

Syntax and Semantics of Noun Modification

Part 4

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Syntax and semantics of noun modification

Part 4

6. Formalization of the base noun and specialization of constructional function

6.1 Introduction

Among the noun modification patterns, we have so far divided constructions in which the modifying portion is of a form that could become a sentence, that is, is a form that has “propositional content” and modifies a noun into “inner relation” and “outer relation” constructions and have considered the syntactic and semantic characteristics of each. To recapitulate, “inner relation” constructions are ones in which the modifying clause and the base noun are in a relation as though they formed a single sentence while in “outer relation” noun modification constructions such a relation does not hold and the modifying clause and the base noun are bound together by some other circumstance, fundamentally by the special semantic characteristics of the base noun. In either case, the clause is dependent on the nouniness of the base noun and the whole combination constitutes a single unit and functions as a noun in a larger clause, forming what can be called an endocentric construction.

Semantically, in an inner relation the modifying portion adds information that simply specifies the base noun and says nothing about the content of the base. In contrast, in the outer relation, the modifying portion exists to express the content of the base noun. This difference appears in the following examples.

- (1) *watasi ga sono toki kiita oto*
I NOM that time hear.PST sound
‘the sound that I heard then’
- (2) *ki no eda ga reiki de oreru oto*
tree GEN branch NOM cold.air INS break.NONPST sound
‘the sound of the tree branches breaking in the cold’

This was discussed in detail in section 3. In addition, in section 4 we focused on inner relations and in section 5, outer relations and we observed various types of each.

We can say that the conditions for making inner relation modification constructions are overwhelmingly structural. Accordingly, any noun can be made a base noun. Stated a bit more carefully, any noun that can be used independently in a sentence can be used as a base noun.

In contrast, outer relation constructions can only be formed when the base noun has the semantic characteristic of having some content that can be expressed in the form of a clause. That the characteristics of the noun are linked to the formation of a particular structural pattern is a characteristic that is probably to be found in a variety of languages, not just in the grammar of Japanese, and, since what kinds of nouns have what sorts of characteristics is something that varies from language to language, such information is something that should be part of the lexicon.

The above is a brief review from the introduction to this point. In this chapter, as a capstone to this investigation, we will consider how the original substantive meaning of some

base nouns has been bleached and, how they, together with becoming “formalized” have lost their status as nouns and have become specialized in various constructional functions.

One reason we mentioned at the beginning of the previous chapter that noun modification constructions play a special role in the formation of complex sentence constructions in Japanese was that Japanese seems to prefer expressions using noun modification constructions, be they inner relation or outer relation, compared to other languages like English, but another reason is because such constructions form the foundation for the varied patterns we will consider in this chapter.

The first transformation of base nouns is seen in cases where, when a noun phrase includes an element that was originally an adverbial in quality, taking advantage of that adverbial quality the entire preceding modifying clause is taken as an adverbial clause, that is an adverbial clause, modifying the following (main) clause. Archetypical examples of this are clauses ending in nouns like *toki* ‘time’ or *tame* ‘sake, reason, purpose’. *Toki* and *tame* function as base nouns supporting the preceding modifying clause and, at the same time, function as adverbial modifying clauses with regard to the following clause specifying when or why as in *sono toki* ‘(at) that time’ or *zisin no tame* ‘because of the earthquake’. In the sense that they adhere to the previous clause and bear on the following clause in an adverbial use, they could be said to have a conjunctive particle-like role. The reason they cannot be regarded as completely on a par with conjunctive particles like *kara* ‘because’ or *keredomo* ‘but, however’, is that they retain some noun characteristics structurally, although the degree of retention varies. We will consider this kind of construction in the next section, 6.2. The second transformation of base nouns is the case in which they have become clause-final auxiliaries, fusing with a following *aru* ‘exist’, *nai* ‘not.exist’, or *da* ‘COP’, as in ...*hazu.da* ‘...expectation.COP’, ...*koto.ga.aru* ‘there are cases when ...’, or ...*wake.da* ‘matter/reason.COP’. These carry the same kind of function as auxiliaries like ...*daroo* ‘...COP.PRES’ or ...*rasii* ‘seem that ...’ and for the most part express the speaker’s subjective attitude toward the proposition (expressed by the modifying clause). In that sense, they can be bundled together as “modal” or “mood” auxiliaries. However, to treat them completely as auxiliaries would, as in the case of conjunctive particles, be to ignore the dual nature of the structural functions these words have. We will consider cases like these in more detail in section 6.3.

Among the base nouns, there are those tending toward being conjunctive particle-like as the first transformation, and those that tend toward being modal auxiliary-like as the second transformation but, there are also those, like *tokoro* ‘place’ that, on the one hand form ordinary noun modification clauses, that is, constructions that can be modified by the preceding clause and somehow develop as nouns (example (3)) as well as being used like a conjunctive particle (example (4)) or as a modal auxiliary (example 5)), showing “management diversification”, so to speak.

- (3) *Koko wa Matahei ga adauti o sita*
 here TOP Matahei NOM retaliation ACC do.PST

tokoro desu.
 COP.NONPST
 ‘This is the place where Matahei carried out his revenge.’

- (4) *Keisatude sirabeta tokoro, gomibako kara*

police at inquire.PST trash.can from

yubiwa to meisi ga dete.kita.
ring and name.card NOM turn.up.PST

‘When he inquired/in the situation of having inquired at the police, a ring and a business card turned up from the trash can.’

- (5) *Tyoodo kimi ni denwa.siyoo to omotte*
precisely you DAT make.telephone.call.VOL QUOT think.GER

ita tokoro desu.
be.PST COP.NONPST

‘I was just about to call you.’

In addition to the *tokoro* above, other nouns with this sort of diversified function include *mono* ‘thing’ and *koto* ‘matter, fact, act’. The span of uses of each of these is huge and the meanings are complex and so we cannot consider them all with real-life examples here, but we will give an overview of the varied uses of words like these in section 6.4.

The nouns we propose to consider in this chapter greatly overlap with those traditionally called *keishiki meishi* ‘formal nouns’. As is well known, it was MATSUSHITA Daisaburō who first noted the characteristics of nouns like *koto*, *mama*, and *hazu* and proposed establishing *keishiki meishi* as a subcategory of noun. In his *Hyōjun Nihon Kōgohō* ‘Standard Japanese Vernacular Grammar, he gave the following kinds of examples.

Toohuu no koto o bekkoo to iu tokoro
Tōfū GEN ACC bekkō QUOT call.NONPST place
ga aru.
NOM exist.NONPST

‘There places where they call tofu “bekkō”.’

Hitori-gurai wa sansei.suru mono mo aroo.
1.person.about TOP approve.NONPST also exist.PRES
‘There’s probably at least one person who will agree.’

Sonna koto o iu hazu ga nai.
such thing ACC say NOM exist.NEG.NONPST
‘There’s no expectation that someone will say any such thing.’
‘No one should say such things.’

Yoi no ga aru.
good NOM exist.NONPST
‘I have a good one. / There are good ones.’

Matsushita said, “Formal nouns (*keishiki meishi*) are nouns that have only formal meanings and lack substantive meanings”, and contrasted them with *honmeishi* ‘real nouns’, *dai-meishi* ‘pronouns’, and *miteimeishi* ‘indefinite nouns’, which he held to be “substantive nouns (*jishitsuteki meishi*)”. Noticing the special characteristics of such nouns was undeniably insightful and, for that reason the classification has been continued, but his characterization placed a heavy weight on semantics. The next to consider such nouns was

YAMADA Yoshio's *Nihon Bunpōron* 'Theory of Japanese Grammar', which noted the same group of nouns, but naturally placed even more emphasis on semantic characteristics. It was SAKUMA Kanae who took Matsushita's formal noun hypothesis and added more structural considerations. Sakuma set up a category of *kyūchakugo* 'adhesion words' (*Kyūchakugo no Mondai* 'The problem of adhesion words' *Kokugo Kokubun* 1938) and, showing that there were actually a large number of words that fit Matsushita's characterization, divided them up into a number of types according to their meanings and uses. (*Gendai Nihongo no Hyōgen to Gohō* 'Modern Japanese Expressions and Grammar' 1951).

It appears that in none of the theories discussed above did the theorist necessarily attempt to hierarchically categorize subcategories of nouns and assign all nouns to a category – that is, whether the same noun *mono* is a *keishiki meishi* or not is judged based on how it is used – and when this term is used in current national language grammar, there is a tendency for people to regard this as a part of speech problem. The term's definition is still too semantically and conceptually oriented. The reason we will avoid treating all *keishiki meishi* as a group in this chapter is that we want to observe how the nouns can be distinguished in their varied uses structurally depending on their semantic characteristics and how structural differences (that is, differences in use) reflect differences in the semantic content of the same noun.

6.2 Conversion of the base to conjunctive particles

First, we will look at constructions in which some *koto* 'matter, fact, act' applies to modify a base noun and then that whole thing bears on a following sentence (or clause) showing adverbial or adverbial modification.

