

Syntax and Semantics of Noun Modification

Part 3

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Syntax and semantics of noun modification
Part 3

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, S1 and S2, 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 (*sikashi* ‘but’, *sokode* ‘and then’), sometimes by conjunctive 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) S₁ + conjunction + S₂

(ii) The predicate of S₁ in a conjunctive form (a continuing inflectional form) + S₂

Examples: *Kore wa botan de, are wa*
this TOP tree.peony COP.GER that TOP

syakuyaku da.
Chinese.peony COP.NONPST

‘This is a tree peony and that over there is a Chinese peony.’

Kaze ga hukeba, okeya ga
wind NOM blow.PROV cooper NOM

mookaru.
make.money.NONPST

‘When the wind blows, the cooper gets rich.’

(iii) The predicate of S₁ in a conclusive form + conjunctive particle + S₂

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 S₂ in the position of a noun phrase constituent of S₁

Examples: S₁: *Sore wa hontoo ka?*
that TOP true Q
‘Is that true?’

S₂: *Tai de kuudetaa ga*
Thailand LOC coup d’état NOM

okotta.
arise.PST

→ *Tai de kuudetaa ga okotta no wa hontoo ka?*
NMLZ

Is it true that there was a coup d’état in Thailand?’

S₁: *Sore o hayaku sirasete kudasai.*
that ACC quickly inform.GER please
‘Please inform me of that quickly.’

S₂: *Sono ressywa wa nanzi ni*
that train TOP what.time at
Oosaka-eki ni tukimasu ka.
Osaka-station to arrive.POL.NONPST Q
‘What time will that train arrive at Osaka Station?’
→ *Sono ressywa ga nanzi ni*
that train NOM what.time at
Oosaka-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)*

tasuketa kame ni turerarete Ryuuguu e itta. (2)
'Taro was taken to the Palace of the Dragon King by
the turtle (he/self) had saved.'

(3)

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

<i>turete</i>	<i>itte</i>	<i>moratta.</i>
bring.GER	go.GER	receive.PST
'Taro had the turtle take him to the Palace of the Dragon King.'		

moratta hanasi o sobo kara kiita. (4)
 'I heard from my grandmother the story of Taro having
 the turtle take him to the Palace of the Dragon King.'

In the case of (iv), since S₂ is nominalized with *no* or *koto* and appears as a constituent of the main clause with a particle like *wa*, *ga*, or *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* [one.drink join.me.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, conjunctive 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 S_1 and S_2 solely by applying his or her knowledge concerning two elements of the sentence preceding the noun S_2 and the noun that hosts it (inside S_1).

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*.

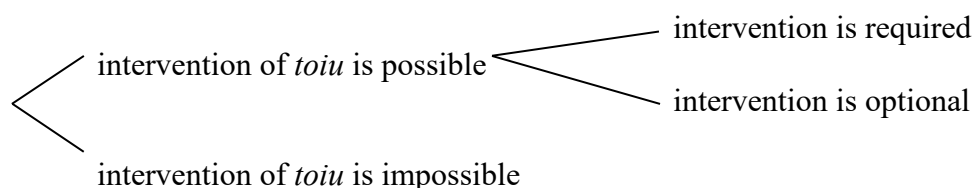
So then, what kind of relation is there between this kind of modifying clause and the modified noun (the base noun), what types of relation are there, and by what means are these conveyed to the hearer? This is the theme of this entire work, but we earlier in section 3 set up the roughly the following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



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) *Taroo ga tasuketa toiu kame wa kore kai?*
 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 “adverbial” 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?

<i>iu</i> say	→	<i>kotoba</i> word	<i>hanasu</i> speak	→	<i>hanasi</i> talk/story
<i>hookoku-suru</i> report-do	→	<i>hookoku</i> report	<i>tyuukoku-suru</i> caution-do	→	<i>tyuukoku</i> caution
<i>omou</i> think	→	<i>omoi</i> thought	<i>kangaeru</i> think/consider	→	<i>kangae</i> thought/consideration/idea
<i>soozoo-suru</i> imagine-do	→	<i>soozoo</i> imagination	<i>kessin-suru</i> resolution-do	→	<i>kessin</i> resolution

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 adverbial to being adnominal.

{	<i>yosita</i> stop.PST	<i>hoo</i> side	<i>ga</i> NOM	<i>ii</i> good	<i>to</i>	<i>tyuukoku-suru</i> caution-do	(Adverbial)
	'Caution (someone) that it would be better to quit.'						
{	<i>yosita</i> stop.PST	<i>hoo</i> side	<i>ga</i> NOM	<i>ii</i> good	<i>toiu</i>	<i>tyuukoku</i> caution	(Adnominal)
	'a caution that it would be better to quit'						
{	<i>Sono</i> that	<i>sigoto</i> job	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>hikiukeyoo</i> accept.INT	<i>to</i>	<i>kessin-suru</i> resolution.do	(Adverbial)
	'Resolve that one will accept the job.'						
{	<i>Sono</i> that	<i>sigoto</i> job	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>hikiukeyoo</i> accept.INT	<i>tono</i>	<i>kessin</i> resolution	(Adnominal)
	'the resolution to accept the job.'						

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 adverbial *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.zyotyoo-suru iken*
official.discount.rate.reduction NOM inflation.promotion-do opinion

kooteibuai.hikisage ga inhure.zyotyoo-suru toiu iken
official.discount.rate.reduction NOM inflation.promotion-do opinion
‘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 *toiu*.

Because of this fact, it is clearly not appropriate to use the intervention of *toiu* 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 *toiu* 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.

(low)				(high)
1	2	3	4	5
Verbal non-past	~ <i>rasii</i>	~ <i>da</i>	polite style	SFP
Verbal past	~ <i>daroo</i>	~ <i>noda</i>		
Adjective non-past	~ <i>kamosirenai</i>	~ <i>hazu.da</i>		
Adjective past	Intentional form		
~ <i>datta</i>	Presumptive form	Imperative form		

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
 father TOP at.times again extremely
sabisigatta. 「Ore ga sindara,
 show.signs.of.being lonely I NOM die.COND
doo.ka okaasan o daizi.ni site
 somehow mother ACC importantly treat.GER
yatte kure.]
 give.GER please.IMP
 Watasi wa kono 「Ore ga sindara」 toiu
 I TOP this I NOM die.COND
kotoba o issyu no kioku o
 words ACC a.kind GEN memory ACC
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 *aruwa 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.

- (7) *Itamasii sensei wa, zibun ni tikazukoo.to.suru*
 pitiful teacher TOP self DAT attempt.to.approach.NONPST
- hito ni, tikazuku hodo no kati no*
 people DAT approach.NONPST extent GEN value GEN
- nai* *mono da.kara* *yose* *toiu* *keikoku*
 exist.NEG.NONPST person COP.since stop.IMP warning
- o ataeta no dearu.*
 ACC give.PST NMLZ COP.NONPST
- ‘The pitiful teacher would warn anyone who tried to approach him, “I’m not anyone worth getting close to so stop it.”’
 (Kokoro)
- (8) *Titi wa kono hoka.nimo mada iroiro no kogoto*
 father TOP this other.than.also still various GEN grumbling
- o itta. Sono.naka.niwa* 「*Mukasi* *no* *oya*」
 ACC say.PST among them long.ago GEN parent
- wa ko ni kuwasete moratta noni, ima*
 TOP child DAT eat.cause.GER receive.PST despite now
- no oya wa ko ni kuwareru dake*
 GEN parent TOP child DAT eat.PASS.NONPST only
- da.* *nado toiu kotoba ga atta. Sorera*
 COP.NONPST such.as words NOM exist.PST those
- o watasi wa tada damatte kiite ita.*
 ACC I TOP only remain.silent.GER listen.GER be.PST
- ‘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.

- (9) *Boku wa Naporeon o mitumeta mama,*
 I TOP Napoleon ACC stare.at,PST condition

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 Ryunosuke, *Haguruma*)

- (10) “*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.”’

