Syntax and Semantics of Noun Modification
Part 3

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5. Outer relation

5.1 A general problem

Continuing from the last chapter, where we considered “inner relation” noun modification constructions, in this chapter we will consider “outer relation” constructions.

I’ve already written a number of times about the two structural types of constructions in which a sentence (or something having the formal qualifications of a sentence) modifies a noun. Here we will examine a large number of actual examples roughly categorized as outer relation by their structural characteristics and we will further distinguish various types among them, but before starting let us once again take an overview of what areas are likely problems in situating such constructions within the many forms of multi-clause structures in Japanese and in considering the mixture of syntax and semantics of outer relation noun modification constructions.

All languages have a variety of ways to combine two sentences, $S_1$ and $S_2$, to form a larger sentence. In the English grammar we are all so familiar with, these are categorized as below.

- **compound sentences (coordinating conjunctions)**
  - coordinate clause + and/or/but/… + coordinate clause
- **Complex sentence (subordinate conjunctions)**
  - Main clause + subordinate (embedded) clause
  - Nominal clause
  - Adjectival clause (relative clause)
  - Adverbial clause

And then in Japanese, so-called “quotation” is treated as a somewhat separate type from the above categories, as a problem of “narration”.

It is not impossible to apply this kind of categorization found in English grammar to Japanese and, in fact, we often see it done. However, the function of “conjunctions” linking the sentences is sometimes filled by conjunctions (sikasi ‘but’, sokode ‘and then’), sometimes by conjunctural particles (…kara ‘since…’, …ga ‘… but’), and sometimes by nouns (toki ‘time’, koto ‘matter/act/fact’) in Japanese grammar. Additionally, sometimes the function is filled simply by an inflectional form of the predicate (~site ‘do~.GER’, ~tara ‘~.COND’). Furthermore, the fact that it will not do to mindlessly apply the English criterion of the combination of a “Subject and a Predicate verb” to define a clause to Japanese has been emphasized by many. Ultimately, a categorization of Japanese sentence combinations needs to be made based on formal characteristics of Japanese itself.

It would be impossible to deal here with such fundamental questions as how we should consider the concepts of “compound sentence”, “complex sentence”, and “clause” with regard to Japanese, but if we were to categorize patterns in Japanese of two elements with the qualifications of a sentence combining faithfully according to their surface forms, we would probably arrive at something like the following.
(i) \( S_1 + \text{conjunction} + S_2 \)

(ii) The predicate of \( S_1 \) in a conjunctional form (a continuing inflectional form) + \( S_2 \)
Examples: \( Kore \ wa \ botan \ de, \ are \ wa \ syakuyaku \ da. \)
Chinese.peony COP.NONPST
‘This is a tree peony and that over there is a Chinese peony.’

\( Kaze \ ga \ hukeba, \ okeya \ ga \ mookaru. \)
make.money.NONPST
‘When the wind blows, the cooper gets rich.’

(iii) The predicate of \( S_1 \) in a conclusive form + conjunctional particle + \( S_2 \)
Examples: \( Suzi \ wa \ tumaranakatta \ ga, \)
plot TOP boring.PST but

\( gamen \ to \ ongakuwa \ kirei \ datta. \)
screen and music TOP pretty COP.PST
‘The plot was boring, but the visuals and the music were pretty.’

\( Tori \ ga \ naku \ kara, \ kaeroo. \)
bird NOM cry.NONPST since return.INT
‘Since the cock will crow, let’s go home.’

(iv) Embed \( S_2 \) in the position of a noun phrase constituent of \( S_1 \)
Examples: \( S_1: \)
\( Sore\ wa \ hontoo \ ka? \)
that TOP true Q
‘Is that true?’

\( S_2: \)
\( Tai \ de \ kuudetaa \ ga \)
Thailand LOC coup d’état NOM

\( okotta. \)
arise.PST

\( \rightarrow Tai \ de \ kuudetaa \ ga \ okotta \ no \ wa \ hontoo \ ka? \)
Is it true that there was a coup d’état in Thailand?

\( S_1: \)
\( Sore\ o \ hayaku \ sirasete \ kudasai. \)
that ACC quickly inform.GER please
‘Please inform me of that quickly.’
S2: Sono ressyya wa nanzi ni that train TOP what.time at

Osaka-eki ni tukimasu ka.
Osaka-station to arrive.POL.NONPST Q
‘What time will that train arrive at Osaka Station?’

→ Sono ressyya ga nanzi ni that train NOM what.time at

Osaka-eki ni tuku ka
Osaka-station to arrive.NONPST Q

o hayaku sirasete kudasai.
ACC quickly inform.GER please
‘Please inform me quickly as to what time that train will arrive at Osaka Station.’

(v) “Quote” S2 and insert it into S1
Example: S1: Gyoozi wa syutyoo-sita
referee TOP insist.PST
‘The referee insisted.’

S2: Takanohana no asi ga saki ni Takanohana GEN foot NOM earlier LOC
deta.
go.out.PST
‘Takanohana’s foot went out first.’

→ Gyoozi wa Takanohana no asi ga saki ni
deta to syutyoo-sita. (1)
QUOT
‘The referee insisted that Takanohana’s foot had gone out first.’

(vi) Have S2 modify some noun phrase constituent of S1
Examples: Taroo wa kame ni turerarete
Taro TOP turtle DAT bring.PASS.GER
Ryuuguu e itta.
palace.of.dragon.king to go.PST
‘Taro was taken by the turtle to the Palace of the Dragon King.

Taroo ga kame o tasuketa.
Taro NOM turtle ACC save.PST
‘Taro saved the turtle.’

→ Taroo wa (Taroo ga/ zibun ga)
Taro NOM self NOM

\textit{tasuketa kame ni turerarete Ryuuguu e itta.} \hspace{1cm} (2)

‘Taro was taken to the Palace of the Dragon King by the turtle (he/self) had saved.’

→ \textit{Kame o tasuketa Taroo wa sono kame ni turerarete Ryuuguu e itta.} \hspace{1cm} (3)

‘Taro, who had saved the turtle, was taken by that turtle to the Palace of the Dragon King.’

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{S1:} & \textit{Watasi wa hanasi o sobo kara kiita.}  \\
& hear.PST  \\
& ‘I heard the story from my grandmother.’
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textbf{S2:} & \textit{Taroo ga kame ni Ryuuguu e turete itte moratta.}  \\
& bring.GER go.GER receive.PST  \\
& ‘Taro had the turtle take him to the Palace of the Dragon King.’
\end{tabular}

→ \textit{Watasi wa, Taroo ga Ryuuguu e turete itte moratta hanasi o sobo kara kiita.} \hspace{1cm} (4)

‘I heard from my grandmother the story of Taro having the turtle take him to the Palace of the Dragon King.’

Of these, (vi) are complex sentences incorporating noun modification constructions, the first being an inner relation construction and the latter an outer relation construction.

How are the semantic relations between the two sentences included in these several patterns generally to be interpreted?

First, in the case of (i) and (iii), the relation is clear from the conjunctions or conjunctional particles appearing in the patterns. (That is, if one consults a dictionary, one can generally find out what meaning is conveyed by each word or particle.)

The case of (ii) is similar in that one has the general knowledge of what inflectional forms carry what meanings.

In the case of (iv), since S2 is nominalized with \textit{no} or \textit{koto} and appears as a constituent of the main clause with a particle like \textit{wa}, \textit{ga}, or \textit{kara}, the question of its semantic relation with the main clause is just the same as the general problem of the meanings and
relationships expressed by particles.

Then, what about the case of “quotation” in pattern (v)? Verbs that allow incorporation of this kind sentence without modification are limited to a specific set of verbs. They can be broadly divided into *iu* ‘say’-type verbs and *omou* ‘think’-type verbs. (However, as will be touched on in more detail later, the Japanese case is quite different from “narrative” in English and in, for example, *ippai tukiawanai ka, to sakazuki o sasidasita*cried.NEG Q, QUOT sake.cup ACC extend.PST ‘‘How about a drink together”, he extended a cup.’ or *moo hitotu naguroo to te o ageta totan* [more one hit.INT QUOT hand ACC raise.PST just.when] ‘just as I raised my hand to try hitting again,’ there are many ordinary verbs that may follow the to, but for these, it is possible to consider *to itte* [QUOT say.GER] or *to omotte* [QUOT think.GER] to have been elided.) It is probably sufficient to say that the …to pattern shows the content of what one says or thinks. Since this pattern of combining sentences is involved in outer relation noun modification constructions, we will be coming back to this pattern later.

The last, (vi), is noun modification, but there is at least one clear difference between this pattern and the other five.

As we have seen in the above discussion, in (i) through (v), the semantic relation between the sentences combined is self-evident from the forms (conjunction, conjunctonal particle, inflectional ending, etc.) – creating a semantic relation being the very role carried by these forms – but in the case of noun modification constructions as in (vi), that is not the case. That is, just from the external characteristic of something in the form of a sentence preceding a noun, a hearer understands the relation between S1 and S2 solely by applying his or her knowledge concerning two elements of the sentence preceding the noun S2 and the noun that hosts it (inside S1).

The difference between the case of (vi) and those of (i) – (v), especially (i) – (iv), in semantic interpretation is, so to speak, like the difference between interpreting the relation between a case-marked noun and the following predicate, where it is clear from the expressive function of the case marker itself, and interpreting the relation between the noun and the predicate when the noun is followed by a topicalizing particle like *wa* or *mo* or when it is followed by the adnominal particle *no*.

So then, what kind of relation is there between this kind of modifying clause and the modified noun (the base noun), what types of relation are there, and by what means are these conveyed to the hearer? This is the theme of this entire work, but we earlier in section 3 set up the roughly the following broad goals.

First, in contrast to inner relation “modification”, that is, a noun modification construction formed including a relation in which the modifying part and the base noun could constitute a single sentence, in which the modifying clause “specifies” the base noun, that is, simply distinguishes it from others, an outer relation is characterized by a relation in which the modifying clause states the content of the base noun or supplements the content of the base noun. This difference is clearly recognizable in the contrast between (2) and (3) above on the one hand and (4) on the other. this difference in the semantic expressive function of the “modification” of the base noun by the modifying part can be considered to reflect differences in the syntactic conditions on the formation of each.
We have already seen that the conditions for forming an inner relation modification are: (i) \( S_1 \) and \( S_2 \) include the same (coreferential) noun, (ii) the noun in the sentence that will become the modifying part (\( S_1 \)) stands in a definite case relation with regard to the predicate (the semantic relation being surmisable even if there is no case marker present), and (iii) the level of modality in the modifying part is within some limit. In contrast to this set, the outer relation does not have (i) or (ii) (or rather, the lack of these can be considered to be a condition for differentiation from the inner relation). There is no basis for the formation of outer relation modification other than the semantic characteristics of the base noun and the modifying part.

Accordingly, it is necessary to describe what kind of noun has the necessary characteristics to become a base noun for this kind of structure and, when the “content” precedes the noun in the form of the modifying part, what kinds of structural constraints apply. Also, the case when those constraints apply to the content of the “content” cannot be overlooked.

Turning to the constraints, one that is immediately apparent is the problem of the intervention of \( toiu \). (There are also the forms \( tono \), \( toitta \), and \( yoo.na \), but here we will take \( toiu \) as being representative.) This was touched on already in section 3, but there are both theoretically and realistically the following three possibilities.

- Intervention of \( toiu \) is required
- Intervention of \( toiu \) is possible
- Intervention of \( toiu \) is optional

As a structural condition, there is also question of how much so-called modality (\( chinjutsu \)) is allowed in the clause that becomes the modifying part. These two questions are actually two sides of the same coin and are inseparable.

The \( toiu \) we are considering here is the formalized expression and we will exclude from consideration cases in which it means \(... to (hito ga) iu [...QUOT (people NOM) say] ‘(people) say/call it …’ as in the following.

\[
(5) \quad \text{Taro NOM help.PST turtle TOP this Q}
\]

‘Is this the turtle they say Taro helped?’

Even so, when considering this kind of formalized, function-wordized \( toiu \), its character in its “original” substantive form is instructive.

Talking about \(... to \) brings to mind one of the patterns for combining sentences from above, the “quotation” pattern, pattern (v). It is the pattern in which a sentence (here \( S_2 \)) is “quoted” as is and is placed before the verb – of the \( iu \) ‘say’ or the \( omou \) ‘think’ type – of the main clause. That part, the “(\( S_2 \)) to” can be taken grammatically either as the direct object of \( iu \) or \( omou \) or as a kind of adverbial phrase, but in any case, it is probably safe to say that it is “adverbal” and semantically is the object of \( iu \) or \( omou \) and expresses the content. What happens when these \( iu \) and \( omou \) type verbs are nominalized, as, for example, the following?
When verbs like *iu* or *omou* are nominalized, the *to* that linked them with a sentence showing their content changes to *toiu* or *tono*. That is, it changes from being adverbal to being adnominal.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yosita} & \quad \text{hoo} & \quad \text{ga} & \quad \text{ii} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{tyuukoku-suru} & \quad \text{(Adverbal)} \\
\text{stop.PST} & \quad \text{side} & \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{good} & \quad \text{caution-do} \\
& & & & \text{‘Caution (someone) that it would be better to quit.’} \\
\text{yosita} & \quad \text{hoo} & \quad \text{ga} & \quad \text{ii} & \quad \text{toi} & \quad \text{tyuukoku} & \quad \text{(Adnominal)} \\
& & & & \text{‘a caution that it would be better to quit’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sono sigoto o} & \quad \text{hikiukeyoo} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{kessin-suru} & \quad \text{(Adverbal)} \\
\text{that job ACC accept.INT} & \quad \text{resolution-do} \\
& & & \text{‘Resolve that one will accept the job.’} \\
\text{Sono sigoto o} & \quad \text{hikiukeyoo} & \quad \text{tono} & \quad \text{kessin} & \quad \text{(Adnominal)} \\
\text{that job ACC accept.INT} & \quad \text{resolution} \\
& & & \text{‘the resolution to accept the job.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

As we will see later, many of the nouns that can appear after *toiu* cannot be said to be “nominalized verbs” like these, but it is not unnatural to think that *toiu* originally carried this function of being an adnominal form corresponding to the adverbal *to*.

The pattern ...*to* is a form that fundamentally is used when taking a sentence (or part of one) and embedding it in another sentence in as close a form as possible to its original form (that is, preserving its mood and modality). The *to* of *toiu* can naturally be considered to have inherited this function. Accordingly, when *toiu* expresses (in the form of a sentence) the content of the base noun, the higher the level of modality/mood in the modifying part, the more necessary the *toiu* is, and if the level is low, just showing (in Watanabe’s terms) the “propositional content (*jojutsu naiyō*) or (in Fillmore’s terms) the proposition, then *toiu* is unnecessary or even gets in the way.

The matter above was already considered to some extent in the preceding section 4.
We saw there that in the pattern under consideration, the inner relation, the “mood/modality of the modifying part” is severely restricted. (See section 4.3) In outer relation modifying constructions, the level of mood or modality of the modifying part is generally much higher.

