately varies from author to author, but taking the verb *suru* ‘do, make’ as an example, we will take the position here of considering the following forms to be part of the verb’s conjugation (a position described by Mikami’s term “*monorojūmu*”: *suru* [NONPST], *sita* [PST], *siyoo* [INT], *siro* [IMP], *sureba* [PROV], *sitara* [COND], *si* [ADVL], *site* [GER], and *sitari* [REPRESENTATIVE]). (This basically follows the analyses of Bernard Bloch and Mikami.) Of these, ones that can conclude a clause are the first four: *suru*, *sita*, *siyoo*, and *siro*. In many cases, other supplemental forms (supplementary verbs, auxiliary verbs, etc) may intervene between the stem and the conjugational endings. In addition, after one of these has been chosen, there supplementary forms (like *daroo* [PRES] or *rasii* ‘seem’) or sentence final particles (like *yo* or *ne*) that may follow the conjugational form. Among these, there both those that can appear freely with either the past or nonpast and those that can only appear with one or the other. These supplementary forms have been well studied in Japanese grammatical studies, but here is my own rough arrangement together with the general grammatical categories with which they are linked.





V	verb stem
①, ② Auxiliary verbs	(voice)
③, ④ Auxiliary verbs	(aspect)
⑤ Auxiliary verb	(style/politeness)
⑥ Conjugational forms	(tense/modality)
⑦ Auxiliary verbs	(modality/manner of judgment)
⑧ Auxiliary verb	(style/politeness)
⑨ Conjugational forms	(tense)
⑩ Sentence final particles	(modality)

Glosses:

- sase* causative
- rare* passive
- hazime* 'begin'
- tuzuke* 'continue'
- owari* 'end'
- ~te* gerund
- i-* 'be'
- ar-* 'be'
- simaw-* 'finish, end up'
- ma-s* 'verbal polite auxiliary'
- ru* non-past
- ta* past
- yoo* intentional
- e/ro* imperative
- daroo* presumptive
- sooda₁* 'looks like'
- rasii* 'seems'
- yooda* 'appears'
- sooda₂* hearsay
- hazuda* 'is expected'

noda 'it's the case that'
des- 'adjective or copula polite ending'
ne. 'don't you think'
yo. 'I'm telling you'
zo 'you'd better believe it'

In the schema above, parentheses indicate elements that are used when needed, but which are not essential to sentence completion. In other words, in order to complete a sentence, one of the forms *-ru*; *-ta*; *-yoo*; or *-e/ro* must be selected. The forms of adjectives or the copula corresponding to these are, respectively, *-i*, *da*; *-katta*, *datta*; and *-karoo*, *daroo* and there are no imperative forms. Regarding the "non-past" and "past" forms, it is necessary, even for the purposes of this chapter, to distinguish at least two sets of uses, one showing imperfect and perfect aspect-like meanings and one showing non-past and past tense-like meanings. Of course, the aspect-like opposition is only needed in the case of verbs showing dynamic events and in the case of stative verbs or adjectives the pair overwhelmingly show tense.

(122) *Soo da, konban wa yakusoku ga atta.*
 so COP.NONPST tonight TOP appointment NOM exist.PST
 'Oh, yeah, I have (Lit. *had*) an appointment tonight.'

(123) *Kimi, sake nomu n datta ne.*
 you wine drink.NONPST NMLZ COP.PST SFP
 'It's (Lit. *was*) the case you drink, right?'

(124) *Moo sukosi osokereba tasukaranakatta, (≠tasukaranakatta daroo)*
 more little late.PROV be.helped.NEG.PST PRES
 'If it had been a little bit later he would not have been saved. (≠he would probably not have been saved.)'

(125) *Matta! (≠mate!)*
 wait.PST wait.IMP
 'Wait!'

(126) *Ano kabu wa kai datta. (=kau beki*
 that stock TOP buy COP.PST buy.NONPST ought
datta.)
 COP.PST
 'That stock was a buy. (=I should have bought it.)'

The *ta* form that appears as the result of psychological inflection, like the above, are all examples that are found in the case of stative verbs,¹¹ but in addition to simply confirming the past they are bound up in the category of tense and appear to be cases in which tense has been tied to modality.¹² The opposition between aspect *ru* and *ta* is not so tied. *Sooda*₂ in (7) is the so-called hearsay auxiliary verb and *sooda*₁ show the appearance of something. The line in (7) divides the upper two, which can only appear with the non-past form in (9) from the rest, which can appear with either the past or the non-past.

ame ga {huru / hutta} {rasii / rasikatta}.

rain NOM fall.NONPSTfall.PST seem.NONPST seem. PST
 ‘It {seems/seemed} that it {would rain/had rained}

ame ga huri {sooda / soodatta}
 rain NOM fall look.like.NONPST look.like.PST
 ‘It {looks/looked} like rain.’

*ame ga {huru / hutta } {sooda / *soodatta}.*
 rain NOM fall.NONPSTfall.PST they.say.NONPST they.say.PST
 ‘They {say /*said} it {will rain/had rained}.’