(Asahi Shinbun)

- (11) *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 yoo.ni Kantoo no busi ni*
 make.hostilities.NEG COMP Kantō GEN warriors DAT
- ooserarete aru toiu syokan*
 say(HON).PASS.GER exist.NONPST epistle .
- deatta*
 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*)

- (12) *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 yorosii 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 toiu zyoodan 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 toiu*
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 hikitomete kaesanakatta.
TOP until.all.hours detain.GER send.back.NEG.PST

Sabisii kara motto ite kure toiu
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 toiu 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

rasii.

seem.NONPST

‘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.’

(ENDŌ Shūsaku. *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.’

(*Shūkan 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*,...
 anything come.IMP feeling DAT become.ADV
 ‘I feel like, “come on, whatever,” and ...’
 (AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*)
- (19) *Watasi o yakihorobosu* *hi wa Kinkakuzi*
 I ACC consume.in.fire fire TOP Golden Pavilion
o.mo yakihorobosu daroo toiu kangae
 ACC.also consume.in.fire COP.PRES thought
wa, 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 sikararetari,*
 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

<u>ni.taisite</u>	<u>ima</u>	<u>made</u>	<u>henzi</u>	<u>no</u>
to	now	until	response	GEN

<u>moraenai</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>mo,</u>	<u>aruiwa soo.sita</u>
receive.POTEN.NEG.NONPST	NMLZ	also	maybe such

<u>wake</u>	<u>kara</u>	<u>zya.nai</u>	<u>kasira</u>	<u>toiu</u>	<u>zyasui</u>
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)

(22) *Watasi wa sono toki hazimete anata o*
I TOP that time for.the.first.time you ACC

<u>sonkei.sita.</u>	<u>Anata ga</u>	<u>muenryo.ni</u>	<u>watasi no</u>	<u>hara</u>
respect.PST	you	NOM	unreservedly I	GEN stomach (=heart)

<u>no</u>	<u>naka</u>	<u>kara</u>	<u>aru</u>	<u>ikita.mono</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>turamaeyoo</u>
GEN	inside	from	a.certain	living.thing	ACC	capture.INT

<u>toiu</u>	<u>kessin</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>miseta</u>	<u>kara</u>	<u>desu.</u>
	determination	ACC	show.PST	since	COP.POL.NONPST

<u>Watasi no</u>	<u>sinzoo o</u>	<u>tatiwatte,</u>	<u>atatakaku</u>
I	GEN heart	ACC slice.open.GER	warm.ADV

<u>nagareru</u>	<u>tisio</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>susuroo.to.sita</u>
flow.NONPST	blood.circulating.within.the.body	ACC	sip.INT.TRY

kara 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)

(23) *Tyuuniti wa sonogo mo tabitabi akkyuu*
Chunichi TOP after.that also frequently bad.pitch

<u>ni</u>	<u>te.o.dasi,</u>	<u>tokutenki</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>nogasita.</u>
DAT	reach.for.ADV	chance.for.points	ACC	let.escape.PST

Renpai o *nogareyoo* *toiu* *aseri* *ga*
 repeated.loss ACC avoid.INT eagerness NOM

konna kekka o umu no daroo.
 this.kind.of result ACC bear.NONPST NMLZ COP.PRES
 ‘Even after that Chunichi kept swinging on bad pitches. Was it the eagerness
 to avoid repeated losses that brought on this kind of outcome?’
 (Newspaper)

- (24) *Koo iwareru watasi no mune niwa, mata titi*
 thus say.PASS.NONPST I GEN breast in.TOP again father

ga itu taoreru ka wakaranai toiu
 NOM when collapse.NONPST Q know.NEG.NONPST

sinpai ga hirameita.
 worry NOM flicker.PST
 ‘Being told that, a worry flickered in my breast that I didn’t know when father
 might collapse again.’
 (Kokoro)

- (25) *Sengo no minsyuteki.na kyooiku to*
 postwar GEN democratic.ADN education QUOT

iwareru mono no kihonteki.na taido
 say.PASS.NONPST thing GEN fundamental.ADN attitude

no hitotu ni “kodomo no zinkaku o
 GEN one DAT child GEN individuality ACC

mitomeyoo” toiu kodomo.kan ga aru.
 recognize.INT child.view NOM exist.NONPST
 ‘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)

- (26) *Satiko wa ikura.nandemo Okuhata ga kawai soo*
 Sachiko TOP no.matter.what Okuhata NOM pitiful

da toiu atama na no deatta.
 COP.NONPST head COP.ADN NMLZ COP.PST
 ‘Sachiko was of the mind that, no matter what anyone thought, things were
 awful for Okuhata.’
 (TANIZAKI Junichirō, Sasameyuki (Makioka Sisters))

- (27) *Rakugo ni okeru kodomo wa, tune.ni*
 Rakugo in child TOP always

oya o sinogu ningen to sarete
 parents ACC surpass.NONPST person QUOT make.PASS.GER

iru. Kore wa, siganai syomin.seikatu no
 be.NONPST this TOP humble common.people.life GEN

naka de miidaseru kiboo wa,
 inside LOC detect.POTEN.NONPST hope TOP

mirai ga mitisuu dearu kodomo
 future NOM unknown.number COP.NONPST child

da toiu kimoti no han'ei dearu.
 COP.NONPST feeling GEN reflection COP.NONPST

‘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*
 Saigon LOC.TOP north.side NOM final.stage GEN
- koosei ni haitta toki niwa,*
 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*

GEN persistence ACC injure.NONPST thing
dewanai no da. Kansyoo nado
 COP.NEG.NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST sentimentality etc.

dewa.sarasara.nai.
 COP.in.the.least.NEG.NONPST

<u>Dankei</u>	<u>taete</u>	<u>Nonaka-ke</u>	<u>no</u>
male.line	be.cut.off.GER	Nonaka-family	GEN

<u>ti</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>taeta.</u>	<u>toiu</u>	<u>kaisyaku</u>
blood	NOM	be.cut.off.PST		interpretation

na no da.
 COP.ADN NMLZ COP.NONPST

‘No, to those people, this pardon absolutely does not damage the persistence of their thorough hatred for father’s blood. There is absolutely nothing like sentimentality involved.

The male line is ended and so the blood of the Nonaka family is ended, that is the interpretation.’

(ŌHARA Tomie, *En toiu Onna*)

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.

(32) Dareka nakama no naka ni mikkokusya
 someone comrades GEN inside LOC informer

<u>ga</u>	<u>iru</u>	<u>toiu</u>	<u>insan.na</u>	<u>omoi</u>	<u>ni</u>
NOM	ge.NONPST		sad.and.gloomy	thought	at

waruyoi.sita no datta.
 sick.drunk.do.PST NMLZ COP.PST

‘(He) drank himself sick at the sad, gloomy thought that there was an informer among his comrades.’

(ITSUKI Hiroyuki *Rōheitachi no Gasshō*)

(33) Kokoro wa hakuhyoo no ue o aruku
 heart TOP thin.ice GEN top ACC walk.NONPST

omoi datta.
 thought COP.PST

‘His emotions were like crossing thin ice.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Kao*)

(34) Kono ko wa ookiku naru to

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.’
 (SHIGA Naoya, *KInosaki nite*)

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

atta zizitu *wa,* *mada* *hakken* *sarenai.*
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*)

- (37) *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* *huhēn.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*)

- (38) *Kare* *wa* *kunen* *mae* *Kyūsyū* *Hatiman* *ni*
he TOP 9.years earlier Kyūshū Hachiman LOC
- kyōzyū* *sita* *zizitu* *ga* *ari,*
reside do.PST fact NOM exist.ADVL
- syūssin* *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*)