Among nouns, those that express time or quantity and those that were treated as having a "relative quality" in section 5.5 of the previous chapter generally often also have adverb-like qualities. Noun modification constructions with these nouns as base nouns, therefore, while they can as a whole function as noun phrases forming a constituent in a larger sentence, at the same time, because of the adverb-like nature of their base nouns, can also function as a whole as adverbs with complex content.

One can think of quite a few yardsticks by which to measure the nouniness of some word. The most common, strongly independent nouns can fit in the following frame.

<i>Kore</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>(ga)</i>	_____	<i>da.</i>	[I]
this	TOP	NOM		COP.NONPST	
'This is a _____.'					

Mokuteki 'objective', *riyuu* 'reason', and *gen'in* 'cause' can fit this frame, but *tame* 'sake' or *okage* 'thanks.to' cannot. *Gendo* 'limit, bounds' fits but *teido* 'degree', *kagiri* 'limit', and *hodo* 'extent' do not. *Ito* 'intention' fits but *tumori* 'intention' does not. *Toki* 'time' and *baai* 'case' can be used in *toki wa Genroku 15-nen* 'the time is the fifteenth year of Genroku' or *toki to baai ni yoru* 'it depends on the time and circumstances', but they cannot be used in the frame above. Next, even though they may not have this much independence, words that fit in the following frames should probably also be considered to be furnished with noun qualities.

(NOUN)	<i>no</i>	_____	[II]
	GEN		

<i>kono,</i>	<i>sono,</i>	<i>ano</i>	<i>dono</i>	_____
this	that (proximal)	that (distal)	which	

<i>konna,</i>	<i>sonna,</i>	<i>anna</i>	<i>donna</i>	_____
this.kind.of	that.kind.of	that.kind.of	what.kind.of	

The nouns that were rejected in the first test, that is, those with a low degree of independence, all pass this second test. However, although they are similar semantically, *irai* ‘ever.since’, *dake* ‘only’, and *kiri* ‘that’s.it’ cannot appear in pattern II, but take the following pattern.

(NOUN) _____ [III]

<i>kore,</i>	<i>sore,</i>	<i>are,</i>	<i>dore</i>	_____
this.one	that.one	that.far.one	which.one	

Words that can fit into pattern III but not into pattern II must be said to have lost at least half their nouniness (in terms of linking with the preceding element). These are particles that suffix to a noun and adverbialize the whole thing and have the same function as what are normally called *fukujoshi* ‘adverbial particles, delimiters’.

The above discussion focused on what forms a word could follow, but what forms can suffix to a word is also an important factor in determining nouniness. Words that normally allow the affixation of case particles (*ga* ‘NOM’, *o* ‘ACC’, *ni* ‘DAT’, *to* ‘COM’) should probably be considered nouns. Here we are testing whether not a word has adverbial qualities, but we should take whether or not the word can modify what follows even without *ni* as one indicator. This is indicated by ϕ (zero) in Table 1. It must be noted that there are quite a few cases in which either “_____ ϕ ” or “_____ *ni*” are possible but the meaning and use are different depending on which is used. The following are such examples.

<i>Nihon</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>iru</i>	<i>aida</i>	{ <i>Kyooto</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>sunde</i>	<i>ita.</i> /
Japan	LOC	be.NONPST	period	Kyoto	LOC	live.GER	be.PST

**umareta.* }
be.born.PST

‘While I was in Japan, {I lived in Kyoto. / (someone) was born.}’

<i>Nihon</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>iru</i>	<i>aida</i>	<i>ni</i>	{* <i>Kyooto</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>sunde</i>
Japan	LOC	be.NONPST	period		Kyoto	LOC	live.GER

ita. / *umareta.* }
be.PST be.born.PST

‘While I was in Japan, {I lived in Kyoto. / (someone) was born.}’

Using such tests, let us consider what nouns can have the structural functions described above and list up on what points “mere” nouns, “pure” conjunctive particles, and adverbial particles differ and in what aspects they overlap and put our results in a table (Table 1).

From Table 1, we can extract those words that pass the “following” nouniness tests ② and ③ but also have adverbial characteristics according to ⑬, giving the following list.

- (A) *toki* ‘time’, *aida* ‘period’, *koro* ‘time’, *tabi* ‘times’, *baai* ‘case, circumstance’, *tame* ‘sake’, *yue* ‘reason’, *kekka* ‘result’, *sue* ‘end’, *ageku* ‘outcome’, *ue* ‘concerning’, *amari* ‘excess’, *tokoro* ‘place, circumstance’, *kurai* ‘amount’, *mama* ‘state’, *toori* ‘course’, *kagiri* ‘limit, bounds’

Of these, there are those like (B) that cannot appear with *ni*.

- (B) *kekka* ‘result’, *kagiri* ‘limit, bounds’

On the other hand, there are those that need the addition of *ni* to be adverbialized.

- (C) *tabigoto* ‘every time’, *kuse* ‘fault’, *wari* ‘proportion’, *yoo* ‘appearance’

Furthermore, there are some special ones like the *bun* in *Oota-san ga kikitukete irassiyaru bun.niwa, sikataganai* [Ōta-Mr NOM overhear.GER be.NONPST *bun.niwa* it.can’t.be.helped] ‘Given that (to the extent that) Mr Ota has overheard it, it can’t be helped.’ (KAWABATA Yasunari, *Senbazuru*) that require the *niwa*. After removing those in (B), all of those left in (A) can, as least as a pattern, appear with *ni* and when used this way can also function in an adverb-like manner.

In this section, as part of our consideration of the syntax and semantics of noun modification constructions, we are examining how a base noun follows a modifying clause and at the same time, forming a single unit with it, bears on what follows in an adverb-like way. Nouns that function this way are archetypically those included in (A), but we will also include those in (C) as “affiliates”.

We will consider various points of interest with regard to individual words later, when we look at real-life examples, but here we will compare: (i) constructions with nouns like those in (A) and (C) as their base nouns modified by a clause (or some other form) and functioning as a whole as an adverbial clause bearing on what follows, (ii) constructions with ordinary, substantive nouns (those with “o” in the ① column of Table 1), and (iii) cases in which the form modified by the clause has lost much of its nouniness and can be seen to have become adverbial particles (those with “X” in columns ② and ③ and “o” in columns ⑥ and ⑦), and for each type, examine the degree of “dependency” that exists between the clause and the form that follows it.

First come nouns like *mokuteki*, *gen’in*, *kekka*, and *gendo*, which typically appear in the construction “noun modifying clause + noun” with a preceding clause (or “noun + *no*”) and the two components generally appear in the “outer relation” described in detail in the previous chapter; as also mentioned there, in this pattern, the base becomes a constituent of the next higher clause and the preceding clause can be considered “subordinate” to it, but in a position to place bounds on it. Put differently, we can say that the preceding clause is dependent on the noun. Branching trees diagrams such as are often used to display the structure of normal sentences do not appear to be sufficient to represent this kind of degree of dependency. Perhaps, linking a given constituent (say, an adjective) and another constituent (of a different category, say, a noun) making a “direct constituent” that forms a single unit

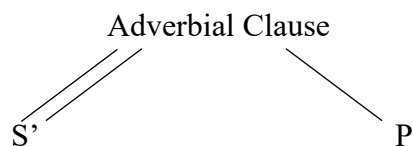
Thirdly, when a clause is followed by an adverbial particle or a noun turned adverbial particle like *dake* ‘only’, *gurai* ‘about’, *yue (ni)* ‘because’, *izen* ‘before’, *igo* ‘after’, or *bakari* ‘just’, as in the examples below, the beginning is the primary element and the following adverbial (conjugalional) particle (P) is subordinate to it, providing a limitation on the content of the clause – the opposite power relation from the first case.

kimi ga hosii dake
 you NOM want.NONPST only
 ‘I only want you’

(*ippai dake*)
 one.containerful only
 ‘just one (drink)’

watasi ga nihon ni kuru izen
 I NOM JAPAN to come.NONPST earlier.than
 ‘before coming to Japan’

(=*rainiti.izen*)
 come.to.Japan.earlier.than
 ‘before coming to Japan’



The dependency relation between two elements forming some unit this way appears in many ways both syntactically and phonologically (For example, *10-zi koro / goro* ‘around 10’, *kono koro / goro* ‘these days’, *sono koro / *goro* ‘those days’, *Nihon e kita koro / *goro* ‘around the time I came to Japan’). Understanding the relation in the way described above will be useful in studying the many functions the combination “modifying clause + base noun” can have in a larger sentence.

Thinking about the interpretations of example sentences, let us consider below a number of points that deserve attention regarding some individual uses.

First, we need to note that, as mentioned earlier, there are cases in which, as a string, a form may be used either with *~ni* or with no marking (*~ϕ*), but the meaning and the usage differ. There are some for which there may not seem to be a difference, but when examined closely, differ in subtle ways and need to be looked at in more detail by considering co-occurrence restrictions with verbs or adverbs, but here we will just record those that are strikingly clear, like the *aida* and *aida ni* observed above. (The differences in meaning will not be described one by one. Just some examples are given.)