The level, high or low, of the modality in the modifying part is also, of course, closely connected with the basic nature of the base noun. For example, a noun like *hanasi* ‘talk, story’ is fine with the modifying part showing its content just showing “propositional content”, but a noun like *iken* ‘opinion’ or *kiboo* ‘hope, desire’, or *meirei* ‘order’ can be expected to take a modifying part expressing firm determination or strong will. Therefore, in the former case, the final forms of the predicates in the modifying part are often simply the past or non-past forms, but in the latter case they may end with the copula expressing a judgment, the intentional (hortative) form or an imperative form and, especially, may even include sentence-final particles. If the modifying form ends in the copula form expressing judgment or in the imperative form, *toiu* is required in order to combine it with the base noun.

* sore wa muda da iken  
  that TOP useless opinion

sore wa muda da toiu iken  
‘the opinion that that is useless’

* hikikase meirei  
  turnback.IMP order

hikikase toiu meirei  
‘the order to turn back’

What form the modifying part ends in or whether or not it includes the topic particle *wa* are certainly major conditions in deciding whether or not the intervention of *toiu* is allowed or necessary, but these are not completely sufficient conditions. For example, even should the modifying part end in a verb or an adjective in the non-past form, it still cannot directly modify the noun *iken* ‘opinion’, but *toiu* must intervene.

* sore ga tadasii iken  
  that NOM correct opinion

sore ga tadasii toiu iken  
‘the opinion that that is correct’

* kooteibuai.hikisage ga inhure.zyotyoosuru iken  
  official.discount.rate.reduction NOM inflation.promotion-do opinion

kooteibuai.hikisage ga inhure.zyotyoosuru toiu iken  
‘the opinion that reduction of the official discount rate fosters inflation’

That is, whether or not *toiu* is possible, and if it is possible, whether it is required or optional is not determined by the internal structure of the preceding modifying part alone, nor is it determined by the type of the noun (that is, something that can be handled by some special notation in a dictionary) that comes as the following base noun alone. Both mutually,
so to speak, impose conditions on the use of *toi.*

Because of this fact, it is clearly not appropriate to use the intervention of *toi* alone as a criterion as we go on to categorize the types of semantic relations that obtain between the modifying part and the base noun. So, below we will begin by taking the semantic characteristics of the base noun as a criterion and use that to categorize by looking at what kind of content the preceding modifying part expresses, whether or not in each case *toi* can intervene and, if it can, under what conditions it is necessary and under what conditions it is optional, and, furthermore, if it is optional, what encourages or discourages its appearance.

A continuing question will be the degree or level of modality. There are many aspects that require further consideration but, while acknowledging that the fit is not perfect, let us bring in the considerations from the case of inner relation constructions examined earlier and, in order to simplify the descriptions later, assign numbers to indicate the level of modality in clauses with non-continuative endings.

The degree of modality needs to be measured both from the internal, semantic aspects of modality and from its external, formal aspects, but here we will use a scale based on external formal aspects.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>(low)</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>(high)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal non-past</td>
<td>~rasii</td>
<td>~da</td>
<td>polite style</td>
<td>SFP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbal past</td>
<td>~daroo</td>
<td>~noda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjective non-past</td>
<td>~kamosirenai</td>
<td>~hazu.da</td>
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<td>Adjective past</td>
<td>Intentional form</td>
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<td>~datta</td>
<td>Presumptive form</td>
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<td>Imperative form</td>
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5.2 Nouns of speech and thought and their content

When a sentence, in whatever form, is embedded as part of another sentence, it has already ceased to be a “complete” sentence. Such a sentence has come to be called a “clause”, and those that maintain as much as possible of their independence as a sentence while being embedded into another sentence are, as seen in the previous section, probably cases of “quotation” with *to.* When considering these from the point of view of adnominalization, a question arises about the sorts of nouns that correspond to the kind of verbs that either require an argument of the form “(Sentence) *to*” or are compatible with such, namely *iu*-type and *omou*-type verbs.

Nouns that correspond with *iu*, namely nouns related to utterances include *kotoba* ‘word, language’, *monku* ‘phrase, complaint’, *tegami* ‘letter (mail)’, *henzi* ‘answer’, *denpoo* ‘telegram’, *mooside* ‘application’, *sasoi* ‘invitation’, *meirei* ‘command’, *irai* ‘request’, *uwasa* ‘rumor’, *kogoto* ‘grumble’, *huhei* ‘complaint’, etc.

As nouns corresponding to *omou*, we can give *omoi* ‘thought’, *kangae* ‘consideration’, *soozoo* ‘imagination’, *kitai* ‘expectation’, *iken* ‘opinion’, *sisoo* ‘thought, idea’, *kimoti* ‘feeling’, *kessin* ‘resolve, determination’, *katei* ‘hypothesis’, *sinnen* ‘conviction’, among others.

I would like to insert a caution here. “Quotation” basically means to take an actual
utterance or a thought in the form of an utterance and reproduce it as is in another sentence (the base sentence) and, while the quoted utterance may appear in full, it may also happen that only a part of it appears. The quotative particle to probably corresponds better to English quotation marks (‘…”’) than brackets (「…」) do. This is true whether the utterance is embedded to a verb like iu or omou or to a noun like those listed above. Consider the example below.

(6) [Titi wa toki.to.suru to mata hizyoo ni sabisigatta. 「Ore ga sindara, doo ka okaasan o daizi ni site yatte kure.」 give.GER please.IMP

Watasi wa kono 「Ore ga sindara」 toiu kotoba o issyu no kioku o motte ita.

hold.GER be.PST

‘At times he (=my father) would be extremely lonely. “When I’m gone, please take good care of your mother”.

I kept these words, “when I’m gone” as a kind of memory.’

(NATSUME Sōseki, Kokoro)

Even without making any kind of special effort to search for such examples, they abound in what we hear and say every day, such as aruiwa toiu kitai [or.maybe toiu expectation] ‘a hope that, maybe’, or masaka toiu kimoti [no.way toiu feeling] ‘the feeling of this can’t be happening’. However, since the target of our consideration in this work is forms “in the form of a sentence” modifying a noun, we will just say concerning examples like this that to can also be attached to sentence fragments.

So, when modifying a noun like those above by something in the form of a sentence, in addition to the inner relation described earlier (Titi ga sono toki itta kotoba [father NOM that time say.PST words] ‘the words my father said then’, bakabakasii kangae [foolish.NONPST thought] ‘a stupid idea’), it is possible to modify the noun with an outer relation.

That is, it is possible to place the “content” of the utterance or thought – in the form of an ordinary sentence – in front of the noun to modify it. However, if the sentence expressing that content, which in many cases is in exactly the form of someone saying something to someone else or in a form close to it, is not in the form of a quotation with to, it cannot combine with the base noun.
The pitiful teacher would warn anyone who tried to approach him, “I’m not anyone worth getting close to so stop it.”

(Kokoro)

Besides this, Father grumbled about a lot of things. Among them there were words like, “Long ago parents had their children feed them but nowadays parents are just eaten up by their children.” I just listened silently.’

(Kokoro)

In the examples above, the level of the modality of the preceding modifying part in terms of forms used is 3 in both cases and no matter what kind of noun the following base noun may be, there is no way to modify it without using quotation, but even if the modality level had been 1, that is, had been the non-past or past forms of a verb or adjective, in order to use it to modify a speech noun, it appears that toiu is required. Conversely, having such a constraint serves to mark such a noun as a (relating to) “speech” noun, distinguishing it from other types of noun. In the following examples, the modality level of the clause expressing the content is 1 in all cases, but toiu intervenes. Omitting the toiu would make each of the examples strange.
boku-zisin no sakuhin o kangae.dasita.
I.myself GEN works ACC recall.PST

suruto mazu kioku ni ukanda no wa
whereupon first memory LOC float.up.PST NMLZ TOP

“Syuzyu no Kotoba” no naka no aforizumu
Shuju GEN words GEN inside GEN aphorism
datta. (koto.ni “zinsei wa zigoku
COP.PST especially life TOP hell

yorimo zigoku.teki dearu” toiu
than hellish COP.NONPST

kotoba datta.)
words COP.PST
‘As I looked at Napoleon, I recalled my own works. Whereupon, what floated up in my memory were aphorisms from The Words of Shuju. (Especially the words, “Life is even more hellish than hell itself.”)’

(AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, Haguruma)

“Zimintoo no zidai wa owatta, toiu no ga
LDP GEN era TOP end.PST NMLZ NOM
tihoo o mawatte mita zikkan
rural.areas ACC go.around.GER see.PST real.feeling

nanda nee. Sin-Ziyuu-Kurabu e no
COP.NMLZ.COP SFP New-Liberal-Club to GEN
tenkoo.mondai de dooyoo site iru
shift.problem INS be.shaken do.GER be.NONPST

no wa, Tookyoo Oosaka nado no tosi
NMLZ TOP Tokyo Osaka and.such GEN city

bakari dewa.nai. Wakakereba watasi mo
only COP.NEG.NONPST young.PROV I also

too o hanaretai toiu koe o
party ACC separate.DESI.NONPST voice ACC

atikoti de kiku n da.”
here.and.there LOC hear.NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST
‘As I go around the rural areas and see, I have a real feeling that the Liberal Democratic Party’s era is over. The problem of a shift toward the New Liberal Club is not limited to the cities like Tokyo and Osaka. I hear voices saying, “If I were younger, I’d leave the party.”’
Saru nigatu muika nimo, Itinoya no last February 6th on.also Ichinoya GEN wareware ni ate, Syuuridaibu Tikanobu-Kyoo we DAT addressed repair.minister Chikanobu-Lord kara yooka niwa wahei no tame sisya from 8th on.TOP peace(.talks) GEN sake emissary o gekoo-sesimerareru hazu to ACC cause.to.go.down.from.the.capital.NONPST expectation QUOT no raisin ga atta. Sono sisya GEN incoming.message NOM exist.PST that emissary ga teito e kaeru madewa NOM imperial.capital to return.NONPST until.TOP kanka.o.mazienai voo ni Kantoo no busi ni make.hostilities.NEG COMP Kantō GEN warriors DAT ooserarete aru toiu syokan say(HON).PASS.GER exist.NONPST epistle COP.PST

‘On last February 6th also a message came addressed to us at Ichinoya saying that the Minister for Repairs, Lord Chikanobu, would be sending an emissary on the 8th for peace talks. It was a letter that said that the warriors in Kanto were told to refrain from hostilities until that emissary had returned to the imperial capital.’

(IBUSE Masuji, Sazanami Heiki)

Tegami o dasite hutukame ni mata letter ACC send.GER second.day on again denpoo ga watasi-ate de todoita. telegram NOM me-addressed COP.GER arrive.PST Sore niwa konaidemo vorosii toiu monku that in.TOP come.NEG.GER.even good.NONPST phrase dake sika nakatta. Watasi wa sore o only other.than exist.NEG.PST I TOP that ACC haha ni miseta. mother DAT show.PST

‘Two days after I sent a letter, another telegram came addressed to me. In it
was nothing more than just the phrase, ‘(you) needn’t come’. I showed it to my mother.

(Kokoro)

(13) Kono yoru, Hukuoka sinai no sakaba dewa, this evening Fukuoka within.the.city GEN bars LOC.TOP

Inao wa zibun no kaarumangiya o Inao TOP self GEN Karmann.Ghia ACC

utte simatta toi u zoodan ga sell.GER end.up.PST joke NOM

sasayakareta.
whisper.PASS.PST
‘This evening the joke was being whispered in the bars of Fukuoka that Inao had ended up selling his own Karmann Ghia.’

(14) Kono tatehuda wa Hizagoroo ga kaita toi u this sign TOP Hizagorō NOM write.PST

uwasa da ga, honnin wa rumor COP.NONPST but person.in.question TOP

hitei.site ...
deny.GER
The rumor is that Hizagorō painted this sign, but he denies it and …’

(15) Ozi ga mimai ni kita toki, titi uncle NOM condolence for come.PST time father

wa itumademo hikitome kesa na ka tattaka.
TOP until.all.hours detain.GER send.back.NEG.PST

Sabisii kara motto ite kure toi u lonely.NONPST since more be.GER please.IMP

no ga omo.na riyuu deatta ga, haha ya NMLZ NOM main.ADN reason COP.PST but mother and

watasi ga tabetai dake mono o I NOM eat.DESI.NONPST only things ACC

tabesasenai toi u huhei o uttaeru eat.CAUS.NEG.NONPST complaint ACC appeal.NONPST

no mo, sono mokuteki no hitotu deatta NMLZ also that goal GEN one COP.PST

rassi.
‘When my uncle came on a condolence call, my father kept him there until all hours and would not let him leave. The main reason was that he was lonely and wanted him to stay longer, but pressing his complaint that my mother and I would not let him eat everything he wanted seems to also have been one goal.’

(Kokoro)

(16) Kanozyo wa humisidakareta hai kara issoo,
she TOP trample.PASS.PST ashes from still.more

hi ga moeagaru toiu kotowaza o
fire NOM flame.up.NONPST proverb ACC

wasurete ita no da.
forget.GER be.PST NMLZ COP.NONPST
‘She had forgotten the proverb: the fire burns even more fiercely from trampled ashes.’

(ENDÔ Shûsaku. Shiroi Hito)

(17) Sisyuu ran no nioi o kaide
constantly orchid GEN fragrance ACC smell.GER

iru to nagaiki suru toiu iiutae.
be.NONPST if long.life do.NONPST saying

ga aru
NOM exist.NONPST
‘There’s a saying that if one constantly smells the fragrance of orchids, one will live a long life.’

(Shûkan Asahi)

If we are talking about nouns that are connected with speech, in addition to those given earlier, there are ones like hanasi ‘story’, ituwa ‘anecdote’, sirase ‘notification’, or hoodoo ‘news report’, all of which can be said to be related, but, considered from the point of view of modification structure, these nouns are often found modified by clauses – at modality level 1 -- without toiu and so, instead of considering them to be “speech-type” nouns, it would be better to include them in the category of “thing/matter (fact)” nouns to be described in the next section 5.3.

Leaving the discussion of speech nouns at this point, we turn our attention to the case of nouns of thought or conception. As seen earlier, verbs of thinking in Japanese often take the same patterns as verbs of speech. If we look at the levels of modality, those with high modality take toiu, as expected. On this point, it may seem that there is no reason to differentiate them from the speech verbs, but given the fact that, unlike the case of speech nouns, these do occasionally occur with the modifying part immediately before the base noun without the intervention of toiu and the fact that semantically they all show thoughts, it seems better – considering the characteristics of thought verbs -- to take them as a group.

The content of thoughts or ideas, by and large, fall into cases of intent or will and
cases of judgment, estimation, and surmise. Often these contents are expressed by imperatives (modality level 3) or intentional or surmise forms (level 2) and in these cases, they require *toiu*. Some examples are given below.