- (39) *Sataan-roketto* *nituite* *mo,* *sensyū*

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) *Kare wa kyuusyuu ni sunda koto*
 he NOM Kyūshū LOC live.PST
ga aru
 NOM exist.NONPST
 ‘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) “*Kataboo*” *wa keti de kyooyoku.na Akanisiya.Rinbei*
Katabō TOP stingy COP.GER greedy.ADN Akanishiya.Rinbei
ga sannin no musuko ni, zibun ga
 NOM three.persons GEN son DAT self NOM
sindara, dooiu katati de soosiki
 die.COND what.kind form INS funeral
o suru ka kiite mite, ki
 ACC do.NONPST Q ask.GER see.GER spirit
ni itta soosiki no teiansya
 DAT insert.PST funeral GEN proposer
ni zaisan o watasoo to suru
 DAT estate ACC hand.over.PRES QUOT do.NONPST
hanasi dearu.
 story COP.NONPST
 “‘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) “*Konzyaku.Monogatari*” *ni aru*
 . Konjaku Monogatari LOC exist.NONPST
Huziwara.no.yasumasa ga oonsubito
 Fujiwara.no.Yasumasa NOM great.thief

Hakamadare.yasusuke o syuuhuku se.simeta
Hakamadara.Yasusuke ACC submit do.CAUS.PST

hanasi wa yuumei dearu ga,
story TOP famous COP.NONPSTbut
‘The story in *Konjaku Monogatari* of Fujiwara.no.Yasumasa forcing the great
thief Hakamadare.Yasusuke to submit is famous, but ...’
(SHIODA Ryōhei, *Nihon Bungakushi*)

- (45) 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 yorokonde 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’”)

- (46) Kono toki, ippan no simin ga
this time general GEN citizen NOM

makikomarete hussyoo 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*)

- (47) “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)

- (48) [*Amerika* *eiga* *no* “*Aru* *yoru* *no* *dekigoto*” *to*,
American movie GEN . certain night GEN happening and
rakugo *no* “*Osetu Tokusaburoo*” *to* *wa*]

rakugo	GEN	. Osetsu,Tokusaburō	and	TOP
ziyuu.na free.ADN	ren'ai, love	kekkon marriage	toiu	mono o thing ACC
toosite, through	ningen.kaihoo human.liberation	o ACC	yobikakeru call.for.NONPST	
tokoro, place	sosite, geki and drama	no GEN	koosei structure	tosite no, as GEN
kuraimakkusu climax	no GEN	kekkon.sikizyoo marriage.ceremony.hall	kara from	hanayome bride
ga, NOM	ziyuu freedom	o ACC	motomete seek.GER	tooboo flee
				suru do.NONPST
kudari climax	nado, etc.	sokkuri exactly.the.same	dearu. COP.NONPST	

‘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*
a.certain weekly GEN article according.to a.certain
- 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* *suriraa.mono* *ga* *“omosiroi”* *to*
LOC thriller NOM interesting QUOT
- kotaeta* *paasentaazi* *wa,* *Tookyoo.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’)

- (50) *Kookan.nigaku* *o* *tyuusin* *to* *suru*
Japan.China.two.disciplines ACC core QUOT make.NONPST
- toiu* *hoosin wa,* *Tookyoo* *e* *ututte* *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

sita. Tokoroga, kore wa ryoosya
 make.PST however this TOP both

no sookoku no naka de, syakaiteki.na
 GEN rivalry GEN amidst LOC social.ADN

yookyuu o zissituteki.ni han'ei.sita
 demand ACC substantive.ADVL reflect.PST

yoogaku no syoori ni seki o
 Western.studies GEN victory to seat ACC

yuzuru kekka to natta.
 yield.NONPST result QUOT become.PST

‘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’)

- (51) *Kono suunen, doo.iu.wake.ka hon'yaku no*
 these several.years for.whatever.reason translation GEN

tyuumon ga tugitugi.to kasanari,
 order NOM one.after.another stack.up.ADVL

itunomanika han-syokugyooteki.na hon'yakusya no
 some.point.in.time half-professional.ADN translator GEN

masseki ni na o turaneru kekka ni
 lowest.seat LOC name ACC link.NONPST result DAT

natte simatta ga, sono koto de itiban
 become.GER end.up.PST but that fact INS most

odoroite iru no wa, aruiwa boku.zisin
 surprise.GER be,NONPST NMLZ TOP perhaps I.myself

kamosirenai.

it.may.be.NONPST

‘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) *Mosimo* *seisiki.ni* *rikon ga* *seiritu* *site,*
 if official.ADVL divorce NOM be.realized do.GER
- man'iti* *kanozyo* *kara* *isyaryoo* *o*
 perchance her from settlement ACC
- yookyuu* *sareru* *hame* *ni* *nattara,*
 demand do.PASS.NONPST result DAT become.COND
- watasi* *ni* *wa* *siharai* *ni*
 I DAT TOP payment DAT
- tariuru* *dake* *no* *zaisan* *toiu*
 possible.be.sufficient.NONPST only GEN assets

mono wa maru.de nai no.da.
 thing TOP completely exist.NEG.NONPST NMLZ.COP.NONPST
 ‘If a 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) *Singo wa kaisya no enkai de matiai o*
 Shingo TOP company GEN party LOC waiting.room ACC

deru *toki, saigo no itidai no*
 leave.NONPST time last GEN one.vehicle GEN

kuruma ni noserarete, geisya o
 car in board.CAUS.PASS.GER geisha ACC

okuru *hame ni natta.*
 see.home.NONPST result DAT become.PST

‘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 kaityuu 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.’
- (ENDŌ Shūsaku, *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*

TOP same riddle ACC deal.with.ADVL.while where NOM

tigau *ka.* *Suiri.syoosetu no* *baai* *wa,* *saigo*
differ.NONPST Q mystery.novel GEN case TOP end

ni *nanimokamo* *subete* *kaiketu* *sinakereba*
LOC everything all resolve do.NEG.PROV

naranai *syukumei* *ga* *aru.*
become.NEG.NONPST mission NOM exist.NONPST

Tokoroga, *hutuu* *no* *syoosetu* *wa,*
however ordinary GEN novel TOP

hanbun *made* *toite,* *ato* *no* *kaiketu*
half up.to solve.GER after GEN resolution

ga *nakute.mo,* *ikkoo.ni* *kamawanai*
NOM exist.NEG.GER.even at.all.ADVL matter.NEG,NONPST

no *dearu.*

NMLZ COP.NONPST

‘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) *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
- ii,* *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 *ni* ... NP_2 *ga aru* [NP_1 LOC ... NP_2 NOM exist]” (or “ NP_2 *da* [NP_2 COP]” as a contracted form). Both the example above and the following are of this form.

- (58) *Kono kuni no huzin wa te ni musihebi no moyoo no irezumi o*
 this country GEN women TOP hand LOC
 insect.snake GEN pattern GEN tattoo ACC
suru huusyuu 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) *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) *Sikasi Kawasima.Ryuukiti 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 tati datta.
 GEN be.able.to.NEG.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) “*Kimi wa, sutta tabako o, yoku kesanaide*
 you TOP smoke.PST cigarette ACC well put.out.NEG.GER
suteru seisitu rasii na”
 discard.NONPST character seem.NONPST SFP

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

- (62) *Tikako* *wa* *hanasi ni* *mi* *o* *ireru*
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)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|-------------|-----------|------------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>“di”</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>“ri”</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>namatta</i> | <i>mono</i> | <i>de,</i> |
| | ACC | | DAT | mispronounce.PST | thing | COP.GER |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|------------|
| <i>konniti no</i> | <i>hutuugo</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>natta</i> | <i>rei</i> |
| today GEN | common.language | DAT | become.PST | example |
-
- | | | | | | |
|------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>wa,</i> | <i>“tirimen”</i> | <i>dearu.</i> | <i>Tamakatuma</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>mieta</i> |
| TOP | | COP.NONPST | Tamakatsuma | LOC | appear.PST |
-
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>Nobunaga-oo</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>gogen</i> | <i>kaisetu</i> | <i>ni</i> |
| Mr. Nobunaga | GEN | word.origin | explanation | DAT |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|
| <i>sitagaeba,</i> | <i>mukasi</i> | <i>wa</i> | <i>“tidimen”</i> | <i>to</i> |
| follow.PROV | long.ago | TOP | | QUOT |
-
- | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>ittaroo</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>koto.</i> | <i>Sasureba</i> |
| say.PST.PRES | QUOT | GEN | NMLZ | thus.do.PROV |
-
- | | | | |
|-------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>kore</i> | <i>mo</i> | <i>kodoku.sita</i> | <i>on'in.henka</i> |
| this | also | isolate.PST | phonological.change |
-
- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| <i>no</i> | <i>rei</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>hikareyoo.</i> |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------|

GEN example DAT cite.POSS.PRES
 ‘An example of *di* mispronounced as *ri* that has become a normal word is “*tirimen* [ʧʰirimeɴ]”. If we follow Nobunaga’s explanation of its origin appearing in his work *Tamakatsuma*, it was probably pronounced “*tidimen* [ʧʰidimeɴ] or [ʧʰidzimeɴ]”. If this is the case, this, too, can probably be cited as an example of isolated phonological change.’