- (6) *Umareru nari (*nari ni) yoosi ni yarareta.*
 be.born.NONPST no.sooner.than adoptee DAT give.PASS.PST
 ‘I was given up for adoption immediately after birth.’

- (7) *ee, omieninatte imasu yo*
 yes come.HON.GER be.NONPST SFP
 ‘Yes, she’s here.’

Eiko wa zyuwaki o totte mimi o
 Eiko TOP receiver ACC take.GER ear ACC

katamukeru nari ii, Naoko no
 incline.NONPST no.sooner.than say.ADVL Naoko GEN

hoo e me o agete yokosita.
 direction to eyes ACC raise.GER hand.over.PST
 ‘Eiko picked up the receiver and immediately after putting it to her ear, looked over at Naoko and handed it to her.’

(KAWANO Taeko, *Kaitentobira*)

- (8) *Kodomo no iu nari.ni (*nari) naru.*
 child GEN say.NONPST manner.ADVL become.NONPST
 ‘Things go as the child will.’

- (9) *Kutu o haita mama (*mama.ni) agatte kudasai.*
 shoes ACC wear.GER state come.in.GER please
 ‘Please come in with your shoes on (without taking off your shoes).’

- (10) *Sasowareru mama.ni (*mama) doko e*
 invite.PASS.NONPST state.ADVL where to

demo dekakete itta.
 COP.GER.also go.out.GER go.PST
 ‘I would go anywhere as invited (wherever I was invited).’

It is difficult to make a judgment on *ue* ‘concerning, on.top.of’ and *tame* ‘sake, reason’. In an example like (11), *ue.ni* could probably be replaced by *ue*, but such a replacement would not be acceptable in an example like (12).

- (11) *Kanozzyo wa toome.niwa utukusikatta.*
 she TOP from.afar beautiful.PST

Keredomo me.no.mae e kita no o
 but before.ones.eyes to come.PST NMLZ ACC

miru to, koziwa no aru ue.ni
 see.NONPST when fine.wrinkles GEN exist.NONPST

minikui kao o site ita. Nominarazu ...
 ugly.NONPST face ACC do.GER be.PST not.only.that

‘From afar, she was beautiful. But when you looked at her up close, in addition to fine wrinkles, she had an ugly face. Not only that, ...’

(AKUTAGAWA Ryūnosuke, *Haguruma*)

- (12) *Soko kara umareru aturyoku ga sosiki*
there from be.born.NONPST pressure NOM organization

e no tyuuseisin o takameru ue.ni
to GEN fidelity ACC increase

kookateki.na no dearu.

effective.ADNNMLZ COP.NONPST

‘The pressure arising from that is effective in increasing fidelity to the organization.’

(ŌYA Sōichi)

The fact that the differences between *izyoo* ‘over’ and *izyoo.ni*, *dake* ‘only’ and *dake.ni*, and *hodo* ‘extent’ and *hodo.ni* are pretty much along the same lines is very interesting as a topic, but the results of the tests above, at least on the “follow” side, suggest that these are low in nouniness so we will not go into them here.

Yue ‘reason’ sounds somewhat old fashioned. There are many examples like (13) with *~ga.yue.ni* and it is only used in a fixed set of contexts.

- (13) *Kono “Genzi.Monogatari” o kaita ga.yue.ni, Murasaki.Sikibu*
this Tale.of.Genji ACC write.PST Murasaki.Shikibu

wa zigoku ni otita to, Taira.no.Yasuyori wa
TOP hell to fall.PST QUOT TAIRA.no Yasuyori TOP

“Hoobutusyuu” de tutaete iru.

Hōbutsushū in convey.GER be.NONPST

‘Taira no Yasuyori wrote in Hōbutsushū that Murasaki Shikibu went to hell because of having written this Tale of Genji.’

(SHIODA Ryōhei, *Nihon Bungakushi*)

Up to here we have looked at the presence or absence of *ni*, but there is also the particle *de* that helps a noun modified by a clause to become adverbialized. Since this is easily confused with the final use of the gerundive form of the copula, it was left out of Table 1, but let us examine some cases that parallel the *~ni* versus *~ϕ* distinction in adverbally modifying what comes after. Nouns that become conjunctive particles with the help of *~de* include *okage* ‘thanks.to’, *sei* ‘fault’, and *ue* ‘above’. (I will just note here that we are not considering *~dakede* here and that, like the *dake* and *dake.ni* mentioned above, it has an independent use and meaning.)

- (14) *Anna mise de hataraitte iru okage.de*
that.kind.of shop LOC work.GER be.NONPST thanks.to

otoko no ura wa zenbu sitte.ru wa.
men GEN backside TOP all know.NONPST SFP

‘Thanks to working in an establishment like that, I know all there is to know about the other side men have.’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Dansen*)

- (15) [Syoonen wa] zibun ga sono ko no toosoo no
youth TOP self NOM that child GEN escape GEN

zyama o sita okage.de, hoppeta ga
interference ACC do.PST thanks.to cheek NOM

makka.ni naru hodo hirateuti o
bright.red.ADV become extent slap ACC

kuwasareta.

eat.CAUS.PASS.PST

‘Thanks to his having hindered the girl’s escape, the youth had his cheeks slapped until they turned bright red.’

(CHIN Shunshin, *Tōka Ryūsui*)

- (16) Atui sei.de sukkari wasurete ita.
hot.NONPST fault.of totally forget.GER be.PST
‘Thanks to it being hot, I totally forgot.’

When used adverbally, *sei* appears as ~*sei.de*, but in real-life examples, there are many cases of it being used interjectionally in the form *sei.ka* [fault.Q].

- (17) Heisuke ya
‘Hey, Heisuke!’

Hee, nan degozaimasu ka
Oh what COP.NONPST Q
‘Oh, what is it?’

Kutaroo-san wa o-yama ga mieta sei.ka,
Kutarō-Mr TOP mountain NOM become.visible.PST

daibun kao.iro ga yoku natta
greatly face.color NOM good.ADV become.PST

yoo da ne.
looks.like COP.NONPST SFP

‘Maybe because the mountain has come into view, Kutarō’s face color seems to have gotten a lot better, don’t you think?’

(MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Ōyama Mōde*)

- (18) Geisha no koro no hasuppa.na kuti ga
geisha GEN time GEN wanton.ADN speech NOM
- tui deta no mo, mainiti no yuusyoku
unintentionally emerge.PST NMLZ also every.day GEN supper
- no aite ni sitasimi ga tunotta

GEN partner DAT intimacy NOM develop.PST

sei *kamo.sirenai.*
for.all.I.know

‘Perhaps it was because she developed a feeling of intimacy toward the person with whom she ate dinner every day that her wanton speech habits from her geisha days popped out.’

(ARIYOSHI Sawako, *Kōge*)

- (19) *Nani.mo.ka.mo* *syooti.sita* *ue.de* (**ue*, **ue.ni*)
everything understand.and.accept.PST

kotowatta *no* *da.*
refuse.PST NMLZ COP.PST

‘It was on a fully informed basis that he refused.’

Since the uses of *tokoro*, *mono*, and *koto* have spread far beyond the above, we will treat them all together in section 6.4.

We can pick up many more intriguing grammatical questions from Table 1, but here we have concentrated on the nouns in group (A) and their uses as conjunctive particles, making use of their dual nature and drawing on their noun-like and adverb-like properties. In the next section, we will examine another extension of noun modification.

6.3 Auxiliarization of the base noun

Another way in which a base noun loses its substantive meaning and becomes a function word is the case when it binds together at the end of a sentence with verbs and auxiliary verbs that are fundamentally low in substantive meaning, like *da* ‘COP’, *aru* ‘exist, have’, *nai* ‘not.exist, not.have’, *suru* ‘do, make’, or *naru* ‘become’, and expresses the speaker’s psychological stance (mood) toward the event or statement that comes before it. Let us take *tumori* ‘intention’ and *hazu* ‘expectation’ and consider this process.

If one looks in a dictionary for the meaning of *tumori*, one finds such definitions as *kokorogumi* ‘anticipation, preparation’, *ito* ‘intention, aim’, or *kangae* ‘thought, idea’, but in the sense that, while it has something in common with each of these words semantically, it is not the same as any of them, it is more abstract and, paralleling this, the functions assigned to it are much broader. The same can be said for *hazu*. In a dictionary, it is assigned the “translational equivalents” *yotei* ‘plans, schedule’, *yakusoku* ‘promise, appointment’, *doori* ‘reason. truth, as expected’, and *wake* ‘reason, pretext, motive’, but, while it shares some meaning in common with each of these, it is not the same as any.