Incidentally, how are these two parts, the event/proposition and modality related to this predicate stem and the whole system of elements suffixed to it? There is not space to go into this in great detail, but looking at the whole thing one can say that the farther to the left one goes, that is, the closer to the stem, the more the elements are related to the event/proposition, that is, to apprehending the state in the real world, and the more one goes to the right, that is, moves toward the end of the sentence, the more the elements have the character of expressing modality, that is, the speaker’s subjective attitude. The boundary is probably around ④. The so-called auxiliary verbs that follow the *-te* form have aspects of being tied to how things are and also aspects of expressing the speaker’s psychological attitude. At the least, they are not so objective as ③.

So, what happens with the string of supplementary forms described above from the stem to the end of the sentence when the sentence does not actually end there but continues on to link to another sentence? Linking between sentences is accomplished by one of the following four means in Japanese.

[1] by a sentence-final conjugational form

Examples:

Huyu ga sari, natu ga kuru.
 winter NOM leave.ADVL summer NOM come.NONPST
 ‘Winter leaves and summer comes.’

Huyu ga satte, natu ga kita.
 leave.GER come.PST
 ‘Winter left and summer came.’

Kaze ga hukeba, okeya ga mookaru.
 wind NOM blow.PROV cooper NOM make.money.NONPST
 ‘When the wind blows, the cooper gets rich.’

[2] by a conjunction

Example:

Hana ga saku, sosite tori ga naku.
 flower NOM bloom.NONPST and.then bird NOM sing.NONPST
 ‘The flowers bloom, and then the birds sing.’

[3] by a conjunctive particle

Examples:

Tori ga naku kara, kaeroo.

bird NOM sing.NONPST because return.home.INT
 ‘Since the birds will sing, let’s go home.’

Hima wa aru keredomo, kane ga
 free.time TOP exist.NONPST but money NOM

nai.
 exist.NEG.NONPST
 ‘I have free time, but I haven’t any money.’

[4] by having the first sentence modify a noun in the second sentence
 Examples:

Kane no kireru toki ga, en no
 money GEN run.out.NONPST time NOM relationship GEN

kireru toki da.
 run.out.NONPST time COP.NONPST
 ‘When the money runs out, that’s when the relationship ends.’

Zyanken de katta mono ni
 rock.paper.scissors at win.PST one DAT

kore o yaroo
 this ACC give.INT
 ‘I’ll give this to the winner of rock-paper-scissors.’

The main focus of this work is [4], but when a sentence ceases to be a sentence and becomes part of a larger sentence, that is, becomes a so-called “clause”, the fact is that some of the elements at the end of the sentence are stripped away in all the cases above except [2] and, thus, even when considering [4], if we do not bear in mind what this linguistic fact suggests for all the cases, our consideration runs the risk of ending up being only skin deep. (In the case of sentence conjunction using so-called conjunctions as in [2], formally speaking, the conjunctions can be included within the ending of the preceding sentence and their subordination to the following sentence is solely semantic.)

Looking at the case of noun modification constructions, it is clear that the sentence final particles in ⑩ cannot appear in the modifying part. The imperative of ⑥b is also impossible. The *oo/yoo* form, which shows surmise or intentionality, can appear if expressing surmise but not if expressing intention (that is, if affixed to a volitional verb). Given that the components in ⑥b are forms that can skip over ⑦, ⑧, and ⑨ and appear with ⑩, it’s probably understandable that the conditions blocking ⑩ would also apply to forms appearing immediately to the left. In the case in which components from ⑥a are chosen as well, when they appear immediately before ⑩ without any of ⑦, ⑧, or ⑨ intervening, the same sort of thing can be said. That is, when they are used in a usage that is high in modality (as in examples (122) through (126), above), they cannot appear in the modifying part of a noun modification construction. The examples above all used the *-ta* form, but the same is true of *-ru* forms as well. For example, when the non-past form carries a strong expression of the speaker’s will, as in (127), it will not fit in the modifying part of a noun modification construction.

- (127) *Boku wa doositemo ano tyawan o*
 I TOP no.matter.what that tea.bowl ACC
kau (zo).
 buy SFP
 ‘I’m going to buy that tea bowl, no matter what!’

However, of the forms discussed earlier in which tense is tied to modality, the past forms that just show confirmation of a fact from the past can appear in the modifying part of a noun modification construction.

- (128) *Kinoo koko e kita hito ga*
 yesterday here to come.PST person NOM
kore o oite itta.
 this ACC leave.GER go.PST
 ‘Someone who came here yesterday left this.’