(SHINMURA Izuru, *Kotoba no Rekishi*)

- (65) *Dannasama no mesiahari.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*)

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.zyoooyaku o
 government with mutual.non-aggression.treaty ACC
musubi, Toohoo.anzen no tame.ni.mo
 conclude.ADV 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*, *Huziwara* *ni.yotte* *appaku*
in.which.case Fujiwara by suppress

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

Sahu *no* *kooei* *ga*, *Huziwara* *bunka*
minister GEN 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* *marai*
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

ga kiiro no hana o ippai sakasete
 NOM yellow GEN flower ACC full blossom.CAUS.GER

ite, turuturu.sita kassyoku no hada no
 be.GER smooth yellow GEN bark GEN

eda ga, te no todoku hodo
 branches NOM hand GEN touch.NONPST extent

hikuku, hakaisi no atama suresure.ni
 low.ADVL grave.stone GEN top scraping.ADVL

hirogatte ita kioku ga aru.
 spread.GER be.PST memory NOM exist.NONPST

‘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*)

- (71) *Piano no oto wa mada kikoete iru. Sore*
 piani GEN sound TOP still can.hear.GER be.NONPST that

wa ikudo.mo ikudo.mo kiita oboe
 TOP any.number.of.times any.number.of.times hear.PST memory

ga aru noni, itu mademo sono
 NOM exist.NONPST despite when until.even that

na ga omoidasenai kyoku no hitotu
 name NOM recall.POSS.NEG.NONPST piece GEN one

datta.

COP.PST

‘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*)

- (72) *Kabuki ya sinpa ya singeki to wa,*
 Kabuki and New.Faction and New.Drama QUOT TOP

kandoo no hukasa wa tigatte
 moved.by.emotion GEN depth TOP differ.GER

iru ga, konna.ni kokoro kara
 be.NONPST but this.much.ADVL heart from

waratta oboe ima madeni nai.
 laugh.PST memory now until exist.NEG.NONPST

‘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.ADVL

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.ADVL time.as.infant

kara Genji 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, saisyoo ni
QUOT say.PASS.NONPST but prime.minister DAT

dansoo o miyaburareta
disguise.in.men's.clothes ACC see.through.PASS.PST

megimi ga, saisyoo ni nikutai o yurusite
 young.woman NOM prime.minister DAT body ACC allow.GER

kara sidai.ni onnagokoro ni mezamete
 after gradually female.emotions DAT awaken.GER

iku katei wa, otoko dewa
 go.NONPST process TOP man COP.GER.TOP

tootei kakeru mono dewanai toiu
 (not).possible write..POSS.NONPST thing COP.NEG.NONPST

koto dake wa, tukuwaete oku.
 NMLZ only TOP add.GER leave.NONPST
 ‘I’ll just add this here: 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 zyuumin ga nanika no
 Jiangnan.coast GEN residents NOM some GEN

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

hyootyaku sita koto niyoru 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 Wa (ancient Japan).’

ANDŌ Kōtarō, *Nihon Kodai Inasakushi Kenkyū* ‘Studies on Rice Cultivation in Ancient Japan’)

- (78) *Kanozyo wa sasiatari, siite osaetukeyoo*
 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 Junichirō *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 yoo.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, *Kaitentobira*)

- (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) *Tookyoo, Kyoto no baai wa sigaiti no*
 Tokyo, Kyoto GEN case TOP urban.area GEN

mannaka *dake.ni* *hankoo.go,* *hito* *no*
 very.center just.because.they.are after.a.crime people GEN

nagare no *naka* *ni* *subayaku* *mi* *o*
 flow GEN inside LOC quick.ADVL body ACC

kakuseru *toiu* *riten* *ga* *aru.*
 hide.POTEN.NONPST advantage NOM exist.NONPST

Sono *hanmen,* *itu* *yami* *no* *naka* *ya*
 that other.side when darkness GEN inside and

hoteru no *mado* *kara* *hankoo.genba* *o*
 hotel GEN window from scene.of.a.crime ACC

mokugeki *sareru* *ka* *wakaranai* *kikensei*
 witness do.PASS.NONPST Q know.NEG.NONPST danger

mo *aru* *wake* *da.*
 also exist.NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST

‘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) *Mizukaeninsoku* *wa* *koonai* *ni* *wakideru*
mizukaeninsoku 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

“‘Mizukaeninsoku 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

toiu yakuwari *o* *motta* *no* *wa*
 role ACC have.PST NMLZ TOP

zyuusan.seiki *nakagoro* *kara* *no* *koto*
 thirteenth.century around.the.middle from GEN matter

to *kangaerareru.*

QUOT think.PASS.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*)

- (87) *Ototosi* *kara* *tentoo* *de* *uru* *dake*
 year.before.last since shopfront LOC sell.NONPST only

denaku, *nikai* *ni* *zasiki* *o* *mittu*
 COP.NEG.ADVL second.floor LOC room ACC three

zootiku *si,* *soko* *de* *sukiyaki* *nado*
 expand do.ADVL there LOC sukiyaki etc.

no *ryoori* *o* *dasu* *syoobai* *o*
 GEN food ACC serve.NONPST business ACC

hazimeta.

start.PST

‘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*)

- (88) *Busi* *wa* *kengeki* *o* *koto* *to* *suru*
 warriorTOP fighting ACC matter QUOT do.NONPST

syoobai *dearu.*
 business COP.NONPST

‘Warrioring is a business that has fighting as its subject.’

- (89) *Osyoo* *wa* *tonti* *ga* *sugureta*
 high.priest TOP ready.wit NOM be.superior.PST

hito *de* *kyooka* *o* *tukuru*
 person COP.GER satirical.verse ACC make.NONPST

yogi *ga* *atta.*

hobby NOM exist.PST

‘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) *Syoosuutoo ga tasuutoo 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

yoo.ni omoeru syuuren o
 as.thought think.POTEN.NONOST training ACC

tunde *ita.*
 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 minoru 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 *yoru* *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,

QUOT say.NONPST Q

‘That is, I mean, in short, is it that I’m worse than 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 alreadyyou NOM

iya 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

ga aru 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.

There are many other nouns that could be considered “factive”, such as *ziyuu* ‘freedom’, *huziyuu* ‘lack of freedom’, *zyunsinsa* ‘purity’, *iyarasisa* ‘filth’, *goorisei* ‘reasonableness’, *hugoori* ‘unreasonableness’, *honnoo* ‘instinct’, *muzyun* ‘contradiction’, *yakusoku* ‘promise’, *hoosin* ‘policy’, *tatema* ‘public position’, or *imi* ‘meaning’, but I will omit examples here.