(18) 「*nandemo koi / toiu ki ni nari,...*  
“*I feel like, “come on, whatever,” and …*”  
(AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*)

(19) *Watasi o yakihorobosu hi wa Kinkakuji*  
I ACC consume.in.fire fire TOP Golden Pavilion  

*o.mo yakihorobosu daroo* toiu *kangae*  
ACC.also consume.in.fire COP.PRES thought  

*I*, *watasi o* hotondo *yowaseta*  
TOP I ACC nearly intoxicate.CAUS.PST  

no *dearu.*  
NMLZ COP.NONPST  
‘The thought that the fire that consumed me would also consume the Golden Pavilion excited me nearly to the point of intoxication.’  
(MISHIMA Yukio, *Kinkakuji*)

(20) *Tada ukeyoo, tada warawaseyoo toiu kangae*  
Merely impress.INT merey laugh.CAUS.INT thought  

*ga gei o asai mono ni site*  
NOM craft ACC shallow.NONPST thing DAT make.GER  

*iru.*  
be.NONPST  
‘The idea of just making an impression, just making them laugh, is turning the craft into something shallow.’  
(Newspaper)

(21) *Watasi wa titi ni sikarareteari,*  
I TOP father DAT scold.PASS.REPRESENTATIVE

*haha no kigen o sonzitari*  
mother GEN good.humor ACC lose.REPRESENTATIVE  

*suru yorimo, sensei kara misagerareru*  
do.NONPST than.even teacher from look.down.on.PASS.NONPST  

*no o haruka ni osorete ita. Ano irai*  
NMLZ ACC by.far fear.GER be.PST that request  

[syuusyoku.saki o sagasite hosii toiu irai]  
place.of.employment ACC search.GER want.NONPST request
morenai no mo, aruiwa soo.sita
receive.POTEN.NEG.NONPST also maybe such
wake kara zya.nai kasira toiu zyasui
reason from COP.NEG.NONPST perhaps unjust.suspicion
mo atta.
also exist.PST
‘More than (things like) being scolded by my father or falling out of my mother’s good graces, what I feared more by far was having the teacher look down on me. Perhaps it might be for this reason that I had been unable to receive a response to my request [a request to find a place of employment].’
(Kokoro)

Watasi wa sono toki hazimete anata o
I TOP that time for.the.first.time you ACC
sonkei.sita. Anata ga muenryo.ni watasi no hara
respect.PST you NOM unreservedly I GEN stomach (=heart)
no naka kara aru ikita.mono o turamaeyoo
GEN inside from a.certain living.thing ACC capture.INT
toiu kessin o miseta kara desu.
determination ACC show.PST since COP.POL.NONPST
Watasi no sinzoo o tatiwatte, atatakaku
I GEN heart ACC slice.open.GER warm.ADVL
nagareru tisio o susuroo.to.sita
flow.NONPST blood.circulating.within.the.body ACC sip.INT.TRY
desu.
since COP.POL.NONPST
‘That was when I first came to respect you. Because you showed a determination to capture the living thing from my heart (where it resided). Because you tried to open my heart and bath in the strong emotions that flowed so fervently within.’
(Kokoro)
Even after that Chunichi kept swinging on bad pitches. Was it the eagerness to avoid repeated losses that brought on this kind of outcome?

(Newsaper)

Being told that, a worry flickered in my breast that I didn’t know when father might collapse again.

(Kokoro)

As one of the fundamental stances in the thing called postwar democratic education is the view of the child that says we should respect the individuality of each child.

(KATA Kōji, Rakugo)

Sachiko was of the mind that, no matter what anyone thought, things were awful for Okuhata.

(TANIZAKI Junichirō, Sasameyuki (Makioka Sisters))
In rakugo, children are always people who surpass their parents. This is a reflection of the feeling that in the humble lives of the common people one can detect the hope that it is the children to whom there are myriad futures.

(KATA Kōji, Rakugo)

The last two end in the judgmental da ‘copula’ and, because of their form, are cases that require toiu, but in the case of this kind of noun, the da that shows the content (judgment) is sometimes omitted (as it is in these examples).

(28) Sotugyoo.site kara, sensyoku o yatte graduate.GER after dyeing ACC do.GER
mite, hazimete zibun no mono toiu see.GER first.time self GEN thing
ki ga simasita.
feeling NOM do.POL.PST
‘After graduating I tried dyeing and for the first time I felt (I had found) something that was mine.’
(NIWA Fumio)

(29) Booryoku.gakusei ni taisite kidootai.doonyuu wa violence.students towards swat.team.introduction TOP
toozen, toiu kuuki ni natte ita.
matter.of.course atmosphere DAT become.GER be.PST
‘The general feeling was that sending in the swat team to deal with the violent students was a matter of course.’
(Asahi Journal, February, 1969)

These may look on the surface like just clauses ending with a noun, but anyone would feel that a da that ought to have been there has been omitted. That fact may be what requires the use of toiu.

As seen above, when a thinking noun is used as base and a clause expressing its content is affixed, that clause often ends in ~da ‘copula asserting a judgment’, ~daroo
‘copula in the presumptive form’, or –siyoo ‘verb in the intentional form’. However, it is of course not the case that such clauses must always end in such forms in the surface. The content of the thought can also be expressed in the forms described in the previous section as being of modality level 1, namely the past and non-past forms of verbs and adjectives. In the form-based requirements for insertion of toiu, namely what form the preceding clause ends in, in the case of modality level 1, it should be acceptable without toiu. Also, in the case of speech nouns in the previous section, toiu was always required before them. This sort of imposition of a form-based condition from the right is absent in the case of thought nouns. All of which means that, when combining a modifying part showing its content with a thought noun, whether toiu is required or not cannot be determined from formal considerations alone but is influenced by the meaning and by the speaker’s psychology.

In the case of the noun iken ‘opinion’, also considered in the previous section, since its content normally contains a strong judgment (of the holder of the opinion), even if the modality level of the predicate of the modifying part is 1, combination with the base noun is difficult without toiu. The same can be said for following examples with mikata ‘viewpoint’ and kaisyaku ‘interpretation’.

(30) Saigon dewa, kitagawa ga saisyuu.dankai no koosei ni haitta toki niwa.

Saigon LOC.TOP north.side NOM final.stage GEN offense DAT enter.PST time in.TOP

Saigon dake denaku, kanarazu Yue

Saigon only COP.NEG.ADVL necessarily Hue

mo sono kooryaku no taisyoo ni

also that strategy GEN target DAT

naru toiu mikata ga teisetu

become.NONPST view NOM accepted.theory

ni natte iru.

DAT become.GER be.NONPST

‘In Saigon, the view that, when the North Vietnam forces enter the final stage offence, it will not be just targeted at Saigon but also at Hue has become the accepted theory.’

(Asahi Shinbun June, 1968)

(31) Iya, kano hitobito ni.totte.wa, kondo

no those people to.TOP this.time

no syamen wa, kessite karera no

GEN pardon TOP absolutely they GEN

titiue no ti ni.taisuru tettei.sita nikusimi

father GEN blood toward thorough hatred

no situyoosa o kizutukeru mono
When it comes to nouns like *omoi* ‘thought, idea’, *kangae* ‘thought, consideration’, *ki* ‘feeling’, depending on whether the force of strong modality is incorporated in the place where the content is expressed or whether the speaker just shows the “facts” there and expresses the force and hue of the modality in some following part, *toiu* sometimes appears and sometimes does not.

When it comes to nouns like *omoi* ‘thought, idea’, *kangae* ‘thought, consideration’, *ki* ‘feeling’, depending on whether the force of strong modality is incorporated in the place where the content is expressed or whether the speaker just shows the “facts” there and expresses the force and hue of the modality in some following part, *toiu* sometimes appears and sometimes does not.
this child TOP big.ADVL become.NONPST if/when
eraku naru toiu ki ga suru.
great.ADVL become.NONPST feeling NOM do.NONPST
‘I have the feeling that this child will become great when he grows up.’

(35) Zibun wa nezumi no saigo o miru ki ga
self TOP mouse GEN end ACC see.NONPST feeling NOM
sinakatta.
do.NEG.PAT
‘I didn’t feel like watching the mouse’s demise.’

(35) Zibun wa nezumi no saigo o miru ki ga
self TOP mouse GEN end ACC see.NONPST feeling NOM
sinakatta.
do.NEG.PAT
‘I didn’t feel like watching the mouse’s demise.’

(35) Zibun wa nezumi no saigo o miru ki ga
self TOP mouse GEN end ACC see.NONPST feeling NOM
sinakatta.
do.NEG.PAT
‘I didn’t feel like watching the mouse’s demise.’

Other nouns of this type that can be given include kibun ‘mood’, kanzi ‘feeling’, zisin ‘confidence’, mitoosi ‘outlook’, soozoo ‘imagination’, katei ‘hypothesis’, and kakugo ‘resignation (to)’, among others, but they all show the usage characteristics described here.

5.3 Nouns expressing “fact/matter” and their content

5.3.0 Introduction

Even though they are not nouns of utterances or of thoughts, in other words, even though they are not linked to verbs of speech or thought, there are many nouns that can show their content in the form of a sentence, that is, in the form of “such and such is/was this or that” or “such and such will do/does/did this or that”. Words of the type of “fact”, “incident”, “custom”, or “public stance or attitude” are of this kind. The noun hanasi ‘story, tale” can be thought of as a nominalization of the verb hanasu ‘speak, talk’ or at least as corresponding to it in some way, but considering them together with the sentences that go with them, it is difficult to consider “…(to iu) hanasi [,,, toiu story]” to correspond to “…to hanasu […] QUOT say]” in the examples below. We unfortunately do not have room here to go into the debates between the “transformationalists” and the “lexicalists” in transformational grammar1, but at the least, it can be said that the nouns and verbs discussed in this section cannot be tied together.

When a noun of this type is used as a base noun, generally speaking, use of toiu is optional. Of course, the necessity of using toiu when the modality level is 3 or higher is the same for this kind of noun. Among these nouns there are of course those that take ~ga [NOM] in the part that shows their content as described earlier, but there are also many cases that do not take ~ga. This shows that there are aspects in which the noun taking the nominative case contributes to the completeness of the “modal content”.

Below we will examine various actual examples, grouped by similar categories of nouns, of nouns that show “fact/matter” and the clauses that express their content.

5.3.1 Nouns like zizitu ‘fact’, koto ‘fact/matter’, ziken ‘incident’, and hanasi ‘tale, story’

(36) Syoonagon to kanozyo “Murasakisikibu” ga
Shōnagon with she Murasakishikibu NOM
meet.PST fact TOP yet discover do.PASS.NEG.NONPST
‘No evidence has yet been found showing that Sei Shōnagon and Murasakishikibu had ever met.’

(SHIODA Ryōhei, *Nihon Bungaku-shi*)

Ippoo, waga.kuni no suitoo wa
on.the.one.hand Japan GEN wet-land.rice TOP

Hokusi-kei ni tikai koto o
North.China-type to close.NONPST fact ACC

nogaku-zyoo siteki suru setu ga
agriculturally point.out do.NONPST explanation NOM

sonzai site iru ga, sikasi mata
exist do.GER be.NONPST but however also

tahoo.ni, nanpoo bunka yooso to
on.the.other.hand south.seas culture elements QUOT

kangaerareru mono ga, waga.kodai
think.Poss/PASS.NONPST things NOM Japanese.ancient

nookoo.bunka ni huhen.teki.ni tomonatte
cultivation.culture LOC ubiquitously accompany.GER

iru zizitu ga ari, ...
be.NONPST fact NOM exist.ADVL
‘On the one hand, there is the explanation that points out the fact from agricultural studies that Japanese wet-land rice is close to the North China type, but, at the same time, on the other hand there is the fact that there are things that can be thought to be elements of the south seas culture that ubiquitously accompany ancient Japanese agricultural culture, and….’

(HIGUCHI Kiyoyuki, *Nihon Kodai Sangyō-shi*)

Kare wa kunen mae Kyuusuu Hatiman ni
he TOP 9.years.earlier Kyushu Hachiman LOC

kyozyuu sita zizitu ga ari,
reside do.PST fact NOM exist.ADVL

syussin wa Simane-ken desu.
birthplace TOP Shimane-prefecture COP.NONPST
‘There is the fact that he resided in Hachiman, Kyushu nine years earlier, and his birthplace was Shimane Prefecture.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Kao*)

Sataan-roketto nituite mo, sensyyuu
Saturn-rocket regarding also last.week

\[\text{Saturn-rocket de no zikkentyuu.ni bakuhatu}\]
Saturn rocket LOC GEN test.midst explode

\[\text{sita zizitu ga aru.}\]
do.PST fact NOM exist.NONPST
‘Concerning the Saturn rocket as well, there is the fact that one exploded in the middle of a test in Sacramento last week.’
\[(\text{Asahi Shinbun})\]

As seen above, there are quite a few examples with \textit{zizitu} ‘fact’, but looking at those I have collected, examples that go on to end with \textit{aru} ‘exist’/\textit{nai} ‘not exist or \textit{da} ‘COP’ are overwhelmingly common. Of course, it is possible for the noun to be followed by other particles and be associated with other predicate forms like other nouns, but for some reason in such examples \textit{toiu} is often found. How general a tendency this is, I am not in a position to say though. Below are just two examples.

(40) \[\text{Otooto no tanzyoobi o siranai younger.brother GEN birthday ACC know.NEG.NONPST}\]

\[\text{toiu, pandemonai zizitu ga, nazeka ookina}\]
nothing fact NOM for.some.reason big.ADN

\[\text{tumi no sirusi no yoo.ni omowareta.}\]
crime GEN sign GEN like think.PASS.PST
‘The nothing fact that he didn’t know his younger brother’s birthday was regarded for some reason as a sign of a big crime.’
\[(\text{ŌSHIRO Tatsuhiro, Nisei})\]

(41) \[\text{Nanzi ni kare no kokoro ni, what.time at he GEN heart LOC}\]

\[\text{ima no zibun o nagusameru mono ga, now GEN self ACC console.NONPST person NOM}\]

\[\text{Amerika.zin no sen’yuu dewa.naku.}\]
American GEN wartime.buddy COP.NEG,ADVL

\[\text{Okinawa.zin no itikazoku dearu toiu}\]
Okinawan GEN one.family COP.NONPST

\[\text{zizitu ga kanasii mono ni omowareta.}\]
fact NOM sad.NONPST thing DAT think.PASS.PST
‘At some time he felt in his heart sad the fact that it would not be his American friends from the war who would console him now but an Okinawan family.’
\[(\text{ŌSHIRO Tatsuhiro, Nisei})\]

As seen in examples (38) and (39), when \(\sim\text{wa}\) or some similar topic-presenting expression comes before \textit{zizitu}, the noun to which it is attached appears to play a dual role
both as a noun with ga [NOM] attached inside the modifying part applied to zizitu and as a noun bearing on zizitu. In the case of (38), for example, the fact that kare ga ... kyozyuu sita ‘he … resided’ is a fact that describes kare. If the zizitu ‘fact’ is made even more abstract, it becomes the noun koto ‘fact, matter’ and when it appears in fixed patterns like

(42)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Kare} & \text{wa} & \text{kyuusyu} & \text{ni} \quad \text{sunda} \\
\text{he} & \text{NOM} & \text{Kyūshū} & \text{LOC live.PST} \\
\text{ga} & \text{aru} \\
\text{NOM} & \text{exist.NONPST} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He has lived in Kyushu.’

it becomes even more prominent as MIKAMI Akira pointed out2. We will return to this point when we discuss dependent nouns below. The patterns ...koto ga dekiru [koto NOM can.NONPST] ‘can …’ and ...koto ni suru [koto DAT do/make.NONPST] ‘decide on …, make into …’ are similar in type.

Next are some examples of nouns like hanasi ‘story’ and ziken ‘incident’ and the like.