However, generally what the the opposition between the *ru* and *ta* forms of a verb expresses is often more aspect-like than tense.¹³

- (129) *Nihon e {1. kuru / 2. kita} toki,*
 Japan to come.NONPST come.PST time
ani ga kuukoo e kite kureta.
 older.brother NOM airport to come.GER give.PST
 ‘1. When I came to Japan, my brother came to the airport (to see me off).’
 ‘2. When I came to Japan, my brother came to the airport (to meet me).’
- (130) *Saki ni {*tuku / tuita} hito kara*
 earlier LOC arrive.NONPST arrive.PST person from
syokuzi o hazimete kudasai.
 meal ACC begin.GER give.POL.IMP
 ‘Please start the meal when the first people get here.’
- (131) *Yobootyuusya o {1. suru / 2. sita} hito*
 vaccination ACC do.NONPST do.PST person
wa sake o nonde wa ikenai.
 TOP wine ACC drink.GER TOP must.not
 ‘1. People who are going to get vaccinated mustn’t drink.’
 ‘2. People who have gotten vaccinated mustn’t drink.’

Moving one step further from the end of the sentence gets us to ⑤, the auxiliary verb related to politeness. Most Japanese language textbooks warn that this form cannot be used in a noun modification construction, and at least normally that is the case, but it is not true that it can never be used since it is not at all strange in polite constructions like the following.

- (132) *Ohairininarimasu* *toki*
 enter.HON.POL.NONPST time
 ‘When entering (honorific),’
- (133) *Tyuusya* *o* *nasaimasita* *kata* *wa*,
 shot ACC do.HON.POL.PST person(HON) TOP
 ‘Those who have received their shots, ...’

Next are cases in which the *ru* or *ta* of ⑥a are followed by ⑦, ⑧, or ⑨. These can pretty much be included in noun modification constructions and, of course, those with adjectival noun qualities appear in their adnominal forms.

- (134) *kare ga mite iru daroo tuki*
 he NOM see.GER be.NONPST PRES moon
 ‘the moon he is probably looking at’
- (135) *kare ga kaita rasii tegami*
 he NOM write.PST seem.NONPST letter
 ‘the letter it seems he wrote’
- (136) *dokoka de mita yoo.na kao*
 somewhere LOC see.PST appear.ADN face
 ‘a face like one I’ve seen somewhere’
- (137) *omosiro.soo.na eiga*
 enjoyable.appear.ADN movie]
 ‘a movie that looks like it would be enjoyable’
- (138) *dare demo sitte iru*
 who COP.GER.even know.GER be.NONPST
- hazu no zizitu*
 expectation GEN fact
 ‘a fact that anyone ought to know’

However, neither *sooda*₂ nor *noda* can be included in a noun modification construction.

- (139) **omoiroi soo.na eiga*
 enjoyable.NONPST hearsay.ADN movie
 ‘a movie they say is enjoyable’
- (140) **kare ga kaita soo.na tegami*
 he NOM write.PST hearsay.ADN letter
 ‘a letter they say he wrote’
- (141) *Kare ga kono tegami o kaita no da*
 he NOM this letter ACC write.PST NMLZ COP.NONPST
 ‘It’s the case that he wrote this letter.’

→ ... ?? ... *kare*
 → ... ?? ... *tegami*

⑧, that is, the politeness marker for ⑦, like ⑤ or to an even greater degree, has a strong tendency not to appear.

Putting all the foregoing observations together, we can say the following.

First, sentence final particles, that is, expressions Watanabe held to be “listener-directed” expressions, do not appear in noun modification constructions. There are analyses that do not treat the question particle *ka* as a sentence final particle, but, in that it cannot appear in noun modification constructions, it is the same as *ne* or *yo*.

Next, while they are not sentence final particles, as expressions that are listener-directed, the imperative and intentional (especially in its hortative use), cannot appear in noun modification constructions. Also, the non-past form, when used to show the speaker’s will as in (127), and the past form, when used to express the speaker’s will or emotion, as in (122) through (126), cannot appear in noun modification structures. Put another way, when these forms do appear in a noun modification construction, they cannot express the sort of modality just discussed.

Among the auxiliary verbs and conjugational endings that express the speaker’s judgment or supposition concerning the event/proposition as material, there are those that can appear and those that cannot. From the observations so far, we can say that those involving the speaker’s stance toward the listener (for example, ... *noda* and ones explaining circumstances) are not permitted.

The politeness markers *mas-* and *des-* clearly are not related to the event/proposition and do relate to the listener, and, while it’s not the case that they are never included, in fact, non-inclusion is the rule. They also appear immediately before tense. The fact that, although there may be more than one politeness marker in a single predicate, if there are two or more it never happens that a marker appears in the preceding position but not in the following position (*kare ga kita rasii desu* [he NOM come.PST seem.NONPST POL] ‘He seems to have come.’ but **kare ga kimasita rasii* [he NOM come.POL.PST seem.NONPST]) can probably be taken as a part of this set of phenomena.

HAGA Yasushi divided the sentence into *dictum* (objective expression) and *modus* (subjective expression) using the terminology of Ch. Bally, with *modus* further subdivided into *modus of judgment*, which does not require the presence of a listener, and *modus of communication*, which does require a listener. He furthermore explains in an easily comprehensible manner with examples that there is a core and a periphery to each of these¹⁴ and, although his divisions may not always coincide exactly with the division above of whether or not an element can be contained in a noun modification construction, his approach is instructive when considering the essential nature of the phenomena raised here.