When substantive nouns like *ito* or *yotei* are used as base nouns and are modified by a clause, the semantic relation between them is, as described in the last chapter, one in which the modifying part has the role of supplementing or filling in the content of those nouns, and the noun that is thus supplemented and “restricted” normally takes a variety of case particles and has a function in the following, that is, larger clause (in other words, is a complement). In contrast to this, words like *tumori* and *hazu* have the function of adding some meaning to the part that comes before them, in a modifying pattern. That is, whereas in the case where the base noun is a substantive noun like *ito* or *yotei* both structurally and semantically the

modifying part is subordinate and the base noun is main, but in the case of words like *tumori* and *hazu*, this is reversed and the modifying part is main and the base noun is subordinate. When used at the end of a sentence bound to *da* or the like, it can play the same role as so-called auxiliary verbs like *rasii* ‘seem’ or *daroo* ‘COP.PRES’. Of course, words like *tumori* and *hazu* are lower than ordinary nouns in nouniness and this fact surfaces in the kinds of restrictions on use seen in the previous section. However, since one can still say things like *rikkooho no tumori* ‘intention to stand for election’, *yasumi no hazu* ‘expectation of a holiday’, *sono tumori* ‘that intention’, and *sono hazu* ‘that expectation’, it must be said that, unlike the so-called mood auxiliary verbs like *rasii* and *daroo*, they still retain a degree of nouniness. As in the previous section, we will postpone examining the structural and semantic peculiarities of individual words until later and, following the same methodology as in the previous section (at least on the “modified by” side), look at the uses of the nouns in question and the words around them.

Picking up from Table 2 those that, while retaining a degree of nouniness, have bound together with a formal predicate and become auxiliary-like, we find *tumori*, *hazu*, *wake*, *yoosu* ‘appearance’, *ki* ‘feeling, attention’, and *hoo* ‘side, alternative’. In addition to these, *koto*, *mono*, and *tokoro*, to be discussed in the next section, also have these qualities. In the preceding section we looked at differences from words that are originally adverbial particles or conjunctive particles, but here the differences from pure auxiliaries like *daroo*, *rasii*, *soo.da* (in both the appearance ‘it looks like’ and the hearsay ‘they say’ uses), and *mai* ‘negative supposition’ are clearly seen in the tests in columns ⑥, ⑦, and ⑧. From the fact that *yoo(da)* has ○ in columns ②, ③, and ④ and that even below ⑧, it is not totally “x” we can see that, although it is an auxiliary, it still retains a degree of noun qualities close to that of *yoosu*.

Looking at what can come after them, we can divide these up by the formal predicates that bond with them.

- (i) those that bind with *da* ‘COP’
tumori, *hazu*, *wake*, *mono*, *koto*, *tokoro*, *yue*
- (ii) those that bind with *ga aru*, *nai* [NOM exist, not.exist]
koto (*ga aru* experience)
kai ‘effect, avail’
- (iii) those that bind with *ga (o) suru* [NOM (ACC) do/make]
ki
kanzi ‘feeling’
mane ‘impression’ (*baka.na mane o suru* [foolish.ADN impression ACC do]
‘act like a fool’
- (iv) those that go with *ga ii* [NOM good]
hoo

Among these, there are some that either form their negative forms differently than ordinary “noun + *da*” patterns or differ in meaning depending on the form used.

...*hazu wa nai* [*hazu* TOP not.exist] *... *hazu dewa.nai* [*hazu* COP.NEG.NONPST]
... *hazu dewa.nakatta* [*hazu* COP.NEG.PST]

kuru hazu wa nai ‘not expected to come’
konai hazu da ‘expected not to come’

...*wake dewa.nai* [*wake* COP.NEG] ‘it’s not the case that ...’
 ...*wake wa nai* [*wake* TOP not.exist] ‘no reason to expect’ (almost the same as *hazu*)

*...*yue dewa.nai* [*yue* COP.NEG] → ...*nai yue da* ‘because not ...’

**iku hoo ga yoku nai* [*go hoo* NOM good.NEG]
 → *ikanai hoo ga ii* [*go*.NEG *hoo* NOM good] ‘it would be better not to go’

These are problems that bear on mood expressions in general but detailed consideration will have to wait for another time.

All these forms, including auxiliaries like *rasii* seen earlier, show the speaker’s “propositional mood” regarding the “matter” (propositional content) expressed by the preceding clause. (In this sense, they stand in opposition to sentence-final particles, politeness auxiliaries, or honorifics, which express “Human-relational mood”.) However there are times when *tumori.da* or *ki.da* express the intentions of the nominative-marked word or that of a topic containing a nominative-marked word. (However, a sentence like *Haha wa rainen Nihon e kuru tumori desu* [mother TOP next.year Japan to come *tumori* COP] ‘Mother intends to come to Japan next year’ is, if not unacceptable, at least unnatural.)

A systematic description of propositional mood auxiliaries is outside the bounds of this work. Here we will satisfy ourselves with listing nouns that have been formalized and turned into auxiliaries and their semantic characteristics.

The first is *hazu.da*. This construction is usually used when hypothetically projecting an unknown, unrealized situation Q from a known, pre-existing situation P. Where it differs from the auxiliary *rasii* is probably whether the base situation is implied (→ *rasii*) or stated explicitly.

Compared to this, *wake.da* is used in cases where the speaker wants to say that an already existing event Q is a natural, logical outcome of a pre-existing (or rather self-evident to the speaker or the speakers wants the hearer to think it is self-evident) situation. However, there is an objective limit to the degree of objectivity of the process.

- (20) *Indo.siki.kisuu.hoo* *no* *tokutyoo* *wa,* *sore* *ga*
 India.style.number.writing.method GEN characteristic TOP that NOM
- kuraidori.kisuu.hoo* *ni* *natte* *iru* *koto*
 positional.number.writing.method DAT become.GER be.NONPST NMLZ
- dearu.* (*Tatoeba,* *1966 ... sen.kyuu.hyaku.roku.zyuu.roku*
 COP.NONPST for.example 1966 thousand.nine.hundred.six.ten.six
- nado* *to* *hikaku.seyo)* *kekkyoku* *kore* *wa* *kazu*
 etc with compare.IMP in.the.end this TOP number

o soroban de arawasita no to onazi
ACC abacus INS show.PST NMLZ and same

katati deari, site miru to koma
form COP.ADVL do.GER see.NONPST when decimal.point

o ugokasanakatta keta o arawasu
ACC move.NEG.PST digit.position ACC show.NONPST

kigoo, sunawati, “0” no yooi ga
symbolnamely GEN provision NOM

iru wake.da
need.NONPST

‘The special characteristic of the Indian system for writing numbers is the fact that it is a positional system. (For example, compare 1966 with (written in characters as divided by periods) thousand.nine.hundred.six.ten.six.) In the end, this is the same form as showing the numbers on an abacus and, when you think about it, (naturally) you need a symbol to indicate a digital position where you have not moved a bead, namely “0”.’

(MOGI Isamu and MURATA Tamotsu, *Sūgaku no Shisō*)

For example, in the above example, the explanation with *wake* can be said to be quite high in objectivity. However, one of the difficulties with *wake* as a mood expression is that it is a form that the speaker can use even when the logic may be very much arbitrary but he wants to present it as having some objectivity. For example, in MATSUMOTO Seichō’s novel *Rikukō Suikō*, there is a scene in which an exaggerating, delusional local historian who claims to be researching *Gishi Wajin Den* while working at the village offices is spouting his theory to a historical researcher “I” who has come from Tokyo to Kyushu for research.

(21) “*Ano kawa desu yo” to, Hamanaka.Koozoo wa,*
that river COP.NONPST SFP QUOT Hamanaka.Kōzō TOP

sono senro no waki ni yubi o
that track GEN beside to finger ACC

agete itta.
raise.GER say.PST

“‘That’s the river, you know,” HAMANAKA Kōzō said pointing his finger to the side of the track.’

“Are ga Yakkangawa, tumari, Usakawa desu.
. that NOM Yakkan.River in.other.words Usa.River COP.NONPST

Gisi wa, ano kawa o kaigan no hoo ni
envoy.from.Gi TOP that river ACC coast GEN direstion to

zutto kudatta wake desu.”
all.the.way go.down.PST

‘That’s the Yakkan River, in other words, the Usa River. The envoy from Gi went

down that river all the way to the coast.’

Kare wa ikanimo zisin.arige.ni ketteiteki.na
he TOP ever.so.much self.confidence.have.as.though decisive.ADN

kotoba de itta. Sikasi, watasi no me ni.wa
words INS say.PST but I GEN eyes to.TOP

siroi suzi ga hosoku miete iru
white lines NOM thin.ADVL be.visible.GER be.NONPST

dake deatta.
only COP.PST

‘He said it ever so full of confidence in decisive language. But all that was visible to my eyes were thin, white lines.’
(emphasis added by Teramura)

It ends with this last statement. As an example, it is unusual in showing both how the speaker uses *wake.da* to show his propositional modality and how the hearer understands this usage.