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 *utokusii* ‘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.ADV

nuno o aratte ita sugata mo
cloth ACC wash.GER be.PST figure also

e no yoo.ni soozoo.dekiru.
 picture GEN like imagine.POTEN.NONPST
 ‘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*)

- (103) *Zyuusan.seiki.syotoo ni kakareta Mumyoosyoo*
 thirteenth.century.beginning in write.PASS.PST Mumyōshō

ni wa, biwa.hoosi ga komoomoku
 in TOP blind.monk NOM young.blind.person

o turete, Tookaidoo o Kamakura e
 ACC bring/GER Tōkaidō.road ACC Kamakura to

to kudatte iku sugata mo
 QUOT descend.GER go.NONPST figure also

kakitomerarete iru no dearu.
 write.down.PASS.GER be.NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST
 ‘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*)

- (104) *Syoko wa saigo ni, ai ni misekakete*
 Shoko TOP the.end in love DAT feign.GER

ita bisyoo o nageru to, sassa.to
 be.PST smile ACC throw.NONPST when quickly

soko o deta. Usiro no
 there ACC leave.PST behind GEN

hoo de Yamane no tuttatte
 direction LOC Yamane GEN stand.still.GER

iru sugata o senaka de isiki sita.
 be.NONPST figure ACC back INS conscious do.PST
 ‘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*)

- (105) *Watasi wa sore o mita to wa iwanai ga,*
 I TOP that ACC see.PST QUOT TOP say.NEG but

kurai tyawan no naka ni awadatte
 dark tea,cup GEN inside LOC foam.GER

<u>iru</u>	<u>uguisu.iro</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>tya</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>naka</u>	<u>e,</u>
be.NONPST	greenish.brown	GEN	tea	GEN	inside	to

<u>siroi</u>	<u>atatakai</u>	<u>titi</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>hotobasiri,</u>
white	warm	breast.milk	NOM	gush.out.ADV

<u>sitataru</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>nokosite</u>	<u>osamaru</u>
drop	ACC	leave.behind.GER	settle.down.NONPST

<u>sama,</u>	<u>seisyuku.na</u>	<u>otya</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>omote</u>
appearance	quiet.ADN	tea	GEN	surface

<u>ga</u>	<u>kono</u>	<u>siroi</u>	<u>titi</u>	<u>ni</u>
NOM	this	white	breast.milk	DAT

<u>nigotte</u>	<u>awadatu</u>	<u>sama</u>	<u>o,</u>
be.muddied.GER	foam.NONPST	appearance	ACC

<u>ganzen</u>	<u>de</u>	<u>miru</u>	<u>yoo.ni</u>
before.one's.eyes	LOC	see.NONPST	as.though

<u>ariari.to</u>	<u>kanzita</u>	<u>no</u>	<u>dearu.</u>
vividly	sense.PST	NMLZ COP.NONPST	

'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*)

- (106)

<u>Zibun</u>	<u>wa</u>	<u>imori</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>odorokasite</u>	<u>mizu</u>
self	TOP	newt	ACC	surprise.GER	water

<u>ni</u>	<u>ireyoo</u>	<u>to</u>	<u>omotta.</u>	<u>Bukiyoo,ni</u>
in	put.in.INT	QUOT	think.PST	clumsily

<u>karada o</u>	<u>hurinagara</u>	<u>aruku</u>	<u>katati</u>
body	ACC	sway.while	walk

<u>o</u>	<u>omowareta.</u>
ACC	think.SPON.PST

'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*)

- (107)

<u>Seizen</u>	<u>Kengyoo</u>	<u>ga</u>	<u>mamemamesiku</u>
while.alive	shamisen.master(Sasuke)	NOM	diligent.ADV

<u>si</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>tukaete</u>	<u>kage</u>	<u>no</u>
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master (Shunkin) DAT serve.GER shadow GEN

katati ni sou yoo.ni kosyoo site
 shape ADVL accompany.NONPST as.though attend do.GER

ita arisama ga sinobare
 be.PST state NOM recall.SPON.ADV
 ‘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*)

- (108) Dareka ga byoositu no tobira o
 someone NOM sick.room GEN door ACC

sotto akeru kehai ga suru.
 silentlyopen.NONPST sense NOM do.NONPST
 ‘I sensed someone silently opening the door to the sickroom.’
 (ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Sono Zenjitsu*)

- (109) Naka no onna.tati ga issei.ni
 inside GEN women NOM all.together

hurimuita kehai de, Kikuzi wa akaku
 turn.around.PST sense COP.GER Kikuji TOP red.ADV

narinagara, ...
 become.while
 ‘turning red when he sensed the women all turning around at once, Kikuji, ...’
 (KAWABATA Yasunari, *Senbazuru*)

- (110) Seidoo demo watasi wa zibun ni ataerareta
 temple LOC.even I TOP self DAT give.PASS.PST

imaazyu ni sitagatte keiken.ni
 image DAT follow.GER pious.ADV

inoru huri o site ita.
 pray.NONPST pretense ACC do.GER be.PST
 ‘In accordance with the image I myself had been given, I also pretended to
 pray piously in the temple.’
 (ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Shiroi Hito*)

- (111) Huzisoo to yobu syuuzin ga aru
 Fujisō QUOT call.NONPST prisoner NOM one

hi no gogo, zibun.tati no roo no
 day GEN afternoon self.PLURAL GEN cell GEN

tiisa.na mado ni kao o osiatete

small.ADN window to face ACC press.against.GER

iru to, hutari no yasekoketa kodomo
be.NONPST when two GEN starve.PST child

ga tonbo o tukamae, sore o
NOM dragonfly ACC catch.ADVL that ACC

kuti ni hakonde iru senkei ga
mouth to carry.GER be.NONPST scene NOM

mieta. Kodomo.tati ga hotondo syokuzi.rasii
be.visible.PST children NOM almost food-like

syokuzi o ataerarete inai koto
food ACC give.PASS.GER be.NEG.NONPST NMLZ

ga, kore de wakatta.
NOM this INS understand.PST

‘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*)

- (112) *Abekku ga kite, kare wa tyuuzuyokki,*
couple NOM come.GER he TOP medium.stein

kanozyo wa daizuyokki o mae ni site
she TOP large.stein ACC before LOC do.GER

mutumaziku katariatte iru huukei wa
intimate.ADVL talk.together.GER be.NONPST scene TOP

mezurasiku nai.
unusual.ADVL NEG.NONPST

‘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)

- (113) *Kata o tataitari akusyu o*
shoulder ACC hit.REPRESENTATIVE handshake ACC

sitari suru siin ga
do.REPRESENTATIVE do.NONPST scene NOM

atikoti de mirareta.
here.and.there LOC see.POTEN.PST

‘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) *Kooeihei 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 womanNOM 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.ADVL
‘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

samukatta. *Urayama* *de* *nanika* *ga*
cold.PST back.mountain LOC something NOM

hazikeru *yoo.na* *oto* *ga* *sita.* *ki*
burst.NONPST resemble.ADN sound NOM do.PST tree

no *eda* *ga* *reiki* *de* *oreru* *oto*
GEN branch NOM cold INS break.NONPST sound

da.

COP.NONPST

‘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.’

(ENDŌ Shūsaku, *Sono Zenjitsu*)

- (119) *Dareka* *ga* *karakami* *no* *mukoo* *o*
someone NOM Chinese.paper GEN beyond ACC

tooru *asioto*
pass.along.NONPST footsteps

‘the sound of the footsteps of someone passing on the other side of the Chinese screen’

(TANIZAKI Jun’ichirō, *Akuma*)

- (120) *Kakuen-ni* *ga* *ome,* *Okumi ka,* *to* *itta*
Kakuen-nun NOM you Okumi Q QUOT say.PST

koe *ga*
voice NOM

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

(MIZUKAMI Tsutomu, *Mida no Mai*)

- (121) *sakana* *no* *yakeru* *nioi*
fish GEN grill.NONPST smell
‘the smell of fish grilling’

- (122) ?*Dareka* *ga* *sakana* *o* *yaite* *iru*
someone NOM fish ACC grill.GER be.NONPST

nioi
smell

‘the smell of someone grilling fish’

- (123) *tamago* *no* *kusatta* *nioi*
egg GEN rot.PST smell
‘the smell of a rotten egg’

- (124) ?*Dareka* *ga* *makitabako* *o* *sutte*
someone NOM cigar ACC smoke.GER

iru nioi
 be.NONPST smell
 ‘the smell of someone smoking a cigar’