(43)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{“Kataboo”} & \text{wa} & \text{keti} & \text{de} & \text{koyoovoku.na} & \text{Akanishiya.Rinbei} \\
\text{Katabō} & \text{TOP} & \text{stingy} & \text{COP.GER greedy.ADN} & \text{Akanishiya.Rinbei} \\
\text{ga} & \text{sannin} & \text{no} & \text{musuko} & \text{ni} & \text{zibun} & \text{ga} \\
\text{NOM} & \text{three.persons} & \text{GEN} & \text{son} & \text{DAT self NOM} \\
\text{sindara}, & \text{dooiu} & \text{katati} & \text{de} & \text{soosiki} \\
\text{die.COND} & \text{what.kind form} & \text{INS funeral} \\
\text{o} & \text{suru} & \text{ka} & \text{kiite} & \text{mite,} & \text{ki} \\
\text{ACC} & \text{do.NONPST} & \text{Q} & \text{ask.GER} & \text{see.GER spirit} \\
\text{ni} & \text{itta} & \text{soosiki} & \text{no} & \text{teiansya} \\
\text{DAT} & \text{insert.PST} & \text{funeral} & \text{GEN proposer} \\
\text{ni} & \text{zaisan} & \text{o} & \text{watasoo} & \text{to} & \text{suru} \\
\text{DAT} & \text{estate} & \text{ACC hand.over.PRES QUOT do.NONPST} \\
\text{hanasi} & \text{dearu.} \\
\text{story} & \text{COP.NONPST} \\
\end{array}
\]

““Katabō” is the story of how the stingy, greedy Rinbei Akanishiya tried asking his three sons what kind of funeral they would hold when he died and proposed to hand over his estate to the one whose proposal he liked best.’

(Rakugo)

(44)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{“Konzyaku.Monogatari”} & \text{ni} & \text{aru} \\
. Konjaku Monogatari & \text{LOC exist.NONPST} \\
\text{Hujiwara.no.Yasumasa} & \text{ga} & \text{oonusubito} \\
\text{Fujiwara.no.Yasumasa} & \text{NOM} & \text{great.thief} \\
\end{array}
\]
Hakamadare.Yasusuke o syuhuku se.simeta
Hakamadara.Yasusuke ACC submit do.CAUS.PST
hanasi wa yuumei dearu ga,
story TOP famous COP.NONPST but ‘The story in Konjaku Monogatari of Fujiwara.no.Yasumasa forcing the great thief Hakamadare.Yasusuke to submit is famous, but …’
(SHIODA Ryōhei, Nihon Bungakushi)

Yaoya-san ga monokage de daikon ni
greengrocer NOM shadows LOC radish DAT
kossori doro o nurituketa no o,
secretly mud ACC rub.on.PST one ACC
syuhu ga vorokonde katte iku
housewife NOM happily buy.GER go.NONPST
manga ga atta.
cartoon NOM exist.PST ‘There was a cartoon in which housewives happily bought up daikon radishes that the greengrocer had secretly coated with mud.’
(Asahi Shinbun ‘Konnichi no mondai ‘Today’s Problems’ – ‘Shizenshoku ‘natural foods’’)

Kono toki, ippan no simin ga
this time general GEN citizen NOM
makikomarete husyoo suru toiu
caught.up.in.PASS.GER receive,wound do.NONPST
ziken ga guuhatu sita.
incident NOM suddenly.occur do.PST ‘This time an incident broke out in which ordinary citizens were caught up and wounded.’
(Asahi Journal)

“Toozituken wa zenbu urikitte.
. same-day.tickets TOP all sell.out.GER
hozyoken o dasu sawagi yo”
supplementary.tickets ACC put.out.NONPST uproar SFP ‘The disturbance over the same-day tickets selling out and them issuing supplementary tickets’
(ITSUKI Hiroyuki)

[Amerika eiga no “Aru yoru no dekigoto” to,
American movie GEN . certain night GEN happening and
rakugo no “Osetu Tokusaburoo” to wa]
The American movie “It Happened One Night” and the rakugo narration “Osetsu Tokusaburō” are exactly the same in that they both call for human freedom via freedom to love and the thing called marriage and in that both dramas are structured to have as their climax scene the bride fleeing the place the marriage ceremony is held at the climax seeking her freedom.’

(Rakugo)

5.3.2 Words like *kekka* ‘result, outcome’

The noun *kekka* ‘result, outcome’ is a noun having the quality of “relativity” to be examined later in section 5.5, but, as seen here, it can also be used as a normal noun taking a content-supplementing modifying clause based on its factivity. When, as is the case here, the modifying clause expresses the content of the result, the clause may include *toiu*. (When it expresses “reverse supplementary content” based on its “relativity”, *toiu* is not used.) The English noun “result” has similar qualities. The use seen in

as the result of his assassination

is an example of what is called here “reverse supplementary content” and in this case it cannot be restated as

*as the result that he was assassinated.

In contrast, when the clause expresses the content of the result, the noun “result” can take a that clause (appositive clause) like

with the result that ….

We will give a number of examples of *kekka* with content supplementary modifying clauses. *Hame* ‘(unpleasant) circumstances’ and *simatu* ‘end result (usually bad)’ are similar, but since *hame* is seldom if ever used independently without a modifier, we should probably
consider it to have moved on to becoming a formal noun.

(49) Aru syuukansi no kizi ni.yoru.to, aru yuuryoku_na kookoku.dairiten no, powerful.ADN advertising.agency GEN saikin no tyoosa dewa, terebi.bangumi most.recent GEN survey on.TOP TV.program de surira_mono ga “omosiroi” to LOC thriller NOM interesting QUOT kotaeta paasentaazi wa, Tōkyō.Hansin tomo answer.PST percentage TOP Tōkyō-Hanshin both zyosei no hoo ga dansei yorimo female GEN alternative NOM male than 4.5% kara 18.9% hodo uwamawatte iru from as.much.as surpass.GER be.NONPST soo.dearu. Komedi ya merodorama, it.is.reported Comedy and melodrama hoomu.dorama nado yorimo suriraa-dorama family.sitcom etc. than thriller-drama no hoo ga zyosei ni ukete GEN alternative NOM female DAT accept.GER iru toiu kekka ga deta toiu no be.NONPST result NOM emerge.PST NMLZ dearu. COP.NONPST ‘According to a certain weekly news magazine, on a certain advertising agency’s most recent survey, the percentage answering that “thriller-type” programs were interesting was from 4.5% to as much as 18.9% higher for females than for males. That is, the results emerged that “thriller-dramas” are better received by females than comedies, melodramas, or family sitcoms.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Kuroi Techō ‘Black Notebook’)
It was intended to implement the policy to having both Japanese and Chinese studies with the establishment of universities after the move to Tokyo. However, in the midst of the rivalry between them, the result came about that they yielded their position to Western studies, which substantively reflected the demands of society.

(KATSUDA Shuichi, NAKAUCHI Toshio, *Nihon no Gakkō ‘Japan’s Schools’*)

For some reason these past several years orders for translations have been piling up one after another and, at some time or other, it ended up resulting in linking my name with the lowest ranks of semi-professional translators, and probably I myself am the most surprised at this.

(HIRAOKA Tokuyoshi – *Asahi Shinbun*)
(52) If an official divorce should be formalized and if, perchance, I should end up in the predicament of her demanding a settlement, I have nothing like the assets sufficient make such a payment possible.

(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, Kaishi)

(53) When Shingo emerged from the waiting room at the company party, he was seated in the last car and ended up in the predicament of being made to see the geisha home.

(KAWABATA Yasunari, Yama no Oto)

5.3.3 Words like unmei ‘fate’, syukumei ‘mission’, minoue ‘one’s circumstances’, or kyoogu ‘circumstances’

These nouns are also ones that take content modifying clauses. However, the modifying clauses do not include a nominative naninani ga ‘something, something NOM’ phrase. (Other cases do appear.) These noun phrases are of a type whose content can be expressed by a predicate alone. That is to say, they are in a conclusive form preserving the form of a clause, but compared to the nouns in sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, with which there is modal content in the modifying clauses, they could be said to be incomplete. These nouns are always the fate or future of “someone or something” and the subject of the modifying
clauses is always this “someone or something”. Let us call such nouns “dependent nouns” for the time being. Noun modification clauses that have dependent nouns as their base nouns have some structural characteristics in common. For example, in (54) the modifying clause is “kami ni ... otiita” but the (semantic) subject of the verb otiita is a noun already appearing outside the clause marked with ga [NOM] (watasi ga ‘I NOM’ in this case) and at the same time it is what the minoue is dependent on.

(54)  Watasi ga ikahodo anata o sitaikogarete
      I NOM how.much you ACC burn.with.desire.GER

mo, kami ni norowarete kaituu no
even god DAT curse.PASS.GER in.the.ocean GEN

gyozoku ni otiita minoue dewa,
fish DAT fall.PST circumstances COP.GER.TOP

tada bonnoo no honoo ni kurui,
mere desire GEN flame DAT be.crazed.ADVL

moosoo no dorei to natte,
delusion GEN slave QUOT become.GER

modaekurusimu bakari na no
writhe.suffer.NONPST only COP.ADN NMLZ

desu.
COP.NONPST

‘However much I may burn with desire for you, with my fate being to be cursed by the gods and fall among the fishes of the sea, I simply twist in the flames of base desire and writhe in suffering as a slave to delusion.’

(TANIZAKI Junichirō, Ningyo no Nageki ‘The plaint of the merman’)

The following have the same kind of structure.

(55)  Tanin kara dake dewanai. Zibun demo
       others from only COP.NEG.NONPST self COP.GER.even

zibun o norowaneba naranu unmei
self ACC curse.NEG.PROV become.NEG.NONPST fate

ga tasika ni kono otoko o yugamete ita.
NOM certain.ADVL this man ACC warp.GER be.PST

‘It was not just from others. The fate of having himself to curse himself certainly warped the man.’

(ENDÔ Shûsaku, Shiroi Hito)

(56)  Dewa, suiri.syoosetu to hutuu no syoosetu to
       well.then mystery.novel and ordinary GEN novel and

wa onazi nazo o atukai.nagara doko ga
‘Well then, even though they may deal with the same riddle, what distinguishes the mystery novel and the ordinary novel? In the case of the mystery novel, it has the mission that, at the end anything and everything must all be resolved. However, with an ordinary novel, even if as much as half is resolved and there is no resolution of the rest, it doesn’t matter at all.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Kuroi Techō*)

5.3.4 Nouns like *syuukan* ‘custom’, *huusyuu* ‘custom’, *kuse* ‘(bad) habit’

Since most of these are also dependent nouns, the modifying clauses do not include nominative case nouns.

57  

(57)  

Ryoosi wa, *kaizyoo* de *suisinin* ni

fishermen TOP sea.surface LOC drowning.victim DAT

*deau* to, *kore* o “*nagare.hotoke*” to

run.into.NONPST when this ACC drifting.buddha QUOT

*i* ryooun o sazukete kureru

call.ADVL good.luck.fishing ACC grant.GER give.NONPST

*mono* to *site*, yorokobu *huusyuu*

thing QUOT make.GER rejoice.NONPST custom

*ga* aru.

NOM exist.NONPST

‘The fishermen have a custom of rejoicing when they find a floater (drowning
victim) at sea, calling it a “drifting Buddha” and believing it is something that brings good luck in fishing.”

(Nihongo no Rekishi I)

Noun modification constructions with nouns like these as the base noun generally, overwhelmingly, take the form “$NP_1\text{ ni }...\text{ NP}_2\text{ ga aru [NP}_1\text{ LOC }...\text{ NP}_2\text{ NOM exist]}” (or “$NP_2\text{ da [NP}_2\text{ COP]}” as a contracted form). Both the example above and the following are of this form.

(58) $\text{kono kuni no huzin wa te ni}$ this country GEN women TOP hand LOC

$mushihebi no movoo no irezumi o$ insect.snake GEN pattern GEN tattoo ACC

$suru hussyuu ga aru.$ do.NONPST custom NOM exist.NONPST

‘The women of this country have a custom pf putting a tattoo with a pattern of insects and snakes on their hands.’

(KAIONJI Chōgorō, Washi no Uta)

(59) $\text{Dannasama wa okarada ni ikenai}$ husband TOP body DAT be.bad.for.NONPST

$soode, hutuu no osatoo wa$ HEARSAY.GER ordinary GEN sugar TOP

$mesiagaranu syuukan desita.}$ eat.NEG.NONPST custom COP.PST

‘It was said to be bad for their health so there was a custom that the husbands would not eat ordinary sugar.’

(SAKAGUCHI Ango, Furenzoku Satsujin Jiken)

(60) $\text{Sikasi Kawasima.Ryuuikitii wa kyoori kara no}$ but Ryūkichi.Kawashima TOP hometown from GEN

$kooi o mu ni suru koto$ good.opinion ACC nothing DAT make.NONPST NMLZ

$no dekinai tatti datta.}$ GEN be.able.to.NONPST character COP.PST

‘However Ryūkichi Kawashima was of a character that he could not ignore the good wishes from his hometown.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Yowaki no Mushi)

(61) “$\text{Kimi wa, sutta tabako o, voku kesanaide}$ you TOP smoke.PST cigarette ACC well put.out.NEG.GER

$sutery seiisitu rasii na”$ discard.NONPST character seem.NONPST SFP

33
‘You appear to have the characteristic of discarding the cigarettes you have smoked without extinguishing them out completely.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Hansha)

62) Tikako wa hanasi ni mi o ireyru
Chikako TOP story in body ACC insert.NONPST

to, nao ikarigata ni naru
when even more square shoulders DAT become.NONPST

kuse de, ...
habit COP.GER
‘Chikako had the habit of squaring her shoulders even more when she physically got into her story, and …’

(Senbazuru)

The noun rei ‘example’ is similar to the above nouns semantically, but it appears to allow the appearance of nominative case nouns in the modifying clause.

63) Kono ziken hodo, iryuuhin ga sukunai
this incident extent things left behind NOM few

rei mo, tyotto mezurasii.
example also a little unusual NONPST
‘Examples of so few things being left behind as in this incident are somewhat unusual.’

(Shūkan Asahi 1968.11)

64) “di” o “ri” ni namatta mono de,
ACC DAT mispronounce.PST thing COP.GER

koninti no hutuugo ni natta rei
today GEN common language DAT become.PST example

wa, “tirimen” dearu. Tamakatuma ni mieta
TOP COP.NONPST Tamakatuma LOC appear.PST

Nobunaga-oo no gogen kaisetu ni
Mr. Nobunaga GEN word origin explanation DAT

sitagaeba, mukasi wa “tidimen” to
follow.PROV long ago TOP QUOT

ittaroo to no koto. Sasureba
say.PST.PRES QUOT GEN NMLZ thus do PROV

kore mo kodoku sita on’in henka
this also isolate.PST phonological change

no rei ni hikareyoo.
An example of *di* mispronounced as *ri* that has become a normal word is “tirimen [ʧiɾimɛn]”. If we follow Nobunaga’s explanation of its origin appearing in his work Tamakatsuma, it was probably pronounced “tidimen [ʧidimɛn]” or [ʧidʒimɛn]”. If this is the case, this, too, can probably be cited as an example of isolated phonological change.”

(Shinmura Izuru, *Kotoba no Rekishi* (65))

(65) Dannasama no mesiagari.mono ni kagitte,
husband GEN food DAT limit.GER
osatoo dake ga tokubetu no satoo.tubu no
sugar only NOM special GEN sugar.bowl GEN
osatoo o motiiru rei ni itasite
sugar ACC use.NONPST example DAT make.GER
orimasu no desu.
be.HUM.POL.NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST
‘It is that I am taking the example of how for the husband’s food alone, only the sugar from the special sugar container is used.’