In section 4.2, when considering the particle *ga*, the problem of the patterns *~sita koto ga aru* and *~suru koto ga aru* was mentioned but, when these so-called “formal nouns” are constrained to appear with a limited number of forms like *da* or *aru*, rather than showing the character of the noun standing in the nominative case, it would be better to consider the whole

pattern to have moved toward becoming a modal auxiliary verb and consider them together with the other elements in ⑦.

Above we have considered as a second condition for the extraction of a noun from within a sentence and making it a base noun, constraints arising from the form and meaning of the predicate, viewed from the twin perspectives of the external form of the predicate and its content. Along this line, we need also to consider *chinjutsu* adverbs and the like and to look more closely at the extraction of nouns from longer, more complex sentences, but here we have managed to give an overview of the nature of the problems and so we will end this section here.

4.4 Differences between adnominal modification (*sōtei*) and predication (*jutte*) and between “restrictive modification” and “descriptive modification”

Although an inner relation noun modification construction can be related to a clause or a predicate and syntactically can be created by converting a predication, of course that does not mean that the two are the same semantically. For that reason, the explanation often seen in Japanese grammar studies and in textbooks that *kare ga kaita hon* [he NOM write.PST book] ‘the book he wrote’ is *kare ga hon o kaita* [he NOM book ACC write.PST] ‘he wrote a book’ is inaccurate and may well conceal an important dimension of the problem. Roman Jakobson strongly criticized the derivation of “the big house” from “the house is big” in transformational grammar saying that the nature of the two utterances was completely different.¹⁵ Although it cannot be said that the theories of the time always meshed, it was Bollinger who considered the transformational position and the essential difference between modification (*sōtei*) and predication (*jutte*) regarding English head on. The difference had already been pointed out by Jespersen and Zandvoort and other traditional grammarians, but Bollinger’s article is an important one showing with bountiful real examples that there are forms, primarily adjectives, that can be used for modifying but not for predication and forms that, conversely, can be used for predication but not for modification. A close introduction and evaluation of the article will have to wait for another time, but his strong argument that modification must make some sort of “characterization” (state the characteristics of something) and that, within modification there are the two types of “referent-modification” (which simply states some characteristic attribute of some object) and “reference modification” (which tells the type of the head noun as in “a criminal lawyer” or “a rural policeman” in which the modification tells what type of lawyer or policeman the head noun is), of which the latter type is limited to use in modification, never forming a “be ~” pattern and, clearly not deriving its modification use from a predication use is especially worthy of attention.

In the present work, we will be unable to give consideration to the essential differences between modification and predication developed by Bollinger, but we will look briefly at cases of modification that do not have predication equivalents (and therefore cannot be derived from a predication equivalent) and cases of predication that cannot be converted into modification structures – cases that in neither case fit into the category of outer relation noun modification constructions, which we will look at in the next chapter – and just consider here where the problems lie.

As something that has only the function of (prenominal) modification, there are the *rentaishi* ‘adnominals, adnominal modification words’. They include such things as *kono* ‘this’, *sonna* ‘that kind of’, *aru* ‘a certain’, *arayuru* ‘any and all’, *tonda (sainan)* ‘inconceivable (disaster)’, *taisita (otoko)* ‘important (man)’, *honno (kozukai teido)* ‘mere (pocket change level)’, *ironna* ‘various’ and among these there are both those, like *kono*, that pattern in the *ko-so-a-do*

‘this-that (proximal)-that (distal)-which’ series as well as others that deserve consideration. In the article mentioned previously, Bollinger said that “reference-modification” was one kind of determiner (words like articles, “some”, or “any”), and Japanese *rentaishi* can be said to have the specificational function of presupposing some sort of thing and then specifying more specifically something within that category. Among verbs, those that describe the attributes of something (KINDAICHI Haruhiko’s Type 4 verbs), for example, *sugurete iru* ‘superior (Lit. being outstanding)’, *wakarikitte iru* ‘completely understood (Lit. being completely understood)’, or *togatte iru* ‘pointed (Lit. being sharpened)’ change to the *ta* form when used as (adnominal) modifiers (*sugureta*, *wakarikitta*, *togatta*) and should probably be considered quasi-adnominals (*jun-rentaishi*) in this use. The fact that *rentaishi* cannot be used predicatively and the fact that these verbs must change to the *te-iru* form when used predicatively can be thought to be somehow related.

The fact that there are words like those above that can only be used as adnominal modifiers is well known, but many Japanese don’t realize that there are adjectives that, while few in number, can only be used as predicates. For instance, *ooi* ‘many’ and *sukunai* ‘few’ are among them and we do not say (142) or (143).

(142) **Kinoo ooi kyaku ga kita.*
 yesterday many customers NOM come.PST
 ‘Many customers came yesterday.’

(143) **Watasi wa Kyuusyuu ni sukunai tomodati o*
 I TOP Kyushu LOC few friends ACC
motte iru.
 grasp.GER be.NONPST
 ‘I have few friends in Kyushu.’

Tooi ‘far, distant’ and *tikai* ‘close’ are similar and (144) and (145) both sound unnatural.