- (125) *Pazyama* *no* *uwagi* *o* *toru* *to*,
 pajama GEN jacket ACC take.NINPST when
- hiyari.tosita* *kuuki* *ga* *hada* *ni*
 cold.ADN air NOM skin 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 Zenjitsu*)

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* *ututte* *kara*
 policy TOP Tōkyō to move.GER after
- no* *daigaku.kensetu* *ni* *mo* *turanukareyoo* *to*
 GEN founding.of.universityLOC also carry.out.PASS.PRES QUOT

sita. *Tokoroga,* *kore* *wa* *ryoosya*
make.PST however this TOP both

no *sookoku* *no* *naka* *de,* *syakaiteki.na*
GEN rivalry GEN amidst LOC social.ADN

yookyuu *o* *zissituteki.ni* *han'ei sita*
demand ACC substantive.ADVL reflect do.PST

yoogaku *no* *syoori* *ni* *seki* *o*
Western.studies GEN victory to seat ACC

yuzuru *kekka* *to* *natta.*
yield.NONPST result QUOT become.PST

‘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’)

(126) *Kindai* *kyooiku* *no* *seido* *ya* *naiyoo* *o*
modern education GEN system and content ACC

seiyoo no *moderu* *ni* *sitagatte,*
West GEN model DAT follow.GER

tukuridasoo *to* *sita* *kekka* *wa,* ***kaette***
create.INT QUOT do.PSTresult TOP to.the.contrary

uti *kara* *no* *henkaku* *no* *tikara* *o*
inside from GEN reform GEN power ACC

yowamete *simatta* *to.mo* *ieru.*
weaken.GER end.up.PST QUOT.even say.POTEN.NONPST

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.

(127) *Watasi.tati* *ga* *benkyoo* *o* *site* *iru*
we NOM study ACC do.GER be.NONPST

ue *de* *dareka* *ga* *zyuudoo* *o*
above LOC someone NOM judo ACC

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* *taiya* *no* *kisimu* *mae* *o,*
 as.thought 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*)

- (130) Akiti o hedateta mukoo.gawa no tinzyu
vacant.lot ACC separate.PST far.side GEN shrine

no aru oka no sugibayai ga
GEN exist.NONPST hill GEN cedar.grove NOM

utukusii midori ni hikatte ita.
beautiful.NONPST green ADVL shine.GER be.PST

‘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*)

- (131) Kare no ie no yakenai mae nimo
he GEN house GEN burn.NEG.NONPST before LOC.even

onozukara boku ni kazi no aru
oneself I DAT fire GEN exist.NONPST

yokan o ataenai wake ni.wa .
premonition ACC give.NEG.NONPST NMLZ DAT.TOP

ikanakatta.
go.NEG.PST

‘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*)

- (132) Oota.huzin ga motinusi deatta mae ni
Ota.Madam NOM owner COP.PST before OBL

kono mizusasi ga dekite kara san.yon.hyaku.nen
this water.jug NOM be.made since 3.or.4.hundred.years

no aida ni donna unmei no hito no
GEN span OBL what.kind.of fate GEN person GEN

te kara te e watatte kita no
hand from hand to be.passed come.PST that

daroo ka
COP.PRES Q

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

(KAWABATA Yasunari, *Senbazuru*)

- (133) Kisya ya kisen ya zidoosya ga
train and steamship and automobile NOM

<u>hatumei</u>	<u>sarenakatta</u>	<u>mae</u>	<u>ni,</u>	<u>hayaku.mo</u>
invent	do.PASS.NEG.PST	before	LOC	early
 <u>kuutyuusen</u>	 <u>o</u>	 <u>yume.mita</u>	 <u>tokoro ni,</u>	
airship	ACC	dream.PST	place LOC	
 <u>gakuziyutu</u>	 <u>no</u>	 <u>sinpo</u>	 <u>ga</u>	 <u>anzi.sareyoo</u>
scholarship	GEN	progress	NOM	hint.do.PASS.PRES
 <u>keredomo,</u>	 <u>saritote</u>	 <u>Raserasu</u>	 <u>to</u>	 <u>purerioo</u>
but	that.being.said	Rasselas	and	Blériot

o dooitusi.suru koto wa dekinai.
ACC view.on.a.par.NONPST NMLZ TOP can.NEG.NONPST
‘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*)

(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-chōme 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.’

(Ōsaka Nichinichi Shinbun 1968.6.21)

(Author’s note: If this is taken to mean ‘I came to Osaka four or five years ago. Since that time ... hanging around Osaka’s Tenroku area’, then it may be thought inappropriate as an example for this section. When I presented a similar example (*Oosaka e detekita si,gonen mae huryoo nakama ni hairi...* (Asahi Shinbun)) in “The syntax of noun modification in Japanese” (1969), I pointed out that it was ambiguous between an “inner relationship” interpretation of ‘four or five years earlier than now, which was the time when I came to Osaka’ and an “outer relationship” interpretation of ‘four or five years before coming to Osaka’, with the modifying part supplying (reverse supplementation) the concept of relativity to a relative noun.)

(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.byooiin 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 toiawaseta ikkagetugo*
 city.hall GEN counter DAT inquire.PST one.month.after
- deatta.*
 COP.PST
- ‘Mitsuo requested by letter addressed to the Fujizawa 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 yokuzitu*
 these.days self TOP drink.heavily ACC do.PSTnext.day
- ni wa, izen ni mo masite nasakenai*

OBL TOP before OBL even more pathetic

kimoti ni osowareru.

feeling 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 yokuzitu kara, watasi wa*
but mother NOM die.PST following.day from I TOP

haha o dandan utukusiku
mother ACC gradually beautiful.ADV

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.ADV mother

ga hitori de utukusiku natte kita
NOM alone INS beautiful.ADV 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 nuguisatta 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.sanzuuroku.nen no aki, Bungei Syunzyuu.sya*
Showa.36.year GEN fall Bungei Shunjū-sha

no kooen.ryokoo de San'in e itta.

GEN lecture.tour INS San'in.region to go.PST
Yonago ni tomatta asa, watasi wa
Yonago LOC stay.PST morning I TOP

hayaku okite kuruma o yatoi,
early get.uo.GER car ACC hire.ADV

titi no kokyoo ni mukatta.
father GEN hometown to set.out.PST

'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 Ki*)

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}

kaisya de uwayaku ni sikarareta kaeri
company LOC supervisor DAT scold.PASS.PST return
'on your way home after being scolded by the boss'

tomodati to kenka.sita kaeri
friend with quarrel.PST return
'on your way home after quarrelling with a friend'

nantonaku uwayaku ga kawaiku mieta kaeri
somehow supervisor NOM cute.ADV 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

kaimono ni deta kaeri ni, Wakamiya.ooji
shopping DAT go.out.PST return on Wakamiya.Ōji

ni aru kamakura-bori no Genzidoo
LOC exist.NONPST lacquered.carving GEN Genji-dō

ni yotta.
to visit.PST

'On the afternoon of that day, Masako dropped in to Genjido on Wakamiya Oji, where they had Kamakura-bori lacquered carvings.'