The complexities of *wake.da* do not end with the explanation of subjective versus objective hypothesizing or the imposition of a one-sided conclusion. Or, put another way, it seems to also appear when one is trying to emphasize the character or meaning of some (already existing, to be sure) event looked at from a different direction. I will give two examples.

(22) “*Da.ga, Hisai.Humiko no hoo mo, kore*
. but Hisai.Fumiko GEN side also this

mata Takimura.Masuko ga iu yoo.ni atarasii
also Takimura.Masako NOM say.NONPST as new

suiboku.geizyutu demo nan.demo.nai.
ink.painting.art COP.GER.also anything.COP.GER.also.NEG

Tada omoituki de yatte iru toiu dake
merely off.the.cuff INS do.GER be.NONPST only

na.n.da. Tumari, ryoohoo tomo,
COP.ADN.NMLZ.COP.NONPST namely both together

tagai no mekuso.hanakuso.o.waratte iru
each.other GEN pot.calling.the.kettle.black.GER be.NONPST

wake.da.”

‘But, for Hisai Fumiko’s side as well, and it not what this Takimura Masuko is calling a new ink painting art or anything of the sort. It’s just them doing it all off the cuff. That is, both sides are just each pointing at the other and calling the kettle black.’

“*Tebikisii* *wa*”
 ‘That’s harsh.’
 (MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Ningen Suiiki*)

(23) *Tosin* *de* *hue.tutu.aru* *koosoo.zyuutaku* *no*
 downtown LOC be.increasing.NONPST high.rise.residences GEN

erebeetaa *ga* “*ugoku* *missitu*” *tosite*
 elevator NOM move.NONPST locked.room as

kyookoo *o* *yonda* ***wake.de***, *boohan*
 violent.crime ACC summon.PST cri,e.prevention

no *arata.na* *kadai* *to* *natta.*
 GEN new.ADN problem QUOT become.PST

‘The elevators of the high-rise dwellings that are increasing in downtown areas draw violent crime as “moving locked rooms” and crime prevention has become a new topic of concern.’

(Asahi Shinbun 1971.6)

For other expressions of explanations of existing matters, there are also *mono.da* and *no.da*, MATSUSHITA includes *no* as a formal noun in his grammar, but since it does not fit with the nouns we are looking at here that have, as indicated by the earlier tests, become formalized, we will omit it. *Mono.da* will be taken up in the next section.

Taken as a whole, sentence-final mood expressions are complex in content and, as may be expected, giving an objective description of the characteristics that distinguish one from another is not an easy matter. In this work, we have stopped at introducing examples of base nouns that have become propositional mood auxiliaries as one extreme of the broadening of noun modification. A consideration of the content of sentence-final mood expressions with regard to the propositional content of the sentence will have to wait for another occasion. However, as a final section let us take an overview of the multi-purpose nouns *koto*, *mono*, and *tokoro*, which have the ability to take on practically any of the functions we have seen above.

6.4 Concerning abstract nouns that have multifaceted functions: *koto*, *mono*, and *tokoro*

Above, as extensions of noun modifying constructions, we considered cases in which base nouns, while retaining their functions as nouns, have, on the one hand, become conjunctive particles or, on the other hand, have combined with formal predicates to become mood auxiliaries at the ends of sentences. The three nouns, *tokoro*, *mono*, and *koto*, considered in this section appear in ordinary noun modification constructions, both inner relation and outer relation, as well as showing up in the two extended uses of base nouns discussed above. A complete description of the multifaceted uses of these nouns would, like the earlier *wake.da*, require showing examples from quite a broad range of contexts, but because of space limitations, we will only describe the essential points here.

6.4.1 *Tokoro*

Of the three, *tokoro* has the broadest range of uses, which we will describe broken down into the following groupings.

(i) As a substantive noun

As a substantive noun, *tokoro* means ‘place, location’. It is used as a base noun in an inner relation noun modifying construction.

- (24) *Koko wa, Matahei ga adauti o sita*
 here TOP Matahei NOM revenge ACC DO.PST
- tokoro desu. (← Kono tokoro de Matahei ga*
 PLACE COP.NONPST this place LOC Matahei NOM
- adauti o sita.)*
 revenge ACC do.PST
- ‘This is the place where Matahei took his revenge. (← At this place, Matahei took his revenge.’

However, *tokoro* is not used just to indicate the physical location where something or someone is or where some event takes place. It is often used when one wants to throw a spotlight, so to speak, on some portion of the whole, keeping the whole in view as a background.

- (25) *Kare wa sono onna o kirai dewa.nakatta. Tyotto*
 he TOP that womanACC dislike COP.NEG.PST a.little
- utukusii onna datta bakari de.naku, doko.ka*
 beautiful womanCOP.PST only COP.NEG.ADVL somewhere
- kasikosoo.na tokoro ga ari, ippoo*
 intelligent.ADN NOM exist.ADVL on.the.other/hand
- kuenai kanzi mo atta ga, ...*
 eat.POTEN.NEG.NONPST feeling also exist.PST but
- ‘He didn’t dislike the woman. Not only was she somewhat attractive, there was also a portion that (an aspect in which) was intelligent and, on the other hand, there was a feeling he couldn’t abide, but ...’
- (SHIGA Naoya, *An’yakōro*)

- (26) [*Ooyama wa*] *sangaku no kensō.na tokoro*
 Ōyama TOP mountain GEN precipice.ADN
- kara Shingon.mikkyō no syugen.doozyō*
 from Shingon.Esoteric.Buddhism GEN mountain.asceticism.exercise.place
- to nari, ...*
 QUOT become.ADVL
- ‘As for Oyama, from its steep places developed the Esoteric Buddhist Shingon sect’s place for the practice of mountain asceticism, and ...’

- (ii) Converted to a conjunctive particle “*tokoro* (+ particle)”

First, in the pattern “past tense *tokoro*” it is used to express the meaning that the event in the first clause happened and as a result something became apparent. It is typically seen used as in the following newspaper report.

- (27) *Hutuka.yoru,* *keisatu ni* *toiu* *todokede* *ga*
The.night.of.the.second police DAT report NOM
- atta.* *Keisatu* *ga* *sirabeta* ***tokoro,poketto*** *ni*
exist.PST police NOM investigate.PST pocket in
- ... *no* *hoka* *Isikawa* *toiu* *meisi* *ga* *sanmai*
GEN besidesIshikawa business.card NOM three.CL

atta.
exist.PST

There was a report concerning ... to the police on the evening of the second. When the police searched, besides ... there were three business cards with the name “Ishikawa” in his pocket.’

How this construction differs in use from ... *suru to* [do.NONPST when] ‘where upon’ or ... *sita toki* [do.PST time] ‘when (someone) did ...’ is an interesting question, but we will not go into it here.

Next, we consider cases in which it becomes a conjunctive particle with an accompanying particle. The particles with which it co-occurs are *de*, *ni*, and *o*. Of these, the one whose semantic characteristics are most noteworthy is *o*. When one wishes to capture an event or an action as one point in an event in progress from the perspective of the whole event, *tokoro* is the word that is chosen. *Tokoro de* just selects the one point and is comparatively simple.

- (28) *Kissaten* *o* *deta* ***tokoro.de*** *kare* *ni* *atta*
coffee.shop ACC leave.PST he DAT meet.PST
‘I met him (at the point of having come) coming out of the coffee shop.’

- (29) *Minna* *ni* *sake* *ga* *ikiwatatta* ***tokoro.de,***
everyone DAT wine NOM reach.PST

kare *wa* *omomuro.ni* *tatiagatta.*
he TOP sudden.ADVL stand.up.PST
‘When everyone had their *sake*, he suddenly stood up.’

- (30) *Sibaraku* *boozen.to* *nagamete* *iru* ***tokoro.ni,***
for.a.while vacantly gaze.GER be.NONPST
- hui.ni* *usiro kara,* “*nanimono* *zya*”
unexpectedly behind from who COP.NONPST

hurimuku *to,*
 Turn.around.NONPST when
 ‘I had been standing there gazing vacantly when suddenly from behind me came,
 “Who are you?” I turned around and ...’
 (ISHIKAWA Jun, *Shion Monogatari*)

In section 5 we looked at noun modification constructions that had nouns expressing sensations like *sugata* ‘form, shape’, *oto* ‘sound’, and *nioi* ‘odor’ as base nouns, but, when one wants to capture these as one point in an event in progress, they get replaced by *tokoro*.

- (31) “*Ore ga koo.site nete iru sugata o*
 I NOM this.way sleep.GER be.NONPST form
Nanga.huu.ni kakanai ka. Soo.iu
 Southern.school.painting.style,ADVL draw.NEG.NONPST Q that.kind
san o site yaru kara
 inscription ACC do.GER give.NONPST since
 ‘Why don’t you draw me lying down like this in the Southern School style? I’ll make
 that kind of dedication/inscription for you.’
Imanisi wa sisen o nagameta mama
 Imanishi TOP drawing.paper ACC gaze.PST state
damatte ita.
 be.silent.GER be.PST
“Otane ni misetara ore ga unatte
 Otane DAT show.COND I NOM groan.GER
iru tokoro no hoo ga ii
 be,NONPST GEN alternative NOM good
to iu no da.
 QUOT say,NONPST NMLZ COP.NONPST
 Imanishi silently gazed at the drawing paper. “If you’re going to show it to Otane, it
 would be better if it were one of me (at the point of) groaning.”
 (SHIGA Naoya, *Yajimaryūdō*)

Tokoro o is used when one has reached a certain point along some course and decides to leave the course and head in another direction.