(Sakaguchi Ango, *Furenzoku Satsujin Jiken* (67))

5.3.5 Nouns like *rekisi* ‘history’, *kako* ‘past’, *katei* ‘process’, *kioku* ‘memory’, *yume* ‘dream, and others like them

These nouns can be either dependent or not and can be used as either.

(66) Rooma to Karutago ga tatakatta rekisi
Rome and Carthage NOM fight.PST history
‘the history of Rome and Carthage fighting’

(67) Soren wa Sutaarin zidai ni seibu.kokkyo
Soviet.Union TOP Stalin era in western.border
no anzen o neratte, hankyoo nati
GEN safety ACC aim.at.GER anti.communist Nazi
seiken to hukasin.zyoovaku o
government with mutual.non-aggression.treaty ACC
musubi, Toohoo.anzen no tame.ni.mo
conclude.ADVL east.side.safety GEN for.the.sake.of.also
kore mo hankyoo.kooniti no kokuhu
this also anti-communist.anti-Japanese Nationalist.Chinese
o enzyo sita rekisi dearu.
ACC aid do.PST history COP.NONPST
‘The history is that in the Stalinist era the Soviet Union, aiming for peace on
its western borders concluded a mutual non-aggression pact with the anti-communist Nazis and for the sake of peace in the East aided the anti-communist, anti-Japanese Nationalist Chinese government.’

(Asahi Shinbun 1967.1)

(68) … to.sureba, Huziwa ni.yotte appaku
in.which.case Fujiwara by suppress

sareta kako o motu Nisinomiya
do.PASS.PST past ACC have.NONPST Nisinomiya-

Sahu no kooei ga, Huziwa bunka
minister no descendants NOM Fujiwara culture

ni teikoo o kanzidasu sono han’ei ,
DAT resistance ACC feel.start.NONPST than reflection

ga busi ya syomin no seikatu e
NOM warrior and commoner GEN life to

no aizyoo to natte arawareru
GEN affection QUOT become.GER appear.NONPST

koto wa, kiwamete sizen na suii
NMLZ TOP extremely natural.ADN progression
dearoo.
COP.PRES
‘In which case, it was probably an extremely natural progression for the descendants of the Minister of the Left Nishinomiya, who had a past in which they were oppressed by the Fujiwara clan, to feel a sense of resistance to the Fujiwara culture and as the reflection of that to appear as an affection for the lives of the warrior and commoner classes.’

(SHIODA Ryōhei, Nihon Bungakushi)

(69) Tensai Boppu de.sura, bongo to maraigo
genius Bopp COP.GER.even Sanskrit and Malaysian

to no dookei o ronzite, migoto ni
and GEN same.family ACC argue.GER splendid.ADV

sippai sita keireki mo aru.
fail do.PST history also exist.NONPST
‘Even the great (Franz) Bopp has the past history of arguing for a familial relation between Sanskrit and Malay, failing spectacularly.’

(SHINMURA Izuru, Kotoba no Rekishi)

(70) Hondoo yoko no boti ni sarusuberi
main.hall side GEN graveyard LOC crape.myrtle
I have a memory of the crape myrtle in the graveyard alongside of the main hall covered in yellow flowers, stretching out its branches with their yellow-green bark so low one could touch them, just barely above grave stones.

(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu, *Mida no Mai*)

I could still hear the sound of the piano. It was one of those tunes that, although I have the memory of hearing it over and over again, I can never remember its name.

(ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Shiroi Hito*)

The depth to which one is moved by Kabuki or the new faction or new drama
performances is different but I don’t remember laughing from the heart to this extent ever before until now.’

(KAWAGUCHI Matsutarō, Yaburekabure)

(73) Butai no ue de Zimii Ruisu ga ireba o stage GEN top LOC Jimmy Lewis NOM false.teeth ACC

nakusi, toranpetto ga hukenaku lose.ADVL trumpet NOM blow.POSS.NEG.ADV

natta yume datta.
become.PST dream COP.PST

‘It was a dream of Jimmy Lewis losing his false teeth on stage and being unable to play the trumpet.’

(ITSUKI Hiroyuki)

(74) Kooki.na mibun ni umare, yoozi elite.ADN position DAT be.born.ADV time.as.infant

kara Genzi ni hikitorarete, sidai.ni zyosei from Genji DAT take.in.PASS.GER gradually woman

tosite no utukusisa o masite enman.na as GEN beauty ACC increase.GER harmonious.ADN

zinkaku o tukuridasu katei wa, sakusya personality ACC create.NONPST processTOP author

ga, semete kono.yoo.na zyosei mo arekasi NOM at.least this.kind.of woman even as.it.ought.to.be

to horiageta zyosei no risoozoo QUOT sculpture.PST woman GEN image.of.perfection
dearoo.

COP.PRES

‘The process in which she, born in a high estate, adopted as an infant by Genji, gradually increased her beauty as a woman and created a harmonious personality, this must at least have been the author’s image of the perfect woman who was everything a woman ought to be.

(SHIODA Ryōhei, Nihon Bungakushi)

(75) “Torikaebaya” no sakusya wa otoko da . Torikaebaya GEN author TOP man COP.NONPST

to iwareru ga, saisvoo ni QUOT say.PASS.NONPST but prime.minister DAT

dansoo o miyaburareta disguise.in.men’s.clothes ACC see.through.PASS.PST
The author of “Torikaebaya” is said to be a man, but the process of the young woman disguised as a man being discovered by the prime minister and then gradually being awakened to her feminine emotions after giving her body to him is certainly not something that a man could write.

(SHIODA Ryōhei, Nihon Bungakushi)

5.3.6 Nouns like kanoosei ‘possibility’

These nouns are also used in both a dependent way and in a non-dependent way.

(76) Tyuugoku ga Nisi-Doitu no kakugizyutu
China NOM West.Germany GEN nuclear.technology

doonyuu o hakaru kanoosei ga aru.
introduction ACC plan.NONPST possibility NOM exist.NONPST

‘There is a possibility that China will attempt to bring in West German nuclear technology.’

(Asahi Shinbun)

(77) Koonan.kaigan no zuuumin ga nanika no
Jiangnan.coast GEN residents NOM some GEN

cizyoo de dantaiteki.ni Wakoku.kaigan ni
circumstances INS as.a.group coast.of.the.country.Wa LOC

hyootyaku sita koto nivoru mono dearu
drift.asore do.PSTNMLZ by.means.of thing COP.NONPST

koosan ga ooi.
probability NOM many

‘There’s a large probability that it is something due to the residents of the
coast of Jiangnan through some circumstances being washed ashore as a group on the coast of Wâ (ancient Japan).’

ANDÔ Kôtârô, Nihon Kodai Inasakushi Kenkyû ‘Studies on Rice Cultivation in Ancient Japan’)

(78) Kanozyo wa sasiatari, siite osaetukeyyo
she TOP for.the.present by.force pin.down.INT
to sureba handooteki ni gekihatu suru
QUOT do.PROV in.reaction have.a.fit do.NONPST
osore mo aru.
fear also exist.NONPST
‘There’s also a concern at present that if one tries to pin her down by force, she may throw a fit in reaction.’

(TANIZAKI Junichirô Sasameyuki)

(79) Kanozyo no osore wa, imakoko de, seppun
she GEN fear TOP here.and.now LOC kiss
sitari, moo.itido hooyoo
do.REPRESENTATIVE another.time hug
sitari suru voo.na koto
do.REPRESENTATIVE do resemble.ADN NMLZ

o Kaneda ni sidekasareru
ACC Kaneda DAT do.PASS.NONPST

osore ni kawatte itta.
fear DAT change.GER go.PST
‘Her worry changed to an apprehension that she may be kissed or hugged again right here and now by Kaneda.’

(KAWANO Taeko, Kaiten tobira)

(80) Sisi ni osowareru urei mo
lion DAT attack.PASS.NONPST anguish also
naku, banzoku ni obiyakasu
exist.NEG.ADVL savages DAT threaten.PASS.NONPST

sinpai mo nai.
worry also exist.NEG.NONPST
‘There is no anguish about being attacked by lions and there is no worry of being threatened by the savage tribes.’

(INAGAKI Taruho, Kibun)

(81) Tokyo, Kyooto no baai wa sigaiti no
Tokyo, Kyoto GEN case TOP urban.area GEN
In the case of Tokyo or Kyoto, there’s the advantage that, precisely because it the middle of an urban area, one can quickly hide oneself in the crowd after committing a crime. On the other hand, one never knows when a crime scene might be witnessed in the dark or from a hotel window.

(Shūkan Asahi, 1968.11)

5.3.7 Nouns like sagyoo ‘operations’, sigoto ‘job’, or yakuwari ‘role’

(82) Kondo setti sareru “yobidasiki” wa, this.time install do.PSAA.NONPST summoner TOP

zengiin ni issei ni denwa ga all.legislators DAT at.once telephone NOM

kakari, rokuon sita teepu o be.called.ADVL record do.PST tape ACC

mawasitudukeru sikake ni continue.to.play.NONPST mechanism DAT

natte iru. become.GER be.NONPST

‘The “summoning machine” that is to be installed this time is a set up in which a telephone call is made to all legislators at once and a prerecorded tape is continuously played.’

(Newspaper 1967.1)

(83) Gunkan maati ga nagaretara, mi ni
battleship march NOM be.played.COND body LOC

*oboe* no *aru* mono wa *subayaku* sugata
memory GEN exist.NONPST TOP quick.ADVL shape

*o*** kakusu sikumi datta.
ACC hide.NONPST set.up COP.PST
‘The set up was that, when they played the naval march, everyone who had any memory of it would quickly hide.’

*(Shūkan Asahi 1965.6)*

(84) *Mizukaenisoku wa koonai ni wakideru*
mizukaenisoku TOP inside.a.mine LOC gush.forth.NONPST

*mizu o tattoo de kumiage,*
water ACC iron.bucket INS scoop.up.ADVL

teguri ya kurumabiki de
pass.hand/to/hand and pull.cart INS

dandan.ni ue ni agete soto
gradually top LOC raise.GER outside

*ni nagasidasu sagyoo datta.*
to make.flow.NONPST operation COP.PST
‘“Mizukaenisoku was the job of scooping up the water that flowed into the mine and either passing the buckets up hand to hand or dragging them up on a cart gradually to the top and then dumping it.’

*(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Mushokujin Betchō)*

(85) *Watasi wa, zikan toiu mono ni ningen no*
I TOP time thing LOC human GEN

*kokoro o sidai.ni husyoku site*
heart ACC gradually rot do.GER

*iku sayoo ga aru koto* go.NONPST effect NOM exist.NONPST NMLZ

*o, sitte wa inakatta.*
ACC know.GER TOP be.NEG.PST
‘I hadn’t realized that this thing called time had the effect of gradually rotting a man’s heart.’

*(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, Kaishi)*

(86) *Kono biwa.hoosi ga korera no monogatari o*
this blind.monk NOM these GEN stories ACC

*kataru toiu koto, sunawati, rekisi o kataru*
tell.NONPST NMLZ that.is history ACC tell.NONPST
It is thought to have been from around the middle of the thirteenth century that these blind monks had the role of relating these stories, that is, of relating history.

(TOMIKURA Tokujirō, Nihon Bungakishi)

Since the year before last, we have not just been selling in the shop, but we added three Japanese-style rooms on the second floor and started the business of serving food like sukiyaki and the like.

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Katachi)

Warrioring is a business that has fighting as its subject.

The high priest was a man of superior ready wit and had a hobby of creating satirical verse.

(TOMOKURA, Nihon Bungakishi)

Since the year before last, we have not just been selling in the shop, but we added three Japanese-style rooms on the second floor and started the business of serving food like sukiyaki and the like.

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Katachi)

Warrioring is a business that has fighting as its subject.

The high priest was a man of superior ready wit and had a hobby of creating satirical verse.
5.3.8  *Hoohoo* ‘method’, *zyunbi* ‘preparation’, *sikaku* ‘qualifications’, *mokuteki* ‘goal’, and other nouns for which the modifying clause expresses “in order to” or “precisely because”

(90)  *Syoosuu*   *ga*   *tasuu*   *ni*   *taikoo*   *suru*

minority.party NOM majority.party DAT resist do.NONPST

*hoohoo*   *wa*   *kihonteki*   *niwa*   *genron*   *dearu.*

method TOP basically.TOP speech COP.NONPST

‘The method by which the minority party opposes the majority is primarily verbal expression.’

(Newspaper)

(91)  *Watasitati*   *ga*   *Rion*   *e*   *hairu*   *zyunbi*

we NOM Lyon into enter.NONPST preparation

*o*   *site*   *ita*   *kugatu*   *tuitati*   *no*   *mimei*....

ACC do/GER be.PST September first GEN predawn

‘the predawn hours of September 1 when we were making preparations to enter Lyon’

(92)  *Kyozin*   *ga*   *nanakai*   *ni*   *Miyata*   *o*   *okutta*   *no*

Giants NOM seventh.inning LOC Miyata ACC send.PST NMLZ

*wa*   *itten*   *de*   *nigekomu*   *saku*   .*

TOP one.point INS get.out.NONPST strategy

dearu COP.NONPST

‘The Giants sending in Miyata in the seventh inning was a strategy to get out with one point.’

(Asahi Shinbun 1969.4)

(93)  *Kono*   *yubiato*   *no*   *uzu*   *o,*   *kami*   *ni*

this fingerprint GEN grooves ACC paper DAT

*utusitoru*   *sandan*   *wa*   *gozaimasu*   *ka.*

transfer.NONPST strategy TOP exist.POL.NONPST Q

‘Do you have an idea how to transfer the grooves of this finger print to paper?’

(Rikugorō)

(94)  *Donna*   *ni*   *kanasii*   *koto*   *ga*   *attemo,*

no.matter.how sad.NONPST matter NOM exist.GER.even

*Kumi*   *wa,*   *toozen*   *no*   *koto*   *no*

Kumi TOP of.course GEN matter GEN

*voo*   *ni*   *omoeru*   *syuuren*   *o*

as.thought think.POTEN.NONOST training ACC
accumulate.GER be.PST
‘Kumi had acquired the training to be able to consider even the saddest of matters a matter of course.’
(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu, *Mida no Mai*)

(95) *inasaku no minori o iwau*
rice.cultivation GEN fruition ACC celebrate.NONPST

*gyoozi ga okonowarete ita no mo* ....
events NOM conduct.PASS.GER be.PSTNMLZ also
‘that events to celebrate the fruition of the rice cultivation were also held ….’
(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Kodaishigi*)

(96) *Yose. Omae ni wa hito o*
stop.IMP you DAT TOP person ACC

*ai.suru sikaku nanka nai*
love.NONPST qualification things.like exist.NEG.NONPST

*hazu da.*
expectation COP.NONPST
‘Stop it! You aren’t qualified to love anyone.’
(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, *Kaishi*)

(97) *Sore o hippariageru tikara wa*
that ACC haul.up.NONPST strength TOP

*moo nokotte inakatta.*
any.more remain.GER be.NEG.PST
‘I no longer had the strength left to haul it up.’

There are cases in which *toiu* can appear between the modifying clause and the base noun and cases in which it is impossible. *tame.no* ‘for the sake of’ and *dake.no* ‘just for, enough for’ often appear.