(TACHIYAMA Masaaki, *Takiginō*)

(145) Okamisan ga otukai ni deta rusu deatta.

proprietress NOM errand DAT leave.PST absence COP.PST

Zyotyuu *wa* *buaisoo.ni* *watasi o*
maid TOP gruff.ADVL I ACC

mukae, *gatan.to* *biiru* *bin o oite*
meet.ADVL with.a.bang beer bottle ACC place.GER

sen o nuita. *Kono hanami* *no kisetu,*
cap ACC open.PST this flower.viewing GEN season

rusuban o oosetukatta *node okyaku*
caretaker ACC be.ordered.PST because guest

ni atatte ita.
DAT strike.GER be.PST

‘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.keihoo*
such thing ACC say.NONPST person TOP air.raid.warning

de dokoka no eki e orosareta tuiide.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 seizei da.
NMLZ GEN exist.NONPST NMLZ GEN at.mostCOP.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

iwayuru narikin zidai deatta ga, ...
 so-called nouveau riche era COP.PST but
 ‘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*
 say.NONPST QUOT think.NONPST if merman GEN
- karada wa kurage no yoo.ni asaku*
 body TOP jellyfish GEN like shallow.ADV
- natte, yagate, koori no tokeru ga.gotoku*
 become/GER finally ice GEN melt like
- kieuseta ato ni, ni,san.syaku no, tiisa.na umihebi*
 fade.out.PST trace LOC 2,3.foot GEN small.ADN sea.snake
- ga, mizugame no naka o ukitusizumitu*
 NOM water.jug GEN inside ACC float.up.sink.by.turns
- rokusyooiro no se o hikarase*
 green-blue.color GEN back ACC shine.CAUS.ADV
- oyoide imasita.*
 swim.GER be.POL.PST
 ‘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.ADV thanks ACC say.PST Hikoshichi
- no ie o deta. Sadatomo kara Ootaki*
 GEN house ACC leave.PST Sadatomo from Ōtaki
- e modoru totyuu ni kangaekonda.*
 to return along.the.way LOC ponder.PST
 ‘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 ya Maze.Kuemon ga zuuzuusiku*
 Yadaiyu and Maze.Kuemon NOM shameless.ADV
- 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.PSTNMLZ COP.NEG.NONPST Q
 ‘There must be someone in the background of Yadaiyu and Kuemon Maze’s
 arrogantly turning defiant.’

(SUGIURA Minpei, *Watanabe Kazan*)

- (151) *Yoreyore no syatu no mune o hadaketa*
 tattered GEN undershirt GEN chest ACC bare.PST

tiisaku 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

yoko 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

QUOT thing.NONPST feeling NOM exist.NONPST something

omosiroku.nai *dekigoto* *no* *okoru*
interesting.NEG.NONPST happening GEN arise.NONPST

tabi goto ni, sono ryoooyoo no kimoti o
time every at that both GEN feeling ACC

hakkiri kanziru koto ga dekiru.
clearly feel.NONPST NMLZ NOM can.NONPST

‘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*)

(154) *Kiite iru uti ni hanasi ga*
listen.GER be.NONPST while in talk NOM

utagawasiku naru ippoo de,
doubtful.ADVL become.NONPST one.side LOC

tootoo aite wa konna oogesa.na
finally other.guy TOP such exaggerated.ADN

koto o iidasita.
thing ACC say.PST

‘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*)

(155) *Kono “in” toiu kotoba wa, tan.ni hito no*
this QUOT word TOP simply person GEN

yo kara kakureru koto o imi.suru hanmen,
world from hide.NONPST NMLZ ACC mean.NONPST one.side

gyaku.ni sore ga ... kaette hitotu no
to.the.contrary that NOM conversely one GEB

sekkyokuteki.na imi o motu hito
positive.ADN meaning ACC have.NONPST person

to kangaerareta no dearu.
QUOT think.PASS.PST NMLZ COP.NONPST

‘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*)

(156) *Tisai tera ga tenzai.suru hoka wa,*

small.NONPST temple NOM scatter.NONPST outside TOP

Asukagawa ga nagareru dake no heibon.na murazato
Asuka.river NOM flow.NONPST only GEN plain.ADN village

ni natte iru.

DAT become.GER be.NONPST

‘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 yoozi de denwa.site kuru*
clerical.ADN business INS telephone.GER come.NONPST

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) *Nyoogo.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.kakerareru koto
by spur.on.PASS.NONPST NMLZ

mo nai kawari ni, sorera ni
also exist.NEG.NONPST replacement in those DAT

tukaeru nyoo boo.tati no kyoosoosin mo
serve.NONPST servants GEN competitive.spirit also

usureta.

weaken.PST

‘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, tooyoosi no
attention ACC draw.GER Asian.history GEN

ue ni bunken tosite sugata o arawasu
above LOC reference as form ACC show.NONPST

saisyo dearu.

first.time COP.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, nizyuyonsai 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 deattaroo.*
 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.

- (161) [*Kono seinen wa*] *Hukuyama-si* *ga* *kuusyuu* *o*
 this youth TOP Fukuyama-city NOM bombing ACC
- ukeru* *toozitu* *made,* *sono* *mati* *no*
 receive.NONPST that.day until that town GEN
- teikoku senryoo gaisya ni*
 imperial dye company DAT
- tutomete ita.*

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
 Ōsaka 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.Doosen,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.sita, ...
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.ADV condition ACC

kowasita *ga,* *sore* *mo* *kaihuku.sita*
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 losses 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 temporally relative nouns, but the following are examples of conceptual relativity, such as gen’in ‘cause’ ↔ *kekka* ‘result’.

- (170) *Keredomo* *tatta* *hitotu*, *Okin* *niwa* *niisan* *ga*
however only one Okin DAT.TOP older.brother NOM
kaette *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.’
(SATŌ 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.NONPST and 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.ADVL broad support

o eta riyuu dearu to omou.
 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 wakareru koto ga*
 even.if Yumiko and TOP part.NONPST NMLZ NOM
dekitemo, kono haha to wa wakareru koto ga
 can.GER.even this mother and TOP part.NONPST NMLZNOM
dekinai. Naze naraba wakareru 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
yoo'in tosite tugi no yoo.na mono o
 cause as following GEN similar.ADN thing ACC

agete iru.

present.GER be.NONPST

‘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) *Itō no ansatsu.sareta no wa, sude.ni*
Itō GEN assassinate.PASS.PSTNMLZ TOP already

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

Kankokuzin no koo.iu urami ga gyoosyuu.sita
Korean GEN this.kind.of resentment NOM concentrate.PST

kekka deatta.

result COP.PST

‘The assassination of Itō was a result of this accumulation of resentment by Koreans, although he had already resigned as resident-general.’

Nouns like *gen'in* ‘cause’ and *riyuu* ‘reason’ overwhelmingly appear only in a relative modification structure (reverse supplementation), but *kekka* ‘result’ has both the use above and the use shown in section 5.3.2 (examples 49 – 50) and the correct interpretation is important. In actuality, expressions in which the modifying portion shows the “cause”, and the result is the base noun appear to be favored in Japanese.

- (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

omowareru. 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*)

- (177) *Sizuko-san wa, kazoku no kore.made o kokumei.ni*
 Ms.Shizuko TOP family GEN up.to.now ACC detailed.ADV
hurikaetta. Sahodo amayakasitari,
 review.PST such.an.extent spoil.REPRESENTATIVE
wagamama.saseta 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 kibisikatta handoo
 exist.NEG.NONPST grandfather NOM strict.PST reaction
de, otto mo zibun mo musiro ziyuu.ni
 INS husband also self also rather free.ADV
suki.na koto o yarasete 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*”)

- (178) *Yoromeita hyoosi de watasi wa kanozō ni*
 stagger.PST moment INS I TOP her into
butukatta.
 bump.PST
 ‘Staggering, I bumped into her.’
- (179) *Watasi ga tabeta nokori*
 I NOM eat.PST remains
 ‘my leftovers after eating’
- (180) *tabako o katta oturi de*
 cigarettes ACC buy.PST change INS
 ‘with the change from buying cigarettes’
- (181) *koozi ni tukatta amari no*
 construction in use.PST remaining GEN
semento o
 cement ACC
 ‘the cement remaining from use in construction’
- (182) *osita hazumi de*

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

- (183) itinenzyuu mura.aruki o sita
 through.one.year village.walking ACC do.PST

hoosyuu de
 remuneration INS
 ‘with my compensation for having walked the village throughout the year’
 (MIZUKAMI Tsutomu)

- (184) hitugi o yaku kemuri
 coffin ACC burn.NONPST smoke
 ‘the smoke from burning the coffin’
 (MISHIMA Yukio)