(144) *Tooi koozyoo de sairen o narasite iru.*
 distant factory LOC siren ACC sound.GER be.NONPST
 ‘They are sounding a siren at a factory far off.’

(145) *Kono kusuri o tikai yakkyoku de kaimasita.*
 this medicine ACC close pharmacy LOC BUY.POL.PST
 ‘I bought this medicine at a nearby pharmacy.’

For ‘many’ and ‘few’, the forms *ooku no* and *sukosi no*, respectively, are acceptable. On the other hand, if there is some word restricting the ‘many’, as in (146), then *ooi* is acceptable, and we do say *tikai sinseki* ‘close relatives’.

(146) *Kono hen de itiban ooi ziko wa*
 this area LOC most many accident TOP
tuitotu ziko desu.
 rear-end.collusion accident COP.POL.NONPST
 ‘The kind of accident most common around here are rear-end collisions.’

So the explanation that words like *ooi* and *sukunai* cannot be used before a noun or in an adnominal way is still insufficiently general. This appears to be the opposite from English in which “many”, “much”, and “(a) little” cannot be used predicatively. In English, numbers have a similar characteristic. Also, as kind of an aside, apparently *dūo* ‘many’ and *shào* ‘few’ in Chinese show the same behavior as in Japanese. Focusing on Chinese, but also considering Japanese, NAKAGAWA Masayuki has published some interesting observations.¹⁶

I am not ready here to give a general explanation for this set of linguistic facts. I will just point out that a number of facts seem to be interrelated: the problem of propositions in general regarding numbers or quantity, the difference pointed out by Bolinger between predication (*juttei*) and (adnominal) modification (*sōtei*), the fact that the function of adnominal modification is fundamentally characterizing something and, especially, exclusively has the function of talking of “a particular type within a category”, a function for which predication is unsuited, and, furthermore, the fact that the referent of “accident” in *jiko ga ooi* ‘accidents are many’ and *ooi jiko* ‘many accidents’ is not the same.

Extending consideration of the semantic content of “attribution” brings us to the problem of what is called “restrictive modification” (restrictive use of a relative word) and “non-restrictive modification” (non-restrictive or explanatory use). For example, (147) is ambiguous.

(147) The industrious Japanese will conquer in the long run.¹⁷

In one reading, the restrictive reading, it refers to those among the Japanese who are industrious, as in (147a), and in the other reading, the non-restrictive reading, it means all Japanese are industrious, as in (147b).

- (147) a. The Japanese who are industrious will
 b. The Japanese, who are industrious, will

Japanese in general probably have little awareness of restrictive versus non-restrictive as a problem. They may remember being cautioned in their high school English class about the difference between (148a) and (148b), but the reason for retaining something like this in their memories from so long ago is probably due to the oddity of the sentences.

- (148) a. There were few passengers who were injured.
 b. There were few passengers, who were injured.

MAKISHITA Yoshio compared the following passage from MISHIMA Yukio’s *The Sound of the Waves* (潮騒) with M. Weatherby’s English translation and pointed out the differences between Japanese and English in the attention paid to the restrictive/non-restrictive distinction.¹⁸

- (149) *Toodaiyoo-huuhu* *ni* *wa* *Tookyoo* *no* *daigaku*
 lighthouse.keeper-couple to TOP Tokyo GEN university
- ni* *yatte* *iru* *musume* *ga* *atta.* ...
 to attend.GER be.NONPST daughter NOM have.PST
- koosite* *tabitabi* *otozurete* *kuru* *mura*

in.this.way frequently visit.GER come.NONPST village

no musume.tati wa, zibun.tati no hontoo no
 GEN girls TOP their.own GEN real GEN

musume no yoo.ni omowareta.
 daughter GEN like think.SPON.PST

- (150) The couple at the lighthouse had one child, a daughter, who was attending the university in Tokyo. ... they regarded these village girls who came so often to the house as their own children.

Makishita gives a large number of very interesting actual examples of cases of Japanese using restrictive modifying expressions in English when they should use non-restrictive. In English, pronouns like “I” and “you” are distinguished from ordinary nouns in a number of ways and such distinctions also appear in relative constructions, but in Japanese, it is first doubtful whether there is any basis for calling *watashi* ‘I’ and *anata* ‘you’ pronouns, and they, as well as proper nouns, can appear in (inner relation) noun modification constructions in precisely the same way as ordinary nouns can. When the base noun refers to a particular thing, the construction is naturally interpreted as non-restrictive, as can be seen by comparing the following.

- (151) a. *Watasi ga katta e wa nise mono datta.*
 I NOM buy.PST picture TOP fake COP.PST
 ‘The picture that I bought was a fake.’

- b. *Watasi ga katta sono e wa*
 I NOM buy.PST that picture TOP

nise mono datta.
 fake COP.PST
 ‘That picture, which I bought, was a fake.’

“The picture” in (151a) is particularized by the fact that it is modified by “that I bought”. We earlier considered the difference in the conditions for selecting a noun to be marked as topic by *wa* and the conditions for forming a construction by extracting a base noun, but the problem becomes even more interesting when it is considered together with the above observations.