(98) *Tumari, ano, yoo.suru.ni, boku wa sono*
in.other.words that in.short I TOP that

*hito yori dame na n desyoo*
person than no.good COP.ADN NMLZ COP.PRES

*ka. Tumari, anata no*
Q in.other.words you GEN

*kon’yakusya to naru* tame.no *sikaku*
fiancé QUOT become.NONPST qualification
to iimasu ka, ....
‘That is, I mean, in short, is it that I’m worse that that guy? In other words, the qualifications to become your fiancé, so to speak, ....’
(ISHIKAWA Tatsuzō, Shareta Kankei)

(99) Omae wa oborete iru hito o
you TOP drown.GER be.NONPST person ACC
tasukeru dake.no tikara o motte
save.NONPST strength ACC have.GER

iru no ka
be.NONPST NMLZ Q
‘Do you have the strength needed to save a drowning person?’
(ISHIKAWA Tatsuzō, Shareta Kankei)

(100) Ore ni wa “Ore wa moo omae ga
I DAT TOP I TOP already you NOM
iwa ni natta” to, kanozyo ni
dislike DAT become.PST Q her DAT
men.to.mukatte iikiru dake.no yuuki
face.to.fact state.NONPST courage
wa oroka, soo kangaeru yuuki
TOP unthinkable thus think.NONPST courage

sae.mo nakatta.
even exist.NEG.PST
‘I didn’t even have the courage to think, “I hate you”, let alone the courage to say it to her face.’
(SATOMI Ton, Zenshin Akushin)

Hituyoo ‘necessity’ and mokuteki ‘goal’ can be considered to be somewhat different from the above, but I will put them here.

(101) Motomoto hutari wa koibito demo
fundamentally two.people YOP lovers COP.GER.also

nan.demo.nai kara koso,
anything.COP.GER.also.NEG.NONPST since precisely

koinaka.rasiku miseru hituyoo
in.a.love.relationship.seem.ADVL show.NONPST necessity

garu no desu.
NOM exist.NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST
‘Precisely because the two were not lovers or anything like lovers it was
necessary for them to (act in a way to) seem to be in a love relationship.’
(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Kuroi Techō)

The nouns in this section are, for the most part, “dependent” nouns.


5.4 Nouns of perception and the contents of the perceptions

In Section 5.2 we examined nouns of speech and thought and in Section 5.3 factive nouns. In both the case of thought nouns and fact nouns, the content of the modifying clause is conceptual. However, in human cognition, in addition to intellectual and conceptual aspects, there is also perceptual cognition. Verbs like miru ‘see’, kiku ‘hear’, niou (kagu) ‘smell’, aziwau ‘taste’, (sawatte) kanziru ‘feel (by touching)’ and the like, express such actions, as do nouns like sugata ‘figure’, katati ‘shape’, iro ‘color’, oto ‘sound’, nioi ‘smell’, azi ‘taste, flavor’, kansyaku ‘feel, sensation’ as well as e ‘picture’, syasin ‘photograph, or kookei ‘scene’ and many others.

Just as intellectual and conceptual content can be expressed in the form of a sentence, so also can perceptual and cognitive content be described in the form of a sentence. Even from the limited forms of otome no sugata ‘the figure of a girl’ and kisya no oto ‘the sound of a steam train’ we can form some sort of image in our minds but, in order to make the images more explicit, to describe what kind of girl’s figure or train’s sound, not only can we add adjectives like utukusii ‘beautiful’ or sizuka.na ‘quiet’, we can also add more to get otome no (ga) ta de ine o koku sugata ‘the figure of the girl stripping the rice plants in the fields’ or kisya no (ga) yukkuri ugokihazimeru oto ‘the sound of the steam train slowly starting to move’.

In this pattern of noun modification, the form toiu never appears between the modifying clause and the base noun. Also, the nominative case particle ga is easily replaced by the genitive case particle no.

Also, the pattern otome ga ta de ine o koku sugata [girl NOM field LOC rice.plant ACC strip.NONPST figure] can be changed to ta de ine o koku otome no sugata [field LOC rice.plant ACC strip.NONPST girl GEN figure] with practically no change in meaning.

Over all, it is normal for these to show “someone’s” or “something’s” figure or sound and, in this sense they are often “dependent” nouns (that is, commonly the nominative case ga appears outside the modifying part), but there are also many cases when they do not have this use. Below are some examples for consideration.

(102) Kyuuzyo.tati ga muragatte mizu o kumi, servant.women NOM gather.GER water ACC scoop.up.ADVL nuno o aratte ita sugata mo cloth ACC wash.GER be.PST figure also
One can imagine as if in a picture the image of the servant women gathering to draw water and wash the clothes.

(OSARAGI Jirō, Asuka no Haru)

In the Mumyōshō, written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is written down (a description of) the image of the blind itinerant monks bringing with them a young blind person going down to Kamakura.

(TOMIKURA Kenjirō, Nihon Bungakushi)

Finally, Shoko threw him a smile, a pretense at love, and quickly left the room. She could sense with her back the image of him standing frozen in place.

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Seisoku Bunpu)

I see the image of him standing frozen in place.

(Watasi soro)
I'm not saying I saw it with my own eyes, but one could vividly sense as if it happened before one’s eyes the image of the warm, white breast milk gushing out into the greenish-brown frothy tea in the dark tea bowl, leaving a drop behind as it stopped and the image of the calm surface of the frothy tea clouded by the white milk.

(MISHIMA Yukio, Kinkakuji)

He thought he put it in the water and surprise the newt. The image of it clumsily walking swinging its body from side to side came to mind.

(SHIGA Naoya, Shiro no Misaki nite)
the recollection came to mind of how, while he lived, Sasuke would diligently
serve Shunkin, attending to her as if accompanying her in the form of her
shadow …

(TANIZAKI Junichirō, Shunkinshō)

(I sensed someone silently opening the door to the sickroom.)

(ENDÔ Shûsaku, Sono Zenjitsu)

‘turning red when he sensed the women all turning around at once, Kikuji, …’

(KAWABATA Yasunari, Senbazuru)

‘In accordance with the image I myself had been given, I also pretended to
pray piously in the temple.’

(ENDÔ Shûsaku, Shiroi Hito)
One day a prisoner called Fujisō was looking out, his face pressed against the small window of their cell, and he saw the scene of two children catching dragonflies and putting them in their mouths. By this he knew that the children were not being given any real food.

(ENDŌ Shūsaku, Sono Zenjitsu)

It’s not unusual for a couple to come in and for them to be engaged in intimate conversation with a medium stein before him and a large one before her.

(Newspaper 1968.6)

‘Here and there could be seen people slapping one another on the shoulders.'
and shaking hands.’
(Newspaper)

(114) Karera wa kintyookan no naka nimo,
they TOP tension GEN inside LOC.even
kansyoo no nai kaihoosareta
interference GEN exist.NEG.NONPST free.PASS.PST
gassyuku seikatu o, musiro tanosinde
boarding.house life ACC rather enjoy.GER
iru kuuki sae atta.
be.NONPST atmosphere even exist.PST
‘Even in the midst of the tension, there was an atmosphere of them enjoying
their boarding house life, free of interference.’
(Asahi Journal 1969.2)

(115) Kooethei ga senro no ue o aruite
Red.Guard NOM tracks GEN above ACC walk.GER
iru syasin
be.NONPST photo
‘a photograph of a Red Guard walking along the tracks’

(116) ooki.na me no zyosei ga oogi o
big.ADN eyes GEN woman NOM folding.fan ACC
katate ni site kasuka.ni
one.hand LOC do.GER faint.ADVL
hohoende iru e
smile.GER be.NONPST picture
‘a picture of a woman with big eyes holding a folding fan in one hand and
smiling faintly’

(117) Sono.tudo Makino-san no nigawarai.suru
each.time Ms. Makino GEN wry.smile.do.NONPST
kao ga me ni ukabi ...
face NOM eye LOC float.ADV
‘Each time I saw Makino’s face with its wry smile’
(IBUSE Masuji, Banshun no Tabi)

(118) Huyu ni naru to sasuga.ni hako
winter DAT become.NONPST when for.sure box
kara dasareta ga asayuu ga
from put.out.PST but morning.and.evening NOM
When winter, they were let out of the box as expected but the mornings and evenings were cold. Up on the mountain behind the house, there was the sound of something breaking. It was tree branches breaking from the cold.

(ENDÔ Shûsaku, *Sono Zenjitsu*)

The sound of the footsteps of someone passing on the other side of the Chinese screen

(TANIZAKI Jun’ichirō, *Akuma*)

The nun, Kakuen, a voice, “You! You Okumi?”

(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu, *Mida no Mai*)

The smell of fish grilling

(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu, *Mida no Mai*)

The smell of someone grilling fish

('The smell of a rotten egg

('The smell of someone grilling fish

('The smell of a rotten egg

('The smell of someone grilling fish
iru
be.NONPST
nioi
smell
'the smell of someone smoking a cigar'

(125) Pazyama no uwagi o toru to,
pajama GEN jacket ACC take.NINPST when
hiyari.tosita
cold.ADN
kuuki
air
hada
skin
ni
in
simiru.
Hidarite o agete,
watasi wa
pierce.NONPST left.arm ACC raise.GER I TOP
kangohu no kamisori ga waki o
nurse GEN razor NOM armpit ACC
ugoku kansyoku o warai o
move.NONPST sensation ACC laughter ACC
koraenagara gaman suru.
surpress.while endure do.NONPST
‘When I removed my pajama jacket, the cold air penetrated my skin. I raised my left arm and endured the sensation of the nurse moving the razor over my underarm, holding back my laughter.’
(ENDŌ Shūsaku, Sono Ženjitsu)

5.5 “Relative” nouns and supplementation of relative concepts (“reverse supplementation”)

In the constructions we have examined in sections 5.2 through 5.4 above, the modifying clause supplements or explains the content of the base noun.

In the constructions we will example below as well, the modifying clause supplies the content of the base noun, but the way it does so is the reverse of the constructions previously examined. We have already touched on this in sections 3 and 4, but with a noun like kekka ‘result’, although there are cases in which the modifying clause supplies the content, as in (50), there are also cases like (126) in which the content of the base noun is provided in the bolded portion following the base noun rather than in the modifying part. The modifying part gives the “cause” that gives birth to the result.

(50) Kookan.nigaku o tyuusin to suru
Japan.China.two.disciplines ACC core QUOT make.NONPST
toiu hoosin wa, Tookyoo e uttte kara
policy TOP Tōkyō to move.GER after
no daigaku.kensetu ni mo turanukareyoo to
GEN founding.of.university LOC also carry.out.PASS.PRES QUOT
It was intended to implement the policy to having both Japanese and Chinese studies with the establishment of universities after the move to Tokyo. However, in the midst of the rivalry between them, the result came about that they yielded their position to Western studies, which substantively reflected the demands of society.'

(KATSUDA Shuichi, NAKAUCHI Toshio, *Nihon no Gakkō ‘Japan’s Schools’*)

The result of the modern education system and content that Japan has tried to create along the Western model has, contrary to the intent, been to weaken the power of reform from within.'

(Nihon no Gakkō)

When one says (127), the place where we are studying is “below” and “above” is where people are practicing judo.

(Nihon no Gakkō)
site  ita.
do.GER be.PST
‘Above where we were studying someone was practicing judo.’

This is a use that should be noted of nouns that basically have a relative meaning, like ue ‘above’ ↔ sita ‘below’, mae ‘before’ ↔ ato ‘after’, or mae ‘front’ ↔ usiro ‘behind’. If one searches for examples of this usage, a surprising number turn up. These could perhaps even be said to be a characteristic of Japanese.

Long ago MATSUSHITA Daizaburō in his categorization of nouns set up the category of sōtai meishi ‘relative nouns’³. He gave as examples words like oya ‘parent’, ko ‘child’, syuzin ‘master’, kerai ‘servant’, teki ‘enemy’, mikata ‘ally’, nakama ‘friend’, ue ‘above’, sita ‘below, and (mae kara) sanninme [(front from) third.person] ‘the third person (from the front)’. These, however, were ones whose lexical and semantic characteristics had attracted his notice, not structural characteristics. Since we are focusing on the interplay between syntax and semantics in this work, with regard to calling something “relative” also, only when the semantic characteristics of such nouns correlate with the composition of the noun modification constructions considered in this section will we call them “relative nouns” and call for recording such in the lexicon. Among Matsushita’s “relative nouns”, some like ue ↔ sita are relative in the sense we are using the term here and others, like titi ‘father’ ↔ ko ‘child’ or syuzin ‘master’ ↔ kerai ‘servant’, cannot be considered to enter noun modification like that considered here and will not be considered “relative”.

(128) Iki o nonde kyuuteisya. kudakeru
breath ACC swallow.GER emergency.stop crumble.NONPST

yoo.ni taiva no kisimu mae o,
as.though tire GEN screech.NONPST front ACC

migite no zoobokubayasi kara
right.hand GEN brush from

tobidasita wakai onna wa …
jump.out.PST young.NONPST woman TOP

hidarite no hatake o kakesatta.
left.hand GEN field ACC run.leave.PST
‘A sudden stop, catching my breath in my throat. A young woman, who jumped out of the bushes on the right, just in front of where our tires screeched as if about to crumble to bits, … dashed off across the fields to the left.’

(ŌSHIRO Tatsuhiro, Nisei)

(129) Humiko ga suwatta usiro no mado
Fumiko NOM sit.PST behind GEN window

niwa, momiji ga aokatta.
LOC.TOP Japanese/maple NOM green.PST
‘In the window behind where Fumiko sat, the Japanese maple was green.’

(KAWABATA Yasunari, Senbazuru)
‘The cedar grove on the hill with a village shrine on the other side of the vacant lot shown a beautiful green.’

(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, Kaishi)

‘Even before his house burned, I could not help having a premonition arising in and of itself that there would be a fire.’

(AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, Haguruma)

‘During the three or four hundred years since it was made and before Madam Ota was the owner, what were the fates of those through whose hands this water jug passed.’

(KAWABATA Yasunari, Senbazuru)
There may be hints that scholarship was more advanced in places where flying ships were dreamed of, before the invention of trains, steamships, and automobiles, but, even so, one cannot treat Rasselas and Blériot as equivalent.

(Shinmura Izuru, Kotoba no Rekishi)

Ever since I came to Osaka four or five years ago (or, ever since four or five years before I came to Osaka), I've been in with the delinquents that hang around the Tenroku area.'

(Osaka Nichinichi Shinbun 1968.6.21)

(134) Oosaka ni dete.kita si.gonen mae kara
Osaka to come.out.PST 4,5-years earlier from

Tenroku kaiwai o urutuku
Tenma.6-chôme neighborhood ACC hang.around.NONPST

huryoo nakama ni haitta.
delinquent friends DAT enter.PST
'Ever since I came to Osaka four or five years ago (or, ever since four or five years before I came to Osaka), I've been in with the delinquents that hang around the Tenroku area.'