- (32) *A wa kyonen X-gatu X-niti yoru, Koobe.Matsuri.go*
 A TOP last.year X-month X-day night Kobe.Festival.after
no soodoo o Koobe-si XXX no sidoo de,
 GEN disturbance ACC Kobe-city XXX GEN city.street LOC
takusii o syuugeki.site iru tokoro.o Nisihara-san ni
 taxi ACC attack.GER be.NONPST Nishihara-Mr DAT

satuei.sareta *no* *ni* *hara.o.tate* ...
 photograph.PASS.PST NMLZ DAT get.angry.ADVL
 ‘A got angry at Mr. Nishihara’s photographing him as he attacked a taxi on XXX city
 street in the disturbance following the Kobe Festival on X-day of X-month last year,
 and ...’

(Newspaper)

- (33) *Hutuu* *nara* *kyuumai* *de* *yameru* ***tokoro.o,***
 usual COP.PROV 9.CL with quit.NONPST

Okiku no *yuurei wa* *sono* *yoru* *ni.kagitte,* “*Zyuusanmai,*
 Okiku GEN ghost TOP that night limited.to 13-CL

zyuuyonmai” *Kenbutunin* *ga* *akirete* “*Moo*
 14-CL spectator NOM get.fed.up.GER already

yamero, *sara* *no* *kazu* *ga* *ooi*” *Suru.to,*
 quit.IMP plate GEN number NOM many whereupon

Okiku ga “*Asu* *wa* *kookyuu* *da.kara,* *asu*
 Okiku NOM tomorrow TOP holiday because.is tomorrow

no *bun* *mo* *kazoete* *okimasu.”*
 GEN allocation also count.GER do.in.advance.NONPST

‘Where normally she would have stopped with 9 plates, tonight alone Okiku’s ghost
 kept up with “13 plates. 14 plates”. The spectators got fed up and said, “Quit already,
 that’s too many plates.” Whereupon Okiku said, “Since tomorrow’s a holiday I’m
 counting tomorrow’s plates in advance.”

(KATA Kōji, *Rakugo*)

There is much that could be said about this use of *o*, but, since that would take us far
 off-topic, I will leave it for another occasion.

Next is an example of *tokoro* with *de* used to form the pattern (*ikura*) ... (*sita*)
tokoro.de [(how.much) ... (do.PST) *tokoro.de*].

- (34) *Motomoto* *seiyoo to* *nihon* *de.wa* *kotoba* *no*
 from.the.start West and Japan LOC.TOP language GEN

ziniasu *ga* *tigau* *no* *dearu* *kara,*
 genius NOM be.different.NONPST GEN COP.NONPST since

mohoo.sita ***tokoro.de*** *teido* *wa* *sireta mono* *dearu.*
 model.PST degree TOP known thing COP.NONPST

Sosite, mohoo.sureba.suru.hodo, *nihonbun* *tositewa*
 and the.more.one.models.the.more Japanese.sentence as.TOP

syuu.ni nari wakari.nikuku naru.
 ugly.ADVL become.ADVL hard.to.understand.ADVL become.NONPST
 ‘Since it’s the case that genius (what one admires) in language is fundamentally different in the West and in Japan, if one should model (one’s writing on Western models) the degree (of success that can be expected) is a known quantity and the more one models (his writing on a Western model), the more ugly as a Japanese sentence it becomes and also the more difficult to understand it becomes.’
 (TANIZAKI Junichirō, *Bunshō Tokuhon*)

Rather than a conjunctive particle it might seem better to call it an adverbial particle, but then there is ...-*dokoro ka* ‘not just that but ...’.

(iii) Converted to a sentence-final mood auxiliary

Perhaps patterns like ~*suru/site.iru/sita/site.ita tokoro.da* [do.NONPST / PROG / PST / PST.PROG *tokoro.COP*] ‘just about to do~ / doing~ / did~ / was doing~’ should be considered to express aspect more than they do mood. In fact, when aspect in Japanese is discussed examples such as these are often adduced. However, I do not think they should be put on a par with patterns that simply objectively show location in a process or circumstances like ~*si.hazimeru* [begin.to.do~], ~*si.tuzukeru* [continue.to.do~], or ~*si.owaru* [finish.doing~] or even with (although they do add a bit of mood-like flavor) patterns like ~*site.iru* [be.doing~] or ~*site.simau* [end.up.doing~]. The reason is these are in fact connected with the speaker’s perception of the situation and with expression of his mental image of the event. For example, consider (35) and (36).

(35) *Hutuu nara sokuza de kotowaru tokoro.da ga*
 normal COP.PROV on.the.spot LOC refuse.NONPST but
 ‘Normally, I would refuse on the spot, but ...’

(36) *Kugatu. kyuuka.boke, atusa.boke to en*
 September vacation.daze heat.daze with connection

o kiri, hito.nezi.makitai tokoro.
 ACC cut.ADVL one.wind.up.NONPST
 ‘September. When I want to emerge from the vacation daze and the heat-induced dullness and wind things up.’

As seen above, *tokoro* is a word with a truly wide range of uses. But what is common to them all is that it is an expression that “views some matter as a movement or change along some track or along some line that has some extent, and throws a spotlight on a point along that line, putting, if not the whole event, the area around that event into relief”. Going further, we can probably say that with it the speaker attempts to get the hearer to appreciate that this is how he perceives the event. One often finds one kind of *tokoro* explained as “the moment” in textbooks or grammar books for foreigners. While not wrong, this explanation merely captures one part of the meaning(s) of *tokoro*.

6.4.2 *koto*

(i) As a substantive noun

As a substantive noun, *koto* is used in the inner relation noun modification pattern, as in (37 – 39).

(37) *Ano koto wa moo otoosan ni hanasita ka*
 that matter TOP alreadyfather DAT speak.PST Q
 ‘Have you told Father about that yet?’

(38) *Koto wa kyu o yoo.suru*
 mattersTOP haste ACC require.NONPST
 ‘Matters demand haste.’

(39) *titi ga ano toki itta koto*
 father NOM that time say.PST matter/fact
 ‘what Father said then’

(ii) As a noun preceded by an outer relation noun modification construction

As seen in section 5, *koto* is used as the base in an outer relation noun modification construction.

(40) *Huzigoroo ga korobu dearoo toiu koto wa,*
 Fujigorō NOM fall.NONPST COP.PRES TOP
 ‘the fact that Fujigoro may fall, ...’

In this way, supported by having ... *koto* as its base, the clause as a whole freely takes case particles and functions as a noun phrase in a larger clause. All of this is just as we have already described.

(iii) Perhaps not really a conjunctive particle use, there are patterns like *odoroita koto.ni* ‘surprisingly enough’ or *Osyogatu no koto tote* ‘in spite of fact that it’s New Years’ that are used parenthetically.

(iv) Combined with a formal predicate to form a sentence-final auxiliary

The degree of “formalization” of these predicates does vary, but I will list them below from those that have some degree of substantivity to those that have been completely formalized. Since these constructions can be found everywhere, I will only give examples of the last.

(~suru) koto ga dekiru [(do) *koto* NOM can] ‘can ~’

(suru/sita) koto ni suru/naru [(do/did) *koto* DAT make/become]
 ‘decide to ~/ turn out that ~’

(~suru/sita) koto ga aru [(do/did) *koto* NOM exist] ‘there are/were times when
 (we) do/did ~’

koto.da [*koto* COP]

The last, *koto.da* is used in a variety of meanings. There are uses that are of the same nature as (ii), as in (41), and there are many cases like (42) and (43) that have more complicated meanings.

- (41) *Sore ga hito o korosu toiu koto zya*
 that NOM person ACC kill.NONPST COP.NONPST
 ‘That’s what killing a person is.’
 (*Shion Monogatari*)

- (42) *...to omotta yori keisyoo da ga,*
 QUOT think.PST than minor.illness COP.NONPST but
nido.mo hossa ga atta koto da
 as.much.as.twice seizure NOM exist.PST COP.NONPST
si, seimitu.kensa mo sitai. Sono ue de
 and complete.physical also want.to.do that above INS
 ‘It’s more minor than I had thought, but (there is the fact that) the seizures have occurred twice, so I would like to conduct a complete physical. On the basis of that, ...’
 (MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Tsuyoki Ari*)

- (43) *Hayaku Sawada-kun ni yuigonsyo o kaite*
 quickly Mr. Sawada DAT will ACC write.GER
morau koto da ga,
 receive.NONPST COP.NONPST but
 ‘It’s a matter of quickly getting Sawada to write a will, but ...’
 (MATSUMOTO Seichō, *Tsuyoki Ari*)

Koto.da also appears as a sentence-final expression of concern or exasperation accompanied by *yoku* ‘well, often’.