The problem is not limited to the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive. D. T. Langendorf points out that a sentence like (152) cannot simply be derived by combining the sentences in (153), but should rather be understood as being related to a conditional sentence like that in (154).¹⁹

- (152) A person who smokes stands a good chance of developing lung cancer.

- (153) A person smokes. He stands a good chance

- (154) If a person smokes, he stands a good chance

When we consider the depth of the connection marked by *wa*, it is likely that it is tied to all these linguistic facts at some deep level, but, unfortunately, we cannot pursue this question further here.

4.5 Truncation of the inner relation construction

In section 4.1, I gave example (7), below, and touched on the idea that there are constructions that should be considered cases of a special kind of truncation of an inner relation construction.

- (7) *atama no yoku naru hon*
 head GEN good.ADVL become.NONPST book
 ‘(lit) a book that one gets smarter’

As a final topic concerning inner relation constructions, I would like to briefly consider constructions like this one.

No matter what case particle one may add to the base noun *hon* ‘book’, it cannot fit as is into the modifying part *atama no (=ga [NOM]) yoku naru*. If one were to force it, *(kono) hon de* [(this) book INS] ‘by means of this book’ might be possible, but more natural would be the sentence given earlier, (7’)

- (7’) *Kono hon o yomeba atama ga yoku*
 this book ACC read.PROV head NOM good.ADVL
naru.
 become.NONPST
 ‘If (provided that) one reads this book, one will become smarter.’

Normally, one could simply extract the base noun *hon* and form (7’')

- (7’’) *yomeba atama ga yoku naru hon*
 read.PROV head NOM good.ADVL become.NONPST book
 ‘a book that, if one reads it, one will become smarter’

Which is good as far as it goes, but the problem is that even if we delete *yomeba* from (7’’), getting (7), the meaning is still conveyed. This is a problem because in general, it is clear that one cannot extract a noun from the position of the ~ in the pattern of (155) and then delete the *sureba*.

- (155) ~ *sureba* ... *suru*
 do.PROV do.NONPST
 ‘If one does ~, one does ... / ... happens.’

For example, from (156) it seems that one cannot make a noun phrase like (157).

- (156) *Kono hon o ureba, konban no okazu ga*
 this book ACC sell.PROV tonight GEN main.dish NOM
kaeru.
 buy.POT.NONPST

‘If I sell this book, I’ll be able to buy tonight’s dinner.’

- (157) (?)*konban no okazu ga kaeru hon*
 tonight GEN main.dish NOM buy.POT.NONPST book
 ‘a book that I can buy tonight’s dinner’

Then, since the verb with the tightest affinity with “book” is *yomu* ‘read’, can we say that we can simultaneously extract *hon* and delete *yomeba* from a structure like (158)?

- (158) *Kono hon o yomeba, ... suru*
 this book ACC read.PROV do.NONPST
 ‘If (provided that) one reads this book, ... will happen.’

It appears that one can say so with a considerable degree of certainty. It is not impossible to think of examples like (159) that do not work well, but if one tries to think of a lot of examples, by and large, a noun phrase of the pattern ... *suru/naru hon* derived from the pattern of (158) is acceptable.

- (159) *Kono hon o yomeba titi ni sikareru.*
 this book ACC read.PROV father DAT scold.PASS.NONPST
 ‘If you read this book, you’ll get scolded by your father.’

This can be generalized to say that, in the pattern of (160), if the verb in the ~ position has a deep affiliation with the NOUN such that any one hearing the NOUN would immediately think of the verb (such as “eat” if the NOUN is a food or “play” if the NOUN is a musical instrument), it is possible to drop the ~ *sureba* from the pattern ~*sureba, ...suru/naru* NOUN yielding ...*suru/naru* NOUN.

- (160) *sono NOUN o ~sureba, ... suru/naru*
 that ACC do.PROV do/become.NONPST
 ‘If you ~ that NOUN, you will’

Considering the fact that what follows the ~*sureba* is a necessary outcome and the fact that the construction has a deep connection to the topic marker *wa*, this is pretty much a natural conclusion. However, “truncated” noun modification constructions are not limited, of course, to this kind of conditional construction. It is necessary to look at each case and determine under what conditions what parts can be elided. It is probably essentially just the same as the case of determining what the conditions are for establishing any of the many bonds between nouns in a complex noun phrase. Rather extreme truncations are not unusual in literary works especially. From this fact, as mentioned earlier, there is the possibility of arriving at the common conclusion that “Japanese allows any kind of noun modification construction”, but that sort of simple overgeneralization is undercut by the many observations already presented here. However, a detailed consideration of truncated constructions will have to wait for another time and below I will just list some of the many actual examples I have collected. Comparing the examples below, the degree of truncation in the early ones is quite low, but analysis of the later ones shows really large truncations, a contrast that is interesting in itself.