(135) Kare wa iku sakizaki de mendoo o
he TOP go.NONPST places LOC trouble ACC

hikiokosita.
stir.up.PST
'He stirred up trouble every place he went.'
(136) Taiho.sareru, zenzitu, sigatu nizyuuitiniti no arrest.PASS.NONPST day.before April 21 GEN yoru wa, Sinzyuku ni ita evening TOP Shinjuku LOC be.PST ‘The evening of April 21, the day before he was arrested, he was in Shinjuku.’ (Shūkan Asahi)

(137) Aru seisin.byoooin no mon o deta a.certain mental.hospital GEN gate ACC exit.PST noti, boku wa mata zidoosya ni nori, after I TOP again car DAT board.ADVL mae no hoteru ni kaeru koto previous GEN hotel to return.NONPST NMLZ ni sita. DAT do.PST ‘After exiting the gate of a certain mental hospital, I again got in the car and decided to return to the previous hotel.’ (AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, Haguruma)

(138) Mituo wa huzisawa.siyakusyo ni ate syoohon Mitsuo TOP Fujisawa.city hall to address extract no soohukata o tegami de irai.sita. GEN send ACC letter INS request.PST Takimura Eiko no kawa kara ieba Takimura Eiko GEN side from say.PROV ST osii koto ni, sore wa kanozyo ga regrettable.NONPST NMLZ ADVL that TOP she NOM siyakusyo no madoguti ni toiwaseto ikkagetugo city.hall GEN counter DAT inquire.PST one.month.after deatta. COP.PST ‘Mitsuo requested by letter addressed to the Fujisawa City Hall the sending of an extract (of his family register). Speaking from Eiko Takimura’s side, that was regrettable as that was a month after she had inquired at the City Hall service counter.’ (MATSUMOTO Seichō, Dansen)

(139) Kono.goro zibun wa, hukazake o sita vokuzitu these.days self TOP drink.heavily ACC do.PST next.day ni wa, izen ni mo masite nasakenai
OBL TOP before OBL even more pathetic

kimoti ni osowareru.
feeling DAT attack.PASS.NONPST
‘These days, the day after a night of heavy drinking, I am overcome by even more of a pathetic feeling than before.’
(IBUSE Masuji, Hakucho no Uta “Swan Song”)

(140) Demo haha ga sinda yoku-zitu kara, watasi wa
but mother NOM die.PST following.day from I TOP
haha o dandan utkusiku
mother ACC gradually beautiful.ADVL
kangaeru yoo ni narimasita yo.
think.NONPST appearance DAT become.POL.PST SFP
Watasi ga kangaeru n zyanaku, haha
I NOM think.NONPST NMLZ COP.NEG.ADVL mother
ga hitori de utkusiku natte kita
NOM alone INS beautiful.ADVL become.GER come.PST
to iu no desyoo ka.
QUOT say.NONPST NMLZ COP.PRES Q
‘But from the day after mother died, I gradually came to think of her as beautiful. Or should I say, it wasn’t that I thought it but that mother came to be beautiful all by herself.’
(KAWABATA Yasunari, Senbazuru)

(141) Yoru no aida ni tuyoi ame ga hutta
night GEN span in strong.NONPST rain NOM fall.PST
asa, sore koso muguisatta yoo.ni
morning that in.particular wipe.away.PST as.though
sora ga hareta toki ni, Yamato no
sky NOM clear.PST time at Yamato GEN
hara o enboo.sita koto ga atta.
plain ACC view.from.afar.PST NMLZ NOM exist.PST
‘There were times when, on the morning after a strong rain had fallen in the night, when the skies were clear as though that has wiped them clean, I would gaze out over the far off Yamato plain.’
(OSARAGI Jirō, Asuka no Haru)

(142) Syoowa.sanzyuuroku.nen no aki, Bungei Syunzyuu.sya
Showa.36.year GEN fall Bungei Shunjū-sha
no kooen.ryokoo de San’in e itta.
In the fall of Showa 36 (1961), I went to the San’in region on a Bungei Shunjū lecture tour. The morning after staying over in Yonago, I got up early, hired a car, and set out for my father’s hometown.

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Hansei no Kī)

It is probably difficult to consider the nouns like asa ‘morning’ in the above to be relative nouns, but these are examples of them used as relative nouns, aided by the preceding yoru no aida ni and tomatta. However, temporally the earlier event modifies the subsequent event and the reverse usage is impossible.

(143) {Advertisements in a train for a pub}

company LOC supervisor DAT scold.PASS.PST return
‘on your way home after being scolded by the boss’

friend with quarrel.PST return
‘on your way home after quarrelling with a friend’

somehow supervisor NOM cute.ADVL appear.PST return
‘on your way home after a day when your supervisor somehow looked cute’

(144) Sono hi no gogo, Masako wa
that day GEN afternoon Masako TOP

shopping DAT go.lout.PST return on Wakamiya.Ōji
‘On the afternoon of that day, Masako dropped in to Genjido on Wakamiya Oji, where they had Kamakura-bori lacquered carvings.’

(TACHIHARA Masaaki, Takiginō)

(145) Okamisan ga otukai ni deta rusu deatta.
「The proprietress was out on an errand. The maid greeted me gruffly, plonked a beer bottle down and opened the cap. Since she had been ordered to stay and watch over the establishment this flower viewing season, she was taking it out on the guests.」

(IBUSE Masuji, *Hakucho no Uta* “Swan Song”)

（146）Sonna koto o iu hito wa, kuusyuu.kehoo such thing ACC say.NONPST person TOP air.raid.warning
de dokoka no eki e orosaretta tuide ni, INS somewhere GEN station to drop.off.PASS.PST occasion
urenokori no mimikaki demo katta unsold GEN earpick COP.GER.even buy.PST
koto no aru no ga seiizei da. NMLZ GEN exist.NONPST NMLZ GEN at.most COP.NONPST
‘People who say such things are at most ones who, when dropped off at a station somewhere because of an air raid warning, bought up leftover earpicks or something.’

(NAGAI Tatsuo)

（147）Nihon wa daiitizi.taisen.zi niwa, Yooroppa.syokoku Japan TOP WWI.time at.TOP Europe.countries
no seiryoku ga tooyoo.sizyoo kara te o GEN influence NOM Asian.market from hand ACC
hiita sono suki ni, Tyuugoku, Nan’yoo e withdraw.PST that gap LOC China South.Pacific to
noridasite boromooke.sita, to get.on.board.GER make.easy.gains.PST when
‘It was the so-called nouveau riche period, when Japan moved into the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the countries of Europe from the Asian and Pacific markets at the time of the first world war and made money hand over fist, but ….’

(MAKINO Sumio, *En, Doru, Pondo*)

(148) *Iu to omou to, ningyo no karada wa kurage no yoo ni asaku natte, vagate, koori no tokeru ga gotoku kieuseta ato ni, ni san, syaku no, tiisa na umihebi ga, mizugame no naka o ukitusizumitu rokusyooiro no se o hikarase oyoide imasita.*

‘If I try to describe it, the body of the merman became transparent like a jellyfish and when finally like ice melting it faded away, in its place there was a small sea snake two or three feet long floating up and sinking down in the water vase by turns, swimming with its back shining green-blue.’

(TANIZAKI Junichirō, *Ningyo no Nageki ‘The plaint of the merman’*)

(149) *Yahei wa, teityoo ni rei o nobete Hikositi Yahei top polite ADVL thanks ACC say PST Hikoshichi no ie o deta.*

‘Yahei politely gave his thanks and left Hikoshichi’s house. Along the way returning from Sadatomo to Otaki, he was deep in thought.’

(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu, *Mida no Mai*)

(150) *Yadaiyu va Maze.Kuemon ga zuuzuusiku hirakinaotta haigo ni, motto kyooryoku na*
become.defiant.PST  background  LOC  more  strong.ADN
dareka ga  tuite  ita  no  dewanai  ka.
someone  affiliate.GER  be.PST  NMLZ  COP.NEG.NONPST  Q
‘There must be someone in the background of Yadaiyu and Kuemon Maze’s
to arrogantly turning defiant.’
(SUGIURA Minpei, Watanabe Kazan)

(151)  Yoreyore  no  syatu  no  mune  o  hadaketa
tattered  GEN  undershirt  GEN  chest  ACC  bare.PST
tisaku  yaseta  ziisan  ga,  okappa  no
small.ADVL  skinny  old.man  NOM  bobbed.hair  GEN
itutu  gurai  no  onnanoko  o  kosikakesaseta
five  about  GEN  girl  ACC  sit.CAUSE.PST
voko  de,  tatta  mama  yonde  ita.
beside  LOC  stand.PST  condition  call.GER  be.PST
‘Beside where the roughly five-year-old girl had been seated, a small, thin old
man in a tattered undershirt open at the neck was calling.’
(ENCHI Fumiko, Aijō no Keifu)

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

(153)  Watasi  niwa  koo.iu  kimoti  ga  aru.
I  LOC.TOP  this.kind  feeling  NOM  exist.NONPST
Hayaku  inaka  ni  kaeritai  hanmen
quick.ADVL  country  to  return.DESI.NONPST  one.hand
ni.  saigo  made  Tookyoo  ni  syuutyaku.site  itai
on  last  until  Tokyo  LOC  adhere.GER  be.DESI.NONPST
to  omou  kimoti  ga  aru.  Nanika
I feel like this. On the one hand, I feel like I want to return to the country and I have the feeling I want to stick to Tokyo until the very end. Everytime something unpleasant happens, I am able to feel both feelings clearly.

(IBUSE Masuji, Shokan)

The story became more and more unbelievable as I listened and finally the speaker came out with such an exaggerated statement.

(IBUSE Masuji, Banshun no Tabi)

This word "in", on the one hand simply means that one secludes himself from the world, but, to the contrary, that … was thought to be a person who had a positive meaning.

(TOMIKURA, Nihon Bungakushi)
Asukagawa ga nagareru dake no heibon na murazato
Asuka river only GEN plain village
ni natte iru.
DAT become be.
‘Aside from small temples scattered about, it has become a plain village where
the Asuka River runs.’
(OSARAGI Jirō, Asuka no Haru)

(157) Zimuteki na voozi de denwa site kuru
clerical business INS telephone come
hoka wa tegami ippon yokosanakatta.
other TOP letter one send NEG.PST
‘Other than calling on some clerical business, he didn’t send a single letter.’
(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, Kaishi)

(158) Nyooogo koromogae no kuntyoo no
women assisting in changing cloths GEN favor of ruler GEN
arasoi wa ie to ie to no taikoo
competition TOP house and house and GEN opposition
ni yotte hassya o kakeraru koto
by spur on PASS.NONPST NMLZ
mo nai kawari ni, sorera ni
also exist NEG.NONPST replacement in those DAT
youtueru nyoooboo tati no kyoosoosin mo
serve NONPST servants GEN competitive spirit also
usureta.
weaken
‘Besides the competition among his dressers for his attention not being
spurred on by antagonism between the houses, the competitive spirit of those
who served them also weakened.’
(SHIODA Ryōhei, Nihon Bungakushi)

(159) [Kono kizi wa] Wakoku ga hanzin no
this article TOP Japan NOM Chinese GEN
tyuumoku o hiite toooyoosi no
attention ACC draw GER Asian history GEN
ue ni bunken tosite sugata o arawasu
above LOC reference as form ACC show NONPST
‘(This record) is the first time in Asian history that Japan drew the attention of
the Chinese and showed up in written sources.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Kodaishigi*)

(160) Sanai wa yokutosi, nizyuuyonsai de Edo e
Sanai TOP next.year 24.years.old COP.GER Edo to

satta. Sono wakare ni nozonde, kare wa leave.PST that parting to face.GER he TOP

Kanae ni mukatte, “kondo kaette kitara” Kanae to face.GER this.time return.GER come.COND

toiu itigo o nokosita. Sore ga one.word ACC leave.behind.PST that NOM

kare to atta saigo deari, kare no him with meet.PST last.time COP.ADVL ke GEN

kotoba o kiita saigo deatta ... kondo words ACC hear.PST last.time COP.PST this.time

kaette kitara. Sanai wa nani o iu return.GER come.COND Sanai TOP what ACC say.NONPST

tumori deattaro. intention COP.PST.PRES

‘The following year, at the age of 24, Sanai left for Edo. With the parting
before them, Sanai turned to Kanae and said just the single phrase, “when I
come back next time”. That was the last time she met him and that was the
last time she heard his words – when I come back next time. What might
Sanai have intended to say?’

(YAMAMOTO Shūgorō, *Shironaka no Shimo*)

It’s difficult to say what too- ‘that-, the __ in question’, naka ‘in the midst of’, or naka
‘affiliates, associated group’ might be relative to, but I would like to include them within the
scope of relative nouns.
be.employed.GER be.PST
‘[That young man] was employed at the Imperial Dye Company in Fukuyama city until the day the city was bombed.’
(IBUSE Masuji, Oihagi no Hanasi)

(162) Oosaka ni ututta tooza, kare wa
Ôsaka to move.PST for.a.time he TOP
syakaimen o ki.o.tukete mite ita.
social.aspects ACC pay.attention.GER see.GER be.PST
‘For a time after moving to Osaka he carefully looked after the social aspects.’
(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Dansen)

(163) Zenkoku de suisen.sareta naka kara ....
whole.country LOC recommend.PASS.PST amidst from
‘from among those nationally recommended ….’

(164) Toosoo no wa o hirogete iku
conflict GEN circle ACC widen.GER go.NONPST
naka de ....
amidst LOC
‘in the middle of expanding the scope of the fighting….’

(165) sansei.hantai de wakitatte iru
in.favor.opposed INS boil.up.GER be.NONPST
katyuu de ....
maelstrom LOC
‘in the maelstrom of excitement of those in favor and those opposed, ….’
(Asahi Journal)

(166) Zyuusyoku no Tayama.Dōsen,Osyoo wa,
resident.priest COP.ADN Tayama.Dōsen.priest TOP
titi to zendoo ni.okeru tomo deatta.
father and meditation.hall in friend COP.PST
Doosen.Osyoo mo titi mo, sannen ni
Dōsen.priest also father also three.years to
wataru zendoo.seikatu o si, sono
extend.NONPST meditation.life ACC do.ADVL that
aida kikyo o tomo.ni.sita naka
period daily.life ACC share.PST relation
deatta.
COP.PST
‘The resident priest, Priest Tayama Dosen and my father were afirends from
the Zen meditation hall. Priest Dosen and my father’s relation was that they had both lived the Zen meditation life for three years and during that time they shared their daily lives.’

(MISHIMA Yukio, *Kinkakuji*)

(167) **Kanozyo no kekkon.sita aite ga**

she GEN marry.PST partner NOM

**kono Sibu.Takiti denakattara, ...**

this Shibu.Takichi COP.NEG.COND

‘If her partner in marriage had not been this Shibu Takichi, …’

(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, *Kaishi*)

(168) **Seikatu no suizyun ga zenzen**

living GEN standard NOM completely

tigatte ita doosi ga kekkon.site, ...

differ.GER be.PST kindred.spirits NOM marry.GER

‘kindred spirits with completely different standards of living get married and, …’

(Newspaper)

(169) **Takanohana ga sinzirarenai yoo.na make**

Takanohana NOM believe.POTEN.NEG resemble.ADN loss

**o hutuka mo tuzuketa. Senbasyo no**

ACC two.days even continue.PST last.tournament GEN

totyuu ni kaze o hiki, taityoo o middle LOC cold ACC catch.ADVL condition ACC

destroy.PST NOM that also recover.from.GER

**kondo koso to kitaisarete ita noni.**

this.time for.sure QUOT expect.PASS.GER be.PST in.spite

**Maketa aite wa Asahikuni to lose.PST opponent TOP Asahikuni and**

**Totiazuma. Fuan to.sareta karadamake.suru**

Tochiazuma unease be.considered physically.inferior.to

**aite demonai noni doosita**

opponent COP.even.NEG.NONPST in.spite what.kind.of

**koto daroo.**

matter COP.PRES

‘Takanohana has continued posting unbelievable loses for two days. He caught a cold in the middle of the last tournament and weakened his condition,
but he has recovered and was expected to finally win a tournament. The opponents to whom he lost are Asahikuni and Tochiazuma. Since neither are opponents with regard to whom he would be uneasy about physical inferiority, we wonder what is going on.’
(Asahi Shinbun 1975.7.8)

The above examples, especially from around (165) on, were cases of spacially or temporially relative nouns, but the following are examples of conceptual relativity, such as gen’in ‘cause’ ↔ kekka ‘result’.