- (185) Siragi to Kara no rengoogun wa Kudara o
 Silla and Tang GEN joint.armies TOP Paekche ACC

huhutta ikioi o katte, kono kuni
 slaughter energy ACC be.spurred.on.GER this country

e osiyosete konai tomo
 to push.on.GER come.NEG.NONPST QUOT.also

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) Keizoo wa munasawagi ga sita. Izyoo.na
 Keizō TOP uneasiness NOM do.PST strange.ADN

mono o mituketa dooyoo ga sibaraku
 thing ACC discover.PST agitation NOM for.a.while

tuzuita. ^
 continue.PST
 ‘Keizo felt an uneasiness. The agitation of finding something strange
 continued for a while.’
 (ITŌ Sei, *Hakkutsu*)

- (187) Haha ga kyoikketu de taoreta. Zibun
 mother NOM heart.attack INS collapse.PST self

no kuni to, otto no kuni to
 GEN country and husband GEN country and

ga, tekidoosi to natta syokku mo, sono
 NOM mutual.enemies QUOT become.PST shock also that

gen'in daroo.

cause COP.PRES

‘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*)

- (188) *Sensei no senaka ni wa, satuki.endai no*
 teacher GEN back LOC TOP rhododendron.bench GEN

ue ni aomuki.ni neta ato ga
 top LOC face.up.ADV sleep.PST traces NOM

ippai tuite ita.
 plenty attach.GER be.PST

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

(NATSUME Sōseki, *Kokoro*)

- (189) *Senaka ni kesagake.ni kirareta ooki.na*
 back LOC diagonal.ADV cut.PASS.PST big.ADN

kizuato ga aru. *Nikai mo kitta*
 scar NOM exist.NONPST twice even cut.PST

node kizuato soko dake hukurete iru.
 since scar there only swell.GER be.NONPST

‘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*)

- (190) *Sono aka.urusi no tokoro nimo, kuroi*
 that red.lacquer GEN place LOC.also black

urusinuri no tokoro mo, yogoreta te
 lacquered GEN place also dirty.PST hand

ga sawatta yubiato ga rekizen.to nokotte
 NOM touch.PST finger.mark NOM evident.ADV remain.GER

ita.

be.PST

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

(*Rikugorō*)

- (191) *Soko ga nomikuti na no daroo ka.*
 there NOM glass.rim COP.ADN NMLZ COP.PRES Q

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

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

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

Humiko *no* *haha* *no* *kutibeni* *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*)

- (192) *Meizi.Taisyoo* *no* *Nihon.teki* *sukora tetugakusya.tati* *ga,*
Meiji.Taishō GEN Japanese schola philosophers NOM

"fausuto" *de* *imizikumo* *itte* *iru* *taisyuu*
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".'

- (193) *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*)

- (194) *Ano* *nooka* *no* *syuzin* *ga* *syuukaku.sita*
that farm.family GEN husband NOM harvest.PST

<i>syooga</i> ginger	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>hozon.suru</i> preserve.NONPST	<i>ana</i> hole	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>hotte</i> dig.GER	
<i>ita.</i> be.PST	<i>Ooki.na</i> big.ADN	<i>isi</i> stone	<i>ga</i> NOM	<i>kuwa</i> hoe	<i>ni</i> DAT	<i>atatta.</i> strike.PST
<i>Torinozokeyoo</i> remove.INT		<i>to</i> QUOT	<i>syuuhen</i> surrounding	<i>no</i> GEN	<i>tuti</i> dirt	
<i>o</i> ACC	<i>harau</i> brush.NONPST	<i>to,</i> when	<i>kiriisi</i> hewn.stone	<i>ga</i> NOM	<i>arawareta.</i> appear.PST	
<i>Anahori</i> hole.digging	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>akirameta</i> give.up.PST	<i>sono</i> that	<i>hito</i> person	<i>wa,</i> TOP	
<i>mamonaku</i> in.no.time	<i>sinda.</i> die.PST	<i>“Tuka</i> burial.mound	<i>o</i> ACC	<i>hotta</i> dig.PST		
<i>tatari</i> punishment	<i>da”</i> COP.NONPST	<i>toiu</i> rumor	<i>uwasa</i> rumor	<i>ga</i> NOM		

hirogatta.
spread.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)

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

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

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

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

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

- (196) *Usui moya no orita basue no*
thin haze GEN descend.PST outskirts GEN

matissuzi wa, too.ni mise o
village.streets TOP long.ago shop ACC

simatta sizukesa *dearu.*
close.PST silence COP.NONPST
‘The village streets on the outskirts, covered with a light haze, were silent long after the closing of the shops.’
(NAGAI Tatsuo, *Aodensha*)

(197) Zibun no kodoku o zyuubun isiki.si
self GEN isolation ACC sufficiently be.aware.of.ADVL

sore o tetteiteki.ni nikumu namida
that ACC thorough.ADVL detest.NONPST tears

deatta.
COP.PST
‘They were tears (he shed) completely conscious of his isolation and thoroughly detesting it.’
(ŌSHIRO Tatsuhiko, *Nisei*)

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

(198) Iemitsu wa, Zyuubei no inaku.natta
IemitsuTOP Jūbei GEN be.NEG.ADVL.become.PST

sabisisa ni taekanete, sono otooto
loneliness DAT bear.cannot.GER that younger.brother

no Tomonori o mesidasazu.ni irarenakatta
GEN Tomonori ACC summon.NEG.ADVL be.POTEN.NEG.PST

kamo.sirenai.
for.all.I.know
‘Unable to bear his loneliness after the departure of Jubei, Iemitsu could not help summoning his younger brother, Tomonori.’
(YAMAOKA Sōhachi, *Yagyū Jūbei*)

(199) “Soo desu ka”
so COP.NONPST Q

Kanozyo wa bakamitai.ni kotaeta.
she TOP stupid.sounding.ADVL answer.PST

Aita danbooru o hikiyose, sono
open.PST cardboard.box ACC draw.near.ADVL that

naka ni sinbun kuzu o osikominagara,
inside in newspaper trash ACC stuff.while

zibun no ima no hooketa kotaekata
self GEN now GEN be.befuddled way.of.answering

e *no* *kigakari* *to,* *ikasetai*
to GEN anxiety and go.CAUS.DESI.NONPST

aite *ni* *isuwararete* *iru*
person DAT sit.PASS.GER be.NONPST

otitukanasa *to,* *sosite* *ikarenu* *uti*
unease and also go.POTEN.NEG.NONPST span

ni *sinmitu.na* *hitotoki* *o*
in intimate.ADN time ACC

motitai *aseri* *to* *ni,* *wadai* *o*
have.DESI.NONPST impatience and DAT topic ACC

asaru.

hunt.for.NONPST

‘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*)

- (200) *Izure* *wa* *au* *unmei* *ni.aru*
someday TOP meet.NONPST fate COP.NONPST

toiu *kimoti ga,* *sono* *kikai* *o* *motte* *iru*
feeling NOM that chance ACC have.GER be.NONPST

huan *kara* *nogaretai* *toiu* *kimoti ni* *naru.*
unease from flee.DESI.NONPST feeling DAT become.NONPST

‘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.’

(ITŌ Sei, *Hakkutu*)

- (201) *Misu-Rii* *o* *otoko* *to* *omoitigaerareta*
Miss.Lee ACC man QUOT mistake.for.POTEN.PST

okasisa *de,* *Aiko* *ni* *nikkori* *waratta.*
strangeness INS Aiko DAT merrily laugh.PST

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

(ENCHI Fumiko, *Aijō no Keifu*)

- (202) *Asi* *no* *sibire* *no* *tokekakaru*
leg GEN numbness GEN start.to.dissipate.NONPST

<u>kisyoku.no.warui</u>	<u>kokoromotonasa</u>	<i>ni</i>
weird	uneasiness	at
'at the weird uneasiness when the numbness in his leg began to dissipate'		

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', *riyuu* '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.

³ MATSUSHITA Daisaburō. 1930. *Kaisen Hyōjun Nihon Bunpō* [Revised grammar of standard Japanese] (Reprinted by Benseisha 1969). Pages 229~231.