- (161) *Tumi no nai, tada musyukunin to.iu*
 crime GEN exist.NEG.NONPST only homeless toiu

riyuu dake de koko Sado no kinginsan ni
 reason only by here Sado GEN gold.silver.mine to

mizukaeninsoku tosite okurikomareru ninzuu wa
 water.carrying.laborer as send.PASS.NONPST number.of.people TOP

nenkan ni sootoo.na mono datta ga,
 a.year in considerable.ADN thing COP.PST but

siboo sita kazu mo ookatta.
 die do.PST number also many.PST

‘The annual number of people who had committed no crime but were merely homeless who were sent here to the gold and silver mines of Sado to work as laborers hauling water out of the mines was considerable, but the number dying was also large.’

MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Mushukunin Betchō*

- (162) *Tootinohimemiko to wa moo itinen tikaku*
 Tōchi.no.hime.miko with TOP already one.year nearly

atte inakatta. Zibun ga hara o itameta
 meet.GER be.NEG.PST self NOM abdomen ACC pain.PST

onna niwa.tigainakatta ga, haha tosite
 woman was.undeniably but mother as

no tutome wa nanimo site inakatta.
 GEN role TOP nothing do.GER be.NEG.PST

‘She (Nukatanoōkimi) had not met Tōchinohimemiko for nearly a year. Although she (Tōchinohimemiko) was certainly the girl she (Nukatanoōkimi) had given birth to (Lit. she had pained her abdomen woman), she had done nothing in terms of mothering.’

(INOUE Yasushi, *Nukatanoōkimi* ‘Princess Nukata’)

- (163) *onna.zimuin ga zisatu sita nitidai no husigi.na*
 woman.office.worker NOM suicide do.PST Nichidai GEN strange.ADN

keiri

management

‘the strange management of Nihon University where a female office worker committed suicide’

Headline on front cover of *Shūkan Asahi*, May, 1968

- (164) *Sakki wasi ga ware ni sake o tujananda no*
 earlier I NOM I DAT wine ACC pour.NEG.PST NMLZ

wa, ware no tyuusya suru yamai ga
 TOP I GEN inject do.NONPST illness NOM

itawasii kara zya.
 pitiful because COP.NONPST
 ‘The reason I didn’t pour sake for you earlier is that the illness for which you are getting injections is unbearable for me.
 IBUSE, Masuji *Hakuchō no Uta* ‘Swan Song’

- (165) *Hi no kure ni tikai Maruzen no*
 sun GEN dusk to close.NONPST Maruzen GEN

nikai ni.wa boku no hoka.ni kyaku mo
 second.floor LOC.TOP I GEN other.than customer also

nai rasikatta.
 exist.NEG.NONPST seem.PST
 ‘There seemed to be no other customers besides myself on the second floor of Maruzen, at a time near sunset.’
 AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*

- (166) *Agohige no yume no ato.de ame da na to*
 beard GEN dream GEN after rain COP SFP QUOT

karuku kiita ame ga, ima wa hukiburi de
 lightly hear.PST rain NOM now TOP driving.rain INS

ie o utte ita. Tatami made zitozito
 house ACC hit.GER be.PST mats as.far.as soaked

simerisoo da. Sikasi, hitoare site
 soak.in.about.to COP but squall do.GER

agaru rasii ame no oto datta.
 clear.up.NONPST seem.NONPST rain GEN sound COP.PST
 ‘The rain that I listened to lightly after my dream about the man with a beard, thinking, “oh, it’s raining,” was now a driving rain hitting the house, looking as though it was about to completely soak the straw mat floor. But, it was a rain sound like it would lift after squalling for a bit (Lit. seemed it would squall a bit and then end rain-sound).’
 KAWABATA Yasunari, *Yama no Oto* ‘Sound of the Mountain’

- (167) *Kon'ya no neru heya mo nai*
 tonight GEN sleep.NONPST room even exist.NEG.NONPST

no o doo siyoo ka to omoi,
 NMLZ ACC how do.INT Q QUOT think.ADV

kimoti no omoi sekihan o
 feeling GEN heavy.NONPST red.rice.with.beans ACC

tabete iru to “Kawamura-kun!” to

eat/GER be.NONPST when QUOT

na o yobareta.

name ACC call.PASS.PST

‘As I was eating my red rice with beans with a heavy heart (Lit. eating heavy heart rice), wondering what I was going to do not having even a place to sleep for the night, my name was called, “Hey, Kawamura!”’

KAWAGUCHI Matsutarō, *Yaburekabure* ‘Desperation’

- (168) *Isu ni kosikaketa hiza o binboo.yusuri.sase.nagara*
chair LOC sit.PST knee ACC while.bouncing.up. and.down

surudoï metuki de Koyanagi Haruko o
sharp look INS Koyanagi Haruko ACC

nirande ita.

glare.at.GER be.PST

‘Seated in a chair and bouncing his knee up and down (Lit. seated on a chair knee), he glared at Koyanagi Haruko with a fierce look on his face.’