(170) Keredomo tatta hitotu, Okin niwa nissan ga
however only one Okin DAT.TOP older.brother NOM

                      kaiettete koto kite hosii to omou
return.GER come.GER want.NONPST QUOT think.NONPST

riyuu ga atta. Sore wa koo dearu.
reason NOM exist.PST that TOP thus COP.PST
‘But Okin han just one reason for wanting her older brother to come home. That was this.’
(SATÔ Haruo, Okin to Sono Niisan)

(171) Koko ‘Heike Monogatari’ ni egakarete iru
here ‘Tale of the Heike’ in depict.PASS.GER be.NONPST

                      hitobito wa doorui no monogatari niwa
people TOP same.kind GEN story LOC.TOP

                      midasi.enai ningen zookei o kuwaerarete
see.can.NEG human mold ACC add.PASS.GER

no dearu. Sosite, kore koso ga.
NMLZ COP.NONPSTand this in.particular NOM

                      kono monogatari ni itatte hazimete
this story until first.time

                      ningen.buzin tomo iu beki buzin
human.warrior QUOT.even call.NONPST should warrior

                      no gassen.monogatari ga umareta to
GEN battle.account NOM birth.PASS.PST QUOT

                      iwareru riyuu deari, mata kono
say.PASS.NONPST reason COP.ADVL again this

                      monogatari ga, katarimono bungei tosite
story NOM narrative art as

                      nagai seimei o moti, hiroi sizi
long life ACC have.ADV broad support

ACC attain.PST reason COP.NONPST QUOT think.NONPST
‘The people portrayed in Tales of the Heike, have added to them a human form that one cannot find in other, similar tales. And, it is precisely this that is said to be the reason battle accounts of warriors that ought to be called human warriors came to be and the reason this tale has had a long live as an example of the heroic narrative genre and has gained such wide support.’

(TOMIKURA Tokujirō, Nihon Bungakushi)

(172) Tatoe Yumiko to wa wakaruru koto ga even.if Yumiko and TOP part.NONPST NMLZ NOM
dekitemo, kono haha to wa wakaruru koto ga can.GER.even this mother and TOP part.NONPST NMLZNOM
dekinai. Naze naraba wakaruru tame no can.NEG>NONPST why COP.PROV part.NONPST sake GEN

riyuu toiu mono ga nai kara da.
reason thing NOM exist.NEG.NONPST since COP.NONPST
‘Even if he managed to part from Yumiko, he’d never be able to part from this mother. As to why, it was because he didn’t have a reason for parting.’

(FUKUNAGA Takehiko, Kaishi)

(173) [Makino-san to watasi ga] kimazuku natta Mr. Makino and I NOM awkward.ADVL become.PST

hitotu no gen’in wa, watasi ga e o one GEN cause TOP I NOM picture ACC

umaku kaku to hora.o.huita koto skillful.ADVL draw.NONPST when boast.PST NMLZ
deatta. COP.PST
‘One reason things became awkward [between Mr. Makino and I] was that when I drew a picture well I would brag about it.’

(IBUSE Masuji, Banshun no Tabi)

(174) Purauda, Isubesutya kakusi wa, Nisi-Doitu to Pravda Izvestia each.paper TOP West.Germanyand

Tyuugoku ga “seiziteki.ni” sekkin.si.yasui China NOM political.ADVL easy.to.approach.NONPST

yooin tosite tugi no yoo.na mono o cause as following GEN similar.ADN thing ACC
As reasons for West Germany and China being easy to approach politically, both Pravda and Izvestia offered the following sorts of things.

(Asahi Shinbun 1968.1)

(175) *Itoo no ansatu.sareta no wa, sude.ni* Itō GEN assassinate.PASS.PST TOP already

*tookan o yamete wa ita ga.* resident-general ACC resign.GER TOP be.PST but

*

(176) *Haisengo mada mamonai toki deatta node,* defeat.after still little.while time COP.PST since

*yasai no nakagainin wa guntai.yoogo ni* vegetable GEN broker TOP military.term DAT

*nanika iryoku ga aru yoo.na mono* some.kind.of power NOM exist.NONPST like.ADN thing

*demo kanzite oziketa mono to* COP.GER.even feel.GER frightened thing QUOT

*omowaru. Sensootyuu ni guntai.yoogo ni.taisite* think.PASS war.time in military.term towards

*itimoku.oite ita dasei daroo.* pay.deference.GER be.PST inertia COP.PRES

‘Since it was just shortly after Japan’s defeat in the war, the vegetable broker must have felt some sort of power in the military terminology and thought it frightening. It was probably a hold over from the deference paid military terminology during the war.’

(IBUSE Masuji, Yōhai-taichō)
Sizuko-san wa, kazoku no kore made o kokumei ni
Ms. Shizuko family GEN up.to.now ACC detailed.ADVL

hurikaetta. Sahodo amayakasitari,
review.PST such.an.extent spoil.REPRESENTATIVE

wagamama sasetar tumori wa nai.
encourage willfulness.PST intention TOP exist.NEG.NONPST

Benkyoo siro to setuita oboe mo
study.IMP QUOT urge.PST memory also

nai. Sohu ga kabisikatta handoo
exist.NEG.NONPST grandfather NOM strict.PST reaction
de, otto mo zibun mo musiro ziyuu ni
INS husband also self also rather free.ADVL

suki na koto o yarase te kita.
like. ADN think ACC do.CAUS.GER come.PST

‘Shizuko reflected on her family’s history up to the present time. She had never
meant to spoil him to such an extent or to allow him to be selfish. She could
also not remember ordering him to study. In reaction to Grandfather having
been strict, she and her husband rather had come to allow him to freely do
what he liked to do.’

(Asahi Shinbun “Ima Gakkō de”)

Yoromeita hyoo si de watasi wa kanozyo ni
stagger.PST moment INS I TOP her into

butukatta.
bump.PST

‘Staggering, I bumped into her.’

Watasi ga tabeta nokori
I NOM eat.PST remains
‘my leftovers after eating’

tabako o katta oturi de
cigarettes ACC buy.PST change INS
‘with the change from buying cigarettes’

koozi ni tukatta amari no
cement in use.PST remaining GEN
‘the cement remaining from use in construction’

osita hazumi de
push.PST rebound INS  
‘with the bounce back from pushing it’

(183)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ittenzuyuu} & \text{mura.aruki} & o & \text{sita} \\
\text{through.one.year} & \text{village.walking} & \text{ACC} & \text{do.PST}
\end{array}
\]

\text{hoosyuu} \quad \text{de} 
renumeration INS  
‘with my compensation for having walked the village throughout the year’

(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu)

(184)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{hitugi} & \text{o} & \text{yaku} & \text{kemuri} \\
\text{coffin} & \text{ACC} & \text{burn.NONPST} & \text{smoke}
\end{array}
\]

‘the smoke from burning the coffin’

(MISHIMA Yukio)

(185)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Siragi to} & \text{Kara no} & \text{rengoogun} & \text{wa} \\
\text{Silla and Tang} & \text{GEN} & \text{joint.armies} & \text{TOP}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{huhutta} & \text{ikioi} & o & \text{katte,} \\
\text{slaughter} & \text{energy} & \text{ACC} & \text{be.spurred.on.GER}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{kono} & \text{kuni} & \text{with} & \text{this} \\
\text{country}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{e} & \text{osiyosete} & \text{konai} & \text{tomo} \\
\text{to} & \text{push.on.GER} & \text{come.NEG.NONPST} & \text{QUOT.also}
\end{array}
\]

\text{kagiranakatta.}  
limit.NEG.PST  
‘It was not impossible that the joint armies of Silla and the Tang might, spurred on by the energy of their slaughter of Paekche, push on to this country.’

(INOUE Yasushi, Nukatanoōkimi ‘Princess Nukata’)

(186)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Keizoo wa} & \text{munasawagi} & \text{ga} & \text{sita.} \\
\text{Keizō TOP} & \text{uneasiness} & \text{NOM} & \text{do.PST}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{mono o} & \text{mituketa} & \text{dooyoo} & \text{ga} \\
\text{thing ACC} & \text{discover.PST} & \text{agitation NOM} & \text{for.a.while}
\end{array}
\]

\text{tuzuita.}  
continue.PST  
‘Keizo felt an uneasiness. The agitation of finding something strange continued for a while.’

(ITŌ Sei, Hakkatsu)

(187)  

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Haha} & \text{ga} & \text{kyoikketu de} & \text{taoreta.} \\
\text{mother NOM} & \text{heart.attack INS} & \text{collapse.PST} & \text{self}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{no} & \text{kuni} & \text{to,} & \text{otto} \\
\text{GEN country and} & \text{husband} & \text{ACC} & \text{country}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{no} & \text{kuni} & \text{to} \\
\text{GEN country and}
\end{array}
\]
My mother collapsed of a heart attack. The shock of her country and her husband’s country becoming enemies was probably one cause.

ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Shiroi Hito*

On the teacher’s back, there were lots of marks from sleeping face up on the rhododendron bench.

(NATSUME Sōseki, *Kokoro*)

On his back are large scars where he was cut diagonally. Since he was cut twice, that area alone was swollen.

(ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Sono Zenjitsu*)

Both where there was red lacquer and where it was lacquered black there were dirty finger marks clearly left behind.

(Rikugorō)
Tyasibu  ga  tuita  to  mieru.  Sikasi, tea.stain  NOM  attach.PST  QUOT  appear.NONPST  however

kutibiru  o  ateta  vogore  mo  aru
lips  ACC  touch.PST  dirt  also  exist.NONPST

kamo.sirenai.  ....
for.all.I.know.NONPST

Humiko  no  haha  no  kutibenigA ga
Fumiko  GEN  mother  GEN  lipstick  NOM

simikonda  ato  na  no  daroo  ka.
stain.PST  trace  COP.ADN  NMLZ  COP.PRES  Q
‘Is that the rim? It looks like it has some tea stain. But, it may be a mark from the lips having touched it. .... Could it be that Fumoko’s mother’s lipstick stained it?’

(KAWABATA Yasunari, Senbazuru)

Meizi.Taisyoo  no  Nihon.teki  sukora  tetugakusyata.tati  ga.
Meiji.Taishō  GEN  Japanese  schola  philosophers  NOM

‘fausuto’  de  imizikumo  itte  iru  taisyyuu
Faust  LOC  exquisitely  state.GER  be.NONPST  masses

o  “hana  o  tukande  hikimawasu”
ACC  nose  ACC  grasp.GER  lead.around.NONPST

tame.ni,  wazato  sitimuzukasii  kotoba  o
for.the.sake  deliberately  imponderable  words  ACC

hatumei.sita  nagori  dearu.
invent.PST  left.over  COP.NONPST
‘It’s a left over from when the Meiji and Taisho scholasticists deliberately invented impenetrably difficult words in order to, as it is so eloquently expressed in Faust, “lead the masses around by their noses”.’

(KAWABATA Yasunari, Senbazuru)

Kare  ga  sono  taikin  no  itibu  demo
he  NOM  that  large.amount.of.money  GEN  a.part  even

tukatta  keiseki  mo  nakatta.
use.PST  evidence  even  exist.NEG.PST
‘There was no evidence of his having used even a bit of the large amount of money.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, Hansha)

Ano  noooka  no  syuzin  ga  syuuakaku.sita
that  farm.family  GEN  husband  NOM  harvest.PST
‘The head of a farm family was digging a hole in which to preserve the ginger he had harvested. A large stone struck his adze. When he brushed away the dirt around it, a hewn stone was revealed. The farmer, who gave up digging a hole, died not long after. The rumor spread that it was divine punishment for digging on the burial mound.’

(Asahi Shinbun 1972.3)
The village streets on the outskirts, covered with a light haze, were silent long after the closing of the shops.

(NAIGAI Tatsuo, Aodensha)

They were tears (he shed) completely conscious of his isolation and thoroughly detesting it.

(ŌSHIRO Tatsuhiro, Nisei)

The following are examples in which the base nouns express emotions and the modifying part show the cause of the emotion.

Unable to bear his loneliness after the departure of Jubei, Iemitsu could not help summoning his younger brother, Tomonori.

(YAMAOKA Sōhachi, Yagyū Jūbei)
She answered stupidly. She pulled an open cardboard box closer and stuffed useless newspapers into it, all the while hunting for a topic, anxious with regard to her answer, uneasy as the person she wanted to go away continued to sit there with her, and impatient from wanting to have some intimate time before she could leave.’

(KAWANO Taeko, *Kaitentobira*)

‘His feeling that it was a fate he would one day meet up with changed to a feeling that he wanted to flee from the unease this opportunity brought him.’

(ITO Sei, *Hakkutu*)

‘She laughed merrily at Aiko at the oddity of being able to mistake Miss Lee for a man.’

(ENCHI Fumiko, *Aijō no Keifu*)

‘She laughed merrily at Aiko at the oddity of being able to mistake Miss Lee for a man.’

(ENCHI Fumiko, *Aijō no Keifu*)
There are other nouns with relative characteristics that I would like to bring up, such as syooko ‘evidence’ or okage ‘thanks to’, and there are many real-life examples that are interesting structurally, but that would make this too long, so I will leave them out.

5.6 Conclusion and lead in to the next chapter

Above we have examined in this chapter from a variety of different viewpoints the relation between base nouns and their modifying parts when they form an outer relation. Broadly speaking, we can say the following from the view of problems within Japanese grammar in general, namely, the degree of modality and formal patterns.

First, in terms of the degree of modality, we saw in section 5.2 that as we move from utterances to thoughts to factives to sensations to relative nouns, the degree of modality decreases, eventually becoming simply a proposition. In addition, even for the same noun, when it is used in a modification relation stemming from its dependency, the degree of modality in the modifying part is lower than when the modification is not from the dependency of the noun. The above is closely connected to the possibility of inserting toiu.

On the other hand, as we already observed with case-marked arguments, there is a gradation within base nouns from those high in substantively to those in which it is much weaker, as in zizitu ‘fact, evidence’ → koto ‘fact, fact that, nominalizer’ or zizyoo ‘circumstance’, riyyu ‘reason’ → wake ‘reason, nominalizer’. Also, many perception nouns can be replaced in some contexts by tokoro ‘place, circumstance, nominalizer’. These are examples of bleaching or formalization. In this way, base nouns forming an outer relation undergo so-called “formalization” becoming in some cases conjunction auxiliary-like and in other cases like sentence-final auxiliaries. Among them there are those whose function have already been frozen and those like koto, mono, and tokoro that are active in a wide variety of uses. In the next chapter we will focus on such base nouns.

1 See, for example, INOUE Kazuko, Henkei Bunpō to Nihongo [Transformational grammar and Japanese]. Taishūkan.

2 MIKAMI Akira, Zō wa Hana ga Nagai. Pages 20–22.