- (44) *Ima ni natte yoku sonna koto ga ieta*
 now DAT become.GER well such.a thing NOM say.POTEN.PST
koto da.
 ‘I now wonder that I was able to say such a thing then.’

- (45) *Maa, sootatu.ni gosei ga demasu koto.*
 my early.ADV energy NOM emerge.POL.NONPST
 ‘My! so quickly. You have plenty of energy, I must say.’
 (*Onnazaka*)

6.4.3 *Mono*

- (i) As a substantive noun

MATSUSHITA Daisaburō held that *mono* written 物 was a substantive noun but that written 者 was a formal noun but *mono*, whose uses range from a clearly substantive noun as in (46) to something that refers to an entity, but which indicates its essence as in (47), is the same throughout.

- (46) *Omae ga hosii mono o yaroo.*
 you NOM want.NONPST ACC give.VOL
 ‘I’ll give you what you want.’

- (47) *Bundan nado toiu mono wa, zinsei no mondai*
 literary.world etc TOP human GEN problems

mo geizyutu no mondai mo kessite
 also arts GEN problems also absolutely

kaiketu.site kureru basyo de.wa.arimasen.

solve.GER give.NONPST place COP.POL.NEG.NONPST

‘What’s known as the literary world is definitely not a place that will solve either your human or your artistic problems.’

(NAKAMURA Mitsuo, *Warai no Sōshitsu*)

Many expressions like this can end up as *mono.da*, but we will leave this form until (iii).

- (ii) Accompanied by a case particle and used as a conjunctive particle

Particles that can be attached include *no*, *o*, and *dakara*. Below we will give an example of each.

- (48) *Ikuyo wa, kitto yoi.no.kuti kara ikudoka Tomoko*
 Ikuyo TOP no.doubt early.in.the.evening from many.times Tomoko

no heya o nozoite.wa, osoku natta node
 GEN room ACC peer.into.GER.TOP late.ADVL become.PST since

akiramete neta mono.no, netukarezu.ni
 give.up.GER lie.down.PST without.falling.asleep

mata okite yatte.kita mono dearoo.
 again get.up.GER come.PST COP.PRES

‘Even though Ikuyo probably looked into Tomoko’s room any number of times but, as it had become late, gave up and lay down, being unable to fall asleep, she got up and came over.’

(ARIYOSHI Sawako, *Kōge*)

- (49) *Tyotto koe o kakete kurereba ii mono.o*
 a.little voice ACC cast.GER give.PROV good.NONPST

doosite damatte kaette simatta
 why remain.silent.GER return.GER end.up.PST

no da.

NMLZ COP.NONPST

‘Why did she end up remaining silent and going home when it would have been fine if she had said something.’

- (50) *Obaasan wa, hudan minarenai*
old.lady TOP normally be.used.to.seeing.NEG

sinbunkisya nado ga yatte.kite, yatugibaya.ni situmon
newspaper.reporter NOM show.up.GER rapid.succession.ADVL questions

o abisekake, hurassyu o taite, syasin
ACC shower.ADVL flash ACC ignite.GER photo

nado toru mono.dakara, hontoo.ni dogimagi.site
etc take.NONPST really become.flustered.GER

simatta no da.

end.up.PST NMLZ COP.NONPST

The old lady ended up really getting flustered, what with the newspaper reporters and all showering her with one question after another and taking pictures popping their flashes.’

(SONO Ayako)

The *mono.dakara* in (50) is used in colloquial (female) speech at the end of a sentence with the *dakara* dropped off to show a reason.

- (51) *Dare.datte, sore o yurusiyoo wa*
no.matter.who.it.may.be that ACC way.to.forgive.TOP

nai.desu mono.

exist.NEG.POL.NONPST

‘No matter who it is, that’s unforgivable.’

(KAWABATA Yasunari *Senbazuru*)

- (iii) Conversion to a sentence-final auxiliary *mono.da*

There are, broadly divided, four uses of this pattern. The first is, as we observed earlier, to relate the true nature of some entity.

- (52) *---onna toiu mono wa ne, Osino-tyan, zibun no*
woman thing TOP SFP Oshino-dear self GEN

tame.ni.wa nanimokamo sutete,
for.the.sake.of anything.and.everything throw.away.GER

mutyuu ni natte kawaigatte kureru
engrossed DAT become.GER take.care.of.GER give.NONPST

hito ga hosii mono yo

person NOM want.NONPST SFP
 ‘A woman, you know my dear Oshino, (is a *mono* that) wants someone who will become totally engrossed in her and for her sake will throw absolutely everything aside and take care of her.’

(YAMAMOTO Shūgorō, *Goben no Tsubaki*)

- (53)sore ga watasi wa wakatta kara,
 that NOM I TOP understand.PST since

 damatte mi o hiita n da.
 be.silent.GER body ACC pull.PST NMLZ COP.NONPST

 Irokoizata toiu mono wa utukusiku aritai
 love.affair thing TOP beautiful.ADVL exist.DESID.NONPST

mon da yo
 COP.NONPST SFP

‘Because I understood that, I shut up and withdrew. A love affair (is a *mono* that) wants to remain beautiful, you know.’

(ISHIKAWA Tatsuzō, *Tanosikarisi Nengetsu*)

The second use takes the statement of the true nature of something a step farther and is often used to express a regularity or requirement – “how things should be” – as already seen in (26).

- (54) Sumi wa yuruyuru.to, suzuri no hyoomen o
 ink TOP gently.smoothly inkstone GEN surface ACC

 naderu yoo.na kimoti de suru **mono desu.**
 stroke.NONPST like.ADN feeling INS rub.NONPST

 Tikara o irete, gosigosi kosuru **mono**
 strength ACC insert.GER scrubbing rub.NONPST

dewa.arimasen.

COLP.NEG.NONPST

‘The ink stick is to be stroked smoothly and gently on the ink stone surface. It should not be scrubbed with added force.’

(SAKAKI Bakuzan)

- (55) Kodomo wa zyuuzi.goro neru **mono desu**
 children TOP 10.o’click.abour go.to.bed.NONPST
 ‘The children go to bed around 10.’

The third use is to add an explanation of the circumstances, background, or meaning of some past event that one has just reported. This use shows up frequently in newspaper or television reports. We will just give one example.

- (56) Pakisutan no yatoo PNA no Aameto.zimukyokutyoo
 Pakistan GEN opposition.party GEN Ahmed.secretary.general

wa, hutuka, yokkakan ni oyobu dookoku
TOP the.second four.days to extend.NONPST that.country

no seizi.kiki.syuusyuu.saku nituite seihu to
GEN political.crisis.settlement.policy concerning government with

no aida de dakyoo ga seiritu.sita to
GEN between LOC compromise NOM establish.PST QUOT

happyoo.sita. Kore wa zen'ya kara no tetuya no
announce.PST this TOP previous,night from GEN all.night GEN

koosyoo de tassei.sareta mono de, PNA
negotiation INS reach.PASS.PST

tyuuoo.iinkai mo kono an o syoonin.suru
central.committee also this plan ACC approve.NONPST

mikomi to.iu.
expectation it.is.reported

‘Secretary General Ahmed of the Pakistan opposition party PNA announced on the second that a compromise had been reached with the government on a plan for settling the four-day-long political crisis. This was reached in all-night negotiations starting the previous evening and it is reported that the PNA central committee will also approve this plan.’

(Asahi Shinbun)

The last use is as an expression at the end of a sentence in which the speaker recalls or reminisces with strong feelings about a past occurrence. Also, while the event may not be in the past, the speaker may be expressing some kind of strong emotion (surprise, concern, unease) with regard to it.

(57) *Sitigatu no Oosaka wa natumaturi de*
July GEN Ōsaka TOP summer.festival INS

nigiwau. Kanarazu soomen ya hamo
be.lively.NONPST always sōmen.noodles and pike.conger

o tabeta mono deatta.
ACC eat.PST

‘Osaka in July is alive with the summer festival. We always used to eat somen noodles and *hamo*.’

(58) *Oya to ko deattemo, yoku koko made nita*
parent and child COP.GER.even well here until resemble.PST

mono.da to omou hodo yoku nite ita.
QUOT think.NONPST extent well resemble.GER be.PST

‘They looked so much alike one would still think, even granting they were parent and

child, it was remarkable how much they looked alike.’