ISHIKAWA Tatsuzō, *Shareta Kankei*, Fancy Connection

- (169) *Bookyaku to soositu ga, Singoo no*
lapse.of.memory and loss NOM Shingō GEN

aruku kubisuzi ni aru
walk.NONPST nape.of.the.neck LOC exist.NONPST

kanzi datta.

feeling COP.PST

‘It felt as though forgetfulness and loss were apparent in the set of Shingo’s shoulders as he walked (Lit. the nape of the neck which Shingo walks).’

KAWABATA Yasunari, *Yama no Oto* ‘Sound of the Mountain’

- (170) *(Mienoumi wa) Arase ni.wa, sakunen kyūsyū*
Mienoumi TOP Arase DAT.TOP last.year Kyūshū

basyo, yūsyū o ayauku sarekaketa
tournament win ACC narrowly do.PASS.start.PST

kurobosi o kissi, kotosi no harubasyo
loss ACC eat.ADVL this.year GEN spring.tournament

mo kyūsyū e oiyarareru itai
also absence to drive.to.PASS.NONPST painful.NONPST

tuti o takerareta.

dirt ACC stick.on.PASS.PST

‘Mienoumi, having taken a black star (loss) from Arase that nearly stopped his tournament win at the Kyūshū tournament last year, suffered a bitter loss at the hands of Arase that forced him to retire for the balance of this year’s spring

tournament also. (Lit. hand painful dirt stuck on him that drove him to retire)
Asahi Shinbun

- (171) *Kansai de iu ikezugao. Kore wa namaiki de*
Kansai LOC say wicked.look this TOP impertinent COP.GER
- ki no tuyoi beppin no koto.*
will GEN strong.NONPST looker GEN NMLZ
- Fei-Danawei no kao niwa. sonna tumetasa*
Faye Dunaway GEN face LOC.TOP that.kind.of coldness
- to ken ga aru. Sikasi, otoko*
and sharpness NOM exist.NONPST but man
- wa kanozyo ni yowai. Otoko ga*
TOP she DAT weak.NONPST man NOM
- onna de kuroo.sitagaru kao da.*
womanINS suffer.do.DES.NONPST face COP.NONPST

Kotosi 35-sai.
this.year 35-years.old

‘In Kansai, they call it “*ikezugao*”. It means a beauty who looks both impertinent and strong-willed. In Faye Dunaway’s face there is that kind of coldness and sharpness. But men fall for her. It’s a face that makes a man want to suffer hardships at a woman’s hand. She is 35 this year.’

YODOGAWA Nagaharu, *Shūkan Yomiuri*, CINEMA column

Endnotes:

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- ¹ There are examples of (noun modifying) prepositional phrases that cannot be considered to have been generated from a sentence in Chomsky (1970). Although the context is different, there are many examples like those considered here (such as, the reason for his refusal).
- ² *Lingua* 18 (1967) North Holland Publishing Co.
- ³ Mikami, Akira. 1960. *Zō wa hana ga nagai*. Kurosio Publishing.
- ⁴ Watanabe, Minoru. 1971. *Kokogo Kōbunron*. Haniwa Shobō.
- ⁵ 1972. King's College, Cambridge. (unpublished)
- ⁶ INOUE, Kazuko. 1975. *Kōzō to Seisei* [Structure and generation]. *Kokogogaku* 101.
- ⁷ Mikami (1960: 21)
- ⁸ Mikami (1960: 36)
- ⁹ Mikami (1960: 40)
- ¹⁰ A caution is in order here that the intrinsic categories do not always correspond to a definite form. I have chosen the verb stem here to represent the material concept for convenience.
- ¹¹ See Teramura, Hideo. 1971. 'ta' *no imi to kinō* [the semantics and functions of *ta*] in *Gengogaku to Nihongo Mondai* [Linguistics and problems in Japanese]. Tokyo: Kurosio.
- ¹² See Yamada, Yoshio. 1928. *Bunpōjō no toki no ron* [The theory of tense in grammar]. in *Nihongo Bunpōron* [Theory of Grammar] and Hosoe, Ikki. 1932. *Dōshi Jisei no Kenkyū* [Studies in the verbal tense system].
- ¹³ This point is discussed in more detail in the work cited in Note (11).
- ¹⁴ Haga, Yasushi. 1962. *Nihon Bunpō Kyōshitsu* [Japanese grammar classroom]. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō.
- ¹⁵ International seminar on linguistics sponsored by the Tokyo Linguistics Research Institute in 1967.
- ¹⁶ Nakagawa, Masayuki. 1975. "Dūo", "yūan" to "de"—*Nihongo to no hikaku kara* ["Dūo", "yūan" and "de"—from a comparison with Japanese]. *Ajia-Afurikago no Keisū Kenkyū* No. 1. Ajia-Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyūjo.
- ¹⁷ Jespersen, Otto. 1924. *The Philosophy of Grammar*. Page 112.

¹⁸ Makishita, Yoshio.1972. *Kankeishi Hyōgen to Nihongo Sōtōhyōgen no Hikaku* [A comparison of relative expressions and corresponding Japanese expressions]. Kansai Gakuin Daigaku Ronkō 20.

¹⁹ Langendorn, D. T. 1970. *Essentials of English Grammar*. New York: Holt. Pages 144-145.