- (59) *Sikasi, minna hayaku sinda mono desu ne.*
 however everyone early die.PST
 ‘But, everyone died early, didn’t they.’
 (KAWABATA Yasunari, *Yama no Oto*)

- (60) “*Sikasi, Syoozi-san wa, senmu ga hikikaesite*
 however Mr. Shōji TOP director NOM turn.back.GER

kuru kamo.sirenai to yosoo.site ite.mo,
 come.NONPST perhaps QUOT anticipate.GER be.GER.even

nanzi ni kuru ka wakaranai
 what.time LOC come.NONPST Q know.NEG.NONPST

noni, yoku hoteru no soto de matte ita
 despite often hotel GEN outside LOC wait.GER be.PST

mono desu ne.”
 SFP
 ‘However, although Mr.Shoji could anticipate that the director might turn around and come back, since he didn’t know when he might come, he would often be waiting outside the hotel.’
 (MATSUMOTO Seichō)

Above we have only taken a brief overview of the uses of *tokoro*, *koto*, and *mono*, but even just with this we have seen that they are abstract, with a wide range of meanings and each has a complex, but unique range of uses. It would require quite a broad range of observations to establish the characteristics that distinguish them one from another and from the *wake* in the previous section. In this section, we have looked at the uses of these nouns as an extension of the noun modification constructions that are primary focus of this work, but to really approach their true nature, we need to consider the meanings in Japanese of the entire set of what should be called “abstract nouns”, that is, the characteristics by which Japanese variously recognize and categorize these nouns. When the abstractness of these nouns goes even further and the differences among them are suppressed, leaving only reference to some entity in the outside world, I would like to think they converge on the form *no.da* [NMLZ COP]. Consideration of *no.da*, however, is outside the scope of this work.

Table 1

		Preceding context							Following context						
		①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨	⑩	⑪	⑫	⑬	
1	<i>toki</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	○	
2	<i>aida</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	○	
3	<i>koro</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	○	
4	<i>irai</i>	X	X	X	X	X	○	○	△	X	○	X	X	○	
5	<i>izen</i>	X	△	△	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	X	
6	<i>igo</i>	X	△	X	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	○	X	
7	<i>kara</i>	X	X	X	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	
8	<i>made</i>	X	X	X	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	
9	<i>tabi</i>	X	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	△	X	○	○	
10	<i>tabigoto</i>	X	○	○	X	△	X	X	X	X	△	X	○	X	
11	<i>baai</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	
12	<i>mokuteki</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	X	○	○	
13	<i>tame</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	△	X	○	X	○	○	
14	<i>sei</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
15	<i>riyuu</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	
16	<i>kara</i>	X	X	X	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	
17	<i>yue</i>	X	○	△	○	X	○	○	X	△	○	X	○	○	
18	<i>wake</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
19	<i>gen'in</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	
20	<i>kekka</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	△	X	○	
21	<i>sue</i>	X	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	
22	<i>ageku</i>	X	○	○	X	X	X	X	○	X	○	X	○	○	
23	<i>ue</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	
24	<i>amari</i>	X	○	○	△	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	
25	<i>tokoro</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	○	
26	<i>teido</i>	X	○	○	○	○	△	○	○	○	○	○	○	X	
27	<i>hodo</i>	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	
28	<i>gendo</i>	○	○	○	○	X	X	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	
29	<i>dake</i>	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	
30	<i>kagiri</i>	X	△	△	△	X	X	○	X	X	○	X	X	○	
31	<i>kurai</i>	X	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	
32	<i>kiri</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	X	X	X	X	○	
33	<i>nari</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	
34	<i>mama</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	X	○	X	○	○	
35	<i>kuse</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	
36	<i>toori</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	○	○	○	X	○	○	
37	<i>wari</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	
38	<i>yoosu</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	○	X	
39	<i>yoo</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	

Legend:

○=acceptable	X=unacceptable	△=questionable or limited to some context(s)
①	<i>Kore ga _____ da</i>	[this NOM _____ COP] 'This is (a) _____'
②	[NOUN] <i>no</i> _____	[(NOUN) GEN _____]
③	<i>kono, sono</i> _____	[this-, that- _____]
④	ADJECTIVE- <i>i</i> _____	
⑤	<i>konna, sonna</i> _____	[this.kind.of-, that.kind.of- _____]
⑥	[NOUN]+ _____	
⑦	<i>kore+</i> , <i>sore+</i> _____	[this _{pronoun} +, that _{pronoun} + _____]
⑧	_____ <i>ga</i>	[_____ NOM]
⑨	_____ <i>o</i>	[_____ ACC]
⑩	_____ <i>no</i>	[_____ GEN]
⑪	_____ <i>kara</i>	[_____ 'from']
⑫	_____ <i>ni</i>	[_____ DAT/'to']
⑬	_____ ϕ	[_____ unmarked]

Words:

<i>toki</i>	'time'
<i>aida</i>	'span, time or space between'
<i>koro</i>	'about, around. approximate time'
<i>irai</i>	'since'
<i>izen</i>	'prior to'
<i>igo</i>	'after, following'
<i>kara</i>	'since, after'
<i>made</i>	'until, up to'
<i>tabi</i>	'occasion, time'
<i>tabigoto</i>	'every time'
<i>baai</i>	'case, when'
<i>mokuteki</i>	'objective'
<i>tame</i>	'sake, cause, goal'
<i>sei</i>	'fault, cause'
<i>riyuu</i>	'reason, cause'
<i>kara</i>	'since, because'
<i>yue</i>	'reason, since, therefore'
<i>wake</i>	'reason, cause'
<i>gen'in</i>	'cause'
<i>kekka</i>	'result, outcome'
<i>sue</i>	'end, outcome'
<i>ageku</i>	'outcome, result'
<i>ue</i>	'top, above, on'
<i>amari</i>	'excess'
<i>tokoro</i>	'place, occasion, when'
<i>teido</i>	'degree'
<i>hodo</i>	'extent'
<i>gendo</i>	'limit, bounds'
<i>dake</i>	'limit, only'
<i>kagiri</i>	'limit, bounds, extent'
<i>kurai</i>	'about, around, amount'

<i>kiri</i>	‘limit, just, no more’
<i>nari</i>	‘way, shape, form’
<i>mama</i>	‘as is, state’
<i>kuse</i>	‘habit, despite’
<i>toori</i>	‘as stated, in that way’
<i>wari</i>	‘proportion, for a’
<i>yoosu</i>	‘appearance, manner’
<i>yoo</i>	‘manner, as’

Table 2

	Preceding context							Following context								
	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	⑦	⑧	⑨	⑩	⑪	⑫	⑬	⑭	⑮	⑯
<i>ito</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	X
<i>tumori</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	△
<i>yotei</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	○
<i>hazu</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	△	○	○	X	○	○	X	○
<i>zizyoo</i>	○	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	○
<i>sidai</i>	△	△	X												X	
<i>wake</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	△	X	○	○	○	○
<i>yoosu</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	○
<i>yoo</i>	X	○	○	○		X	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	X	X	○
<i>rasii</i>	X	X	X	X	X	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>daroo</i>	X	X	X	X	X	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>yosi</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	○	X	X	△
<i>soo</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	○	X	○	○	X	X	X
<i>kai</i>	X	○	○	?	X	X	X	○	?	?	X	X	X	○	○	X
<i>ki</i>	X	○	○	○	○	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	○	○	△
<i>hoo</i>	X	○	○	○	X	X	X	○	○	○	○	X	○	X	X	○

Legend:

○=acceptable X=unacceptable

△=questionable or limited to some context(s)

- ① *Kore ga* _____ *da* [this NOM _____ COP] ‘This is (a) _____’
 ② [NOUN] *no* _____ [(NOUN) GEN _____]
 ③ *kono, sono* _____ [this-, that- _____]
 ④ ADJECTIVE-*i* _____
 ⑤ *konna, sonna* _____ [this.kind.of-, that.kind.of- _____]
 ⑥ [NOUN]+ _____
 ⑦ *kore+*, *sore+* _____ [this_{pronoun}+, that_{pronoun}+ _____]
 ⑧ _____ *ga* [_____ NOM]
 ⑨ _____ *o* [_____ ACC]
 ⑩ _____ *ni* [_____ DAT]
 ⑪ _____ *no* [_____ GEN]
 ⑫ _____ *na* [_____ ADN]
 ⑬ _____ *da* [_____ COP]
 ⑭ _____ *(wa) nai* [_____ (TOP) exist.NEG]
 ⑮ _____ *ga aru* [_____ NOM exist]
 ⑯ _____ *(dewa) nai* [_____ COP.NEG]

Words:

- ito* ‘intent’
tumori ‘intention’
yotei ‘plan, schedule’
hazu ‘expectation’
zizyoo ‘situation, circumstances’
sidai ‘dependent on, immediately’

<i>wake</i>	‘reason, cause’
<i>yoosu</i>	‘appearance, manner’
<i>yoo</i>	‘manner, as’
<i>rasii</i>	‘seems’
<i>daroo</i>	‘probably [COP.PRES]’
<i>yosi</i>	‘reason, import, gist’
<i>soo</i>	‘they say that (hearsay), it looks, it looks about to’
<i>kai</i>	‘effect, avail’
<i>ki</i>	‘feeling, sense’
<i>hoo</i>	‘side, alternative’